

**Multinational Mines and Communities of Place:
Revisiting the Stakeholder Dialogue Discourse
in Geita, Tanzania**

Dissertation

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Dedication

To all communities in Tanzania whose livelihood strategies have been interrupted by large-scale mining projects.

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List of Abbreviations

AGA	AngloGold Ashanti
AFGEM	African Gem Resources Limited
ASM	Artisanal and Small-scale Miners
AU	African Union
BGM	Bulyankulu Gold Mine
BOT	Bank of Tanzania
BSC	Bridging Social Capital
BZGM	Buzwagi Gold Mine
CDP	Community Development Plan
CRC	Community Relations Committee
CSA	Community and Social Assessment
CRSD	Community Relations and Sustainable Development
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DCC	District Consultative Committee
DED	District Executive Director
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EMP	Environmental Management Plan
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEMATA	Federation of Miners Associations
FFU	Field Force Unit
G4S	Group 4 Securicor
GDC	Geita District Council

GDH	Geita District Hospital
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GGM	Geita Gold Mine
GPM	Golden Pride Mine
ICMM	International Council of Minerals and Metals
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDP	Local Development Plan
LEAT	Lawyers Environmental Action Team
LVG	Lake Victoria Goldfield
RCC	Regional Consultative Committee
MDA	Mineral Development Agreements
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEM	Ministry of Energy and Minerals
MIC	Mineral Investment Committee
MMs	Multinational Mines
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NEMC	National Environmental Management Council
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
PPL	Primary Prospecting License

PML	Primary Mining License
RCDG	Roman Catholic Diocese of Geita
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SML	Special Mining License
STAMICO	State Mining Corporation
TAMIDA	Tanzania Mineral Dealers Association
TAWOMA	Tanzania Women Miners Association
TCME	Tanzania Chamber of Minerals
TEITI	Tanzania Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
TGM	Tulawaka Gold Mine
TIC	Tanzania Investment Centre
TSL	Tailing Storage Facility
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
US\$	United States Dollar
VAT	Value Added Tax
VC	Village Chairperson
VEC	Village Executive Council
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WB	World Bank

WGC	World Gold Council
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

It is widely established that contemporary scholars and public relations (PR) practitioners consider the establishment and maintenance of mutually beneficial relationships between companies (organizations¹) and their stakeholders (publics²) as the essence of the profession (Cutlip et al. 1994; Bruning & Ledingham 2000; Kent & Taylor 2002; Coombs 2006; Smith 2012). The nature and patterns of the relationship between these two parties have become central to the discipline (Bruning & Ledingham 2000). Likewise, companies, through their PR units, are increasingly acknowledging that building and managing favourable relationships with their stakeholders is important for business (Imbun 2007; Kraus 2008).

Consequently, companies are seen deploying various means of building and managing relationships with stakeholders. These methods include promotion, publicity, dialogue, and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and have been subject to research and practice. Of specific concern in this study is how companies build and maintain positive relationships with their stakeholders through dialogue. Dialogue has recently been purported to be a key PR tool in addressing the challenges and frontiers of building and maintaining favourable relationships between companies and stakeholders (Kaptein & Van Tulder 2003; Crane & Livesey 2003; Lotila 2010).

Understanding how dialogue is organized, from the point of view of the actors themselves, is critical in any effort to promote and maintain good relationships between the two parties. Much is known about how dialogue practices may be challenged by actors' power differences, disparity in in-

¹ Throughout this study, I use the terms companies and organizations interchangeably. Both refer to the unity or incorporation of a group of persons for work or business.

² From a public relations perspective, the term 'publics' is used synonymously for 'stakeholders'.

terests, shortcomings in representation, participation, and so forth. However, the complexity inherent among dialoguers, particularly from actors who feel that their interests are not met in the dialogue arena, remains unclear. This study attempts to develop an empirically grounded understanding of stakeholder dialogue practices instituted for building and maintaining relationships. Drawing from semi-structured qualitative interviews conducted with dialogue actors, particularly those who regard themselves as marginal in the dialogue arena, the study tries to analyse their accounts to illustrate how their expressions, views and perspectives can broaden our understanding of stakeholder dialogue practices. More specifically, the study explores the expressions of these actors as they account for their reactions towards the dialogue arena perceived as ‘shutting them out’, to shed light on how and why these reactions inform us of the changing means of dialoguing. As we shall see in the analysis chapters, these dialogue actors, despite being ‘excluded’ from ongoing dialogue practices, demonstrate abilities to change negotiating platforms. They institute dialogue arenas, previously unimagined by other actors, and therefore are able to continue articulating their messages and interests.

The Central Argument

The presence of Multinational Mines (MMs) in the communities of developing countries has been widely contested and gripped with misunderstandings and occasionally violent conflicts. This discord has caused interested parties, such as international business watchdogs, human rights activists, NGOs etc., to insist that MMs are to “be socially responsive to the plight of the poor and the needs of developing communities” (Overton-

Deklerk & Oelofse 2010:388). The past three decades have shown promising tendencies of MMs to recognize Communities of Place (CofP)³ as stakeholders, a step that sees both engaging in dialogue for “promotion of transparency, information sharing and inspiring cooperation” (Kaptein & Van Tulder, 2003:208). MMs regard Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes and Stakeholder Dialogue (SD) as suitable practices to address afflicted relationships. This situation necessitates an exploration of the relationship patterns between the two sides and the means to gain mutual understanding and partnership.

Dialogue with CofP is considered by MMs as an effort in Bridging Social Capital⁴ (BSC), given the opportunity it offers to the two parties to discuss, debate and identify ‘appropriate coexistence’ in relation to economic, social and environmental matters. Recent scholarship, however, has questioned the ability of SD practice to address disputes and build mutually beneficial relationships between two parties. Part of this questioning arises from the positions of power and interests of dialogue actors as well as limited openness, transparency and inclusion of stakeholders in the practice.

³ Because a uniform definition of the term ‘community’ does not exist in social science, Dunham et al. (2006) proposed a typology of four categories, which I follow in this study. This includes *Communities of Place*, referring to people in a geographic location surrounding corporate facilities or operations; *Communities of Interests*, advocacy groups that share a common purpose driven by a particular agenda; *Virtual Advocacy Groups*, those sharing a common purpose usually broader than a particular interest that entails mobilizing people to participate in a short-term effort; and *Communities of Practices*, professional work groups whose members share a common identity and mutual obligations (see Calvano 2008:794; and also W Travis Selmier II et al., 2014).

⁴ Bridging Social Capital, a concept attributed to Robert Putnam (2000), relates to the bonds of connectedness that are formed across diverse social groups: “social networks that bring together people who are unlike one another” (Putnam 2000:22). To bridge social capital “requires social actors to transcend their social, political and profession identities to connect with people unlike themselves” (Putnam 2000:411). In this respect, bridging social capital is understood as a resource found in a social network that connects actors who are different to various degrees. For a detailed discussion of bridging social capital, see chapter 3.

Moreover, the understanding of SD has been the subject of wide-ranging academic debate. SD is often perceived as an abstract, philosophical concept, something that makes it difficult to operationalize in a suitable fashion (Van Huijstee & Glasbergen 2008; Theunissen & Wan Noordin 2012). In this study, therefore, I claim that questioning SD, specifically regarding the exclusion of some actors from roundtable dialogue, offers a unique opportunity to further our understanding of SD practices. By using BSC conceptualization, which enables me to study dialogue between MMs and CofP as an attempt to connect two social groups that are unlike one another and working to improve their social relations, I argue that the very instances which exclude part of the stakeholders in roundtable dialogue most often instigate ‘excluded’ stakeholders to institute other ways of negotiating their stake—i.e., of bridging with those excluding them from that social tie.

As they attempt to bridge social capital through roundtable dialogue, MMs in Tanzania tend to meet small groups of individuals, especially local leaders, assuming that they are representatives of a larger group (CofP). Quite often, however, this practice ends up facing a number of shortcomings. Among the notable inadequacies is making decisions based on the interests of a few participants (those most influential, e.g., the MM itself) at the expense of the wellbeing of the larger group. In a number of instances, such decisions limit members of a larger group from accessing available socioeconomic opportunities, particularly those to do with their livelihoods. The CofP therefore feel left out of the dialogue arena, something that compels them to change the ways of dialoguing. Instead of agreeing with decisions made against them in the roundtable dialogue, for example decisions that deny them access to the land they depended on for livelihood activities, CofP show the ability to push the limits of these decisions by

instituting other ways of interacting with MMs. For example, through defying⁵ the restrictions of entering a certain area within the mining firm's concession, CofP prompt the firm to take action against them. In the course of taking such action, probably without knowing, the mining company finds itself in another platform of discussions and negotiations.

Building from such a situation, I argue in this study that stakeholder dialogue can take different shapes. Following the understanding that the above-mentioned roundtable dialogue may provide limited expected outcomes to members of the larger group, who are at the same time pressed by a daily livelihood quest, it would be naive to expect these actors to simply sit down and wait for someone to define their destiny. I contend that they will find ways to continue dialoguing. Thus, the intriguing question here is how CofP, those excluded from roundtable dialogue practices, keep on articulating their expectations, demands and grievances? I approach these different ways of engaging with powerful actors as changing ways of dialoguing, which empirically improve our understanding of SD. As I discuss in more detail in chapter 3, I am inspired by Putnam's (1993) sound conceptualization of BSC, because it allows us to study SD beyond its traditional ideals and also to use stakeholders' (CofP) life experiences to inform our understanding of dialogue practices. In the next section, I attempt to define the term 'stakeholder dialogue'. I do so by going through the literature in PR and CSR that discusses the concept in the scope of building mutual understanding and cooperation between two different groups. In this way, I also explain how I understand the concept and how I place it in the mentioned discussion. It is important to engage in a discussion of stakeholder dialogue definition, because with this I will be able to show the parameters in which this study is situated.

⁵ Scott (1985) refers to these actions as 'backlashes' (or communities' struggles against powerful actors). He contends that they are the 'weapons of the weak', or subtle forms of resistance deployed by those most marginalized in a socio-economic system.

Defining Stakeholder Dialogue

The definition of dialogue, within and beyond the borders of public relations (and CSR) has been contested and wedged with uncertainty (see Senge 1990, Cheney & Christensen 2001, Gao & Zhang 2001, Kent & Taylor 2002, Theunissen & Wan Noordin 2012). Apart from public relations scholars studying dialogue, other studies have been undertaken in the fields of peace and conflict resolution, politics, public administration, environmental sustainability, as well as business management and ethics (Burchell & Cook 2006; Pedersen 2006; Greenwood 2007; Agle et al. 2008). Several relevant points have been central to the debate, with far-reaching outcomes for researching and engaging in dialogue. For the sake of this study, I highlight three aspects, namely dialogue as a philosophical and abstract concept, a quality of relationship, and a continuous ethical roundtable meeting. It is important to draw our attention to these three aspects because they will help us to see how dialogue can mean different things to different people. More importantly, as I shall demonstrate in chapters 5, 6 and 7, these three aspects will help us realise how the discussion in the present study goes beyond this definitional debate, particularly by stretching the understanding of dialogue as a continuous ethical roundtable meeting. In due course, I will discuss the definition of dialogue as tailored throughout this study, but first briefly discuss the above three points as they play out in the literature.

To start with the definition of dialogue as a philosophical and abstract concept, most scholars in public relations (see for example Kögler 1999; Simpson et al. 2004; Heath et al. 2006; Moroco 2008) have entered into this discussion drawing on Martin Buber's (1965) classic work *I and Thou*, as well as from the philosophical perspectives of Bakhtin, Levinas, Gadamer, Habermas, and Bohm (see for example Ellionor & Gerard 1993; Payne & Calton 2004). I do not intend to enter into this critical philosophical discussion, because it is grounded in a discipline that is far from this study, and I would not be able to attain the level of proficiency needed to

discuss these philosophers. However, reading PR scholars who report on this philosophical debate, I find it interesting. Admittedly, I am only assuming that these PR scholars are right and find their reference to Buber's philosophical perspective appealing and in a way relevant to my thesis.

For example, Heath et al. (2006) report that Buber considers genuine dialogue as deriving from including or acknowledging the 'other's' viewpoint. According to the authors, Buber suggests that dialogue involves meeting 'others' as equal partners, and not as a means towards achieving a goal: this happens with respect while showing implicit tolerance of differences. The authors say that, in this process, excessive concern for the self or for the other is disbanded. Parallel to this reflection on Buber's perspective, Moroco (2008) speaks of 'monologue'—the opposite of dialogue. She argues that while dialogue appreciates the 'other', monologue objectifies the self. Similar to Moroco, Kogler (1999), pointing to Gadamer's view on the way we can experience other people, argues that in an attempt to objectify 'others' as a means for attaining one's own life plan, the 'other' never becomes a 'thou' (p. 145).

Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012), well-known scholars in communication studies, aptly explain what Buber means by the idea 'I-thou'. They say in order to attain the 'I-thou' perspective, actors engaging in a dialogue are supposed to be prepared to change (i.e., be open to change), therefore any focus on a predetermined outcome is momentarily set aside (p. 8). The authors put forward that Buber's view is based on a metaphysical exploration of dialogue, requiring us to be aware of our reality, and to recognize explicitly that which we simply see as natural or which we take for granted. The above points are important even to the present study. Actors who participate in a dialogue without a prior understanding that colleagues in the same dialogue come from different backgrounds (thus holding different ways of understanding and appreciating things) would probably be the first participants to make the dialogue impracticable. The ability to appreciate the 'other' and recognize that their viewpoint matters is crucial to any successful dialogue.

Nonetheless, it is also true that (see Theunissen & Wan Noordin, referring to Kersten in Heath et al. (2006)) one of the most difficult, if not impossible, things for a human being to do, is to step outside one's own reality and meet another person on an equal footing without preconception or preconceived ideas (p. 9). This point is widely shared by scholars who hold a critical stance on the rationale of dialogue practices, but Yankelovich (1999), the author of *The Magic of Dialogue*, sees the possibilities of Buber's 'I-thou' perspective through 'authentic dialogue', which he regards as something that goes far deeper than ordinary conversation. He argues that in this type of dialogue "we penetrate behind the politeness of superficialities and defenses in which we habitually armour ourselves"; thus, "we listen and respond to one another with an authenticity that forges a bond between us." (p. 14–15) He says in Buber's philosophy, life itself is a form of a meeting and dialogue is the 'ridge' on which we meet. Simpson et al. (2004), referring to Sidorkin (1999), underline this reflection by observing that in Buber's perspective, dialogue is seen as something that is inseparable from humanity, a fundamental element of the human condition, 'the central purpose of life' (p. 47).

Rothschild (2000) views dialogue as a morally neutral practice. He arrives at this view drawing from Buber's (1965) assertion that man does not exist in isolation, but in the completeness of the relation between man and man. Rothschild also argues that regarding dialogue as morally neutral does not suggest that it is amoral (without moral value), but rather that it may exchange relationships based entirely on rational factors, devoid of moral factors. He states that the very act of engaging has moral connotations as, for example, it presumes the attribution of some free will and respect as well as the existence of some elements of procedural justice in the process. In this process, however, he says the engagement should be considered independent of the intentions and virtue of the actors and fairness of the outcomes, and as such, it can be depicted as largely morally neutral or unaligned (as opposed to amoral or value-free). I find points such as this very

interesting and relevant to the stakeholder dialogue definition I try to develop. Without attaining levels of reciprocal understanding and respect, participants in a dialogue will find it difficult to achieve the intended goals.

As I have mentioned above, it is not my intention to engage in this philosophical debate, especially because I am not sure whether the public relations scholars who refer to this philosophical underpinning are correct. If they are right, then their discussion is relevant to the contention I follow, that is from two famous public relations scholars, Kent & Taylor (2002), who view dialogue in the lens of ‘reciprocity’ and ‘mutuality’. It is from this perspective that I situate my reflection on what constitutes stakeholder dialogue. In this sense, I leave aside the PR scholars’ interesting discussion on Buber’s philosophy and focus on the viewpoint that looks at dialogue based on the premises of ‘reciprocity’, ‘mutuality’, ‘involvement’, and ‘openness’ (Kent & Taylor 2002:22). This point of view is suitably elucidated by scholars who examine dialogue as ‘a quality of relationship’, the discussion to which I now turn.

The debate that views dialogue as a quality of relationship is inherent in a general acceptance of Buber’s philosophical perspective among those studying the concept. Scholars like Cissna & Anderson (1988) argue that dialogue is about relationships, no matter how brief an encounter between two or more people might be—a way of thinking about human associations (p. 64). Kent & Taylor (2002) state that dialogue is more focused on mutuality and relationship than on self-interest; more concerned with discovering than disclosing; more interested in action than in domination (p. 30). Crane & Livesey (2003) affirm that genuine dialogue is geared toward “mutual education; joint problem solving, and relationship building”—and can be thought as a high-quality form of engagement (cited in Payne & Calton 2004:76). Roper et al. (2004) maintain that dialogue involves purposeful attempts to “increase understanding or shared meaning; raise awareness of taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs; enhance learning, encourage collaboration; and enhance the quality of decisions and actions”

(p. 11). These reflections made Kent & Taylor (2002) underline that dialogue requires commitment and acceptance of the value of relationship building (p. 30).

Perhaps much of the discussion of dialogue as a quality relationship comes from the fields of public relations, business management and ethics. Since Edward Freeman, a well-known scholar in business management studies, introduced the stakeholder theory in 1984, scholars in public relations disciplines, and beyond, have widely credited the stakeholder dialogue concept for relationship-building. In his seminal work on stakeholder theory, Freeman enlightens the importance of business to include stakeholders beyond the shareholder. Concerned with those stakeholders “who do not have a direct stake in the organization, but are viewed as influencers who can affect or are affected by the actions of the organization” (1984:52), Freeman’s perspective on stakeholders has since attracted scholars across disciplines to study business-stakeholder relations. I will come back to stakeholder theory later in chapter 1.

This credit to Freeman’s stakeholder theory is even acknowledged by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD)⁶, which defines dialogue as communication that takes serious account of stakeholders’ views; acknowledges and thoughtfully considers the inputs of stakeholders; and gives stakeholders a voice, listening to what they have to say, and being prepared to act or react accordingly. The WBCSD states that stakeholder dialogue provides a powerful tool to listen and learn more about stakeholders and offers a mechanism to share one’s own thinking and to maintain and/or strengthen relationships (WBCSD 2001). The organization views stakeholder dialogue as a powerful catalyst for change,

⁶ The WBCSD was founded on the eve of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit to ensure the business voice was heard at the forum. It was created by Swiss entrepreneur and philanthropist Stephan Schmidheiny who believed that business had an inescapable role to play in sustainable development: at the same time as making significant contributions to the creation of a sustainable society, it is in the interest of business and its bottom line to do so (visit www.wbcsd.org).

as it promotes greater transparency, information sharing and inspires society to work together.

Likewise, Kaptein & Tulder (2003) affirm that in the dialogue with stakeholders (both primary and secondary), opinions are exchanged, (future) interests and expectations are discussed, and standards are developed with respect to business practice. Ultimately, a proper dialogue not only enhances a company's sensitivity to its environment, but also increases the environment's understanding of dilemmas facing the organization (p. 208). Saunders (1999), as quoted by Theunissen & Noordin (2012) shares similar views. He states that participants in dialogue share their deepest hopes, interests and fears. Dialogue reveals the 'self', the individual, and what shapes his or her identity. In the same vein, they argue, dialogue has the potential to reveal the organization, its 'true' self, and not the manufactured image that many organizations carefully present to stakeholders (p. 10–11). The authors assert that in this sense, dialogue exposes differences as well as similarities; it reveals an openness to meeting the 'other', to hear and listen to the other neutrally, with a will to change. They state that although stakeholder dialogue is fraught with practical challenges that may impede on achieving the ultimate goal, it is necessary for relationship building (p. 10). I add to this understanding by contending that dialogue will only become necessary for building relationships if actors in the exercise accept holding a dialogue that is free from domination, discrimination, and even dictation to some participants on what to say or do.

On the other hand, the positive aspect of SD as a quality of relationship is doubted by scholars like Crane & Livesey (2003) who contend that "genuine adopted dialogue, with proliferation of voices can lead to (...) contradictions, thus producing inaction or fragmentation within the problem itself" (p. 40). The same is maintained by Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012) in their argument that dialogue may lead to disagreement and hence fail to resolve conflict within the relationship. They highlight that dialogue holds great risks to organizations, especially those that do not want to reveal their true selves. While acknowledging that dialogue provides a means

of bridging differences, Simpson et al. (2004) say it is notoriously difficult to implement (p. 45); Kent and Taylor (2002) declare it an inherently complex and multifarious process (p.33); and Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012:8) consider it a multifaceted, sustained process that does not guarantee a specific, desired outcome or result.

Parallel to the above scholars, there are others who hold a rather neutral view on dialogue as a 'quality of relationship'. Cissna and Anderson (1998), for example, posit that while stakeholder dialogue focuses on relationship and strives for mutuality, 'mutuality' should not be deduced as equality. They say that, at any given time, one person is more knowing, more vulnerable, or more powerful than the other. The author presumes that this might be a result of roles. Yankelovich (1999) speaks of a similar view through his understanding that dialogue seeks mutuality and harmony, but says that the outcome of dialogue is not always harmony. As a consequence of dialogue, he elucidates, one may come to understand why one disagrees so vehemently with someone else, and there will be better understanding—but not necessarily more harmony (p. 1–3).

Generally speaking, scholars who have doubts on the positive outcome of stakeholder dialogue in relationship building arrive at this position given the understanding that there are occasions where parties may institute dialogue without intending to uphold the ideas of 'reciprocity', 'mutuality', 'involvement', and 'openness'. The premise here is that a dialogic process may not necessarily mean that participants have an interest in fulfilling the 'other's' desires or wants. In terms of organization-stakeholder relationships, dialogue may not be undertaken to achieve the goals of stakeholders, but rather to further the objectives of the organizations. Unless the process is genuinely pursued based on 'mutuality' and 'reciprocity', then dialogue cannot be said to have occurred. The process would instead be similar to manipulation or instruction.

As Bohm (1996) observes, dialogue needs to be distinguished from other forms of communication such as discussion or debate. He illustrates that

discussion or debate relate to the establishment and defence of a fixed position in an argument, whereas dialogue is a tool for addressing many of the problems facing society today. He says the purpose of dialogue is to engage in collective inquiry. Discussion and debate are competitive, win-lose models of communication, whereas dialogue is cooperative and win-win by nature. The same is echoed by Bokeno & Gantt (2000), who view dialogue as “mutually constructive, critically reflective, participatory and emergent engagement of relationship between self, other and the world” (p. 250). Yankelovich (1999) attributes to dialogue two purposes: strengthening personal relationships and solving problems. He says both of these are crucial to collaboration. Saunders (1999) cements the inclination of dialogue for ‘quality relationship’ by putting forward the idea of sustained dialogue, i.e., dialogue that perseveres over time. The author plausibly observes that “however revealing one session in a dialogue may be, dialogue is not likely to change relationships fundamentally unless it is sustained over time” (p. 88). The sustenance of dialogue is what brings me to the third conceptualization, which regards the practice of dialogue as continuous ethical roundtable meetings.

The viewing of dialogue as continuous ethical roundtable meetings is immensely discussed in the literature. This way of approaching dialogue is perhaps the most accepted understanding among scholars studying the concept. As I shall soon suggest a further comprehension of the concept as I employ it in this study, SD is widely understood as a meeting and talk between two or more people (Pedersen 2006; Van de Kerkhof 2006; Bruning et al. 2008). Heath et al. (2006) depict it as a continuous practice that can even become part of the dialogues; it is conceived as a ‘process’, not an ‘outcome’, as the latter cannot be controlled (Deetz in Heath et al. 2006; Theunissen & Noordin 2012). Various scholars who conceptualize dialogue as ‘talk in a meeting’ have distinguished dialogue from other forms of talks by developing a number of ideals which, according to them, heighten dialogue to a level of ‘ethical meetings’.

Some of the features developed and suggested to dialogue participants for a differentiation between them and mere sit-downs include: listening with empathy; bringing assumptions into the open; being able to identify common ground between parties; thinking about long-term rather than short-term objectives; seeking out groups or individuals with opposing viewpoints; and soliciting a variety of internal and external opinions on policy issues (Yankelovich 1999:1–3; Kent & Taylor 2000:31). Pedersen (2006), an expert in stakeholder relations, provides a model that serves as a frame of reference for a ‘participatory and inclusive’ SD. It embraces five key terms: inclusion; openness; tolerance; empowerment; and transparency (p.140–142). He argues that a failure to abide by these terms will bring hierarchy and exclusion during dialogue (see also Senge 1990; Simpson et al. 2004:49). Another typology of an ‘ethical stakeholder dialogue’ is offered by Kaptein & Tulder (2003)⁷ and includes ten key considerations: to know each other and be understood; trust and reliability; clear rules for the dialogue; a coherent vision on the dialogue and dialogue skills. The others are expertise in the subject matter; clear dialogue structure; valid information as basis; consecutive meetings; and lastly, feedback of results (p. 211).

In short, what is clear following the three above conceptual approaches to SD, both in terms of the process and outcome, is that most scholars view SD through the lens of ethical, consecutive roundtable meetings. Scholars speak of the strengths of SD when participants (assumed to hold each other in high regard) meet and talk humanely, as they attempt to settle differences or misunderstandings, henceforth forging a positive relationship. Moreover, they speak of the weaknesses of SD when participants meet and talk but fail to uphold the above. This general view of SD is shared by a number of scholars in the field of PR and CSR, and in a way has been

⁷ Muel Kaptein is Professor of Business Ethics and Integrity Management; Rob van Tulder is Professor of International Business–Society Management. Both authors are at Erasmus University, Rotterdam.

instrumental in addressing the misunderstandings encountered in organization-stakeholder relations. As much as this viewpoint on dialogue is cherished by many PR scholars, there is still a gap in understanding that deserves closer scholarly scrutiny. While the conceptual approaches to SD presented above appreciate the role played by roundtable dialogue in intervening in the differences between organizations and stakeholders, it is also true that the same reflection acknowledges that roundtable dialogue does not happen without faults. Among the widely noted faults is that which interests this study—the exclusion of some participants from the dialogue. Most studies that have addressed this fault reflect on the reasons and effects of such exclusions without paying much attention to the reactions of the individuals who are excluded from the dialogue. This study is interested in following the reactions of those excluded actors—particularly because in the instances where these reactions were studied and reported, they were viewed merely as protest, opposition, violence and so forth. Definitions in SD have so far not been able to approach part of these reactions as alternative ways of dialoguing.

There are a few scholars who have attempted to stretch the conceptualization of SD by suggesting that actions instituted by stakeholders after having been disregarded in roundtable dialogue should not be looked upon as a problem. They have done this by questioning the shared construct of dialogue as an ethical roundtable meeting (see for example Kaptein & Tulder 2003; Burchell & Cook 2006; Stückelberger 2009). These scholars try to show that something opposite to the perceived notion of stakeholder dialogue (e.g., opposition, confrontation or pressure) is not necessarily a negative thing and that it can be viewed as dialogic action. While at one point they say such instances are not desirable phenomena, their critical attempt here is to try to understand dialogue beyond a normative construction that informs the framing and discussion of the concept.

For instance, Burchell & Cook (2006)⁸ state that SD “is far from being a homogenous, unified concept with clearly defined parameters and boundaries” (p. 157). They claim that “a whole range of activities can be perceived by stakeholders and companies as dialogue” (ibid.). Kaptein & Tulder (2003) underline that there is no ‘one best way’ to conduct SD: it will be defined by the extent of urgency; the legitimacy and power of the stakeholder and the issues that arise; the stakeholders’ willingness to cooperate; and their competencies. Kent & Taylor (2002) assert that dialogue is not about the ‘process’ used, but rather the product that emerges (p. 32). Stückerberger (2009)⁹ stresses that the type of dialogue very much depends on the context, the actors, the sector, the culture in a specific society, and the objectives. Different actors and dialogue parties can have different objectives in the same dialogue. He emphasizes that different objectives and strategies lead to different forms of dialogue, such as explorative dialogue, learning dialogue, confrontational dialogue or a dialogue that aims at a common action (p. 329). I pursue further discussion on SD definition by following this account from Stückerberger (2009).

The author furthers the understanding of dialogue by his argument that human decisions and behaviour are influenced not only by arguments and convictions exchanged in dialogues, but also by power and pressure. He aptly contends that powerful pressure is not negative ethically, as long as it is a non-violent pressure. On the contrary, from an ethical perspective, it can be an expression of responsibility to move things in the right direction. He says dialogue is often seen in opposition to pressure as some may argue

⁸ Dr Jon Burchell is a senior lecturer at the Management School of Sheffield University. His research interests focus on issues of CSR, sustainable development and business ethics. Dr Joanne Cook is at the University of Hull. Her research interests focus on issues of CSR and stakeholder dialogue.

⁹ Christoph Stückerberger is Professor emeritus of Systematic Theology and Ethics at the University of Basel and has been a guest lecturer in Africa, Asia and Latin America. He has written extensively on responsible leadership, business ethics and global trade ethics.

for dialogue to avoid other means of pressure, or others may be against dialogue to use other means of pressure. He views dialogue in three realities: an alternative to pressure; a form of pressure; and a result of pressure. Stükelberger appropriately explains that dialogue by confrontations can be an ethically justified or a necessary strategy, as long as confrontation is not an end in itself. He underscores that confrontation can be an instrument of communication and conflict resolution, and what we need is to distinguish between creative and destructive confrontations and use of power (2009:337). I follow Stükelberger's definition of SD because it serves as a point of departure towards the understanding of the concept beyond the conventional realms. As I argue in this study, apart from the confrontational dialogue, SD can also be understood in terms of other reactions that may be instituted by stakeholders who regard themselves as left out of the dialogue platform. As we shall see in chapters 5–8, despite being excluded in the roundtable dialogue, for instance because of some decisions made against their interests and expectations, quite often these stakeholders do not cease from arguing for their cases: they tend to find alternative means of negotiating their stake, or means that will help them to articulate their messages and change situations. In this thesis, I approach these alternative ways of engaging with those excluding them from roundtable meetings as 'the changing ways of dialoguing'.

Organization of the Thesis

In chapter 1, I begin by reflecting on how the question of relationship building is central to PR (and CSR), thus showing the importance of the discipline to this study. I proceed by discussing the connections between PR, CSR and SD, in this way illustrating the relevance of each to the problem under investigation. These linkages not only allow me to situate the study in the context of organization and community relations, but also to attend to the fact that dialogue is increasingly considered a central focus of any relational phenomenon.

The second chapter analyses the context of the study in detail. I start by explaining the involvement of International Financial institutions (IFIs) in supporting MMs in developing countries through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Then I talk of the shortcomings that have followed and present studies that questioned and criticized the operations of MMs in developing countries. Thereafter, I speak of the efforts employed to redress the shortcomings mentioned, and subsequently move to an in-depth discussion of the mineral sector in Tanzania. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of two more important aspects of the study. First, the description of Geita Gold Mine's (GGM, the mining company under study) CSR policy, projects and their deficiencies; and second, the misunderstanding between the company and the CofP, which are all essential details in understanding the problem under investigation.

The third chapter outlines the conceptual setting for the present study, which is grounded in refined theorization of social capital. Inspired by the BSC concept proposed by Putnam (2000), I show, at length, how we can approach stakeholder dialogue as a bridging process, and therefore examine the consequential social actions to broaden our understanding of dialogue practices.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the methodological issues pertinent to the understanding of social practices from the actors' point of view. Here I provide a reflective account of the fieldwork processes and methods that were central to the generation and interpretation of data for the study. This is succeeded by a brief sketch of the connection between bridging social capital conceptualization and the methodological approach employed in the study.

In the fifth chapter, I employ Gee's (2011) discourse analysis tool to go through the data I collected and use the tool to make an account on how stakeholder dialogue is practised in Geita. In dealing with Gee's discourse analysis tool, I examine what community members in Nyakabale said dur-

ing the interviews, in order to illustrate how in that local context the constitution of dialogue can vary. Specifically, the chapter draws from the accounts made by villagers in Nyakabale to illuminate how their expressions can be used to revisit the understanding of SD based on how these community members make sense of their local situations.

In chapter 6, I explore particular events during encounters between GGM and community members in Nyakabale, to show more explicitly how stakeholder dialogue can take different forms. Using the discourse analysis tool, I look at five specific events that propelled community members (those left out of the dialogue) to keep on negotiating and/or pushing the limits of the decisions made in the dialogue. To begin, I discuss three events that illuminate the manner in which these limits are negotiated or pushed; I describe the techniques deployed and means the community members in Nyakabale village use to face situations when held responsible for ‘defying’ decisions made in the continuing dialogue. Consequently, I provide an analysis of the remaining two events that demonstrate other means used by villagers to articulate their pressing needs after being left out of dialogue. Particularly, I examine the processes and means employed by villagers to express their frustrations, given the perception that agreements reached during dialogue are contrary to their priorities, hence disrupting their well-being. I argue that these incidents inform our understanding of the abilities of community members in changing the ways of continuing dialoguing.

Chapter 7 centres on a broader perspective of the study. It connects the ongoing roundtable dialogue between GGM and community members in Nyakabale village with the understanding of SD and bridging social capital discussed in this study. Particularly, the chapter reflects on issues that are central in bridging social capital through dialogue, to show how the present roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale leaves much to be desired by those community members who are represented.

Chapter 8 constitutes the final discussion and conclusion, in which I highlight the key contribution of this study, not only to the field of public relations, but also to conceptual and methodological approaches aimed at relevant studies. In general, this study provides new insights into attempts at understanding SD practices from the viewpoints of the participants themselves, particularly those ‘assumed’ to be less influential. This knowledge base is critical for all efforts deployed in building and maintaining good relationships between two or more parties.

1. Public Relations, CSR and Dialogue: A Relational Perspective

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I engage with part of the literature that embraces and another that attacks the ideals of PR, CSR, and dialogue. Moreover, I visit studies that report on their connections. In so doing, I aim at bringing to light the basis on which I place this study. It is important to first engage in a discussion on the ideals of PR, CSR and SD, as well as their connections, because in that way I will be able to illustrate three important things: first, how the question of relationship building is central in the fields of PR and CSR, including their role in addressing relational issues between organizations and stakeholders; second, how these organizational-stakeholder relations can be studied as a social phenomenon; and third (which is central in this study) what PR and CSR disciplines regard as essential criteria for determining genuine roundtable dialogue. Thus, what I want to accomplish by the end of this chapter is explain how the fields of PR and CSR understand SD; in what circumstances these disciplines engage in SD practices; and how the two fields have approached dialogue in the context of improving social relations, i.e., relations between organizations and CofP.

To begin the discussion, let me first refer back to the definition of dialogue presented in the introductory part of this thesis. Drawing from this discussion, I find out that not everyone regards dialogic public relations as feasible or practical. Authors like Kent & Taylor (2002) have observed that the process and product of well-intended and highly-structured dialogic communication efforts can: fall short of participants' aspirations; be exploited by one group or the other; and expose publics to organizations' manipulation (p. 32). Other researchers, for instance Crane & Livesey (2003), have noticed that dialogue can prevent participants from reaching consensus or even split them apart if the issues of process, content, motivation and out-

come are not addressed (see Lotila 2010:398). As dialogue exposes differences and similarities, some scholars have argued that it can result in quite the opposite effect: in particular, good and honest communication may lead to disagreement and conflict (see Mersham & Skinner 1999, in Theunissen & Wan Noordin 2012:7–8). Stoker & Tusinski (2006) regard PR dialogue as ideal but not always realistically achievable. This is due to their opinion that PR dialogue at times robs organizations and participants of their individuality and uniqueness and often selects those publics who are most likely to reach agreement with organizations (cited in Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012:8–10).

Furthermore, organizations' involvement in dialogue as a CSR initiative has been doubted by a number of scholars who view the practice as more a PR attempt at repairing reputation and constructing brand values for the corporation than a commitment to more responsible corporate behaviour (Banerjee 2008 in Waldman and Siegel, 2008; see also Frynas 2005). CSR designation within PR remains rife with controversy. There is a view that corporations and their public relations consultants are motivated into CSR only by the self-interested desire to achieve publicity at the outset rather than out of a sense of duty or obligation to society. Also, that organizations' CSR programmes that are motivated by self-interest are unlikely to give full consideration to the needs and interests of stakeholders rather maintaining an exploitative relationship (see L'Etang 1994:111–119).

Such scepticism from scholars (and publics), as Benn et al. (2010) hint, has coloured how both high-profile CSR activities and public relations professionals working for them are perceived. There is a degree of cynicism around activities labelled as 'PR', fuelled by negative media portrayals and public scepticism (p. 406–417). Similar criticisms, as Leeper (1996) remarks, have made opponents of the field use the term public relations "as a derogatory term to describe its programs as largely cosmetic, and designed to make the organization look better without substantially affecting the way it acts" (p. 163).

In view of the above, I find it intriguing to continue reflecting on how the question of relationship building is addressed with reference to public relations studies, CSR and dialogue. In this sense, as I hinted above, three issues become of interest here. First, the relevance of PR in social relations studies. Second, how CSR is viewed and relates to public relations, and third, the linkage of dialogue to CSR and public relations. In keeping with these three concerns, I engage with and position the present study in the critical debate of PR, CSR, and dialogue, and also explain their importance in addressing organization-community relations.

By revisiting PR as a field of building and maintaining relationships, particularly in view of social relations, I get an opportunity to speak of the misconceived or real weaknesses of PR as a discipline, as well as CSR and dialogue as organizations' practices in societies. In doing so, I present both established and critical perspectives of PR, CSR, and dialogue as well as this study's understanding thereof. I engage in this reflection because I want to explain the factors behind the discussion on the shortcomings of SD. These shortcomings are what attracts the attention of this study. As indicated previously, a closer scrutiny of these shortcomings, in this sense the instances that leave out some participants in roundtable meetings, offers us the unique opportunity of exploring the abilities of the excluded stakeholders in changing the ways of dialoguing. Thus, as I pay attention to CSR and dialogue in the context of organization-community relations, I illuminate some contested ideas and use them to advance our understanding of SD beyond the above-discussed ethical roundtable meetings.

1.2 Public Relations: Its Essence and Application to Sociological Approaches

The academic discussion focusing on PR studies of organization-stakeholder relationship is broad and bounded by heated debate. Within this broad discussion on the rationale of organization-stakeholder relations, I

find part of the debate quite relevant to the topic I address here. It is relevant because it entails a detailed discussion of several issues that I think are important in my study. These include: a focus on relationship building as a central concern of PR; the weaknesses of PR practices; the understanding of PR; and how PR can employ sociological approaches in its practices and scholarship. Other issues are how CSR and SD were introduced into PR; the connections between PR and CSR; and the importance of SD in PR practice and scholarship. Thus, while I acknowledge the broad organization-stakeholder discussion, I do not intend to capture the entire debate here. What I try to do is to pick the issues I have listed immediately above and use them to show how stakeholder dialogue is approached in PR (and CSR), most especially in view of building and improving social relations. In the next section, I start looking at these issues by visiting the literature which places ‘relationship building’ in the core practices of PR. Notwithstanding, it is worth noting here that the need to explore SD practices in the context of social relations is what prompted this study to employ a sociological concept, bridging social capital, as it provides an opportunity to study organizations and their stakeholders as two social groups, which are unlike one another and use dialogue to improve their social ties. More discussion on BSC and its relevance to this study is in chapter 3.

1.2.1 Public Relations: The Practice of Improving Relations

Following the widely reported criticisms, oppositions, and misunderstandings (or conflicts) between MMs and CofP (I address this dispute at length in the next chapter), the pursuit of a favourable relationship between the two parties has become vital. In PR circles, this quest for attaining and maintaining ‘positive relationships’ is a key concern. It originates from Ferguson’s (2018)¹⁰ position that the matter of relationship between an organization (in this case MMs) and its stakeholders (e.g., CofP) should be

¹⁰ Professor Mary Ann Ferguson is a leading scholar in public relations, CSR and

the central unit of public relations studies (Ledingham & Bruning 1998:56)¹¹. This argument even led Jackson & Center (1995) to propose that the proper term for the discipline be ‘public relationships.’ In showing its dominance in the discipline, Brunner (2009) notes that the term ‘relationship’ is frequently used in the field; it is stated in its definitions; and the name of the field alone suggests its presence (p. 153).

Against the above view of PR as a field of relationship management, there is intense academic debate holding a rather sceptical position. Whereas it is widely acknowledged that PR activities are geared towards OPRs, Moloney (2005) notes that its critics do not concur that PR is about goodwill and mutual understanding. The author says PR is viewed as a ‘soft sell’ and ‘propaganda’ and a young discipline seeking academic acceptance and professional standing (2005:552). Edwards (2006) remarks that PR wields unjustified social influence on behalf of already privileged organizational interests (p. 229). Susskind & Field (1996) contend that it contributes to forming an “angry public”. According to the authors, the public is angry because “PR has been used by business and government leaders to cover up mistakes; to conceal evidence of potential risks; to make misleading statements; and often lie” (p. 1). They note that through PR, leaders “attempt to blunt or undercut the public’s concerns by dredging up countervailing ‘facts’ or rebuttals from pseudo-independent experts and unscientific polls—they commit nothing and admit nothing”. The authors assert that at this point, “the public is often treated like an angry mob rather than as concerned customers or citizens with legitimate fears, concerns and

ethics studies. She has written extensively on organization–stakeholder relations, corporate communications, social responsibilities, public relations theories, media and many other related topics. The article is based on an invited presentation to the 1984 annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, held at the University of Florida.

¹¹ Dr John Ledingham and Dr Stephen Bruning are scholars at Capital University, Bexley, USA, serving in the Department of Communication. They have written at length on organization–stakeholder relationships as well as media relations.

needs” (1–9). As we shall see in chapters 5–8, the relationship between MMs and CofP in Tanzania, particularly in the Geita region, is troubled by these same perceived or real practices.

The field of PR has largely been conveyed as a practice of controlling damage, disguising truth, advancing a company’s agenda, and is viewed as non-substantive activity (Van Gorp 2007, cited in White & Park 2010). It is accused of being a management function of capitalist organizations, which has become “part and parcel of the maintenance of meta narratives and domination in society” (see Holtzhausen 2000, cited in Theunissen & Wan Noordin 2012); and also one which resists change and whose main purpose is to gain and maintain power in the world of business and management (ibid.). In short, an explanation of the above perceived weaknesses of PR is perhaps that critics of the discipline tend to focus more on the effects of public relations and the specific task that practitioners engage in, rather than on its fundamental purpose, i.e., relationship management (see Hutton 1999:201).

Just as other scholars, e.g. Botan (1993), have noted, PR criticism stems from a lack of knowledge that the field has undergone a major paradigmatic shift. A shift, whose impetus, as Ledingham (2001) and his colleagues elucidate, has been: a reconceptualization of the organizational function of public relations (Broom & Dozier 1990); changing roles of public relations practitioners within organizational structures (Broom 1990); an increased demand for accountability for public relations initiatives (Broom and Dozier 1990); concern that the role of public relations in organizational policy-making is limited (Grunig 1993); and an emphasis on ensuring that the social welfare be considered in corporate practices (Ledingham 2001:286). As I shall explain in subsequent chapters, part of the reasons which necessitate changes in the PR landscape is the opposition or resistance which neo-liberal policies and globalization motives encounter, of which particular reference can be found in the developing world.

The previously studied tendencies of organizations (including MMs) to manipulate publics solely for their own benefit are falling short in developing long-term Organizational Public Relationships (OPRs). Public members expect not only mutually beneficial organization-public exchange, but also one that extends that mutuality for the lifetime of the relationship. For a relationship to be effective and sustainable, it needs to be seen as mutually beneficial, based on mutual interest between an organization and its significant publics. Also, the key to managing successful relationship is to understand what must be done in order to initiate, develop and maintain that relationship (see Bruning & Ledingham 1999; Bruning & Ledingham 2000; and also, Swart 2012:338). Multinational mines, like the one I study in Geita, speak of embracing the changing PR landscape as a way to address the troubled relationship with CofP. Whether or not MMs like GGM live up to their claims, and if the changing practices yield the expected outcomes, is the subject which interests this investigation.

In the next section, I briefly discuss PR studies that suggest the incorporation of sociologically oriented approaches to public relations research and practices. I do so because I find the arguments for this perspective very relevant to the present tendencies of organizations, through their PR units, to engage in CSR dialogue with CofP. It is important to reflect on this suggestion because, as relationships between organizations like MMs and CofP are increasingly drawing the attention of PR practitioners, a need to understand the underlying patterns of social practices becomes critical. Thus, while I do not intend to go into the details of this discussion, I briefly touch on a few studies that introduce sociological theories into PR, discuss CSR and SD, and later argue for the reasons why this study includes sociological approaches in its conceptual, methodological and analytical approach.

1.2.2 Public Relations and Sociologically Oriented Approaches

Starting with Ihlen & van Ruler (2007), well-known scholars in PR and communication studies, who are disturbed by the discipline's deep concern about the relationships between organizations and publics, and not so much with the problem of how an organization relates to the public arena and society at large. They argue that public relations are supposed to have a closer look at a societal level. According to the authors, the present situation happens because PR theories were developed from socio-psychological systems or rhetorical perspectives of communication management, most of which only perceive relationship between organizations (management) and certain individuals or groups of individuals. They contend that in most of these approaches the societal level is rather overlooked, because the theories are insufficient to cope with societal issues and the societal legitimation of organizations (p. 245).

Pointing to van Ruler & Vercic (2005), Ihlen & van Ruler (2007) propose a sociologically oriented approach to public relations, not so much as an alternative as a macro-view, as additional to management- and people-oriented views. They observe that PR as an academic discipline needs an understanding of how the public relations function works, and how it is influenced by and influences social structures. Such research endeavours, the authors clarify, have an obligation in themselves, and cannot rest upon an obligation to point to ideal practices before or after criticizing current practices (Ihlen & van Ruler 2007:246; see also Botan & Taylor 2004). I agree with this frame of looking at how public relations research (and practice) should be approached. This is why in the present study I employ the bridging social capital concept to study the organization-stakeholder dialogue—particularly the viewpoint of community members on what this constitutes.

For PR practitioners to understand how public relations functions in a society, a number of sociological theories (approaches) have been incorporated in the field. Olasky (1989), as mentioned by Ihlen & van Ruler

(2007), uses Habermas' 'public' concept in claiming that because PR practitioners and academics are concerned with phenomena of reflectivity (of organizational behaviour) and social legitimacy, they should approach organizations from a 'public' perspective. In this respect, the authors, as they cite Hollander (1988:88), posit that "a society is seen from the perspective of what in German is called *Öffentlichkeit* ('in public')". *Öffentlichkeit* does not mean 'public' as in publics, audiences, etc., but it means 'publicly', which means "what is potentially known to and can be debated by all" and 'public sphere', which can be defined as "a space for communication, which in principle is available to all" (Ihlen & van Ruler, 2007:245).

A better understanding of a public sphere is probably the one pointed out by Johansson (2007) who offers Erving Goffman's 'Social Interaction Theory' to speak of how the social world is experienced and reproduced. Johansson argues that in a society (*Öffentlichkeit*), face-to-face interaction co-constructs personal and organizational identities as well as relationships. He pays attention to both the symbolic value of what is said and done and the more abstract forms of social life, in speaking of the relationship between interpersonal meanings and social structure. Citing Manning (1992), the author insists that this understanding is vital for PR practitioners and academics for improving institutions and social environments. He maintains that such improvement can be realized by applying a discursive approach and considering studying interaction in organizational settings. I agree with this point, because it suitably explains the essence of promoting dialogue between organizations and communities. Johansson views this approach as one way of developing PR theories and deepening the field's understanding of the processes of building and maintaining relationships (Johansson 2007:276–278).

Moreover, Ihlen (2007) views Bourdieu's 'field' concept as "a social space of relations of dominance, subordination or equivalence, rooted in the types and amounts of resources that actors possess" (p. 269). Bourdieu sees actors as struggling and competing to position themselves in 'fields' with the help of different forms of symbolic and material resources (Bourdieu &

Wacquant 1992). Therefore, he argues that public relations assist organizations in the struggle for such positions, and a typology of different resource types is developed, including social capital. This also means that in order to achieve a secure position in a society, increased interaction (and communication) between organizations and communities surrounding them is necessary. Referring to Schirato & Yell, in Webb et al. (2001), Ihlen concludes that Bourdieu's conflict perspective on society may help the PR field to achieve a certain cultural literacy that is necessary for the discipline's strategies (p. 269). In furthering this argument, Edwards (2006: 229), in the eyes of L'Etang (2005)¹² and Roper (2005), posit that Bourdieu's work gives the PR field a framework to both analyse and interpret its social context. In defending his argument, he asserts that "Bourdieu's inherently relational view of the world incorporates agency, structure, networks and discourse as mutually influential factors that shape overall power dynamics in society" (citing Bourdieu, 1990, 1991, 1992). Therefore, Edward argues, this affords the PR discipline a more productive set of insights with which to address the public debate around trust, reputation and ethics.

Bringing Kruckeberg & Starck (1988) into this discussion, I learn that the authors' perspective on 'community' situates the idea of incorporating sociological approaches into PR at the heart of my thesis. Kruckeberg & Starck plausibly envisage that public relations can function as a vehicle for accommodating differing perspectives, reducing conflict, and therefore constructing a community (see also Cutlip et al. 1994; Dozier et al. 1995). The authors visualize a community as one which is formed by PR techniques and processes, which resolve differences within the social system comprised of organizations and the publics with which they interact. Kruckeberg & Starck (1988) contend that community is achieved "when

¹² Jacquie L'Etang published one of the most cited books in the field of public relations entitled *Public Relations: Concepts, Practice and Critique*.

people are aware of and interested in common ends and regulate their activity in view of those ends” (p. 52–53). Kruckeberg & Starck’s perspective serves well in explaining the rationale of dialogic practices between organizations and stakeholders such as CofP. Corporations, for instance MMs in Tanzania, have a great chance of constructing a ‘community’ if they will genuinely consider dialogue as a medium for addressing misunderstandings and promoting positive relations. In general terms, as long as PR practitioners and scholars continue to agree that the profession is all about community relations, it is most likely that the application of sociological approaches in its practices and scholarship (such as in this study) will become essential.

These PR linkages to sociological theories helps to explain the changing PR landscape that I have mentioned above. Proceeding from the opposition, resistance, misunderstanding and conflicts between organizations (e.g., MMs) and stakeholders (e.g., CofP) that have been studied, and that I discuss in detail in the next chapter, it would perhaps be an oversight for PR scholars and practitioners to assume that PR (including CSR and SD) operates in the same way at different times and in different contexts. Given the changing times and situations, approaches to PR (as well as CSR and SD) will also change. This is why this study attempts to bring forth new questions on PR practices and specifically SD as a tool of the profession’s CSR activities.

Even the very essence of introducing CSR activities and SD into PR practices was derived from foreseeing the continuous changes to the field’s landscape. In fact, this can be traced back to the past three decades. By then, scholars like Grunig and Hunt (1984) had already attested to these changes by noting that for an organization to have a long existence, its well-being needs to be bound to that of the publics, meaning that the fundamental goal of the PR function is to develop supportive communities (see Lotila 2010:397). Similar contentions were made a few years earlier by Sethi (1979), who suggested that PR should be an activity entailing: discussion with outside groups; making information freely available to

publicly; accepting inputs from outside groups in decision making; and agreeing to be publicly evaluated for corporate activities. Moreover, as Sethi (1979) noted, Moss and Warnaby's (1998) remarks that the fundamentals of PR should be to: diagnose the (social) environment; identify stakeholders; and develop programmes to handle them; such awareness of the emerging practical PR obligations to societies (communities) facilitated the establishment of CSR and SD practices in the field.

This is why it is reported that at the early beginning, practitioners and academics in public relations struggled with the notion of CSR. As Maignan et al. (2005) spell out, the crux of the problem was with the meaning of the word 'social' and how it relates to daily business activities. The authors contend that due to the level of abstraction of the word 'social', PR scholars and practitioners faced problems in evaluating their contribution to the well-being of society as a whole (cited in Jamali 2008:214). The subject of how CSR was viewed by PR scholars and practitioners, and how the two practices relate to each other, as well as the characteristics of CSR in relationship building, is one to which I now turn.

1.3 Public Relations and Corporate Social Responsibility

A number of scholars and practitioners in public relations and other fields happen to view CSR as a problematic concept. Godfrey & Hatch (2007), for instance, view CSR as a practice without a clear paradigm or common language, henceforth placing its implementers into struggles towards achieving clear guidance (p. 87). Littlewood (2014), quoting Blowfield & Frynas (2005), claims that there is no universally accepted definition of CSR. It means different things to different people, and its meaning varies according to the circumstances in which it is applied (Littlewood 2014:41). Likewise, as he struggles to understand CSR, Jamali (2008) shows how various PR practitioners and academics also struggle for the same. He points, for example, to Frankental (2001), who argues that "CSR is a vague and intangible term which can mean anything to anybody, and therefore is

effectively without meaning”. Lee (1987) asserts that social responsibility has been variously described as an elusive concept, and Preston & Post (1975) view CSR as a vague and ill-defined concept. Other struggles along this line, as further presented by Jamali (2008:214), regard CSR as a concept with: a variety of definitions (Votaw 1973); lacking theoretical integration and empirical verification (DeFillipi 1982; Post 1978; Preston 1978); lacking a dominant paradigm (Jones 1983); and susceptible to subjective and value-laden judgements (Aupperle et al. 1983).

The apparent problematic understanding of and lack of a universally applicable practice of CSR led Hanlon (2011) to perceive CSR as an ideational concept that is globally and regionally engineered by an epistemic community of elite stakeholders. As he exposes the network of these elite stakeholders, Hanlon sees it as dominated by Western nation states which are committed to neoliberal ideology and the manufacturing of ethical corporate governance (p. 71). Similar thinking is shared by other scholars like Banerjee (2003)¹³ and Munshi & Kurian (2005), who regard CSR as “Western, Anglo-Saxon ideas underpinned by Western notions of economic rationality”. Such a view of CSR is what led Benn et al. (2010) to discover why critics of PR link many negative connotations of CSR with the purported negative role of public relations (p. 403). I, however, disagree with some of the scholars above who hold a negative stance on PR-CSR practices, because I think it is erroneous to attack these practices from a general definitional perspective, or based on a number of failed PR-CSR implementations. Instead, I think, before attacking them, it would be more meaningful to approach PR-CSR practices from a more neutral perspective, because I find the essence of PR and CSR feasible—perhaps the problem comes from those who implement it.

¹³ Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee is Professor of Management at Cass Business School, City University of London. He authored the seminal CSR book entitled *CSR: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*.

If we are to explore whether PR and CSR are practicable or not, I think scholars are obliged to do so by finding out how practitioners execute the two practices. This will help to find where the problem lies and whether the ideas of PR and CSR are unrealistic or it is the practitioners who work unprofessionally. By studying how participants react to stakeholder dialogue practices in Geita, this study tries to meet these requirements. In essence, I agree with scholars who argue that CSR presents an opportunity for building positive relationships between organizations and stakeholders—as it connects targeted stakeholders to those managing the corporate image (see for example Benn et al. 2010:406). I also concur with other authors who regard CSR as an investment for the day when a crisis occurs and the company needs all the goodwill it can muster (Drucker 1982, in L’Etang 1994). If a company decides to develop and implement authentic CSR programmes, the chances are high that it will develop good relations with stakeholders and thus win their support.

In this regard, I follow a number of scholars and practitioners in PR who see Carroll’s (1979)¹⁴ famous definition of CSR as that which has sharpened understanding of the concept. In describing CSR, Carroll stated that businesses have four basic responsibilities to society: economic, legal, ethical and discretionary. An apt elaboration of Carroll’s description is provided by Hendrix (2004) stating that in implementing CSR, “organizations are supposed to consider the interests of society by taking responsibility for the impact of their activities on customers, employees, shareholders, communities, and the environment in all aspects of its operations”. He further says that “CSR has to comply with legislation, be accepted in the contracts and see the organizations voluntarily taking steps to improve the quality of life for employees and their families as well as for the local community and society at large” (2004:294). This understanding of CSR is even shared by the WBSCD, which regards CSR as an idea that includes

¹⁴ Prof Archie Carroll is a reputable and extensively cited scholar in the fields of CSR, business ethics and stakeholder management.

the social, economic, and environmental aspects of business activity. The organization explicitly defines CSR as a concept that embraces the integration of social and environmental values within a company's core business operations and engagement with stakeholders to improve the well-being of society (WBSCD 2002).

This way of framing CSR practices, apart from showing core areas of focus for CSR programmes, also highlights the fact that a focus on organizations' stakeholders is central to any CSR initiative. The reference to stakeholders as a key component of CSR is eminent in many PR studies aimed at exploring corporate responsibilities to societies and has been shown in different ways. Clarkson (1995), for instance, has been sceptical about the synonymous use of the terms 'society' and 'community stakeholder group'. He says there is merit in using the term stakeholder, as it reduces the level of abstraction in the term 'society'. The term 'society' in his view, is ambiguous and abstract, and raises concerns about its importance and justification in CSR. Basically, Clarkson's viewpoint (if I am to avoid my earlier endorsement of PR as a societal practice) originates from Freeman's 1984 seminal work on stakeholder theory, which sparked the debate on the limits and beneficiaries of CSR.

Freeman, a famous professor of business administration in 1984 (this takes me to a brief definition of stakeholders [publics] that I pointed out earlier in the introduction) defined a stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (p. 46). He described groups or individuals as narrow or broad stakeholders. The narrow stakeholders, in his view, include those who are vital to the survival and success of the organization (e.g., employees and shareholders); the broad stakeholders are those who can broadly affect or be affected by the corporation (e.g., government, NGOs, politicians, CoP etc.). Freeman's stakeholder theory was followed by a wide range of studies conceptualizing the term stakeholder from a variety of disciplines. This context saw PR authors like L'Etang (1994), defining 'public' (stakeholder) as a homogenous group within a heterogeneous society, which has

something in common, such as their involvement with, or sensitivity to, a particular issue (p. 112).

It is in Freeman's direction where Dewey in Hallahan (2000) thought of publics (stakeholders) as a group of people who (1) face a similar problem, (2) recognize that the problem exists, and (3) organize to do something about the problem. Moreover, Blumer thinks within the same lines by referring to publics (stakeholders) as a group of people who are (1) confronted by an issue, (2) divided in their ideas about how to meet the issue, and (3) engaged in discussion about the issue (cited in Hallahan 2000:501). This is to say, what the above authors refer to as a 'problem' or an 'issue' means a 'stake', which draws the attention of its 'holders'.

Apart from the above definitions, other PR scholars who attempted to define stakeholders include Smith (2002), who regards a stakeholder as an influencer, beneficiary, or risk bearer to an organization's "wealth-creating capacity and activities"; Mitchel et al. (1997) who distinguish stakeholders as 'influencers' and 'claimants'; and Olander (2007:279), who identifies 'influencers' as 'internal stakeholders' those actively involved in project execution and 'claimants' as 'external stakeholders' or those affected by (or who affect) the project. Following Freeman's (1984) stakeholder theory, in this study I approach stakeholders (publics) as a group that is impacted by, or can impact the action of an organization, for instance communities who experience the direct impact of corporations' activities due to geographical proximity. Organizations' communication with these stakeholders will likely "help build a stable, long term relationship", hence managing conflicts occurring between the two parties (see Hallahan 2002:501).

Keeping aside the stakeholder definition, and returning to PR-CSR discussion, there are a number of PR scholars and practitioners who hold a positive view of the call for adopting CSR. L'Etang (1994), for instance, points that CSR offers PR an opportunity to build good will by promoting the benefits of the company to its stakeholders. The author views CSR as part

of a public relations portfolio which is managed by PR practitioners to establish relations with particular groups and to signal messages to other groups in society (p. 113). I agree with L'Etang's point, because genuine CSR programmes provide a chance for organizations to create good rapport with stakeholders and, in the long run, win their support. In this way, organizations are likely to positively change their reputations. As L'Etang contends further, CSR is a good example of business responding to society's needs, and PR facilitates both the activity and the process of communication and understanding to the benefit of all (1994:115).

There are other scholars who provide an interesting PR-CSR perspective by referring to the two as similar organizational activities. Clark (2000), for example, states that PR and CSR began to sound more similar in the 1970s and 1980s when Harold Burson¹⁵ started advising PR practitioners to evaluate social trends and thereby develop policies for corporate response. Just to highlight this point of view, Clark thinks that the CSR idea began at the very time when corporations were becoming increasingly concerned about their image (p. 364). So, because the two disciplines had much in common (e.g., improving the relationship of organization with key stakeholders and doing good because of a good business sense), they became alike. In fact, this is reflected in Clark's reference to Bernays, who says "public relations (of organizations) is the practice of social responsibility" (Clark 2000:364–376), and cemented by Frankental's (2001:23) perception that CSR is an invention of PR.

Apart from Clark (2000) and Frankental (2001), other PR scholars who share the view that PR and CSR are similar are largely influenced by

¹⁵ Harold Burson is an influential figure in the field of public relations. He has spent more than 50 years serving as counsellor to and confidante of corporate CEOs, government leaders and heads of public sector institutions in America. He is also a co-founder of Burson-Marsteller, a well-known PR agency (see harold-burson.com)

Grunig and Hunt, two well-known communication scholars who introduced a 'two-way symmetrical communication model' They see CSR as an example of symmetrical public relations. Pointing to social responsibility as the major reason for organizations to have a public relations function, some of these authors consider 'two-way symmetrical communication' as the best means to use in evaluating social responsibility. They even say PR and CSR are not two different actions but rather two different types of public relations taking place (see Grunig & Hunt 1984; L'Etang 1994:116).

While the above PR-CSR discussion begs the chicken and egg question, many studies in the two fields have acknowledged that CSR is about the economic, legal and ethical responsibilities of business to societies. Against this understanding, however, there are people who still see a glitch concerning CSR. Since Friedman's (1970) argument that business is socially responsible in its profit-making function, and that business obligations are purely economic, his study has been followed by an enormous sceptical reflection on CSR from a wide range of scholars. Academics in public relations were not isolated in this. Some, as I noted above, are troubled with the notion of 'society', arguing that a CSR programme with such a focus is unrealistic. Others disagree with the use of the term corporate philanthropy (i.e., voluntary support) as a synonymous term for CSR. They contend that CSR is carried out as a duty or obligation, but corporate philanthropy is about charity and cannot be demanded—it comes out of benevolence and altruism (see Jones 1983; Lee 1987; L'Etang 1994).

Nonetheless, the general agreement in the PR-CSR literature, which I also follow, seems to be that PR contributes to organizations' CSR by playing a number of roles including: management; philanthropic; value-driven; and communication. Moreover, it is largely agreed in the literature that PR can contribute to CSR by striving to be socially responsible through influencing corporate behaviour. It is also acknowledged that the development of CSR programmes within PR also depends on available resources and the willingness of top management to engage in it (see Kim & Reber 2008; Lotila 2010). Without such understanding, the organization's response to

social pressure and the factors contributing to it will remain ideal but impracticable.

Thus, as I argue in this study, CSR, through the works of PR practitioners, has the potential to influence the way that management perceives both environmental and social issues, as well as the salience of various stakeholder groups. It also can guide corporate management on their activities in the CofP. If a firm assumes a proactive CSR approach, it listens to stakeholders (even those who are relatively 'weak'), and is therefore able to anticipate potential issues and act before an issue develops into a conflict or misunderstanding. As Lotila (2010) reasonably maintains, proactive approach involves two-way communication in the form of mutual dialogue with a variety of stakeholder groups. Stakeholders and their arguments are treated with respect, and cooperation is seen as a possibility (p. 399). This point brings me to the last part of the chapter as I now turn to the discussion of the relevance of SD in PR practices and scholarship.

1.4 Public Relations and Stakeholder Dialogue

It is the above perspective of SD that I follow in this study precisely because of the understanding that any effort towards collaboration has to start with dialogue. Without an understanding of a potential partner, one can hardly build a relationship. Such understanding can only be achieved through a special form of communication that goes beyond ordinary conversation. The same is as true of organizations such as MMs and CofP as of their stakeholders. As I observed earlier in the chapter, the landscape of public relations is changing, moving from one-way manipulative communication to the ideal of dialogic and symmetric communication (see Hoy et al. 2007:191).

In concrete terms, dialogue as a concept was assimilated into mainstream public relations discourse and scholarship by Grunig & Hunt (1984) in their famous book entitled *Managing Public Relations* after linking PR

practices with their two-way symmetrical communication model (see Theunissen & Wan Noordin 2012). This model, according to the authors, suggests that two-way symmetrical communication provides the forum for discussion, dialogue and discourse (p. 5). Particularly, as Bruning & Ledingham (1999), pointing to Grunig & Hunt (1984), assert, the incorporation of the model into PR helps in creating a sense of openness, trust, and understanding between the organization and the key public, as well as a willingness to negotiate, collaborate, and mediate solutions to issues of concern to both the organization and critical publics (p. 160).

In public relations theory and practice, scholars examining organization-stakeholder dialogue generally agree that ethical PR exercise is one which is developed based on listening to, responding to and processing the views and interests of stakeholders. Kent & Taylor (2002), for example, share this perspective by their contention that, through soliciting information from key stakeholders, PR practitioners are better able to determine the common interests and shared goals that exist. Likewise, Gronstedt (1997) states that by engaging in dialogue, PR practitioners get a chance to understand the changing nature of stakeholders' expectations. According to the author, the role of a PR practitioner is more about making information available to stakeholders in a user-friendly way and supporting an ongoing relationship, rather than transferring information. I agree with Gronstedt on this view, specifically because it is dialogue between the two sides, which can be a very useful platform for gaining information and addressing relational issues. PR practitioners are expected to be aware of the importance of having this kind of communication and therefore be comfortable in practising it.

It is worth mentioning here that a number of PR scholars also admit that dialoguing with stakeholders is not an exercise without value. They contend that by choosing to engage in SD, companies express respect to stakeholders, i.e., through listening to their contribution and demonstrating a commitment to learn from each other. Thus, the medium alone is already an important message (see Kaptein & Tulder 2003:208–210; Fairbrass

2006). Within the same line of thinking, I contend that SD practices that go further into providing feedback and accomplishing the agreed outcomes are in a better position to reach out to the ‘represented stakeholders’ or those who are at times left out of the practices. Short of this approach, dialogic practices will be strained and the organization’s ability to establish common interests and goals limited.

Even though SD is supposed to be practised as stated above, the intellectual origins of the exercise and its consequences have been widely debated over the years. Here, I discuss very briefly Theunissen & Wan Noordin’s (2012) critical perspective on PR dialogue and later position the present study in the debate. The authors attack PR dialogue for being uncritically equated to ‘two-way symmetrical’ communication, as if they were two sides of the same coin. They argue that, as it is equated to symmetrical communication, and PR referred to as ‘communication management’, the purpose of dialogue becomes one of controlling messages, information and the process of communication, as well as evaluating results and showing that it contributes to the organization’s bottom line. Moreover, the authors say dialogue is perceived by organizations as a perfect state of harmony when used to reconcile their interests and to seek agreement or mutual understanding, which also comes to mean consensus. They criticize this perception, contending that consensus does not automatically imply that dialogue has taken place—it is often the result of persuasion (p. 6–7).

In general terms, the reason why Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012) are not comfortable with the overall framing of SD is that dialogue is viewed as a practice that can be free from control over the results or outcome. They say, on the contrary, that giving up control is not something organizational managers are likely to do. I do not fully agree with this argument, precisely because of the fact that there are possibilities for holding genuine dialogue practices which are free from any kind of control. Organizational managers who tend to control the practices are not engaging in it with genuine intentions. In other words, I agree with scholars such as Fairbrass (2006; 2008) who take a firm stance that dialogue, in its truest sense, is an activity that

can manifest the organization's responsibility to society. This is through offering firms and their stakeholders the opportunity to identify what each regards as appropriate business behaviour in relation to economic, social, and environmental matters (see also O'Riordan & Fairbrass 2008).

Based on this perspective, it is perhaps safe to agree with many other PR scholars and practitioners (some of which I have cited in this chapter) who accept and espouse that SD plays a vital part in the development of CSR and other business strategies. It is probably also pertinent to concur with Huijstee & Glasbergen (2008), who declare SD an instrument of CSR [and not an indicator thereof] (p. 300), an idea behind the term CSR-dialogue. Deriving from the above reiteration, I examine SD as the organization's attempt in reaching out to those Freeman (2001) regarded as 'estranged groups'; the groups without a direct stake but able to influence (positively or negatively the organization's operations. I argue that such an attempt, if properly and ethically pursued, can offer organizations and the 'estranged stakeholders' an opportunity for cooperation and the ability to understand each other. In the long run, the exercise may help in improving relationships and henceforth social (community) welfare.

Nevertheless, as I proceed from the above detailed reflection and the connections of PR, CSR, and SD, and in more specific terms, the discussed changes on the applicability of the concepts, I find it intriguing to explore how PR scholars and practitioners embrace these changes in the field. As the application of PR, CSR and SD change with time, the traditional or rather dominant scholarly and practical interventions of the concepts are also expected to change. Looking at the literature dominating the field, it appears that there have been limited attempts from PR scholars to keep up with the changing pace in the field, except the above discussed suggestions on incorporating sociological approaches to PR. Admittedly, the mentioned dominant thinking and practice of PR, CSR and SD has brought organizations and their stakeholders to a certain degree of improved relations and cooperation (of course also accompanied by the above discussed weaknesses). Nonetheless, I find it crucial to follow those few PR scholars

who have begun to stretch further the conceptual and methodological reflection on problems like the one in this investigation.

One issue which is quite clear in the entire PR, CSR and SD discussion presented in this chapter, is the fact that there is still a challenge in executing genuine organization-stakeholder dialogue. The debate on the weaknesses of SD and the attack on the understanding of the same discussed here, are certainly a result of not upholding genuine SD practices. While this happens, exploration on what takes place when dialogue participants of the mentioned inauthentic dialogue are not satisfied with the outcome of the exercise seems to attract a few PR scholars. In this study, I attempt to follow the perspectives and views of these participants, in order to contribute to the debate on what constitutes SD dialogue. I contend that the reactions of these participants, particularly those represented in this inauthentic dialogue, present a chance of studying SD using an approach that is rather new in the field of public relations.

Thus, as explained earlier in the chapter, my effort in this study is to borrow a sociological concept, bridging social capital, and use it to study SD practices of a mining firm and CofP in Geita, Tanzania. This approach is somewhat new in the field of public relations, but I argue that it provides useful insights for studying SD practices, particularly by approaching the exercise from a social relations perspective, where a mining firm engages in dialogue with CofP as a way of bridging social capital. A detailed discussion on how I approach this study using the bridging social capital concept is found in chapter 3. In the next chapter, I discuss at length the context of the mining sector in developing countries, and Tanzania in particular. In this discussion, I show how the responsible institutions are struggling to manage the sector, thus creating misunderstandings and conflicts among stakeholders. By the end of this chapter, I will be able to point to two important things: first, how SD is crucial in addressing the differences imbedded in the mining sector in Tanzania, and second, how the present contribution to the understanding of SD practices can be useful in informing concerned stakeholders of better ways of approaching the exercise.

2. Contextual Analysis of the Study

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim at describing the context in which the study is situated. This account is important because it helps us to grasp the big picture of how the mining industry is managed in developing countries, and specifically in Tanzania. The description depicts the power interplays that perpetuate the shortcomings of the industry in the country—particularly the existing differences between mining firms and CofP. In this way, it also shows how the dialogic practices I discussed in chapter 1 become important in addressing these differences.

Thus, I begin the chapter by illuminating the participation of the World Bank and IMF in supporting MMs in developing countries and the aftermath of this. Thereafter, I speak of the evolution of the mining sector in Tanzania and identify the two leading actors, large- and artisanal-scale miners. In relation to this, I present how the liberalization of the mining sector and formulated legislation and policies take into account both stakeholders, as well as the communities close to the mining operations. This also serves as a description of the legal and non-legal claims of these stakeholders, which became a leading factor in the dialogic practices instituted between MMs and CofP. Furthermore, I present the CSR policies of the mining firm selected as a case for the present investigation, as well as how legislation in the mining sector refers to CSR practices. I conclude the chapter by briefly discussing the misunderstandings and conflicts as results of gold mining activities, particularly in Geita, Tanzania, which I will further discuss in chapters 5–8. The entire discussion in this chapter therefore attempts to illustrate how the mining sector is encircled by misunderstanding and conflicts that make stakeholder dialogue practices necessary.

2.2 The Challenges Facing the Mining Industry in Developing Countries

Since the developing countries reformed their mining sectors in the 1970s and 1980s, communities in these regions have become hosts to enormous new sites of mineral exploration and development, operated by multinational mining companies (see Szablowski 2002; Haselip & Hilson 2005; Bebbington et al. 2008; Laplante & Spears 2008). The reforms, “stirred by the prevailing dispensation of western neoliberal economic policies, under the economic and political conditionalities of the Washington Consensus, including the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the White House” (Omeje 2005:321–322), saw many developing countries working diligently to attract foreign investment to their mining industries (Forster & Bills 2002; Bridge 2004; Rodriguez 2004; Campbell 2008).

Due to the earlier, more restrictive mining investment climate, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) worked to persuade developing nations, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, to transform the structure of their mining sectors in order to lure previously wary investors (Haselip & Hilson 2005; Hilson & Yakovleva 2007). To facilitate this, policymakers from the World Bank and other IFIs encouraged the countries in the region to commit to extractive industry growth as a development strategy (Bebbington et al. 2008:889). The World Bank advocated that the efficient development of mineral resources by foreign multinationals creates numerous socio-economic benefits in the form of fees, employment, taxation, and infrastructure (Haselip & Hilson, 2005:89–90). The Bank contended that mining-led development in developing countries creates downstream industries and, in the process, increases household income and reduces poverty (World Bank 2004). It asserted that large-scale mining creates income which governments can use to finance national social and environmental programmes with a focus on poverty reduction (World Bank 2008, cited in Smith et al. 2012:241).

As a result of the IFIs' persuasion, over 90 countries, including Tanzania, have since redrafted mineral codes and policies (Bridge 2004; Laplante & Spears 2008) that: extended MMs' security of tenure; waived import duties on equipment; offered tax breaks, low royalty payments, and, in many cases, unrestricted repatriation of profits [I shall come back to this point with a reference from Tanzania] (Hilson & Yakovleva 2007:99). The 'overhaul' of the mining sector (Haselip & Hilson 2005) has enabled MMs to secure extraordinary immunity from commercial risks. The World Bank's technical assistance credits, the GATT¹⁶ treaty and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)¹⁷, are some of the initiatives which assured MMs up to 100 per cent equity ownership of their projects (see D'Mello 1995:929–930).

The above initiatives, instituted under the popularly known Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and policy reforms, attracted many companies headquartered in developed countries to invest in sub-Saharan Africa, where mineral reserves are relatively unexploited and plentiful. The region offers lower operating costs that include low wages and abundant labour.

¹⁶ The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was a multilateral agreement regulating international trade. According to its preamble, its purpose was the substantial reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and the elimination of preferences, on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. It was negotiated during the UN Conference on Trade and Employment and was the outcome of the failure of negotiating governments to create the International Trade Organization (ITO). GATT was signed by 23 nations in Geneva on October 30, 1947 and took effect on January 1, 1948. It lasted until the signature by 123 nations to establish the World Trade Organization (WTO) on January 1, 1995 (see www.wto.org).

¹⁷ MIGA is an international financial institution that offers political risk insurance and credit enhancement guarantees. Such guarantees help investors protect foreign direct investment against political and non-commercial risks in developing countries. MIGA is a member of the World Bank Group and is headquartered in Washington, D.C., United States. It was established in 1988 as an investment insurance facility to encourage confident investment in developing countries (see www.miga.org).

It is characterized by weak political and legal institutions; less public scrutiny; fewer statutory requirements; attractive fiscal policies, and imbalances in political, economic and cultural power (see Smith et al. 2012; Escobar 2006; Reed 2002; Szablowski 2002). Given these initiatives, the mining industry in sub-Saharan Africa responded accordingly. Many countries, both with and without a tradition of mining, have seen significant increases in investment (Bebbington et al. 2008:889). The extractive industries have seen steady growth since the late 1990s, and are likely to continue expanding into previously untouched territory, given the demand in the rapidly growing Chinese and Indian economies (Laplante & Spears 2008:72).

Despite the recorded developing economies' mining sector growth, the role of MMs and the above-mentioned 'open door policy', accepted by governments as an essential component of new economic policy, have lately become subjects of intense academic debate. A rapidly growing body of research from political scientists, economists, business pundits, sociologists, anthropologists, public relations researchers, and so forth, dispute the positive impact of MMs on emerging economies as purported by IFIs. The scholars also criticize MMs on their operational adversaries to the environment and communities of developing countries like Tanzania. Below, I segment the studies questioning the rationale of open-door policy and multinational corporations' (including MMs) operations in peripheral communities of the developing countries into two parts: first, those with a focus on the national level, and second, those centred at the community level. In this way, I try to show how the forces behind the operations of MMs in developing countries perpetuate the mismanagement of the mining industry in the area, especially by colluding with officials of national governments. It is this collusion which also affects the management of mining firms' operations at the local level, henceforth creating tension between MMs and CofP.

2.2.1 Challenges at the National Level

Onimode (1978), for instance, censures the IFIs for having created the political climate and propagated the economic theory of the national advantages of foreign investment and import-substitution industrialization in developing countries. The author criticizes that such attempts offered a social and intellectual framework for the birth and growth of multinational corporations (including MMs) in developing countries (p. 207–208). D’Mello (1995) also criticizes so-called economic reform programmes, stating that they were launched as part of a globalization process to ensure the free entry of multinational corporations (MNCs) into emerging economies. According to the author, such programmes ensured the hegemony of developed countries, led by the US, in the world order in economic, as well as social, cultural and political spheres. D’Mello contends that the rule of global business has been so tuned as to undermine the sovereign rights of nation states and the autonomous development of the national economies of developing countries. He says that the national laws of these countries have to be adjusted to subserve the interests of MNCs (p. 929–930).

The above criticisms are supported by a number of other studies that see the entry of foreign investment into developing countries as carefully calculated to enlarge and strengthen MNC operations for imperialistic ends. Osterberg & Ajami (1971), for example, argue:

[MNCs] are a part of the complex network of international politics; of interaction between their countries of origin and the host countries in which they operate; of the dependency relationships between the powerful post-industrialized nations and the less-developed segment of the world; and of the webs of interdependence among the postindustrialized countries themselves. (P. 460).

[They] possess many of the attributes of sovereign states. They have large resources at their disposal; they command the loyalty of large numbers of employees to whom corporate identity is often more im-

portant than national identity; they have their own spheres of influence as a result of the division of world markets among themselves; and they engage in diplomacy and espionage (...) activities which have traditionally been viewed as the exclusive domain of governments. (P. 459–460)

It is possibly true that views like the one above are what made scholars like Onimode (1988) refer to MNCs as ‘monopoly sharks’, who, according to Udofia (1984), have devised imperialistic means which aid them in accruing huge profits through low tax payments to host governments (p. 358). As I have mentioned above, within this network that weakens the abilities of national institutions in supervising the mining industry, MNCs are said to be supported by the elite (pro-imperialist privileged classes), which include state bureaucrats, politicians, managers, and other dominant groups (see Bonaparte 1979; Onimode 1988; Omeje 2005). According to Omeje (2005), they do so because the group also benefits from reaping natural resource rents and expanding the frontiers of corrupt enrichment and misappropriation of public resources. In return, they create a ‘predatory state’ characterized by weak institutions that disregard the populace and end up disrupting social cohesion (p. 322). Such networks, as D’Mello (1995:929) adds, serve as a good explanation for the neo-colonial exploitation of people and resources in the South; and as a “validation of Marxist thesis that the serious problems of third world countries are caused by imperialist forces through the colossal multinational enterprises” (I show examples of this point, with reference of the mining sector in Tanzania, below) (Onimode, 1978:207).

Perhaps the most highlighted effects of the ‘open door policy’ and MNC operations in the developing countries are related to ‘resource curse’ and ‘Dutch disease’ in the mining sector. According to Bebbington et al. (2008), an expert in CSR studies, the ‘resource curse’ thesis gained momentum in the early 1990s through an attempt to explain two decades of poor economic performance in mineral-rich countries. The thesis suggests

that natural resource abundance generates a series of economic and political distortions that ultimately undermine the contribution of extractive industry to development (p. 967). The concept ‘Dutch disease’ refers to an influx of foreign exchange attracted into a country as a result of mineral exports, which thereafter causes an exchange rate appreciation that renders other locally-produced products uncompetitive in foreign markets (Auty 1994; De Soysa 2000; Sachs & Warner 2001; Le Billon 2005, cited in Holden & Jacobson, 2007:477).

This ‘paradox of plenty’¹⁸ links the outcome of MM operations in developing economies with weak institutions (Mehlum et al. 2006); civil war (Collier & Hoeffler 2005); poor economic performance (Auty 1994; Sachs and Warner 2001); corruption (e.g. Leite & Weidmann 1999), and the like. This collection of articles analyses the relation between emerging economies’ dependence on mineral resources and a low level of democracy; inappropriate governance framework; authoritarianism; high military spending; and so forth (Smith et al. 2012:242). In general, the analysis sees the role of MMs in developing countries as one that distorts political processes and economies by looting the mineral resources that would have been used to support domestic progress. I expand on this critique in my overview of the mineral sector in Tanzania below. It is precisely these real or perceived practices of MMs that trouble their encounters with CofP and thereafter necessitate the two to enter into a dialogue.

The resource curse and Dutch disease analysis also disprove the contention made by the World Bank and other IFIs that natural resources are a blessing to developing nations. To be more particular, it actually attributes the

¹⁸ The resource curse is also known as the paradox of plenty, referring to the paradox that countries and regions with an abundance of natural resources tend to have less economic growth and worse development outcomes than countries with fewer natural resources.

‘resource conflicts’ (Le Billon 2008) to the World Bank’s support in overhauling the mining sector and reforming economic policies of developing countries such as Tanzania. The World Bank itself, at some point, felt uneasy with the ‘unexpected’ outcomes of investment in the extractive industry that it campaigned for. It therefore commissioned the Extractive Industries Review (EIR)¹⁹ to investigate what took place during its involvement in developing countries’ mining sectors. According to Smith et al. (2012), the EIR report, *Striking a Balance*, was critical of the World Bank and recommended that in order to contribute to poverty reduction, the organization must ensure that countries meet specific criteria before supporting their extractive projects, including pro-poor public and corporate governance aimed at poverty alleviation through sustainable development; more effective social and environmental policies; and respect for human rights (p. 242).

Although the scholars referenced above are uncomfortable with the way MMs are managed in the global South, there are others who view such multinational mining investments as not necessarily a curse or source of conflict. Davis (1995), for instance, as pointed out by Bebbington (2008), has questioned the existence of a resource curse; Brunnschweiler and Bulte (2008), challenge the methodology and indicators that have been used to demonstrate it; Davis & Tilton (2002), as well as Humphreys et al. (2007), further argue that if mining has been associated with poor economic and political performance, then that happens due to pre-existing political institutions, rather than mining per se (cited by Bebbington 2008:889).

¹⁹ EIR was the World Bank’s multi-stakeholder review of its support for extractive industries in the fight against poverty. The Bank commissioned three independent reviews. All three reports concluded that extractive industries can contribute to poverty reduction if done right (see www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/cor). This suggests that the reviews found that World Bank intentions for ‘fighting against poverty’ were not done right.

Moreover, Collier & Hoeffler (2005:627)²⁰ regard large resource rents as not intrinsically a curse, because they have the potential to accelerate peaceful development. Arguing another opinion, Bebbington contends that rather than viewing ‘resource conflicts’ as always and necessarily a problem and an indicator of development gone wrong, it is possible to see them as potentially creative. The author insists that analogies associated with the emergence of more inclusive public institutions would never have been created were it not for this conflict. The same conflict, as Bebbington asserts, might as well constitute a political pathway towards the construction of institutions that could foster more socioeconomically inclusive and less environmentally damaging forms of mineral expansion (2008:967). Regarding the socioeconomic and environmental damages of the mining industry, I will now take this discussion to studies that explore the effects of extractive firms in the localities of developing communities. It is within this discussion where the misgivings, opposition and protest of CofP against MMs are more visible.

2.2.2 Challenges at the Local Level

A quick review of studies on the impact of neoliberal economic policies and the operations of the MMs in developing countries illuminates one essential element: there is a counter body of literature from academics, NGOs and activists which speaks of the socioeconomic and environmental adversaries ‘local level resource curse’ (Littlewood 2014) of the mining firms to the communities hosting their operations. To illustrate this, for example, Mensah & Okyere (2014) point to the work of Jenkins (2004), to argue that historically, the mining industry has taken a ‘devil may care’ attitude towards the impacts of their operations on the environment and

²⁰ Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler worked together at the Centre for the Study of African Economies at the University of Oxford. Their book *Resource Rents, Governance and Conflicts* is highly referenced in CSR studies.

communities. The authors state that the dominant explanation of the devastating impact of the mining industry on these communities lies greatly in the nature of its operations, which carry with them an unavoidable occurrence of conflicts (Mensah & Okyere 2014:67–68). I agree with this contention, because even in Geita, Tanzania, this study observed how the operations of mining companies indeed disrupts the wellbeing of community members, particularly by shattering their livelihood activities, which largely depend on the use of land.

Several studies have pointed out how this happens. It is reported that large-scale open pit mining displaces large volumes of earth and produces massive volumes of waste (Da Rosa & Lyon 1997); contaminates surface and ground water with toxic waste; removes large tracts of forest cover and productive top soil (Hilson 2002; Coumans 2011); spreads mine tailings (Laplante & Spears 2008); dislocates a great part of the communities' population (Caruso et al. 2003; Downing 2002; Lawson & Bentil 2013); and therefore imposes substantial impacts on social, environmental, as well as biophysical environments (Holden & Jacobson, 2007:477). In Geita, as I shall show in examples below, the above effects have been the principle disputes between the MM and CofP, hence necessitating dialogue between the two parties.

Many disputes or conflicts between MMs and CofP, as widely reported in the literature, result from a struggle over the control of space; the governance of territory; access to land and water resources; the defence of human and citizenship rights; and dissatisfaction over the use of mineral resources (see Peluso & Watts 2001; Bebbington 2008; Yelapaala & Ali 2005). The same has been reported by Hilson (2002a)²¹, who explains that land use is the leading cause of this hostility, because the livelihood of many community members is intrinsically connected to the land on which they live. He

²¹ Galvin Hilson of the University of Surrey Business School has written extensively on gold mining, poverty, and artisanal small-scale mining in sub-Saharan Africa.

says that mining and conflict coincide because companies and communities place different socio-economic values on land.

Similarly, Laplante & Spears (2008) posit that the feature common to all extractive industry projects that triggers the most community opposition is the need for delineated areas of land, which indigenous people often see as non-saleable and collectively held (2008:74). The authors argue that the eviction of people from their traditional lands to make way for an extractive industry project leads to the disruption of communities and cultures, as well as the loss of livelihoods, particularly when undertaken without adequate compensation. Scholars who make a clear point concerning my discussion here are Mildner et al. (2011:158), who aptly conclude that by depriving people of their livelihoods, MMs leave them with no choice apart from fighting for survival. This is quite true because most of the reported conflicts between MMs and CofP, some which have even claimed lives, are related to the disruption of livelihoods of communities hosting MMs. With an example from Geita, I address the issue of ‘surviving’ at length in Chapters 5–7.

Many researchers accuse the mining industry of intensifying conflicts concerning livelihood security, access to resources, environmental effects, impact on social cohesion and cultural beliefs, and human rights violations, to mention a few (see Bebbington et al. 2008; Hilson 2002, Kemp et al. 2010; as cited by Mensah & Okyere 2014:66). To put the matter into perspective, the intensity of conflict is grounded on the nature of interactions between MMs and CofP. In the case of CofP and the studied mining firm in Geita, this interface is characterized by enormous power and relational inequality. MMs such as that in Geita wield a considerable amount of resources, legal and financial, while CofP are poor, weak, and with limited impact. In such a situation, “communities resort to publicly opposing mining operations and often opt for violent agitations resulting to deep-rooted disputes” (ibid.). Poor communication and unfulfilled promises (mainly due to MMs’ tendency to disregard CofP) are reckoned to be the major

factors that deepen conflicts (see Ikelegbe 2005; Calvano 2008; Banks 2008; Boege & Franks 2012).

It is worth noting here that MMs often talk of their contribution to the development of key socioeconomic infrastructure, such as roads, hospitals, schools and housing, as well as employment for local people, compensation, and the multiplying effect of mining investments, as a justification for their procedural operations in CofP. The firms speak of the benefits CofP get from these initiatives as more important than the negative impacts caused by their operations (see, for example, the CSR projects of the mining firm in Geita presented below). Although the same perception is dominant among pro-mining investment politicians and government leaders, Mensah & Okyere (2014) challenge these claims by calling for an end to the materialistic policies of local and national planning authorities who support resource investment that disregards the environment and the socio-environmental rights of the people (p. 67).

The same is echoed by Epps and Brett (2000), who view mining communities as segments of the population often unexposed to global society, with connections to the environment they have occupied for thousands of years. Therefore, as Hilson (2002a) discovers, the financial compensation strategy of MMs makes an unimaginable contribution to the loss of land. Mensah and Okyere underline this finding by noting that mining conflicts result from the big gap between the way companies conceptualize the value of environmental resources and their connection to the livelihood and cultural significance of community members (2014:68–69). This is an important point because, as we shall see in chapters 5, 6, and 7, the gap in the conceptualization of social and environmental values not only causes misunderstandings, but also affects the dialogue practices instituted to address existing differences.

Disrespect of indigenous traditional attachment to ancestral land and a loss of freedom of movement are also documented as factors that escalate land-related backlashes and even violent conflicts (see Aguilar 2001; Hilson

2002; Andrew 2003; Lange 2008). Some of the more serious land-related disputes, as we shall see in an example in chapter 6, involved MMs and indigenous artisanal miners who were deprived of their livelihoods after being evicted from the mining pits they relied on for many years (see Hentschel et al. 2003; Banchirigah 2008; Bryceson & Jønsson 2010; Hilson et al. 2007; Aubynn 2009; Kamlongera 2011; Le Billon 2001).

In addition, as extensively reported in the literature, MMs' operations quite often lead to significant demographic changes in CofP and end up creating tensions, misunderstandings and backlashes. Mining sites are reported to attract major population influxes, namely, the migration of thousands of foreign and non-local employees (Sweeting & Clark 2000), leading to: a reconfiguration of local social structures, relationships and identities; a decrease in food supplies; resource degradation or depletion; triggering of racial and ethnic tensions; threats to local cultures; and the introduction of new social pathologies and illnesses (see Laplante & Spears 2008:74; Mildner et al. 2011:158). Moreover, Hilson (2002) notes that the demographic shifts caused by mining can also lead to a scarcity of resources, increased prices for local goods, and a widening of socio-economic disparities among local populations (p. 66–67).

What is transparently obvious from most scholars studying the impact of the extractive industry to CofP is their agreement that misunderstandings and conflicts between the two parties are largely a result of each side wanting to pursue its interests. I also contend that most often these differences become severe and destructive simply because the stakeholders involved—especially those with more influence—decide to ignore the viewpoints and interests of their counterparts. Even when they decide to engage, for example through dialogue, quite often the practice is superficially done, probably in order to trick the relevant government authorities or international watchdogs into believing that they are concerned, while in fact they are not. As I shall explain in the analysis chapters, this state of affairs at times leads to frustration and at others necessitates the establishment of alternative ways of dialoguing. In what follows, I address some of the steps

taken to deal with the above-mentioned challenges of managing the mining industry.

2.3 MMs Prompted to Change their Business Behaviour

The growing concern over the mining industry's real or perceived "irresponsible treatment of communities and the environment" (Hamann 2003:237) is caused by a number of factors. Littlewood (2014:41) says these include: the controversial nature of many mining investments; persisting and widespread negative perceptions of the industry; the social and environmental externalities that have historically accompanied mining activities; and the increasing operations of MMs in the global South—in countries where legislation and the state's ability to monitor regulatory compliance is weak. Due to such circumstances, the global mining industry is under increasing pressure to address the implications of what Hilson (2011) calls MMs' "scramble for minerals in developing countries". The pressure, from NGOs, human rights and environmental activists, international business watchdogs, national governments and CoFP, demands that mining companies become more responsible within the localities where they operate. As explained by Ostlund (1977), MMs are being called upon to direct attention and resources to social problems far removed from their central economic mission.

Most studies focusing on the operations of MMs and their impact to CoFP have documented the above-stated pressure which requires MMs to assume social and environmental responsibilities. A survey of this literature earmarks that this sort of pressure demands that the global mining industry, among other things, assumes responsibilities in sustainable development (Hamann 2003; Campbell 2012) and respects the dignity, human rights, economies, and cultures of local communities (Laplante & Spears 2008:82). In other words, MMs are required to go beyond providing revenue, employment, maximising profit, and increasing shareholder value. Through their actual and potential power and influence, MMs are expected

to be conscious and influential participants beyond their formal location within legal and political structures. They are required to be “accountable and dutiful in contributing to the evolution of equitable and sustainable communities and society” (see UNECA and AU 2010:124, cited in Campbell 2012:138).

This influence from pressure groups is taking place at a time when MMs are also reported to have become more aware of a number of risks that may arise due to opposition from communities or other affected parties. Research articles from authors like Laplante & Spears (2008) explain how MMs are progressively becoming conscious of being vulnerable, particularly to community opposition, which at times causes breakdowns or delays in parts of the integrated chain of investment, as a result of blockades, work stoppages, lawsuits, and the like. By refraining from being responsible to societies and the environment, Laplante & Spears (2008:73–74) state that MMs face a number of risks:

- financial risk because investors and financial institutions may delay or shun the financing of a controversial project or company;
- construction risks due to delays resulting from community opposition;
- operational risks because a disrupted project might not be able to produce a sufficient quantity of output and may have higher production costs;
- ‘reputational’ risks resulting from conflict with a community, which as key quality partner may refrain from supporting the mining project; as well as
- political risks because host governments may enforce actions, impose penalties, tighten regulations or in extreme cases renegotiate the terms of contracts.

Awareness of these risks is said to be among the reasons why MMs are increasingly seen assuming responsibility in local and national development (see Vintró et al. 2012:119). In relation to this awareness, it is evident in literature that since the early 1990s, the mining industry has shown increased interest in social and environmental issues and has been seeking ways to enhance its sustainability levels. In the same vein, it is documented that sustainable development and ethical management have been included in the agenda of the mining industry, and various national and international initiatives have developed frameworks for sustainability (see Hilson & Murck 2000; Cowell et al. 1999).

A quick review of the studies reporting on these international initiatives mention the MMSD²² and the European Union's push for sustainable development²³ as part of the schemes directing MMs towards being more socially and environmentally responsible. Moreover, organizations like the

²² The Mining and Minerals Sustainable Development Project (MMSD) developed 10 basic principles of good practices. They include ethical management, sustainable development and contribution to the social and economic development of local communities (iied.org).

²³ The European Union's push focused on four broad pillars [environmental protection, economic issues, social performance and employment, as well as research and technological development].

ICMM²⁴, UNCTAD²⁵, UNECA²⁶, and AUC²⁷ observed the shortcomings in the global mining industry and recommended changes, as illustrated by the World Bank Group's Extractive Industries Review [EIR 2003] (see Vintró et al. 2012:119; Littlewood 2014:41). The studies also explain the involvement of gold mining companies in voluntary programmes such as the International Cyanide Management Code, which focuses exclusively on the safe management of cyanide and cyanidation mill tailings and leach solutions (Hilson 2011:10923); and the Global Mining Initiatives (GMI), investigating how the mining and minerals sector can contribute to the global transition to sustainable development (MMSD, 2001; Macintyre et al. 2008).

²⁴ International Council on Mining and Metals [ICMM] was established in 2001 to act as a catalyst for performance improvement in the mining and metals industry. It brings together 23 mining and metals companies and global commodity associations to maximize the contribution of mining, minerals and metals to sustainable development (icmm.com).

²⁵ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD 2005): the conference presented a World Investment Report 2005 (WIR05), which explored the internationalization of research and development by transnational corporations (TNCs) along with the development implications of this phenomenon (unctad.org).

²⁶ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) was established in 1958 by the United Nations Economic and Social Council to encourage economic cooperation among its member states following a recommendation of the UN General Assembly.

²⁷ African Union Commission (AUC), together with the African Minerals Development Centre (AMDC) participated in Africa's Mining Investment Conference in South Africa in 2015. Also, AUC, together with the World Bank and South African Chamber of Mines, hosted the third Annual African Ministerial Symposium on 9th February 2015, where mineral policy decision-makers in Africa shared experiences (uneca.org/stories/african-mining-vision).

MMs' endorsement of international standards such as ISO 26000:2010²⁸; ISO 9001²⁹; ISO 14001³⁰; and OHSAS 18001³¹ (see Littlewood 2014:41; Vintró et al. 2012:119) is also documented as part of the companies' initiatives towards sustainable development and ethical management. This also includes initiatives from non-governmental organizations such as the World Resource Institute (WRI)³², AccountAbility³³, Global Reporting Initiatives (GRI)³⁴, International Standards Organization (ISO, 14000)³⁵, and the United Nations, which are targeted at improving the social involvement and performance of the world's business community (see Godfrey & Hatch 2007:87). Efforts by UN's Global Compact³⁶ (Hanlon 2013:73), as well as by pro-business organizations such as WBCSD³⁷; PWBLF³⁸; CIPE³⁹; and IIED⁴⁰ (Kapelus 2002), which encourage the business world to be more

²⁸ ISO 26000: 2010 is for social responsibility performance measurement.

²⁹ ISO 9001 is for quality.

³⁰ ISO 14001 is for environment.

³¹ OHSAS 18001 is for health and safety at work.

³² World Resource Institute (WRI) is a global research organization focusing on environment, economic opportunity and human well-being (wri.org).

³³ AccountAbility is an international professional institute dedicated to the promotion of social, ethical and overall organizational accountability as a precondition for achieving sustainable development (accountability.org).

³⁴ Global Reporting Initiatives (GRI) develops and disseminates globally applicable Sustainability Reporting Guidelines for voluntary use by organizations (globalreporting.org).

³⁵ International Standards Organization (ISO, 14000) – the ISO 14000 family of standards provides practical tools for companies and organizations of all kinds for managing environmental responsibilities (<https://www.iso.org/standards.html>).

³⁶ UN's Global Compact is the platform for mobilizing business action on sustainable development goals (unglobalcompact.org).

³⁷ WBCSD is a CEO-led organization of companies that galvanizes the global business community to create a sustainable future for business (wbcsd.org).

³⁸ PWBLF: among other things, PWBLF advocates for the long-term commercial benefits of good corporate citizenship (praguepost.cz).

³⁹ CIPE aims at strengthening democracy through private enterprise and market-oriented reform (cipe.org).

⁴⁰ IIED is a policy and action research organization promoting sustainable development and linking local priorities to global challenges (iied.org).

responsible for the social and environmental impacts of their operations, are also reported in the literature as part of these initiatives.

A number of researchers following the calls for changes of business behaviour towards societies and the environment consider this a major factor which made corporations turn to CSR (see Walker & Howard 2002; Hilson 2011; Anguelovski 2011:384). Hilson (2011), for example, observes that the establishment of departments to handle CSR related issues have helped mining companies to mitigate against actions taken by NGOs, as well as lobby indigenous groups. In trying to prove that strategizing in CSR has become the preferred approach of businesses today, Hilson (2011) explains as follows:

CSR is the focal point of most multinationals' core business strategies, and is often the featured theme on their internet homepages. ...companies now have in place programs that address environmental and social issues fairly comprehensively...[and they] have become so well equipped for managing mounting concerns about the environment and communities (...) (P. 10922)

For the mining industry, forging cordial relations with communities — or at least conveying the impression that community concerns are being addressed more proactively—is of paramount importance today, because mining activities are often established in areas populated by subsistence indigenous groups. (P. 10923)

By and large, many scholars studying the operational behaviour of MMs towards societies and environment seem to agree that CSR provides a helpful conceptual framework to face different challenges, for example: public opinion (which is more influenced by concerns over environmental and social performance than by performance in product, quality and safety); the pressure of groups that have negatively targeted the sector at international levels; maintaining a social license to operate; and screening of socially responsible investing funds (see Vintró & Comajuncosa 2010; Campbell 2012; Littlewood 2014). To add to this general agreement from

the scholars, I reckon that successful CSR programmes are those established based on dialogue between stakeholders and whose implementation and evaluation rely on this. Without this sort of agreement from stakeholders, hopes for social and environmental sustainability bestowed on CSR programmes will remain wishes which can hardly be attained. In the next section, I discuss the mineral sector in Tanzania. Among other things, I try to show how the sector is also challenged by management issues, which then create misunderstandings—and therefore CSR and dialogue becomes necessary—although neither are practised in the way this study would recommend.

2.4 Overview of the Mineral Sector in Tanzania

A number of scholars have shown interest in studying the mining industry in Tanzania. There is abundant literature across disciplines that reports on the mineral sector in Tanzania (see, for example, Chachage et al. 1993; Yager 2003; Mutagwaba 2006; Lange 2006; Fisher 2008; Jønsson & Bryceson 2009; Krakowka & Hummel 2009; Newenham-Kahindi 2010; Mitchell 2010; Emel et. al. 2011; Helliesen 2012). Part of this reportage describes a country which is endowed with a rich array of minerals, including precious metals (gold, silver, platinum), non-metallic coloured stones (e.g., tanzanite), base metals (e.g., lead, copper, tin, zinc) fibrous minerals (e.g., asbestos) amorphous materials and mineral fuels (petroleum, natural gas, coal) as well as a range of industrial rocks and minerals (see Mungatana (2013:49). Despite being gifted with these mineral riches, Tanzania is reported to have received very little economic contribution from its mineral sector. Bryceson et al (2012), for instance, state that “since the colonial intrusion in 1888 right up to the 1990s, Tanzania’s economic potential was primarily perceived in terms of its surface land, soils, water resources, and wildlife (...). Tanzania’s mineral resources were not taken into account or planned for, despite the country’s economic poverty” (p. 633).

Historical information obtained from literature on the mining industry in Tanzania indicates that mining activities are “historically traceable to the pre-colonial period and most known activities at the time consisted of mining and working of iron, copper and salt” (see Chachage et al. 1993:90)⁴¹. At present, gold mining is the leading activity of the sector, although it is reported that during pre-colonial times gold was exploited on a limited scale by Arabs, and other minerals were exploited by Africans (ibid.). From the same historical information, however, Kitula (2006) says “there is evidence suggesting that local people, using traditional methods of mineral prospecting, produced minerals centuries before the establishment of the colonial administration” (p. 405). He is supported by Chachage et al. (1993), who say it is actually the local population of small-scale miners who dominated gold extraction activities in the 1920s. Nonetheless, literature providing historical information on the Tanzanian mining industry indicates that the initial phase of extracting the country’s gold resources started during the German colonial administration (1885–1919). It is during this colonial period, under the Germans and thereafter the British, that the indigenous population is reported to have been prevented from extracting gold. Extraction was therefore carried out by colonialists and their companies from South Africa and Britain.

Chachage et al. (1993) report that gold extraction in Tanzania increased during British colonial rule in the 1940s and slowly started declining in the 1950s, when it recorded little contribution to the GDP. He says companies from South Africa and Britain entered the sector in the mid-1930s and by 1965 they were closed down, due to sanctions against South Africa’s apartheid regime and the low price of gold (p. 93). Moreover, as Lange (2006)

⁴¹ Seithy L. Chachage was Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the University of Dar es Salaam Staff Association. He has published extensively on sociology and written many novels in Swahili. Until his death on 9 July 2006, he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

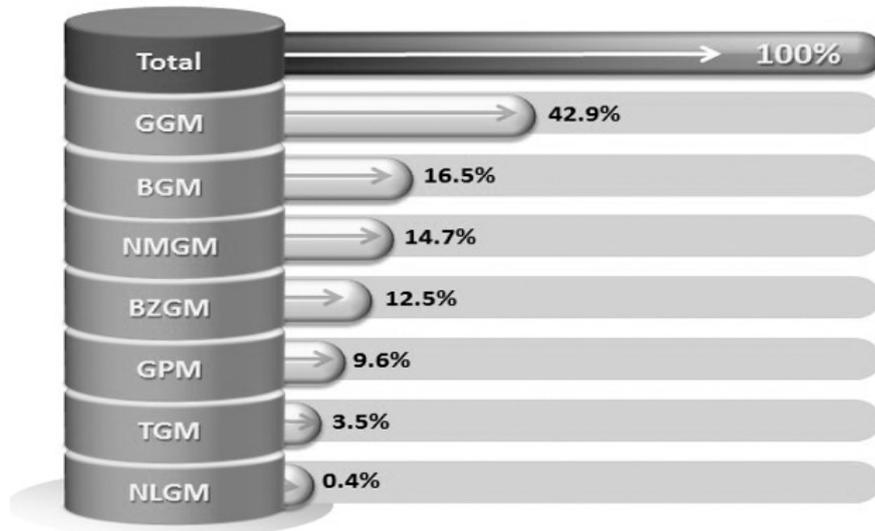
adds, Tanzania's independence from Great Britain in 1961 did not cause significant changes to the structure of the mining sector. He says that changes started after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, under the nationalization policy (ujamaa)⁴² in which the state decided to control the mineral sector and foreign ownership of mining companies was discouraged. During this time, the government established its own firm, State Mining Corporation (STAMICO),⁴³ to oversee all mining activities (p. 3).

The historical information on the mining industry in Tanzania also indicates that over a decade after the Arusha Declaration in 1979, the country began facing a severe economic decline that affected the performance of nationalized mining companies. In addition, information from other sources, such as Barkan 1994; Butler 2004; Campbell 2004; and Rodrick 2006, specify that it is only after Tanzania accepted the World Bank's persuasion—the 'neo-liberal economic policies' I discussed above—that gold mining production in the country increased again. Following the intervention and recommendations from the World Bank, the mining sector in Tanzania saw an immediate mineral export increase of up to 70 per cent by the late 1990s. In the beginning, it was artisanal and small-scale Miners (ASMs) who increased production, but they were later joined by foreign investors. According to the Ministry of Energy and Minerals (MEM), seven gold mines (see Figure 1) started operations between 1996 and 2009, due to what was regarded as a favourable mining investment climate (MEM, 2005).

⁴² Ujamaa ('family hood' in Swahili) was the concept that formed the basis of Julius Nyerere's social and economic development policies in Tanzania after it gained independence from Britain in 1961. Julius Nyerere was the first president of Tanzania who served from 1960 until his retirement in 1985.

⁴³ STAMICO is a wholly government-owned enterprise under the Ministry of Energy and Minerals in Tanzania. It was established through the Act of Parliament in 1972 under the Public Corporations Act, 1969. STAMICO became operational in 1973 (stamico.co.tz).

Figure 1: Gold production percentage by major mines by 2012



Source: Salim (2013), Zonal Mines Officer, Lake Victoria Zone, Mwanza, Tanzania

2.4.1 Artisanal and Small-scale Mining

As I mentioned above, ASM is a traditional activity in Tanzania. A widely referenced 1996 WB study estimates that some 550,000 people are engaged in small-scale mining in Tanzania, while a recent WB-sponsored census estimates that there are currently 680,000 ASMs in Tanzania (see Imparato, 2010:464; Bryceson & Jønsson, 2012). The Tanzanian government had earlier reassessed the number of people directly engaged in artisanal mining in Tanzania as 1.5 million out of a total population of 40 million (Hayes, 2008). According to Imparato (2010), experts agree that reliable and empirically established figures of ASMs are not available, but informally, numbers are placed as high as one million (p. 462). These figures indicate the growing significance of ASM as a livelihood alternative for a good number of Tanzanians, most especially those marginalized by the socioeconomic system in their localities. According to Jønsson et al

(2009) “in Tanzania, small-scale mining is an important industry; the sector constitutes a major employer for mainly unskilled people and supports the livelihood of thousands of families throughout the country, especially in areas with limited income opportunities” (p. 77).

Studies exploring the practices of artisanal small-scale miners in Tanzania are also plentiful. Many researchers in this area agree that ASM is by far the country’s most important rural non-agricultural, informal sector activity, providing direct employment to well over 550,000 people and generating incomes for hundreds of thousands of others in downstream industries (see Kwai & Hilson, 2010:142; Bryceson & Jønsson 2010). Despite being attacked for operating in a risky environment, using rudimentary tools, ASMs are reported to make a significant contribution to the economic development of Tanzania. According to MEM, gold production from the small-scale mining sector provided some 76% of the country’s

Table 1: A total of primary mining licenses (PML) and ASM production in the LVGS by 2011/2012

Region	Minerals	No. of PMLs	Weight (kg)	Value (US\$)	Royalty (US\$)
Geita	Gold	694	56.19	1,730,381.56	69,215.26
Kagera	Tin	459	51.371	338,823.21	11,383.89
Mara	Gold	561	8.35	325,523.81	13,020.95
Mwanza	Gold	489	11.66	299,963.15	11,998.52
Total			127.571	2,694,691.75	105,618.62

Source: Salim (2013), Zonal Mines Officer, Lake Victoria Zone, Mwanza, Tanzania

total mineral export in 1992. The sector produced 76.2 kg of gold worth US\$2,355,868.518 (TSh3,957, 859,110) during 2011/2012 from the Lake Victoria Goldfields (LVGs) alone. From 2012 to March 2013, the sector produced (from the LVGs) 64.66 kg of gold worth US\$2,470,566.361 (estimates are projected given the gold market price at the time; for further statistics of ASMs in LVGs see Table 1).

These figures highlight the importance of ASM in contributing to the national economy and people's livelihoods, although the national government, large-scale miners (LSMs) and some other stakeholders in the mineral sector perceive this differently. ASM is considered a chaotic and high-risk occupation, as it is "associated with social, environmental and economic problems such as child labour, tax evasion, pollution, environmental degradation, deaths from dangerous mining practices, and the spread of infectious diseases" (Fisher, 2008:202).

Similarly, Jönsson et al. (2009) state that, in Tanzania, artisanal gold miners face severe hardships. Below, the authors mention some of the many problems ASMs face on a daily basis:

...the use of mercury in separating gold from ore causes serious health complications; due to low cost production, safety becomes secondary; high temperatures in pits and shafts; the heavy loads carried on back; red eyes caused by muddy water; the threat of a pit collapsing or water rising dangerously from underground water table; and poor food quality. (P. 78)

Additionally, Bryceson et al. (2010:359) mentions that ASM is associated with several adversities, the most significant being difficulties in clearing forests; lack of mine reclamation; exposure to sexually transmitted diseases, and so forth. ASM settlements also encounter social instability, including separation from families, alcohol, gambling and extramarital affairs.

Apart from Jönsson and Bryceson, other scholars studying the operations of ASMs, for instance Fisher (2007), observe that in many cases ASMs also enter into conflict over the use of land with large mining firms. It has been widely studied that the arrival of the latter results in the eviction of ASMs from their mining pits, hence putting the two into dispute (I will come back to this point in chapter 6). Adding to the misunderstandings between ASMs and LSMs, Bryceson (2012) observes that the difference in size of the two parties makes real cooperation unlikely, even though many deposits now extracted by LSMs were initially discovered by artisanal miners. As Bryceson further explains, ASMs are in effect prospecting for LSMs. They find mineral-rich sites and dig to the depths their technology is capable of, typically to a maximum of 50 metres. Thereafter LSMs take over if the deposit is large enough. Adding to this observation, however, which happens in most cases, this ‘takeover’ takes place without the consent of ASMs and can even be done at the early stage of mining after ASMs’ gold prospecting. This in fact is reducing the number of ASMs and the growth of the sector, because most of those areas where small-scale miners previously worked are being taken over by LSMs. For a further discussion on encounters between LSM and ASMs in Geita, Tanzania, see chapter 6.

2.4.2 Large-Scale Mining

Large-scale mining in Tanzania is mainly for gold, undertaken in the Lake Victoria Goldfields (LVGs), i.e., in Geita (GGM), Tarime (NMGM), and Biharamulo (Tulawaka). There are other operations in Bulyanhulu (BGM), Buzwagi (BZGM), Nzega (GPM), Chunya, Mpanda, as well as Tanzanite mining in Mererani, Arusha. Older mines in the country include Williamson Diamond Mine in Mwadui and the Kiwira Coal Mine in Tukuyu. As previously noted, in Tanzania, LSM resumed in the late 1990s, attracting a number of gold mining companies to the Lake Victoria Greenstone

Belt⁴⁴. Studies reporting on the practices of LSM, such as that of Lange (2006), indicate that since 1995, seven gold mining companies, from South Africa, Canada and Australia, have established mining sites in the greenstone belt, investing more than US\$1.5 billion in the area (8). Curtis & Lissu (2008)⁴⁵ add that the area possesses substantial gold reserves, estimated at 1275 tons. This investment from the seven firms has significantly increased gold production in the country. According to Curtis & Lissu (2008), from 1998 to 2005, gold production grew from two to 50 tons per year (p. 13), making Tanzania the third-largest gold producing country in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, gold exports rose from slightly over US\$3 million in 1998 to approximately US\$900 million in 2007 (Magai & Marquez-Velazquez, 2013:282), raising the contribution of the mining sector to the country's GDP from US\$83.3 million in 2000 to US\$233.3 million in 2009 (ibid.).

As I previously mentioned, the country's 1990s reforms to the economic sector is what attracted an influx of LSM companies to Tanzania. Several studies indicate that the contribution of the mineral sector to total government revenues has risen to about 50 per cent (see for example Lu & Marco,

⁴⁴ The greenstone belt, known for its high potential for gold mining, stretches from the north-western to the central part of the country. It is comprised of six greenstone belts of Archean type. These include Shinyanga-Malita (SM); Kilimafedha (KF); Musoma-Mara MM); Nzega (NZ); Iramba-Senkenke (IS) and Sukumaland (SU) greenstone belts. The SU greenstone belt (which is a subject for this study) consist of an inner arc and outer arc of volcanic origin. The inner arc is made up of a mixture of mafic and felsic volcanic rocks, hosting rich gold deposits for Bulyanhulu and Tulawaka mines respectively. The outer arc, which hosts deposits for GGM and Golden Pride Mine, is bent by the banded iron formation and sediments (see Nyakweli 2012–8).

⁴⁵ Mark Curtis and Tundu Lissu are authors of a report entitled *A golden opportunity—justice and respect in mining: how Tanzania is failing to benefit from gold mining*, published by the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), the National Council of Muslims in Tanzania BAKWATA, and the Tanzania Episcopal Conference TEC. The report identifies a number of severe problems with gold mining in Tanzania.

2010:99). While the recorded steady growth of LSM operations may imply that its rising contribution to government revenues is benefiting the majority of Tanzanians, statistics show that only a few benefit from the sector. Nyakweli (2012), for instance, indicates that LSM in Tanzania employs fewer people compared to other sectors such as ASM. With its present employment record at approximately one million, ASM widely outnumbers LSM, which recorded 9259 employees (8733 and 526 locals and foreigners respectively) by 2008 (p. 58). Because of its capital intensity, high technology and greatly mechanized operations, large-scale mineral extraction generally employs a small but highly skilled work force (see Magai & Marquez-Velazquez 2013:286).

A study conducted by the Tanzania Mining Audit Agency (TMAA) reveals that despite recruiting fewer people, LSMs are also biased in recruiting mining experts: most experts employed are from outside Tanzania. Even though deliberate measures (e.g. the mining policy of 2009) were taken to train and promote local mining experts, a move that saw their numbers increasing, only a few are employed. TMAA also established that when employed, local mining experts are paid extremely low salaries in comparison with foreign experts with the same skills and qualifications. The study further argues that even though there are laws in place that control the number of expatriates in mining companies, the institutions in charge are known to have little capacity for enforcing the laws (TMAA 2012). Unless a functional mechanism to ascertain the recruitment of local mining experts is put in place, the situation will keep feeding into widespread criticism that LSM is insufficiently stimulating the economic sector in Tanzania.

Presently, the LSM sector is criticized for inadequate multiplying of economic effects to other sectors in the country. For example, it is censured for being a major importer of goods and services which can be obtained locally (also as an exporter of raw minerals), a practice which leads to low revenue collection and a decrease in employment opportunities and technology transfer. Magai & Marquez-Velazquez (2013:286) describe this as

a failure of linking LSMs with the government's National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR)⁴⁶. The authors argue that, given the lengths the government has taken to appease large-scale mining operators, the lack of attention to these conditions calls into question the priorities of public policy, especially that of poverty reduction. Later in the chapter, I further discuss the socioeconomic impacts of LSMs in Tanzania.

2.4.3 Mineral Sector Progress

Statistics from the government of Tanzania indicate that by 1997 Tanzania had achieved the second highest level of exploration expenditure in Africa (US\$57.7 million), with mineral exploitation considered a leading sector of the Tanzanian economy (URT 2005). In the past decade, Tanzania's boom in the gold sector has greatly increased the country's mineral output growth. Various reports by relevant sources such as UNCTAD, the government of Tanzania (e.g. MEM 2012; Tanzania Economic Survey 2009, 2010; TCME 2013) show that the development of the mining sector has gained a firm thrust, with gold mining acknowledged to be the factor behind the expansion. According to the September 2009 joint survey by Oxford Policy Management (OPM), conducted on behalf of the International Council on Mining & Metals (ICMM) and the World Gold Council (WGC), Tanzania has recorded significant macroeconomic growth in terms of FDI inflow. For instance, during the last ten years, UNCTAD (2008) indicates that the country's FDI stock rose from US\$2.78 billion in 2000 to US\$5.94 billion in 2007 (Magai & Marquez-Velazquez, 2013:283). UNCTAD data showed that nearly two-thirds of the surge in FDI flows after 1998 can be accredited to investment in gold mining

⁴⁶ The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), or what is more commonly referred to by the Kiswahili acronym MKUKUTA, has been in effect since July 2005. It is a key document setting out a broad framework and strategy for poverty reduction and economic growth. Most development partners, including the mining company under the present investigation, have aligned their assistance with the MKUKUTA.

(UNCTAD, 2007). As I shall further discuss, the recorded increase of FDI stock, including other documented statistics on the rising contribution of gold production to the country's GDP, do not have a direct positive impact on the average population, particularly those living close to gold mining operations.

2.4.4 Revenue Collection through Taxes and Royalties

On issues related to mining revenues, scholars like Lange (2006) and Curtis & Lissu (2008) document the increasing government income from the mineral sector while noting that if it were not for the weak supervision of the sector, much more would have been collected. The government of Tanzania is reported to have consistently increased revenue from the major mining operations since 1997. According to Lange (2006), in 1998 the government earned US\$2 million, which rose to US\$36 million in 2002. He says that the actual revenue to the government from LSMs was about 0.3 per cent of the total domestic revenue collection from 1998 to 2001, but in 2002, the contribution of mining revenue tripled to about one per cent of the total domestic revenue (p. 8). Curtis & Lissu (2008) contend that between 2003 and 2008, the government received an average of US\$21.7 million a year in royalties and taxes from a total of US\$2.5 billion of gold export. Moreover, reports from the government of Tanzania also record an increase of its revenue from minerals extraction during the recent boom. Its annual revenue increased from approximately US\$700,000 in 1997 to about US\$36 million in 2006 (URT 2008). In 2007, when some of the mines had passed the five-year period of VAT and duty exemptions, government revenue from mining had risen to US\$119.2 million (Lange, 2011:239).

Despite this recorded increase in revenue collection, Lange (2011) and Curtis & Lissu (2008), along with other researchers such as Lu & Marco (2010) and Gomezulu & Sumary (2013), depict the nation's income generated from the mining sector as disappointingly low. Lange argues that

this has happened even after optimistic predictions from some politicians that the sector would free the country from aid and donor influence. Curtis & Lissu (2008) calculate that the combined loss of a low royalty rate (which was at 3 and is now at 4 per cent) and unpaid corporate taxes and tax evasion was at least US\$400 million between 2000 and 2007—plus putting about 400,000 ASMs out of work. Over the whole period of booming industry, the government is estimated to have received no more than 8.5 per cent of the exported value as revenue, while the mining companies kept more than 90 per cent of the total value of the exports between 1998 and 2002 (Lange, 2006:2011).

Such losses are mostly attributed to World Bank and government-championed tax incentives provisions, low royalty rate, losses transfer, import duty exemptions and other enticements. The large-scale mining companies, for example, are accused of being tax evaders. Curtis & Lissu (2008) present a report from Alex Stewart Assayers (an auditing firm) showing four mining companies (including the one under study) illegally overstating their losses by US\$502 million between 1999 and 2003. The report also indicates that the government lost revenues of US\$132.5 million. The loss overstatements are also said to have paved the way for the mining companies to evade paying 30 per cent corporate tax agreed on after they recovered their capital expenditure. In general, tax evasion, plus the above-mentioned incentives, have caused the government to lose a substantial amount of much needed tax revenues, a situation that worries many interested partners.

Several reports have critically disapproved of these tax incentives, arguing that they are harmful to the country and the overall welfare of the population. Lange (2006) notes that the issue of revenue from large-scale mining has raised considerable debate in the country. Many argue that tax holidays and other incentives that have been granted to investors were too generous. The IMF has shown concern over the extended tax incentives and the astonishingly long fiscal incentives granted by the government that cannot be easily changed without further losses to the country (Lu & Marco,

2010:100). People are questioning how sincere the granted incentives are and whether the tax authorities in Tanzania are being over-generous to incoming MMs. For years, there have been corruption allegations among senior officials, both in local authorities and in the MEM; mining contracts are confidential, something that worries the majority of Tanzanians on the government's sincerity about progress in the mining sector.

2.4.5 Institutional and Legal Framework for Mining in Tanzania

The legal and regulatory (even fiscal) framework of the mining sector in Tanzania has been greatly influenced by the WB's structural adjustment lending through its five-year Mineral Sector Technical Assistance Project, initiated in 1993 and worth US\$14.5 million (see Nyakweli 2012:51). The project was designed to introduce a legal and institutional environment that favours private investment in mining. According to Nyakweli, the WB assisted the government in rewriting relevant national legislation, such as the 1997 Investment Act and the 1998 Mining Act, to harmonize Tanzania's legislation with the requirements of the market-led economy (2012:51). During this exercise, the government's role shifted from being the owner and operator of mines to providing policy guidelines, regulations, stimulating private investment in mining and providing support for investors (URT, 1997:3). In this context, the government (contrary to its 1967 Arusha Declaration)⁴⁷ provided 'lenient' rules in the mineral sector and a friendly political climate, leaving out MMs to enjoy what is observed as a lucrative mining business.

⁴⁷ The Arusha Declaration, written by the first Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere, outlines the principles of Ujamaa (Nyerere's vision of socialism) necessary to develop the nation's economy. The declaration called for an overhaul of the economic system through African socialism and self-reliance in locally-administered villages.

2.4.6 The Mineral Policy of 2009

The Mineral Policy of 2009 is a revision of the 1997 Mineral Policy of Tanzania; the 2009 edition is simply a verification of the 1997 version, although adding a few more issues. The main objective of the 2009 Mineral Policy is to “attract and enable the private sector to take the lead in exploration, mining development, mineral beneficiation and marketing” (URT 2009:6). Its purpose is to increase the mineral sector’s contribution to the GDP and to alleviate poverty by integrating the mining industry with the rest of the economy (ibid). Among many other objectives, the policy categorically stipulates its intention to strengthen the involvement and participation of local communities in mining projects and to encourage mining companies to increase corporate social responsibilities (Section 4.4(i)). In the same vein, it encourages the improvement of communication on the mineral sector to the public through education and provision of accurate and timely information (Section 4 (n)). Moreover, the policy states its intention to promote safety and maintain hygienic conditions and protect the environment in mining areas.

Section 5.5.9 stipulates, in detail, the intent of the policy in promoting the relationship between mining companies and communities surrounding mines. The policy acknowledges the possibilities of involving local communities in the development of mining projects, and that mining companies may contribute significantly to the development of local communities through their corporate social responsibility policies. The policy admits that the involvement of local communities in mining operations ensures the sustainability of projects. It is also interesting to note that the policy acknowledges that poor communication between mining companies and surrounding local communities in some cases results in implementation of community development projects which are not considered priorities by the respective communities. Moreover, the policy speaks of the involvement and participation of local communities during Environmental Impact

Assessment⁴⁸ (EIA) studies by addressing local community development priorities in order to maximize opportunities for their involvement. The policy declares that EIA helps to plan for the viability of economic activities in local communities after mine closure and categorically states that formal communication mechanisms between investors and local communities need to continue in subsequent phases of the mining project development. The section concludes with two policy statements: (i) the government will require mining companies to implement credible corporate social responsibility policies; and (ii) it will encourage mining companies to involve local communities in setting priorities for community development projects and socioeconomic aspects during the lifespan of their projects. (URT 2009:16–17).

Despite these broad policy statements, the situation on the ground is quite different when it comes to implementation. Although the mining policy clearly stipulates that mineral resources should benefit surrounding communities, the socioeconomic situation of communities living in mineral-rich areas such as Geita does not seem to improve. As I shall discuss in subsequent chapters, while the policy stipulates the involvement of CofP on CSR priorities, EIA, and improvement of communication to the public, those living around mining companies still hold negative attitudes about the community projects implemented by mining companies. Conflicts caused by denial of the community's participation in managing natural resources are evident. Moreover, heavy metal poisoning, cyanide pollution, dust and noise are still common in mining areas such as Nyakabale village, where this study was conducted. This suggests that the policy requirement to involve CofP on CSR and EIA is perhaps not being met. In addition, the communication encouraged between mining companies and the public is most likely not put into practice, something which raises questions about the degree of transparency in the mining sector. It is worth noting here that

⁴⁸ The Environmental Impact Assessment is a legal condition found in The Mining Act 2010 cap.123 and the Environmental Management Act 2004.

the Mining Policy of 2009 does not stipulate specifically an intention to encourage transparency in the management of the mining sector. By not giving clear instructions on transparency, the policy contradicts the government's membership of the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI), an international establishment aimed at promoting transparency in the mining sector.

Lack of transparency in the management of the mining sector has been one of the key concerns of CofP in relation to the presence of mining companies. The prevailing image among locals is that the failure of national government and the mining companies in coming clean on operations in the sector is proof that the two collude in the witnessed disruptions of livelihood and impoverishment of community members (I discuss this in detail in chapters 5–7). Such perceptions from the locals is caused by various reasons. For example, despite the Mineral Policy of 2009 imposing a duty on the government and mining companies to value local properties during eviction and to meet compensation costs respectively, the majority of evicted community members complain about the process, unfair compensation, and lack of adequate information on where to present and argue for their cases. Moreover, while the policy proposes an integrated and participatory environmental management (which is also supported by the Environmental Management Act of Tanzania of 2004, section 17 (2) (b)⁴⁹), environmental hazards, as well as noise, water and air pollution, are witnessed in many areas occupied by LSMs. Lange (2011), who also observed

⁴⁹ In seeking the views of the public following EIA, the section requires developers or proponents to hold, where appropriate, public meetings with the affected parties and communities to explain the project and its effects and to receive their oral or written comments. It emphasizes that EIA should also consider the social aspects rather than focusing solely on the physical environment's characteristics, which was previously the case. The National Environmental Policy of 1997 requires companies to ensure the sustainable and equitable use of resources without degrading the environment and/or risking health and safety. At the same time, the Environment Management Act of 2004 requires companies to produce an Environmental Management Plan (EMP).

this situation, says this happens while the apparatus set to monitor and evaluate the performance of the mining companies on the environment and compensation processes are reported to have limited resources for exercising their duties (p. 235).

2.4.7 The Mining Act of 2010

The Mining Act of 2010 is an adjustment of The Mining Act of 1998 to contain the alteration of the country's guiding principles stated in The Mineral Policy of 2009. The Mining Act of 1998, as amended in 2010, is the regulatory scheme containing the regulative provisions of the mining sector. It establishes that mineral wealth and its control is all vested in the state (URT 1998:Section 5). Contrary to The Mining Act of 1979, the Mining Act of 1998, as amended in 2010, permits private license holders exclusive rights of possession of mining operations and the extracted minerals, as well as absolute authority to trade the obtained minerals (URT 1998:Section 43 & 49). Mining companies can use their mineral rights, through licenses, as security, and can transfer mineral rights to banks or other financial institutions without ministerial approval or consent (see Nyakweli 2012:52). According to Nyakweli, this legislation offers foreign investors a new level of protection. It is regarded as a significant erosion of Tanzanian sovereignty over its mineral sector (investors in the mining sector are also protected against nationalization). The legislation grants mining companies total claims over the minerals found within their lease area⁵⁰. On the contrary, Nyakweli notes that The Mining Act of 1979 (section 32)

⁵⁰ Among a few positive changes present in the 2010 Mining Act is a change in royalty calculations. Under the new law, royalties in gold are adjusted to 4 per cent (from 3 per cent) of the gross value earning posted by any large-scale mine. Previously, the 3 per cent was being calculated based on netback value. Moreover, the 100 percent ownership of the large mining companies was abolished, enabling the government to automatically retain between 10 and 40 percent free carried share of a large-scale mine. The bigger challenge, however, remains having strong institutions that will supervise the enforcement of the law (Mgamba, *The Citizen*, April 22, 2010).

provided the URT with the right to acquire interests in any mining venture which may be carried out in relation to land in or which constitutes the prospecting area (2012:55). Moreover, in The Mining Act of 1979, officials from the Ministry of Mines were prohibited from holding shares in mining companies or securing mining licenses; in the 1998 and 2010 acts, this restriction was removed. Apparently, this opens doors for ministry officials to act in private rather than public interests and creates an avenue for private mining companies to try to influence or even directly bribe public officials (ibid.).

Focusing on the misunderstanding between CofP and mining companies in relation to mineral rights and land use, Lange (2008) explains in detail how the Mining Act places the two parties. For instance, Section 95b stipulates that

the holder of mineral rights shall not exercise any of his rights under his license or under this act (...) except with the written consent of the lawful occupier thereof, in respect of: (i) any land which is the site of, or any inhabited, occupied or temporarily unoccupied house or building; (ii) any land within 50 meters of land which has been cleared or ploughed or otherwise prepared in good faith for the growing of agricultural crops or upon which agricultural crops are growing; (iii) any land from which, during the year immediately preceding, agricultural crops have been reaped (2008:11).

According to Lange, while the Mining Act in this section appears to give local people good protection, the ultimate power lies with the central authorities. The act states that if the minister and the Mining Advisory Committee think that such consent is withheld “unreasonably”, the “need for the consent shall be dispensed with” and the paragraph “shall not have effect” (2008:11).

It is worth noting here that, among other mineral rights offered by the 2010 Mining Act, are a 12-month (renewable) primary prospecting license and

a 5-year (renewable) primary mining license for ASMs (all issued by the Commissioner of Mining who has been given power by the act). The primary mining license, however, can be converted, upon request, into a special mining license, usually by entering a joint venture with a company that is able to meet the annual expenditure requirements (Nyakweli 2012:55). What this implies is that areas of land initially acquired for ASM prospecting and mining may after some time come under exclusive ownership of private (foreign owned) corporations and investors.

Such stipulations make artisanal and small-scale miners vulnerable to multinational companies, with huge capital and advanced technology, coming to invest in the mineral sector in the country. The 2010 Mining Act has a very short section on disputes. It gives the Commissioner for Minerals immense power, stating that the commissioner may “decide all disputes between persons engaged in prospecting or mining operations, either among themselves, or in relation to themselves and third parties” (2008:76) in connection with boundaries, compensation, etc. The commissioner makes an order, which can be sent to local civil court to be enforced. Parties in the conflict are entitled to appeal to the High Court within 30 days (Lange 2008:10). However, given the ASMs’ scant acquaintance with laws and court procedures as well as limited resources in running legal suits, in most cases they do not opt for appeals. Moreover, as Lange further observes, given the widespread allegations that any person holding the commissioner post is in danger of becoming corrupted, ordinary people do not trust the commissioner as someone who will treat conflicts between large mining companies and local communities in a fair way (*ibid.*). Thus, many of them shun approaching this official when their rights are infringed.

2.4.8 Special Mining Licenses and Mining Development Agreements

The Mining Act of 1998, as amended in 2010, introduced Special Mining Licenses (SMLs), a 25-year license issued for major capital-intensive mining ventures. SML requires the holder to provide information about planned mining operations and to enter a Mining Development Agreement (MDA) with the respective minister on behalf of the United Republic (URT 2010:section 10). The MDA provides a number of legislative provisions favourable for mining companies. For instance, mining companies can negotiate fixed rates throughout the life of the project, even if the tax laws change (e.g., due to change of government). They can also negotiate a variety of other incentives and special guarantees. The MDA may entail a waiver of company liability for environmental problems, and it may override and/or limit the discretionary authority of the ministry official (see Nyakweli 2012:53–54). According to Nyakweli, the MDA may limit the minister’s discretion in approving special mining licenses for ‘non-entitled applicants’ (i.e., persons or companies not already holding prospecting or retention licenses); may prevent the minister from rejecting an application for renewal of a special mining license or limit the grounds for refusal; and may limit the ability of the minister to reject an amendment submitted by a company regarding the terms of their special mining license (including terms such as the details of the environmental management plan and plans for training and employing Tanzanians). In its strict sense, the MDA is a private and confidential agreement between the Tanzanian government and the mining company: section 25 of The Mining Act of 2010 forbids the disclosure of information or reports submitted by a holder of a mineral right, except with the consent of the holder. In effect, while the 2010 Mining Act is more a ‘rule based’ legislation, the MDA allows some rules to be suspended or modified in favour of private corporate mining interests. Provisions established under MDA are “binding on the United Republic” (Section 10 [2]), suggesting that they may be subjected to litigation. Drawing from the mineral sector management during the country’s

Ujamaa Policies, such agreements were expressly prohibited in the Mining Act of 1979 in order to discourage corruption and conflicts of interest (SID 2009:36).

2.4.9 Land Laws

There are a number of laws and acts that deal with land appropriation for various land uses in Tanzania: these include, but are not limited to, the Land Act of 1999, the Village Land Act of 1999, the Land Acquisition Act of 1967, the Mining Act of 2010, the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974 and the Forest Act of 2002. The Land Act and the Village Land Act are most pertinent to this study as large-scale mining acquires large tracts of land. The Land Act of 1999 provides that all land belongs to the state and that there would not be any land reform in Tanzania. The presidency is entrusted to hold land on behalf of the public, helped by the Commissioner for Land to administer it (LEAT 2007). The president may acquire any land where such land is required for any public purpose (such as mining). The law also provides that the president can direct the minister responsible for land to issue a ‘notice of intention’ to the claimants or persons interested in the land to acquire land if such land is required for public use. Sections 4.2.19 and 4.2.20 of the Land Act of 1999 state that land appropriated for projects of national interest (for example mining) should be fairly compensated according to market value and the loss of the benefits that the owner previously obtained from that piece of land. In this sense, land cannot be owned by individuals, but those who possess land have the right to use it, unless decided otherwise by the government.

Apart from the Land Act, the Village Act was also enacted in 1999. The act authorizes the Ministry of Land to enforce the implementation of the Village Act through the local government. Section 4.2.2 (iii) provides that the village council shall administer village land; Section 5.2.1 provides for the demarcation of village boundaries and the resolution of village boundary disputes, and Section 4.2.2 provides for titling of individual parcels of

land in village land. In a broad sense, the objectives of the law are, among others, to ensure effective and efficient administration and villagers' participation in administering land; as well as to ensure that customary rights are legally secured (see Lange 2008:5, URT 1999b). According to the act, Customary Right of Occupancy is a legal right to occupy and use land based on historical occupation and use, which is of equal status to a granted right of occupancy (Sections 14 and 18). In most parts of the villages in Tanzania, people have been using land based on customary rights. This is mainly because the process of obtaining formal certificates or official registration is expensive and with many official procedures.

Although the laws grant rights of occupancy to people in Tanzanian villages, the impression is that most of the time laws are not followed nor procedures adhered to. For example, investors in the mining sector are given large portions of land (by the government) without prior notification of the villagers. In most of the major mining projects that have been instituted in the country (including the mining company under study), there have been complaints from people whose livelihoods depended on land that was taken by the investors. Conflicts between CofP and mining companies were still evident when this study was conducted in 2013–2014. Apart from complaints that massive portions of village land are given to foreign mining companies by government officials for personal profit, the problem also lies with the laws themselves. Nyakweli (2012) explains the contradictions between the Land and Village Acts. He says the Land Act of 1999 indicates that land is public property and the power to control it is vested in the president. Additionally, the act states that existing occupation and customary rights are recognized and secured, and that an equitable access of land by all citizens, with a regulated amount of land occupied, is guaranteed. It ensures that land is used productively and fully, and also that prompt and fair rules of compensation are defined. Inversely, the Village Act of 1999 indicates that land is village property: the village council retains some powers to decide on the use of land according to the regulations

defined in the Village Act. The largest possible area is allocated to families, individuals or groups and the community ownership of villages is recognized. Land is also defined and differentiated from minerals under the Mining Act of 1998 as amended in 2010. Such contradictions in the legislation are part of the factors that cause land disputes between foreign mining companies and CofP, with the government caught in the middle.

2.4.10 Corporate Social Responsibility and Legislation

Different stipulations of the Mineral Policy of 2009 and the Mining Act of 2010 explicitly mention the responsibilities of mining companies in relation to CofP. For example, as previously noted, Section 5.5.9 of the 2009 Mineral Policy requires mining companies to contribute to the development of CofP through CSR; the policy statements of the section call for the implementation of credible CSR policies and the involvement of CofP in setting priorities for community development projects. The policy advocates for formal communication mechanisms between the two parties, and the involvement of CofP in mining projects, EIA and land use. It aims at strengthening the relationship between mining companies and CofP and ensuring that mining wealth supports sustainable economic and social development. A notable example here is the encouragement for mining companies to use locally produced goods and services wherever possible. Section 5.5.12 speaks of the collaboration of government with the mining firms to provide employment and training for local personnel. The Ministry of Energy and Minerals also has CSR guidelines that encourage mines to contribute to supplying power, water and the improvement of social infrastructure, such as the construction of hospitals, schools, and roads within the mine and in the neighbourhood (MEM 1997:17). The Mining Act speaks of CSR in the sector in broad terms, particularly on land use, compensation, economic activities and training. However, the act does not categorically explain what constitutes CSR, referred to in the contracts signed between the government and mining firms, which are confidential.

This leaves a loophole for investors in the sector to define for themselves what CSR policies should entail.

2.4.11 GGM's CSR Policy and Projects

Geita Gold Mining (GGM) is a mining plant owned by a multinational mining firm named AngloGold Ashanti (AGA), headquartered in South Africa. GGM operates under the Special Mineral License (SML) issued by the government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT). The license allows GGM the use of an area covering 196.27km² (196,000 hectares). The mining license lies within a 477km² Geita forest reserve, under the jurisdiction of the government of Tanzania, and borders 15 villages in the

Figure 2: Iron placards at GGM's main entrance stating part of its CSR policies



Source: Photo taken by the author during a follow up field visit in October 2015

district. GGM is East Africa's largest open-pit mine, established in 1999, under a 50/50 venture between AngloGold Limited of South Africa and Ashanti Goldfields Company Limited of the United Kingdom (van Campenhout 2002). GGM's gold resources are estimated at 16.95 million ounces, with a projected annual output of 560,000 ounces and an estimated lifespan of 15 to 20 years (Yager 2003).

At its main entrance, GGM has placed three big iron placards (see Figure 2) with messages reading as follows: "We respect the environment"; "We want the communities and societies in which we operate to be better off for AngloGold Ashanti having been there"; and "We are accountable for our actions and undertake to deliver on our commitments". The statements are derived from the mother company (AGA)'s values. Others are: "Safety is our first value"; "We treat each other with dignity"; and "We value diversity" (AngloGold Ashanti 2009a).

Moreover, in its 2007 country report, the company claims to have engaged with "international advocacy and voluntary bodies such as the International Council for Mining and Metals (ICMM) and the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) to develop standards and best practice." Also, that it is "supportive of and has participated in discussion and programmes initiated by the Council for Responsible Jewellery Practice, the World Gold Council, the Initiative for Responsible Mining Assurance and the Communities and Small-scale Mining (CASM) initiative" (p. 22), all geared towards responsible practices.

GGM states that its CSR policy was founded based on its business principles (see Table 2) and are in a form that supports the government of Tanzania in reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). During the time of launching its operation, GGM CSR policy was largely borrowed from AGA CSR policies that centred on the areas of health, safety and environmental concerns. Later in 2007, the company established a Community Relations and Sustainable Development (CRSD) department, which started implementing CSR policy based on what it calls specific

Table 2: GGM business principles

<p>37. Aims to have a positive impact on the people, cultures and communities in which it operates. The group will be respectful of local and indigenous people, their values, traditions, culture and the environment;</p> <p>38. Will strive to ensure that surrounding communities are informed timeously of, and where possible are involved in, developments that affect them, throughout the life cycle of the group's operations;</p> <p>39. Will undertake social investment initiatives in the areas of need where the group can make a practical and meaningful contribution, in particular to those areas of education and health care relevant to AGA's business activities, and those most likely to be sustainable after operations have closed;</p> <p>40. Encourage its employees to make themselves available for participatory and leadership roles in the community;</p> <p>41. Will seek to acquire and use land in a way that promotes the broadest possible consensus among interested people. Where involuntary resettlement is unavoidable, the group will abide by appropriate guidelines for resettlement, where they exist, and will work with the local communities to develop workable plans for any resettlement, and</p> <p>42. Will strive to contribute to the sustainable economic development of host communities through procurement activities; the contribution of redundant assets to the community; assistance in the establishment and growth of small- to medium-sized sustainable enterprises; and the outsourcing of goods and services to local vendors where appropriate.</p>

Source: AngloGold Ashanti Country Report Tanzania, 2007:21

needs pointed out by communities (interview with GGM's CRSD superintendent, April 24, 2013). The company maintains that it has been continually striving to maintain good relationships with CofP, government (local and national), NGOs, and business associates (GGM 2006).

It is worth noting that AGA emphasizes that its CSR policies are context specific, therefore that they differ depending on where its subsidiary is located (AGA 2009a). At the same time, the company regards itself as an important part of the communities in which it operates and as a neighbour who plays a leading role in socio-economic development that has improved standards of living in CofP. In its society reports, AGA states that GGM has been communicating with CofP and district authorities in the formulation and implementation of development projects; that the company is committed to working in an environmentally responsible way; and that it is an important contributor to the economic, ecological and social health of the community. It also claims to be reviewing its policy on community relations and sustainable development in order to provide clear guidelines on stakeholder engagement, CSR and social investment, and land acquisition and resettlement (2005:3; 2006:16–17; 2008:29–30).

Although this general information about the company's CSR policies creates the impression that GGM is acting responsibly towards CofP and in an environmentally- friendly manner, the actual practice on the ground is quite different. Despite these promising policy stipulations, which imply that GGM is cultivating good relations with CofP; these communities, as this study observed, censure the company on violations of their basic human rights. Moreover, evidence is abundant that the mining firm is not responsible and accountable enough regarding the impact of its operations on the environment (see Kitula 2006; Lange 2006; Bitala 2007; Carstens and Hilson 2009; Almås et al. 2014). This situation has brought such misunderstanding between GGM and CofP to the point of having to institute roundtable dialogue to address them—a practice which also leaves a lot to be desired. I discuss these aspects in detail in the analysis chapters.

2.4.12 CSR projects

Since 2000, GGM has contributed to a number of community projects, some of which have been initiated recently. The company's CRSD department claims to have implemented the projects after it initiated direct communication and solicited feedback through roundtable meetings with representatives of CofP. The department states that this has been possible after it conducted a detailed stakeholder identification exercise in 2006 which selected 13 (currently 15) villages around the mine as the company's immediate host communities (interview with GGM's CRSD superintendent, April 24, 2013). Among the notable current community projects implemented by the CRSD department are in the areas of education, health, water, roads, HIV/AIDS, social facilities, agriculture, small- and micro-enterprise development, as well as environmental protection (AGA country reports 2005:3; 2006:16–17; 2008:29–30).

Concerning education, GGM has contributed to a number of projects. It reports having provided funds to the Geita District Council (GDC) for the support of five secondary schools; Busolwa, Bukwimba, Kamena, Katoro and Kamhanga. It also documents that it has constructed classrooms at Nyakabale and Nyamalembo Primary Schools (AGA 2008:29; Emel et al. 2012:268). GGM also states that it has constructed the girls-only Nyan-kumbu secondary school at an estimated budget of US\$400,000. The school has the capacity to accommodate up to 400 students (interview with GGM's CRSD superintendent, April 24, 2013). GGM also provides various scholarships to talented young people from different villages surrounding the mine. Apart from education, the company reports on its collaboration with Geita District Hospital (GDH) in improving health infrastructure in Geita District by renovating the hospital wards; providing electricity and water; building a new operating theatre with new equipment; and renovating the hospital's mortuary. The mine also constructed a new maternity ward, renovated an old operating theatre, and purchased new equipment (Nyakweli 2012:109–110). As of 2008, the company reports having donated medical equipment worth US\$120,000 (AGA 2008a).

Moreover, GGM has HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria control programmes that involve other stakeholders in the health sector. The company contracted an NGO named African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) from 2001 to provide a comprehensive HIV/AIDS programme and to deal with TB and malaria control. GGM provided AMREF with the relevant technical support. The steering committee of the programmes includes representatives of GGM, AMREF, the Mwanza Intervention Trial Unit (MITU), the National Institute for Medical Research (NIMR), and the Ministry of Health (Nyakweli 2012:110). The fight against HIV/AIDS takes the form of several activities, such as providing funding for education campaigns; provision of sexual health services; HIV/AIDS test kits; vocational counselling and testing (VCT); and the provision of care and support to persons infected with HIV. The activities are implemented around the mine site and in the surrounding communities (ibid.). Moreover, GGM conducts a fund-raising activity (The Kilimanjaro Challenge) for HIV/AIDS projects in Tanzania. Every year since 2002, participants climb Mount Kilimanjaro: the activity is widely covered by the media and has enabled GGM, apart from supporting other HIV/AIDS projects, to establish the Moyo wa Huruma Orphanage Centre in Geita, which is administered in collaboration with the Roman Catholic Diocese of Geita (RCDG). These initiatives go hand in hand with a popular health project that GGM calls 'Operation Smile'. In collaboration with volunteering Australian doctors at Bugando hospital in Mwanza region, GGM supports the surgical treatment of people born with a cleft palate. GGM covers the costs for community mobilization, hospital beds, transport and hotel accommodation for beneficiaries and their caretakers (AGA country reports, 2005; 3–7; 2007:27; Nyakweli 2012:111–112).

Other GGM community-based initiatives include Nyankumbu Brick Project and water supply projects. The Nyankumbu brick project was developed by the community to locally produce and sell cement bricks (GGM is the primary customer and has also assisted the group with a brick-mak-

ing machine, training and financial management skills). GGM reports having donated US\$4,000 to the project and that the venture has become self-sustaining, serving as a source of income to many youths in the neighbouring villages (AGA, 2008c:33). Apart from the brick making project, GGM also supports various water projects. The company established the Geita town water project, which adds to the existing water supply of the town and is administered in collaboration with the District Council's department of works. With a budget of US\$27,600, GGM constructed two boreholes, which are managed by the District Council (AGA country report 2007:27). The company also constructed a 22 km water pipeline from Nungwe Bay to the mine which supplies water through eleven water taps installed on the pipeline to three villages close by. GGM has also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Ministry of Water to construct a big water project (worth US\$4.5 million), envisaged to supply water to the entire Geita town. The project is currently in its final stage, waiting for the government of Tanzania to complete its contribution (interview with GGM's CRSD superintendent, April, 2013).

Road construction and sports are other community projects implemented by the company. GGM has constructed and repaired various roads in Geita: for instance, a 65 km road from Geita to Ilogi costing US\$400,000; another from GGM to Nungwe and a road from Geita town to GGM. According to the company, the main goal of improving the local road network is to facilitate access to other regions and the district, thus promoting local development (*ibid.*). Moreover, GGM also supports sports activities in Geita. The company sponsors an annual May Day bicycle race held on the roads of Geita and participation is free to all community members with bicycles. Riding bicycles is a fundamental part of rural life in Tanzania. GGM also sponsors a football team, Geita Gold Star, which participates in the Premier and regional leagues. The team uses a local football field constructed by the company outside the GGM area. The company has also constructed a multi-purpose athletic sport facility in Geita town, accessible to all members of the community. The initiatives are reported by the company to have

attracted many people in Geita to participate in sports and offered the youth opportunities in sports careers (interview with GGM's CRSD superintendent, April 24, 2013; Nyakweli 2012:116; AGA country report, 2007:23).

In the face of these CSR projects that have been reported, and some which I observed, GGM's CSR initiatives paint a picture of being responsible and accountable for its practices to CofP. However, the perception of the majority of the community members—as observed during fieldwork and from other studies conducted in Geita—on these implemented CSR projects is different. While some community members see the positive side of these projects, many regard the company's claims about supporting communities as misleading and overemphasized. They argue that GGM returns to CofP very little compared to what it promises. As they consider the size of the company, the profit accrued, and the effects it causes in CofP, they expect the company to do more than what is put into action. Various community members speak of GGM being self-interested in projects it initiates: for instance, the constructed roads and water pipeline are seen as being of more use to the company than to CofP. Moreover, they argue that a number of implemented projects are insufficiently funded, hence limiting the access of beneficiaries. They cite examples such as the constructed primary school classrooms being overcrowded; the primary school and health centre in Nyakabale having no water supply (relatives of admitted patients are required to bring water buckets to the centre); medical services at GDH reaching only a few; and prizes of low value at sports competitions. GGM is perceived as abandoning community projects after establishing them.

2.4.13 Misunderstandings in the Mining Sector

Apart from the rich scholarly reflection on management challenges, legislation and misunderstandings in the mining sector presented in this chapter, media coverage in Tanzania (and the unstructured interviews I conducted) also depict glaring differences embedded in the mining sector. As I present in some news pieces below, there seems to be a deep suspicion

among locals and other interested partners on how the mining business is managed in the country. For example, most of the news stories from the mining sector are negative: they unveil fraud, corruption, theft, moral degradation, crime, court rulings, to mention but a few. The sector is reported to be marred by conflicts between large-scale mining companies and people living next to their operations, as well as negative representation from other stakeholders such as NGOs, religious institutions, human rights activists, and politicians. In general, there is almost no positive coverage of the mining sector by the media. The following is a selection of news stories reporting on the afflicted relationship between CofP and the company under study (GGM).

The Tanzanian newspaper *ThisDay* on 3 March 2006 ran a story that GGM was under fire for contributing heavily to the pollution of water sources and degradation of land in Geita. The paper reported the results of a study by Lawyers Environmental Action Team (LEAT), which found that residents in Geita were infected by unidentified diseases with unfamiliar symptoms caused by the use of water contaminated with chemicals. A couple of months later on 15 May 2006, the *Daily News* (also published in Tanzania) reported LEAT's intention to support Katoma village in Geita to sue the Acting District Commissioner who allegedly helped GGM take their land unlawfully. LEAT accused the Commissioner and GGM of forcing the villagers to surrender their property for valuation and compensation without their consent, an action that was against the Local Government Act of 1997, the Mining Act of 1998 and the Land Act of 1999. In September of the same year, the then General Manager of Geita Gold Mine, a South African national, was charged with raping a 16-year-old girl in Nyanza Street in Geita (*The Sunday News*, 17 September 2006).

The media reports that such things indeed worry the majority of Tanzanians, and perhaps what puts the relationship between CofP and GGM in an alarming situation are those instances involving human death. Armanda

Sperber⁵¹ reports on the platform Vice.com that in May 2012, a 17-year-old, Mhoja Leonard, was shot and killed in Geita for ‘trespassing’. The author states that when GGM was approached for comment, it expressed sympathy regarding the incident but claimed that the crime was committed by the security officials of the contracted security company, named Group 4 Securicor (G4S), and not GGM. The company was later reported on Al Jazeera by Zahra Moloo⁵² to have offered 10 kg of rice, a bag of meat, and water to Leonard Salala, the father of the deceased. In a letter to Salala, GGM said it was not liable for the death, as Mhoja had made unauthorized entry into the company’s heavy mining equipment workshop. Another death of a 14 year-old boy was reported in the same year⁵³. GGM confirmed the death, regretting that the boy was tragically killed when he fell 30 metres from a mining bench into Nyakanga Pit Cut 6 as he was undertaking illegal mining with seven members of his family. An official from GGM’s CRSD department stated that illegal artisanal mining is both extremely dangerous to the culprits and challenging to the company. He was quoted saying that more than 2000 illegal miners were apprehended at GGM’s site in 2012 alone. The Guardian (February 8th, 2013) reports further deaths. It quotes the police, Geita District Commissioner and GGM confirming the death of two people at Nyakanga Pit Cut 2, after a substantial plane failure caused by illegal mining activity in the pit. The officials said what is taking place is trespassing of GGM’s lease area, something which is illegal, dangerous, and fatal.

⁵¹ Sperber’s article was published on 6 November 2013 at https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/kbze3m/the-fleeting-promise-of-tanzanias-gold (accessed on 30 October 2019).

⁵² Zahra Moloo: “Local Miners Left Out by Tanzania Gold Rush: Competition between Multinational Mines and Local Gold Prospectors has resulted in Tension Spilling into Violence”, retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/05/2013515161130258616.html> (accessed on 4 August 2014).

⁵³ Pesa Times. Retrieved from <http://initialcloudflare.pesatimes.com/news/general/a-minor-dies-in-geita-gold-mine/> (accessed on 4 August 2014).

Most of the misunderstandings between CofP and GGM are evidently soaring due to feelings that the company has disrupted villagers' livelihoods after it forcefully grabbed massive portions of the land they previously owned. During the unstructured interviews I conducted in various villages around Geita, many of the villagers were resentful of the curtailed sources of income caused by GGM's presence. A section of the people I interviewed explained that their intention to enter the mine's lease area is only to pick stones, dumped by GGM, which might have bits of gold left in them and for nothing else. They said they feel bitter at being chased and beaten by police for no reason. The villagers believe that even though the gold comes from their area, it is not benefitting them. Rather, it has made their lives miserable while at the same time people at the mine, most of them whites from South Africa, are living luxuriously. According to them, such inequality is what brings chaos and misunderstandings to Geita.

Various studies on the multinational mining business have attempted to address this anomaly, where people are poor amidst plenty. Most studies arrive at the same conclusion, that the paradox is caused by a complex set of factors, including corruption in governments at local and national levels, technological and capital gaps, and a long world history of disparity, which creates power structures like the one in Tanzania's mining sector. Returning to the misunderstandings in Geita, villagers to a great extent blame the government for mishandling the mining business, particularly through the confidential contracts it signs with mining firms. A quick review of the type of news covered by the media in Tanzania shows that there are many stories, not presented in this section, which implicate government officials in Tanzania as accomplices of the mining firms in tax evasion, corruption, displacement of locals, mistreatment of ASMs and other similar incidents.

2.5 Conclusion

The main aim of this chapter was to give a general idea of the context in which this study is situated. The chapter, among other issues, presented an

overview of the mineral sector in Tanzania. From its evolution through to the liberalization process, the sector has witnessed a steady increase in mineral production, particularly gold. This increase has attracted a good number of foreign investors and necessitated improvements to institutional and legal frameworks. Although the improved policies and regulations were aimed at protecting the country's socioeconomic interests and the welfare of CofP, in practice its enforcement leaves a lot to be desired. As such, the chapter explains how the government has failed in translating the revisited mining codes into advancing the country's economy—henceforth causing a loss of what Curtis and Lissu (2008) call a golden opportunity. The chapter also reflects on how these amendments, intended to improve the lives of people living close to the mines and protect them from the adversaries of the extractive industry, instead leave a loophole that favours large-scale investors.

The last part of the chapter discusses CSR through the lens of mining legislation and provides an account of GGM's CSR policies and projects. While there may be some improvements in the company's efforts in advancing the socio-economic aspects of CofP, in general GGM's implementation of CSR policies and projects is looked upon by locals as disappointingly low. The chapter concludes by discussing the misunderstandings embedded in the mining sector as reported by the media and explained during unstructured interviews. It suggests that the interception of communities' livelihoods by mining firms is a leading factor behind the troubled relationship between the two sides. In the same vein, the chapter sees the government's oversight in managing the sector as an explanation for the above-noted community suffering, which also leaves them with limited political and economic influence in their demand for fair treatment. What the chapter tries to explain is that in order to be able to address the troubles discussed here, concerned stakeholders are supposed to accept engaging in a genuine dialogue, without which they would probably keep arguing for their own specific interests, hence creating more misunderstandings.

Given this crucial need for genuine dialogue in Tanzania's mining industry, and in PR-CSR practices in general, I provide a conceptual reflection on how to approach genuine SD in the next chapter. In this chapter, I draw from Putnam's (2000) social capital theory, to show at length how genuine SD can be approached as a process of 'bridging social capital' and therefore help to address differences in social relations like those between MMs and CofP discussed above.

3. Bridging Social Capital: A Conceptual Reflection

3.1 Introduction

Perhaps a quick explanation for the PR, CSR and SD discourse presented in chapter 1 as well as the misunderstandings and challenges in Tanzania's mineral sector discussed in chapter 2 is that efforts in improving social relations, such as those of MMs and CofP, need new strategies. For public relations scholars and practitioners to be able to attain meaningful relations with stakeholders of the organizations they are working for, they are expected to re-plan their activities, particularly their involvement in CSR and SD. As I have previously discussed, the essence of CSR and SD is to build and cement positive relations between organizations and stakeholders (see chapters 1 and 2), but this discourse is struggling to fit into certain social settings such as those bringing together the MMs and CofP. As we shall see in the analysis chapters, after setting up a dialogue and promising the benefits of CSR to stakeholders, organizations are not guaranteed that things will work out as planned. It is established that in certain situations, what the organizations plan, and what is agreed on during the roundtable dialogue, as in the case of GGM in Geita, is sometimes on differing interpretations and understanding among stakeholders. This, in a way, explains why in certain instances, organizations' agendas and plans do not translate into the desired outcomes. Therefore, it is interesting to know what happens when different stakeholders, of the same organization, develop different interpretations over the same dialogue agenda.

Although organizations may not be quick to realize these differing perspectives, although sometimes they know and deliberately decide to continue dialoguing despite differing views, is it sufficient to assume that dialogue is taking place just because people have met and are discussing certain agendas? Will it be enough to reduce the understanding of dialogue to these mere sit-downs, where people interact and agree on issues that are understood or accepted only by a few participants? What happens to the

stakeholders whose perspectives and understandings are not taken on board in the course of such meetings? If we find fault in this practice, will it be enough to keep assuming that the CSR and SD discourse outlined above is the only way of addressing relational issues between organizations and their stakeholders? In order to strengthen our understanding on SD practices in this study I find it pertinent to look into other fields, particularly sociology, where there is a rich discussion on how individuals with differing views and interests interact. With respect to this conceptual gap, I therefore employ bridging social capital, a concept which I think can help to address these complexities in SD practices.

Bridging social capital is an idea drawn from social capital theory. In public relations, there are very few studies that have attempted to use social capital as a theory and BSC as a concept—not even when studying relationship building between organizations and CofP. PR studies that have used the concept (see for example, Hazelton & Kennan 2000; Ihlen 2005; Luoma-aho 2009) urge its application in the field, but there seems to be little to no use of the concept in addressing specific research problems (I shall soon engage with these studies). In an attempt to deal with this conceptual gap, this study contributes to BSC conceptualization by tackling a specific question on organization-public relationships, i.e. the forms of dialogue between MMs and CofP. So doing, I first discuss social capital theorization in public relations, then reflect on the relevance of the theory to SD practices, and finish by illustrating the conceptual linkages between SD and bridging social capital. However, before I expand on this discussion, I first discuss the general trends of theorizing social capital as they appear in literature. This serves as an explanation of what social capital theory really entails, an important understanding in making sense of my discussion on the relevance of bridging social capital conceptualization to PR and SD. By the end of this chapter, I will be able to show how bridging social capital can be a useful tool for PR scholars and practitioners to employ in addressing issues related to genuine stakeholder dialogue practices.

3.2 Social Capital Theorization

Social capital is a tortured theory. Enormous attempts at theorizing social capital have been witnessed throughout the 20th century, as scholars searched for answers to a broadening range of questions confronting their own fields (see Adler & Kwon 2002:17)⁵⁴. Since it was outlined by Bourdieu (1980), developed by Coleman (1988, 1990), and elaborated by Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000), a mass of scholarship from a wide range of social science disciplines has followed the theory. Social capital has been of primary interest to sociologists (e.g., Paxton 2002; Grazian 2007; Cheung & Kam 2010); political scientists (e.g., Ostrom 1994; Rotberg 1999; Boggs 2001; Andrews 2011); economists (e.g., Fedderke et al. 1999; Woolcock & Narayan 2000); scholars in development studies (e.g., Chopra 2002; Goddard 2005); those in management studies (e.g., Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998; Adler & Kwon 2002; Hitt & Duane 2002); business ethics (e.g., Seifert et al. 2004; Habisch & Moon 2006; Worthington et al. 2006); as well as to a number of broad practical projects at both national and international levels (see Spence et al. 2003:17).

Much early social capital research had focused on identifying levels of social capital present (for individuals, groups, communities, and even nations); recognizing subsequent outcomes that are 'better' or 'worse' (see Portes & Landolt, 1996); and searching for the relative presence or absence of social connections in the units of interest [Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988, 1990; Putnam 1993, 1996, and many others] (see Agnitsch 2006:37)⁵⁵. Succeeding attempts, as Foley & Edwards (1999) observe, led social scientists into analysing the impact of varying levels (or kinds) and

⁵⁴ Paul Adler and Seok-Woo Kwon, at the time, were both researchers at the Marshall School of Business, University of Southern California. Their areas of research include strategic management and professional organizations, respectively.

⁵⁵ Kerry Agnitsch, is assistant directorat at the Office for Responsible Research at Iowa State University, Department of Sociology.

values of social capital, by examining a variety of economic, political, social and historical issues (p. 142). These attempts led scholars like Burt (1992) and Loury (1987) into conceptualizing social capital as a set of social resources embedded in relationships. Others, for example Portes & Sensenbrenner, followed Putnam and Coleman in speaking of the norms and values associated in social relationships (see Tsai & Ghoshal 1998:464)⁵⁶. Recently, there has also been an increasing attempt at studying different forms of social capital, specifically bonding and bridging (Agnitsch 2006:37). I engage with some of the key works in this perspective in a short while.

The debate on social capital theory, as Fine (2001) plausibly examines, “provides a technological umbrella for grouping together an extraordinarily diverse range of (...) constructs” (p. 78). A survey of literature for this study earmarks at least three aspects of the discussion on the theory. First is the struggle to define the concept (see, for example, Woolcock 1998; Fine 2001; Sobel 2002; Durlauf & Fafchamps 2004). Second is the assertion from social network theorists who view relationships (or ties) as the basic facet of social capital (for instance, Granovetter 1973; Boissevain 1974; Burt 1992; Sparrowe et al. 2001; O’Brien et al. 2005; Ansell 2007). Last is the theorization of social capital devoted to understanding the dimensions, scope, form and channel of the concept (see, for example, Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998; Woolcock 2000; Padlam 2000; Moran 2005). For the sake of brevity and the relevance of these aspects to this study, I will only look at the first two.

The first group of scholars working to define social capital is dominated by those who extend the primary definitions of the concept as laid down

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by its principle theorists (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993; Portes 1998). As I trace the primary definitions of the concept, Bourdieu (1986) described social capital as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network. This being a network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition. In other words, it is a “membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital; a ‘credential’ which entitles them different types of credits” (1986:248–9).

Coleman, for his part, defined social capital as “any aspect of social structure that creates value and facilitates the action of the individuals within that social structure” (1990:302). He argues that, as the creation of physical capital involves changes in materials so as to facilitate production, and human capital involves changes in an individual’s skills and capabilities, so social capital is created when relations among people change in ways that facilitate instrumental action. Turning to Putnam: in his comprehensive analysis of Italian political life, he referred to social capital as “features of social organizations, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions” (1993:167). On his side, Portes defined social capital as “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (1998:6). While there seem to be slight differences in the above definitions from the principle theorists of social capital, they all reach “a similar conclusion, i.e., social relations are an important resource” (see Agnitsch 2006:37). This conclusion aptly acknowledges the pertinence of including social capital theory in studying dialogue as a tool for building positive relationships between MMs and CoFP.

This definitional conclusion is evidently extended by many other scholars who view social capital as the resource potential of social relationships: relationships that facilitate actions, thereby creating value. The main premise behind this position is that social capital of well-connected individuals

or groups is better able to mobilize other resources to pursue desired outcomes (e.g., to access other capital—economic and cultural— Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, on this basis, relationships are viewed as the most critical dimension of social capital (Sandefur & Laumann 1998; Seifert et al. 2001; Hitt et al. 2002; Agnitsch 2006). The advocates of ‘relationships’ as the key component of social capital definition credit Putnam’s conceptualization of social capital as that which popularized the concept (Foley & Edwards 1999; O’Connell 2003; Agnitsch 2006; Beugelsdijk & Smuders 2009). They contend that Putnam’s conceptualization has widely caused social capital to be understood as the potential benefits social actors derive from the nature of their relationships with others (I will come back to this point). This, according to Lin et al. (2001), is extracted through networks, trust, reciprocity, and shared norms; and through beliefs and attitudes held by social actors, ‘trust and trustworthiness’ are created (see Fukuyama 1995; Tshai & Ghoshal 1998). Also, that these relationships are likely to lead to positive and cooperative behaviours, since they create a psychological environment conducive to collaboration and mutual support (see Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998; Kostova & Roth 2003).

Other scholars who extend the social capital definition from the early theorists, as Thomas and Medina (2008) point out, view social capital as the ability to command scarce resources by virtue of membership in networks or broader social structures (Kreuter & Leein 2002); a process of building trusting individuals, communities and institutions (Loeffler et al. 2004); a course that enables cooperative action among group membership that generates resources embedded in social structure to be accessed or increased and mobilized in purposive actions (Frank & Yasumoto 1998; Lin et al. 2001); and that social capital insures outcomes (positive relationships) that would not be attainable in its absence (Thomas & Medina 2008:273–5).

Social capital definitions were further advanced by thinkers like Adler and Kwon (2002) who, among other things, stressed that the core intuition guiding social capital research is that the goodwill that others have toward ‘us’ is a valuable resource. For instance, if stakeholders hold a positive

regard towards an organization, and vice versa, it becomes an asset to both parties. By ‘goodwill’, Adler and Kwon refer to the sympathy, trust, and forgiveness offered (to ‘us’) by friends and acquaintances—in this sense, between stakeholders and organizations. The authors say that the effects of goodwill as the substance of social capital are the availability of information, influence, and solidarity (2002:18–19) enjoyed by both parties. The same was taken up by Leonard (2004): pointing to the influence of Putnam’s (2000) thinking, Leonard refers to social capital as the “connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (p. 928).

The above conceptualization brings me to the second aspect of the debate on social capital theory. This features social network theorists who regard relationships, or ties, as the basic facet of social capital. Their understanding of a network is of “the pattern of ties linking a defined set of persons or social actors, where each person can be described in terms of his or her links with other people in the network” (Linden 2001:220). Within this broad theorization, there is a wide variety of definitions that emphasize different aspects of this construct (Portes 1998; Leana & Van Buren 1999). As Kostova & Roth (2003) explain, network theorists focus predominantly on the value of the network structure for the individual (p. 301); or, as they point to Baker (1990), the focus is limited to the structure of relationship networks, suggesting that the structure itself provides value (Kostova and Roth 2003:301). For the purpose of this discussion, this aspect of the debate is focused on two of the perhaps most cited works on social networks. The first is from a famous and respected scholar in economic sociology, Granovetter (1973), who talks about the ‘strength of the weak ties’; and the second from one of the most notable American sociologists, Burt (1992), who speaks about ‘structural holes.’

On the strength of the weak ties theorization, Granovetter (1973) argued that ties among members of a social clique are likely to be strong (i.e., emotionally intense, frequent and involving multiple types of relationships). The information possessed by any one member of the clique is

likely to be either shared quickly or already redundant with the information possessed by other members (Liden 2001:220). Ties that reach outside of one's social clique, as Liden (2001) further observes, are likely to be weak (i.e., not emotionally intense, infrequent, and restricted to one narrow type of relationship) (p. 220). The tenet of weak tie theory is that a weak tie is valuable because it is more likely than a strong tie to act as a bridge between a social clique, providing a network member with contact with people of different social groups or statuses (Granovetter 1973, 1982) (see also Friends of Friends, Boissevain 1974). To further the point, Granovetter (1973) argues that the less intense (i.e. 'weak') relationships with others (as in, the context of CofP in relation to MMs) are a source of strength because they provide access to new information or other kinds of resources that are unavailable to those who are locked into highly dense, self-contained networks (O'Brien et al. 2005:1046).

The weaker connections between groups (networks) are what Burt (1992) conceptualizes as structural holes. A structural hole is said to exist between two 'weaker connections' which are not connected to each other. According to Burt's theorization, it is advantageous for a network to be connected to many 'weaker connections' who are themselves unconnected to the other 'weaker connections' in a network. In the words of Burt, networks rich in structural holes provide an individual with three primary benefits: more unique and timely access to information; control over resources and outcomes; and greater visibility and opportunities throughout the social system. Unlike the weak tie concept, Burt argues that the structural hole concept gets a bridging property more directly (1992:28). Burt posits that the structural holes between two groups does not mean that people in the groups are unaware of one another. It only means that people are so focused on their own activities that they do not attend to the activities of people in the other group. People on either side of a structural hole circulate in different flows of information. Structural holes are thus an opportunity to broker the flow of information between people and control the

projects that bring together people from opposite sides of the hole (Burt 1992).

In a sense, what is at issue with Burt's theorization of structural holes, as Ansell (2007) explains, is that in a highly dense social network, many information sources are redundant due to a lack of 'fresh perspective'. Therefore, as Ansell notes, Burt argued for the advantages of increasing the ties that provide access to non-redundant information. Later, in *Brokerage and Closure*, Ansell observes that Burt placed emphasis in bridging holes because in that way the brokers will have 'vision' advantages; be more creative and effective; as well as create powerful social conditions that promote mutual trust (...). This means, for example, by brokering with different stakeholders (influencers [narrow] and claimants [broad]), organizations get an opportunity to access multiple channels of information, resources and visibility. In Burt's contention, the central point here is that brokerage and closure are complementary mechanisms for producing social capital (see Ansell 1992:482).

Put differently, the main tenet of the above theoretical tradition, as appropriately posited by Kostova & Roth (2003), well known scholars in the field of international business, is that social network theorists implicitly view social capital as a private good that individuals (or networks) can 'spend' to better their own situations. Unlike the principle theorists, who theorize about social capital as a public good, social network theorists' assumption is different. They imply that others (those not bridging with weak ties or structural holes) may also benefit from a 'private good', but their access to the social structure is controlled by those who 'own' the social capital. The early theorists, as Kostova & Roth (2003:301) note, pointing to Coleman (1990), stay far from this perspective as they viewed social capital as a public good available to, and which could potentially benefit, not only those who created it but also group members at large. Pointing to Lin's (1999) differing viewpoint, Kostova and Roth (2003) maintain that social capital is a collective asset which is available to all members of a

social group, organization or community; it benefits all members regardless of which members actually promote, sustain, or contribute to it; and access to it is not restricted by any member of the group (p. 301–2). Therefore, by looking at social capital as a public good (a collective asset), the viewpoint serves well in explaining how social capital can help in bringing about what Fukuyama (1999) calls ‘social cohesion’; ‘improved norms and behaviour’ (Jones et al. 2006); as well as ‘improved quality of social relations’, noted by Woolcock in Jones et al. (2006). It is this point of social relations (and cohesion) which now brings me to address the linkages of social capital theorization to the field of public relations, before looking at bridging social capital debate.

3.3 Social Capital Theorization in Public Relations

Several PR scholars have attempted to bring forth the notion of social capital when studying relationships between organizations and social groups as stakeholders. Social capital theory fits well with much public relations thinking about how relationship building has both short- and long-term social and organizational effects. PR scholars who share this viewpoint refer to social capital in a more conceptually reflective way, as in the case of Ihlen’s (2005)⁵⁷ influential work. As he begins with the argument that social capital theory is rooted in the critical sociological perspective of Bourdieu (1977, 1990), whose work did not include organizations and has rarely featured in public relations, Ihlen (2005) posits that the use of social capital has shifted the discipline’s focus away from power issues to relationship building. By introducing Leichty and Warner (2001) into the discussion, Ihlen observes that presently, public relations practice can be criticized for

⁵⁷ Oyvind Ihlen is a professor at the University of Oslo and a well-cited author in the field of public relations. He is the editor of a number of books including *Public Relations and Social Theory: Key Figures and Concepts* (2009) and acted as president of The European Public Relations Education and Research Association (EUPRERA).

its positive or negative effects on social capital in a community or society. [Following Lin's (2002) thinking that the roots of social capital lie in individual interaction and networks, he says that in terms of organizational PR, this will facilitate the flow of information, and social ties may exert influence on stakeholders]. At this point, he says social capital may function as a certification of social credentials, and may also reinforce identity and recognition [of the organization] (2005:494–5).

Drawing from Lin's (2002:24–5) suggestion that social capital should be defined operationally as 'resources embedded' in social networks accessed and used by actors for actions, Ihlen (2005) adapts this perspective for the meso-level of organizations. On this point, he says social capital can be both an outcome and a causal factor (of actions). For an organization, in this matter, the outcome and causal factor implies increased earnings or reduced costs, favourable political decisions, representation in public committees, or an enhanced reputation (Ihlen & 2005:495). According to Ihlen, many linkages of an organization (with diverse stakeholders) provide a powerful resource which can be drawn on in the furtherance of organizations' interests. He admits that organizations face challenges when connecting with a diverse audience (stakeholders) —who may have multiple organization identification— but still views it as proof of how organizations can be socially embedded in a much stronger sense than individuals (2005:495).

Perhaps a brilliant conceptualization of social capital in public relations is that of Luoma-aho (2009), a professor of organization communication and PR, who appropriately invokes Putnam's theory into the discipline's scholarship and practice. Luoma-aho (2009) views Putnam's writing as crucial in public relations studies as it is "timely in a world of increased uncertainty and increased fractured publics" (p. 231). She reasons that the creation and maintenance of organizational social capital can be seen as "a foundation for public relations and as spanning the boundaries of public relations through topics such as stakeholder thinking, CSR and relationship

management” (ibid.). Luoma-aho finds Putnam’s theories “important because they are able to explain the deeper meanings of relationships for not only individuals and organisations but also society at large” (2009:237). She contends that “in Putnam’s view, the vitality of a community can be estimated based on its social interaction and this can be seen to hold true to organizations as well.” (...) She explains that, as Putnam concentrates on organizational forms of social capital, public relations practitioners should also be seen as creators and maintainers of organizational social capital (ibid.).

Luoma-aho further insists that “although Putnam does not apply the concept of public relations—nor define it precisely—in his work, he notes the importance of communication as an intermediary tool for the creation of community and social capital” (2009:238). Moreover, she argues that “Putnam does not comment on the type of communication that would at best foster social capital, but he marks all interaction as beneficial. It is communication that creates belongingness, whether it is a matter of joining a club or going bowling, and it is communication that keeps the relationship strong over time” (ibid.). Therefore, communication, regardless of its forms, is a key tool for gaining social capital—a capital which is a product of mutual understanding and good relationship—and an idea whose meaning is essentially a relational phenomenon. Regarding how to assess such kinds of interactions that are beneficial for organization-social relations, Ihlen (2007) establishes that they can be determined in terms of the types of connections organizations have with their relevant (stakeholder) groups. This may include competitors, politicians, journalists, bureaucrats, researchers, [and communities] (p. 273). Hazelton and Kennan (2009) further emphasise that such interactions can contribute to the organizational bottom line by leading to improved productivity and efficiency. From this perspective, as Ihlen (2005) plausibly explains, (organizational) social capital holds three dimensions: structural (network ties), content-communicative, and relational (p. 494).

Among other things, the relational dimension of social capital is why Maak (2009), an expert in business ethics and responsible leadership, keeps insisting on the importance of organizational leaders (in this aspect public relations practitioners) to “share common norms, values and a certain level of trust, not only with its internal stakeholders but also with the external ones” (p. 355). He sees this attempt as both a chance and a challenge in gaining ‘stakeholder social capital’. The ultimate challenge here, he argues, is the engagement of “all relevant stakeholders in a coalition for responsible change, thereby creating a social network of stakeholders who are connected through a common purpose; contributing to shaping a business that is obliged to balance values creation and aspires to be recognized as responsible and sustainable and thus a legitimate part of society” (ibid.). Therefore, he explains, it is important for a leader to help establish common ethical ground and to nourish a relationship ethic with all stakeholders; a foundation on which social capital will then develop. Before I come back to this conceptualization in my bridging social capital discussion, I briefly engage with the critiques of social capital theorization as they play out in the literature.

3.4 Critics of Social Capital Theorization

Notwithstanding the apt theorizations noted above, as well as the earlier attempts to define social capital, these theoretical reflections have not been without their critics. For example, Beugelsdijk & Smulders (2009) attack social capital theory for its fuzziness, arguing that it is a result of researchers from different disciplines using it for entirely different objects of study (p. 4). Similar critique comes from Castle (2002), who warns that unless social capital is used with some degree of precision and in a comparable manner, it will come to have little value as an analytical construct because of its broad appeal to many disciplines. Portes (1998) doubts that social capital will lose its distinct meaning and value [i.e., concern about the po-

litical and economic dimensions of societal problems] (see Thomas & Medina 2008:276). In the same spirit, Leonard (2004) disapproves of the empirical study of social capital for defining the theory more by its absence than its presence. Referring to Morrow (1999), Leonard (2004) cautions that in this sense social capital becomes a ‘deficit theory syndrome’, defined as something lacking (...) rather than an analytical device for uncovering social processes and structures (p. 929).

Critics have also found fault with the primary theorization of social capital by its principal theorists. As an example, I briefly present those criticizing Putnam’s ideas. DeFilippis (2001) discredits Putnam’s understanding of social capital, stating that it negates the context of power relations and economic capital in working with poor communities (see Thomas & Medina 2008:276). Aguilar and Sen (2009) are also dissatisfied by Putnam’s thinking, saying it provides a rosy and benign picture due to its assumption about amassing social capital. The writers posit that Putnam’s assumption can be dangerous because it ignores social capital’s repressive dimensions: i.e., it can place a heavy burden and impose costs on group members and become a disincentive to income-earning individuals (2009:428). Putnam’s argument has also been attacked for neglecting the ‘dark side’ of social capital (Portes & Landolt 1996); for avoiding politics and political structures (Foley & Edwards 1996, 1997; Tarrow 1996); for failing to specify under what conditions face to face interaction can be thought to generate the desirable civic traits of the arguments (see Foley & Edwards 1999:145).

Precisely, these critics rebuke the notion that social capital can be a (good) resource ‘owned’ by members of a society, contending that social capital is not a universally beneficial resource. This opposing view, for instance, is made by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) with their assertion that “the strong norms and mutual identification that may exert a powerful positive influence on (social) group performance can, at the same time, limit its openness to information and to alternative ways of doing things, producing

forms of collective blindness that sometimes have disastrous consequences” (p. 244–5). A similar critique is raised by Di Clemente et al. (2002) and Rubio (1997), who posit that strong associational ties can produce negative social capital such as terrorist groups, organized crime and gangs (see Thomas & Medina 2008:276).

Further misgivings on social capital theory are noted by scholars such as Hiss (2006) who in the eyes of Bourdieu (1983) perceives social capital as an “exclusive asset of the privileged groups to maintain their upper status within society” (p. 84–5). The same worries Ostrom & Ahn (2001), who view social capital as ‘appropriable’ for other purposes (e.g., friendship ties can be deployed for information gathering) and ‘converted’ to economic advantage (see Habisch & Moon, 2006:68). Additionally, Ostrom & Ahn (2003) talk of ‘the dark side’ of social capital when it is “used by a selected group to make large profits at the expense of individuals who are not part of this group” (see also Bowles & Gintis 2002:428 on the notion of ‘insider-outsider distinctions’). Cohen & Prusak (2001), as cited by Foley & Edwards (1997), scorn the tendency to use social capital to depoliticise the structural nature of poverty or to translate the social dynamics of relationships into economic factors. These criticisms are precisely what made Hiss (2006) perceive social capital as ‘something not inherently good’ (if only perceived as a resource and a capability) and hence argue for ‘capital to be social’. Hiss says capital is social if ‘used to further public welfare’ (2006:85).

Based on the scrutiny of social capital research, some critics arrived at the conclusion that there is very little empirical evidence exhibiting high levels of social capital in communities (Leonard 2004:929). Others, for example Aguilar & Sen (2009), contest the notion of social capital by maintaining that it is collective efficacy rather than ‘enough social capital’ which enables individuals and communities to reach certain goals (p. 428). In particular, Robinson et al. (2005) insinuate that if social capital is deconstructed into what it is, where it resides, what it produces (how it is used), and how it is produced, it can be seen that ‘what it is’ is conceptually weak (p. 4).

This is exactly what made Leonard (2004) contend that social capital emanates from a very shaky foundation that romanticizes ‘the world we have lost’ and ignores the downsides of community life (Leonard 2004:929).

Despite these criticisms, Putnam’s formulation of the social capital concept, as I hinted at before, remains influential in the wide range of empirical and conceptual work present in literature. His theorization of social capital is extensively recognized as a valuable conceptual framework for understanding the concrete relations among individuals, social groups, communities, societies and institutions (Jackman & Miller 1998; Dasgupta 2000; Durlauf & Fafchamps 2004; Chaskin et al. 2006), and for enabling collective actions (Temkin & Rohe 1998; Spence et al. 2003; Loeffler et al. 2004). While the theory has attracted many critics, in 1995 Putnam himself admitted that social capital is not a one-dimensional theory. He considered social capital as a positive resource. Later, in 2000, Putnam addressed some of his critics by introducing a distinction of social capital, i.e., bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive) social capital (Putnam 2000:22). The understanding of bonding and bridging social capital, as well as the relevance of the latter to this study is the subject to which I now turn.

3.5 Bridging Social Capital and Stakeholder Dialogue: A Conceptual Reflection

In an attempt to contextualize the notion of SD into the conceptual realm, I adapt the conceptualization of BSC from Putnam (2000). Just like Putnam, in this study I understand bridging social capital as bonds of connectedness that are formed across diverse social groups; “social networks that bring together people who are unlike one another” (Putnam 2000:22). To build BSC, Putnam explains, requires social actors to “transcend their social, political and profession identities to connect with people unlike them-

selves” (Putnam 2000:411). In this respect, BSC is understood as a resource found in a social network, which ties actors who are different in various degrees.

As it appears, Putnam’s BSC is a nuanced conceptualization of Granovetter’s (1973) concept of weak ties and Burt’s (1992) ‘structural holes’, which I discussed earlier in the chapter. The fundamental point in this conceptualization, which is also central to my thesis, is that instead of creating tight bonds of solidarity, bridging social capital provides people with access to outside resources and promotes information diffusion by creating linkages across “diverse social cleavages” (Putnam 2000:22). Moreover, by fostering relationships across class, ethnic and religious lines, BSC creates broader identities and fosters social trust and norms of generalized reciprocity (see Bridger & Alter 2006:9).

In contrast, Putnam’s bonding social capital occurs among homogeneous populations. It cements only uniform groups. It links with others who are broadly similar in kind (Schuller 2007:15). It is a ‘sociological superglue’ found in very dense networks such as those with characteristics of some ethnic groups and religious organizations (Bridger & Alter 2006)⁵⁸. While it can act as an effective resource for particular groups, bonding social capital benefits those with internal access. It supports exclusive group identities and reinforces a high degree of density and closure (Zmerli 2003; Woolcock 1998). In this sense, as Leonard (2004)⁵⁹ quotes Putnam (2000:23), bonding social capital is good for ‘getting by’, but bridging social capital is essential for ‘getting ahead’ (p. 930).

⁵⁸ Jeffrey Bridger and Theodora Alter are both at the department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Penn State University, USA. Their academic areas of interest include social capital, community development and social interaction.

⁵⁹ Madeleine Leonard is at Queens University, Belfast, UK. Her work *Bonding and Bridging Social Capital* has been widely cited by scholars in related fields.

In this view, Putnam attributes positive societal effects to both forms of social capital, although he considers bridging social capital to be more important for the ability of modern societies to cooperate. From Putnam's perspective, networks with bridging social capital are "better for linkage of external assets and for information diffusion because they are outward-oriented and their composition can be more heterogeneous. They enhance broad identities and reciprocity" (Zmerli 2003:68). Agnitsch (2006) observes that bridging social capital may avail chances for community action through the pooling of many resources available in different existing groups within a community; and, as the author quotes Bowles & Gintis (2002:427), bridging social capital can provide communities with the possibility of reaping the benefits of economic diversity associated with differing skills and other inputs from the members of diverse groups (p. 40–1).

Borrowing Putnam's ideas mentioned above, and situating them in an organization-stakeholder context, it makes sense to conceptualize organizations' attempts at reaching relevant stakeholders as a process of bridging social capital. A notable reference to this understanding is from Paxton (1999), who refers bridging social capital to cross-cutting ties (...) occurring when members of one group connect with the members of other groups to seek access or support, or to gain information. As Larsen et al. (2004) observe, an organization's efforts to extend contact beyond the members of the organization produces collective action as a product of bridging social capital (p. 66). The same is echoed by Maak (2009), who contends that if organization leaders and all relevant stakeholders thought alike on the way an organization conducts its business and on what stakeholders perceive as a responsible business, tapping into common social resources would be easier. He posits that contrary to that, 'bridging process' will be needed to bring understanding between the two parties (p. 335).

Following organizations' attempts at dialoguing with various stakeholders, as in the case of a multinational mining companies and CoFP in this study, it would be safe to argue that a 'bridging' process, with Granovetter's

(1973) ‘weak ties’ and Burt’s (1992) ‘structural holes’ is attempted. From the understanding that the success of an organization depends on a good relationship with its stakeholders (e.g. CofP), the willingness of the former to dialogue with the latter signals an investment in bridging social capital. Nevertheless, this is not to say that bonding social capital is not important in the ‘bridging’ process. In the conceptualization of organization-stakeholder dialogue, it is crucial also to know that while bonding networks (limited within particular social niches) are at greater risk of producing negative externalities, as Putnam (2000) noted, they are not necessarily negative (see also Wildmalm 2005:76–77). Just as noted by other theorists, it is vital to know that bonding social capital is a necessary antecedent for the development of the more powerful form of bridging social capital (Ferguson & Dickens 1999, Warren et al. 2001, cited by Larsen et al, 2004:65).

To avoid the typical bridging social capital problems, i.e., a large group of unrelated individuals or social groups unable to work together, it is of paramount importance to “link the unique properties of a group’s bonding social capital with bridging social capital because both weak and strong ties help in bridging” (O’Brien et al. 2005:1045–6). Additionally, the suggested link will help to reverse critiques such as that of Leonard (2004) that view the transition from bonding to bridging social capital as not necessarily beneficial to a community as a whole, but perhaps to some individuals in the community (p. 930). Moreover, it might confirm the argument from other scholars that the optimal effects of (bridging) social capital are found when both forms are present (Saegert et al 2001; Warren et al. 2001; Stone & Hughes 2002, cited in Agnitsch 2006:39).

It is in the context of the above conceptualization that I situate the dialogue processes of organizations and their stakeholders (for instance CofP in this study). Just like Adler & Kwon (2002), I adapt this way of conceptualizing the organization-stakeholder relationship because of its explanatory power in illustrating how “the actions of (organizations), individuals, or social groups can be greatly facilitated by their direct and indirect links to other actors in a social network” (p. 19) and beyond. In addition, it provides a

useful illustration of how organizations and their stakeholders can solve ‘bridging’ problems. As O’Brien et al. (2005) lament, the essential characteristic of bridging social capital is not its weakness or strength but rather its extensiveness and inclusiveness (p. 1046).

It is widely acknowledged in the literature (see Ahuja 2000; Hitt et al. 2002; Spence et al. 2003; O’Brien et al. 2005; Moran 2005; Russo & Perrini 2010) that if an organization’s bridging process is genuinely and properly pursued, it can offer the company an opportunity for social cooperation and an ability to understand and, in the long run, improve its business and public welfare. In this sense, dialogue between an organization and its stakeholders is viewed as a practice that can increase partnership and provide a foundation for attaining and retaining mutual understanding and eventually improving the relationship between the two sides. Following the path of Habisch & Moon (2006), I also see that such ‘bridging’ processes have potential for “access to information; improvement of information; acquisition of new knowledge and skills; solidarity—particularly in respect of compliance with local rules and norms; dispute resolution and the prevention of long-term grievances” (p. 69).

The above leads a number of scholars to hold the positive view that stakeholder relations are highly beneficial for business as they can offer benefits towards a positive reputation, smooth collaboration and increase collective chances of success (Ojala & Luoma-aho 2008:749–751); serve as input to both strategy formulation and implementation (Lovas and Ghoshal 2000); lead to gratitude, respect, or friendship (Ihlen 2007:272); lead to the highest level of trust (Chen 2011:434); as well as become an important asset (Hitt et al. 2002:354) and a useful tool for business ethics (Spence et al. 2003:17).

Despite these hopeful thoughts on organization-stakeholder ‘bridging processes’, as I previously noted, genuine engagements (here referring to SD in its strict sense of ‘philosophical and relational meetings’) are notoriously difficult to implement. Taking into account the dynamics inherent in

SD, quite often, as it has been documented, dialogue practices are gripped by contradictions and disagreements. This is especially true when many or some actors feel that their interests, expectations, or both, are not met. In the conceptualization of bridging social capital, such circumstances have also been noted by some scholars. For instance, Leonard (2004) remarks that, while Putnam acknowledges bridging social capital as inclusive, he fails to recognize that bridging social capital also has exclusionary aspects (p. 929), mostly as a result of conflicting interests among members in a society. Following this apt observation from Leonard (2004), the context of dialogue between organizations and stakeholders is also vulnerable to exclusion of certain participants as noted in the case of MMs and CofP. However, given the dynamics present in dialogic practices, as I shall discuss in the findings chapters, despite being excluded, CofP quite often find space to institute further dialogue, to negotiate their destiny, in this way stepping up bridging processes.

Reflecting on BSC as a useful analytical concept, the idea of confrontational dialogue I discussed in the introductory part of this thesis perhaps provides an intriguing point of departure from our traditional understanding of organization-stakeholder bridging processes. Inasmuch as there will always be a need for bridging (in this case between organizations and CofP), organizations' efforts in this sense are expected, among other things, to pay proper attention to the everyday life realities of community members. As empirically proven (see Garvin et al. 2009; Michell & McManus 2013; Owen & Kemp 2014), one of the most serious obstacles to bridging processes in the present context is the tendency of organizations to misdiagnose and pay little attention to the life experiences (particularly livelihoods) of community members. As we shall see in chapter seven, this is especially evident when during dialogues organizations tend to impose their business policies, plans or interests at the expense of stakeholders (communities') pressing needs and everyday realities. Studies have shown that in many cases such tendencies have been among the leading

factors which lead (stakeholders) community members to opting for confrontational dialogue and other means of negotiating their cases, as we shall see later in chapter 6. To this effect, I find the following conceptualization of stakeholder dialogue in bridging social capital a helpful approach towards overcoming the above much stated difficulties of knowing what exactly constitutes SD.

3.6 Conceptualizing Stakeholder Dialogue in Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital provides a useful conceptual tool in studying SD, particularly in a context where there is willingness for genuine dialogue through roundtables is blurred. Studying SD through the lens of bridging social capital not only offers an explanatory power to illustrate the importance of SD to those who pursue it unwillingly, but also helps to deepen our understanding of bridging processes. On more specific levels of analysis, following the accounts of actors (particularly those 'left out' of the dialogue) and their changing ways of dialoguing, offers several ways of explaining both notions. Among these, at this point I will mention two.

First, it allows us to study SD (taken as a bridging process) beyond its traditional ideals and also bridging social capital as a concept that has to do with social relations, and is constituted in everyday life experiences in some way or another. By examining the accounts on how community members engage with the mining firm (in relation to dialogue practices), I shall be able to uncover things that point to the everyday life experiences of CofP. This is an important feature towards the understanding of the fluid limits of SD (as a sit down), particularly regarding actors who are 'left out' and denied access to livelihoods. This reflection, as we shall see in the findings chapters, contributes to understanding how and why dialogue actors sometimes negotiate and/or push the limits (or overcome the bridging problems) of dialogue. In concrete terms, dialogue practices of stakeholders who reach decisions against the will of some (or many) actors offer

several analytical options. For instance, actors' different ways of (bridging) interacting (e.g. negotiating tactics or confrontational dialogue) can shift the contents of dialogue by insisting the consideration of the agenda which were previously given little attention. Likewise, the changing ways of dialoguing (like the negotiated dialogue limits or even so-called confrontational dialogue) may become more or less an arrangement determined by actors who institute these alternative means rather than schedules previously allotted by actors who make decisions against the wishes of many or some others.

Second, it makes it possible to study the negotiated or pushed limits of dialoguing not as isolated cases, but as dialogue (bridging) practices in their own right. In this sense, dialogue actors (those 'left out'), are regarded as pertinent dialogue actors who have equal positions in decision-making decisions, instead of being perceived as 'feedback receivers'. Therefore, in this context, the changing means of dialoguing are examined (based on the accounts of the community members themselves) as meaningful processes that help to understand how and why they are enacted the way they are. Apart from unveiling a presumably different bridging process, it also explains how actors' 'un-catered for' interests, needs, or expectations play a pivotal role in determining the means of dialoguing. At this point, the understanding of dialogue as a 'philosophical relational meeting' becomes blurred, and the changing ways of dialogue surface from the reactions of those 'left out' actors.

In view of the above, it is important that in order to adequately understand the complexities and dynamics inherent in SD (as a sit-down), it needs to be examined by intersecting its ability in addressing actors' concerns and the intentions of bridging social capital. This is important because this perspective bridging social capital, as Spence et al. (2003) clarify, requires transparency, honesty, cooperation, trust, community investment, organizational citizenship and goodwill (p. 18). Similarly, it calls for all individuals and groups to have access to the 'resources' available and for a greater

number of choices on ways they can link their unique properties (O'Brien et al. 2005:1045).

The above quotes sharply hint that without sincere will, mutuality and the truest consideration of the actors, particularly those perceived as 'less influential', an effective organization-stakeholder dialogue can hardly take place. Missing this critical concern will mean a further, or alternative, bridging process. In order to establish whether organizations such as the one in this study make sincere efforts in considering and accommodating the interests of 'estranged groups' like CofP, and indeed to know what transpires if this does not happen, it is necessary to examine the accounts, views, perceptions, including also the local life situations, of members of CofP targeted by these organizations. This will help to understand two important issues: first, the perception of CofP towards dialogue instituted through roundtables, and second, how they regard the outcome of, as well as their reactions towards, these practices. Such efforts to examine and represent the views and perspectives of communities as organizations' stakeholders demands a particular methodological approach. In this study, I addressed this methodological requirement by employing qualitative research methods, particularly a case study approach, as it provides a suitable ground for examining how the interaction of community members and organizations in a local setting like Nyakabale, Geita, can inform our understanding of SD practices. Moreover, I use discourse analysis as a tool for analysing the accounts, views and perspectives of community members to make sense of what these social actors express in relation to their actions and inactions towards SD practices. A detailed discussion on how I engage with this methodological approach is presented in the next chapter.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to avoid falling into the trap of taking for granted the understanding of SD, by reflecting on the linkages between BSC conceptualization and the willingness of organizations to engage in dialogue with

stakeholders like CofP. Tracing the conceptualization of BSC, it has become clear that the concept serves well in explaining multiple and contradicting understandings of SD practices. I introduced Putnam's (2000) bridging social capital understanding and argued that the idea offers a useful conceptual tool in contributing to the academic debate on what constitutes stakeholder dialogue practices. In making this argument, I approach SD actors as individuals who can bridge social capital; and I examine their accounts of and reactions to the outcomes of roundtable dialogue as a sign of the changing ways of dialogue. This perspective seems to offer a nuanced understanding of dialogue practices between organizations and community members as their stakeholders.

As I have discussed in the chapter, it is true that decisions and agreements in roundtable dialogue are at times influenced by powerful actors. In other words, the views, perspectives and interests of those seemingly less influential actors are sometimes downplayed. Thus, the use of BSC conceptualization to approach the reactions of 'excluded actors' as an attempt to reinstate dialogue practices helps to illustrate the abilities of these actors in recalling the previously ignored agenda and even in setting their own time and venue for dialogue. A thorough discussion of this understanding is found in chapters 5–7. In the next chapter, I present the methodological issues relevant to this study. Here, I discuss the methods which helped me in the process of generating and interpreting data, and show how they are connected to the conceptual reflection of this study.

4. Methodological Approach

4.1 Introduction

After reflecting on the concept employed in this study, it is important to discuss methodological questions in connection to the research problem. Apart from that, it is also of importance to explain the conceptual and methodological linkages of the study. In this chapter, therefore, I present the research design applied in data collection and the data sources I used to achieve the research goal of analysing the changing dialogic practices of mining firms and CoFP. I first explain why it was necessary to begin with a strong conceptual reflection, given the nature of the research problem this study tries to address. Then I proceed to discuss the methodology used for data generation, as well as explaining why Geita district was chosen as a study area. After this explanation, the case of this study is presented and then analytical strategies for the generated data are discussed. In addition, I illustrate how semi-structured interviews with key informants, observation, informal conversation, and a review of relevant documents were employed as data-gathering methods. Thus, the purpose of the chapter is to illuminate the context in which the claim made by this study should be understood.

4.2 Qualitative Studies and the Use of Concepts

As we have seen in chapter 1, trends in PR scholarship have approached CSR-SD discourse with certain conceptual and methodological procedures. Many of these took a more or less similar direction in comprehending what constitutes SD practices. Much reliance on ideas drawn from communication and persuasion studies, mentioned in the same chapter, can attest to this dominant conceptual and theoretical framing of the discourse. Thus, one of the tasks of this study is to contribute to the theoretical debate

of the field by introducing the BSC concept alongside the dominant theories in PR, such as Grunig & Hunt's (1984) two-way symmetrical communication model that we saw in chapter 1. As much as these dominant theoretical and methodological approaches have produced a particular knowledge of SD practices, which is quite plausible, I argue in this study that such efforts also provide an opportunity for developing new or different conceptual and methodological approaches which can help us to stretch the boundaries of SD understanding.

In this context, therefore, I see the value of first introducing BSC conceptualization as a guiding idea for these efforts, and second, of employing a methodological approach, here referring to qualitative research methods which enables me to study dialogue participants as social actors. Qualitative research methods, or the case study approach in particular, together with BSC conceptualization, serve as a suitable combination in examining the accounts, views, perspectives and actions of dialogue participants in their local context. In addition, this combination enables us to discover things which speak of the daily life experiences of dialogue participants and which in fact play a pivotal role in the analysis of what entails SD practices. Likewise, this same context necessitates the use of a particular analytical tool, i.e., discourse analysis. Discourse analysis allows us the possibility of teasing out different accounts, views, perspectives and experiences held by dialogue participants, in this case CofP. Before expanding into a detailed discussion of the above methodological approach, I explain below how the BSC concept facilitated reflection on the problem under study.

In the social sciences, there is ongoing debate on how qualitative studies should be undertaken, particularly regarding ideas such as qualitative inductive approach and grounded theory. When engaging in an inductive approach, qualitative researchers speak of using it to create a theory: i.e., they undertake a search first and then at the end of that particular search, they come up with a particular theory. This is in opposition to the deductive approach found mostly in quantitative studies. Deductive approaches begin

with a theoretical framework, draw questions from it, and then the search is undertaken to confirm or disconfirm the theory. Concerning grounded theory (see for example, Strauss & Corbin, 1990), researchers talk of going into a field without a particular theoretical reference, and then using research findings to acquire a theory. This is viewed as a pure form of qualitative inductive approach. While I find this debate on qualitative methods very interesting, my commitment to qualitative methodology does not go that far.

Besides, as I borrow a sociological concept to study organization-stakeholder relations, I see how the concept has inspired my reflection on the research problem. As I was interested to read what other people have said about the concept, how they have used it in their studies, and how it connected to their findings, I found myself already constructing a conceptual guide which could validate or measure the findings of this study. Therefore, given my engagement with BSC literature, it was quite tricky for me to approach the present study otherwise, for instance through a grounded theory perspective. After I reflected on BSC conceptualization and found its relevance to my research problem, it was no longer possible to ignore this frame of thinking when pondering on methodological and analytical issues. For this reason, even my field work, i.e., inquiries, observations, selecting participants and interpreting what they said, were all informed by this frame of thinking.

In concrete terms, therefore, it is the BSC idea which made dialogue between GGM and CofP become of interest to me; it is the concept that triggered my attention to the reactions of CofP towards roundtable dialogue. In other words, it is BSC which made me see things in Geita the way I see them here. In order to make the use of BSC concept clear, it is also important to mention that in this study, I did not use social capital theory entirely, i.e., to draw questions from, confirm, or disconfirm it. What I did was to draw the concept (bridging social capital) from a big theory (social capital) and operationalize it to capture the varying SD practices as they take place between a mining firm and CofP in Geita. Therefore, the study

was situated in a local setting of dialogue participants, namely CofP; it followed their accounts, views, perspectives and actions, critically reflected on this context, and was then able to dig into new areas of speaking about SD practices.

4.3 Data Generation Strategies

This study, as mentioned above, is grounded in qualitative research methods and a case study approach was opted for. Denzin and Lincoln consider qualitative research as a situated activity that involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach to the world (2011:3). Yin regards qualitative study as an exercise in studying the meaning of people's lives in real-world conditions; representing the views and perspectives of the people in a study; covering the contextual conditions in which people live; contributing insights towards existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behaviour; and striving to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source (2001:8). As the above authors explain, throughout the data generation process, I relied mainly on semi-structured interviews, observation, and unstructured conversation to study a particular group of people (CofP), situated in their real-world conditions, to capture how they make sense of their actions (and inactions) in relation to their participation in the roundtable dialogue with GGM. In other words, I wanted to study the social actions from the position of the actors themselves to unearth the parameters of SD based on how they make sense of their lives in that locality.

I chose qualitative methods because they provide an opportunity to see through the eyes of the social actors (in this context CofP) and help to acknowledge the subjectivity of the research. From the opportunities offered by the methods in probing into people's accounts of social life, I strived to reflect on and interpret the understanding and shared meanings of participants' everyday social worlds and realities in relation to their en-

counters with the mining firm. Therefore, in this research, I wanted to unveil the stories of the people left out of the dialogue; qualitative interviews were methodologically suitable in this case “because they allowed a wide range of experiences to be documented, voices to be heard, representations to be made and interpretations to be extracted” (Limb and Dwyer 2001:29). Qualitative interviews were chosen because of the focus on the articulations of claims, rather than observed behaviour. I continue to explain data generation strategies in the case study section below. Before that, however, I find it important to introduce Geita District, the area chosen for this study, and clarify why I selected it for fieldwork.

4.4 Selection of Study Area

Geita District was chosen for a number of reasons, but here I mention the two most relevant. First, Geita District is host to GGM, a leading gold mining company in Tanzania and East and Central Africa. The presence of GGM in the district has attracted many researchers from different fields attempting to answer different research questions. Some of these include Mwaipopo et al. (2004); Desmond et al. (2005), Taylor et al. (2005); Ikingura et al. (2006); Emel et al. (2011); Kapondya (2008); Charles et al. (2013); etc., who have researched ASMs, health, environmental assessment, environmental management, political geography, and public health, respectively. This study falls under this first reason as it visits the dialogic practices between GGM and some communities in the district.

Second, the presence of GGM in Geita has had a number of positive and negative impacts. Mining operations contribute to the advancement of the district’s socio-economic activities, but at the same time affect its environment and peoples’ livelihoods. These effects, on one hand, have resulted in misunderstandings and even conflicts between the company and CoFP, but on the other, have necessitated the establishment of CSR programmes, particularly dialogue practices, which are a reason for conducting this study. To paint a picture of the study area together with the mentioned

socio-economic and livelihood changes, a brief review of the district's profile, obtained during data collection, follows. The information and statistics drawn from the document serve to depict the situation in which the studied dialogic practices originate, thus explaining the essence of choosing Geita as a study area.

Geita District was previously one of eight administrative districts in Mwanza region, Tanzania. However, in March 2012, the government of Tanzania established Geita Region from parts of Shinyanga, Kagera and Mwanza regions. The region became one of 30 administrative regions of the country (URT 2013; GDC 2013)⁶⁰. Geita District serves as headquarters of the region. Located in northwest Tanzania, 25 kilometres from the southern shore of Lake Victoria. The population is 807, 619 (out of 1, 739, 530 people in Geita region as per 2012 national census) (GDC 2013:2). The district consists of 6,375 square kilometres of land (27 percent land and 54 percent water areas); 5 divisions; 35 wards and 159 villages.

According to the socio-economic profile of Geita (GDC 2013), the majority of the indigenous people of Geita are Bantu in origin. The predominant ethnic groups are the Basukuma and Sumbwa, who are concentrated mainly in Geita, Bukombe and Mbogwe districts. The Haya, Bazinza and Nyamwezi are the other groups found in significant numbers in the region. In Geita District, many ethnic groups of Tanzania are represented (GDC 2013:5). This is due to the large influx of immigrants looking for jobs in the mining industry. As they arrive in the district, they bring different lifestyles, hence changing the sociocultural composition of Geita. It has been documented that many of these new arrivals fail to find employment, thereby increasing the socio-economic hardships of the district (Jønsson & Bryceson 2009; Kitula 2006; Lange 2006).

⁶⁰ In June 2013, the Geita Regional Commissioner's office and the Institute of Rural Development Planning (IRDP) jointly published the socioeconomic profile of Geita (GDC 2013).

In Geita Region, most of the labour force is employed in agriculture and livestock keeping. Agriculture is the main economic activity for at least two-thirds of people living in rural areas. Complaints from a number of community members neighbouring GGM are that the arrival of the mining firm in the area has, to a great extent, affected agricultural and livestock keeping activities. The agricultural sector in the region accommodates more than 77 percent of the region's labour force and contributes about 73 percent of its GDP. In Geita district, both food and cash crops are cultivated. The major food crops grown are maize, paddy, cassava, beans, groundnuts, sorghum and sweet potatoes, while the major cash crops are cotton, sunflowers, pineapples, and tobacco (URT 2013:14; GDC 2013:15, 101).

Livestock is the second most important economic activity in Geita Region and Geita District in particular. The livestock kept include cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys, pigs, chicken, and ducks. The district has a significant number of livestock, mostly owned by individual families (this is one of the key analytical themes of this study: see chapters 5–7). The sector acts as an alternative source of income. By 2012 estimates, Geita District had 338, 125 cattle; 301, 171 goats; 47,858 sheep; 745 pigs; and 2,592, 029 poultry. Products accrued from livestock include meat, hides (or skins), and milk. In the same year, Geita District produced 92, 438 tonnes of beef; 135, 600 tons of milk; and 75,000 pieces of hide. During the rainy season, milk production increases and exceeds family requirements, thus creating surpluses that are sold to supplement family income. Following the high density of livestock in Geita Region, 99.94 percent of 319,033.7 ha of potential grazing land is used leaving the remaining grazing land of 0.06 per cent. Fishing provides employment along the lakeshore, particularly in Geita and Chato districts. However, compared to crop production and livestock keeping, fishing contributes little to the region⁶¹.

⁶¹ Ibid: pages 14 & 101.

Geita region is endowed with natural forest estimated to cover 2710.1 km², or nearly 13.6 per cent of the region's land area. This makes forestry among the major contributing sectors in the region's economy through legal timbering, carpentry, charcoal production, firewood, construction materials and beekeeping. It is estimated that more than 7.4 per cent of the region's income is generated from the forestry sector. There is a total of 16 forest reserves covering 909,432 ha. In Geita District, the forest covers 792.3 km², which is 27 per cent of the total forested area in the region. Geita Forest Reserve (GFR) comprises 47,700 ha ; Luande 15,550 ha ; Ruamugasa 15,550 ha ; Mienze 9,100 ha ; and Usindakwe 450 ha. Nonetheless, the area is faced with a major problem of deforestation, degradation of pasture lands, and overcropping of cultivated lands. Overpopulation by human and livestock, and mining activities, especially in Geita District, have put enormous pressure on the environment. The land has been depleted of forest cover and suffers from overgrazing (GDC 2013:85).

4.4.1 Changing Livelihoods in Geita

For many years, agro-pastoralism has been the main mode of securing livelihood among the Sukuma, including those in Geita. This is through engaging in extensive agriculture and keeping large herds of livestock (Kikula et al. 1991). The hand hoe has been the dominant agricultural tool, although ox ploughs and tractors are increasingly being used. However, it is apparent that the Sukuma are currently expanding rapidly into non-agricultural activities (Fisher 2008). There was some non-agricultural activity in the past, but only for a short period. Increasing scarcity of land and additional exposure of the youth to the outside world through education and travel have contributed to the development and diversification of non-farming activities (Mwaipopo et al. 2004). There is clear competition between non-farming activities and farming for available labour resources. As I further discuss in the findings chapters, the fact that labour availability is an important constraint on agricultural development in an environment

of large families, attests to a growing competition between farming, livestock keeping, trading, education and mining (see Madulu 1998; Mwaipopo et al. 2004). According to Madulu (1998), population growth has accelerated land fragmentation and diversification of activities. The demand for basic needs within the family also encourages people to adopt non-farming activities (ibid.).

Mining is an important non-farming activity for those with no resources other than their own labour. Most people who participate in mining are those who have completed primary and secondary school and those who have extensive experience commuting to urban areas. Women also participate in non-farming activities, although often in traditional family roles such as cooking, collecting firewood and fetching water. The non-farming activities related to these traditional roles are brewing, selling firewood, pottery, sewing, canteens, and providing food. The majority of youth currently prefer to engage in trading rather than agriculture. Investment in livestock is declining while investment in housing improvements and trading is on the rise (Nyakweli 2012:41).

Multinational mining companies and entrepreneurs seek a profit based on Geita's mineral wealth, and thousands of people flock there in their quest for a better life. This process has transformed local market dynamics and is straining the country's capacity to govern. As Fischer further explains below,

Mining localities are associated with very mobile populations who connect distant regions with each other as well as make links between rural and urban areas, through mining, trade and consumption. The ethnic diversity of mining locations is a clear indicator of this connection. The entry of multinational companies transformed the dynamics of mineral sector development and also increased pressure on land and mineral resources claimed by small-scale miners and on land inhabited by communities. These processes continue to stir controversies and conflict: there is ripe

tension over the distribution of revenue between central and local government and divisions between sections of local government. This tension has exasperated the already weak capacity of domestic governance structures and has contributed to poor governance processes. These changes have profoundly transformed the livelihood landscape in Geita (Fisher 2008: 204.).

Detailed examples of how the livelihood landscape in Geita has been interrupted by the mining firm, as observed in this study, are aptly documented by Kitula (2006). The author says that GGM's mining activities have destroyed both agricultural and grazing land depended on for livelihood activities. He says that mine pits not only make land unfavourable for agricultural activities but also adversely impact livestock and wildlife resources, which in turn affects locals, who depend on biogas and animal manure. Kitula argues that the opening of GGM has resulted in high influxes of migrants in search of jobs. This in turn has resulted in prostitution, increased incidents of banditry, changes to indigenous lifestyles, and increased competition among local residents for natural resources. Mineral exploitation, he states, has appropriated land from indigenous people and resulted in massive displacements of settlements (Kitula 2006:409–411).

From his own observations, Kitula maintains how locals in rural communities seriously depend on the land as a source of livelihood. For example, he quotes the district mine engineer, who noted that some 1800 villagers were forcibly displaced in Mtakuja, Nyamalembo, and Nyamange villages in Mtakuja Ward following the establishment of GGM. This displacement, he continues, has threatened livelihoods and resulted in confrontations between local people and staff at GGM. As a result, several small-scale miners and farmers have lost their mine sites and agricultural and grazing land. The long-term implications of such displacement, Kitula reasons, include accelerated food insecurity to landless classes, increased poverty and intensified environmental degradation. He contends that displacement has already caused conflicts between local people and mine operators (ibid.).

While this is reported to be happening in Geita, statements from several government officials and politicians praise the mining industry for improving the economy of the country. It is maintained that profits accrued from the gold mining industry can be harnessed and utilized to improve the community's abilities to cope with and shape appropriate livelihood strategies. For instance, by providing employment opportunities and implementing CSR initiatives, gold mining companies can enhance community access to better health services, education, safe water supply and improved infrastructure. This, ultimately, can improve household income and thus diversify rural livelihoods (Nyakweli 2012:24). However, as we shall see in the subsequent chapter, the dynamics and complexities embedded in the management and operation of GGM's activities in Geita have made the realization of the above far from realistic. It has instead plunged the two parties into bitter disagreements and necessitated dialogue initiatives for peaceful coexistence.

4.5 Case Study

In the words of Yin (2003:13), a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." A case study opens a possibility for a thorough analysis of the subject and, as Gerring (2007) contends, we can gain a better understanding of a whole by focusing on a part. A distinction within case study research is often made between single- and multiple case studies (Yin 2003; Merriam 1998). Whether one chooses single or multiple cases depends on what can be learned about the subject in the given time span, which depends on the nature and complexity of the topic.

I chose single case study research. As this study aims at contributing to a further understanding of SD practices, it looks at GGM and its relationship with local communities as a case study of SD. As noted above, the bitter

disagreements between GGM and CofP in Geita saw the two sides participating in roundtable talks in an attempt to address the troublesome situation. Moreover, as we shall see in the findings chapters, the outcome of these talks, and CofP reactions towards them, illustrate how the two parties get into further engagements. This scenario speaks volumes about stakeholder dialogue practices. By probing the accounts of the participants in these engagements, particularly CofP, in order to establish how they make sense of their actions, the study approaches these engagements (and disengagements) as dialogue practices in their own right.

Therefore, the study considered the reactions of CofP in Geita on the outcome of the on-going roundtable dialogue between their village leaders and officials from GGM as ‘a single instrumental case’ (Creswell 2007:74–75). Here I aimed at studying the accounts of community members who consider the decisions and agreements made in roundtable dialogue as being out of context, thus finding alternative means of contextualizing these decisions and agreements. By probing into their accounts, I intended to collect social facts, i.e., to bring forth the shared norms and values, the way these people make sense of the world they are in, and in this way to show how their reactions to the outcome of roundtable dialogue inform us of the changing ways of dialoguing. Much can be generated from the accounts of people on how they experience their lives and how they make use of (or even twist) shared norms and values, to justify whatever actions they take. In this regard, the accounts of these community members of what they do seem to be useful in mapping out their viewpoints on the ideals of the roundtable dialogue and the rationale of their actions against it.

For the sake of capturing these social facts, i.e., how people see their world, how they make sense of things and events around them, I used multiple sources of information, namely semi-structured interviews; observation; secondary sources; informal conversation; and minutes of roundtable meetings. From the semi-structured interviews, I was attentive to grasping the views, intentions, feelings and actions of participants in relation to the

outcomes of roundtable dialogue. The observation helped to confirm or disconfirm views, claims, complaints and activities mentioned by participants. Moreover, I used secondary sources to obtain other relevant information, for instance, statistical reports and other information on GGM's operations in the area, as well as the socio-economic profile of Geita. Informal conversation was conducted to get additional information and viewpoints from other stakeholders who are directly or indirectly involved in the dialogic practices of the two parties. Minutes of the roundtable meetings were specifically collected to ascertain the agenda, discussion, decisions and agreements made during this practice. The documents served well in confirming how roundtable dialogue is conducted.

The main aim of using multiple sources of information was to get what Charmaz (2006:14) calls 'rich data'—an approach referred to by Yin (2003) as data triangulation. In this way, I collected different views and information from community members in Geita and officials from the mine, and then interpreted them for a better comprehension of the phenomenon under study. As I explain in detail below, the need to capture the views and perspectives of participants is what necessitated the use of discourse analysis as a tool for data interpretation in this study. In essence, I dealt with the data collected through holistic analysis of the emerging changing ways of dialoguing, drawn from the interactions between GGM and CofP in Geita.

The area I chose for studying this case is Nyakabale village in Geita Region. Geographically, Geita Gold Mine is surrounded by four villages (Nyamalembo, Nyakabale, Mpomvu and Mgusu) which form Mtakuja Ward in Geita District. I selected Nyakabale village because there are more dynamics with regard to the engagement of the two parties in this village compared to other villages close to GGM's concession. Nyakabale village is about 4 km north of core mining activities, 1.2 km west of a tailings pond and 1.5 km southeast from tailing piles. Its proximity to the mine, and the engagement and disengagement that takes place between GGM and com-

munity members in Nyakabale village informs us best on the ways of dialoguing. The study, therefore, focused on Nyakabale village, because community members here experience the immediate effects of GGM operations on their livelihoods, sociocultural issues environment and security. Moreover, given these effects on the village, roundtable dialogue practices take place more often between GGM and village leaders in Nyakabale than with leaders from other villages. Given these reasons, Nyakabale village served as the most suitable area among the villages in Geita District for the collection of data needed to answer the research question.

Moreover, from seven multinational mines (see chapter 4) found in Tanzania, I decided to engage with GGM because it is the largest gold mining firm in the country in terms of investment, number of employees and gold production; therefore, of significant socio-economic and political impact in CofP and the country in general. Another reason is that GGM presents itself to society in its social reports as a company that is highly committed to its social cause. The company reports on a regular basis about its practices. For example, GGM claims that one of its core values is to make its “neighbouring communities and societies better off” because of its presence in the area. Also, that it “upholds and promotes fundamental human rights” where it conducts business, and aims at leaving “host communities with a sustainable future” (AngloGold Ashanti, 2009: 3). Such commitments led me to choose GGM because they refer to CSR and dialogue practices, which were the issues I wanted to study.

In view of the above reasons, a case study approach provided me with a better context for data collection. The interviews I conducted in a way helped to uncover the life experiences and relationships between different actors in the dialogue practices. Vijfhuizen (1998) argues that case studies of aspects of everyday life reveal social dynamics and the complexity of ongoing social processes. They highlight how everyday life is patterned by social relationships and the networks to which people belong. According to Yin (2003), case studies are generally a preferred strategy for the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions, when the researcher has little control over events and

when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within a real-life, dynamic context, which are constantly changing, even while conducting the research, as happened during this study.

4.6 Key Informant Interviews

According to Valadez & Bamberger (1994:81), “[A] key informant is an individual who, as a result of his or her education, experience, or physical or social position in a community, has access to information about the functioning of society, the habits of its people, or their problems and requirements”. Also, in my research, key informants (see Table 3) were people with enough knowledge, experience and information about the research problem, because it is what they encounter, in one way or another, in their everyday activities. As active members of the community, they provided information on my issues of concern, especially the impact of large-scale mining on the lives of CofP. During the interviews, I employed a fairly open framework using a guiding topic list (see Appendix I) because, unlike structured interviews, I was able to add questions from the answers provided by participants and thus obtain information which could otherwise be missed.

The most important aspect that I considered when choosing key informants was their ability to provide the most useful information needed to produce pertinent answers to the research question. In this sense, I interviewed these key informants in order to get clear explanations on how and why they participated (or are participating) in the events I studied during fieldwork. The first group of key informants interviewed is the individuals who participated in ongoing roundtable dialogue. I interviewed these individuals because they represented the mining firm and community members in the dialogue. It is they who make decisions and come to agreements on behalf of the two parties. Therefore, I interviewed them mainly to obtain

Table 3: The categories of key informants

No.	Category	Description	Inter-views
1	Roundtable dialogue participants	This group included two GGM officials from CRSD department, three hamlet leaders from Nyakabale village and two village executive officers (former and present) of Nyakabale.	7
2	Cattle keepers and hired guards	The group was comprised of four cattle keepers and two hired guards.	6
3	Waste rock scavengers and hired guards	This involved five waste rock 'scavengers' and two hired guards.	7
4	Small-scale miners	Five small-scale miners were selected	5
5	Witnesses of water pipe sabotage	Four villagers, identified through the guidance of the village's hamlet leaders, were interviewed	4
6	Witnesses of road block demonstration	Five villagers, identified through the guidance of the village's hamlet leaders, were interviewed	5
Total number of key informants			34

Source: Author 2014

their accounts of the roles they play in roundtable dialogue; how the dialogue is conducted; how they arrive at decisions and agreements; what their responsibilities are after roundtable meetings; and their overall perception of the practice. It was important to get this information for a number of reasons. It helped to ascertain the nature of roundtable dialogue and see how it fits into my understanding of genuine dialogue that I discussed in the introductory part of this thesis and in chapter 1. The information also helped in assessing the power interplays in the dialogue, the influences and the interests of the participants, because these are part of the factors that

determine decisions and agreements reached in the practice—which end up disregarding the interests of those represented. Moreover, it was important to obtain information from these participants, because from their accounts I could establish how they considered the people who are represented, and how they interacted with them after roundtable meetings. This information also helped me to find out the perceptions of these participants on the impact of the practice in building positive relationship between the two sides—in other words, in gaining social capital.

The second group that I involved in the study is the cattle keepers and the people hired by the mining firm to prevent them from entering the mine's concession. I interviewed the cattle keepers because I wanted to get accounts of their everyday experiences in grazing cattle on the limited grazing land and the restricted GGM lease area (grazing in GGM's concession was forbidden after agreements made during roundtable dialogue). Moreover, I wanted their views on the decisions and agreements made in the roundtable meetings in relation to their everyday activities, and how they receive the outcome of this dialogue. The hired guards were interviewed to explain their experience in controlling and apprehending cattle keepers who 'trespass' on GGM's concession. In these interviews, I also wanted to know how the guards considered the impact of their job in upholding the interests of the mining firm and those of the cattle keepers. Information from these individuals was important because it helped to evaluate the outcome of roundtable meetings, how those represented receive it, and how they deal with the situation. I needed such information because it feeds into the study's discussion on the changing ways of dialoguing.

Waste rock collectors, and the guards hired by GGM to control them, are the people from the third group I interviewed. Like the cattle keepers, I interviewed the waste rock 'scavengers' to get accounts of their everyday experiences in collecting waste rock—a practice that is discouraged by the mining firm through roundtable meetings. Amongst other things, I wanted to know the techniques they employ in finding their way into the restricted areas and the challenges they encounter when caught. Also, I wanted to

know how they considered roundtable dialogue, its outcomes, and how it affects their livelihood activities. In this sense, I also wanted to know how they face the situation. Hired guards who control the waste rock collectors were interviewed for the same information as that obtained from their counterparts controlling cattle keepers. Information from both waste rock collectors and hired guards was needed to get the views of participants on the impact of roundtable meetings on their lives, social relations, work and how they handle the situation—this understanding was important to establish how SD practices can take different shapes.

Similar intentions were the reason for interviewing artisanal and small-scale miners, who form the fourth group of my research participants. During interviews with ASMs, I wanted to establish why they continue re-establishing mining pits in GGM's lease area despite being forced to vacate them. Like the other two groups (cattle keepers and waste rock collectors), I wanted their accounts on the decisions, agreements, outcome and impact of roundtable dialogue on their everyday lives and social relations. This information was important to establish their reactions to the situation and indeed why they react the way they do, because this could inform me on the changing ways of practising SD dialogue.

The fifth and sixth groups involved witnesses of sabotage to GGM's water pipeline and participants in the roadblock demonstration, respectively. I interviewed participants from these groups for their accounts on what took place during these events and the reasons behind them. Because these events had something to do with how the mining firm relates to them, in the interviews I also wanted to know how they consider ongoing dialogue between GGM and community members, in relation to their work, life, and relations. As with the first four groups, I interviewed more than one participant from each group because I wanted to go beyond normative views (pleasing answers) and draw from their accounts the real experiences from participating in these events. The accounts from these participants, as with

the other participants, largely feed into this study's discussion on the abilities of CofP in instituting alternative platforms for dialogue. I present a detailed analysis of this perspective in chapters 5 and 6.

Apart from the above, the entire group of key informants was also chosen because of two other specific reasons. First, their involvement in the above events, i.e., in the roundtable dialogue; negotiating space for grazing cattle; requesting an opportunity to collect waste rock; using the water pipeline and the road to set a platform for interaction; demonstrate the idea of bridging social capital employed by this study. By participating in events without causing trouble while trying to discuss or negotiate their interests; requesting better understanding and opportunities to exercise their livelihood activities, these participants show the intention of reaching out to another social group which is not like their own, an intention of building mutual understanding and therefore improving social relations. This manifests the process of bridging social capital. Indicative here is that social capital seems to be bridged mainly by the wish of community members to articulate their pressing needs. The second reason is that because I was interested in studying their views, perspectives and accounts of their involvement in these events, this concern also informed my decision to choose discourse analysis as my analytical framework. As I explain in detail below, discourse analysis is an appropriate analytical tool for studies such as this one, which attempts to establish how participants make sense of their local situations, events and actions through their expressions and viewpoints.

4.7 Secondary Sources

Most secondary sources for the literature review were found on the Internet, specifically the online database of the University of Basel and websites dedicated to CSR, public relations, sustainable mining development and mining conflicts. Some key websites include AngloGold Ashanti; the Ministry of Energy and Minerals (MEM); JamiiForums; Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development (MMSD); International Council on Mining &

Metals (ICMM) and the World Gold Council (WGC). Tanzania's mining legislation was downloaded from the website of the Government of Tanzania. Other secondary sources include minutes of meetings, letters and other official documents (see appendices ii to ix) from the office of Nyakabale's VEO (Village Executive Officer), as well as documents from Geita District Council (administrative and socio-economic profiles).

The above-mentioned material was selected based on how the information is relevant to this study. For instance, at Nyakabale village's office, I went through the files with the minutes of roundtable meetings and picked those with records on the meetings which discussed and made deliberations on the events I followed, i.e., cattle grazing, waste rock collection, ASMs, water pipeline sabotage, and the road block demonstration. The letters which I collected from the same office include invitations to roundtable meetings, various requests, apologies, explanations, etc., from the villagers to their leaders and GGM. Some of the requests were for permission to graze cattle in certain forbidden areas; to be allowed to continue collecting waste rock; transportation; for water supply, as well as pardons to various decisions taken against the villagers charged for violating the agreements made in roundtable meetings. Other letters were from GGM responding to those from the village's office or which informed the office about the company's response to some of the events mentioned above.

Other documents obtained from the village office included GGM reports on various CSR activities, complaints of 'trespassing' and vandalism, as well as the company's envisaged plans. The administrative and socio-economic profiles I obtained from Geita District Council helped me to get statistical reports on the socio-economic activities of the district and the region; community issues; local government development plans for these communities; as well as data on the available natural resources. In general terms, the purpose of using secondary sources was to get other relevant information which could clarify, support or add to the data collected during interviews and field observation. Moreover, some information I got from

the documents triggered several questions which I had not asked my participants in previous interviews.

4.8 Field Observation

During my fieldwork I observed various aspects that are related to the research question. The aim was to evaluate and validate some of the responses provided by the respondents. In this sense, I visited three mining sites used by small-scale miners: a locally established gold processing site where waste rock from GGM is treated; areas used for grazing cattle and cultivation; and a pipeline channelling water to GGM from Lake Victoria. In this way I was able to observe how community members in Nyakabale exercise their everyday livelihood activities and the challenges they encounter in doing so. I could also observe the sense of insecurity and lack of freedom of these community members, due to this engagement in activities forbidden by GGM and local government through roundtable dialogue. This situation prompted me to validate or seek clarification from village leaders and GGM officials on why villagers continued these activities despite being discouraged from doing so. The answers speak volumes about norms, situated meanings, social worlds, and so forth, issues I use as my analytical framework (I shall discuss this in a short while). Moreover, with the help and accompaniment of the VEO of Nyakabale, we were able to walk halfway of the 8 km road which was cut off by GGM. We walked about 3 km from Nyakabale village to GGM's main offices, where we got a ride to Geita town. On another occasion, I boarded one of the buses that transports villagers to Geita town. The ride began from Nyakabale village through the mine's checkpoint, where we had to alight to be inspected and then board again for Geita town.

This exercise validated the claims from Nyakabale villagers that before GGM blocked the road it was easier for them to travel to Geita town by bicycle or on foot to sell farm products, buy supplies, or obtain help from public offices in the town. Moreover, the exercise enabled me to observe

part of the impact of GGM's operations on the environment, such as open mining pits, piled excavated rocks, a tailing dam, and planted trees. Here I could also see a number of villagers climbing the hill to collect waste rock and I could identify some of GGM's hired guards controlling other parts of the company's concession. The fact that I was helped by the Nyakabale VEO, who has a gate pass, to cross GGM's concession, also informed my understanding of his position in the roundtable dialogue; I was not sure whether such privilege did not affect his abilities in upholding the office's etiquette in his dealings with the firm, especially when making decisions in the dialogue.

On another occasion, I travelled to Nyakabale village from Geita town via a 30 km road that is presently used by villagers after the shorter 8 km route was blocked by GGM. At first, I took a minibus that commutes to a neighbouring town called Katoro and stopped at a junction, Mgusu, en route to Nyakabale village. There, I hired a motorcycle, which took me to the village. The challenges I encountered by taking this route were a clear indication to me of how much villagers in Nyakabale and elsewhere risk by using it, particularly those riding bicycles through a thick forest and very steep slope. In Nyakabale village, I had the opportunity to attend a meeting between the villagers, their leaders, and village guards, locally known as *sungusungu*. In addition, I visited the CSR projects implemented by GGM in Nyakabale village, including a dispensary, a primary school (see appendices iv and v) and an agro-forest project which, by the time this study was conducted, was no longer operating, apparently because GGM withdrew its support. The idea was to get a more focused understanding of how village meetings are conducted; how CSR projects are managed; and indeed how community members perceive these implements. This understanding was important because it helped me to pick a number of issues to which I paid more attention when analysing data related to meetings and CSR.

4.9 Unstructured Interviews

While in the research study area, I conducted unstructured interviews with officials at the district level, namely the municipal director of Geita District and the chairman of Geita District Council. This was to obtain their general opinions on management of the mining industry in the area, meetings between GGM and CofP, as well as the nature of the relationship of the two sides. I also interviewed a journalist corresponding from Geita District; a teacher at Nyakabale primary school; a VEO from Nyamalembo, a neighbouring village; two GGM employees; and an older member from Nyakabale community who had lived in the village before GGM operations began. The intention was also to get their viewpoints on presence of GGM and how it relates with neighbouring communities. I also had informal discussions about my research with friends and other interested parties. Discussions in public transport, at various recreational centres in Mwanza City, as well as at St. Augustine University of Tanzania. I also discussed my research with colleagues at the University of Basel and other scholars whom I met while attending international conferences, summer schools and workshops. The aim was to share experiences, opinion, and knowledge on research issues, as well as my project. Part of the information obtained, observations and insights provided during interviews and discussions served as data and contributed to the analysis in my study.

4.10 Reflection on the Data Collection Process

Prior to beginning field trips, I consulted several experts in the fields of public relations, CSR and sociology, and sought their advice, opinions, and ideas, which contributed to sharpening the focus of this study. I also reviewed relevant literature related to the concepts under study; relationships and conflicts in mining communities; and methods in qualitative inquiries. In addition, I contacted sources who are familiar with the issues related to the engagement (and disengagement) between GGM and CofP in Geita.

Some of these sources were former students of St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT) who live and work in Geita District. I shared with them my research goals and fieldwork plan and asked for their help in terms of getting more contacts and documented reports on the case. I also requested one member from this group to become my research assistant, and she willingly accepted.

In the same effort, I also contemplated on the kind of information I needed from the field; the types of questions to ask to obtain the required data (see appendix I); and who the right respondents were to provide the information I needed. Key issues that I sought to understand related to GGM's meetings with the village leaders in Nyakabale, daily activities of community members, their livelihoods, sociocultural aspects, the environment, and villagers' opinions on the presence of the mining firm.

Before going to the field, I anticipated several limitations that could inhibit my research effort: transport difficulties, research permission and the reluctance of GGM's representatives to meet with me. Nonetheless, I was able to overcome these concerns when I started fieldwork. The means of transport I found and used in Geita included public minivans, hired motorcycles, and bicycles. With the help of my research assistant, I submitted an application for research permission a week before beginning fieldwork. When I arrived in Geita, a former SAUT student working at the regional commissioner's office introduced me to the regional administrative secretary, who, after a brief discussion about my study, offered me a research permit. Additionally, my first meeting with an official from GGM's CRSD department was organized by one of the company's employees, who is an associate of one of my relatives.

The exercise of collecting data took a total of four months, divided into three sojourns. The first fieldwork took place between April and May 2013; the second January and March 2014; and the third, between December 2014 and January 2015. I also had a one-day follow-up field visit on the 8th of October 2015. The idea was to collect all relevant information

in order to get a more focused understanding, which could not be attained through a single field visit. Given this split of the field trips, I was able to identify new themes. For instance, at first the conceptualization of my study was largely CSR oriented, but following the first field visit I discovered that dialogue as a CSR tool was central to this research. I noticed this based on the fact that a number of people I interviewed expressed concerns regarding the lack of communication and interaction between GGM and community members (the BSC idea). This, therefore, called for a close follow-up of meetings between the two parties and the reactions to these from both groups. Furthermore, the separate field visits facilitated the process of data gap filling.

In the field, I was able to meet most participants without prior appointments and without them refusing to take part. Two interviewees, however, refused to participate. The first, a casual worker at Nyakabale village office, refused to be interviewed, accusing my study of being politically motivated and me of being sent by an opposition political party (CHADEMA). Another interviewee, GGM's official from the CRSD department who I met during the first sojourn, cancelled our interview appointment a few minutes before we were to meet. He said he had travelled to a nearby town and was not able to arrive in time for the interview. My efforts to arrange another meeting with him proved futile. These incidents, however, were isolated cases, as I was able to replace the refraining participants with other interviewees serving in similar capacities in the offices in question.

I conducted most of the interviews in participants' homes without the presence of other people. I believe this provided confidentiality and encouraged openness on the part of the interviewees. On two occasions, however, there were contributions from people I had not anticipated involving. While I was interviewing respondents in two different houses, visitors arrived. On the first occasion, the visitor listened to our interview and went on contributing to the responses of my interviewee. The second time, the

visitor volunteered to participate in a separate interview. In this case, I requested her to allow me to finish the interview I was conducting; she waited outside the house, where I later joined her for the interview. In viewing all the interviews I conducted, I consider that all participants provided genuine answers and were not influenced by any externality.

I will also mention that most of the interviewees in this study participated unconditionally. Some were even hopeful that my study would help them voice their grievances outside Geita, and others considered me as someone who might rescue them from trouble, and thus requested my intervention. I was, however, cautious of any insinuations and therefore did not promise anything apart from assuring to send participants a translated summary of my dissertation. Moreover, I was able to overcome the obstacle of being perceived as an outsider through the help of my research assistant, who introduced me to local government officials, who in turn introduced me to community members and helped to organize the meetings. The officials also escorted me on visits to some places considered unsafe to ‘outsiders’ and researchers, for instance, the local gold processing sites. Community members working in such places tend to perceive researchers and the like as officials from the government or mining firm who go to inspect what they do and thereafter make decisions against their activities. A proper introduction by local officials was helpful in all the sites I visited.

It is worth noting that my research assistant played a pivotal role, particularly in the process of gathering data and relevant official documents. Apart from her being acquainted with the relevant offices (and some officials) we visited for the collection of the needed documents, her accompaniment made my access to these offices in Geita quite smooth. At first, I did not anticipate getting quick service in these offices, given the evident red tape. However, due to the fact that most of these workplaces are chaired by male officials, the presence of an attractive young lady accompanying me seemed to amuse most of these officials, who ended up being cooperative. This is not to imply that the officials or my research assistant are

unprofessional or uncouth individuals even in the slightest regard. I interpret the situation as one which happened merely from a delight held by the officials on meeting an unexpected but pleasing guest.

4.11 Analysing and Interpreting Data

Discourse analysis is the approach I use in the analysis of the data I gathered. In particular, I follow Gee's (2011) discourse analysis, as it focuses on studying a language in use, as well as how language can be used to do things in the world. Gee provides five theoretical tools that inform discourse analysis from a linguistic perspective. These tools are (a) situated meaning, (b) social languages, (c) figured worlds, (d) intertextuality, and (e) 'Big D' discourse. In this study, I was specifically interested in the first three tools, namely situated meaning, social languages, and figured worlds. I employed these three tools particularly because they offer a unique chance to use the accounts made by research participants, in this case villagers in Nyakabale, to show how they use words, phrases and statements to explain their life realities and/or social worlds. In other words, the tools enabled me to demonstrate how villagers use their expressions to show identities, make sense of their actions, and validate their norms and values. My analysis focused on these identities, actions, norms and values, to illustrate the community members' abilities in shifting contents of dialogue and changing ways of dialoguing with GGM.

Gee's tool, situated meaning, refers to how individuals can build meanings when using a language in a specific context. According to Gee (2011), any word or structure in language, has a certain 'meaning potential', i.e., a variety of possible meanings that the word or structure can take on in different contexts of use (p. 150–151). Gee & Handford (2013) observe that it is an idea related to the specific meaning that words and expressions have in context. That is, the specific meaning that can be attributed to a word or phrase, given the context and how that context is construed (Gee 2011:153). In addition to situated meaning, Gee's social languages tool

points out the way in which language can be used as an indicator of identity or even as a way of enacting an identity (see Rogers [Ed.]. 2011). In this sense, Gee explains how different styles or varieties of using language can show how individuals carry out different types of social work and enact different socially situated identities (Gee 2011:150). For someone to understand what the speaker means or identifies, Gee presents several key things to consider including: to know who is speaking and in what capacity; to use our previous experience and knowledge of what is being spoken about; and to know what the speaker seeks to accomplish.

Based on Gee's situated meanings and social languages, I attempted to reconstruct, from the words and statements made by the villagers in Nyakabale, how social actors see and construe their worlds. Gee argues that social actors ascribe meanings to other people, to relationships, to systems of knowledge, etc. People construe the world they live in, and they are at the same time placing themselves in the position of producing those same worlds. Therefore, in order to understand how and what community members in Nyakabale meant to say during interviews—in relation to our understanding of stakeholder dialogue practices—Gee's situated meanings and social languages served well as part of my analytical tools.

The third tool, figured worlds, refers to “a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others” (Gee 2011:170). In more specific terms, figured worlds refer to “narratives and images that different social and cultural groups of people use to make sense of the world” (ibid.). Here Gee says that these narratives and images function as simplified models of how things work when they are ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ for a particular social and cultural group. They are meant to help people get on with the business of living and communicating without having to reflect explicitly on everything before acting (Gee 2011:150). Macamo (2014) refers to Gee's figured worlds as “the assumptions about the world which (...) social actors render their utterances intelligible, and perhaps even reasonable” (p. 129).

A figured world is a picture of a simplified world that captures what is taken to be typical or normal, and it varies by context and people's social and cultural groups (see Gee 2011:170). I employed the figured worlds tool to demonstrate how the accounts of community members in Nyakabale, in their reactions to the outcome of roundtable dialogue, convey that sense of something being 'typical' or 'normal' in that social world. It is this normalcy which helps me to see how the accounts of the villagers, in their reactions towards roundtable dialogue, intelligibly speak of their abilities to alter the ways of meeting and talking with officials from GGM.

Drawing from these three theoretical tools, my analysis starts in chapter 5 by digging into the accounts drawn from interviews, to unpack the identities, the typical or normal stories, and the construed worlds, as they were spelt out by community members in Nyakabale village. As explained by Gee (2011), my analysis attempts to know which identity a speaker builds for himself and which one he builds for others. In other words, to know how the speaker uses language, action, interaction, norms, values, symbols, and objects, and place them together in such a way that others recognise him or her as being a certain kind of person (a cattle keeper, collectors of *mangwala* [waste stones left over after gold ore extraction]), small-scale miner etc.); and to show how community members recognize others (local leaders, government officials, and the mining firm) as groups of people who fail in their obligations, at the same time revealing themselves as victims of the situation. In this way I show how the community members deal with this situation. It is in this context that the idea of changing ways of dialoguing becomes more visible.

Moreover, the analysis proceeds in chapter 6 by showing explicitly what community members do as a reaction to roundtable dialogue and also in chapter 7, exactly what takes place in these roundtable meetings. From the diverse data on the views, interests and practices of different participants, I draw, from the accounts of the villagers, the typical stories, norms and values, to show how the decisions and agreements made in roundtable di-

ologue overlook these issues. From the perspective of community members, such an oversight is what makes roundtable dialogue less useful and creates the need to alter the ways of meeting and negotiating with the mining firm.

4.12 Data Management

The interviews were recorded in Swahili and the data collected was afterwards transcribed into English. On some occasions, I did the translations and transcription immediately after interviews to avoid backlog. I also photocopied all the documents I obtained as secondary sources of information. I kept all the data collected from field observation in the field notebook, and recalled and summarized the important information from informal discussions immediately afterwards. Using my discretion on what is important, I developed *a priori* codes and organized data into categories in relation to these codes; produced themes and used these for interpreting the data (see Table 4). In addition, pseudonyms for participants were used for confidentiality, except for the titles of GGM officials and village leaders who had no problem with their identities being disclosed.

4.13 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to reflect on the methodological issues important for capturing the accounts of CofP in order to show how they convey certain social identities, meanings, norms and values, useful for us to make sense of their social actions in relation to dialogic practices between them and a mining firm. The chapter explains how the use of qualitative study—the case study approach—was vital for the present study, and how semi-structured interviews with key informants, as well as observation, were the key methods for data generation. Moreover, the chapter explains how the generated data was processed based on Gee's (2011) discourse analysis tool, after the completion of three sojourns of field visits.

Table 4: Working with my data

A priori codes	Codes	Themes	Conclusions
Situated meanings	Engagement Communication Relations Fairness Hindrance Negotiations	Livelihood strategies interrupted Quest for interaction Coping strategies	Quest for interaction and livelihood opportunities, as well as finding ways of coping with the situation, are the only possibilities for meeting family responsibilities, accessing ancestral land and defining destiny; and in this way to address marginalization, sentiments and endurance
Social languages	Dejection Frustration Insecurity Recognition Consideration Authoritative	Marginalized by authorities Community sentiments Community endurance	Marginalization, sentiments and endurance, necessitates a need for interaction, livelihood opportunities and coping strategies, in order to meet family responsibilities, access to ancestral land and define destinies
Figured words	Obligations Occupation Entitlement Rights Negotiations	Family responsibilities Access to ancestral land Defining destiny	Inability to meet family responsibilities, access ancestral land, and define destiny is an indicator of marginalization, as well as a cause of sentiments and endurance, thus resulting in a need for interaction, and formulation of livelihood struggles and coping strategies

The a priori codes are based on Gee's analytical tools (2011). Source: Author 2015.

Generally, the strategy here was to paint a picture of the context in which the arguments made in this study should be understood.

In the next chapter, I proceed with data analysis. I go through data collected from the field, using Gee's discourse analysis tool to provide an account of how community members in Nyakabale perceive the ongoing stakeholder dialogue practice in Geita. As mentioned here and in chapter 2, I employ Gee's discourse analysis tools, namely situated meanings, social languages, and figured worlds, because they offer a unique opportunity to explore the dialogic efforts of MMs and CofP as processes of bridging social capital. Gee's tools allow me to go through the accounts of community members in Nyakabale, as well as officials from GGM, to illuminate how their views, perceptions, and actions in that local setting inform us of the processes towards improving social relations or ties, i.e., bridging social capital. The use of Gee's tools and the bridging social capital concept is an apt combination in exploring issues related to the daily life experiences of dialogue participants, which are key to unveiling community members' changing ways of dialoguing. Thus, by going through the accounts of the villagers in Nyakabale, I aim at showing how their views and expressions inform us of their dissatisfaction with the mining firm, and their reasons for changing dialogue practices.

5. Nyakabale Villagers' Perspective on the Roundtable Dialogue

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I employ Gee's (2011) discourse analysis tool to illustrate how the villagers in Nyakabale perceive the ongoing dialogue practices with GGM, based on their accounts made during interviews. The main contention that I try to support is that, in spite of all the possible good intentions behind this ongoing dialogue between GGM and CofP, the latter see neither their norms, values, pressing needs, nor their interests being accommodated by the practice, and therefore the situation compels them to institute other platforms for dialogue. I argue in this chapter that the norms, values, needs and interests of community members are central to our understanding of why the ongoing roundtable dialogue is not delivering the expected outcomes. Thus, the chapter draws from the substance of statements made during the interviews to illustrate why community members, after noticing that their norms, values, needs and interests are overlooked in roundtable meetings, deem the practice fruitless. In other words, I try to illuminate how these viewpoints derived from the accounts made by the villagers can be used to inform us of the shortcomings of roundtable dialogue practices.

In what follows, I use Gee's three analytical tools, namely situated meaning, social languages and figured worlds, to go through the statements made by the villagers in Nyakabale to uncover their views and perspectives on what they expect of stakeholder dialogue. In other words, I try to show how the villagers in Nyakabale regard SD practices, based on the above three analytical tools which I draw from talking to them. Therefore, by the end of the chapter, I will be able to show how villagers' expressions on the outcome of roundtable dialogue inform our understanding of what they think should be taken into account during SD practices, in order to make the exercise productive.

It is also worth noting here that due to the need to illuminate the viewpoints of the villagers, and the usefulness of Gee's analytical tools in studying stakeholder dialogue as an effort of bridging social capital, analysis in chapters 5, 6 and 7 does not rely on the themes developed during the data analysis exercise (see Table 4). Instead, quotations from participants are specifically used to demonstrate how Gee's situated meanings, social languages, and figured worlds (used as a priori codes) suitably take us to the issues and contexts which form the themes in question, and juxtapose their commonalities, relationships and differences. To be more particular, the use of quotations in the chapters sharply demonstrates the social world of the participants and helps us to make sense of it. For example, from the themes, 'quest for interaction'; 'livelihood strategies interrupted'; 'coping strategies'; 'family responsibilities'; 'accessing ancestral land'; 'defining destiny'; 'marginalized by authorities'; 'community sentiments' and 'community endurance'; quotations from participants help to illustrate how community members seek interaction with the authorities and develop coping strategies as they struggle to find livelihood opportunities. Such persistence, as the quotations indicate, arises from needs such as family responsibilities, a need to access ancestral land, and also to define their destiny— things which are likely to abolish marginalization and address their sentiments, as well as endurance. Thus, the rationale behind using participants' quotations is to illustrate this juxtaposition.

5.2 The Motives for GGM-CofP Dialogue

In Geita, as mentioned in chapter 3, communities neighbouring GGM have been beneficiaries of several CSR projects developed by the mining firm. According to GGM reports, these projects are mainly discharged after dialoguing with stakeholders, including CofP. The firm contends that the intention of dialoguing with stakeholders such as CofP is to listen to their views, problems, grievances, and find ways of establishing mutual understanding. GGM's official from the Community Relations and Sustainable

Development (CRSD) department, which takes overall responsibility for the management of community relations and social development, said during field interviews that essentially the company dialogues with community members to know their priorities. This includes knowing their Local Development Plans (LDP) to find a way to incorporate them into GGM's own Community Development Plan (CDP). The official stated that dialogue between the two parties is used as a platform for interaction, hence getting the chance to learn about the preoccupations of community members and agree on which priorities to address first and (probably) how to address them.

Based on these explanations by the official, I consider this dialogue between GGM and CofP as a form of bridging social capital. This is to say that company officials are attempting to reach across to people (communities) who do not belong to their immediate circle, and in a way to make them part of their team. They connect with them in some ways to improve social relations or ties. This happens through meetings between GGM and the representatives of the villages. In each village, there is a Village Executive Council (VEC), formed by leaders of hamlets of the village. According to the Tanzanian administrative system, every village has several hamlets, depending on the size of the village. A leader elected from a particular hamlet joins colleagues from other hamlets in the village, plus the Village Chairman (VC), to form the VEC. The VEC elects a chairman for this council, like an assembly. Moreover, the secretary of this council is appointed Village Executive Officer (VEO) by the District Executive Director (DED) at district level.

According to GGM's CRSD department official, the company has a plan to meet every VEC once a month. The official points out that because of the high population in the villages, it is unlikely that the company could convene meetings involving every village member. Therefore, village leaders attend meetings as representatives assumed to have already sought opinions, expectations, problems, grievances, and other issues, from village members, which are to be addressed at meetings. The village leaders

are then expected to convene meetings in their respective villages and hamlets and give feedback of what transpired during these meetings. In this sense, the VEO attends meetings as the representative of government at district level.

In these meetings, as I shall further explain in chapters 6 and 7, many issues are discussed and agreed upon. Among the issues discussed, and which, from the perspective of the mining company, are very critical, have to do with villagers' livelihood activities undertaken within the firm's lease area. GGM considers these activities unsafe, particularly to those engaging in them, and as a threat to security. Therefore, during discussions and agreements in meetings, such activities are forbidden, and strict measures, including police charges and lawsuits, are taken against those who breach the announced agreements. In certain ways, these agreements, as I shall discuss in detail in the following chapters, seem to overlook the interests, needs and priorities of the villagers, priorities that GGM pronounced key to understanding how CSR projects should be implemented. Thus, as I go through the accounts of the villagers below, I attempt to show how the community members, those represented in the dialogue, regard such decisions, and indeed how they see the dialogue itself.

5.3 Nyakabale Villagers' Perspective

Drawing from the accounts from field interviews, I think we can understand how the villagers in Nyakabale see the decisions and the dialogue, based on Gee's (2011) three analytical tools: situated meanings, social languages and figured worlds. Gee says that people build meanings 'on line' when using a language in a specific context, i.e., meanings of expressions are connected to the prototypical situations in which a word or structure is usually used (2011:150–151). Looking at the accounts from community members in Nyakabale (those represented in the roundtable dialogue), it becomes clear that these individuals were using certain words to convey certain meanings which are clear to them and that specific milieu. These

meanings tell us how they see their local situation and most likely that they see it differently from the way others (e.g., officials from the mine) see it.

For example, the words I present below were frequently mentioned by the villagers and convey certain expressions which they use to make sense of their situation. The way the words *mgodi* (the mine) and *mgodini* (in the mine) were used not only referred to GGM as a mining firm, but also meant to describe a gigantic two-faced entity, which on one hand, villagers thought has abilities to improve their lives but refrains from doing so; and on the other hand, has interrupted their lives and made everything complicated. The words were used in situations where villagers expressed their unattainable wish to reach out to this colossal body which they think could somehow solve their problems but does not want to; likewise, these terms were also uttered as a vivid explanation as to why their present life is difficult and insecure, as well as why their environment is damaged. Therefore, the words were uttered in reference to something which could have been useful to them, in terms of improving their living standards, but unfortunately turned out to be problematic.

More so, the words *mzungu* (white person), or sometimes *wazungu* (white person), also frequently used by the villagers, not only referred to *mzungu* as the owner of the mine, but also conveyed that sense of someone who is different (someone unlike themselves). The use of the word *mzungu* meant to describe this privileged person, a foreigner, a sort of stranger, who came to their localities but did not make enough effort to understand their way of life or did not want to interact with them. Again, the term refers to someone who sees him/herself as special, the boss, and who, for the most part, looks upon the villagers as people making little contribution or impact on the *mzungu's* life or business. The use of the word *mzungu* at certain times also suggested a person, a newcomer, who has the ability to change situations; a person who has to be brought closer and be told to change the way things are done in that locality. By considering him influential, particularly to local and national government leaders, villagers used the word *mzungu*

to refer to someone who is aloof, somewhat unfriendly, but who has to be approached and made to realize that their life situation is difficult.

In addition, the use of words like *wa wilayani* (people at the district, referring to government officials at the district level), and *wa mahusiano* (relationship people, referring to public relations officers at GGM's CRSD department), also conveyed multiple meanings about how community members regard their situation and these officials in terms of their positions in that community and the way they treat the villagers. The terms *wa wilayani* and *wa mahusiano* were uttered in reference to these individuals who happen to be fellow Tanzanians but living a different life, benefitting from the presence of the mine at the expense of the villagers' social well-being. These words were used when villagers were conveying a sense of being betrayed, scorned or disregarded; an example would be "...we are being mistreated by our fellow Tanzanians simply because they want to please the *mzungu*". To a certain extent, the villagers referred to *wa mahusiano* (public relations officers from the CRSD department) as people who are undecided—who would talk of supporting them, of cooperating with them, of building a beneficial relationship, but end up distancing themselves from the villagers. People who say what they do not mean, who perform their work superficially and mostly to please the owners of the mine.

Looking at the above, two things become apparent. First, despite being displeased at the way these groups of people treat them, the villagers still perceive these people as individuals who can help them (and are supposed to) change their life situations. Second, with their utterances, the villagers indirectly express the wish to bring these people closer, to find ways to meet and tell them of their life situations, because they regard them as people who can help. In other words, their articulations express a sense of wanting to bridge with people who are unlike themselves—of improving relations with them and thereby attaining social capital. At least this can be drawn from their mentioning the obligations they believe these people have towards them. More importantly, the above statements demonstrate how the roundtable dialogue, where these villagers are represented, has

fallen short of bridging—of reaching out to these community members and building mutual relations. The villagers’ expressions show in more obvious terms that roundtable dialogue is not genuinely pursued.

Moreover, villagers’ use of words such as *ofisi ya kijiji* (village office) and *viongozi wa kijiji* (village leaders) can also help us see how community members disapprove of the dialogue. These words were often used by the villagers with reference to issues related to negotiations and arbitration between them and the mining firm. First, the villagers used the words *ofisi ya kijiji* to refer not only to a public office, but also to a place where they could go to communicate their problems and be understood (see Figure 3); and *viongozi wa kijiji* not just as leaders, but as people who understand

Figure 3: Nyakabale village office



Source: Photo taken by the author during a follow up field visit in October 2015

them and can help them to negotiate with *wa mahusiano*, or become arbitrators when misunderstandings occur. The words were uttered in a manner which conveys that villagers trust their leaders or rely on them for intervention when trouble occurs. Most of the time, these words were mentioned as a suggestion that village leaders should take a more active role in making the mining firm aware of their challenging situation. Put differently, the villagers were communicating a need for proper bridging (dialogue). Second, the villagers' use of these words also painted a picture of village leaders as officials who wish to help them, but are caught in between, particularly because of the mine's influence on government officials at district and national levels. Such inference helps to explain the nature of engagement between village leaders and officials from the mine, and also shows the sceptical view of the villagers towards such engagements.

The use of the word *polisi* (from the English word police) also informs us of the situated meanings of these community members. When the villagers used this word, they were not referring to police as a force for maintaining order or preventing crime. They were referring to a police station—a place they frequently visit due to different charges made by mine officials. These accusations related to the breaching of agreements made in the roundtable dialogue—especially those forbidding villagers to enter the mine's lease area. By using the word *polisi*, villagers were depicting a sense of being accustomed to this place; the way they used the word *polisi* was like referring to something familiar—something usual. It portrayed a sense that going to a police station was not much trouble—in a way saying that they are ready to face the frequent charges made by mine officials. Other situated meanings can be drawn from villagers' use of the word *casual* (casual worker), referring to their fellow villagers who are hired by the mining firm as security guards. Though the villagers did not say this candidly, their use of the word *casual* seemed to imply that these hired guards were 'just other people'—people of the same class as themselves. The term *casual* showed contempt for the hired guards who prevent them from entering the

mining area—a betrayal of their fellow villagers for the sake of *mzungu* or *mgodi*. Again, like the other words discussed above, these also seem to attest to the villagers' disapproval of the agreements made during roundtable dialogue. In a way, the words also help to reveal what the villagers consider important and what should be considered by decision makers in roundtable dialogue.

The meanings of the villagers' accounts can also be traced in their use of the word *kemikali* (from the English word chemical), which basically points to toxic chemicals that apparently contaminate the village's water sources. There are allegations from villagers that toxic chemicals from the mine's tailing dam spill into these water sources during rains. Intriguing here is that villagers only used the word *kemikali* when referring to the toxic chemicals said to contaminate the water sources in the village. The villagers' use of the word *kemikali* rarely referred to other chemicals, such as mercury, some of which are used for small-scale mining. The debate around the effects of mercury on humans is heated, and scientists and other interested parties have been advising small-scale miners such as those in Nyakabale to stop using mercury, although many still do. The way Nyakabale villagers used the word *kemikali* brings forth the argument made by several PR and CSR scholars that actors' interests during stakeholder dialogue are key in determining the outcome of the practice—the way the villagers use the word *kemikali* here demonstrates a sense of considering their interests first.

The last word to refer to in this section, in terms of the meanings of villagers' expressions, is *usalama* (safety). The villagers in Nyakabale seemed to use the word *usalama* not only when referring to the village's or their own safety, but also in reference to the threats of unsafe water sources in the village, limited land for cultivation and interrupted livelihood activities. Through their frequent use of the word *usalama*, the villagers seemed to communicate the message of feeling unsafe. This can quickly be drawn from their accounts on the above stated allegations that water sources in the village are contaminated by toxic chemicals from the mine; from their

inference of the limited access to farming land since the mine took large tracts of land; and finally, from their talk about the interrupted livelihood activities that limit opportunities for earning income. The frequent use of the word *usalama* indicates that villagers in Nyakabale are somewhat insecure as they cope with abrupt changes to their locality, environment, and sociocultural activities. This situation seemed to keep them wanting to meet *mgodi* (the mine) or *mzungu* (the white person), to talk, at the same time requesting *viongozi wa kijiji* (village leaders)'s intervention.

Apart from the above situated meanings, the way Nyakabale villagers consider their local situation, particularly the roundtable dialogue, can also be illustrated based on the social languages drawn from their expressions. Looking at the accounts made by Nyakabale villagers, a certain 'social language', representing a particular cluster of marginalized people, comes to light. The use of statements such as those discussed below can help us paint a picture. During the interviews, statements such as *serikali imetusaliti* (the government has betrayed us) and *tumeuzwa* (we have been sold) were often used by the villagers, conveying a sense of desperation. The statement *serikali imetusaliti*, for example, was used by the villagers to explain their disappointment at the way the national (even regional) government entered into a mining contract with GGM without considering their well-being, interests and lives. More importantly, villagers used this statement to show their dissatisfaction with the government's decision to enter into such a contract without consultation with them. In other words, it sends the message that the villagers consider their own government as having ignored, even rejected them. The same is conveyed by the use of the term *tumeuzwa* (we have been sold); the villagers made this statement referring to this situation where they claim no one is there to listen to their grievances or to validate their opinions and viewpoints. Therefore, the term *tumeuzwa* conveys a sense of lacking freedom of expression, decision-making power and self-determination. The literal meaning is that they consider themselves commercial objects that have been sold to someone (*mgodi*), who is now the one defining their destiny.

Other statements which depict the social language of this community in Nyakabale are *tunakandamizwa* (we are being oppressed) and *tunapigwa mabomu ya machozi* (we are bombed with tear gas). The villagers used *tunakandamizwa* when pointing to situations where they once stood up for their rights, objected to injustice, and demanded to be heard, but the mine, in collaboration with the district government, used excessive force to stop them. The statement was also used to refer to situations in which villagers tried to work out their living, for instance through grazing cattle, small-scale mining and collecting waste rock, but were interrupted by the authorities on the grounds that these activities were undertaken within the mine's concession area. The inference is similar to that for the statement *tunapigwa mabomu ya machozi* (we are bombed with tear gas). This account was specifically used to refer to incidents where police officers working for GGM used tear gas to disperse community members who dared to continue using the company's lease area in spite of announced restrictions. Therefore, these two statements, *tunakandamizwa*, and *tunapigwa mabomu ya machozi*, vividly portray a picture that the villagers consider themselves as suppressed or maltreated.

This state of affairs is also conveyed by the villagers' use of statements such as *marehemu wa tarajiwa* (the would-be dead persons). This was often used when villagers were referring to their difficult lives, for instance the tedious livelihood activities, polluted environment, poor social services, and other uncertainties. It expresses a lack of alternatives in life, a sense of hopelessness. It is not far from the use of other terms such as *tunahangaika* (we are struggling), and *tunahenyeka* (we are hustling) which referred to circumstances where villagers do all it takes to earn a living—regardless of restrictions on entering the mine, penalties, police forces with tear gas, legal suits and so forth. These statements were somehow made as a reminder that access to basic human needs is critical to any person's survival and that the individuals who command authority and deprive the villagers of livelihood opportunities are overlooking the pressing needs of this community.

Apart from the above statements, the expression *kula kwa kulenga kwa manati* (not getting adequate meals) also communicates a particular social language. The statement was used in reference to the situation of the villagers struggling to make a living but circumstances are so complicated that access to food is uncertain. In a way, the statement referred to all the trouble the villagers encountered after the mine was established, taking over land used for food production and even income generation. This is similar to the statement *hakuna ajira* (no employment), which was mentioned in reference to the context where villagers not find employment with the mining firm, and at the same time their livelihood practices are interrupted. Like the other statements discussed above, this depicts a sense of villagers being disregarded and unfairly treated—they don't get employed, then can't afford food, then become desperate. There is also the statement *vikohozi na mafua kwa fujo* (frequent sufferings from cold and flu). It refers to continuous discomfort caused by the dust from the mine, and particularly the frequent attacks of cold and flu. This statement relates to others, such as *wameharibu mazingira* (they have destroyed the environment); *tumezungukwa na mahandaki* (we are surrounded by mining pits); *maji machafu* (the water is dirty or polluted), which communicates villagers' dissatisfaction with the way the mining firm treats the environment. It also sends the message that the villagers face tough times while those supposed to care are out of touch.

Based on these statements, community members in Nyakabale paint a picture of themselves as a particular social group which is aggrieved and which sees itself as disadvantaged by a social system. Their statements show us how they see the world and indeed how they make sense of their world amongst themselves. The language tells us that the way the villagers see things is different from the way those in authority see them. They frame things and events which surround them differently from the way the mining firm and government leaders do.

Phrases like *kwenye kiyoyozzi* (in an air conditioner); *kwenye magari yao* (in their cars— meaning GGM's big cars—mostly Toyota land cruisers);

and *kula raha* (living luxuriously) could be another set of words that illuminate the way the villagers in Nyakabale filter things surrounding them. The above phrases were used by the villagers when describing officials from the mine. They perceive them as privileged people who live a different life to theirs: working and living in air-conditioned places; driving expensive cars; indulging in leisure and affluence—and what makes things even more disappointing is that it is ‘their own gold’ (*rasilimali yetu*) that enriches these officials who end up mistreating or disrespecting them. Thus, all of the above statements attribute a certain social language used by the villagers to show us that they are a particular group of people that sees the world in certain ways that are different from other groups, particularly the officials from the and government leaders.

It is worth noting here that apart from identifying a particular marginalized social group, accounts from the same villagers also painted a picture that they wish to see changes in the way things happen in their locality, and possibly that such changes will occur from increased interaction with those in authority, particularly mine officials. Statements such as: *mahusiano ni mabaya* (relationships are bad); *hawatujali* (they don’t care about us); *huku kijijini kwetu hawafiki* (they do not visit our village); *mzungu hajawahi kukanyaga hapa* (the white man has never set foot here); *hawajui shida zetu* (they do not know our problems); *afadhali waje tukutane* (they’d better come and meet us); and *tuboreshe mahusiano* (let us improve our relationship) are quite revealing. Such statements, apart from showing how villagers are saddened by the situation in the village, also communicate the hope for change. Despite the bitterness, their language expresses a willingness for interaction; meaning an intention of improving relationships and bridging social capital. It is also communicative from their language that, while they are ready to negotiate and improve relationships, they are challenged by the mining firm’s hesitance to do the same.

The other way we can understand how community members in Nyakabale see roundtable dialogue and their local situation in general is through Gee’s

(2011) figured world perspective, which can be drawn from their statements. Here this means that the statements made by the villagers in Nyakabale enunciate the norms and values which they use to frame things and understand issues. Going through the accounts of community members, their expressions seem to indicate that they are somewhat puzzled—almost unable to comprehend the things happening in their locality. This context is communicated when the villagers spoke about eviction, resettlement and their role as parents and members of the community. Statements communicate a sense that individuals in this community wonder why this mining firm is allowed to install itself in their territory, without their consent, and interrupt their way of doing things.

Villagers' statements such as *ardhi yetu imechukuliwa* (our land has been taken) and *hatuwezi kuchimba tena* (we can't dig anymore) can be used here to show how individuals in this community censure the mining firm for interrupting their norms and values. Land is an invaluable asset to these community members. In their understanding, it cannot be replaced with anything. It is a treasured asset, used for mining activities, cultivation, grazing, and settlement. Seeing someone taking away 'our land' (*ardhi yetu*), is a terrible experience to them. This can be attested to by their comments about compensation and resettlement schemes after they were evicted, which they consider unrealistic. *Wamechukua ardhi nzuri na kutuleta kwenye miamba* (they have taken the fertile land and placed us on these rocks); *hakuna nafasi hapa* (there is no space here); and *ardhi yote imekwenda na hatuwezi kuitumia tena* (the entire land is gone and we can no longer use it). Statements like these clearly show how the villagers are saddened by the fact that they can no longer continue their normal activities because the mine has taken away the land. This is similar to the statement *hatuwezi kuchimba tena* (we can't mine anymore), meaning that they are denied an opportunity to do that what they were used to doing (mining). It seems these statements refer to issues of entitlement: land belongs to the villagers, so they consider themselves as the ones having the right to decide on its use. Seeing someone coming to take their land, and even forcing

them not to set foot on it, is difficult to comprehend or accept. It is even more disturbing for them to realize that this critical issue is not given proper attention in the ongoing negotiations, through roundtable dialogue (complaints on how this issue is disregarded in roundtable dialogue are plentiful and shall be discussed in detail in the next chapter).

The issue of entitlement is also communicated when the villagers expressed their misgivings on the loss of *rasilimali yetu* (our resource—referring to gold); *visima vyetu* (our wells), *barabara zetu* (our roads), and the like. The statements seem to explain the rights villagers had in accessing gold, water, roads, etc. They are normative expressions: ‘our gold’ implying that it is us who have been mining here all these years, and the gold belongs to us; the ‘roads are ours’ (maybe some of them were even constructed by the villagers); ‘the wells’ belonged to us and we used to fetch water from them, but we are now evicted and can no longer access them. These accounts speak of the bitterness villagers hold against those denying them their rights. The accounts also feed into how the villagers consider the dialogue that is meant to address these issues. It seems the exercise is not able to recover their rights and thus creates further uncertainties. The situation is quite telling, as villagers do not seem optimistic that this dialogue will be of help. The discussion in the next chapter will explain in specific terms, how the villagers attempt to address this situation.

More statements that can help us to understand these figured worlds, i.e., how the villagers use their norms and values to frame the way they see the ongoing dialogue and their local situation in general include: *vijana wetu wanahangaika* (our children [the youth] are struggling), and *sisi wazazi wao hatukusoma, tunashindwa kuwasaidia* (we, their parents, did not go school, so it’s difficult to help them). These statements were used by a number of parents in Nyakabale to explain situations where their children struggle to find something to do in order to earn a living, such as when they attempt to keep mining, grazing cattle, or trading in waste rock, but are discouraged by the authorities. Those engaging in these activities put

themselves at risk of being reprimanded or taken to a primary court to answer charges of trespassing on the mine's property. Thus, parents are aggrieved by the situation. They witness all the troubles facing their children and cannot intervene. "We did not go to school, we cannot help" (*hatukusoma, tunashindwa kusaidia*). Their statements convey a sense of obligation: as parents, they are supposed to help their children, but the situation no longer allows them to. In fact, these statements indirectly communicate that they used to help their children before the arrival of the mine by training them how to breed cattle, mine, cultivate and so forth; but now they can no longer help. The situation has changed. It requires certain knowledge and skills to be able to help their children, i.e., by getting a 'formal job', either at the mine or elsewhere, and this knowledge has to be obtained from school. Therefore, their accounts show that they are disturbed by the fact that they can no longer exercise their obligations as parents. It is probably even more annoying when they realize that the roundtable dialogue meant to address the matter cannot help them restore this norm.

The statements *sisi hatujazoea vurugu* (we are not used to confrontations) and *mahusiano ni muhimu* (literally meaning: relationships are important), can also be shown here to demonstrate the villagers' norms and values. These accounts were often made when community members were expressing their resentment towards the disagreements, confrontations, police charges, penalties and the like, which face the villagers in their dealings with the mining firm. The statements communicate the message that the villagers perceive disputes as something uncommon in Nyakabale. It implies that individuals in this community are accustomed to tranquillity and good relationships. The use of the phrase *mahusiano ni muhimu* (relationships are important), speaks volumes about this perspective: villagers seem to use this phrase not only to refer to the souring relationship between them and the mining firm, but also to point out the importance of having good relationships—as though saying it is not normal for them to be in a situation where people scorn or maltreat each other. The statement at the same

time expresses the desire of community members to see their relationship with GGM improving. By adding the word *muhimu* (important) to the word *mahusiano* (relationship), the villagers seem to signal that disputes are uncalled for, and therefore it is important for them to sort out their differences and get back to normal life.

It is at this point that the idea of bridging social capital or of holding genuine dialogue becomes more pertinent. What the villagers' statements bring to the open is that they wish to see things change in their community, i.e., to have a good relationship with the mining firm and improve their social ties. However, the problem seems to be the way this matter is addressed. It appears that they consider the ongoing efforts towards attaining mutual understanding as not providing the expected outcomes, thus necessitating other pertinent ways of creating a positive relationship. Based on what is presented in this chapter, however, it appears that such undertakings are unlikely in Nyakabale—at least from the fact that the mining firm doesn't seem to have realized the need to do so. This also doesn't mean that the villagers are giving up; from the empirical details presented in the next chapter, they are seen devising alternative means of bridging with the mine.

5.4 Conclusion

Based on Gee's (2011) three analytical tools, namely situated meaning, social languages and figured worlds, I have illustrated in this chapter how community members' norms, values, interests, as well as the way they make sense of their local situation, can be key issues to consider when we attempt to make sense of what constitutes stakeholder dialogue. I used the accounts made by community members during the interviews to show how their social worlds, norms, and values, help us understand why at certain times roundtable dialogue practices fail to deliver the expected outcomes, and indeed why community members like those in Nyakabale end up perceiving it as impracticable. In other words, I have tried in this chapter to

illuminate how the viewpoints derived from the accounts of individuals represented in roundtable dialogue can be useful in ascertaining the priorities and expectations of stakeholders.

In the next chapter, I proceed with Gee's (2011) discourse analysis tool to make an account of how stakeholder dialogue practices can vary according to different social groups, social constructs, norms, values and so forth. The aim of the chapter is to show how stakeholder dialogue practices, taken as a process of bridging social capital, can be understood beyond conventional interpretations that mainly recognize it as roundtable meetings. In this sense, I use the accounts made by community members during interviews to demonstrate how their expressions on what they do after being disappointed by the roundtable dialogue can inform our understanding on alternative means of dialoguing.

6. Being a Cattle Keeper, *Mangwala* Collector, ASM and a Villager in Nyakabale

6.1 Introduction

After seeing how community members in Nyakabale perceive the ongoing dialogue between them and GGM, in this chapter I employ the same analytical tools from Gee (2011) to show their responses towards the outcome of the practice. The argument that I sought to defend in the previous chapter is that villagers in Nyakabale do not consider the ongoing dialogue useful—especially because their interests, needs and expectations are not met during the exercise. In this chapter, I attempt to demonstrate this argument more explicitly by looking into particular instances, which also helps us to further our understanding of what constitutes stakeholder dialogue. In essence, I use the situated meanings, social languages, and figured worlds conveyed by community members' expressions to illustrate their abilities in pushing the limits of roundtable dialogue, henceforth managing to set alternative platforms for negotiations. In order to bring this to light, I present five specific events, which help us to see how community members go about in setting these platforms.

In doing so, I first draw from the accounts made by community members during interviews to demonstrate what propelled three events to take place, i.e., the reasons that make cattle keepers, *mangwala* collectors, and artisanal miners continue entering GGM property despite the hazardous environment and restrictions endorsed in the ongoing dialogue. In this sense, I use the situated meanings, social languages and figured worlds, spelt out by villagers' accounts, to show how they point to the reasons why these groups do what they do, despite the security apparatuses put in place to stop them, as well as police charges when apprehended. After that, I further use villagers' accounts to present two more events: a roadblock and water pipeline sabotage. Here I demonstrate how villagers' views and expres-

sions point to their abilities in staging alternative platforms for negotiations. In this respect, what I attempt to argue in the chapter is that the villagers' participation in these five instances inform us of the changing ways of dialoguing. The last part of the chapter will further elucidate how the villagers' accounts were reflected on in terms of the analytical framework employed by this study.

6.2 Cattle Keepers: Intruders or 'Dialoguers'?

One of the decisions made during ongoing dialogue between GGM and the villagers in Nyakabale is to forbid community members to graze cattle in the mine's lease area. Apparently, this is because the practice is dangerous for them and the cattle. There are reports⁶² of cattle and people dying because of different accidents in the area. For example, reports have claimed cattle dying due to the drinking of water contaminated with toxic chemicals (see Appendix vi) and people run over by huge trucks⁶³ used for mining operations. GGM has been hiring people from neighbouring villages to guard its lease area and prohibit the grazing of cattle in its concession.

⁶² In 2001, it was reported that sixteen cows (and two sheep), belonging to the then chairman of Nyakabale village, died after drinking from a water source near GGM property. This happened after the village's livestock watering pond was impounded by the company with a promise of building another one in the village (it was not yet built by the time this study was conducted in 2014). Immediately after the incident, the company promised to conduct a post-mortem and later reported that the animals died after drinking water contaminated with a toxic chemical allegedly used as cotton anti-pesticide. GGM later gave the owner TSh70,000 (US\$42) per cow, and TSh40,000 (US\$24) per sheep as a sympathetic and neighbourly gesture. The owner of the cows, however, was adamant that the post-mortem results were unfounded because by then cotton was no longer cultivated in the area. According to him, he was disappointed by the company's trickery as it fabricated the test results and paid the aforementioned money as a sympathetic gesture while it was supposed to compensate him for the loss of his cows (Source: Interview with the victim in April 2013).

⁶³ Apparently, because of their gigantic size, it is difficult for operators of these trucks to see people, animals, or anything on the ground.

Those found grazing cattle in this area are either taken to the village's office (if it is the first violation; see Appendices vii and vii) or to the police station (if it is a repeat violation). For the former, they are either given a first warning or a penalty, depending on what the village leaders decide. For the latter, they face trespassing charges and are at times taken to the primary court to answer for these.

Despite the situation, cattle keepers in Nyakabale (and in other neighbouring villages) do not refrain from grazing cattle in GGM's lease area. Expressions conveyed by their accounts during field interviews help us to understand why they continue to engage in these forbidden practices. First, from the situated meaning perspective, the villagers' expressions undoubtedly suggested that they have no alternative. The use of phrases such as *tumebanana kijijini* (we are congested in the village) and *hakuna malisho* (no grazing areas) were often used by the cattle keepers in Nyakabale. Here it is quite revealing that the villagers were bemoaning the lack of grazing lands in the village; they were plainly asking "Where else can we go to feed our cattle when they have grabbed all of our grazing lands?" At least this can be drawn from the excuses made when facing trespassing charges at the village office. One of the village leaders involved in the study confirmed that this is the main justification. During interviews, the term *malisho* (grazing space) was frequently referred to by cattle keepers as the main obstacle to keeping *mifugo* (livestock) in the village.

It is also indicative that the way cattle keepers were using the term *mifugo* (livestock) did not only refer to these animals (cows, goats and sheep), but also communicated something special—something precious, which has to be taken care of regardless of the challenges. They talked about going to *mbugani* (the wilderness) or *msituni* (in the forest) to graze cattle when the situation gets bad (i.e., when they can't find their way into the GGM lease area) or when it is the dry season. The use of the words *mbugani* or *msituni*, supposedly distant and hostile places, communicates a certain urge or pressing need—in other words, the importance of looking for grazing

lands, whenever and wherever they can. It is an explanation of how important cattle are to the keepers. A nuanced understanding of how dialogue participants, those upholding grazing restrictions, are far removed from the life realities of these individuals. As I shall argue below, such an instance shows how roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale is far from meeting the interests of cattle keepers, something which compels them to find alternative means of communicating and meeting their needs. That is, through defying⁶⁴ the restrictions made in the dialogue.

The second perspective which can reveal how cattle keepers' expressions communicate their reasons for disobeying restrictions made in roundtable dialogue, is social languages. Drawing from the accounts by cattle keepers in Nyakabale, it comes out to the open that members of this group share a particular language which identifies what they do: keeping cattle. The use of this language helps us understand how these individuals look at the issues surrounding them—how they interpret their local situations. As I show in the next chapter, this language is quite different from that shared by those participating in roundtable dialogue—particularly officials from the mining firm.

In more particular terms, this language identifies cattle keepers as individuals who endure difficult times and are ready to face any challenge for the sake of finding pastures for their cattle. This can be established by accounts

⁶⁴ Despite the introduced restrictions, in June 2007 nine cows owned by a resident Nyakabale were found dead at the company's Tailing Storage Facility (TSF), apparently after they had crossed and become trapped in the fenced TSF area. The then acting Managing Director of GGM reported to the National Environmental Management Council (NEMC) that the owner acted with malice and knowingly by leading the cows to the area— an action which he said was a clear trespass of the company's legally owned mining site. The owner of the cows had previously been charged and convicted by Nyakabale village government for grazing cattle in the company's SML. He had early on confessed in writing before the village leaders that he would never repeat this but did not heed what he had promised. Given the situation, GGM did not assume any responsibility (Source: GGM's letter sent to Nyakabale village's office).

such as: *tunalazimika kukokota mifugo mpaka Kagu* (we are compelled to lead the cattle all the way to Kagu); *ni kilometa ishirini kutoka hapa* (it's twenty kilometres from here); *tunakwenda na vitu vyetu na chakula pia* (we go there with our belongings and food as well); *wakati mwingine tunakaa huko mwezi mzima* (sometimes we stay there for a whole month). The statements unquestionably communicate how cattle keepers strive to overcome the restrictions of grazing cattle in the mine area, where the pasture is considered plentiful and the entire exercise easy. Further statements communicating the same idea are: *wakati wa kiangazi tunakwenda umbali mrefu kutafuta maji ya mifugo yetu* (during summer we travel distances in search of water for our cattle), and *malambo yetu yalichukuliwa na mgodi* (our watering ponds were impounded by the mine). Apart from both statements pointing to the difficulties cattle keepers encounter when searching for water, the latter also seems to speak of their resentment at the watering ponds being confiscated.

A verification of this bitterness is probably the frequent mentioning of the statement *malambo yetu* (our watering ponds) not only coming from cattle keepers, but also other community members. During the interviews, the impounded watering ponds were referred to as one of the examples of water shortage problems in the village. What increases this displeasure is GGM's delay in fulfilling its promise to construct new watering ponds in the village. When this study was conducted, it was already ten years since GGM had made the promise. It was also mentioned that even of late, the company had been promising the same in roundtable dialogue. No one among the community knows when exactly this promise will be fulfilled. Accounts from cattle keepers refer to such instances as a sign of being ignored by the mine.

Thus, apart from conveying a sense of endurance, the language from cattle keepers also portrays them as saddened individuals, i.e., people experiencing difficult times because they have been neglected by those in authority. They talk of being maltreated by mining officials, especially the security guards. *Kazi yao ni kuzuia tusilishie mgodini, sio kukamata mifugo yetu*

(their job is to stop us from grazing in the mine, not to apprehend our cattle); *wakati mwingine wanatufukuza kusudi wakamate mifugo yetu* (sometimes they chase us away in order to apprehend our cattle); *tunapigwa faini polisi* (we are penalized at the police [station]). The three statements are quite revealing; here, cattle keepers use the statements to portray a sense that the security guards are deliberately mistreating them. In other words, the guards are apparently going against their job descriptions just to implicate cattle keepers as offenders.

Other statements which paint a picture that cattle keepers are ill-treated include: *hatujui pakupeleka mifugo* (we do not know where to take the cattle), *kule maliasili⁶⁵ tunalipia laki moja kupata kibali cha malisho* (there in the [forest reserve] we are paying a hundred thousand [i.e. US\$50] to get a grazing permit), *hapa kijijini tunapigwa faini mifugo ikila mazao mashambani* (here in the village we get penalized when cattle eat crops in the farms). Such statements illustrate the misgivings held by cattle keepers against those forbidding them to graze cattle in GGM's area. They convey the message that it is these restrictions which make them pay 'so much' for grazing permits and penalties—thus draining their income and making things difficult, and so they suffer. To put the matter into perspective, these statements speak of the cattle keepers' displeasure towards those arriving at decisions to restrict them from grazing cattle in GGM's concession. The statements also reflect how they consider the entire exercise. If dialogue participants are not able to help them recover their livelihood interests, then the exercise is not meaningful to them. Therefore, it makes sense that they strive for other means of attaining their interests and meeting their pressing needs.

Figured worlds is the third concept that helps us to see how cattle keepers' expressions inform our understanding of why they refuse to comply with

⁶⁵ The word *maliasili* means natural resource. Villagers in Nyakabale uses it to refer to Geita Forest Reserve, which is under the jurisdiction of the ministry of natural resources and tourism.

the decisions made in the roundtable dialogue, and indeed how they institute alternative means of dialoguing. Accounts from cattle keepers during interviews convey a sense that they have their own social and cultural way of looking at and understanding issues, which they also perceive as common and normal. The way cattle keepers speak of their participation in cattle grazing tells us that they see the practice as something normal, a livelihood activity. The exercise is described as a common experience, neither staged nor maliciously pursued. Cattle keepers describe their everyday routine: waking up knowing that they need to graze their cattle, and going out looking for pastures (*kulisha mifugo*). Given the limited grazing land in the village, they look around for all possible grazing places. At times they find themselves in GGM's lease area (*tunajikuta mgodini*). They don't aim at causing trouble, but at finding means of feeding their cattle. When stopped, or told not to graze in that area, they go around looking for other places. When trouble happens (of course sometimes it happens, e.g., cattle keepers are taken to police stations or village offices, accused of trespassing, or have their cattle impounded), they find ways to address it and get back home without causing any more trouble. It is worth noting here that this point about peaceful engagement aptly fits my argument that expressions from community members in Nyakabale communicate a willingness for bridging social capital. At least their account of peaceful interaction with powerful actors, those considered arrogant and disrespectful, speak of that sense.

Referring again to the cattle keepers' expressions, it becomes clear that individuals in this group also communicate the means used to face what is considered a challenging situation or trouble. Amid what is viewed as 'trouble', cattle keepers talk of their attempts to negotiate 'punishments', e.g., how much to pay as a 'penalty', where security guards should take or impound their cattle, and sometimes who should probe their cases. This is an interesting aspect, because it brings the two parties (cattle keepers and GGM's security groups) into discussion, which in most cases results in agreements (though at times temporal) on how the matter of cattle grazing

in the mine's area should be handled. It is a kind of negotiation and agreement that does not seem to get space during the meetings between officials from the mine and Nyakabale village leaders, where cattle keepers are categorically not allowed to graze cattle in GGM's lease area.

Basically, apart from indicating how they find ways of negotiating, statements from cattle keepers also communicate the norms (way of doing things) that help us to understand why they do what they do, i.e., continue entering GGM's concession. For example, during the interviews, one cattle keeper mentioned his obligation to educate his children and take care of his family and then said "...*mimi sikwenda shule*" (I did not go to school—meaning I'm not educated); *nifanye kazi gani sasa* (what kind of a job can I do?). Here he attempts to explain that there is no other means of fulfilling his family responsibilities apart from keeping and rearing cattle. See the following extract:

"I have children studying in primary and secondary school. I depend on those cows to pay for their education. What business can I do? I did not go to school. There is this official from the mine (name withheld) who tells me every day to sell the cows. I once asked him, if I do that, how will I survive? He then told me to sell the cows and build a house. So, I asked him, will I eat the house? From a cow I sell milk and get something for my family. If there is money to pay for my child's tuition, I sell a cow. If you sell one cow, it can help you fulfil different needs." (Interview with a cattle keeper in Nyakabale, December 22, 2013).

Such an account seems to insinuate that those who stop this individual from grazing cattle are far removed from his real-life situation and only causing more trouble in his already challenging life experience. The message conveyed here is that keeping cattle, to him, is an attempt to survive—cattle to him mean more than simply animals, they constitute life. If he cannot graze them, they will die, then his life will be in jeopardy. To him it is about life realities. The way he pursues life has a lot to do with *mifugo*

(cattle):in the absence of cattle, there is no life. In this village, Nyakabale, he is not the only one, he does not stand alone. Accounts from other cattle keepers, and stories from village leaders who deal with those arrested for grazing cattle in GGM's concession, depict the same.

When issues of trespassing crop up (when arrested and cattle impounded), cattle keepers put the blame on others: security guards, police and GGM's relations personnel. They actually blame the government for giving investors enormous pieces of land without considering its own citizens. They also blame the mine for turning their government 'dumb' (*mgodi umeifanya serikali zezeta*), as well as those participating in ongoing dialogue for restricting them from grazing in the mine's area without considering their fate. Thus, they regard themselves as victims of the situation, unfairly treated, and the only way to reach those at 'a distance' is through pushing the limits of the agreements made in roundtable dialogue.

6.3 Mangwala Collectors: Encroaching or Dialoguing?

'*Mangwala*' is a term used by people in the villages surrounding GGM referring to waste stones left after gold ore has been extracted from rock. The stones (technically known as tailings) are normally piled (thrown) in a designated place within GGM's lease area. According to Nyakabale's VEO, in his mother tongue, Sukuma, the word '*mangwala*' is slang for 'meatless bones'. He says in this sense, *mangwala* refers to broken/crushed rocks, named after the excavated rocks, meaning that they are no longer in their original form. In Nyakabale and in other villages neighbouring GGM, villagers, including some former small-scale miners (who could not continue mining after being evicted by GGM), have resorted to 'scavenging' *mangwala* thrown out by the mining firm. After getting *mangwala*, they re-process it and may retrieve small gold nuggets (see Appendix ix) which they sell to middlemen (*makota*)—business people with connections to gold traders or goldsmiths outside the village.

As I mentioned before, collectors are forbidden by the mining firm from going to collect *mangwala* for health and safety reasons. First, it is claimed by the mining firm that the excavated rocks contain toxic chemicals (cyanide and uric acid) used for separating gold from the stones. Second, by climbing the piled hills to collect the stones, villagers put their lives at risk. They are likely to get injured through possible accidents, and sometimes fight each other when looking for stones with potential gold nuggets. When they are seen in the mining area, GGM's security guards chase them away, sometimes using police officers to arrest them. Despite being chased away or arrested by police⁶⁶, *mangwala* collectors do not relinquish 'encroaching' on GGM's lease area to search for stones.

Like cattle keepers, expressions from *mangwala* collectors also communicate the reasons why they keep returning to gather stones in spite of sanctions. Going through their accounts, I find that the use of words such as *mangwala* not only refer to these waste stones, but also communicate a sense that the stone is something significant—a source of income—possibly the only way they can earn a living in that locality. This situated meaning can be proven by their complaints made during the interviews. *Mangwala* collectors vent anger at GGM for denying them free access to the stones. They say at first (before GGM deployed guards at its borders), the exercise of collecting *mangwala* was straightforward and quick. It was easy to enter GGM's lease area at daylight (on foot or bicycle), collect stones, and freely carry them to their locally-made processing site. At present, they are resentful because the need to trade *mangwala* (something on which their lives depend) compels them to sneak into the mining area through less controlled paths (*njia za panya*) or climb the hill at night to gather stones. They say the exercise is risky and involves much trouble.

⁶⁶ According to GGM's CRSD officials, the company signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the government for the police to provide security at its concession.

Mentioning these struggles doesn't seem to only refer to the physical challenges *mangwala* collectors face, but also maps a situation where people suffer from discrimination—i.e. because of inequality, income-generating activities become complicated; they then have to endure all the risks and challenges involved in trading *mangwala* to make a living. This sense of discrimination is also communicated by their use of the words FFU (field force unit), *defender* (a vehicle, likely a Land Rover), *mabomu ya machozi* (tear gas) and *radio koo* (radio call). These words refer to the moments when *mangwala* collectors encounter brutality from individuals commanding authority. When GGM's hired guards are overwhelmed by the presence of *mangwala* collectors in the company's concession, they use radio calls to seek help from officials at the mine, who then call the FFU. The latter rush to the area 'accompanied' by tear gas. According to the villagers, on their arrival at the scene, police use excessive force (beatings, bullets, tear gas) to disperse those collecting the stones.

The social language drawn from these accounts made by *mangwala* collectors also communicates the above-stated sense that they are discriminated against by the mining firm. Their expressions seem to identify them as a group that is undesired by the mining firm: *tunakamatwa na kupigwa* (we are arrested and beaten); *wanataka kuondoa makrasha yetu* (they want to get rid of our grinding ball mills); *polisi wanachukua mawe yetu* (police officers go away with our stones). The statement *tunakamatwa na kupigwa*, for example, was mentioned referring to the instances where police officers arrest *mangwala* collectors and beat them on the way to Geita police station. The use of this statement is quite revealing. *Mangwala* collectors do not see the reasons for these beatings apart from being proof that they are unwanted by the mining firm. This is cemented by the use of the statement *wanataka kuondoa makrasha yetu*. *Makrasha* (grinding ball mills—see Appendix x) are essential tools used by *mangwala* collectors to process gold at their local sites. Without them, they can hardly extract the small gold nuggets from *mangwala*. Therefore, if GGM, in collaboration with government officials at the district, intends to take the *makrasha*, this

shows the depth of their desire to dispel them. This is not dissimilar to police officers who allegedly confiscate and trade their stones. This seems to communicate that *mangwala* collectors consider the action as an attempt to discourage their struggles in earning a living and thus wishing to see them gone.

Thus, looking at these accounts from *mangwala* collectors, their statements seem quite telling. They candidly depict how the waste rock collectors frame things or events in Nyakabale. Their expression openly depicts a social group that considers itself discriminated against and viewed by the mining firm as displeasing. In the face of such a series of events, *mangwala* collectors know who to blame. It is people who made the decisions to stop them from continuing with their normal way of doing things. Certainly, it is those who represent them in the roundtable dialogue. However, this is not to suggest that they give up. They have their own ways of dealing with what they consider discrimination. This is suitably expressed by the figured worlds drawn from their accounts, and it is to what I now turn.

The expressions of *mangwala* collectors largely communicates a message that the exercise of collecting waste rock is a normal livelihood activity, and their everyday life experience. They speak of climbing the hill every day to collect stones, packing them in sacks and bringing them to *makarasha* (grinding ball mills) by bicycle or on their heads and shoulders. Then they use local means to process gold and look for markets. Following their accounts, *mangwala* collectors regard the activity as a normal practice, especially because it involves collecting, *vitu vilivyotupwa*, of 'dumped things'. They don't know why they are at times stopped from collecting things that have been thrown away. When problems arise (e.g., tear gas, beatings, and arrests), they seem not to comprehend, because they do not see themselves as committing any offence: *hatuendi kwenye jiko lao kuiba* (we are not going into their kitchen to steal, we only collect the leftovers). Of course, many other issues crop up when they encounter police officers and security guards, but there are ways to face the incidents.

They capitulate and go to police stations without any aggression or other sort of trouble.

In the process, they plead with police officers to let them keep the stones; negotiate the amount of money to pay as a ‘penalty’; including asking the authorities to address the matter by advising GGM to start ‘dumping’ the stones in a chosen area in the village. Thus, in the midst of what is viewed as trouble, villagers find a negotiating space—an arena for discussion. If agreements are not reached, the next days have the same ‘normal’ processes, as the *mangwala* collectors continue with their livelihood activities. This is their way of engaging with people commanding power, as they do not see any chance of working out a living outside the exercise of collecting stones. “We have a life to pursue but they stop us from dealing in the stones, what else can we do” (*tufanye nini sasa*)?

Like cattle keepers, when chased away, bombed with tear gas, arrested for trespassing, they say it is not their fault, but of those at a ‘distance’—police, security guards, mine officials, and their government. They see the government as one which colludes with *wazungu* (white men) to steal their natural resources (i.e., gold). They talk of the preferential treatment enjoyed by *wazungu*, and say it is living proof of *ukoloni mambo leo* (neo-colonialism). They also mention that village leaders and mine officials participating in ongoing dialogue are just there to perpetuate the trouble. Generally, these expressions from *mangwala* collectors seem to inform our understanding of their life situations, and indeed why they endure all the risks and challenges in order to keep collecting waste rock. It is possibly the only means they can use to communicate or argue their case. It is their attempt to bridge with those who are unlike themselves.

6.4 Artisanal and Small-scale Miners: Dialogic Movements?

Artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) in Geita is a long tradition. Since the pre-colonial era, indigenous inhabitants of Geita are known to have

engaged in small-scale mining. However, the arrival of large-scale miners during both colonial and postcolonial times, interrupted their activities. Although it is hard to estimate the number of small-scale miners operating in Geita (due to the informal and dynamic character of ASM), AngloGold Ashanti (2009a) estimates the number of small-scale miners on its lease area in Geita to include around 400–500 individuals.

It has widely been studied (Lange 2006, Kitula 2006, Fisher 2007, Jønsson & Fold 2009, Bryceson & Mwaipopo 2010) that ASM, before the arrival of GGM, was an important source of income to many people in Geita. Fisher (2007) argues that, for most households in Geita, ASM remains a means of diversification or a supplement to other incomes. Despite this clear reliance on small-scale mining activities, the significant displacement of people in Geita after GGM appropriated massive portions of land in the early 2000s disrupted many ASM activities in the region and dispossessed the miners of their livelihood. Most of the mining sites previously owned by small-scale miners were taken over by GGM. Due to the scant possibility of getting back their land (or sharing it with GGM), ASMs are seen deploying various tactics to continue mining. Because the special mining license owned by GGM does not allow any other party to obtain a license for gold extraction within the company's concession, small-scale miners are left with limited mining options. As struggles to find alternative livelihoods prove difficult, many ASMs in Geita resort to re-establishing mining sites within GGM's concession. This practice, however, is not tolerated by GGM. Agreements made during roundtable dialogue forbid ASMs in Nyakabale to enter the company's lease area.

Artisanal and small-scale mining activities are discouraged by GGM on the grounds that they promote unsafe mining practices and have adverse effects on the environment. These effects, according to GGM, become its liability as the nearest large-scale operator. Moreover, the company claims that settlements that arise with ASM activities bring a host of social consequences such as "HIV/AIDS, child labour, prostitution and substance abuse" (see AngloGold Ashanti 2005). Therefore, to control these negative

effects, GGM restricts ASMs from conducting any mining activity within its concession. With the support of police officers from Geita, GGM has been forcing out all the ASM groups attempting to re-establish mining sites in the concession. In this exercise, police officers use tear gas, rubber bullets and even bulldoze already established mining pits.

A section of ASMs in Geita, and Nyakabale in particular, finds it difficult to accept the situation. Different groups of ASMs have reportedly been entering and re-establishing mining sites in different parts of GGM's concession. Authorities in Geita largely consider these incidents as violations of established orders and regulations or malicious attempts to invade GGM's legally owned area. Statements from ASMs, however, communicate different reasons as to why they continue doing what they do. Going through the accounts made during field interviews, ASMs' use of certain words projects the meanings behind their continued presence in GGM's concession. The frequent use of these words was in a way also used to communicate the meaning of ASMs' actions in that social setting.

Among the frequently mentioned words is *maduara* (mining pits). ASMs' repeated use of the word did not seem to only speak of the deep holes resulting from their mining activities, but it put into words the occupation of these people. It pronounced a livelihood activity—wanting to earn a living. This is circumstantiated by ASMs' reference to the bulldozing of their mining pits (done by GGM) as “the most ruthless practice they could ever imagine”. *Maduara* to them does not simply mean holes for searching gold, but also stands for an occupation. The use of this word somewhat communicates the skills, trouble, and risks involved in being a small-scale miner. To a certain degree, saying that not everyone can become one. This is why the act of bulldozing a mining pit is beyond their comprehension. It also explains why ASMs do not understand those who stop them from accessing or developing *maduara*, particularly since it is something they have been doing for decades.

Another word that can help us understand why ASMs keep resuming their mining activities in GGM's lease area is *dhahabu* (gold). Apart from using the word *dhahabu* in reference to the precious mineral gold, ASMs also used the word *yetu* (our, i.e., *dhahabu yetu*, our gold), to convey a sense of possession. It is in essence telling those commanding authority that it is 'our gold', so we have the right to access it. On the other hand, the words *dhahabu yetu* (our gold), were uttered not only to portray a sense of possession, they were at times communicating a feeling of being disappointed, especially when ASMs were expressing their misgivings. In this sense, the manner in which *dhahabu yetu* formed part of their expressions communicated a sense of disapproval, particularly because of two issues: first, they are denied access to 'their gold' and second, they witness someone else mining 'their gold' without their consent. At least this is confirmed by their complaints that GGM has been following them everywhere they go to establish mining pits, and for no reason, chases them away. They argue that has been happening because the mining firm considers them a threat. They consider themselves able to prospect gold quicker than the machines used by GGM.

The word *kibali* (license) also helps us to know the situated meaning of ASMs in Nyakabale village. Judging by its frequent use and the manner in which it was said, the word *kibali* did not only mean the document ASMs are presently required to have as a prerequisite for engaging in mining activities. It also aimed at expressing the difficulties they experience in trying to acquire one. ASMs used the word *kibali* in reference to this 'problematic document' that requires so much effort to obtain; and more troubling is the fact that this is the reason why they are not allowed to continue mining. The Mining Act of 2010 requires ASMs to formalize their mining activities through the acquisition of a primary mining license, but ASMs complain about the bureaucracy involved in getting the license. This has discouraged many from applying for one. In such a situation, they end up being catego-

rized as illegal miners. Therefore, the use of the word *kibali* in a way communicated these challenges, and because it is difficult to obtain, ASMs decide to employ other techniques to continue mining.

Drawing from the meanings of the expressions presented above, ASMs are in a way helping us to understand why they resume mining activities in GGM's concession in spite of restrictions. We can further understand ASMs' actions from the social language conveyed by their accounts. Like *mangwala* collectors, statements from ASMs also expose a particular language—a language of a certain group that considers itself undesired and discriminated against. *Mzungu hataki tuchimbe* (the white man doesn't want us to mine); *kila tunapoanzisha duara tunapewa notisi* (every time we establish a mining pit they give us a notice); *wanakwapua maduara yetu* (they grab our mining pits)—these are some of the statements which help us to realize how ASMs identify themselves as undesired. The first statement seems to illustrate that ASMs consider the *mzungu* to be the reason why they are not allowed to mine. Most likely insinuating that because the *mzungu* is detached from their everyday lives, and perhaps because the *mzungu* has shown signs of disrespecting them, then he wouldn't want to see them mining. The same is also implied by the remaining two statements, i.e., because we are undesired by the *mzungu* or *mgodi* (the mine), they give us notices and grab our mining pits.

Statements that convey a sense that ASMs identify themselves as discriminated against by GGM include: *wanatumfukuza kwa mabomu na mitutu* (they chase us away with tear gas and guns) and *walitufukuza Ngula, ni sehemu yenye dhahabu nyingi* (they chased us away from Ngula, a place with plenty of gold). ASMs' reference to a situation where police apparently use bombs (i.e., tear gas) and guns (meaning rubber bullets) to disperse them seems to explain how intensely they feel they are being discriminated against. Perhaps this feeling is so strong because they do not consider themselves violent. Therefore, they do not seem to understand why the authorities should use such force, especially because they cannot fight back. Here is one account of the situation:

“Twice we were chased away by GGM from Chipaka area⁶⁷. They came with policemen who used tear gas. The third time the District Commissioner came and told us to abide by the laws of the country otherwise we will face reprisal. He gave us a few days’ deadline; we had no option other than to leave our mining pits” (Interview 21 December 2013).

The last sentence of this quote is quite telling: “we had no option other than to leave our mining pits”. It portrays the picture that they retreat when there is trouble, that they don’t cause problems, even when their mining pits are confiscated (i.e., even when their occupation is interrupted). In other words, what the statement implies here is that it is not them but the authorities who cause all this trouble and suffering. The situation attests to the discrimination they are referring to. Again, a reference to the statement “they chased us away from Ngula, a place with plenty of gold” conveys the same message of discrimination, perhaps also oppression. Apart from confirming their claim that the mining firm does not want to see them, the statement also paints the picture that GGM considers ASMs as having no rights to mine, which is why they are chased away, even in places far from the mining firm⁶⁸. Reasonably, these expressions help us understand how ASMs frame the things happening to them and indeed to know why they act the way they do. This is particularly true of the context where ASMs speak of having no abilities to fight for their rights: the mining firm uses excessive force to interrupt their livelihood activities, and from their per-

⁶⁷ Chipaka is the name of a former business person who owned mining pits in the area and later abandoned them. After Chipaka’s departure, ASMs in Nyakabale took over and named it after him. They considered this area as belonging to them or at least Chipaka, but not the mining firm.

⁶⁸ During fieldwork, villagers in Nyakabale complained about the edges of GGM’s lease area. Apparently GGM has been hesitant to show the exact boundaries of its concession, something which gave the villagers the impression that the company is doing deliberately in order to keep confiscating their mining pits, even those established outside its concession.

spective, they do not see anyone who is concerned; not even those participating in roundtable dialogue. In this way they resort to changing the ways of communicating and meeting their pressing needs— by continuing to prospect for gold, regardless of the restrictions made by their representatives in the dialogue.

The way ASMs manage to change the means of negotiating and interacting is suitably explained by the figured worlds drawn from their accounts; accounts which express the normalcy of ASMs' changing ways of negotiating. Going through their statements, ASMs in Nyakabale substantiate that small-scale mining remains an important means of income generation, a livelihood option to many of them. They say their usual activity is to go to the mining pits searching for gold. They go all around looking for gold potential areas. In the course of such efforts they at times find themselves working in GGM's concession. Whether conscious or not, they do not go there with ill motives. They only go there because it is a place where they can dig for gold. When told to abandon the sites or when the sites are bulldozed (*tukiswagwa*), they have no option other than leaving their mining pits (*maduara yetu*).

Although not understanding why the authorities stop them from doing the work they know best, from benefitting from their own resources (*rasilimali yetu*), a gift found in their motherland, they still leave the sites and go elsewhere trying to look for new mining sites. Yes, during this process many things take place, but from their perspective, the primary intention is to search for gold, not to cause trouble. Even in moments of trouble, they do not overreact. They find room for negotiation, asking the authorities to give them other 'potential' mining sites or even access to *mangwala*. Like cattle keepers and *mangwala* collectors, ASMs are also seen instituting a platform for discussion, one which was shut or not taken into consideration during meetings between mine officials and village leaders in Nyakabale.

Similar to *mangwala* collectors, small-scale miners also do not see any chance of working out a living outside mining activities. *Tumekuwa*

wachimbaji kwa miaka yote (we have been miners all these years); *hatuwezi kulima hapa* (we cannot do farming here); *kijiji chote kina mwamba chini* (there is rock beneath the entire village); *ndio maana kinaitwa Nyakabale* (that is why the village is called Nyakabale, meaning ‘on a stone’). Other statements tell us about their obligations: *Tunafamilia zinatutegemea* (we have families depending on us), *chakula kitatoka wapi* (where will food come from?). They also talk of GGM’s CSR projects offered to the youth, e.g. training and education. They consider these projects to be plans for the next generation. Therefore, they have questions about the present generation. They regard casual employment (villagers becoming security guards at the mine) as temporal and of minuscule returns. Therefore, after the government took their land and gave it to the mine, they became sufferers who now look for possible means to continue doing what they had been doing before GGM arrived.

Like the other groups, when they are chased away, their mining pits bulldozed, they are bombed with tear gas, or arrested for trespassing, they say it is not their fault but that of those at a ‘distance’: police, security guards, mine officials, and their government. They consider those participating in the ongoing dialogue as the ones who perpetuate trouble. Therefore, instead of being part of the problem, they try to find other means of delivering their message. In the midst of challenges, they at times manage to find a platform to ventilate their concerns. In this way, those commanding authority get to know their pressing needs, and in turn, community members get means of solving some of the problems. While they may be perceived differently by different people, these interactions are bridging processes in their own right. This can be verified by the fact that their primary intention is not to cause trouble but to meet their pressing needs and find a space for negotiation.

6.5 Roadblock: Dialogue in Action?

Before the GGM started operations in 1999, there was an 8 km road used by villagers in Nyakabale as a shortcut to Geita town. Villagers used to go to Geita on foot to attend to a variety of things. According to the former VC of Nyakabale, villagers used to carry agricultural products to sell in Geita town, purchase what they needed for the home, and return home within a short period. One participant in the village recalled during the interviews that he used to carry *udaga* (cassava flour) to sell in Geita town and return with salt. Also, by selling potatoes, he was able to buy sugar for his children's porridge. Other villagers also mentioned that the road provided an opportunity to sell things alongside it, thereby enabling them to earn a living. Most participants indicated that they had less problems due to the road. Sick people, pregnant women, etc. could be transported to Geita District Hospital (GDH) mostly by bicycles. Many people within and outside the village (for example gold trade brokers) could commute with little to no trouble.

The start of GGM's operations, however, saw the company cutting off the road and preventing all Nyakabale (and Saragurwa) villagers from using it (except for the VC, VEO, commander of the village 'army' [*sungusungu*] and primary school head teacher, who all had gate passes). The company afterwards constructed another road as compensation, which left the two places 30 km apart. Given the situation, villagers had to travel the distance on foot or by bicycle. Most participants in Nyakabale report that, apart from transportation problems, the distance left them prone to banditry and other violations, especially in the late evening as they returned home. This is because the new road cuts across a big forest, which is considered dangerous. The minutes from GGM-VEC meetings from the VEO's office indicate that three women from Nyakabale were divorced due to unspeakable incidents related to the added distance. Other villagers sustained serious injuries from car and bicycle accidents, mostly caused by a steep hill on the new road, a situation that caused drivers to stop using it.

Figure 4: A section of villagers alighting GGM's bus at Nyakabale Village bus stop



Source: Photo taken by the author during a follow up field visit in October 2015

Following these incidents, villagers complained to GGM and government officials. Village leaders in Nyakabale are reported to have presented the matter in the VEC-GGM meetings, but the mining firm took a long time to address the complaints. Frustrations built up among the villagers in Nyakabale until June 2007, when they went to block the road leading to GGM's water pumping station in Nungwe village. GGM officials and their vehicles were prevented from using the road or entering parts of the village. One of the village leaders in Nyakabale explains that the protest went on until the third day, when GGM and the district commissioner arrived. Villagers were not violent but demanded that GGM address the transportation problem. They censured the company for all the trouble caused by

the added distance and demanded an immediate response. GGM, after consultation with the committee formed in the village, responded by first issuing one bus that transported people to Geita and back, free of charge. Later it issued a second bus, and therefore villagers could travel to Geita at 8am and 1pm and return to the village at 12pm and 4pm (for an example of these buses, see Figure 4).

The roadblock incident, however, was seen as a confrontation by the mining firm and district government officials. Villagers in Nyakabale report that after the incident, they were warned by district officials not to participate in such incidents again, otherwise serious measures would be taken against them. Contrary to this view from the district officials, villagers in Nyakabale perceive their participation in the roadblock incident differently—not as confrontation, but as a means to set a platform for dialogue with those who make decisions against them. This perception can be drawn from the situated meanings, social languages and figured worlds which came into the open when I talked to them.

From my talking to the villagers who participated in the roadblock incident, certain words and phrases stand out, which can only be meaningful within contexts like the one in Nyakabale. The use of words such as *geti* (from the English word gate) and *geti pasi* (a gate pass) points to something strange and surprising. Here, the literal meaning of the words *gate* and *gate pass* are accompanied by villagers' astonishment at this uninvited *mzungu* who arrives in the village and starts installing a barricade on their own road. The use of these words conveys the villagers' disbelief at a situation where someone comes into their own home and then encircles himself in a manner that denies them access to their belongings.

Likewise, the use of the word *wamasai* (i.e., Masai people from northern Tanzania) not only referred to Masai people previously hired by the mining firm to safeguard the company's entrance on the side of Nyakabale village, but also communicated villagers' surprise at what happened in their area. The word pointed to villagers' incomprehension of a situation where

strangers arrived in their village and then stopped them from using their ‘own road’. *Wamasai* usage discloses the moments when villagers were frequently stopped at the gate, and asked by the Masai guards to give their names, say where they came from, where they were going, and for what purpose, before being allowed to pass. Again, only a few were permitted to go ahead. Apparently, the guards also whipped the villagers, the so-called ‘trespassers’, using dogs to chase them away. This situation frustrated many villagers. They could not understand how such things took place on ‘their own land’.

Thus, the above vocabulary helps us understand the accounts made by certain Nyakabale villagers in reference to the roadblock incident. What comes to light here is that the owners of the mine were perceived as individuals without good manners, who could enter and install themselves in someone’s compound without seeking permission. The vocabulary also communicates the villagers’ frustrations, which were a reaction to the officials who ordered people to interrogate and even whip them. These frustrations are further communicated by the villagers’ use of words such as *porini* (in the forest) and *umbali* (distance). The word *porini* not only referred to the thick forest they used to cross on their way to Geita and back, but also to the above-stated violations they encountered in this place. The same is true of the word *umbali*. Apart from referring to long-distance travel to and from Geita, it also depicts all the trouble involved in travelling such a distance by foot or bicycle: road accidents, heat, rainfall, etc. As in the other instances presented above, the meanings of these words not only offer us a position from which we can understand why villagers participated in the roadblock incident, but they also help us realize their abilities in continuing dialoguing after being forgotten in the roundtable meetings.

In terms of social languages, the villagers’ expressions are quite candid. There are several words which mark this particular group of people as unhappy about what happened to them. This is conveyed by their use of certain statements describing displeasing moments. This is the case with statements such as *sisi walituzuia lakini magari yao yalipita kila siku* (they

stopped us, but their cars were passing here every day), and *ukiita ambyulensi inachelewa* (you call an ambulance and it comes late). The first statement referred to moments when villagers were not allowed to pass through a shorter route to Geita but saw the mine's vehicle crossing their village every day. Here, they communicate their disappointment at unfair treatment. The second statement refers to the villagers' frustrations caused by GGM's delays in sending an ambulance when notified of a sick person in the village, a sign of being neglected. After GGM stopped villagers from using the shorter route to Geita, it offered them an ambulance service. So, the villagers would take a sick person up to the gate (3 km from the village), and security guards would use a radio call to tell GGM officials to send the vehicle.

Other accounts which identify Nyakabale villagers as a group of people who were unhappy at the situation in their village include those which referred to incidents where women were attacked in the forest (*wake zetu walivamiwa*); the moments when GGM ordered employees not to give villagers a ride in their vehicles (*walitunyima lift*); the occasion when they had to incur costs to spend a night in Geita town as they could not return to the village on the same day due to the long distance; and when they could not carry their harvest to Geita market (*hatukuweza tena kupeleka mazao yetu*). This set of statements are quite revealing in terms of conveying the villagers as a group of people who are displeased by the actions of the mining firm, and indeed in shedding light on why the villagers decided to block the road.

The figured world perspective communicated by these accounts of community members also helps us understand how they make sense of their local situations, i.e., how they use certain statements to justify their practices. They said that a shorter route to Geita town was blocked. The alternative, longer route was dangerous. Information about these challenges was sent to the officials concerned, but feedback was delayed. So, they thought of possible means to reach those at a distance (GGM and government officials) for a discussion. This was by blocking the road used by

GGM and stopping the firm's cars from passing through their village. The aim was to talk to GGM officials and tell them, face to face, about the suffering that resulted from blocking the shorter route. Therefore, they went and stopped vehicles; this information reached GGM's top officials and government officials at the district. Consequently, these officials arrived, matters were discussed and agreed upon, and the villagers returned home without causing any trouble.

The idea was to meet the *mzungu* (white person) for a talk, and the *mzungu* came accompanied by district officials—so those 'at a distance' were finally accessed and brought to a dialogue. As a result, after several consultations with the committee formed in the village, GGM responded immediately, and villagers' concerns were attended to. Matters which were discussed for many years without clear solutions, in the 'usual' dialogue between GGM officials and village leaders, were then resolved in the course of three days.

Thus, the reasons for their participation in the incident are straightforward. They say the decision to block the road restricted their movement. Sick people and pregnant women were barricaded from easy access to the district hospital. The same was experienced by traders who depended on the road to take goods to the town market. They mentioned the everyday problems experienced when travelling 27 km to Geita town via the longer route. To them, it was not an exaggeration as others (those at a distance) tended to look at it. It was not out of proportion, but a life reality. This perspective is validated by statements such as the following: *kwenye ule msitu mkubwa* (in that big forest), *tulikuwa tukivamiwa* (we were being robbed), *vitu tulivyotoa Geita vinachukuliwa* (things we brought from Geita were taken, i.e. stolen), *tulipata ajali nyingi za baiskeli sababu ya mteremko mkali* (many bicycle accidents occurred because of the steep slope), *maisha yetu yalikuwa hatarini* (our lives were in danger). Thus, they mention these issues as reasons which left them with no other option than wanting to meet the top officials from the mine. The roadblock idea came as an answer.

When censured for blocking the road, again, there was someone else responsible for that. It is not them, but those who failed to see and address the difficulties they encountered, who could not comprehend their situation—those at a distance, living a different life. They say because they have vehicles of their own, a health centre close by, security and so forth, is why it took so long for them to listen to and find solutions to their problems. The norms that are communicated by these accounts from Nyakabale villagers perhaps suffice for the validation made by this study that such actions from the villagers are in actual fact the changing ways of continuing dialoguing—a nuanced form of bridging social ties between two different groups.

6.6 Water Pipeline Sabotage: Vandalism or Dialogue?

On April 8, 2008, GGM held a workshop with leaders of the wards and villages closest to its concession on the benefits and challenges of mining activities to the communities. Among many issues discussed, GGM expressed frustration on what it called ‘an increasing vandalism and cruelty’ on its 22 km pipeline which pumps water to the mine. The company cited a December 3, 2007 incident, when unidentified villagers from Kayenze ‘ruthlessly’ sabotaged the pipe to pressurise GGM to address their needs (see Appendix xi). According to a village leader in Nyakabale, the incident occurred after the villagers were dissatisfied by GGM’s negligence in fulfilling their demand to repair the village road it had destroyed during the construction of a water pumping system at Nungwe Bay (part of the pumping system can be seen in Appendix xii). After the incident, GGM repaired the road as the villagers had requested.

Moreover, the leader mentioned that sabotage or threats to sabotage the water pipeline have increased in the village. He argued that, from their understanding that the pipeline is of vital importance to the mine, given the essential need of water for gold extraction, villagers have increased threats,

Figure 5: One of the water taps used by Nyakabale Villagers as a source of undrinkable water



Source: Photo taken by the author during a follow up field visit in October 2015.

and at some point, tampered with the pipe, as a way to express their misgivings. One explanation for this situation was GGM's decision to install 11 water taps on the pipeline in 2007 (see Figure 5). A section of villagers in Nyakabale believe that the mining firm decided to install water taps as a response to complaints after incidents of sabotaging the pipe increased—a sign of people's bitterness towards GGM's perceived mistreatment and uncertainty in addressing water problems.

While GGM looks upon these incidents as 'vandalism and cruelty', the villagers in Nyakabale recount a different story. When I talked to them during field interviews, their testimonies did not reveal any ill-motives or malicious intent from these incidents; instead they gave insight into the villagers' abilities in staging alternative platforms for dialoguing with

those who make decisions against them. Their use of certain words and phrases, as discussed below, can demonstrate these abilities. The situated meaning of the statement *bomba la maji* (water pipeline), for example, went beyond a description of an object that channels water to the mining firm to mean something ‘good-for-nothing’, or of little importance. This can at least be demonstrated by the villagers’ dissatisfaction that water from this pipeline is of little use—it is undrinkable⁶⁹, unreliable⁷⁰, and cannot be used for irrigation⁷¹. It can also be confirmed by villagers’ complaints that not all of the eleven taps installed on the pipeline are reliable. Some go out of order at certain times, compelling villagers to walk long distances to fetch water from functioning taps.

Community members’ view that the water pipeline is of little value can also be verified by their continuous demand for the availability of *visima vya maji* (water wells) in the village. Their requests for water well construction in the village not only hint at the water shortage problem, but also communicate a sense that the service provided by GGM’s water pipeline is insufficient. A testimony to this is the villagers’ contention during interviews that new wells would provide them with clean water for domestic use, as well as saving them from the risks of waterborne disease, likely found in the water pumped by GGM from Lake Victoria. They also mentioned that the wells would release them from the trouble of walking long distances to fetch water.

The above situated meanings, together with the social language below, communicated by community members’ accounts, perhaps serve as a strong testimony that what is done by the villagers in Nyakabale is from

⁶⁹ The water taps on the pipeline only provide untreated water, which is not good for human or cattle consumption. The rest of the water is treated on GGM’s premises, where the company installed a water treating facility.

⁷⁰ GGM does not pump water to its facility throughout the day. Villagers can only access water at times when it is pumped.

⁷¹ Villagers are not allowed to use water from the pipeline for farming activities. If they have a valid reason for doing so, they are required to get a permit from GGM.

the desire to bridge social capital. This is especially true because to a human being water means life, as no one can survive without it. Thus, the villagers' use of a pipeline as a means to meet GGM officials for a talk (I argue for this shortly), signifies their wanting to bridge social capital, a capital that will then assure them access to clean and safe water, and improve their difficult lives, which in a real sense is depicted in the social language I draw from their accounts. As in other incidents discussed above, expressions from community members in Nyakabale seem to identify them as a group going through difficult times and struggling on their own to improve their situation. Several sets of statements, for instance, *tunashida kubwa ya maji* (we have serious water problems) and *visima vyetu vimechafuliwa* (our water wells are polluted) communicate the language of a social group encountering challenging situations in its locality. In fact, in this context the seriousness of water problems is twofold: it is not only because water is insufficiently supplied, but also that what little water is available is polluted. Thus, the statements depict a social group struggling to access clean and safe water.

Another set of statements with this aspect include *tunatumia muda mwingi kutafuta maji* (literally meaning: we spend so much time looking for water) and *hatuwezi kuwa wasafi* (we can't be clean). The two statements are quite indicative in terms of the villagers' identity. They portray this group of people as one staying in a dirty environment, probably because much of the time is spent fetching water, or maybe because the amount of water collected is not sufficient for cleaning purposes. The little amount of water available is likely to attend to pressing needs such as cooking. As a matter of fact, the two statements feed into the above-stated factors which compel villagers to keep demanding construction of water wells in Nyakabale.

In addition to social language, the figured world perspective, which community members articulate as common and normal viewpoints, also leads us to understand how they make sense of the events and situations surrounding them. Villagers have water problems, and their road was destroyed when GGM's water pumping machines were installed in Nungwe.

Requests for help are frequently tabled in the ongoing dialogue between GGM officials and village leaders, but take a while to be addressed. At the same time, GGM is seen as receiving more benefits from the pipeline and does not seem challenged by the destroyed road, as its big vehicles can pass without problems. Therefore, villagers start thinking of possible ways to reach those at a distance. They ask village leaders to present their grievances to GGM officials, otherwise they will find ways to bring these officials to the village, but nothing happens. They again send messages to the officials, “If you won’t address our problems, we will tamper with this pipe here in order to make you also feel the ‘pinch’”. Still nothing happens. Ultimately, one day they ended up destroying the pipeline, and officials from the mine ‘came running’, accompanied by those from the district. Here again, matters were discussed, agreed upon, and villagers went home peacefully.

It is probably safe to say that GGM’s water pipeline is used here as a platform for discussing the pressing needs of the villagers, which is why there are continuous threats of sabotage. Following most of their statements, villagers do not speak of deliberate intentions of sabotaging the pipeline, only suggestions of doing so. They see it as a means to use in reaching those ‘at a distance’—an engagement opportunity, because it ensures them GGM’s immediate attendance to their concerns. While GGM may view the incidents as ‘villagers’ excessive use of force’ on its water pipeline, community members in Nyakabale regard the occurrences as invitations for meetings and negotiations.

This is also proven by their explanations on the reasons behind the threats and sabotage of the mine’s water pipeline. From their accounts we can discern certain expectations—for a desired (imagined) way of life. *Tunahitaji maji safi ya bomba* (we need clean tap water). *Tuliwaomba waweka maji kwenye shule ya watoto wetu* (we asked them to connect water at our children’s school). *Hakuna maji kwenye zahanati ya Kijiji* (there is no water at the village dispensary). Of course, this language is also common among government officials when referring to the Millennium Development

Goals (MDGs) and to the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP). It is also in political campaign manifestos. Thus, somehow this kind of language creates a certain desire for community members. Again, this desire somehow speaks of their everyday life realities. Water is a problem in the village. If someone needs water for drinking, somebody has to walk kilometres to get it. Women go to fetch water at great distances; some use it as an opportunity for inappropriate behaviour (e.g., extra-marital sexual encounters). They come home late and the family meal is therefore served late. All these incidents happen while they see a water pipeline next to them. If it were not there, perhaps the situation would be different, but it is there. Actually, to someone who sees the pipe close to his house but who has meals late because of water, and the road is impassable because of the pipeline construction, there comes the idea of calling those who are obliged to address these issues. Thus, the presence of the pipeline is used as a platform.

When criticized for the threats and condemned for sabotage, they too mention others as those who should be accountable. It is not them, but the government, that favours ‘foreigners’ at the expense of its own citizens; the mine, that does not have their expectations and concerns at heart; and the dialogue participants, who claim to care about their problems, but rarely live up to what they promise.

6.7 Overall Reflection on the Villagers’ Accounts

It is worth noting that when villagers (participants in the above-stated events) mention the reasons for their participation in the events, they do not directly imply that a delay (from the part of the mining firm) in fulfilling promises and agreements made during the dialogue with village leaders is what results in their involvement in the events. It only comes as a suggestion which one can pick to draw a conclusion of the reasons for their participation. For example, decisions made in the roundtable dialogue forbid cattle keepers to graze in the mine’s concession, but a cattle keeper

is ready to sell a few cows in order to get money for penalties (after being held responsible for trespassing). *Mangwala* collectors (also forbidden to enter the mine's area), go up the hill at night through secret pathways. It is a way of engaging with powerful actors in their own context. It demonstrates the power of everyday life realities in enhancing the ability of the villagers to engage with those at a distance—regardless of the power differences or the consequences. Taking into account their different daily livelihood strategies and realities, they see the necessity of forging or striving towards other means of engaging with authorities—the means which they think can deliver their messages and change the situation.

Moreover, the expressions drawn from their statements are not isolated expressions of individual experiences; they are drawn from a larger scheme of things. Statements from different villagers express a collective experience: the experience of a community that sees itself as disregarded by those in authority. Community members in Nyakabale are depicted as a group ignored by: their own government; the mine, which does not care about the villagers' interests; village leaders, who somehow benefit from having close ties with the mine; and security officials that show no compassion for their situation and instead use it for personal gain through 'penalties'.

Villagers' statements are framed in a way which depicts those 'at a distance' as a group of people that lives a different life; that has difficulties in comprehending villagers' concerns; and that acts the way they act because of inequality arrogance. Expressions drawn from villagers' accounts portray the assumptions and imaginations of those in authority as being very far removed from community members' life realities. What surfaces in their minds are profit margins, contracts, and other legal rights enjoyed by the mining company. Villagers' accounts show they regard mine officials as individuals who do not care about them, most especially because their own government is careless. See the following extract, for example:

“...when they impound our cows, they take them to ‘Guantanamo’ and then they wait for the owner to come. When you go there, they

take you to the police station and you leave your cows wandering. When it gets dark, the cows find the way home, they know the direction.” (Interview with a cattle keeper in Nyakabale, December 22, 2013)

Such an account speaks volumes about the way the villagers regard their relationship with those in authority. It portrays the sense that they are being rejected and maltreated. The name ‘Guantanamo’ is evoked here to describe a horrible place, where property is impounded and people apprehended, even assaulted. It is a way of relating their life situation to the reported brutality of US soldiers towards war and terror suspects at Guantanamo Bay Detention Camp, a United States military prison camp located in Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. In addition, the expression that cows (i.e., animals that signify life) are left unattended, which in a real sense means that they are left prone to risks such as theft or injury, or even the possibility that they could enter farms and destroy plants, hence causing more trouble to the owners, depicts the negligence of the authorities. Putting it differently, this implies that all the suffering and life difficulties that villagers experience are caused by those who command authority—individuals who do not even bother to have good relationship with them. This state of affairs makes villagers’ accounts credible. While they do not actually say so, their accounts convey them as a peaceful community enduring oppression and negligence from those ‘at a distance’—and thus compelled to use pressure to address their urgent needs.

The understanding drawn from the villagers’ expressions is important in illustrating how, in their own right, community members in Nyakabale make sense of dialogue practices. Kruckeberg & Starck (1988), as pointed out by Clark (2000), visualize a community as formed through resolving differences within a social system comprised of organizations and the public with whom they interact. They contend that community is achieved when people are aware of and interested in common ends and regulate their activity in view of those ends (p. 367–8). Kruckeberg & Starck’s (1988)

viewpoint seems to offer strong support of the present analysis, which attempts to make sense of what constitutes the above-stated events. Based on the expressions drawn from the accounts of Nyakabale villagers, different matters, which make villagers' actions meaningful and valid in that local setting, can be explored. A conceptual reflection of social capital as the determinant of matters pertaining to organization and public relationships serves well in this context.

In the first place, what the accounts of the villagers in Nyakabale express is a portrayal of a particular social group; a group that is aggrieved and not satisfied with the manner in which those who command authority, specifically the mining firm, engage with them. The company has fallen short of the group's expectations. The latter's livelihood strategies have almost been shattered, leaving no alternative income-generating activities, and more importantly, a platform that was instituted to help the group in articulating its complaints does not appear to meet the anticipated outcomes. While members of the group tolerate their sufferings to a certain degree, there arrives a time when they see the necessity to employ other means of dialoguing with those at a distance, those unwilling to meet them. In this way, members of the group are displaying a social identity; an identity which serves well in making sense of their accounts of the deployment of other means of meeting those commanding authority. It is a social group with particular bonds of solidarity, striving to connect with other social groups at a distance, who fail to 'transcend their social, political and professional identities in order to connect with people unlike themselves' (Putnam 2000:411). In this respect, resources which could be accrued by the practice of tying actors who are different in various degrees (e.g., trust, mutual understanding, and cooperation) are missed out on, causing the absence of Kruckeberg & Starck's (1988) vision of a community. While the accounts by villagers in Nyakabale do not directly articulate this situation, it is safe to say that the reasons that push them to act the way they act, enunciate it.

Secondly, what the villagers' accounts express, quite visibly, is the way in which the decisions that shatter their livelihood strategies have disturbed social relations. While their accounts do not directly articulate this situation, it can noticeably be picked up from the way they react to the decisions made against their livelihood attempts. Individuals who are compelled to graze cattle or collect waste stones at night vent anger towards those who enacted restrictions on the 'normal processes' of grazing and collecting stones. In the course of doing what they do, these individuals also encounter other relational challenges; at times getting into misunderstandings with security guards hired from their own villages, those who find out about their midnight practices. Likewise, by leaving their families alone all night (or going to distant forests during summertime to graze cattle) the roles of these individuals, as parents and husbands, is also challenged. In this way, such practices are likely to create relationship problems within families.

In the same vein, villagers' accounts describe how social relations are troubled by the company's decisions that deprive them of free movement and access to water. Villagers who are forced to plan their movements according to the bus timetable bringing them to and from Geita do not always have appropriate time to visit friends and relatives, thus limiting their chances of improving social relations. The same applies to villagers who at times use the timetable of the buses as an excuse for coming home late or spending the night elsewhere on the grounds of missing the evening bus. This can also affect relations at the family level. Similar relationship challenges could be traced from the time spent, and hassles experienced by villagers taking a longer route to Geita, as well as travelling long distances to fetch water. Mutual understanding among family members is likely to be affected, including the understanding between community members and those who caused this troubling situation. In other words, a closer scrutiny of the villagers' expressions about the events analysed here speaks volumes of the limited presence of social capital in this local setting as well as a marked failure of the mining firm in bridging this same capital. This can clearly be drawn from villagers' accounts that they aim at not causing

any trouble, but that they are only victims of situations; and if their pressing needs were addressed, they would accept situations and life go on peacefully. This state of affairs illuminates the villagers' readiness to hold a real dialogue with the mining firm, and that the glitch only comes when the company shuns them.

The third matter that arises from the statements of community members in Nyakabale is their perception on the ongoing meetings between the mining firm and their leaders. What can be drawn from their accounts is an acceptance that the ongoing efforts of dialoguing are commendable and at times promising, but that quite often they do not provide a reasonable space for articulating their pressing needs. The accounts from these individuals seem to consider the agreements and projects resulting from decisions made in meetings as helpful to a certain degree. However, their statements also project a sense that they regard that what is done by the company as derived from perspectives which are far removed from realities on the ground. Even though they do not mention this categorically, their continuous life struggles imply it.

Finally, inasmuch as the villagers' expressions outline their views on the ongoing dialogue, it is equally evident that their accounts also attempt to rationalize their involvement in the events presented here. Following what the villagers state, this rationalization is not conveyed candidly. It is communicated through the description of their everyday livelihood activities. The way villagers work out their living has a lot to do with land; they need it for grazing, mining, farming, settling their homesteads, and so forth. The roads on this same land are also relied upon for people's movement and transporting of goods for trading. Most of the villagers have depended on this land for many years; their children (and even their grandchildren) grew up here and used this very same land to make a living; now, someone else comes and takes it away. Life had not been comfortable even before the land was taken away; but now that it is gone, living becomes even more complicated. The platform instituted to address these issues doesn't seem to live up to their expectations. Moreover, basic needs, surely life itself, do

not cease because someone has taken the land away and limited the arena for discussion. Villagers devise alternative means to bring those who took the land into a discussion and at the same time gain access to this land. Their own village leaders and part of the security personnel in the area seem to understand their life situation sometimes. While advising them not to breach the decisions made by authorities, they also make it easy for them to keep on doing that what they do by issuing ‘reasonable penalties’ and waiving certain decisions.

Thus, what villagers insinuate is that their actions signify a life struggle. Life had been difficult, and the arrival of the mine brought new expectations and hopes for better living standards; but the reality after the commencement of the mine’s operations contradicts their expectations and hopes. In this situation, they decide to keep on doing what they used to do (grazing, mining, farming, etc.). They continue doing this without causing any trouble; then they are stopped and negotiations take place. They also tell their village leaders to deliver messages through their arranged meetings with the mine. It can, for instance, be drawn from their own accounts that they admit that there are poisonous chemicals in the mine’s area; that the area is risky and hazardous; and that entering the mine is against the agreements made during the ongoing dialogue between their leaders and mine officials. However, these factors do not outweigh their livelihood quests. It is also true that there is a platform to use in tabling complaints and grievances; they actually table them and then wait for feedback and solutions—something which rarely happens. In this way, they decide to look for alternative platforms for discussion.

The involvement of Nyakabale villagers in the above events is quite illuminating in terms of what it means to change ways of continuing a dialogue, especially in the case where roundtable meetings fall short of addressing the grievances and complaints of many actors, in favour of a few. The villagers’ participation in these events offers a rich point of departure in understanding the local perspective of what constitutes dialogue, with reference to the idea of bridging social capital, which can be drawn from

their actions. Villagers' actions can be approached from the viewpoint of bridging social capital because of how they project various attempts of one social group to link up (reach out) to another social group (or groups) in a social relations context. While the villagers' concern with matters of social relations is not openly traced in their accounts, their action and inaction in these events form that sense—given the intense relational challenges expressed. The understanding that dialogue is a meeting of two or more people in order to address relationships (Cissna & Anderson 1998) is probably a widely accepted perspective. However, the villagers' ability to continue articulating their pressing needs, with their own locally-comprehended approach, also speaks of the varying ways of maintaining dialogue. Stückelberger's (2009) observation that power and pressure can also influence human decisions; that confrontation can be an instrument of communication and conflict resolution and ethically justified as long it is not an end in itself, is a pertinent analytical tool to employ in the likes of the dialogic practices in Nyakabale, Geita.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have paid attention to the situated meanings, social languages, and figured worlds projected by community members' accounts made during field interviews. What I aimed at showing was how statements from the villagers pitch certain meanings, identities and norms, which serve as an explanation of their actions in that local setting. In other words, I tried to show how these meanings, identities and norms inform our understanding of what dialogue practices mean to community members. The analysis of their accounts of life experiences shed light on the varying dialogic actions which are contrary to the mainstream reductionist understanding thereof. The above empirical evidence validates the subtle forms of communication deployed by the villagers as they attempt to define their destiny. As social actors in that local setting, villagers make sense

of dialogic practices in the course of managing the uncertainties, ambiguities, and conflicts inherent in their relationship with the mining firm. Villagers' accounts of their participation in the events analysed in this chapter attest to the processes of bridging social capital, especially through their struggle in addressing and improving their existing relationship with the mine, which is projected as fragile. Dialogue has habitually been studied as a practice that brings individuals or groups to a sit-down in order to influence decisions and behaviour through arguments and convictions. The discussion here contends that, from the perspective of Nyakabale villagers, dialogue is made possible through pressure that is aimed at pulling together the resources (i.e., good social relations) available in different social groups. In other words, a pursuit (or struggle) for good social relations adds significantly to circumstances which make stakeholder dialogue practicable.

7. Practical Challenges of the Roundtable Dialogue in Nyakabale

7.1 Introduction

Having gone through the expressions of community members in Nyakabale to unveil how they make sense of stakeholder dialogue practices in their locality; in this chapter I sum up the analysis of this study with a critical reflection on how the roundtable dialogue between GGM and Nyakabale leaders takes place. In so doing, I specifically use Gee's (2011) social languages tool to go through the expressions of dialogue actors, as well as of the community members, to illustrate the applicability and inapplicability of the practice in relation to this study's understanding of genuine SD and BSC. What I seek to demonstrate in this chapter is that, despite being a dominant approach cherished in PR and CSR practices, roundtable dialogue at times falls short of attaining its intended purposes because of the little attention paid to the interests of the seemingly less influential stakeholders, in this case CofP. As I have shown in chapters 5 and 6, however, these individuals perceived as less influential are in fact capable of instituting alternative dialogue platforms after realising that the roundtable dialogue is paying little attention to their interests. Thus, in this chapter I draw from the expressions of dialogue participants to illustrate the instances which cause participants in roundtable dialogue to pay little attention to the interests of these stakeholders.

In what follows, I go through the accounts made by actors in the ongoing dialogue, as well as community members in Nyakabale, in order to point out the suitability and unsuitability of the practice. Specifically, I present statements made by officials from GGM's CRSD department, village leaders, and a section of community members in Nyakabale, to demonstrate how the social languages drawn from them spell out the shortcomings of the practice, particularly in reference to the established ways of genuine SD and BSC employed by this study. The way these statements were

looked upon in relation to discourse analysis framework will be described further at the end of the chapter.

7.2 GGM Officials

Social languages drawn from the expressions of GGM officials are quite indicative in terms of revealing the shortcomings of the ongoing dialogue in Nyakabale. There are a number of statements that mark these officials as a particular group of people, namely a group considering itself to be playing a leading role or rather influential. This is portrayed by their use of certain statements to explain the reasons for engaging in dialogue and to describe the dialogue processes. This is the case with the statement “*We meet with the representatives of CofP to know their priorities and see how to incorporate them in our own community development plans*”. This statement is quite telling about how GGM officials position themselves in the dialogue. It paints a picture that these officials consider themselves benefactors, philanthropists, or maybe good Samaritans. The statement “*...and see how to incorporate them in our community development plans...*” seems to point out the officials’ position in the dialogue, i.e., of helping or sponsoring, and not of seeking what Crane & Livesey (2003) call ‘mutual education’—of learning from each other, as equal partners join to solve problems. It is also contrary to Putnam’s (2000) suggestion of bridging social capital being able to “transcend social and/or professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves”—to appreciate that shared meanings can be resourceful in improving social relations.

There is another statement from GGM officials explaining the reasons for engaging in dialogue while also identifying themselves as those who facilitate or control the exercise: “*We meet with representatives of the communities to improve relations and promote understanding of the mine’s business*”. While it is quite understandable that these officials consider dialogue as a public relations attempt to create goodwill by promoting the

benefits of the company to its stakeholders, the statement seems to communicate a message beyond this notion. It depicts GGM officials as actors who engage in a dialogue with a predetermined outcome—or rather already having the agenda at hand; thinking that relations will be improved by promoting an understanding of how the mining business can benefit societies. This statement somehow portrays GGM officials as controllers of the practice or actors who are unaware of the advice that they “are supposed to be prepared to change” (Theunissen & Wan Noordin 2012) before entering into a dialogue. Dialogue is a platform expected to be “a powerful catalyst for change” (WBCSD 2001), offering each participant the chance to hear and be heard, and not to be influenced by those enjoying a dominant position in the practice.

The same message is communicated by the statement “*Our CSR policies are tailor made within the NSGPR*”. This statement reveals GGM officials as actors who consider dialogue to be a means of delivering certain goals (i.e., facilitating the National Strategies for Growth and Poverty Reduction [NSGPR] through CSR, and dialogue being a channel for this), and not of meeting community members as equal partners in order to learn from them and discover issues of importance. The statement communicates the message that GGM officials enter in the dialogue already with an assumption that the facilitation of NSGPR is what community members expect from them. Such circumstances can hardly provide a space for an effective stakeholder dialogue practice, but will rather become a confirmation of what Yankelovich (1999: 14–15) terms as “polite of superficialities”, i.e., claiming to have a duty or obligation to society, while practically implementing CSR to achieve publicity and impress shareholders as well as government officials.

In fact, there are several statements which signify GGM officials as people who seek publicity or try to impress shareholders and government officials (the so-called PR manipulation). At least this can be confirmed by counter-statements made by Nyakabale villagers. GGM officials made statements like “*Our plan is to meet every single VEC once a month*”. This was not

only mentioned during field interviews, but is also stated in several country reports published by the mother company, AngloGold Ashanti. The statement seems to refer to GGM as a company that is eager to know the issues and concerns of the villagers, to the point of planning to meet every single village once a month (there are 15 villages close to GGM's concession). Such a statement offers a good impression, but the reality on the ground is different. Accounts made by village leaders in Nyakabale refute this claim. They say meetings are convened on an ad hoc basis, and sometimes can take up to four or five months to happen.

Another statement of this nature is "Formerly we did not base on thorough community impact studies and consultation, currently we are sending officials from our department to meet village leaders regularly". In this regard, GGM officials portray themselves as people concerned about the well-being of community members and striving to know what should be done. However, following the expressions made by the villagers, it is safe to say that such a statement was merely to manufacture a certain image, i.e., the officials are concerned about discovering community members' ways of living and finding appropriate ways of collaborating. As I hinted above, the villagers state that these officials are rarely seen in the village. Nyakabale village leaders have even observed that the company invites them for meetings mostly when it needs their help after encountering security-related problems. This is perhaps a typical example of the CSR attempts referred to by Leeper (1996) as cosmetic and designed to make an organization look better without substantially affecting the way it acts. Despite acknowledging the importance of dialoguing with CofP, GGM does not seem to assume a proactive role. The villagers in Nyakabale perceive GGM's attempt to interact with them more as a gimmick and not meant to encourage collaboration and address troubled social relations.

When explaining the processes of conducting this dialogue, several statements from GGM officials also seem to identify them as controllers or decision-makers in the exercise. The utterance such as "*We do not convene a political rally; we meet representatives of community members*" conveys

this sense quite plausibly. Apart from indicating that GGM officials are the ones deciding who should participate in the dialogue, the statement also seems to reveal how GGM officials regard community members. While the assertion highlights the impossibility of including everyone in a roundtable dialogue (which is logically correct), the use of the phrase '*a political rally*' somewhat conveys a sense that GGM officials take little notice of community members as equal partners, in a way regarding them as people who cannot make a tangible contribution to the process, therefore selecting a few is already a favour. This point serves as an important explanation as to why community members in Nyakabale feel left out of the dialogue. It brings two issues to the table. First, by having a mandate to decide who should participate in the dialogue, GGM is likely to choose people who will support its interests; second, with such a reference to community members, the mining firm is likely to neglect the interests of these individuals.

Likewise, the use of statements such as "We convene meetings by calling the VEO or sending letters of invitation to the village's office" and "Sometimes village leaders ask for meetings" also seems to identify GGM officials as controllers of the dialogue in Nyakabale. The statements communicate in a more direct way that it is GGM officials who have the mandate to convene meetings in Nyakabale. The use of the words "by calling the VEO or sending an invitation letter" is quite telling. People from the village are called or invited for a meeting (see Appendices xiii and xiv). The expression implies "we do not go to visit them in their localities, we call or invite them here to our offices to talk to them". Apart from confirming the above claims from the villagers that GGM officials are rarely seen in the village, this statement also substantiates the assertion that GGM officials are in control. They meet village leaders when circumstances compel them to do so. This is cemented by the utterance "sometimes village leaders ask for meetings". The use of the words 'sometimes' and 'ask' in this statement clearly indicates GGM's dominance in the dialogue. It communicates a sense that most often it is GGM officials who convene meetings. Village

leaders only do that ‘sometimes’, and because they are less influential, they cannot invite, but must ask for a meeting. It therefore depends on GGM’s discretion to accept or ignore the request.

Contrary to GGM’s assertions that it engages in dialogue with CofP in order to listen to views, problems and grievances to find ways of establishing mutual understanding, the accounts presented in this section draw a different picture. Expressions from GGM officials discussed in the section frame an image that the company’s involvement in roundtable dialogue with community members in Nyakabale is not centred around building mutual understanding and improving relations. It appears that the company’s efforts in dialoguing with CofP are for a different purpose—presumably that of creating the impression that it is concerned with the impact caused by its operations in these communities, although not committing itself to deal with this. This is in opposition to the ideals of stakeholder dialogue, which requires commitment and sincere efforts in building good relationships, something done by extending contact beyond members of the organization, and consequentially producing collective action as the product of bridging social capital. By doing the opposite, GGM actions seem to affirm the contention made in the study that CofP feel neglected by the mining firm, which is a reason why they opt for alternative means of engagement.

7.3 Village Leaders in Nyakabale

Like the accounts made by GGM officials, statements from village leaders in Nyakabale disclose a particular social language which is quite indicative in terms of revealing the shortcomings of the roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale. Several statements from these village leaders characterise them as a group of officials with a marginal position in the ongoing dialogue. This is marked when they express their views on their participation in the practice. The expressions such as *watu wa mgozi hawaweki wazi mipango yao* (people from the mine are not disclosing their plans) and *tunajadili na*

kukubaliana mengi lakini hawatekelezi (we discuss and agree on many issues but they don't implement them) were made when village leaders explained their disappointment at GGM's lack of transparency as well as its hesitation in fulfilling its promises. Apart from conveying a message that these village leaders participate in the dialogue without a clear-cut understanding of what lies behind GGM's participation, the statements also seem to reveal the fact that village leaders are unable to hold the firm accountable. It is the mining firm that decides whether to disclose information or not; whether to fulfil promises or ignore them. Such a situation speaks volumes about the discrepancies of round table dialogue. It points to Saunders' (1999) observation that a successful dialogue is likely only if "participants share their deepest hopes, interests and fears", something which does not seem to happen in Nyakabale.

As hinted above, the language drawn from village leaders' statements identifies them as less influential actors in the dialogue. Here is another example: *tunaitwa pale wanapotaka tuwasaidie kutatua matatizo yao* (we are called when they want us to help them solve their problems). This statement is quite telling regarding how these leaders consider their participation in the dialogue. They do not feel considered to be important. They think the mining firm considers them useful when it encounters problems. Perhaps this serves as an explanation for the above-mentioned delays or GGM's hesitance in fulfilling agreements and promises made in the dialogue; it is likely that the mining firm acts the way it acts because of its dominant position in the dialogue. The same statement also attests to the point discussed above that GGM officials convene these meetings by merely calling village leaders to their offices, and raises questions about GGM's readiness to interact with community members.

Here is another example: *zaidi tunatekeleza maoni yao sababu wanakuwa wameshakubaliana na viongozi wa wilaya* (in most cases we take their opinion because they agree with district officials first). This statement was made when village leaders were explaining their inability to defend the

interests of their village in the dialogue. Apparently, they are made to accept suggestions and decisions made by GGM because sometimes orders come from district officials. The statement brings to light two important issues: first is a sense that GGM's viewpoints and decisions are the ones prevailing in the dialogue, and this is because they are backed by government officials at the district. Second, it points to participants' unequal leverage in making decisions—village leaders having little control on what takes place in the dialogue, being a sort of stamping device of what is already decided by the mine and district officials. This point largely offers reasons as to why community members in Nyakabale render the ongoing dialogue impractical. Pedersen (2006) asserts that “dialogue is about inclusion, openness, tolerance, empowerment and transparency” (pp. 140–142). A failure in this brings hierarchy and exclusion, as seems to be happening in Nyakabale.

Just as above, the statement “*tunajaribu kuwakumbusha makubaliano yetu lakini kila mara wanasema masuala hayo yanashughulikiwa wilayani*” (we try to remind them about our agreements but they always say that the matters are addressed at the district), uncovers the identity of village leaders. This statement was referring to instances where village leaders demanded explanations on GGM's unfulfilled promises. Apparently GGM's response has always been one of passing the ball to district officials. GGM officials mentioned during field interviews that the company involves district officials in most of its CSR projects because they are required by the country's law to do so (this is largely because the mentioned CSR projects aim at providing social services, which is the government's responsibility). Nonetheless, this statement gives the impression that there are hierarchies in the dialogue in Nyakabale, and village leaders serve in the lower capacities.

“They are not supposed to use laws in making every decision, some issues require a humanitarian approach” (*hawatakiwi kutumia sheria kufanya kila maamuzi, mambo mengine yanahitaji utu*). This is another statement that

identifies village leaders as participants with a marginal position in the dialogue. This expression was used when village leaders were explaining their misgivings on GGM's decisions to forbid cattle keepers and *mangwala* collectors from entering the lease area. They reckoned that GGM should reconsider its decisions and start allowing cattle keepers to use part of its untouched land, as well as unload some of the *mangwala* in the village, so that ASMs and other villagers could reprocess it. What comes to the fore from this statement is that village leaders in a way do not agree with some of the decisions made in the dialogues in which they participate—meaning that such decisions are made against their wishes and they cannot decide otherwise. This also means that GGM officials are not considering what Heath et al. (2006) identified as one of the key elements of a genuine dialogue: “respect and implicit tolerance of difference”. The statement conveys a sense that GGM officials do not acknowledge the viewpoints of village leaders, but are more interested in protecting or promoting the interests of the mine. It seems to prove the above reiteration that village leaders are not influential in the practice and explains why it is not appreciated by community members.

In the same manner, the statements *baadhi ya wanakijiji hawatuelewi, wanadhani tunashirikiana na mgodi* (some of the villagers do not understand us, they think we are conspiring with the mine), and *wakati mwingine tunaona ni bora mgodi ukutane na wanakijiji moja kwa moja* (sometimes we think it's better if the mine meets the villagers directly) identify village leaders as less powerful actors in dialogue. The comments also confirm community members' displeasure at the practice. These sentences were used when village leaders were trying to defend themselves against community members' accusations that they collude with GGM officials to make unfavourable decisions. The use of these statements demonstrates three issues that also verify the shortcomings of roundtable dialogue between GGM and village leaders in Nyakabale. First, by using these statements, village leaders seem to agree that there is something wrong with roundtable dialogue and which they do not want to be associated with it.

This is attested by the sentence “*they don't understand us; they think we are conspiring with the mine.*” Second, the statements also disclose quite candidly, that the villagers are dissatisfied with what is done in the dialogue, and to a certain degree are suspicious of those participating in it. Third, which is more pertinent to this section, by using these statements, village leaders seem to admit that they have not been instrumental in the ongoing dialogue and would prefer to see the mining firm meeting the villagers directly.

The above point is further conveyed by statements such as “*hata mikutano ya kijiji tunashindwa kuitisha sababu hatujui tuwaambie nini*” (we can't even convene village meetings because we don't know what to tell them) and “*kwakuwa mgodi ndio unagharimia mikutano yote, basi safari hii waje kijijini*” (since the mine is the one paying for all these meetings, let them come to the village). These comments were made when village leaders tried to distance themselves from the outcomes of the ongoing dialogue, essentially admitting that things were not working out as they had expected, and therefore it was becoming difficult for them to explain these issues to the villagers. Therefore, they think a possible solution to this is for GGM to come to the village and talk to community members. These statements also seem to communicate three issues which could affirm the shortcomings of the roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale. First, the use of: “*let them come to the village*” hints at the contention made above that meetings are not convened in the village, but rather village leaders are called to attend meetings at GGM's offices. In other words, confirming claims from the villagers that officials from the mine have no interest in interacting with them because they are rarely seen in the village. Second, the words “*the mine is the one paying for the meetings*” speak volumes about GGM's influence on the dialogue. The last point, which also speaks to what is seen as village leaders' inability to defend the interests of community members in the dialogue, is the indirect confession found in the statements. Village leaders seem to admit that they are caught in between, trying to work for the interests of the villagers but facing challenges as they

cannot go against the directives coming from the mine and their bosses at the district level. Recalling the accounts from community members, it is such instances which make them consider ongoing dialogue unfavourable. Further accounts from community members that confirm their disapproval of the ongoing dialogue are discussed below.

7.4 Community Members

Apart from the above identities, unfolded through the social languages emerging from dialogue participants' expressions, the language from community members' accounts portrays them as people who are uncomfortable with what takes place in the ongoing dialogue. Several statements can testify to this point. For instance, "*hakuna aliyewahi kuja hapa kuulizia maoni yangu*" (no one has ever been here seeking for my opinion), and "*hawatushishi kwa lolote, nitajuaje kinachoendelea huko?*" (they don't involve us in anything, how should I know what is going on there?). These statements refute GGM's claims that village leaders seek community members' opinions before participating in dialogue. There are also statements such as "*sijawahi kusikia wameitisha mkutano wa kijiji*" (I never heard them convening a village meeting) and "*hata wanayokubaliana hawaji kutuambia*" (they don't even come to tell us what they agree on), which counters GGM's claim that village leaders give feedback to villagers. Looking at these statements, it comes out that community members were not only expressing their dissatisfaction at the way roundtable dialogue is conducted, but they were also sending a message that they need information, i.e., they wish to know what is going on in the dialogue. To put the matter into perspective, here community members affirm their feelings of being left out of the ongoing dialogue.

Further statements which give evidence that the villagers consider themselves excluded are "*hawa watu sio wawazi*" (these people are not transparent) and "*wanachofanya ni kubandika matangazo machache ofisini*" (what they do is put a few announcements in the village's office). During

the interviews, community members mentioned that the practice of tacking information on the office's noticeboard has made them miss important information, particularly about donations and temporary employment from GGM (see Appendices xv, xvi and xvii). They say it's only a few who are informed and think this is done on purpose to avoid enquiries in case village leaders were to convene meetings to give feedback (see Appendix xix). Some even say that such meetings are of no use: "*hata wakiitisha mkutano leo hatutaenda*" (even if they convened a meeting today, we would not go); "*itakuwa ni kupoteza muda tu, wataendelea kutupa ahadi zisizoisha*" (it will be a waste of time because they will keep on giving empty promises); and "*bora muda huo niutumie kwenye mangwala*" (better to spend that time on *mangwala*). These statements are straightforward. They bear witness that community members regard the roundtable dialogue as lacking part of what Bruning & Ledingham (1999) consider central in organizations' relationships with stakeholders: "building trust, mutual satisfaction, and mutual understanding" (160).

In view of the above, it is beyond doubt that community members in Nyakabale are dissatisfied by the outcome of roundtable dialogue and are sceptical of GGM's commitment to the practice. Different statements from the villagers plainly demonstrate this scepticism. For example, when community members expressed their views on the role played by village leaders in the dialogue, they made statements like "*tunawaelewa viongozi wetu*" (we understand our leaders); "*hawawezi kuitisha mkutano kwa sababu ni wazi kuwa mambo hayaeleweki*" (they can't convene meetings because it is obvious things are uncertain); "*kuitisha mikutano itamaanisha kuja kutuambia uongo, GGM hawaeleweki*" (convening meetings will mean telling us lies, GGM is unpredictable). Apart from expressing their concern that village leaders play a submissive role in the dialogue, these statements, particularly the use of the word "*unpredictable*", strongly validates villagers' suspicions towards GGM's commitment. It also insinuates a state of complying with the situation, which is similar to saying "We can't rely on them anymore, we have to handle the situation on our own".

Although it is not mentioned directly, a sense of complying with what is taking place in their localities is probably validated by statements like “*tumechoka*” (we are tired) and “*labda tukifunga barabara tena ndio watatuelewa*” (maybe they will understand us if we block the road again). What these assertions seem to convey is that community members regard themselves as people who have endured difficulties up to a point, and because it is not possible to reach out to GGM officials, in order to make them see the realities on the ground, they suggest alternative means of meeting them. A testimony to the claim that GGM does not know the villagers’ realities, and indeed that agreements made in the roundtable dialogue are far removed from villagers’ situations, can be drawn from accounts such as “*GGM wanatuzuia kufuata mangwala, lakini hawajui hata baadhi ya viongozi wa kijiji tunaendanao huko*” (GGM officials forbid us from collecting *mangwala*, but they don’t know that we even go there with some of our village leaders).

The above quote is quite illuminating. The villagers are plainly ridiculing the ongoing dialogue, insisting that it is out of context and that, despite disregarding them, GGM officials are out of touch. This sense is communicated by their claim that *even some of the village leaders go up to collect mangwala*—these are the leaders who appear at the roundtable dialogue and are part of the team which restricts villagers from entering the mine’s concession. The comment is quite revealing in terms of illustrating the shortcomings of the practice. As Saunders (1999) asserts, the purpose of dialogue is to provide an openness for people to meet, listen to, and understand each other neutrally, with a will to change. Thus, by implying that GGM has not been able to realize what *mangwala* means to the villagers, and even not understanding the interests of fellow actors in the dialogue (village officials), the villagers are attempting to prove that the participants of this dialogue are out of line— that they have even failed to know each other and therefore the exercise has lost its meaning.

Perhaps this is why statements like “*bora tukutane na mzungu*” (it’s better to meet the white man), and “*labda tukiongea na mzungu uso kwa uso*

atatuelewa” (perhaps if we talk face to face with the white man he will understand us) were used by a number of community members. The wish to meet the *mzungu* gives the impression that Nyakabale villagers are suspicious and probably not trustful of the participants in the ongoing dialogue, who happen not to be *wazungu* (white men), but indeed village leaders and their fellow Tanzanians from GGM’s CRSD department. Apart from portraying community members as a group of individuals that renders the roundtable dialogue unrealistic, this wish to meet *mzungu* also seems to identify the villagers as still hopeful, that there are still chances of improving relationships and of gaining mutual understanding. In more specific terms, it identifies these villagers as people who are ready to ‘cross over’ to meet people who are unlike themselves and try to improve social relations, which is considered by Agnitsch (2006) to be ‘an important resource’. Therefore, the statement affirms the villagers’ continuing desire to bridge social capital.

Nonetheless, taking into account what GGM officials explained as challenges facing the ongoing dialogue, villagers’ attainment of their wish to meet the *mzungu* would probably not be helpful. Accounts made by one GGM official from the CRSD department in reference to the impediments to dialogue practices seemed to identify the *mzungu* as the reason behind the challenges facing the dialogue. The official referred to “*cultural differences between officials in the CRSD department and their bosses from abroad*” as one of the factors delaying the realisation of agreements made in the practice. “*The priorities of our bosses from abroad are far much different from those of the community members*”. This statement is so direct and indicates that community members’ wish to meet ‘the white man’ directly is another sign of the shortcomings in the ongoing dialogue. The exercise has not enabled participants to reveal what Theunissen & Wan Noordin (2012) call ‘their true self’: villagers cannot tell who exactly is not being attentive to their demands and expectations. This feeds into their claims that they are rarely involved or informed about the proceedings of their village leaders’ meetings with GGM.

There are other statements from GGM officials that depict participants in ongoing dialogue as individuals who have not been able to understand each other, something which is supposed to be of primary concern in any effort towards building favourable relationships. For example, the mine officials refer to the improvement of relations between community members and GGM as the main duty of the CRSD department. At the same time, they consider the “*increasing security problems in the area, a setback of their relationship with community members*”. What is at issue in this statement is that GGM officials seem to miss the connection between what they call “*security problems*” and what they refer to as “*a setback of their relationship*”. From the accounts made by community members in Nyakabale, and indeed from the discussion we saw in chapters 5 and 6, it is clear that the factor behind what GGM refers to as ‘security problems’ is the villagers’ displeasure at how GGM relates to them. In other words, what is regarded by GGM as security problems, is what this study refers to as the changing ways of dialoguing, villagers’ alternative platforms for dialogue, after considering themselves mistreated or excluded from the mainstream platform. Perhaps a suitable point to cement this argument is the account made by one villager during the interviews, who stated “*kama tuna mahusiano mazuri na mgozi, kwanini wanaongeza ulinzi katika mipaka yao?*” (if we have a good relationship, why is the mine mounting security on its borders?). What this statement seems to communicate is that good relationship between the two parties is measured in terms of allowing cattle keepers, *mangwala* collectors and ASMs to continue using GGM’s lease area for their livelihood activities. It verifies one or both of the two contentions made by the villagers: that GGM has been ignoring them, and has failed to understand their real-life situations.

Intriguingly, the above mismatch of dialogue actors’ perspectives is further projected by what GGM officials refer to as a major weak point of villagers in efforts towards building a favourable relationship. The statements “*kutokuelewana kunasababishwa na matarajio makubwa walionayo*

wanakijiji”(misunderstandings happen because villagers have high expectations); “*ndio maana hawathamini miradi yetu ya kusaidia jamii*” (that is why they devalue our CSR projects); and “*hawafahamu gharama kubwa za uendeshaji zinazotukabili*”(they are not aware of the high operational costs we encounter) explain the problems inherent in the roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale; problems viewed by this study as the principle shortcoming of the practice. Two inferences conveyed by the statements above help to capture the essence of these problems.

First, what the three statements seem to portray is that GGM officials admit that there are misunderstandings between them and community members in Nyakabale; and that a lack of appreciation or disregard of GGM’s support for the village (CSR projects) is what maintains the problem; and again, this lack of ‘appreciation or disregard’ is a result of community members’ lack of awareness of the mining business. In other words, by using these three statements, GGM officials seem to regard community members as individuals who are ungrateful and that this state of affairs disappoints them, because they care for their well-being. What these officials do not admit in their statements however, but which can be picked up from the expressions they use, is that if it is true that community members are unaware of the ‘costly’ mining business, then the issue nevertheless lies in GGM’s role in the dialogue, because the company has fallen short of meeting its own stated commitment, i.e., to use dialogue for promoting understanding of the mining business (this was discussed in the previous section). It all goes back to validate community members’ claims that they are excluded and confirms the above reiteration that the roundtable dialogue is unrealistic—a reason for the villagers to change the ways of continuing dialoguing.

Second, by using these statements, GGM officials are more or less confirming the observation, mentioned in the previous section, that they consider their role in the dialogue to be of sponsoring or helping the villagers. More importantly (in terms of putting this point in perspective), the statements appear to say that GGM officials regard material contribution

through CSR, as well as other financial support, to be the determining factor of building good relationships with community members. This set of circumstances provides sustenance of the claim made by this thesis, that the roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale has not been able to understand (or has probably ignored) the priorities and viewpoints of community members. Putting it differently, GGM officials have been far detached from the life experiences of the villagers in Nyakabale. They have either ignored or failed to establish that material support is not the pressing need of the villagers. What the villagers consider significant in their lives, and this is validated by their own statements analysed in this study, is access to the land that has been taken away, the land that enables them to continue pursuing their livelihood, to exercise free movement, and to access an adequate supply of water. If the roundtable dialogue, CSR projects and other financial support fails to capture this important aspect (at least from the perspective of community members), then it will be rendered impracticable.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter went through the accounts made by GGM officials, village leaders and community members, to illustrate how the social languages drawn from their expressions describe the nature, setbacks and outcomes of the roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale. In more specific terms, the chapter depicted how certain socially situated identities and activities, derived from statements made by these individuals, point to the shortcomings of the roundtable dialogue in Nyakabale. What is conveyed by these socially situated identities is that GGM officials (and those from the district administrative levels) are falling short in abiding by the principles of a genuine stakeholder dialogue as discussed in this study. This is mainly due to the scant attention paid to the role played by village leaders in roundtable dialogue. As the village leaders' role is ignored, voices of community members go unheard. This in turn takes the meetings into deciding and agreeing upon issues which do not seem to be the priorities of the villagers which

then render the meetings less meaningful. The situation therefore sees villagers taking their own initiative in negotiating their needs with the mining firm. It is arguably clear that the nature of these villagers' different ways of meeting GGM has much to feed into the traditional understanding of stakeholder dialogue practices. An overall reflection of the dialogic practices in Nyakabale, Geita, is found in the next chapter which centres on providing the concluding discussion and significance of this study, as well as its contribution to the fields of public relations and corporate social responsibility.

8. Concluding Discussion

This study sought to contribute to the debate of what constitutes stakeholder dialogue practices, by introducing a sociological concept, bridging social capital, into CSR and PR studies. Specifically, it explored dialogic practices of MMs and CofP as a social phenomenon, and used community members' views, perspectives and reactions on these practices, to further the understanding of SD. In more particular terms, it attempted to speak of the varying ways of dialoguing which are beyond the traditional understanding of what constitutes SD. Given the increasing opposition to and contestation of operations of MMs in rural areas of the developing world, the deployment of various efforts to attend to this afflicted relationship became necessary. Different studies in public relations and CSR developed, among other efforts, a stakeholder dialogue discourse, particularly roundtable discussions, as a suitable approach for intervening in the differences brought about by encounters between MMs and CofP. This discourse has been quite helpful in addressing troubled relations between the two parties, and in discussing possibilities for coexistence. The aim of this study was not to challenge this discourse but rather to go deeper into the argument that there is a need to add parameters for measuring the stakeholder dialogue constitution, in order to capture other equally pertinent ways of dialoguing.

Studies on stakeholder dialogue practices, in terms of roundtable meetings, appear to fall into two categories: first, those focusing on understanding the challenges that may impede the success of this implementation, and second, those that suggest better strategies for the effectiveness of the practice. Looking at these studies, it becomes apparent that there are a few attempts which tried to gain a deeper understanding of the outcome of ineffective dialogic practices. Most of these talk of or predict disorder and misunderstanding as the possible and probably only outcome of ineffective stakeholder dialogue. This is especially true for studies which focus on dialogic practices between powerful actors such as MMs and the seemingly

less powerful, such as CofP. A broader view on the outcome of such ineffective dialogic practices is one which speaks of confrontation, protest, violence, and so forth, as the probable reaction of unsatisfied dialogue actors—specifically referring to those seen as less influential, such as community members.

This study, however, attempted to refute the general view that disputes and conflicts are the most likely outcome of ineffective dialogue practices in the context where those stakeholders perceived as less powerful feel left out of the exercise. It argues that by referring to the actions and inactions of those excluded from roundtable dialogue as disorder, protest, violence and so forth, scholars in public relations and CSR are probably reducing complex social phenomena to mere legal or procedural constructs. In other words, this study contends that a closer scrutiny of the reactions, views and perspectives of stakeholders who feel like under-represented in the dialogue arena, offers rich empirical data which helps to further understanding of SD practices. In this sense, the study hesitated to look at organization's stakeholders, particularly CofP, as less influential partners or 'troublemakers'; instead, it views them as stakeholders who have abilities to change the ways of dialoguing, especially after they feel excluded from roundtable meetings. In this matter, the study attempted to tackle the question of the abilities of CofP in changing the ways of continuing dialoguing, i.e., how exactly are these stakeholders able to continue articulating their concerns; negotiating their way; and pushing the limits of roundtable dialogue after they are 'shut out' from dialogue?

The analysis of the accounts made by CofP interviewed in this study, and indeed their expressions on what they do after being 'excluded' in the roundtable meetings, illustrate how community members, (here referring to those in Nyakabale village) are able to create space for dialogue even within avenues which are unimaginable to others. Their accounts show that in the context where the interests of CofP are not fulfilled in a more direct way, members of these communities find other means and ways of realizing their interests. For instance, the study points out that in the course of

reacting to exclusion at roundtable dialogue, reactions which MMs and other stakeholders such as the national government might view as trespassing, disorder or violence, a space for dialogue emerge. This is because CofP transform the outcome of their reactions into a negotiating platform. A community member, for instance, would be accused of trespassing or encroaching on the lease area of the mining firm after being found grazing cattle or collecting wasted rocks, but in the process of going to the police station, at the station itself, or on the way to primary court, would find an avenue to argue for his case; and quite often, the findings show that in these circumstances, villagers' issues and interests are addressed more direct way compared to what happens in the roundtable meetings.

Putting it differently, amid what is regarded as disorder or violence, community members are seen negotiating their terms and ways of doing things, without necessarily weakening or threatening their relationships with other stakeholders. In fact, it is from this perspective that the bridging social capital concept used in this study becomes so useful; that is because of the unique insights it offers in studying the interaction (the bridging) of social groups to establish an understanding of the challenges in building positive relationships. The accounts made by community members express the fact that most are not comfortable with how the mine interacts with them; nor how roundtable dialogue reaches agreements and decisions; indeed, acknowledging that their ability to make the mine accountable is very limited. At the same time, they seem to recognize the presence of the mine as needed, because in spite of the disagreements, they see themselves as individuals who can still work out how to make a living or make ends meet, without necessarily confronting the mine directly. In other words, it is their own way of bridging with powerful stakeholders. Yes, it is true that sometimes confrontation happens, but when it happens, villagers also explain ways and means they employ to address it without causing more trouble.

It is also worth mentioning here that the discussion on the varying forms of stakeholder dialogue as presented in this study directs our attention back

to bridging social capital debate. Looking at the themes (see Table 4) analysed in the study through participants' quotations (in chapter 5–7), for instance, community members' 'quest for interaction'; their 'coping strategies'; a need to 'access ancestral land'; their way of 'enduring' turbulent times; and even attempts to 'define their own destiny'; an intriguing question emerges. That is, where one social group (in this regard community members in Nyakabale) wants and even necessitates a bridging process in order to gain social capital, and the other social group hesitates to comply, but eventually does, what sort of contribution does such a process make towards the bridging social capital debate?

What is learnt in this study is that community members, despite being aggrieved with the actions of the mining firm that marginalize them, their expressions, throughout the study, portrayed them as people who neither want trouble nor are used to it. In other words, they demonstrated a continuous wish for engagement and interaction with the mining firm to settle differences (bridging social capital), and indeed were able to do just that. This happened despite the mining firm's hesitance and passive participation in the bridging process. What is even more interesting here is that in moments when the bridging is successful (when social capital is gained) it is the mining firm which comes out first to cherish the moment, through media and different meetings. Thus, how can we make sense of such social capital emerging from a rather contested bridging process? In order to make a stronger contribution to bridging social capital conceptualization, more work needs to be done on this.

Reflecting on the accounts made by community members, it can also be concluded that in the face of dialogue practices, community members are very creative social actors and also very influential. This was substantiated when they expressed disappointment while at the same time admitting that they were not reacting to them. What is interesting here is that community members do not react to the disappointment in a more direct way because they know that there are barriers towards achieving their expectations (and interests). In other words, they know that there are opportunities for them

to ventilate their disappointment, and actually such opportunities are availed by the same disappointment. For instance, the villagers mention the mining firm that has come out with a certain CSR discourse in order to reach out to them, but that the exercise was not meeting their expectations. This happens while they are also aware that dialogue can go on within and beyond the individuals who meet in roundtables. In this sense, they organize other events which compel mining officials to come and meet them and readdress some of the agenda discussed in roundtable dialogue. In such circumstances, officials from the local and regional governments also find themselves there. Such scenarios are considered by villagers as alternative dialogue because they bring together the entire group of actors who in one way or another participate in roundtable meetings. Actually, this means that people who were excluded from previous roundtable meetings now become convenors of new dialogue platforms and even set agendas—the very same agendas which were in the past viewed (by powerful actors) as less important.

Taking for example the issues of picking waste rocks or grazing in the mine's lease area: in roundtable meetings, these issues do not crop up strongly. However, when community members go to collect them, when they are caught or held responsible for 'breaching' the agreements set during roundtable meetings, these issues come up strongly. This is because negotiations are seen taking place at the very time when community members are charged with doing things which are contrary to what was agreed in mainstream dialogue sessions. What is learnt from such events is that the urge for bridging (for improving social relations) is what makes it possible for the two sides to get along or to survive that which is superficially seen as disorder, protest or violence. Whether the mining firm attends to these events with full commitment or not, by the fact that every day the company is confronted with these issues of wasted rocks, cattle grazing, ASMs, and so forth; and by the fact that the mine is seen hiring security guards, police officers, and seeking help from government leaders on how

to attend to these issues, it is safe to say that such efforts illustrate the company's continuous engagement on these changing ways of dialoguing instituted by community members.

What can also be drawn from the above-stated scenario are the visibly differing interests that compel the two parties to meet. While the mining firm's interests seem to be of showing efforts in forging mutual relations with neighbouring communities, the interests of CofP appear to be of addressing their pressing needs. In this sense it is clear that the encounter of the two parties is grounded on differing motivation, which in the long run makes the pursuance of actors' interests the main issue for both sides. When actors from both groups work to meet their interests, it comes to light that their engagement and disengagement illuminates the contended changing ways of continuing dialoguing, which are the essence of this thesis. Moreover, the very same urges that push actors from both sides to pursue their interests also appear to keep the roundtable dialogue dynamic. Looking at how actors attempt to meet their interests, it becomes clear that time, agenda, participants, and even the discourse of roundtable meetings also change. Approaches and processes do not remain the same throughout. So, this also explains why the roundtable discussions themselves entail a constellation of interests and a constellation of ways of achieving those interests.

The mining firm, for instance, would like to be seen as working to improve relations with the communities surrounding it. Therefore, it encourages interaction with CofP and in that way displays a sense of bridging, of improving social relations. However, it is also true that this happens with precautions, because apart from accepting interaction, the company is also seen protecting its business interests—regardless of how harmful that could be to CofP. In so doing, the company uses a different discourse (of laws and regulations), which in fact acts in its favour. It sometimes even manipulates this discourse, because it has also been established that laws and regulations, in that local setting, are not implemented strongly. The firm, for example, would come up with issues of chemicals, environmental

degradation, health and safety, security, etc., as a discourse to deter communities from extending their interaction with the company. In this way, denying CofP access to land (and the gold) that is strongly needed by both sides. In the same vein, community members also have their own local discourse which validates their actions. They talk of the shattered livelihood opportunities, hopelessness, and desperation in working out their living as reasons compelling them to lengthen their dealings with the mining firm, i.e., to extend the discussions of the roundtable meetings. In that way they are attempting to show how their interests are not well-pronounced in the mainstream dialogue, thus wanting people from outside their local context to understand what they do and why they do it that way. Such contentions clearly show how the nature of the mainstream dialogue sessions cannot be the same throughout. They necessitate a change of participants, venue, agenda, time, and so forth.

What becomes clearer here is that the perceived inadequacy of roundtable dialogue may not necessarily mean that the participants did not always discuss and fail to implement the important issues from the perspectives of those represented. It may also mean that, during discussion, participants do not see the issues of those represented as important. This may be due to the fact that the actors involved in SD have different interests, which obscure the interests of those represented. This also does not mean that those represented will not get space to ventilate their important issues. As pointed out in the study, they do get this space. In other words, the space they get is seen feeding into roundtable discussions and triggering the participants to act on the resolutions that were previously not seen as important. From discussing their own interests, the participants of roundtable meetings are made to address real issues which are of concern to those represented (i.e., community members). It is because of such findings that this thesis sees the importance of stretching the SD constitution in order to accommodate these similar ways of dialoguing. Although the present literature does not understand them that way, this study considers them as typical forms of stakeholder dialogue in their own right.

Apart from the above contribution, this study also attempted to offer more conceptual inputs on similar studies in the fields of PR, CSR and beyond. Contrary to numerous PR studies, which largely confined their theoretical and conceptual reflection on the ideas of persuasion, promotion, communication [and even manipulation] (see for example, Ledingham & Bruning 1998; Baker 2002), this study went further in broadening these tendencies by incorporating a sociological concept to studying PR. By introducing bridging social capital conceptualization into studying the relational patterns of organizations and community members as its key stakeholders, this study embraces the thinking of PR scholars (such as Bentele & Wehmeir 2007; L'Etang 2005; Edwards 2006; Ihlen et al. 2009), who suggest the expansion of the breadth and depth of the theoretical foundation of the field—particularly by introducing social theorists into public relations scholarship. Through an employment of Putnam's (2000) bridging social capital, this study, in one way or another, has been able to accomplish two things: first, to explore the interaction of the mining firm and its neighbouring communities with the lens of social relations and second, to analyse the accounts of the community members in view of their everyday life experiences. This effort, therefore, allowed this study to uncover several important features that are important towards the understanding of the blurred limits of roundtable dialogue, as presented above.

In addition to this, the study also follows an advocacy on the employment of qualitative approaches in PR studies (see, for example, Berger 2005). As it avoids leaving the entire understanding of PR practices to scholars and practitioners in the field, the study holds on to qualitative approaches to capture the understanding of the field's practices from the perspective of those seeming to be removed from the technical or intellectual sides of the profession, here referring to organizations' stakeholders, such as community members. Instead of letting the understanding of stakeholder dialogue practices be framed by PR practitioners and scholars alone, who in most cases do so based on career, organizational, or professional interests,

the study employs the case study approach to follow the views and perspectives of community members and show how their accounts further the understanding. This methodological approach serves PR scholarship by developing the understanding of PR practices, which are largely prescribed by organizations' points of view. Instead, it aligns them with alternative viewpoints from outside the organizations, which confronts the dominant organizational thinking, while illuminating a more pertinent or logical reflection of practices—in this case stakeholder dialogue.

Nevertheless, the study also attempts to contribute to PR and CSR policies and maybe also those to do with public-private partnerships. Before proceeding to these policy issues, it is important to first highlight a few points drawn from the findings of this study, which are important for the discussion. Looking at the way roundtable dialogue is conducted in the case of this study, as well as the issues or agendas discussed in the exercise, it becomes clear that the practice serves as a platform for negotiation and reconciliation which, to a certain degree, is free from the control of the regional and central government of Tanzania. This is despite the fact that part of the disagreements and misunderstandings between MMs and CoFP are a result of decisions made by the government itself. In other words, it is the mining firm and village leaders who are left to manage the platform, while government leaders at district and regional levels play a passive role in the exercise. Where local government leaders experience unequal leverage in arguing for their cases (as compared to the mining firm), dialogue practices like those in Geita are most likely to end up being avenues for 'hoodwinking' people, or what Calvano (2008) called 'fading off' opposition and confrontation, without necessarily tackling key issues at stake.

In a context where most of the decisions in roundtable dialogue are left to the full discretion of the mining firm while government leaders at the local level are left in marginal positions, the ongoing discussion is likely to be confined to those issues that promote the interests of the company. In this perspective, core issues from the side of those represented will probably

be superficially attended to, thus causing the mining firm to consider dialogue with CofP as a platform for maintaining its power and influence. When encountering such shortcomings, the majority of the population—those represented in the dialogue—will not perceive themselves as individuals who are cared for by both the company and local leaders. On the contrary, they will consider roundtable dialogue as redundant and therefore organize and achieve their own way of dialoguing rather than waiting for ‘others’, such as the central government, to intervene.

Proceeding from the above observation, and now turning to policy issues, it would become more meaningful, and even quite engaging, if dialogue commitments and agreements, in the case of MMs and CofP, would be determined by the negotiating capacity of the community members. Also, if the exercise would strive to address key issues from the perspective of this group. In this way, dialogue practices would be informed of other ways and means of negotiating, which could help in addressing the challenges impeding the effectiveness of the exercise, and also serve in strategizing for pertinent ways of interacting and engaging in discussions. Such a wish would probably happen if there were a strong commitment to and close participation of the regional (or central) government in the interactions and in serving the interests of the majority of the population—particularly those most affected by the operations of the extractive industry. Such practices would attest to the MMs’ (and the government’s) efforts in reaching out to communities and improving the relationship of the two sides. At the same time, these efforts would serve as responses to critics who perceive stakeholder dialogue practice as a mere platform aiming at managing resistance and finding legal and procedural leeway for MMs to operate freely.

To put the above in more precise terms, the primary focus for stakeholder dialogue practices should be on the creation of social capital, before even thinking of the material gains which MMs can offer CofP and vice versa. The priority of negotiations and discussions should be to gain favourable relationships between mining firms and communities of place, instead of

only dwelling on the operational challenges or the ‘benefits’ (i.e., CSR initiatives) brought, or expected to be provided, by companies to neighbouring communities.

In other words, dialogue between MMs and CofP should be centred on answering social questions first, because such an attempt will then provide a common ground, free from power influences, in finding ways and means of tackling the economic, technical and developmental questions which face the two parties. The involvement of the regional government in this respect is highly required, as it should encourage reaching out to communities and reducing the dominance of mining firms in decision making processes. In order to avoid excessive dominance and influence of the mining firm over local communities, the regional government should be proactive in overseeing the practices of large-scale mining companies, and make sure it campaigns for the wellbeing of its population and not just a few individuals in the economic sector. Leaving the creation and maintenance of social relations in the hands of the companies alone would probably tempt mining firms to keep inducing commercial strategies for profit maximization, at the expense of community members’ readiness in constructing mutual understanding—i.e., their willingness in bridging social capital.

When community members employ alternative means of interacting with the mining firm after being uncomfortable with dialogic processes, as is in the case of Geita, the government and the company should not use repressive measures to deal with these individuals. Instead, the two groups should understand that community members have their own perception of circumstances, which is socially constructed and can be justified. If the government and the mining firm would take the time to look at these alternative means of bridging, they would end up finding out that community members’ actions are reasonable, and that the means used in keeping on articulating their messages and interests are legitimate— and they should thus find a way of accommodating them.

Perhaps the better way to realize the above is for the mining company to pay more attention to its interaction with the communities surrounding its facilities. It should strive to increase visits in the villages, convene meetings that not only involve village leaders, but also community members, and make sure direct consultations with the villagers are encouraged. The company should implement this based on the understanding that its present efforts in addressing community concerns through roundtable dialogue have a very limited possibility of addressing communities' concerns and even changing its image for the villagers and Tanzanian citizens in general. Putting it in more concrete terms, policies in the mining sector should ensure that it is mandatory for the mining firms to hold public meetings with neighbouring communities in order to clarify operational and business issues; clear doubts; seek cooperation; and listen to community members' views, opinion and suggestions. Quick access to information from both sides will enable each party to be more aware of what the other side expects. In situations where the changing ways of dialoguing happen, members from both sides will be in a better position to understand why such attempts take place, and therefore find means of embracing them— which will ensure the involvement of CofP in decision-making processes.

In addition to the above, the government of Tanzania should realize that dialogic actions such as those instituted by community members in Geita send a strong signal that it has to act quickly to remedy relational and communication issues between MMs and CofP. This could be through the enactment of institutional reforms to ensure that MMs commit themselves to facilitating dialogue and improving communication with local communities. Continuous discussion and communication with communities, with the involvement of the government, are very important in settling differences. The initiatives can also help MMs (and the government) understand community members' perspectives when they decide to change ways of interacting and articulating their messages. In other words, efforts geared towards understanding community issues will help the government (policy makers in particular) get useful information to establish pertinent ways of

dialoguing and ensuring smooth interaction. By keeping community issues at heart when formulating guidelines for MMs-CofP dialogue, policy makers, to a great extent, will be addressing major frontiers which make engagements and negotiations between the two parties problematic.

As discussed in Chapters 4–7, these insights from Geita illustrate the challenges faced by the government of Tanzania in managing the country's mineral sector. While looking for foreign investors in order to improve the dwindling economy and fight against the poverty that troubles the country, the government of Tanzania found itself setting up few or 'lenient' legal and policy obligations of MMs to societies. In that way, it also made it easy for the MMs to use loopholes left by the laws and policies to behave in ways that favour their business goals. Among the noticeable behaviour is the development and management of CSR policies and projects, largely independent of government decisions, which the companies also use as a basis to prove their good intentions. This is even before ascertaining whether these intentions meet community members' expectations. The above economic urges aside, the government of Tanzania should not rely on the quest for foreign direct investment to make excuses for all the blame surrounding the MMs-CofP relationship. It has to be held accountable for being too generous to foreign investors at the expense of the wellbeing of its rural communities. Therefore, the officials in the mining sector should learn from the experiences in Geita and proceed in promoting strong supervision and transparency and also allow the sector to be managed by individuals who are more committed and responsible.

In summary, like many other developing countries hosting MMs in rural communities, Tanzania has not only witnessed a mushrooming investment in its extractive industry, but has also experienced continuous contestation and disagreements between key stakeholders in the industry, here referring to the MMs and CofP in particular. Apart from slowing down the socio-economic progress of these remote parts of the country, the troubling encounters of the two stakeholders have also turned these areas into what Calvano (2008) calls a 'battleground', where interests of the two groups

are fought for. Due to the fact that the urge to pursue their interests will not cease among members in each group, at some point, these individuals are seen agreeing to sit down for a discussion about better ways of addressing their interests. In the course of these discussions, however, members from CofP are witnessed conveying a message of being dissatisfied by the way the sit-downs are executed, thus ending up devising their own means of continuing to pursue their interests. This seems to happen due to a failure in striking a balance between MMs' profit motives and their willingness to address community concerns. This also happens because the government is supposed to oversee a strong implementation of the set agreements (and regulations), but is being caught in between.

This study, therefore, demonstrates that the above scenario offers a productive way through which a deeper understanding of corporate-community relations, particularly stakeholder dialogue practices, can be developed. The study views this 'battleground' as not necessarily a problem; it distances itself from considering the mismatch of interests between MMs and CofP as confrontation and opposition. Instead, it employs an analytical approach, to help those interested in following the relationship between MMs and CofP, to get outside the 'box' which tends to study complex corporate-community relational issues only from manipulative, communicative, or business-oriented perspectives. It suggests a closer scrutiny of the actions, views and perspectives of CofP for a locally-grounded construct.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Guiding Topic List for Field Interviews

- 1) Interview guide for key informants/participants in roundtable dialogue
 - a) Why do they engage in the roundtable dialogue?
 - b) Who are the participants in the dialogue, and how are they selected?
 - c) What is the process of the roundtable dialogue?
 - d) What is their role in the roundtable dialogue?
 - e) How do they consider the interests of those represented in the dialogue?
 - f) How do they arrive at making decisions and agreements?
 - g) What are their responsibilities after the dialogue?
 - h) What did they expect of the roundtable dialogue?
 - i) Is the roundtable dialogue meeting their expectations? If yes, how? If no, why?
 - j) How do they interact with those represented after the roundtable dialogue?
 - k) What is their overall perception of the roundtable dialogue?
 - l) What is the impact of the roundtable dialogue in building positive relationship?

- 2) Interview guide for key informants/cattle keepers
 - a) What is their opinion on the decisions made in the roundtable dialogue?
 - b) How useful is the roundtable dialogue to them?
 - c) How do they receive the outcome of the roundtable dialogue?
 - d) What is their overall opinion on the on-going roundtable dialogue?
 - e) What is their everyday experience in grazing cattle?
 - f) What challenges do they encounter in the exercise of grazing cattle?
 - g) How do they deal with the challenges they encounter when grazing cattle?
 - h) What role do they play in improving their relations with GGM?

- 3) Interview guide for key informants: *Mangwala* collectors and ASMs
 - a) What is their opinion on the decisions made in the roundtable dialogue?
 - b) How useful is the roundtable dialogue to them?
 - c) How do they receive the outcome of the roundtable dialogue?
 - d) What is their overall opinion on the on-going roundtable dialogue?
 - e) What is their everyday experience in collecting *mangwala* and mining?
 - f) What challenges do they encounter in the above processes?
 - g) How do they deal with the challenges they encounter?
 - h) What role do they play in improving their relations with GGM?

- 4) Interview guide for key informants/participants in the road block incident and witnesses to the water pipeline sabotage and those making threats
 - a) Why did they participate in the events?
 - b) What took place during the events?
 - c) What was the outcome of the events?
 - d) Were the reasons for participating in the events met?
 - e) How do they consider roundtable dialogue?
 - f) How useful is the roundtable dialogue to them?
 - g) What role do they play in improving their relations with GGM?

**Appendix II: Minutes of an Ad Hoc Meeting between GGM
and Village Leaders in Nyakabale held on 7 October 2014**

The meeting discussed issues pertaining to the relationship between both parties. Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.

MUHITASATI WA KIKAO CHA HIKIJI CHA NYAKABALE CHA
MATHUSIANO YA KIJITI NA MGOZI-GOM-GELTA KILICHOPANYIKA
TAR: 7/10/2014 CHA DHARULA

AGENDA NO. KIKAO.

- 1: KUFUNGA KIKAO.
- 2: KUDUMISHA MATHUSIANO MGOZI NA KIJITI.
- 3: KUFUNGA KIKAO.

AGENDA NO 1/10/2014. KUFUNGA KIKAO.

Mjiti wa kikao alisimama mbele ya wajumbe na kufunga kikao mnamo saa 3 = Asubuhi na kuwa wajumbe wajumbe kuchangia ajenda.

AGENDA NO 2/10/2014. KUDUMISHA MATHUSIANO MGOZI NA KIJITI.

Afisa Mathusiano toka mgodini alisimama mbele ya kikao na baada ya hapo alincaibisha afisa Mathusiano MEJA toka mgodini, na meja alianza kuelezea swala la ulinzi kutokana na mgodi kufunga mikatiba na kiji lakini mgodi unaendelea kuigiliwa na watu na wana chukwa mawe ya mgodi na pia alieleza swala la makarasha na kueleza kuwa mgodi unataka makarasha hayo yote, kwani ndiyo yanachangia mgodi kuibwa, na mgodi umejipanga kinalisha ulinzi, Baada ya hapo wajumbe walianza kuchangia ajenda na kama hali hii itaendelea mgodi unawez kusitisha makatiba wa ulinzi na mgodi. Hivyo wajumbe walianza kuchangia ajenda na kuona kuwa Mathusiano ya mgodi na kiji yanavunika na watu wakuya toka sekuru mbali naba, hivyo walikubaliana wongozi wa mgodi uje ugea na watu kutwa Etimua kwa kushirikiana na kiji.

Afisa Mathusiano alioeleza ombi la kiji kusaidiwa kutoka abati Kisiwa na kusikoni kiji kitunue fedha zake za mgodi - Mwendaji atoe taarifa idara ya maji Hiji ili

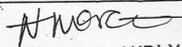
Mhadisi wa maji aje aagalie ili kuona kilidushabika,
MIPAKA YA MRODI KUWEKA KIGINGI.

Afisa mahusiano aliogelea swala hili kuhusu
kuweka vizingi vinavyojegwa na negodi hapa nyakabale.
Na kutoa utaratibu kuwa wenye maeneo watakuwa
wanapewa 25% 500/- kila mwezi kila kilingi
na wenye maeneo hayo watafungwa mkataba na neg-
odi. Hivyo afisa mahusiano aliogelea mbele ya kikao na
kuahidi kumshauri mkandarasu anayejenga kulipoti
afisini na kushirikiana na Niogozo wakati anayejenga
vizingi hivyo vilevile wajumbe waliomba barabara
ilekebishwa iweke daraja sehemu inayotoa maji kutaka-
sha barabara. Wajumbe waliopanda waliomba
kuteambeka negodi hivyo afisa mahusiano alionta
mtendaji aende negodini kuomba barabara.

AREDA NO 3/10/2014 KUFUNGA KUPUKIKAO.

Mjuzi aliahiisha kikao anamo saa 5:00 Adh. ili
na kuwatakuwa wajumbe safari njema.

SATHHI YA MJIJJI


HALMASHAURYA MJI
MWENYEKITI WAKIJJI
NYAKABALE
REG No MZR KJ644
GEITA.

SATHHI YA VEO


Dkt. S. M. M.
HALMASHAURYA MJI
AFISA MTENDAJI WAKIJJI
NYAKABALE
REG No MZR KJ644
GEITA.

Appendix III: Minutes of an Ad Hoc Meeting between GGM and Village Leaders in Nyakabale held on 23 February 2005

The meeting discussed misunderstandings emerging from GGM's operations. Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.

MWITAJARI WA KUKAO CHA DHARURA CHA

SERUKALI YA KUKAO CHA MAKABARE KILICHOFANY-

KA TAREHE 23/02/2001 KUWAZA JAA 400 ANUBUNI.

WALIOHATHURIA:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| 1. STEPHANO LUFUNGU | Milita |
| 2. KENNEDY MAKIKIREGE | Katibu |
| 3. MUHERE MARWA | m Jimbe |
| 4. KAMINA BUKOLO | do |
| 5. STEPHANO KILABA | do |
| 6. SALAHUNGA MAREZI | do |
| 7. MARTHAS MATONGO | do |
| 8. JUMA JOSEPH | do |
| 9. MAGDALENA TILWEKA | do |
| 10. JOYCE BAKWIZA | do |
| 11. CHARLES SENGARUME | do |
| 12. NDARATHWA ELIAS | do |
| 13. KISHERI WAMBORA | do |
| 14. MAXIMOFU MWINA | do |
| 15. NICOLAUS MARCO | do |
| 16. JONAS LUTUKO | do |
| 17. MATHEO PETRO | do |
| 18. ANASTAZIA BUWASHI | do |

WALIOKARIBISHWA:

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. FAUSTINI MUKILWA | - m/m/m/msaidizi |
| 2. JOSEPH MATONGO | - Mtemi Sanguuz |
| 3. ERASIO SIMONI | - Mtwale Sanguuz |
| 4. DIDAS BUWASILE | - Kiamanda Sanguuz |

WASIOHATHURIA:

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 1. JANEHA MUHERE | Bilo taarifa |
| 2. CHRISTINA THOMAS | do |
| 3. MADABALI COSMAS | do |
| 4. JANDA BUWASHI | do |
| 5. VISENTI EVARIST | Kura taarifa |

AJENDA ZA KIKAO

AKI NO I KUTUNGA KIKAO

Mwenzekati alijungua kikao saa 4:00 asubuhi kwa maelezo ya kuwastukuru wajumbe kwa kutunza muda pia kwa Mahuziano yao na kuwataka kuzingatia ajenda zitokanayo na kikao.

AKI NO II MAHUSIANO YA MGODI WA ANGLA GOLD ASHANTI NA KIJJI.

Ajenda hii baada ya kusomwa na katibu wa kikao aliwaeleza wajumbe kuwa tarehe 18/02/2005 alipokea barua toka kwa meneja Mahuziano wa Mgoji wa Anglo Gold Ashanti ikiyokuwa ikimuhitaji Afisa Mtendaji wa Kijiji na Mwenzekati wa Senkahi ya Kijiji iki wafika mgodini tarehe 19.02.2005 aliendelea kueleza kuwa wali-pokwenda mgodini walikutana na Meneja Mahuziano Ghasini Kwake katika kikao kijiji luki chofanyikia kutenge ghasi yake. Meneja Mahuziano wa Mgoji akieleza kuwa tarehe 17.02.2005 katika ziara ya Raisi Mstafu wa Mchi ya Ghana alipotembelea hapa kijiji baadhi ya wanakijiji walieleza matabizi wapatao wanakijiji tokana na Shughuli za mgodi ni pamoja na mafanikio tokana na kueleza hayo, haikuleta sura nzuri ya mahuziano kwa mgodi kwa wanakijiji kutoa matabizi yao mbili ya mgodi alisisitiza kuwa ni vizuri kama kuna tahirio hitolewe katika usungu wa mgodi sio kusubiri wageni wafanyapo sura hapa kijiji. Na akawa amesema kuwa Senkahi ya Kijiji ilae ili iweze kueleza matabizi yote ili panapotevdi mgodi unashughulikia. Baada ya maelezo ya katibu wa kikao wajumbe walianza kuchangia ajenda hii kwa kina na kwa kupindi kurefu kama jumuia.

A. MAFANIKIO YA WANAKIJJI TOKANA NA MGODI.

i Wajumbe walieleza kuwa baadhi ya vijana wa kijiji

ii. Mgoji unadhamini wendekaji wa bustani ya mbuga hapa kijiji ambayo pia wape vijana wamejipatia ajira za muda.

iii. Kitundi cha Ushirika kihalopo hapa kijiji huli-
na mbuga mbuga ambazo humzia ATIS kwa dhamana ya Mgoji, hali ambayo huraingiza marufaa.

iv. Mgoji unajenga Shule yumba msh ya Madarasa, ofisi moja ya wahimu, pia iichongwa dawati 45 viti 2, na meza moja. Pia ngazi bora kupitia wazanya-
kazi wake ambao ni wazazi wa Shule ya Mchama village walijidhiiri ujuzi wa boma la nyumba vinne vya madarasa kwa kusaidia vjenzi huo Seikali ya Kijiji.

B. MATATIZO:

Pia wajumbe walieleza kuwa pamoja na majambaa ambayo kwa namna moja yamebadilishwa hali ya wanakijiji kyo matatizo yafuatayo:

I. BARABARA (MABARABARA)

a) Barabara watumiaji wanakijiji ili kuwenda kupata mahitaji huduma Grati njini kama vile Hospitali Kchinike ya Watoto na mama waja waruto ni ya Mbali yenye umbali wa km 38 badala ya barabara ya kawaida ya awali aliyo kuwa na umbali wa km. 6.

b) Kasi kati ya Mlima huo hura sababishia ajali hadi mauaji kwa magari na baadhi wanakijiji na hata wakazi wa vijiji vingine, hali ambayo inasababisha hata wengine magari kuche kuche kupitia barabara hiyo.

c) Idara na barabara hiyo kupitishwa porini jamii imekuwa ikinyang'wa saki zao na majambaa.

d) Jamii kushindwa kupoleka mezo yao ya

MAPENDEKEZO.

- Ⓐ Mgodi ujanye utaratibu wa kuwapelika wanakijiji Gita asubuhi na kama disha jini kwa ajili kupata huduma za matibabu n.k.
- Ⓑ Mgodi kumpunguza kiasi cha mlima iliopo leti barabar hiyo.

II. BWAWA LA MAJI YA KUNYWESTE MURGO.

- Ⓐ Wajugaji wamehamisha mifugo yao banda ya kukosa sehemu ya kunyweste mifugo
- Ⓑ Jamii haiyamini maji ya mto mtakaja kwa ajili ya kunyweste mifugo yao.

MAPENDEKEZO.

- Ⓐ Mgodi ureje Malubahano ya Kilimo cha pamoja cha Serikali ya kijiji, Wapori wa mgodi na Wapori wa Wilaya akiwepo Mkuungu mkenyaji Ⓐ Kili chojanjika tarehe 09/05/2000 ambacho wapori wa mgodi ulitubali kundi la bwawa la kunyweste mifugo pia walijika Serikali ya kijiji ikionyesha eneo kwa ajili ya kushinikaji bwawa.

III. UCHAFUZI WA WANZO WA MAJI (VISIMA VIA ASILI).

- Ⓐ Vumbi itokanayo na mikipuko
- Ⓑ Maji yatilibikayo toka kijusini wakati wa mvua.
- Ⓒ Visima viliyo pembezoni na mto mtakaja haiyamiliki tangu mgodi ulipoweka vibao vya tahadhari ili kuzuia watu wasingwe maji maeneo ya mto huo; pia kuchunguza mifugo maeneo hayo.

MAPENDEKEZO.

- Ⓐ Mgodi utibitisha kwa maandishi kwa maji ya mto mtakaja au visima viliyopo pembezoni mwa mto huo na kutibitisha kwa maji hayo hayane athari tokana na vibao vilivyo

IV. KIFUSI CITA MWAMBA JAKA.

- a) Waliati wa mma udongo wa kifusi hicho hupovomoshwa na maji, hali ambayo husababisha udongo huo wa mwanbe tala kusambalia kwenye mashamba ya wanakijiji.
- b) Vumbi zito husambalia kwa wakazi wa pembezoni mwa kifusi hicho.
- c) Wajugaji waishio pembezoni mwa kifusi hicho hupata shida kupitisha mifugo yao ili kwenda kupata malicho.
- d) Vibeber sumu vitupuzayo kifusini haina uangalizi madhubiti.

MAPENDEKEZO.

Wakazi waishio chini ya kifusi hicho upande wa kaskazini wahamishwe kwa ajili usalama wao na familia zao.

V. MIPAKA.

- a) Mwingiliano wa wanakijiji na ngodi na jamii huchangia kusababisha ntendo ya uharifu kama vile wizi.
- b) Jamii kumanya shera ya kuingia kwa jinsi ngodini bila kujua mipaka ulio wapi.
- c) Wajugaji kuuza na kuzingira magumu kwa kutokewa mifugo yao na kuingia katika maeneo ya ngodi.

MAPENDEKEZO:-

- a) Mipaka yote ya ngodi iwekewe wigo au mipaka alama mifano iliyopo kijiji che nyamalembu.
- b) Wanakijiji wote walioo ndani ya ramani ya ngodi wahamishwe na kujidiwa mali zao kwa ajili ya usalama wa ngodi na wanakijiji.

VI. BUAWA LA SUMU.

- a) Chemchemi zitawo mai yatilikana chini

- b) Uliambi wa bwawa hilo na kijiji
- c) Wanyama ndege pindi wazatumiepe meji hayo yalopo kwenye bwawa la Sunu huje na wengine hujin maeneo ya kijiji.

MAPENDEKEZO:

- a) Mgesi udhibiti chemchemu zitakazo enes la bwawa Sunu.

VII.A WAKAZI WA MAMATAGATA:

- a) Wata 110 walitathminiwa mali zao kuanzia tarehe 16.01.2004 - 20.01.2004 badala yake walijiwa wata 39 na kuachwa wata 71
- b) Wata 39 waliohipwa fidia walipwa kwa mapunjo tija na Wakazi wa Kijiji ch. Mamalamba.

VII.B WAKAZI WA BAWZI SABA WALIOPIMWA MASHAMBA:

- a) Wakazi hao kupimwa mashamba yao ili yajamwe tathmini na kutelekezwa.

MAPENDEKEZO:

- a) Wakazi wote wa Nyamatagata wata 71 wajidi wa mali zao kweni walitathminiwa.
 - b) Wakazi wote wata 39 waliohipwa kwa mapunjo wajidiwa mapunjo yao.
- Wajumbe tokana na kaziaki ayenda ku kwa kipindi karefu wanataka kampuni kumaliza matatizo haya ili kuondoa migogoro kimo

AG NO III. KUATHIRISHA KUKAO:

Mwajumbe aliahishe kikao yapatu saa 9.30 alasisi kwa kuwashukuru wajumbe kwa umuhimu wao na kuwatika wandi Sakame ngjumla mwa.

UMETHIBITISHWA NA

[Signature]

[Signature]

Appendix IV: Nyakabale Dispensary



The dispensary was constructed by GGM as part of its CSR project. Source: Photo taken by the researcher during a follow up field visit in October 2015.

Appendix V: Nyakabale Primary School



The two classrooms (white and cream building, left) were constructed by GGM as part of its CSR project. Source: Photo taken by the researcher during a follow up field visit in October 2015.

**Appendix VI: Report on the Death of Cattle at GGM's Tail-
ing Dam**

Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.

ANGLOGOLD ASHANTI

GEITA GOLD MINING LIMITED

PO Box 532 \ Geita \ Tanzania \ Tel: + 255 282 520 500 \ Fax: +255 282 520 502
Dar es Salaam Office: 5th Floor \ Werere Towers \ Plot 1249 \ 11 Bibi Titi \ Morogoro Road \ Dar es Salaam
PO Box 75803 \ Dar es Salaam \ Tanzania \ Tel: + 255 222 121 036 \ Fax: + 255 222 121 050

30th Dec, 2008

Managing Director,
National Environmental Management Council (NEMC),
Tancot House, 3rd Floor,
Sokoine Drive,
P.O.BOX 63154,
Dar es Salaam.

RE: THE INCIDENT OF CATTLE DEATH IN THE GGM TAILINGS
STORAGE FACILITY (TSF)

Please refer to the subject above.

We acknowledge receipt of your letter with Ref. NEMC/04/15/Vol7/21 regarding the above subject and we would like to respond as follows:-

On 26th June 2007, 9 cattle died at our Tailing Storage Facility (TSF) after they have crossed and trapped in the fenced TSF area. The said cattle were belonging to one villager by the name of Zacharia Robert, a resident of Nyakabale village.

The said Zacharia with malice aforethought, knowingly and for reasons which could be best explained by himself led the cattle to our Special Mining Area where the TSF is located, an act which can be regarded as a clear trespass to our area in which we have all legal rights.

In a number of occasions, GGM has been experiencing the same problem apart from the facts that several meetings were and are being conducted from our side and villagers surrounding our SML. As if that is not enough, A by law was passed by our neighboring villages to prohibit rearing of cattle and other domestic animals in the GGM leased area including the TSF, yet Zacharia turned deaf ears to all these.

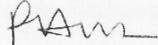
To prove his bad motive, few days before the incident, Zacharia was charged and convicted by Nyakabale Village Government for feeding his cattle in our SML and he confessed in writing before the village leaders that he would never repeat the same, unfortunately he did not heed to what he promised.

While GGM strive to prevent foreseen loss or damage of people's wealth around the operation, We would like further to insist that any person who brings any thing to the land of his neighbour without official authorization and if that thing escapes and cause mischief, he will be regarded as trespasser and he will be solely responsible for the consequences which might happen as a result of his act. GGM operates by making sure that all the laws of land are uncompromised followed and it is our expectation that our neighbours should do the same.

Directors: FREL Neezhling (Chairman) \ Neville Nicolau \ Alex Mbugua \ HK Senkoroh \ Omar Issa \ Ali Mufuruki \ Brent Horochur (Managing Director)

While we are also so disappointed and regret for what happened, on the other hand there is no any shadow of doubt that in this case nothing wrong was committed by GCM rather the opposite is true.

Yours Sincerely,



Phillemon Tano
Ag Managing Director – Administration.

CC: VEO Nyakabale, Commissioner for Minerals, Mwanza Regional Commissioner, Zonal Mines Officer, District Commissioner-Geita, DED Geita, OCD Geita, Veterinary Officer-Geita, National Security Officer-Geita, & Water Department-Geita.

Appendix VII: Official Declaration by a Cattle Keeper (I)

The Cattle Keeper admitted to have grazed cattle on GGM's restricted areas. Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.

HATI YA KUKIRI KOSA.

Mimi MAENDELEO vs BWANA MKAZI wa Mtaa wa Tambukareli-Geita leo tarehe 05/03/2011 nimewatambua Mifugo yangu ya ng'ombe wapatao 30 thelathini waliokamatwa na walimzi wa Mgodi wa GGM wakiwa wanachungia eneo la ndani ya Mgodi na ilikuwa tarehe 04/03/2011 Muda wa Saa 12:55 jioni na kisha kuletwa katika Ofisi ya Mtendaji Nyakabale.

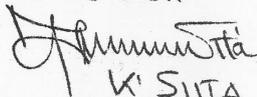
Pia Mifugo hiyo nimekabidhiwa mbele ya Viongozi wa Mgodi, Walimzi na Ofisa Mtendaji wa Kijiji Nyakabale leo 05/03/2011 Saa 5:43 asubuhi.

Sahihi yangu MAENDELEO 

Mashahidi waliokuwepo.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Mabula Clement | GGM. |
| 2. Lucas Bwire | — |
| 3. Mathias Matongo | Mlinzi. |

Amekabidhiwa mbele ya Ofisa Mtendaji Nyakabale leo 05/03/2011.



K' SITA
DISTRICT COUNCIL
VILLAGE EXECUTIVE OFFICER
NYAKABALE
REG No MZ/VC 646
GEITA

Appendix VIII: Official Declaration by a Cattle Keeper (II)

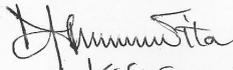
The Cattle Keeper admitted to have grazed cattle on GGM's restricted areas. Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.

HATI YA KUKIRI-KOSA LA KUINGI-
ZA: MIFUGO YA NG'OMBE WAPATAO 48
NDANI YA MGOZI WA GGM.

Mimi BWANA c/s LUMENANGABO nimekiri ku-
wa Mifugo ya ng'ombe wapatao 48 waliokutwa
wako ndani ya Mgozi wanachungia humo ni
Mali yangu na Mifugo hao walipotelea huso
tangu tarehe 13.03.2011 na kutamatwa pia
nimekabidhiwa. Hivyo ninakiri ni Mali yangu.

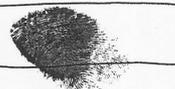
Sahihi yangu 

Amekiri mbele ya Ofisa Mtendaji Nyakabale na
Ofisa Mahusiano ya jamii ndg MUSA SHUNASHU
leo tarehe 14.03.2011.



K. SIRA
DISTRICT COUNCIL
VILLAGE EXECUTIVE OFFICER
NYAKABALE
REG. NO. MZ/VC 654
GEITA

Shahidi

1. Musa Shunashu Sahihi yake 
2. Mwaka Marekanito Sahihi yake 

Appendix IX: Gold Nugget Ready to Be Sold to Gold Traders



Source: Photo taken by the researcher during field work in April 2013.

Appendix X: Grinding Ball Mills Used for Processing Gold Nuggets in Geita



The yellow bags on the right store the sand produced from crushed rocks. The sand is further processed to attain gold nuggets. Source: Photo taken by the researcher during field work in April 2013.

Appendix XI: Part of GGM Report on the Pipeline Vandalized by Unknown People in December 2007

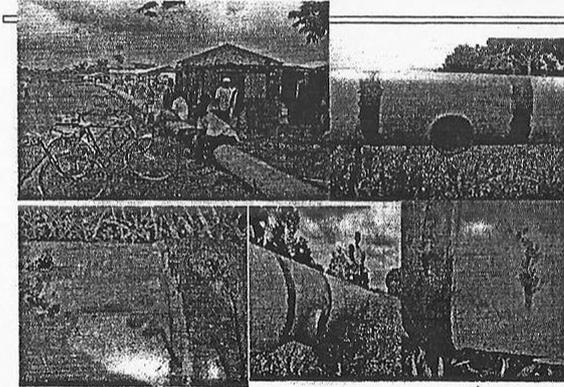
Masuala ya Kiusalama

- Matumizi ya nguvu na vitisho kwa baadhi ya wanajamii kama njia ya kuulazimisha Mgodini kutekeleza matakwa yao, mf. uharibifu mkubwa wa bomba kuu la maji Kayenze Decemba 3, 2007. Mgodini una utaratibu maalumu wa kuainisha na kutakeleza shughuli za maendeleo.
- Uchochezi wa wananchi unaofanywa na viongozi wa Kisiasa dhidi ya mgodini umeongeza uvunjifu wa amani na ukiukwaji wa sheria.
- Ongezeko la wizi wa mali za kampuni hususa mafuta ya dizeli na vipuri vinaathiri uwezo wa kampuni kugarimia maswala ya manufaa kwa jamii. Kokosa uwajibikaji na kukiuka mikataba.
- Uvamizi ndani ya milki ya Mgodini na wachimbaji haramu, wafugaji na mifugo yao kunahatarisha usalama wao na kuathiri shughuli za Mgodini.

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Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.

Uharibifu na Ukatili



Bomba kuu la GGM lilivyoharibiwa 3/12/2007.

GEITA GOLD MINE

Appendix XII: GGM Water Pumping System at Nungwe Bay, Geita



Source: Photo taken by the researcher during a follow-up field visit in October 2015.

**Appendix XIII: GGM Invitation Letter for a Roundtable
Meeting with Nyakabale Village Leaders**

Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.



**ANGLOGOLD ASHANTI
GEITA GOLD MINE**

Geita Gold Mining Limited \ Reg. No. 19982
Dar Es Salaam Office \ 8th Floor \ NSSF Nyerere Pension Towers \ PO Box 75803 \ Dar Es Salaam \ Tanzania
Tel +255 (0)22 212 1122 \ 212 1123 \ Fax +255 (0)22 212 1050 \ Website: www.AngloGoldAshanti.com
Operations: PO Box 532 \ Geita \ Tanzania Tel + 255 (0)28 2520500-516 \ Fax + 255 (0) 28 25205

16/12/2009

Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Geita,
Afisa Mtendaji wa Kijiji - *Nyakabale*
Geita.

Yah: Kikao cha maafisa Uhusano GGM na Serikali kijiji

Husika na kichwa cha barua hapo juu,

Maafisa uhusiano toka mgodi wa dhahabu wa Geita (Geita Gold Mine) unaomba kufanya kikao na serikali ya kijiji chako tarehe *17/12/09* saa *5:00* *5 asubuhi*

Agenda kuu ya kikao hicho itakuwa: -

Uendeshaji wa shughuli au kuingia bila idhini maalumu katika eneo la mgodi wa dhahabu wa geita (GGM).

Uchimbaji haramu unaofanyika ndani ya eneo la leseni ya uchimbaji la GGM.

Kutoa tahadhari kwa wananchi ili kuepuka matukio ya kuumia au kupoteza maisha kunakoweza kutokea iwapo mtu asiye na ujuzi wa kiusalama ataingia ndani ya mgodi.

Tunatanguliza shukrani,

Wasalaam

Simon Chayo
Corporate Sustainable Development Superintendent
Geita Gold Mine

Simon Chayo,

Mrakibu Maendeleo Endelevu ya Jamii.

**Appendix XIV: GGM Invitation Letter for a Meeting with
Leaders of the Neighbouring Villages**

Source: Courtesy of the Village Executive Officer of Nyakabale.



**ANGLOGOLD ASHANTI
GEITA GOLD MINE**

Geita Gold Mining Limited \ Reg. No. 19982
Dar Es Salaam Office \ 5th Floor \ NSSF Nyerere Pension Towers \ PO Box 75803 \ Dar Es Salaam \ Tanzania
Tel +255 (0)22 212 1122 \ 212 1123 \ Fax +255 (0)22 212 1050 \ Website: www.AngloGoldAshanti.com
Operations: PO Box 532 \ Geita \ Tanzania Tel + 255 (0)28 2520500-516 \ Fax + 255 (0) 28 25205

5/6/2008

Halmashauri ya Wilaya ya Geita,
Afisa Mtendaji wa Kijiji - **NYAKABALE**
Geita.

Yah: Mwaliko wa Kikao cha Uongozi wa Vijiji Vinavyouzunguka Mgodini

Husika na kichwa cha barua hapo juu,

Mgodi wa dhahabu wa Geita (Geita Gold Mine) unapenda kukualika kwenye kikao kitakachofanyika siku ya Jumatano tarehe 18/6/2008 saa nne kamili asubuhi (4:00) hapa mgodini. Agenda kuu ya kikao hicho itakuwa Ulinzi Shirikishi.

Mwaliko huu unawahusu:

- Mwenyekiti wa Kijiji
- Afisa Mtendaji wa Kijiji
- Kamanda wa Mgambo wa Kijiji

Usafiri wa pamoja wa basi la Falcon kwenda Mgodini kutoka Halmashauri utaondoka saa Tatu Asubuhi (3:00) na kuwarudisha Geita mjini baada ya Mkutano.

Kufika kwako kutafanikisha kikao hiki.

Wasalaam,

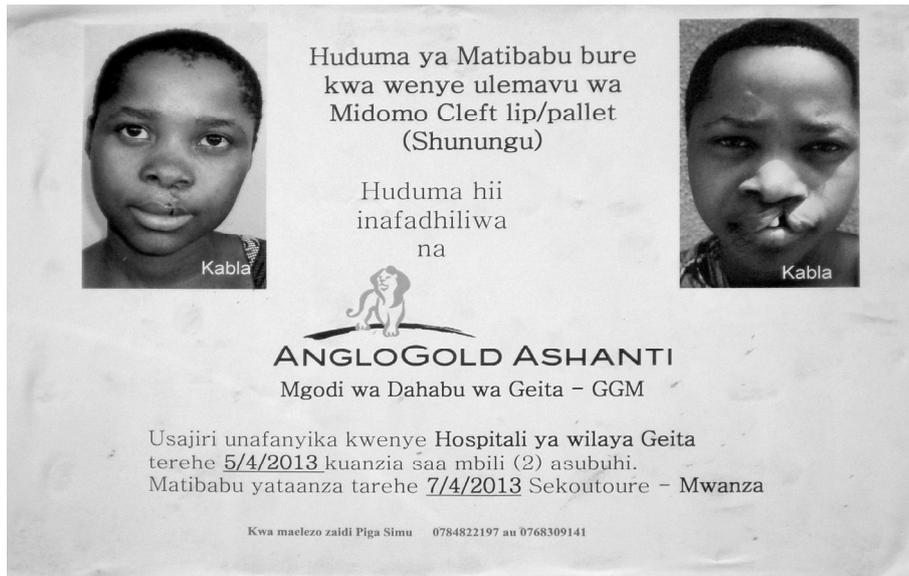

Simon Shavo
Geita Gold Mine
Mrakibu Maendeleo Endelevu ya Jamii.

Appendix XV: Nyakabale Village Office



Given the limited space on the notice board inside this building, some announcements are placed on the outside wall. Source: Photo taken by the researcher during a follow up field visit in October 2015.

Appendix XVI: GGM Announcement on CSR Initiatives at the Village's Notice Board



Announcement at the Nyakabale village's notice board. Source: Photo taken by the researcher during field work in April 2013.

Appendix XVII: GGM Notice on Training and Job Opportunities

Announcement at the Nyakabale village's notice board. Source: Photo taken by the researcher during field work in April 2013.



PO Box 532 \ Geita \ Tanzania \ Tel: + 255 282 520 500 \ Fax: +255 282 520 502
Dar es Salaam Office: 5th Floor \ Nyerere Towers \ Plot 1249 \ 11 Bibi Titi \ Morogoro Road \ Dar es Salaam
PO Box 75803 \ Dar es Salaam \ Tanzania \ Tel: + 255 222 121 038 \ Fax: + 255 222 121 050

Apprentice Intake 2013

Applications are invited from Young, Energetic Tanzanian Citizens with an Engineering aptitude who are residents of Geita District around the mine, to be trained over a period of three years in their relevant career ambitions.

Geita Gold Mine will be sponsoring the successful candidates in the following Trades:

Fitters/Machining
Platter/Welders
Electricians.
Auto Electricians
Diesel Mechanics

Training will commence in **May 2013**.

Minimum Qualifications required:

- 1 Applicants must be not older than 23 years of age
- 2 Form 4 the minimum schooling level required for Fitting/Machining, Diesel Mechanics, Plating/Welding and Rigging.
- 3 Form 6 for Electrical and Auto Electrical
- 4 Good English skills both written and oral (compulsory as all studies will be conducted in English Media)
- 5 Aptitude testing will take place for those applicants placed on the short list
- 6 Must be medically fit as per company medical requirements.

Apply in confidence to the address below and submit:

An application letter in your own handwriting.
Fully typed curriculum vitae.
Certified copies of relevant certificates.
Full postal address including telephone contact details and e-mail address if any.
Two contactable references.
Closing date will be **10/04/2013**.

**The OD&HR Manager,
Geita Gold Mining Limited ,
P.O. Box 532,
Geita – Mwanza.**

Appendix XVIII: Meeting of Nyakabale Villagers and their Leaders



Source: Photo taken by the researcher during field work in April 2013.