Corporate social responsibility strategies for multinational corporations investing in countries with indigenisation and economic empowerment policies: A case of two MNCs in Zimbabwe

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Declaration

I, Lionel Muchirahondo, do hereby declare that this thesis, “Corporate social responsibility strategies for multinational corporations investing in countries with indigenisation and economic empowerment policies: A case of two MNCs in Zimbabwe”, is the result of my own investigation and research. It is submitted in fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy in development and management, specialising in corporate social responsibility at the Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University. It has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or examination at any other university. I declare that this work is my own effort and that all sources and references are appropriately acknowledged.

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Abstract

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is an important concept which continues to attract the attention of many across the world. The emergence of globalization has increased its importance to organisations such as multinational corporations (MNCs) exploring opportunities away from their home countries. These MNCs increasingly have to demonstrate their commitment to the sustainable development of both their home countries and their hosts. CSR strategies may therefore be used to align their strategies to conform to the priorities of these countries. This is increasingly so if the host countries are in the developmental stages and have priorities such as redressing the social and economic imbalances caused by historical injustices such as slavery, colonisation and apartheid. Countries like Zimbabwe have thus enacted interventionist polices such as the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policy (IEEP) to address social injustice and economic empowerment by providing indigenous citizens the opportunity to purposefully participate in the economic activities and development of their country.

CSR strategies are seen as an important tool to use to draw the attention of countries with such social and economic needs. This study analyses how CSR strategies may be used to add value to the investment propositions of MNCs taking into consideration these indigenisation and economic empowerment needs. Further, the study examines how the MNCs' CSR practices in these countries are influenced by IEEPs and how they develop strategies in response to IEEP. In addition, the study examines the host government's expectations with regards to IEEP. An evaluation of the policy is also given, with its impact on investment assessed. The study also identifies and evaluates the CSR priorities and practices of MNCs in their home countries compared to those in the host country.

The study was conducted through an extensive review of literature in the fields of CSR, strategy and social justice and economic empowerment. The study explored the investment of Anglo American Platinum and Impala Platinum, both of whom have mining operations in Zimbabwe.

The findings show that these MNCs do not recognise IEEP as a CSR initiative and as such do not formulate strategies in response to IEEP. The findings show that although the need for social justice and economic empowerment exists in Zimbabwe, the current policy has hampered investment and this has a bearing in this priority not being considered as a CSR imperative. The study however assisted in the development of a theoretical approach, titled the Bricolagical CSR approach to assist MNCs recognise the transformational aspiration of the country and to develop CSR strategies that will attract the attention of countries with these aspirations.

Keywords

Corporate social responsibility

Multinational corporations

Indigenisation and economic empowerment

Government

Developing country

Strategy

Zimbabwe

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become an integral part of society and business. An organisation's CSR program contributes to its value beyond the bottom line and establishes it as a trustworthy and reliable social partner in an era that sorely needs relief. As organizations explore opportunities away from their home countries, they typically need to consolidate the desires and aspirations of their hosts into the voluntary initiatives that they undertake as part of their business strategy. The organisation's commitment to the sustainable development of these countries is paramount to its success and allows it to navigate any operational and social challenges that may arise. CSR strategies may therefore be used to align organisational strategies to conform to the priorities of countries which sometimes have interventionist social and economic policies. These strategies are considered crucial tools for drawing the attention of countries with such economic and social needs. This study analyses how Multinational Corporations (MNCs) can use CSR strategies to enhance their investment propositions by taking into account the indigenisation and economic empowerment needs of developing countries. The research is done through the investigation of two investments in Zimbabwe.

This chapter introduces the study and provides a description of how the research was undertaken. It presents the research problem, background, rationale, methodology and the research questions that guided this research. The chapter also provides an outline of the study.

1.2 Background and study orientation

The relationship between host countries and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) is often precarious as both parties have selfish and insatiable motives for engagement. The host country has a mandate to ensure that it delivers on economic growth, social development as well as political stability for its citizens. MNCs on the other hand have a responsibility to create the best value for their shareholders as suggested by Friedman (1970); to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition without deception or fraud.

Many governments rely on legislature and regulations to dictate the role of MNCs that wish to invest in their countries. There is, however, an increased focus by MNCs towards voluntary and non-regulatory initiatives that could enhance the acceptance of their investment proposals.

Although host governments welcome investment from MNCs and the development it brings, they are cautiously wary of the burdens or challenges that this engagement may bring. A study of Asian companies by Belal (2001:278) highlighted that developing countries are concerned about foreign investment bringing potential dangers, industrial development showing adverse environmental impact and social ills.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) may play a significant role in ensuring a harmonious relationship between MNCs and host countries in the developing world. In appreciation of this, Blowfield and Frynas (2005:500) state that CSR can be identified as a bridge connecting the arena of business and development. In fact, research by the Government of Canada (2015:10) highlighted that, in a number of jurisdictions, governments have expedited approval processes for firms that have undertaken social and environmental activities beyond those required by regulation thereby illustrating the importance of CSR. In adopting socially responsible programmes, organisations anticipate that such conciliatory initiatives may yield favourable recognition by the host governments, such as the acceptance of their proposals.

Some scholars, whilst acknowledging the importance of CSR in the first world, raise questions regarding the extent to which organisations operating in developing countries have CSR obligations (Jamali & Miurshak, 2007:245). Despite this argument, the role of CSR in the modern business world cannot be denied. It has increased significantly over the past two decades as organisations look to entrench good citizenship in the attainment of their expansionary goals and socio-economic integration with society in the developing world.

The argument for the level of CSR involvement may vary from organisation to organisation. Its importance has increased significantly as organisations evolve towards better corporate governance and Triple Bottom-Line Reporting. In fact, there is a huge push for organisations world over to comply to set frameworks or code of principles and practices either voluntarily (comply or explain) or legally (comply or else). Either way, the influence of corporate governance and social responsibility has increased and a significant number of organisations have CSR programmes embedded in their policies and organisational activities.

According to a KPMG report (2011:6), 95% of the 250 largest global companies now report on their corporate responsibility (CR) activities. In another report by KPMG (2014), they state that in South Africa, 98% of the top 100 revenue generating companies report on CSR. This highlights the influence that social responsibility has and that an increasing number of organisations have clear cut CSR programmes embedded in their organisational activities.

Although many believe that CSR came to prominence in the 1990s, its emergence as a business concept may be traced back to the 1950s when Howard R. Bowen published a book titled *Social responsibility of the businessman*. Bowen defined social responsibility as “the obligations of the businessman to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society” (Bowen 1953:6). From this book grew a concept which has evolved in definition. There is however no universally accepted single definition of corporate social responsibility as highlighted by Blowfield and Alan (2008:10) who state that “observers have a multitude of perspectives on the meaning of corporate responsibility”.

To build on the definition of CSR as introduced by Bowen, Carroll (1979) suggested that the social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of organisations at a given point in time. During the 1970s, a few definitions appeared and these stressed the inclusion of stakeholders, and the fact that there was a need to match public expectation and utilisation of CSR for long-term benefits of the society (Rahman, 2011:169)

According to the Government of Canada's CSR Strategy (2015), CSR can be defined as the "voluntary activities undertaken by a company to operate in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner". Another definition worth noting is by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (1998) who defines CSR as "the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large". Notwithstanding the lack of an all-embracing definition, it is evident that CSR represents an organisation's response to societal needs through the establishment of strategic and sustainable relationships.

The emergence of globalisation has substantially increased the importance of CSR especially in the development of foreign investment strategies as organisations look for new markets to penetrate. With globalisation, it has become imperative for organisations to demonstrate their commitment to good ethical practices as well as responsible and sustainable development in the host country.

Globalisation may be defined as the increasing interaction of domestic economies with the world economy (Krishnamoorthy, 2006:23) and is often seen as the only logical path towards economic development. Globalisation has created great opportunities for developing countries; from the transfer of skills and technology, to social and economic development as well as intra-nation integration.

From an investors' perspective, globalisation allows MNCs to increase their value by investing abroad, seeking access to natural resources, strategic assets, larger markets or increased efficiency (Goulbourne, 2003:4). Milovanović, Barac and Anđelković (2009:90) state that "as globalisation accelerates, large corporations have progressively recognised the benefits of providing CSR programmes in their various locations".

As organisations venture into these foreign markets, they are faced with numerous challenges or barriers to entry. Organisations may meander through these obstacles by strategically aligning their entry strategies to conform to the economic and societal developmental aspirations of the host country (Goulbourne, 2003:3).

Through sustainable CSR practices in host countries, organisations stand to improve on their relationships with the host governments. This view is stronger for MNCs that invest in Africa, more so companies that originate from former colonial powers. Originating from countries such as

Germany, USA, Britain, France, Italy, Canada and South Africa, many of these organisations are viewed with scepticism as they are seen as conduits of western ideologies rather than allies in socio-economic development of Africa as argued by Ahiakpor (2010). These countries are often viewed with suspicion as some of the colonial scars (racial inequality, marginalisation, exploitation of resources and externalisation of funds) have not been adequately dealt with.

One consequence of this has been the introduction of Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policies (IEEPs) which aim to redress economic discrepancies or injustice. IEEP may be seen as an interventionist approach in which the host government plays a pivotal role in redressing the economic imbalances of colonisation through dictating investment engagement.

Although the models and implementation of IEEP may differ from country to country, the rationale behind its application remains predominantly the same. Thouvenot (2013) describes economic empowerment as “the goal of restoring economic power to sections of the population that social discrimination processes had previously been excluded from decision making based on race and gender among others”. Chiwunze (2014) states that most economic empowerment programmes in Africa aim to redress economic imbalances created by post-colonial experiences. Economic empowerment, therefore, refers to the restoration of economic influence to previously discriminated or disadvantaged groups of society.

Indigenisation is one mechanism that has been utilised by many African governments to return economic power to the indigenous people thereby ensuring greater economic participation by its citizens. In its IEEP, the Zimbabwe government describes indigenisation as a “deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure equitable ownership of the nation’s resources”. Promulgated in 2010, the law obligates all foreign-owned companies with a share capital above US$500 000 operating in Zimbabwe to cede 51% of their shares to indigenous Zimbabweans. Zimbabwe’s IEEP seeks to transform its black citizens from being mere consumers and workers to active economic participants through the ownership of factors of production. According to Chowa and Mukuvare (2013:8), the new constitution of Zimbabwe places empowerment under the national objectives, emphasising the need to redress imbalances resulting from past practices and policies. It is enshrined in Section 14 (1) that “the State and all its institutions and agencies of government at every level must endeavour to facilitate and take measures to empower, through appropriate, transparent, fair and just affirmative action, all marginalised persons, groups and communities in Zimbabwe” (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013).

Many countries have developed and adopted IEEPs with varying degrees of success. Some of these policies include, Economic Empowerment Reforms in Malasyia, “Zairianization” in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo), “Ivorisation” in Cote d'Ivoire, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa, Citizen Economic Empowerment in Botswana, Indigenisation in Nigeria and Economic

Empowerment in Tanzania just to name a few. Other countries that have enacted policies to redress economic inequalities inflicted by colonisation include Angola, Namibia, Mali and Niger.

Most of these countries lag behind the rest of the world economically and socially. In trying to reduce the poverty gap, governments of these resource rich countries have welcomed investment from developed nations. They have, however, been cautious not to allow the exploitation of their resources without substantial socio-economic returns as may have been conducted historically. With this in mind, “governments may seek to align national investment promotion strategies with responsible foreign investors” (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007:4).

Even with indigenisation policies in place, governments try to create an enabling environment to attract investors. In their investment drives, these governments may be sensitive to organisations that demonstrate responsible approaches to investment. Foreign investment contract negotiations offer opportunities for governments to set clear expectations for investor contributions to skills and enterprise development and technology transfer (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007:6).

Social responsibility is increasingly seen as a necessity for doing business in developing economies that lack the infrastructure and capacity to build social capital (Da Piedade & Thomas, 2006:66). As such, Hamann, Kapelus, Sonnenberg Mackenzie and Hollesen (2005:61) stress that there is a “need for organisations working in Africa to proactively and creatively develop in local collaborative structure within an intricate and dynamic web of interrelated role players involved in sustainable development at the local level”.

Realising the benefits of initiating CSR programs in their own countries, MNCs are thus able to craft and adopt strategies that are tailored to ensuring that their investment proposals are well received by host countries that have implemented indigenisation policies.

Based on this assumption, this research studied the operations of two large MNCs that have invested in Zimbabwe, specifically in the mining sector. These two mining houses have been mining in Zimbabwe, since early 2000 (combined) to date; that is, before and after the implementation of IEEP and would therefore give an insightful perspective into investment in Zimbabwe in light of the policy, as well as how their CSR strategies have assisted in their engagement with the government of Zimbabwe.

Mining contributes significantly to the economy of Zimbabwe and accounts for 52% of the country’s total export earnings according to the Zimbabwe Country Mining Guide by KPMG (2015:7). According to the Ministry of Mines and mining development (2018:2) the country hosts rich varieties of minerals including gold, base metals and industrial metals. In addition, the Ministry of Mines and mining development (2018:2) states that Zimbabwe has the second largest deposits of platinum in the world and also has a mining potential of 16.5 million tonnes of diamonds.

The mining industry was chosen due to its historic importance to Zimbabwe as well as its economic value to the country. In addition, the resources-based sector is at the centre of the successful implementation of IEEP. The non-resource based sector, on the other hand, has been given a relatively simpler route to implementing IEEP. For example, indigenisation in the non-resource based sector may be delayed for up to five years and may be achieved not by ceding shares to indigenous Zimbabweans, but by earning empowerment credits. The mining industry, therefore, provided a unique and suitable perspective to understanding the study matter.

The chosen mining houses, Anglo American Platinum and Impala Platinum have their head offices in South Africa and are listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). Impala Platinum has been in Zimbabwe since 2001 and operates two mines namely, Ngezi and Mimosa; the latter being a joint venture with Sibanye Gold Limited. Anglo American Platinum, on the other hand, is the world's leading supplier of Platinum Group Metals (PGM) and has operated Unki mine in Zimbabwe since its commissioning in 2010.

Given this background, this study aimed to critically analyse how CSR may be used to add value to investment propositions of MNCs in a country like Zimbabwe that has implemented IEEP. Furthermore, it hoped to determine the host government's expectations from investors in relation to CSR and to make recommendations on how CSR strategies may be used by MNCs in the development of strategies that may be accepted by countries with IEEP.

1.3 Problem Statement

Countries that have initiated and implemented IEEP have specific socio-economic developmental goals that they wish to achieve. Foreign investors are identified as key partners in this development as long as they adhere to the stringent principles of the IEEP. This investment often promotes internal economic growth by improving revenue collection, creating jobs, increasing productivity, exportation as well as stimulating the transfer of knowledge and technology as explained by Loewendahl (2018:1). There, however, lies an opportunity for MNCs to surpass the expectations set in IEEP through the activation of corporate social initiatives.

The investment propositions of these organisations may be attractive to the host country based on their CSR reputation at home and on the proposed programmes which they wish to implement. As suggested by Fust and Walter (2007:3), some companies are positioning themselves to benefit from CSR opportunities as well as to manage risk. Hanubensak (2020: par. 5) states that companies that incorporate sustainability into their business models are better prepared to take advantage of opportunities and manage risks effectively. This is something that companies are increasingly embracing and integrating into their strategic thinking.

As concerns about how companies interact with their political and social environments abroad increases, so too does the need for companies to develop comprehensive CSR strategies that may improve their engagement with host countries.

A sustainable socio-economic engagement with stakeholders, whether local or abroad, begins with a concrete understanding of CSR concepts and its benefits to the business and the community in which it plies its trade. The adoption of a clear CSR policy that encapsulates the organisation's vision, objectives and values could go a long way in building a respectable reputation for the organisation. Moskowitz (1972:72) suggested that responsible companies outperform conventional ones. As such, when pursuing investment opportunities in foreign markets, these organisations could use their experiences with CSR to mitigate any resistance or obstacles to investment.

Investment aspirations may be difficult to overcome if the investment destination is a country that has implemented IEEP such as Zimbabwe. In this regard, the organisation may not only have to comply with the policies but also prove that they are capable of leaving an indelible mark on the social, economic and political landscape of the host country. Wolf (2008) emphasises that organisations need to make use of the problem-solving potential of non-state actors in order to master these challenges more effectively.

This may, therefore, be used as a tool for the formulation of CSR strategies for organisations that wish to invest in countries with IEEP. It gives further motivation for CSR practices as it strengthens investors' proposal towards investing in a host country.

In addition, a review of literature available on academic databases, such as Nexus and ProQuest, revealed that there is an academic gap that exists in the area of CSR and its role in the development of investment strategies that enhance the propositions of MNCs that wish to invest in countries that have implemented IEEP.

The problem that this study addressed is a gap in the field of CSR knowledge with regard to CSR's relationship with IEEP. Therefore, the study reflected on the role played by CSR in enhancing the engagement of MNCs with countries that are focussed on addressing the negative impact of colonisation through IEEP. The study looked at the policies of some African states but paid particular attention to Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research objectives

The primary objective of the study was to critically analyse how CSR strategies may be used to add value to investment propositions of MNCs in countries with IEEP, to determine how their CSR activities in these countries are influenced by IEEPs and to contribute to the field of CSR knowledge with regard to its relationship with IEEPs.

The secondary objectives have been identified as the following:

- To examine the theories that inform CSR strategy and foreign investment
- To investigate and evaluate the content of IEEPs and its impact on investment in the mining sector in Zimbabwe

- To identify the CSR priorities of the Multinational Corporations in their home countries juxtaposed to those in the host country
- To investigate how MNCs develop CSR strategies in response to IEEP
- To determine the host governments' expectations from investors in relation to CSR
- To draw applicable conclusions and make recommendations that contribute to the field of CSR knowledge on how CSR strategies may be used by MNCs in the development of investment strategies that may be acceptable to countries that have initiated IEEP.

1.4.1 Research Questions

In order to critically examine and fulfil the objectives of this research, the study attempted to answer the following primary questions:

- How may CSR strategies be used to add value to investment propositions of MNCs in countries with IEEP?
- How are CSR activities in Zimbabwe influenced by IEEP?
- How can CSR knowledge contribute to addressing the relationship between CSR and IEEP?

The study also attempted to answer the following questions.

- Which theories inform CSR strategy and foreign investment?
- What are the CSR priorities of the MNCs in their home countries juxtaposed to those in the host country?
- How do MNCs develop CSR strategies in response to IEEP?
- What are the host governments' expectations from investors in relation to CSR?
- What is the impact of IEEPs on investment in the mining sector in Zimbabwe?
- What recommendations can be made on the use of CSR strategies in the development of investment strategies that may be acceptable to countries that have initiated IEEP?

1.4.2 Central Theoretical Statements

The future of investment in countries in the developing world relies on organisations assuring their host countries that they care about the well-being of their citizens. By understanding the nature of the responsibility that an organisation has towards the host country, the organisation may focus its attention on appropriately delivering strategies that meet the expectations of the host government. The complexity of investment is intensified in countries that have initiated IEEP. There are however, a number of theories that may be used to develop strategies best suited for this engagement.

Four CSR theories inform the study: Instrumental theories, Political Theories, Integrative theories and Ethical theories. These will form the basis for the theoretical framework of the study. Drawn from these theories, strategies may be formulated to assist organisations in their investment agenda into countries with IEEP.

Instrumental theories dictate that the sole focus of organisations should be economic and that any social activities are only a means to achieve wealth for organisations. Proponents of the instrumental theories include Friedman (1970), Jensen (2000), in terms of the maximisation of shareholder value; Porter and Kramer (2002) with regards to strategies for competitive advantage; and Varadarajan and Menon (1988) in terms of cause-related marketing. Of significance within this theory is Friedman's rejection of discretionary CSR in favour of strict fiduciary responsibility focused on economic wealth creation as the best contribution of business to the general welfare (Friedman 1970, cited in Windsor 2006:103).

According to Garriga and Mele (2004:51), political theories "concern themselves with the power of corporations in society and a responsible use of this power in the political arena". The theories stress that organisations, like citizens, have a responsibility to play in any society. Ismail (2009:202) argues that political theories demonstrate the links between economic globalisation pressures felt by the companies, domestic political structures where companies are in, and CSR policies.

Integrative theories on the other hand focus the organisation's attention towards achieving economic objectives through the strategic integration of social activities. According to Garriga and Mele (2004:52), scholars that advanced these theories argued that business depends on society for its continuity and growth and even for its own existence.

Ethical theories of CSR ensure that organisations conduct their business in a moral and ethical manner. Carroll (1998:3) states that businesses do not only have to carry their own weight by being economically successful and function in compliance with the law, but they also strive to operate in an ethical fashion. As Windsor (2006:99) articulated, ethical responsibilities lie between inarguably mandatory compliance (economic and legal) and arguably desirable philanthropy (prudent or voluntary).

These theories are focused on the four aspects of social engagement, namely, economics, politics, social integration and ethics. By gaining a critical understanding of the theories and the related approaches, the study shed light on the development of strategies that are aptly suited for engagement with countries with IEEP. Furthermore, based on the assumption that the host government will actively reward organisations that have strong CSR proponents in their investment strategies, a study of these theories established the most suitable CSR approach to engagement with these countries.

1.5 Research methodology

Research methodology may be described as a way of carefully understanding and critically solving the identified research problem through a logical predetermined approach. This research was explorative in nature as it aimed to gather in-depth information on the formulation of CSR strategies in respect to the relationship between MNCs and the host country. As such, the research fell within the phenomenological paradigm. Through this qualitative research approach, the study aimed to offer insight into complex socio-economic processes and government-investor relations.

1.5.1 Literature Review

A literature review explored the existing views and opinions of scholars and experts in a particular field of study thereby providing a theoretical foundation for research. Through this process, the study built an understanding and assessment of CSR strategies, IEEP and the relationship MNCs have with countries that have implemented these policies.

To begin with, the process looked at the relevant body of knowledge so as to build a comprehensive understanding of CSR theories and historical concepts building up to the modern view of the subject and its role in the areas of globalisation and economic development.

The literature review also looked at literature that has been written on IEEP in an endeavour to conceptualise the reasoning behind the enactment of such policies by developing countries. It is important for organisations that intend on entering markets that have implemented IEEPs to fully comprehend the policies as well as the impact these policies have on their investment intentions. The section examined the various policies that have been introduced in various countries in Africa and also looked to understand the drivers behind the implementation of such policies. The literature review also looked at the impact of these policies on investment in these countries. The review converged its focus on indigenisation in Zimbabwe and the mining companies that have invested in that country.

This section focused on the various programmes that have been undertaken by MNCs in countries that have introduced IEEPs. Having understood the concepts of CSR and foreign investment, it was important to understand the role of these organisations in the socio-economic development of these countries.

1.5.2 Research Design

A research design provides a framework upon which the collection, analysis and the interpretation of data is undertaken. It is a coherent technique that links empirical evidence to the research questions and, consequently, to the study's conclusion (Yin, 2009:26). The research design reflects the purpose of the research as well as outlines what data is required, the method used for the collection and analysis of data as well as how this aligns to research questions.

The research was explorative in nature as it seeks to explore incidents and decision making processes. The case study approach was the most appropriate method of investigating this topic as it facilitates the exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources as highlighted by Baxter and Jack (2008:544). Yin, (2014:16) states that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

Qualitative case study research is also well suited for the exploration of problems or situations upon which there is little or inadequate earlier research to refer to, thereby assisting in the generation of new ideas and assumptions in the development of tentative theories and hypotheses. It takes shape as part of an inductive approach where the empirical details that constitute the object of the study are considered in light of the particular context (Hamel, Dufour & Fortin, 1993:16).

Edwards, Colling and Ferner (2007:202) state that, a case study provides the best means to examine the occurrence and evolution of linkages between phenomena through investigation of interaction between actors and the impact of market and institutional contexts on the operations of MNCs. In addition, the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documentation, archival records, interview, direct observations, participant-observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2014:105).

Since this research attempted to understand the role of CSR in entry strategies, it was deemed appropriate to observe more than just one individual case. As such, a multiple case study was conducted. With this design, it is possible to draw conclusions based on the similarities and differences exhibited by different organisations (Falkenberg, 2006:36).

Yin (2003) argues that multiple case studies may be used to either predict similar results or predict contrasting results, but for predictable results. Yin (2003) further states that the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena as it allows investigators to return the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events such as organisational and managerial processes. Orum, Feagin and Sjoberg, (1991:23) add that, rather than assuming a world of simplicity and uniformity, those who adopt the qualitative approach of case studies generally picture a world of complexity and plurality.

It should however be noted that this design is expensive, time consuming and often difficult to pursue as highlighted by Baxter and Jack (2008:550). It was nevertheless considered to be reliable and robust, therefore an appropriate design to utilise for this exercise.

A number of African countries have implemented IEEP. However, for the purpose of this study, the research focused on Zimbabwe. Countries that have implemented such policies often encounter teething problems and it is during these early stages that negotiations between investors and the governments take place. Thouvenot (2013) states that, the implementing government needs to learn quickly from mistakes and omissions, seeking to amend polices, taking cognisance of previous successes and failings in implementation elsewhere on the continent. It is also worth noting as argued by Chiwunze (2014) that the investors may have concerns if the policy is perceived to amount to appropriation and violation of private property rights and that the nature and speed at which empowerment programmes are implemented affects investor decisions. Zimbabwe offers a unique opportunity to investigate the relationship between the host government and investors and how CSR may be used to provide solution to the relationship. IEEP was enacted in 2010 in Zimbabwe which means that the programme is still in its infancy and hence the choice.

1.5.3 Case selection

There are a large number of MNCs that have invested in Zimbabwe across different industries. It was deemed logical and necessary to identify one particular industry to concentrate on for this research. This is in realisation that there are similarities in CSR strategies within industries. For the purpose of this research, the mining sector was selected.

Mining activities are important to Zimbabwe as the land rights were at the centre of the struggle for liberation. Today, mining contributes approximately 18% to the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP), according to the Zimbabwe Chamber of Mines, and is seen as a strategic industry by the government. According to the Zimbabwe Country Mining Guide by KPMG (2015:7) mining accounts for approximately 52% of the country’s export earnings. Control of this industry has been dominated by foreign players, a factor that played a significant role in the debate around the crafting of the IEEP in Zimbabwe.

Another reason for the selection of this industry was the fact that extractive activities are finite and it is the duty of mining organisations to address socio-economic expectations during the lifetime of their mining activities as well as to curtail the negative impact of operations before and after mining activities.

The selection of cases needs to be aligned to the research questions and the overall purpose of the study. In order to derive meaningful conclusions on this research, it was decided to concentrate on two organisations and approaches were made to two mining houses based in South Africa that have investments in Zimbabwe. These organisations, Impala Platinum Limited and Anglo American Platinum Limited, have their head offices in South Africa and have had their operations affected by the implementation of IEEP in Zimbabwe. Impala Platinum has been mining in Zimbabwe since 2001 at Ngezi mine and Mimosa. Anglo American Platinum on the other hand has operated Unki mine since 2010.

Even though strategies within industries may be similar and in accordance to best practice, they should be unique and carefully conceived by the respective organisations. Smith (2002:27) argues that as much as the organisation’s CSR strategy may “fit with industry characteristics, it should reflect the individual company’s mission and values—what it stands for—and thus be different from the CSR strategy of even its closest competitors”. Therefore, by looking at the two mining houses, the research was able to establish a comparative analysis which should build a substantive and holistic analysis of the presented problem, especially considering their interaction with the Zimbabwean government during the development and implementation of IEEP.

1.5.4 Sampling and Data Collection

Researchers usually cannot make direct observations of every individual in the population they are studying (a census) and as such, they collect data from a subset of individuals – a sample and use those observations to make inferences about the entire population (Xiang, 2012:1).

A non-probability sampling approach was used for this research. This approach allowed the researcher to select respondents in a non-random manner (Blythe, 2006:222). In addition, Cargan (2007:242) argues that non-probability sampling tends to be used for exploratory research where focus is on generating ideas and understanding behaviour.

Furthermore, judgement sampling was used as this was synonymous with the predetermined approach and non-probability criteria described above. With this type of sampling, subjects are chosen based on a specific purpose. Judgement sampling is effective when only limited numbers of subjects can serve as primary data sources due to the nature of research design, aims and objectives.

1.5.5 Interview participants

In line with the chosen sampling method, the researcher chose four participants from each of the mining organisations as well as one participant from each of the Zimbabwean institutions responsible for investment, mining and IEEP.

From the mining houses, two members of top management and two senior managers responsible for the implementation of the set strategy was chosen. Interviews with members of top level management are aimed at exploring organisational and investment decision making, specifically around investment in a country with IEEP, and to understand the formulation of CSR strategy and how it relates to this engagement.

Interviews with senior managers revolved around understanding their interpretation of set strategies as well as the implementation of CSR strategies at operational level both at home and in the host country.

To add value to the study, it was deemed necessary to gather an informed perspective from the host government in line with the objectives of the study. As such, interviews were conducted with top officials from the Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation and Economic empowerment, Ministry of Minerals and Mining Development, and the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB). This was done to get an understanding of the policy, the host country's expectations and perception of proposals presented to them by MNCs.

The list of participants is listed below.

Organisation	Title of Interview participant
Anglo American Platinum	Head of Social Performance and Integration
	Corporate Finance Analyst
	Senior Manager: Social Performance: Anglo American Platinum
	Social Performance Manager: Unki Mine
Impala Platinum	Corporate Executive for Corporate Affairs
	Group Head for Sustainable Development
	Project Manager: Social Performance
	Head of Corporate affairs: Zimplats
Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment	Deputy Director, Indigenisation with the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Enterprise Development
Ministry of Mines and Mining Development	Permanent Secretary
National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB)	Compliance Manager

1.5.6 Interview process

Due to their busy schedules, all participants were presented with the set of questions for review prior to the actual interview. This is a normal practice as participants are given ample time to understand the context of the study and adequately prepare for the interview. The Covid-19 pandemic-related regulations made it difficult to conduct face-to-face interviews and as a result, only those interviews conducted prior to 2020 (pre-Covid pandemic), namely, with Government of Zimbabwe officials, were conducted in their offices. The rest of the interviews were conducted using video conferencing platforms, such as Zoom and Microsoft Teams. The length of each interview was 60 minutes and permission was sought to record the interview. The transcribed version of the interview was provided to the organisations for review before any analysis was conducted.

For the interview to be detailed and reflective, semi-structured in-depth questions was used. Semi-structured in-depth interviews empower the respondents by prompting discussion and in so doing provide valuable and insightful information through the exploration of discussed questions. It provides a useful platform to clarify responses as they are captured, thereby improving description and discovery.

Approaches were also made to the Government of Zimbabwe Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation, and Economic Empowerment and the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development, as custodians of mining investment and indigenisation policies in Zimbabwe to discuss the indeginisation policy, mining investment and the impact of IEEP on the economy and investment in the country.

1.5.7 Documentary data

An intense literature review was undertaken to gain insight into already documented discussions around CSR strategies and their role in forging symbiotic relationships between host countries and MNCs. This was strongly supported through the collection of data from annual reports, CSR reports, government reports, websites, articles, publications as well as other available public information. Most of this data was collected prior to the interviews so as to strengthen the interview process and its outcomes by linking information provided during the interviews with documents. Yin (2014:107) states that documents play an explicit role in any data collection in case study research as they are used to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources. Yin (2014:109), however, cautions that with the abundance of material through internet searches, one may get lost in reviewing such material and actually waste a lot of time on them. To mitigate this, documentary data was restricted to official documents and verifiable documents.

1.5.8 Data Analysis

Collis and Hussey (2009:247) suggest that data analysis helps reduce data by condensing collected material in a systematic and logical way that makes it more meaningful. Analysis ensures that data is structured and follows set themes, patterns and interrelationships resulting in manageable forms such as summaries, tables and illustrations.

A within-case analysis approach was used as an initial technique to investigate the data. Within-case analysis involves in-depth case study write-ups for each case. The main purpose of within-case analysis is to establish a deep understanding of each case before any comparison can be made. As Eisenhardt (1989:540), explains, “this process allows the unique patterns of each case to emerge before investigators push to generalize patterns across case”.

Each organisation was studied and detailed case study write-ups drawn up. These write-ups described and discussed information that was collected through interviews and other relevant sources. This is consistent with Eisenhardt’s (1989:540) assertion that write-ups are often purely descriptions but are central to the generation of insight as they help the researcher cope with the early analysis of often enormous volume of data.

Categories were selected and similarities and differences identified. Baškarada (2013:12) explains that the initial step usually involves reading the interview transcripts, observation notes and any other relevant documents which may lead to the development of preliminary notes or memos that can be used to formulate initial categories, themes and relationships.

Cross-case analysis follows the within-case analysis. Cross-case analysis is a research method that helps identify and compare commonalities and differences in the events, activities and processes of each case study.

Cross-case analysis enables case study researchers to delineate the combination of factors that may have contributed to the outcomes of the case, seek or construct an explanation as to why one case is different or the same as others, make sense of puzzling or unique findings, or further articulate the concepts, hypotheses, or theories discovered or constructed from the original case (Khan & Van Wynsberghe 2008, online).

Through this process, certain evidence may stand out and patterns emerge. Eisenhardt (1989:540) contends that when a pattern from one data type is corroborated by the evidence from another, the finding is stronger but when evidence conflicts, deeper probing of the differences is necessary to identify the cause or source of conflict.

Importantly, cross-case analysis helps the research understand a particular phenomenon but also provokes alternative thinking, prompting the development of new questions and the generation of new ideas and models.

4.1 Ethical Considerations

Hough, Thompson, Strickland and Gamble (2008:189) define ethics as “the science of using moral criteria to guide human conduct.” In line with strict ethical guidelines set by North-West University, the researcher was expected to complete a Research Ethics Application Form before the commencement of the research. This form sets a guideline upon which research should conform. As such, there are a few ethical considerations that need to be observed during research.

Permission

As a research student of the North-West University, the researcher was equipped with a permission letter from the university to conduct this research in partial fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy.

This letter was presented to all participants as assurance that the research was authorised by the university and that it was for scholarly purposes. The letter emphasised that the research was being conducted for academic purposes and that the researcher was bound by a strict code set by the university.

Consent

Consent was obtained from the organisations and government departments that were identified in the research proposal. Although this was presented to the interviewed individuals, written informed consent to undertake the semi-structured interviews was obtained from all participants. Informed consent means explaining to participants the purpose and nature of the research and allowing them to choose to freely participate in it, as described by Yin (2009:73).

Confidentiality

Participants were assured of confidentiality with regards to their personal information or any other information that may have been erroneously provided.

Harm to participants and researcher

Diener and Crandall (1978:19) state that harm can entail a number of facets: physical harm, harm to participants' development or self-esteem, stress, harm to career prospects or future employment. Although it is not possible to identify in all circumstances whether or not harm is likely, as highlighted by Brymen and Bell (2011:132), careful consideration was taken to ensure that participants are not harmed or adversely affected as a result of their participation in the study. To do this, transcripts were presented to the interviewees for review.

Harm to the researcher was curtailed significantly by ensuring that suitable permission was received from all participating organisations, especially the government departments, prior to the interviews.

Objectivity

Researchers are human and may never be totally objective. It is, however, the duty of the researcher to maintain a level objectivity that will produce a balanced study. Babbie (2010:83) states, that whereas researchers should not let their own values interfere with the quality and honesty of their research, this does not mean that researchers cannot or should not participate in public debates and express both their scientific expertise and personal opinion. Objectivity was scrutinized through cross-checking interim research findings with respondents, counter-checking against findings made by other research in the area of CSR and investment and, where necessary, using qualitative software.

Integrity

Israel (2015:147) states that researchers owe a professional obligation to their colleagues to handle themselves with honesty and integrity. He further states that they need to maintain intellectual honesty in proposing, performing and reporting research, accuracy in representing contributions to research proposals and reports, fairness in peer review, and collegiality in scientific interactions, including communications and sharing of resources. The researcher may guard against fabrication, falsification and plagiarism through diarising activities during the course of the research and by presenting these records upon request.

All in all, ethics play a pivotal role in ensuring the validity of the study and its overall findings. Guided by a stringent Code of Conduct, the researcher's own integrity and set measures; this research was able to pass an ethics test.

1.7 Contribution of the research

An academic gap was identified in the area of corporate social responsibility and its role in the development of investment strategies that enhance the engagement of MNCs with countries that are focussed on addressing the negative impact of colonisation and socio-economic imbalances through the implementation of IEEP.

The research offered the first empirical study on the subject thereby contributing to the body of knowledge in the areas of CSR, investment strategies as well as IEEP in Zimbabwe. This is based on a review of literature on available academic databases, such as Nexus and ProQuest.

The research analyses both conceptual and operative challenges associated with investing in countries that have implemented IEEP and how CSR may be used to strategically influence the relationship between MNCs and host countries. As such, this study is seen as a contribution to the body of knowledge in the areas of CSR, investment strategies as well as IEEP. It serves as a reference for scholars and organisations interested in CSR strategies and its role in investment into developing countries.

Integrating CSR into investment propositions may help organisations respond appropriately and may surpass the demands of IEEP, thereby creating a strategic partnership with the Zimbabwean government. This study may serve as a reference for organisations that wish to develop strategies that may ensure that their entry propositions into these countries are acceptable.

The study sought to create awareness on the CSR activities of mining organisations in Zimbabwe and provide the Government of Zimbabwe the basis upon which to develop a framework or instrument to access the CSR activities of organisations in the country.

The study provided an improved understanding of IEEP in Zimbabwe and created awareness on the socio-economic expectations from governments that have implemented IEEP.

1.8 Limitations of the research study

The limitations of research include the weaknesses and shortcomings identified by the researcher. These include any conceptual and methodological shortcomings; some of which are beyond the researcher's control. Research of this nature normally has two identifiable limitations, namely validity and reliability.

Validity and Reliability

According to Patten (2004:50), an instrument is deemed to be valid if it measures what it is intended to measure and accurately achieves the purpose for which it is designed. Validity involves the appropriateness, meaningfulness, and usefulness of inferences made by the researcher on the basis of the data collected (Wallen & Fraenkel, 2001). Research should conform to face validity, construct validity and internal validity.

Also known as surface validity, face validity assesses the value of the method of the research being undertaken. Participants need to feel that the method is appropriate for the study thereby leaving no ambiguity or misunderstanding. To ensure face validity, participants were asked to provide feedback on the interview process.

Altermatt (2007:1) suggests that construct validity is the confidence one can have that the operational definition faithfully represents the abstract construct it is supposed to. Through this, constructs from research should transform into measurable results. Yin (2014:47) suggests in order to increase construct validity when doing case studies, one may use multiple sources of evidence in a manner encouraging convergent lines of inquiry. As such, a review of various documents such as annual reports, CSR reports, government reports and relevant articles were used to compliment the interviews with the identified participants.

The internal validity of research examines the extent to which one can make a casual claim based on the study. According to Trochim (2006:1), internal validity is deemed important when researchers are trying to link a cause with an effect. In light of the objectives set for this research, it is important to link the findings to the presented assumption that the host government will reward or act favourably towards organisations that have strong CSR strategies in their investment propositions.

It is also important to ensure external validity as this examines the extent to which the results of the study may be generalised beyond the sample that was used. Although difficult to ascertain external validity, the research may have reinforced confidence in the generalisation of the study in a particular industry. For case studies, the generalisation is determined by the strength of the description of the context (Patton & Appelbaum, 2003:65).

Reliability examines the consistency and repeatability of the study. Greener (2008:35) states that the "research must be auditable; that is, transparent and clear so that the reader can either undertake the same method themselves, and produce the same results; or at least the method is clear enough to instil confidence in the reader that the results were not fudged in any way". Yin (2014:49) suggests that a good guideline for case studies is, therefore, to conduct the research so that an auditor could, in principle, repeat the procedures and hopefully arrive at the same results. As such, to ensure reliability, the procedures followed to undertake this study were documented and a case study database was produced. In addition, transcripts of the responses from interviewed individuals were retained. Furthermore, to increase reliability and trustworthiness, the analysis of the data did not present interpretations beyond what the interviewees shared.

Access to information

Access to information is another challenge that research of this nature is bound to encounter. It is vitally important to draw accurate information from representative parties. However, organisational members are often reluctant to provide full information, fearing citing or providing confidential information. As such, it was favourable to engage with officials in the upper echelons of the identified institutions. Unfortunately, the opportunity to engage with these high level officials is a challenge on its own as there are often hurdles such as gatekeepers to manage and protocols to observe. Nevertheless, data collected from the highest levels is valuable as it substantiated and this significantly increases research credibility and is therefore worth the struggle.

Limitations of the study also included the expenses of conducting multiple case study research. Research of this nature may also be cumbersome and time consuming as cases often provide more data than is actually needed for the research.

1.9 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduced the study by giving a background of the problem to be investigated, justification of why the topic area was worth investigating, research objectives, research questions and research methodology.

Chapter 2: Corporate Social Responsibility: A literature review

This chapter explored existing views and opinions of scholars in the field of study. The chapter presented a critical assessment of Corporate Social Responsibility theories as well as the relevance of CSR in organisational and investment strategy.

Chapter 3: An overview of indigenisation and economic empowerment

The chapter explored the policies; giving a background and expectations of such policies. The chapter also investigated the legal framework of IEEP in Zimbabwe as well as evaluated the governments' perspective on its implementation and the impact of IEEP on mining investment.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

The chapter outlines the research methodology followed in trying to critically analyse how CSR strategies may be used to add value to investment propositions of MNCs in countries with IEEP, to determine how their CSR activities in these countries are influenced by IEEPs and contribute to the field of CSR knowledge with regard to its relationship with IEEPs. It explains the approach used, the qualitative research process as well as the case study approach.

Chapter 5: Presentation of two cases

The chapter presents the two cases based on the investigations and interactions with the respective management. The cases are documented-guided by a pre-established framework that delivers on the research objectives. The presentations presented, among other things, how MNCs develop CSR strategies in response to IEEP as well as establish the CSR priorities of the MNCs in their home countries juxtaposed to those in the host country. Each case followed a similar format, with variations depending on the depth of information that was collected.

Chapter 6: Interpretation, discussion and analysis of findings

The chapter presented discussions and interpretations based on the findings from the collected data as well as the analysed literature to provide clarity on the research topic. Also included in this discussion were the findings from the engagement with the custodians of the IEEPs and the mining investment which reflect the host government's expectations from investors in relation to CSR. The chapter concluded with the introduction of a theoretical approach, developed from the findings.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter provided an overall summary of the conclusions that were drawn from the primary research as well as from the secondary research. The chapter also gave the conclusion and any recommendations that arose from the research.

Chapter 2: Corporate Social Responsibility: A literature review.

2.1. Introduction

In today's business world, there is heightened interests in the role that organisations play in alleviating the challenges that bedevil society. Organisations are increasingly seen as living bodies that can ill afford to ignore societal issues. Societal expectations have evolved, and this has persuaded organisations to pay more attention to their CSR practices.

The following is a review on the literature that has been written on CSR in an endeavour to understand the concept and its role in organisational strategy. The debate over the definition has persisted for years in both academic and non-academic spheres, and this literature review aims to contribute to the clarification of the issue. The chapter opens with a discussion on the evolution of CSR and the historic milestones associated to it. This leads to a more modern understanding of the term and aids in the demystification of the CSR meaning. CSR definition has always been a challenge and so this study examines the different concepts proposed by academics, organisations, and management practitioners. These debates have failed to produce a universally acceptable definition of CSR, but this analysis aims to aid in the search for proof of synonymity in order to guide the rest of this research.

This chapter also studies the various theories that have been presented to support CSR practices. A theoretical understanding of CSR may assist scholars and practitioners to identify issues related to CSR strategy formulation and implementation and also contributes to realise the objectives of the study. The relevance of CSR on organisational and investment strategy is also discussed with the view of appreciating how CSR may be strategically used in the operations of organisations.

The chapter also examines literature on CSR priorities in developing nations with the hope of differentiating the strategies that are implemented by MNCs in their home countries and host countries. From this review, it is possible to identify the opportunities and obstacles experienced by MNCs on their investment drive. This literature search also helps identify the CSR practices in Zimbabwe in light of the objectives of this study. The chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the interpretation as well as the implementation of CSR in the country.

This literature review is an essential part of the thesis as it provides the basis upon which the study will proceed. The knowledge gained from the literature review provides useful insight into the term, its meaning, growth, and application. This chapter discusses and improves comprehension of CSR, which has become a popular feature of organisational strategy.

2.2. Evolution of CSR

CSR is a concept that has significantly altered the business landscape through redefining the relationship of enterprise and society. It is a concept that has metamorphosed over a very long period of time and is now an accepted part of modern management. In order to comfortably appreciate the concept of CSR, it is important to construct a brief overview of the evolution of the practice as a precursor to the modern practices. This approach is acknowledged by early sociologists, including Max Weber (1922), who underscored the significance of historical analysis in building an understanding of contemporary institutions (Caulfield, 2013:221). Understanding the behaviour of modern organisational and business practices requires a reflection on the historical developments in a manner that builds up to a better comprehension of today’s world. Armed with a historical view of philanthropy and social responsibility, it is easier to appreciate CSR within a more modern context.

Business involvement in social issues may be traced back to the earliest times of trade and commerce. Caulfield (2013:227) in his research of the history of CSR traced the practise to as far back as the 14th century. He found that prior to the 14th century, the Church was the only recognised instrument for public welfare and charitable activities in Europe. He also established that aristocrats had also played a pivotal role in developing their immediate communities. Caulfield (2013:227) found that “aristocrats were patrons of the arts, builders of churches, endorsers of educational institutions and providers of funds for various community projects”. But with the establishment of guilds, the emergent merchant class took up more social responsibilities for the underprivileged.

As merchants became important players in the economy in the latter part of the 16th century, they encouraged a more solution-oriented method to charity that was influenced by humanist thinking (Bishop & Green, 2008:23). This continued gradually and evolved alongside the developments in the manufacturing processes such as mechanisation and increased demand for goods. The 18th century saw the rise of mass production as a dominant business practice. Early industrialists discovered the need to cater for their workers by providing for amenities such as housing and entertainment or social facilities. These amenities or new communities were built close to the factories and mines. Early accommodation was characterised as industrial villages which were designed to ensure workers lived close to their mines and factories. Companies such as Cadbury's and Lever Brothers in the United Kingdom (UK) (Caulfield, 2013:230) and Pullman Palace car company (Carroll, 2008:22) in the United States of America (USA) built low-cost housing for their employees. The provision of these amenities was not altruistic, but rather benefited the industrialists as they ensured their labour supply was easily accessible. It also gave industrialists control over workers, prevented unrest and increased productivity (Carroll, 2008:21).

As industrialisation progressed so too did the influence of labour. Concerns over overcrowding and appalling working conditions grew and this led to industrial unrest. These demands by workers forced industrialists to increase their support for social provisions such as hospitals, schools, employee development and more importantly structures for employee consultation. Mohajan (2019:15) states that, after much unrest in Britain during this time, workers eventually succeeded in pushing for higher wages and conditions that would make their employment better.

As commercial activities continued so too did issues of social injustice, employee welfare, labour practices, healthcare, education, environmental concerns and corporate responsibility. In the US, industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller became torchbearers to a new form of philanthropy. They influenced a new era of providing for social demands such as education, religion and research through the formation of charitable foundations. Carnegie (1889:660) described this as returning surplus wealth to the masses and urged philanthropists and organisations to desist from donating to individuals but to causes that would contribute long term public benefit. According to Caulfield (2013:234), this line of thinking later encouraged the creation and vision of institutions in the UK and the USA such as the Leverhulme Trust and the Ford Foundation.

More of the conversation on the history of CSR has however centred on the past 60 years when a more conceited effort has been placed by business to transform towards a more socially responsible and acceptable outlook. This period has been characterised by change in the management of business resulting from technological, economical and socio-political transformations. During this period, scholars and business practitioners observed how CSR had been elevated from an insignificant and doubtful concept to an important subject on management list of priorities (McWilliams, Siegal & Wright, 2006:5).

2.2.1. CSR in the 50s and 60s

According to Murphy (1978), the period leading to the 1950s was a “philanthropic” era which was characterised mainly by donations to charity organisations. Carroll (2006:25) classified the years between 1953 to 1967 as the “awareness” era: a period often characterised by an increased acknowledgement of business’s overall responsibilities and its participation in community matters. Fredrick (2006) noted that business leaders voluntarily assumed stewardship function and philanthropic activities in their respective communities during this evolutionary period. Significantly, it was during this period that scholars such as Howard R. Bowen (1953) emerged and articulated their understanding of social responsibility. This opened up the discussion around the topic and stood to influence organisational thinking thereafter. As Frederick (2006:9) states, “Bowen fashioned a theory that justified, not just a new philosophy for business practitioners but one that anchored in academia what later became an entirely new field of management studies”. Bowen (1953:11) questioned, “What responsibilities to society businessmen may reasonably be expected to assume?” He declared, “I have come to the view that voluntary social responsibility cannot be relied upon as a significant form of control over business” (cited in Frederick, 2006:10). It is because of this influence that Caroll (2006:5) argues that Howard Bowen should hold the honour of being recognised as the “Father of Corporate Social Responsibility”.

During this period, as argued by Carroll (2006:26), ‘giving’ continued on an ad-hoc basis, “somewhat subject to executive whim and primarily in response to requests by beneficiary organisations”, such as the YMCA and the Red Cross. Although this may have benefited the select few it was not widespread and as influential as expected. Frederick (2006:8) summarised that the development of CSR fell into three core ideas: “corporate managers as public trustees; balancing competing claims to corporate resources; and philanthropic support of good causes”.

Carroll (2015:26) further describes the 50s as a decade of more talk than action: a period of shifting attitudes, with CSR becoming more mainstream among organisational leaders. A significant amount of research in the field of economics and management had been undertaken with the expectation of improved organisational models and thinking. These concepts were challenged and refined throughout the 60s with scholars such as Keith Davis (1960) emerging to add to the definition of CSR. According to Davis (1967:70), social responsibility was an abstract concept that should be understood within a managerial perspective. The author suggested that through long, complex processes of reasoning, an organisation's social responsibility activities could deliver long term benefit to the organisation.

Other key contributors to this discussion included Frederick as aforementioned, Morell Heald (Management's Responsibility to Society: The Growth of an Idea: 1957), Richard Eels (Corporation Giving in a Free Society: 1956) and Benjamin M. Selekman (A Moral Philosophy for Management: 1959). These theorists contributed considerably to the development and spread of CSR as a concept and as a business strategy.

Another significant development during this period was the birth of the environmental movement sparked by individuals such as Rachel Carson (1962), the advent of consumerism and the advocacy for labour rights. The environmental movement brought attention to issues pertaining to pollution and the protection of the environment. Rootes (2004:608) states that from the 1960s (right through to the 1980s), the industrialised western world was swept by a wave of social movements which included environmentalism. The focus of this movement expanded over the years to include issues of global warming, sustainable resource management and the role played by industry. It was also during this period that citizens actively differentiated their rights between workers and consumers. Rather than accepting that their rights were granted to them as a result of them being workers, citizens started to believe that their rights as individuals were earned by virtue of being members of the “universal class of consumers” (Whitman, 2007:394). This influenced authors such as Joseph McGuire (1963) who proposed that organisations should take on responsibilities above and beyond their legal and economic duties. Davis (1967:46) added that the “business system does not exist alone and that a healthy business cannot exist within a sick society since there is a mutual dependency between business and society”. This symbiotic expression led to organisations embracing philanthropy, consumer relations and staff development and stakeholder engagement (Carroll, 2008:28).

It should however be noted that the reasons for embracing elements of CSR during this period were not wholly altruistic but as a result of strong activism and the enactment of pieces of legislation regulating organisational conduct thereby protecting employees, consumers and the environment.

Legislation such as the Clean Air Act of 1963, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and the Fair Packaging and Labelling Act of 1960 in the USA, all contributed to persuading organisations to transform into socially responsible entities.

Consumerism also took the spotlight during this time. Its rise saw the protection of the consumer interests being given more attention than before. The fight for consumer rights led to better service and improved product quality as well as a deeper appreciation of end users as important organisational stakeholders. According to Mayer (2012:171), in the United States, President John F. Kennedy established the Consumers' Advisory Council to promote consumer rights, emphasising four distinct rights to protect consumers: the right to be informed, to safety, to have a choice, and to be heard.

The appreciation of stakeholders was also enhanced by the advocacy of labour rights which also occurred at the same time. Born out of the need to protect workers' rights, the movement culminated in better working conditions, the provision of benefits as well as the condemnation and subsequent abolition of child labour in the United States (US) and Europe (Visser, 2012:130; Western & Rosenfeld 2011:518). The world was evolving, and countries were learning from each other in terms of developing legislature which would ensure better conditions for citizens. The Clean Air Act of 1968 in the UK, the Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control 1967 in Japan and the establishment of the UN Environment Programme in 1972, are but examples of the effect of these global changes.

2.2.2. CSR in the 70s and 80s

The 70s and 80s heralded bold advances in the sphere of CSR through further studies and divergent approaches. Ideas were refined as more scholarly attention was paid to the concept of CSR. Practical experiences by organisations also offered case studies which contributed to robust discussion within the field. Milton Friedman (1970), who had earlier been critical of CSR through his proclamation that an organisation's sole objective was to maximize profits for its stakeholders, added to his theory by accepting that an organisation could exercise social activities if they were justified within its own self-interest. This gave rise to the instrumental theories of CSR which suggested that organisations should conduct corporate social initiatives as prescribed by law and overtly do what benefits the organisation.

Davis (1967:67) also buttressed his contribution by introducing "The iron law of responsibility", which suggests that "those who do not take responsibility for their power, ultimately shall lose it". This means that those who do not utilise power and influence in a way that society deems responsible will ultimately lose it as other groups will move in to accept those duties (Davis 1973:63). This means that the organisation's responsibility to society must be fulfilled for it to maintain credibility, respect and subsequently "business license". The benefits of this license include ease of operation, improved labour relations and overall stakeholder cordiality.

Research conducted by Sandra Holmes (1978) found that popular CSR priorities during this period revolved around pollution management, charity, community relations, the recruitment and advancement of minorities and educational support (Carroll, 2008:33). This was influenced by increased environmentalism, active consumerism, trade unionism and social partnerships.

Other notable contributors during this period included Ackerman (The Social Challenge to Business, 1975), Fitch (Achieving Corporate Social Responsibility, 1976) and Sethi (Dimensions of corporate social responsibility, 1975). At this stage, the concept was making convincing changes and these authors delved on society's increasing expectations on issues that affected them. Ackerman (1973), for example, looked at societal challenges of the time such as consumer safety, the recruitment of minorities, and women empowerment in the workplace, and demonstrated the need for organisations to adopt to the new social environment.

It is also important to highlight the contribution that may have elevated the field to new heights. Carroll (2008:29) describes the contribution made by the Committee for Economic Development (CED) in the USA as ground-breaking. He states that the CED noted that the business operates by public consensus and its primary objective is to positively contribute towards societal needs; to the satisfaction of society (Carroll, 2008:29). This argument means that businesses need to acknowledge that they have a wider responsibility towards society which should be reflective and commensurate to the changing relationship between society and themselves. The CED declared that “business is being asked to assume broader responsibilities to society than ever before and to serve a wide range of human values. Inasmuch as business exists to serve society, its future will depend on the quality of management’s response to the changing expectations of the public” (Committee for Economic Development, 1971:16). The CED, in its 1971 publication entitled “Social responsibilities of business corporations”, argued that businesses should play a larger role and that this should embrace or be reflective of the societal changes and expectations.

Carroll combined various thoughts and formulated a framework which was encapsulated into a four-part definition. He proposed that “the social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary expectations that society has of an organisation at a given time” (Carroll, 1979:50). A summation of this definition denotes that stakeholders expect the organisation to manufacture and sell their goods profitably and within the strict confines of the law whilst also behaving ethically and contributing to the welfare of society. To illustrate his work, Carroll developed a pyramid (Figure 2.1) to demonstrate a hieraical approach to social responsibility.

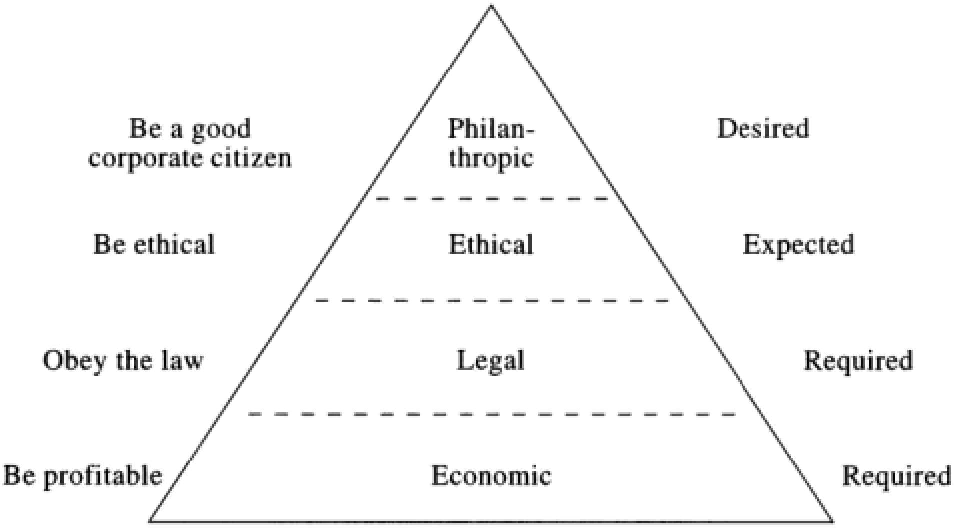

Figure 2.1. Pyramid of Corporate Social Responsibility introduced by Carroll

Source: Carroll (1991:32)

During the 80s, business and social interests came closer as organisations became more receptive to their stakeholders as discussed by Moura-Leite and Padgett (2011:532). In Carroll and Shabana's (2010:88) analysis of CSR during this period, more empirical research on topics such as corporate public policy was conducted than the refinement of definitions of CSR. This resulted in the development of alternate themes such as corporate social performance (CSP). An organisation's corporate social performance is viewed as an assessment of its CSR and corporate citizenship over time in comparison to its competitors. CSP provides a framework for organisations to assess whether their social responsibility and corporate citizenship efforts are effective in satisfying stakeholders.

Research was also conducted to find out how CSR impacts the financial performance of organisations. Arguments were made to the fact that CSR may help to improve the financial performance of organisations as attested by Drucker (1984). Profit maximisation, he concluded, is positively linked to economic responsibilities because CSR encourages companies to strike a balance between the expense and effect of meeting the expectations of stakeholders at an acceptable cost while also meeting financial obligations (Drucker, 1984).

Cochran and Wood (1984) were significant contributors to this school of thought and weighed in through their research that found a positive link between social responsibility and accounting performance. Moreover, Waddock and Graves (1997:18) suggest that financial success is also determined by strong social performance. Waddock and Graves (1997:18) hypothesised that CSP predicts as well as correlates with organisational financial performance and suggests the impact may either be positive or negative. In other words, improved financial performance may result in superior CSP whilst the converse that enhanced CSP may result in improved financial performance is also true.

2.2.3. CSR in the 90s

The evolution of CSR continued well into the 90s with the acceleration of globalisation and the information technology revolution. Frederick (2000:527) described this period as the era of global corporate citizenship. The proliferation of globalisation in light of the growing call for CSR meant that organisations had a growing obligation to ensure that their activities across the world were morally, socially and ethically sound. Carroll and Shabana (2010:88) observed that the "quest for the business case for CSR certainly became a dominant theme during this period, especially as the business community was seeking to rationalize and legitimise the activities it had begun and were continuing".

The 90s also saw greater involvement from governments and other important non-governmental institutions. During this period, the United Nations (UN) emerged as one of the most prominent advocates of the ideals of CSR (Moura-Leite & Padgett, 2011:533). At the behest of the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, the global body encouraged greater engagement between governments and the private sector to achieve better and more coordinated effort in tackling societal challenges. The UN convened various important global conferences to discuss and to develop measures to promote sustainable development. This culminated in the adoption of important frameworks such as the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development in 1992, the Copenhagen Declaration to Promote Social Development and Social Justice in 1995 as well as the 1998 International Labour Organisation Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. Furthermore, the UN launched the Global Compact in January 1999. This initiative, which shall be discussed in detail further on, was developed to promote CSR and to encourage private sector players to commit to the implementation of universal sustainability principles.

Large organisations and MNCs embraced CSR during this era of globalisation as research shows that their behaviour and attitude changed as illustrated by their reporting on corporate social initiatives. Research conducted between 1977 and 1990 by Fortune magazine, revealed that of the 500 companies investigated in 1977, fewer than half considered CSR as an integral part of their annual reports. Nevertheless, by the end of 1990, the magazine noted that approximately 90% of the Fortune 500 organisations acknowledged reporting on their CSR initiatives as one of the most important aspects of their organisational goals (Lee, 2008:53).

Some of the larger organisations whose CSR related reputations improved during the 90s included Coca Cola, Nike, Nestlé, UPS, McDonalds, TESCO, Toyota and Johnson & Johnson. These organisations proactively managed their reputation through strategic risk management which allowed them to perform increasingly well and to maintain goodwill across the globe. An organisation's reputation confirms its character and is an essential determinant on stakeholder perception and subsequently its success. Eccles *et al*. (2007:1) argue that organisations with strong positive reputations are bound to attract the best employees, are perceived to provide better value and quality thereby enhancing customer loyalty and a greater stakeholder value.

2.2.4. CSR in the 21st Century

After years of scholastic and professional debate, the 21st century has amalgamated opinions that have truly elevated CSR to an undeniable and recognisable facet of business management. Since the turn of the 21st century, CSR programmes have become more prevalent, and empirical studies have highlighted the importance of CSR (Abe & Ruanglikhithul, 2013:12).

Ideologies that were developed during this period include the promotion of corporate sustainability by Van Marreviyk (2003), Steuer (2005) and Wood (2002). The concept of sustainability or sustainable development developed into an important component of CSR during this period. Brundtland (1987:8) defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs". This is especially important as there is the realisation that global natural resources are finite and there is therefore a need to protect resources, reduce pollution and protect any barriers to long term socio-economic development. Organisations need to consider three important issues that define sustainable development, that is, climate and environment, social progress and economic development.

Another significant contribution from this era was the three-domain approach to CSR by Schwartz and Carroll (2003:509) which refined the CSR concept that had been introduced by Carroll in 1979. The three are economic, legal and ethical issues as illustrated below.

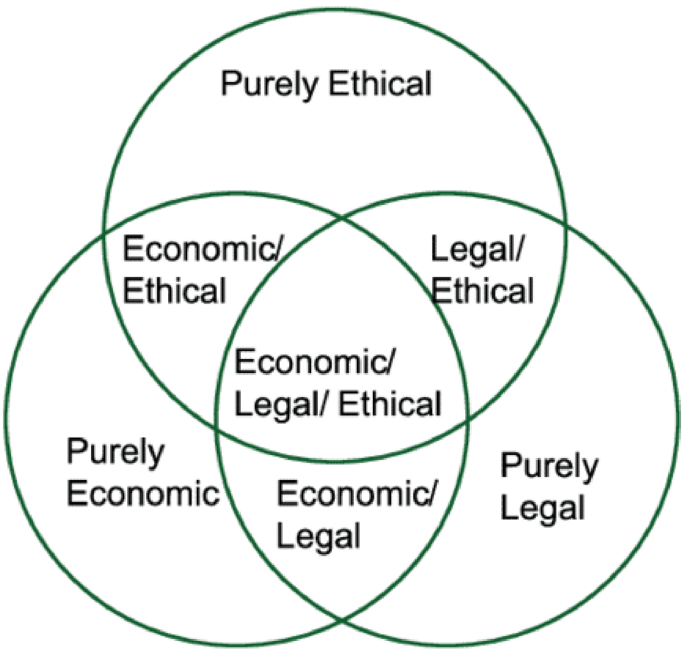

Figure 2.2. The three-domain approach

Source: Schwartz and Carroll (2003:509)

The Venn diagram shows four overlapping categories from the three core domains that were introduced by Caroll. The economic domain focuses on the activities that inherently produced positive financial benefits to the organisation; that is the maximisation of profits or the maximisation of shareholder value. The legal domain of the Venn diagram tends to the manner in which the organisation responds or conforms to its legal obligations. The organisation has a responsibility to comply with set laws within its jurisdiction and to avoid any litigation. The ethical domain pertains to the organisation's responsiveness to the ethics and standards presented to it within its domestic proximity as well as those on the global stage.

There are four overlapping domains, namely, economic ethical, legal ethical, economic illegal and economic/legal/ethical. Pure economical includes those activities that are undertaken purely for economic reasons and may, or may not, include illegal or unethical actions all in the best interest of the organisation. Examples of such activities include price fixing by British Airways in 2007, the collusion by construction companies in SA for the construction of six 2010 World Cup stadiums and the masking of diesel emissions data by VW in 2017. The pure economic approach is seen as a radical undertaking which attracts much criticism, reputational damage and massive litigation if discovered.

Pure ethical activities are those which, although ethical and morally correct, are neither economically beneficial to the organisation nor legally appropriate. These activities may be ethical but disregard the law and may also be financially detrimental to the organisation. Schwartz and Carroll (2003:515) cite American restaurant chain, Chick-fil-A as an example of an organisation that falls within the purely ethical domain. According to the authors, Chick-fil-A does not operate on Sunday due to religious beliefs. In so doing the organisation loses potential revenue from 52 Sundays annually but maintains its religious ground.

Purely legal activities are those which are considered to have no ethical or economic significance to the organisation. Schartz and Carroll (2003:515) cite organisations that reluctantly print cautions on their goods (for example tobacco product manufacturers), or shop owners who abide by holiday shopping regulations regardless of the losses they may incur as a result as falling within this domain. Legal liability, according to Geva (2008:8), is determined by the absence of lawsuits and claims of impropriety, meaning that any legal obligation are limited to the "letter" of the law whereas the “spirit” of the law is left for the ethical domain.

Economic/ethical activities include those that are motivated by both ethics and profits. It is assumed that ethical behaviour is an important part of achieving economic value. These activities are initiated by an organisation due to moral reasons but also hold significant financial dimensions.

Economic/legal in its strictest sense, is difficult to find. Legal considerations are usually ethical, so activities within the economic/legal domain are difficult to come by. Schwartz and Carroll (2003:517), however, give examples of opportunistic activities which are often considered unethical such as filing for bankruptcy in an attempt to avoid drastic action from creditors. These actions, according to Carroll and Buchholtz (2003:249), are considered profitable and legal but their ethical standing may be seen as unclear. Some MNCs fall within this category as their operations in developing countries pursue profit and the adherence to the lax legal framework in those nations whilst disregarding ethical considerations such as child labour and environmental degradation.

Economic/legal/ethical activities are those which take all three elements into consideration. Carroll and Buchholtz (2003:249) argue that this is the most desirable segment to trade in as it meets all three categories of responsibility. An analysis of Wal-Mart Canada's decision to stop selling tobacco products in 1994 seems to fall well into this category. Wal-Mart (Saxton, 1994: par. 1) noted that it was voluntarily stopping the sale of tobacco products not only to conform to emerging regulations (legal) but also because the move was good for the organisation's public image (economic) and also because it was failing to control purchases from minors (ethical).

Figure 2.3 below highlights examples of organisations that would fall into the different categories that have been discussed above. The model introduced by Schwartz and Carroll provided a more interlinked approach to understanding CSR, eliminating the hierarchal relationship that had previously been presented by Carroll in 1991.

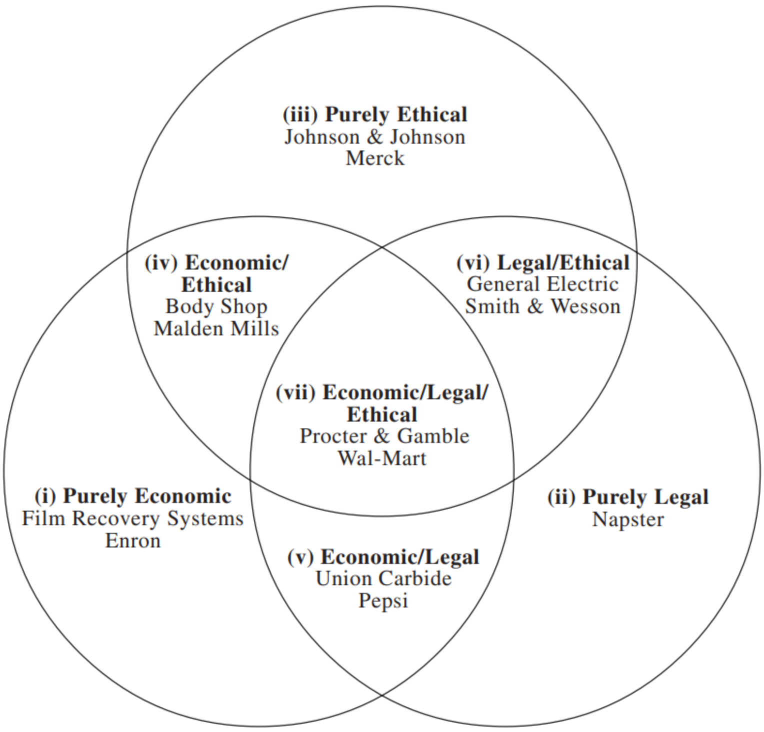

Figure 2.3. Schwartz and Carroll's Three-Domain Model of Corporate Social Responsibility with Corporate Examples

Source: Schwartz and Carroll (2003:519)

The 21st century has been clouded by corporate scandals that have had a momentous bearing on corporate governance and ethics and subsequently shaped CSR thinking. For example, the 2001 Enron case, the American Insurance Group (AIG) scandal of 2005 and the 2008 Lehman Brothers financial crisis not only impacted the American financial landscape but had a significant impact on global business. Moon (2005, cited in Carroll and Shabana 2010:88) notes that although CSR and its strive for legitimacy continued, the emergence and focus on business ethics hampered the ongoing expansion and advancement of the social responsibility theme. Ultimately, the CSR concept created a different path to conducting business that incorporated achievements and value generation with proactively respecting organisational stakeholders (Perrini, 2005:92).

Moura-Leite and Padgett (2011:536) argue that CSR has irrefutably transformed into a valuable strategic question for organisations in the 2000s, since organisational changes have forced social and environmental worthiness towards a significant source of legitimacy. As a result, organisations are recognised as having social and legal obligations. This brief overview of the evolution of CSR should help with the appreciation of the concept as a business tool and help generate a wider comprehension of the theories and definitions that have been developed over the years. The evolution of CSR, as presented above, gives an overview of how the concept has developed, as well as the improvements that have emerged as a result of historical events and situations. Scholars and business practitioners have been instrumental in articulating the actions of different individuals and organisations over the years, documenting important milestones and initiatives to attract a more solid approach to social responsibility. This has generated interest from multiple stakeholders including governments, business, investors, consumers, non-governmental organisations and even institutions such as the UN. This brief overview of the evolution of CSR, therefore, helps to construct a solid conceptual foundation that builds up to an understanding of how its definition has evolved over the years.

2.3. Definition of CSR

An all-encompassing single definition of CSR may not exist as scholars and business professionals have, over the years, come up with different descriptions of what they believe CSR ought to be (Dahlsrud, 2008:2). This is also acknowledged by Smith (2011:1) who states that “the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR) has been advocated for decades and is commonly employed by corporations globally, agreement on how CSR should be defined and implemented remains a contentious debate amongst academia, businesses and society”.

Regardless of this, there exists a commonality in that businesses have a major influence on society and therefore bear a responsibility towards it. The practical implementation of initiatives, however, may change the perspectives of scholars and professionals, resulting in myriad definitions.

Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of some of the more significant and prominent definitions would help with the full comprehension of CSR. A few definitions as identified by the Centre for Ethical

Business Culture (2005:23) as well as from other renowned global institutions such as the World Bank, the European Commission and scholars such as Smith (2002), Drucker (1984) and Davis (1960) are listed below. These definitions are listed in chronological order thereby giving a view of how the concept has evolved and has been understood over time.

Bowen (1953)

"It refers to the obligations of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society".

Davis (1960:70)

Social responsibility – "businessmen's decisions and actions taken for reasons at least partially beyond the firm's direct economic or technical interest".

Frederick (1960:60)

"Social responsibility in the final analysis implies a public posture toward society's economic and human resources and a willingness to see that those resources are used for broad social ends and not simply for the narrowly circumscribed interests of private persons and firms".

Committee for Economic Development (1971:11)

In Social Responsibilities of Business Corporations report: "…business functions by public consent and its basic purpose is to serve constructively the needs of society – to the satisfaction of society".

Steiner (1971:*164*)

"Business is and must remain fundamentally an economic institution, but … it does have responsibilities to help society achieve its basic goals and does, therefore, have social responsibilities".

Davis (1973:*312*)

"…refers to the firm's consideration of, and response to, issues beyond the narrow economic, technical, and legal requirements of the firm".

"It is the firm's obligation to evaluate in its decision-making processes the effects of its decisions on the external social system in a manner that will accomplish social benefits along with the traditional economic gains which the firm seeks" (1973:313).

Sethi (1975:62)

"…social responsibility implies bringing corporate behaviour up to a level where it is congruent with the prevailing social norms, values, and expectations of performance".

Carroll (1979:500)

"The social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary expectations that society has of organisations at a given point in time".

Drucker (1984:62)

"But the proper 'social responsibility' of business is to tame the dragon that is to turn a social problem into economic opportunity and economic benefit, into productive capacity, into human competence, into well-paid jobs, and into wealth".

Carroll (1991:43)

"The CSR firm should strive to make a profit, obey the law, be ethical, and be a good corporate citizen".

Smith (2002:42)

"CSR is the integration of business operations and values whereby the interests of all stakeholders, including customer, employees, investors, and the environment are reflected in the organisation's policies and actions".

World Bank (cited in Doane, 2005:217)

"Corporate Social Responsibility is a term describing a company's obligations to be accountable to all of its stakeholders in all its operations and activities. Socially responsible companies consider the full scope of their impact on communities and the environment".

European Commission (2011)

"CSR is the process whereby enterprises integrate social, environmental, ethical and human rights concerns into their core strategy, operations and integrated performance, in close collaboration with their stakeholders, with the aim of maximising the creation of shared value for their owners/shareholders and for their other stakeholders and society at large".

The definitions given above point to a synonymous theme about what CSR is seen to be. That is that, over and above their own economic interest and those prescribed by law, organisations must acknowledge the need to participate in the development of society. According to Wood (1991:695), "the basic idea of CSR is that business and society are interwoven rather than distinct and separate entities". No business is an island, and this relationship exemplifies the co-reliance that exists between the two. As such, organisations are becoming open to the opportunities and challenges of social responsibility and attempt to redefine how they do business (Falkenberg, 2006:7).

CSR has been a difficult concept to define mainly because of its evolving nature. Godfrey and Hatch (2007:70) suggest that the continuous infusion of new ideas has resulted in debate and the overlapping of ideas without enhancing conceptual clarity. Rowley and Berman (2000:398) further suggest that because CSR strategies may be industry and context specific, this makes the operationalisation of the concept rather difficult. According to the findings by O'Connor and Shumate (2010:530) CSR activities vary depending on the industry's position in the value chain. Workers' safety, ethical business practices, and the protection of the environment are the key concerns in mining and other industries which are farther up the value chain. Industries that are closer to consumers on the other hand, tend to concentrate more on philanthropic and educational CSR practices.

Furthermore, as business practices and performances have improved over time, so too have social standards and expectations and this too has had an impact on CSR practices and consequently, its definition. As communities have evolved, so too have their understanding of their rights. Their values, attitudes, expectations and interests have changed, and this has led to a different approach as regards their engagement with business. Steiner (1972:18) agrees, stating that organisations exist to serve a certain social purpose, and that as that society matures, so too should the organisations' activities. Evolving stakeholder engagement means that organisations face increasing pressure to play a role in the social welfare of the communities in which they operate. The advent of globalisation and technology has helped to spread social and environmental consciousness. Tanimoto (2004:153) asserts that this has led to communities demanding more socially responsible actions from organisations in the form of safer products, better employment practices, increased environmental management awareness as well fairer engagement with developing nations. It is expected that society's expectations will evolve due to underlying forces such as changing social values and global movements.

Despite this, it is important to understand that organisations have a responsibility beyond their economic mandate and that business needs a well-operating community so as to function and succeed. Inevitably, the relationship between business and the community becomes intertwined and co-reliant. Consequently, the most appropriate definition of CSR for the purpose of this research is presented by McWilliams and Siegel (2001:117) who identify CSR as "actions that appear to further some social good, beyond the interests of the firm and that which is required by law". This definition demonstrates the importance of appealing to the organisation's investors whilst recognising its legal and social responsibilities. Morris (2015:2) adds that social good is an intentional action undertaken with the purpose of benefiting society's environmental, social, and economic well-being. Put simply, the organisation needs to establish shareholder value, fulfil legal obligations such as paying tax as well as cater for the welfare of the community in which it operates. From this, CSR is identified as a beneficial practice for both business and society.

2.4. Developing countries, their priorities and the nature of CSR

The purpose of this research is to better understand how MNCs design CSR strategies when investing in developing countries, particularly those that have undertaken restorative social justice programs such as Zimbabwe's Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policy. To do so, it is necessary to establish an understanding of developing countries and more specifically, look at their priorities and needs. This will assist in understanding the CSR strategies that are developed in response, not only to the legal obligations, but also global and local expectations.

For one to contextualise the role of business in developing nations, it is important to define the term developing countries and differentiate countries from those that are recognised as developed. Mullerat (2010:182) defines developing countries as those countries that are in the process of industrialisation and have less financial and infrastructural resources needed to address social, economic and environmental challenges such as poverty, unemployment, lack of health and sanitation as well as inadequate housing. These countries are characterised by low levels of industrialisation, personal incomes, education and health standards. In comparison to other countries, a developed country, as defined by the United Nations Developed Country List (2020), has an advanced economy and technologically sophisticated infrastructure as well as political stability, high per capita incomes, guaranteed security, high innovation and a higher level of exports than imports.

A more economic classification would be one that measures countries by capita gross national income (GNI) thereby grouping countries as high income, upper middle income, low middle income and low income. For example, countries with less than $1005 GNI per capita are regarded as low-income countries, while countries with a GNI per capita that is between $1006 and $3975, are considered lower middle-income countries.

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2020:164) states that on the recommendation of the UN's Committee for Development Policy, the Economic and Social Council determines the categorisation of the least developed countries (LDCs), which is then confirmed by the UN's General Assembly. This list includes countries that have a GNI of less than $1005 (Low-income countries) and Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) as determined by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Table 2.1 provides a list of countries that have been classified as developing countries by the United Nations based on the aforementioned criteria. Relevant to this study is the inclusion of Zimbabwe amongst the list of developing economies as illustrated below. These countries continue an uphill struggle to improve the lives of their citizens but often face what often seem like insurmountable challenges that hinder socio-economic progress.

Table 2.1. Developing economies by regions

Africa		Asia	Latin America and the Caribbean
North Africa	**Southern Africa**	**East Asia**[b]	**Caribbean**
Algeria	Angola	Brunei Darussalam	Bahamas
Egypt	Botswana	Cambodia	Barbados
Libya	Eswatini	China	Belize
Mauritania	Lesotho	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	Guyana
Morocco	Malawi	Fiji	Jamaica
Sudan	Mauritius	Hong Kong SAR[c]	Suriname
Tunisia	Mozambique	Indonesia	Trinidad and Tobago
Central Africa	Namibia	Kiribati	**Mexico and Central America**
Cameroon	South Africa	Lao People's Democratic Republic	Costa Rica
Central African Republic	Zambia	Malaysia	Cuba
Chad	Zimbabwe	Mongolia	Dominican Republic
Congo	**West Africa**	Myanmar	El Salvador
Equatorial Guinea	Benin	Papua New Guinea	Guatemala
Gabon	Burkina Faso	Philippines	Haiti
Sao Tome and Prinicipe	Cabo Verde	Republic of Korea	Honduras
East Africa	Côte d'Ivoire	Samoa	Mexico
Burundi	Gambia	Singapore	Nicaragua
Comoros	Ghana	Solomon Islands	Panama
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Guinea	Taiwan Province of China	**South America**
Djibouti	Guinea-Bissau	Thailand	Argentina
Eritrea	Liberia	Timor-Leste	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)
Ethiopia	Mali	Vanuatu	Brazil
Kenya	Niger	Viet Nam	Chile
Madagascar	Nigeria	**South Asia**	Colombia
Rwanda	Senegal	Afghanistan	Ecuador
Somalia	Sierra Leone	Bangladesh	Paraguay
South Sudan	Togo	Bhutan	Peru
Uganda		India	Uruguay
United Republic of Tanzania		Iran (Islamic Republic of)	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)
		Maldives	
		Nepal	
		Pakistan	
		Sri Lanka	
		Western Asia	
		Bahrain	
		Iraq	
		Israel	
		Jordan	
		Kuwait	
		Lebanon	
		Oman	
		Qatar	
		Saudi Arabia	
		State of Palestine	
		Syrian Arab Republic	
		Turkey	
		United Arab Emirates	
		Yemen	

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2020:166)

From an investment perspective, organisations are attracted to these developing countries because of the vast untapped natural resources, the rapidly expanding markets as well as the low cost of operations found in these areas (Ajayi, 2006:15; Goulbourne, 2003:4). MNCs operating in these countries quickly become significant conduits of socio-economic development as their investments are expected to improve the livelihoods of citizens. These organisations are expected to become partners of the country's governments in the developmental agenda.

Visser (2009:474) states that developing nations offer a distinct set of challenges that need to be addressed by organisations operating in them. These are distinctly different to the challenges faced by developed nations because of the glaring socioeconomic disparities. Developmental challenges form an integral part of the former as their priorities are focused more on social, economic and environmental matters.

2.5. Challenges and priorities that influence CSR practices in developing countries

Having discussed the nature of developing countries, an exploration of their challenges and priorities would offer MNCs a deeper understanding of what to expect when investing in these states and how do develop CSR strategies in response to these. The socioeconomic gap between developing and developed countries is palpable, and it brings with it a set of obstacles that organisations must be aware of in order to best integrate with such countries. This gulf between the developing and developed nations may continue if left unabated. In this context, non-state actors such as MNCs play a crucial role in countries' development efforts.

Businesses have, for an exceptionally long time, been seen as agents of development. What remains debatable is how big a role business should play in the development of the areas in which they operate. As a developmental agent, business not only holds the responsibility for job creation, their location and their quality but also the production of goods and services that suit the needs of and are available to the poor sections of society (Blowfield & Murray 2014:77). This is especially important to developing countries as businesses are recognised as pivotal players in the improvement of society.

Mullerat (2010:186) highlights that developing nations represent 80% of the world's population but only account for 20% of the world's gross domestic product. The World Bank (2020:28) estimates that approximately 9.2% of the global population live on less than US$1.90 per day. This amounts to 689 million people, most of whom reside in sub-Saharan Africa and South-East Asia, where many people live in rural areas and are highly dependent on agriculture.

The eradication of poverty is therefore viewed as a key priority for the world. In order to eradicate poverty, countries need to ensure that there is significant mobilisation of resources through enhanced developmental co-operation and accelerated focus on the policies that improve the lives of the households. Yonzan *et al*. (2020:par. 1) state that the World Bank estimates that when the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have been factored in, the global extreme poverty rate in 2030 will stand between 6.7% and 7% which equates to between 573 and 597 million people being regarded as poor. This is seen as a considerable setback in the fight against poverty as the pandemic is estimated to have created between 88 and 115 million new poor individuals, thereby settings poverty eradication goals back by six to seven years.

There may be no single solution to poverty eradication. It requires a collective effort from all players. With this in mind, a concerted effort from both government and the private sector has to be made to achieve even greater results. What is significant about the challenge of poverty is that it is a cycle that affects and is affected by other aspects of society as illustrated below in Figure 2.4.

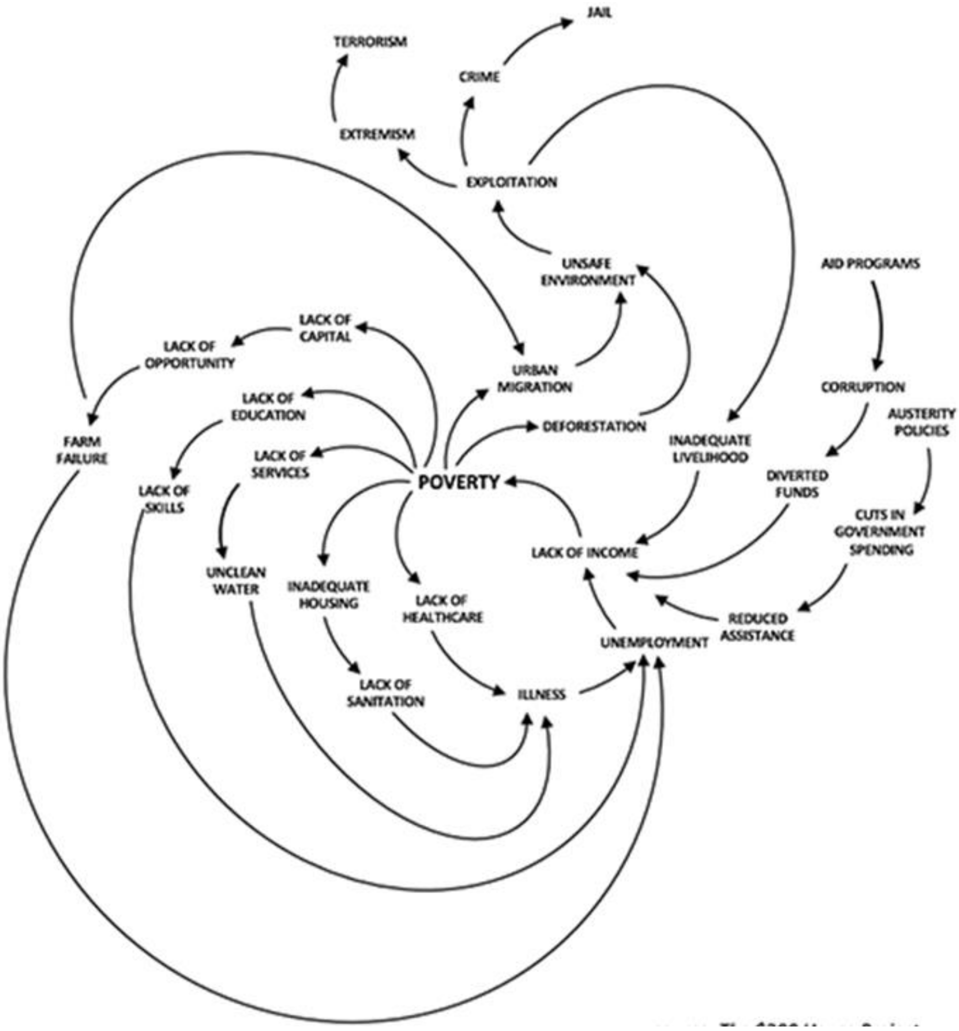

Figure 2.4. The ecosystem of poverty

Source: Sarkar (2015:77)

Sarkar (2015:77) found that poverty is caused by a range of issues that create a vicious cycle of failure and further suggests that these problems are all interrelated. As illustrated by the ecosystem of poverty, challenges experienced by poor countries make it exceedingly difficult to escape from it. These challenges, which include lack of healthcare, lack of capital, inadequate housing, lack of access to education and unemployment, all contribute to the cycle of poverty. Breaking the cycle of poverty is a complex process which requires a concerted effort from a number of social, economic and political players. Assistance may be sought from external funders like the World Bank, the African Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but this often comes with imposed ideas and or conditions. Sarkar (2015:74) also criticised aid programmes which he suggested did little to eradicate poverty especially in corrupt nations. The influx of aid into these countries may worsen the situation by creating distortions in the economy thereby increasing inequality and disturbing efforts towards real development.

Some of the worst affected countries are those in the ‘Third World’. These countries remain the most resource-rich nations on earth but sadly, their citizens do not always enjoy the benefits of investment in their areas. These nations suffer immensely from concerns such as low unemployment, inadequate housing, low per capita income, high birth rate leaving Kleinpenning and Reitsma (1985:214) to argue that these are interrelated, and all contribute to a vicious cycle of poverty as illustrated below. Poverty, according to Kleinpenning and Reitsma (1985), is a state of social deprivation that causes individuals to live in substandard conditions. It has a myriad of causes and consequences such as hunger, lack of access to health and sanitation, ecological degradation, and low productivity. Figure 2.5 compliments the argument presented by Sarkar and illustrates that the eradication of poverty is a complex endeavour which cannot be explained simplistically. According to Kleinpenning and Reitsma (1985:214) poor nations are trapped in a “complex web of interlocking vicious circles” which are very difficult to escape from.

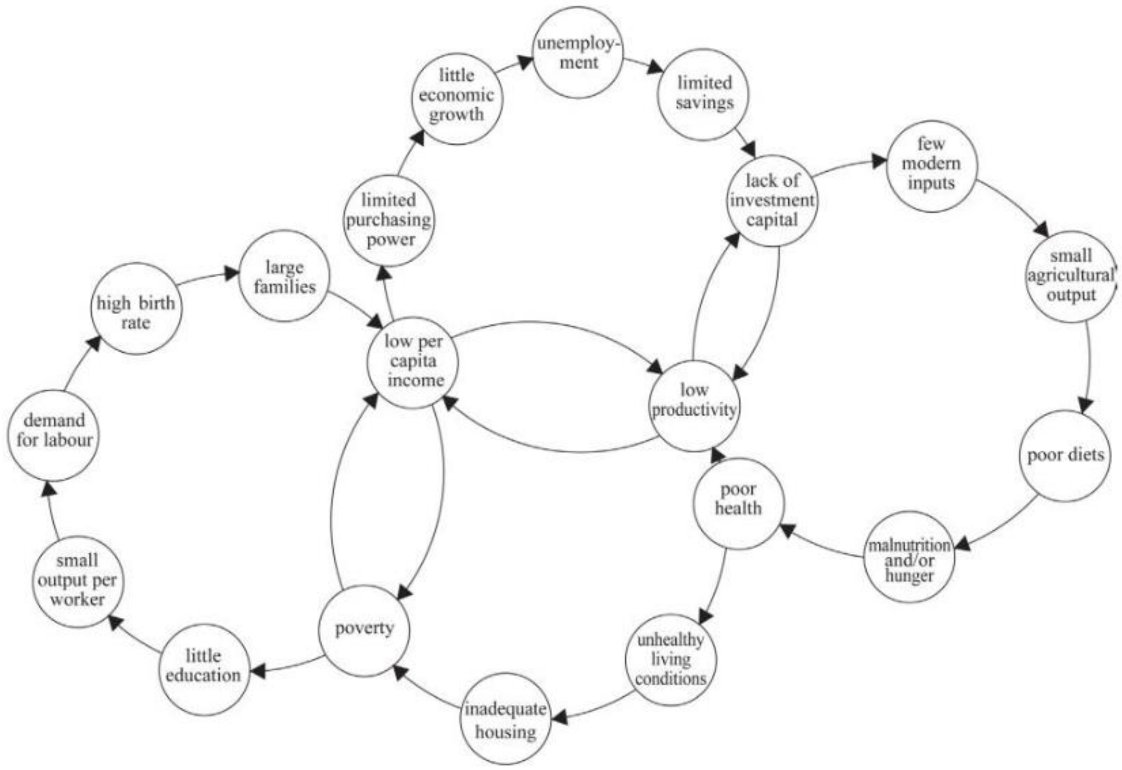

Figure 2.5. The poverty cycle

Source: Kleinpenning and Reitsma (1985:214)

Cizon (1966:84) describes the poverty cycle as “poverty that generates poverty” and the diagram above illustrates the difficulty of solving each problem in its singularity. Much effort is needed in identifying key issues and their consequences thereby affording developmental practitioners the capacity to enact meaningful roadmaps for the eradication of poverty. As such, empowering disadvantaged communities, many are those who live in the rural areas, may be important to the challenge. For example, Todaro and Smith (2009) describe African agriculture as being characterised by low output subsistence farming, primitive practices, shift cultivation and inadequate labour supply during the peak farming season. They also suggest that agriculture in Asia, for instance, is characterised by large numbers of people crowded onto too small pockets of land. Therefore, by developing rural infrastructure, improving access to capital and improving agricultural practices and technology, these communities are afforded a vital chance to improve their livelihood. This would consequently mitigate rural to urban migration and ease the pressure on towns and cities.

Developing countries also face challenges with the provision of quality education and skills development. UN estimates in 2018 showed that approximately 103 million youths across the world lack elementary literacy skills and of these, above 60% of them are women (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2018: par. 16). This is significantly detrimental to any socio-economic developmental effort. As a focus, the World Bank (2015) contends that “increased access to higher education is needed to achieve a productive, talented, diverse labour force and empowered citizenry”. This will see developing nations emerge from an economic quagmire that they face.

By ensuring that there is an adequate and attractive pool of skilled and knowledgeable labour, developing nations may find a way to escape the poverty trap. The World Bank (2015) estimates that in order to keep up with the pace of population growth, 600 million jobs will need to be created by 2030.

Despite major progress towards gender equality and the emancipation of women in recent years, some gaps still exist around the world as women continue to face difficulties. The world acknowledges gender inclusivity and the empowerment of women and girls and lays out formidable goals for the eradication of all types of abuse and harmful behaviours, boosting economic emancipation, access to resources and technology, and amplification of women's voices in decision-making (World Bank, 2016:10).

Developing countries need access to potable and affordable water as well as access to adequate sanitation. The UN Academic Impact (2015) notes that although there is an adequate supply of potable water on the globe, poor management and weak infrastructure have had a negative impact on water supply and quality, resulting in millions dying across the globe.

Driving economic development through industrialisation and modernisation is paramount to the development. The World Bank (2015:20) suggests that investments in telecommunication, energy, and transportation networks form the foundation for industrialisation, innovation and improved productivity especially in developing countries. Many of these countries find themselves stuck in sectors that may be characterised by low productivity such as subsistence farming and informal trading. However, for there to be meaningful economic development, it is imperative for these countries to shift towards high productive initiatives such as manufacturing, construction, trade and services.

Many developing countries are former colonies and are faced with socio-economic challenges that may have been created by the injustices of the past. Central to changing the socio-economic situation of its citizens, many of whom have been disadvantaged or marginalised by the legacies of colonial policies such as segregation, these countries are enacting policies that aim to address this. These countries believe that structural economic policies such as IEEP will help to strengthen citizen's participation and achieve social parity for their citizens (Social and Economic Empowerment, 2014).

The priorities for developing countries may be summarised under the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) as prescribed by the UN. These goals were agreed upon by UN member countries as a global guide to action for 15 years and replaced the Millennium Development Goals.

2.5.1. Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)

Adopted by the UN's 193 member states in September 2015, the SDGs are a set of goals designed to challenge and mobilise the global community towards providing a better and more sustainable future for its citizens. These goals represent a universal call to action that sets targets for global development through the eradication of poverty, the promotion of economic prosperity, the protection of the environment and the promotion of peace. The SDGS consist of 17 goals and are broken down into 169 targets. The 17 goals as presented in Figure 2.6 and represent an integration of effort that is needed to improve the lives of world's citizens. The 17 icons below characterise the coherence of economic growth, social development and environmental protection to achieve sustainability across the globe.

Figure 2.6. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals

Source: (UN.org, 2021)

The SDGs were drawn up as an expansion and follow up on previous developmental agendas including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that expired in 2015. Buhmann *et al*. (2019:390) state that while previous global declarations on sustainable development concentrated on governments, the SDGs were designed to be more innovative and inclusive by increasing the involvement of the corporate world through global partnerships. The MDG's had fallen short of achieving desired results and it was viewed that the SDGs would address critical elements more effectively. Critics of the MDGs suggest that they were not inclusively formulated, lacked specificity especially on issues such as gender equality poverty and hunger eradication. Funding for the MDGs was expected to flow from donor aid whereas the SDGs have focused on economic sustainability where countries have been challenged to improve their fiscal discipline and enhance their own revenue generating capabilities.

The MDGs also lacked the monitoring framework necessary for evaluation and accountability. With 169 targets and 230 indicators, the SDGs add a different dimension to monitoring and evaluation as part of the whole process. Despite these shortcomings, the MDGs did achieve some success and prepared the world for clearer, more concise, time bound and measurable goals. MacArthur and Rasmussen (2017: par.6) reported that the MDGs' successes included observed progress by low-income countries in areas of water and sanitation, child mortality and the expansion of HIV/AIDS and TB treatment.

The world has entered the last decade of the SDGs and with it comes increased interest and conviction to try to achieve them within the allotted time. Over these remaining ten years (aptly dubbed the decade of delivery) countries and organisations acknowledge the need to meaningfully invest in decisions which will culminate in positive SDG outcomes. They recognise that developing nations will require additional resources if these goals are to be achieved. As such, much effort is centred on the mobilisation of resources to assist these countries to ensure that no country is left behind.

Organisations, through their CSR initiatives, are well placed to assist governments, especially those in the developing world, to achieve these SDGs. These organisations may either provide governments with funds to support developmental projects or may elect to actively undertake their own initiatives, for example through building schools, clinics and roads.

Understanding the challenges and priorities that influence CSR practices in developing countries, the research is presented with a view of what needs to be considered by MNCs in the formulation of strategies. It is also worthwhile to compliment this with a thorough comprehension of the theories that influence these strategies.

2.6. CSR Theories

The difficulty in presenting an all-encompassing definition of CSR is exacerbated by the fact that the concept has theoretically metamorphosed with time as participants and the operating landscape have changed. This is emphasised by Garriga and Mele (2004:51) who contend that CSR as a discipline has evolved substantially and there are now a plethora of theories, practices, and terminologies to choose from. These theories have evolved significantly especially over the past five decades with theorists and academics such as Friedman, Jensen, Davis, Freeman, Visser, Carroll, Elkington and many others, all contributing towards the CSR book of knowledge. These theories can be categorised into four distinct classifications namely, instrumental, political, integrative and ethical as shall be discussed.

2.6.1. Instrumental theories

Within the instrumental theories, CSR is viewed as a strategic tool that organisations use to attain economic goals; that is, the maximisation of wealth for shareholders. One of the key proponents of the instrumental theories was Friedman (1970) who asserted that the only obligation of business towards society is profit maximisation within the confines of the legal and ethical expectations of the country. Some scholars such as McWilliams and Siegel (2001:119) suggest that for the maximisation of profits, organisations may need to allocate an adequate level of resources towards CSR. Lopez and Fornes (2015:6) suggest that these CSR initiatives help create a positive organisational image or reputation which helps generate investor interest, attract committed employees, clients and overall stakeholders' approval, all in support of the bottom line. This notion is evident in some of the approaches within the instrumental theories as organisations strategically manoeuvre themselves into positions of profit maximisation and competitive advantage through CSR activities.

2.6.1.1. Maximisation of shareholder value

This theory is underpinned by Friedman's thinking. According to Lee (2008:55) Friedman was in vehement opposition of CSR as an altruistic approach as he claimed that it placed an unreasonable and expensive burden on shareholders. According to Friedman (1970) social responsibility of business was to increase profit and therefore any action taken by the organisation should result in profit maximisation. This means that if anything, CSR should be seen as a tool that can be utilised by the organisation in pursuit of profit maximisation and not as an altruistic obligation to assist society. Even then, this should be done as a minimalistic aspect of the organisation's function. To this end, Garriga and Mele (2004:53) suggest that if any of these social demands accrue a cost to the organisation then they should be rejected.

Understandably, the interests of the investors may be focused towards deriving the highest yields or returns on their investments and this may be incongruous with societal needs or expectations. Friedman argued that the business was a legal and not a moral entity and with that came obligations to pay tax that government ought to use responsibly on social issues which include the development of society (Mertens, 2013:8). As Friedman (1970) put forward, organisations need to conform to the laws that govern their operations, and this includes paying taxes which subsequently cater for societal needs. Friedman (1993:60) suggests that maximising the shareholder value approach or theory, makes sense as this perspective already includes the moral obligations implicitly as the organisations are doing business "within the rules of the game". Lee (2008:55) states that one of the motives of Friedman's objection to CSR was that he foresaw the risk of investor funds being misappropriated by organisations in the name of CSR.

A modification of Friedman's approach was introduced by Jensen in 2001. Dubbed "enlightened value maximization", Jensen sought to explain that an organisation cannot purport to maximise value if any of its important stakeholders are overlooked or mistreated (Milosevic, 2017:9). This supports the claim that CSR may be used to support the process of enhancing shareholder value.

2.6.1.2. Strategies for achieving competitive advantage

Within the instrumental thinking also lies a mind-set which views CSR as a social investment targeted towards the achievement of competitive advantage. Porter and Krammer (2006:80) suggest that investing in philanthropic initiatives may be the best tool to advance the organisation's competitive edge and generally creating greater social value. Not only are consumers drawn to organisations that practice good CSR but so too are investors and employees. To illustrate the latter for example, Chodorek (2013:186) contends that "a socially responsible organisation (i.e., the one that supports local communities, makes effort for the natural environment protection or donates to charity) is more attractive from the perspective of talented employees". Porter and Krammer (2006:84) add that an organisation's CSR activities can contribute towards opportunities, innovation and competitive advantage and that it will achieve sufficient advantage by investing resources towards social projects. Barney (1991:69) adds that a socially responsible organisation may attain competitive advantage if the initiative may be described as valuable, unique, inimitable and organisational. In addition, when managed effectively, CSR programmes may produce significant benefits in terms of organisational reputation and shareholder value as well as improve employee motivation and loyalty (Sousa Filho *et al*., 2010:298).

From this, it is evident that participating in CSR, an organisation may achieve organisational or product differentiation which leads to better reputation. Organisational reputation and commitment may become a source of competitive advantage for a company using CSR as a differentiation tool. These CSR initiatives are able to deliver competences such as positive reputation and enhanced plan value identification which culminates in higher financial benefits for the organisation. CSR activities are thus seen as a means to an end.

2.6.1.3. Cause-related marketing

Yet another approach within the instrumental theories is cause-related marketing. According to Garriga and Mele (2004:55) "the goal of cause-related marketing is to enhance company revenue and sales or customer relationship by building the brand through the acquisition and association with the ethical dimensions or social responsibility dimensions". This is supported by Turker (2015:570) who acknowledges that cause-related marketing may be used as an instrument for the advancement of the organisation's performance by capitalising on its social engagement activities which subsequently may help build or improve corporate (or product) image and also generate direct profit during its involvement. With cause-related marketing, the organisation's participation in a particular campaign or cause is conducted in a way that will also generate favourable perceptions and subsequently improved income for the organisation.

Varadarajan and Menon (1988:60), who are amongst the earliest scholars of cause-related marketing, define it as the process of developing and deploying marketing initiatives that are distinguished by an organisation's promise to give a set amount to a recognised cause when consumers engage in profitable transactions which fulfil organisational and individual goals. It may be seen as a strategic partnership that benefits all parties involved. For example, the organisation benefits from increased brand awareness and revenue, whilst the recipients benefit from increased contributions and awareness of their cause. Barone *et al*. (2000:249) identify Reebok's collaboration with Amnesty International's "Human rights now" campaign as an example of cause-related marketing activity as the apparel manufacturer received significant social presence which translated to improved sales.

Lopez and Fornes (2013:224) found that instrumental theories of CSR are noticeably applicable to western MNCs that operate in developing countries as they practise these initiatives as strategic tools for the achievement of economic goals, seek positive relationships between them and their financial performance and use them to improve their reputation. These organisations use tools within the instrumental theory to meet their economic objectives and improve their reputation. Their focus is on implementing initiatives that may have an indirect positive impact on their financial performance.

Understanding these instrumental theories will assist in the identification of an organisation's motives for implementing CSR programmes. Scherer and Palazzo (2011:908) argue that CSR initiatives that are conducted by these organisations are rules driven; they take their motivation from adhering to the laws of the land, public policies and government regulations (Frederick, 1998:55). This narrows the range of CSR activities only to those that are expected of an organisation by law and those that are economically beneficial to it. As such, cues from MNCs that operate in countries that have implemented specific developmental policies may be identical. Their focus is on implementing initiatives that are prescribed and on those that may have a direct positive impact on their financial performance.

Türker (2015:570) argues that MNCs that "treat social and environmental values as means to maximise shareholders' wealth – not as ends in themselves – commits no wrong". This is because as Friedman (1970) believed that CSR should be tolerated as a means to an end, which is profit maximisation. Proponents of the instrumental theories strongly believe that organisations should only respond to social needs after the attainment of their economic interests. These organisations also realise that helping to resolve social challenges can be profitable for the business in the long run and that businesses can gain the trust of government if the engage in socially responsible behaviour (Türker, 2015:571).

Since CSR initiatives are seen by MMCs as strategic tools to achieve their economic objectives, they are usually quick to understand and simple to implement. These initiatives are generally inexpensive and not unique to the organisation (Van het Hof & Hostat, 2017:130). This also presents a challenge for the organisations as their CSR initiatives as susceptible to imitation by competitors thereby eroding any competitive advantage they may hope to have. Strategies that are supported by the political theories have also been criticised for being static and recognising achievements rather than an innovative inflexible process for continuous improvement (De Colle *et al*., 2014).

2.6.2. Political Theories

Organisations yield power within the communities where they ply their trade and as such have responsibilities towards these communities. Néron (2013:16) states that today's businesses are no longer spontaneous, purely private associative creatures. They are legal bodies that are subject to a variety of legal restrictions and have influence over human, financial, and epistemic resources, as well as critical decisions on how those resources and power are distributed. In addition, Scherer & Palazzo (2009:12) and Néron (2013:19) highlight that organisations ought to play a role in the reduction of economic inequality as well as in the social and environmental evolution. Three political approaches stand out, that is, corporate citizenship, corporate constitutionalism and integrative social contract.

2.6.2.1. Corporate constitutionalism

Corporate constitutionalism suggests that by virtue of its interaction with society, organisations often yield developmental power and authority and therefore have an inherent responsibility to act in a manner that is consistent with their situation. Davis (1960), one of the foremost champions of this theory, argues that businesses are social institutions that must utilise their authority responsibly. Considering the power they yield, organisations should accept any negative consequences of not utilising this authority. This is referred to as the iron law of responsibility. Davis (1960:63) posits that those who fail to act responsibly will lose their power and authority to groups that are willing step in to take over those duties. A good example of this school of thought are the American companies that agreed to abide by the Sullivan principles which were formulated to try to persuade the South African government to abandon its apartheid laws. MNCs such as Ford Motor Company, 3M, Caltex petroleum, IBM and General Motors Corporation all had a presence in South Africa as manufacturers and suppliers. These MNCs moved to lobby for significant political change. Through their operations, these organisations agreed to non-segregation at the workplace, equal pay as well as increased black participation in major managerial positions amongst other things (Larson, 2020:490). Through corporate constitutionalism, CSR is seen as a critical instrument in solving local and global challenges.

2.6.2.2. Integrative Social Contract Theory (ISCT)

Proposed by Donaldson and Dunfee (1994, 1999), this theory advocates that organisations have an implicit and voluntary social agreement with the community in which they operate. Integration involves a desire by the organisation to participate and essentially be a part of the society in which it operates. It involves respect for local norms and customs albeit within universally acceptable moral principles or hypernorms. This contract is formed on the basis that the organisation support development in that community. Klonoski (1991) confirms that the contract is not the kind of agreement that outlines the duties and rights of individuals and groups of society but refers to efforts of organisations to not only improve their profits but also national welfare.

Donaldson and Dunfee (1995:102) emphasise that in a social contract, each party is assumed to have expectations of maximising the benefits and minimising the negative impact of productive organisations. This is seen as a mutually beneficial and acceptable process which builds on the integrative approach.

Importantly, Donaldson and Dunfee (1995:93) explain that the organisation would wish to retain the right to select their own values to the maximum extent possible and that they would desire to participate in economic initiatives that reflect their values. Smith (2000:33) found that although ISCT may be viewed as an alternative approach, it is perhaps better considered as complimentary. Its strength lies in its normative legitimisation of the relevance of community norms, the requirements on a thin set of universal standards and its procedure for resolving conflict across communities as stipulated by Smith (2000:33).

The theory emphasises the importance of attaining organisational goals without violating observed customs and norms. To this end, ISCT would be ideal for emerging economies where organisations are able to divert scarce resources to their highest valued use, where government is limited to its efficient end and where private property rights and contracts between individual decision makers are enforced in an unbiased manner (Dunfee, 2006).

2.6.2.3. Corporate citizenship

In today's world, organisations are increasingly expected by citizens to take up political responsibilities bestowed upon them because societal needs cannot be satisfied by national institutions alone. From this, it is assumed that organisations ought to assist governments to remedy societal ills. Garriga and Mele (2004:58) argue that organisations are gradually entering the realm of government in the protection of citizens' welfare. Garriga and Mele (2004:58) further state that "this view arises from the fact that some corporations have gradually come to replace the most powerful institution in the traditional concept of citizenship, namely government". This interpretation is supported by Matten and Crane (2005:172) who state that this applies more towards developing nations where MNCs are anticipated more than ever to fill the vacuum left by inefficient or "defunct" governments. Jones *et al*. (2007:111) add that "the sheer scale of the multinationals and their comparative organisation in often badly served (by national government) regions of underdeveloped countries makes them significant players in local development". Corporate citizenship is thus the means by which organisations take up the social and political role within a given locality. Corporate citizenship, according to the World Economic Forum (2003), is the commitment an organisation provides to society through its main business operations, social investment, philanthropic initiatives, and public policy participation. The organisation's impact is defined by how it handles its economic, social and environmental interactions with various stakeholders.

Altman (1999:43) believes that corporate citizenship is best understood through nine elements as listed below:

i. "Moral and ethical obligations of the organisation;

ii. Provides economic benefit;

iii. Integration, common goals between the organisation and its community;

iv. Responsibility to stakeholders;

v. Includes proactive action;

vi. Partnerships across sectors;

vii. Global interconnectedness;

viii. Protects natural environment and

ix. Active leadership".

These elements help to broaden the scholarly comprehension of corporate citizenship. Corporate citizenship involves companies understanding their position as active citizens. Their corporate citizenship actions legitimise to a large extent their existence. Scholars such as Suchman (1995:575) highlight that an organisation's legitimacy is highly dependent on its interaction with society. The author states that legitimacy influences not just how society behaves towards an organisation, but also how they perceive it. To be deemed legitimate, an organisation must ensure that its objectives, methods of operation, and results are consistent with the legitimacy requirements and expectations of the community in which it operates.

Furthermore, legitimacy improves the organisation's competitiveness, helps it to exert its authority as well as improve its social standing. To this end, Suchman (1995:577) identified three forms of organisational legitimacy to support his claim. These are pragmatic legitimacy, moral legitimacy and cognitive legitimacy.

2.6.2.3.1. Pragmatic legitimacy

Pragmatic legitimacy refers to the "self-interested calculations of an organisation's most immediate audiences" (Suchman, 1995:578). Pragmatic legitimacy is derived from the community by means of assessment of the organisation's actions and commitment to resolve societal challenges. Gardberg and Fombrun (2006:330) suggest that because business has a global reach and effect, organisations are under increasing pressure from communities to establish citizenship incentives that produce value not just for shareholders but for the various stakeholders who are impacted by the organisation's operations.

Active participation in citizenry/citizenship may be beneficial to the business as this may earn the organisational reputational capital within the community. Vidaver-Cohen and Brønn (2008:450) assert that citizenship activities can also provide a competitive advantage to organisations within industrial sectors facing legitimacy challenges as a whole. To earn pragmatic legitimacy, Vidaver-Cohen and Brønn (2008:446) posit that organisations need only satisfy the expectations of certain stakeholders, regardless of whether these interests and are shared by society as a whole. Van der Aart (2015:13) states that an organisation may target certain sections of society through strategic public relations, advertising or publicity thereby improving its image to exactly how it wants to be perceived. In so doing, the organisation is able to manipulate societal perceptions through pragmatic representation. These efforts have the potential to generate intangibles that assist organisations in overcoming nationalistic obstacles, facilitating globalisation, and outperforming local competitors (Gardberg & Fombrun, 2006:330).

2.6.2.3.2. Moral legitimacy

Moral legitimacy is determined by an organisations ability to conform to societal expectations in light of prevailing values. Suchman (1995:579) states that "it rests not on judgments about whether a given activity benefits the evaluator, but rather on the judgment about whether the activity is the right thing to do". These values are not only localised to the communities in which the organisation trades but is influenced by intentional corporate citizenship initiatives set up by institutions such as the United Nations and the World Economic Forum.

According to Ruef and Scott (1998:878) moral legitimacy can be realised through the application of generalised social norms with regards to (occupational and professional standards". The actions of the organisation must thus be deemed to be morally good. Any organisation whose actions do not conform to societal values will lose trust and endanger his own operations.

2.6.2.3.3. Cognitive legitimacy

Scott (1995:81) describes cognitive legitimacy as generally accepted ideas and taken for grantedness that serve as a basis for daily routines, as well as the more sophisticated, definitive, and codified expertise and belief systems promoted by several professional and academic institutions. The organisation quickly learns its role within the rules of action provided by society. Suchman (1995:582) moots the idea that the public's approval is required and unavoidable based on comprehensibility and taken for grantedness. Put simply, an organisation may achieve cognitive legitimacy if it complies with stakeholder expectations. This is achieved when stakeholders cannot imagine a viable alternative to the organisation as explained by Van der Aart (2015:10).

This approach seems to overlap with other theories depending on the manner in which it is understood and defined by the initiators. Cognitive legitimacy is attained over time, by first achieving pragmatic and moral legitimacy. This means that an organisation may first need to bear pragmatic and moral legitimacy before attaining cognitive legitimacy.

Political theories and approaches support the intentional and unintentional political influence that organisations have on society. That is to say, non-state actors such as MNCs play a role as partners in the development of the countries in which they operate. "Political CSR encompasses activities whereby CSR is a deliberate attempt to usurp government regulation, CSR related activities that are geared solely towards responding to government policy and also CSR related activities where firms recognise their impact on society and their social responsibilities in a way that has a clear impact on regulation, even though this may not be the intended aim of the activity" (Frynas & Stephens, 2015:486). Not only do MNCs assist in the provision of community amenities such as schools, roads and clinics which are normally considered as the responsibility of the state (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005) but they also play a role in respecting and defending human rights as well as strengthening the country's global standing. As global players who benefit from international opportunities, MNCs are inclined to favour policies that support an open world economy. Thus, MNCs are more attuned or comfortable to operate in countries that have the least operational risk and to deal with governments who are receptive partners in the global developmental agenda.

MNCs that adopt political theories tend to generate less revenue than organisations that pursue other approaches as argued by Whelan (2012:712). This is because the MNC is seen as paying more attention to its political responsibility than its shareholder obligations. In addition, in as much as the MNC sees itself playing a positive role in assisting the development of the country, some governments may not take kindly to their authority being usurped. Osuagwu and Obumneke (2013:362) assert that because of their financial strength, the balance of power often appears to be firmly and unfairly tilted in favour of the MNC, leading the host governments to feel threatened by the loss of control while the MNC believes that they are doing the right thing. Organisations that adopt political theories are accepted as an integral part of the community and therefore their contribution towards public interest is both welcome and legitimised. However, this contribution to society may be seen as detrimental to national development as it may encourage a sense of entitlement from society and allow government to renege on their public responsibility or developmental agenda. As a result, Whelan (2012:721) suggests that because of the obvious risk involved, investors may be less willing to invest heavily in MNCs that adopt a political approach to CSR.

Nevertheless, MNCs that develop strategies around political theories are assured of improved reputation and enhanced legitimacy. These MNCs encourage governments and other industry players to implement improved methods of operations as well as robust standards of conduct, all of which are beneficial to the development of the country.

2.6.3. Integrative theories

Integrative theories concentrate on how organisations accommodate societal demands into their operations. According to Garriga and Mele (2004:58) the approaches linked to integrative thinking concentrate on detecting and scanning societal needs, as well as responding to them, in order to gain social legitimacy, higher social acceptability, and prestige. Three issues are identified within this approach.

2.6.3.1. Issue management

Issue management is a theory that confines CSR to a tool used by organisations as an antidote for corporate malaise or reputational damage. Issue management is defined by Wartick and Rude (1986:124) as identifying, evaluating, and responding to social and political issues that affect an organisation significantly. According to Renfro (1993:107), the overarching objective of issue management is to improve the organisation's present and long-term performance and status by predicting change, encouraging opportunities, and avoiding and mitigating risks. This approach was discussed increasingly in the 1970s by scholars such as Sethi (1975:63), who argued that organisations are required to foresee changes and to implement policies and initiatives that will reduce the negative effects of their current or future operations before such effects reach unsustainable levels and become triggers for another wave of anti-business demonstrations.

Initially discussed in isolation, this approach has broadened its scope to incorporate social responsiveness. Ali (2008: par. 10) explains that social responsiveness dictates that organisations "should not only respond to current stakeholders' norms and expectations but also rethink the long-term consequences of their actions, be proactive in anticipating social changes and emerging legal pressures and be attentive and receptive to ecological and human rights and concerns of citizens."

This approach is often beneficial to the organisation as it helps to clarify its own perspective on issues thereby showing positive results or progress made. The organisation is therefore able to self-evaluate as well as give key stakeholders a realistic view of the situation.

2.6.3.2. Stakeholder management

An economic perspective of the term stakeholders shows that these are groups or individuals that are key to the operational success of the organisation including employees, suppliers, customers and relevant government departments to name but just a few. Figure 2.7 below illustrates some of an organisation's stakeholders. The model is based on the ability to recognise and comprehend the role of stakeholders as drivers in the organisation's development and to acknowledge their contribution to value creation as well as the symbiotic dependence of all players. These players, according to Ackermann and Eden (2011:179) "affect" and "are affected" by the organisations and therefore form an integral part of its operations.

Figure 2.7. Organisational stakeholders

Source: Adopted from Freeman (1984:55)

Freeman (1984:46) presented a broader view and described a stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives or in pursuit of set goals". The premise of the term stakeholder lies in the word "stake" which denotes that the individual or group has a vested interest in the organisation, and this may be lost if not protected. As such, other groups may be considered as stakeholders, too. These may include competitors, the media, activists, and financial institutions.

Stakeholder management dictates that the organisation has a responsibility or mandate to participate in the creation or fulfilment and sustainability of moral relationships with all its stakeholders. In that way, all decisions that are made by the organisation must pass a stern test of pacifying the needs of at least multiple stakeholders whilst contributing towards its own economic objectives. To be effective, the organisation may seek to formulate CSR strategies which would deal with multiple stakeholders concurrently. For example, an environmental policy may sufficiently address issues brought up by various stakeholders. By tackling this environmental issue, the organisation is able to gain the respect and support of other stakeholders. Furthermore, multiple stakeholder engagement increases commitment and helps keep all players connected.

2.6.3.3. Corporate Social Performance (CSP)

Carroll (1979) is often credited with introducing CSP as a CSR approach. Carroll believed that in order to define social responsibility adequately, it should address the full range of societal responsibilities that organisations have, as well as include the economic, legal, ethical and discretionary aspects of their performance (Garriga & Mele, 2004:60). Carroll proposed the combination of three elements into CSP, namely, CSR, social issues and corporate social responsiveness.

Wood (1991:693), one of the key advocates of CSP, defines the approach as a combination of an organisation's social responsibility beliefs, social responsiveness procedures, guidelines, activities and appreciable results as they pertain to the organisation's social relationships. Wood (1991:693) expands that CSP analyses the extent to which values of social responsibility inspire an organisation's actions, the extent to which it uses socially responsive procedures, the existence and content of policies and programmes intended to handle an organisation's social relationships and influences.

Turban and Greening (1997:658) add that CSP is a construct that emphasises an organisation's responsibilities to the needs of various stakeholders "such as employees and the community at large". A simpler definition describes CSP as the degree to which an organisation's actions honour ethical principles that respect individuals, communities and nature.

Carroll's three-dimensional conceptual model captured the scholarly minds of Miles (1987), Ullmann (1985), Warlick and Cochran (1985) and Wood (1991) and from it grew the CSP approach that is widely used. Warlick and Cochran (1985) modified the concept to include dimensions of principles, processes and policies.

Lee (2008:60) notes that the most important contribution of Carroll's approach is that it does not treat the economic and social goals of organisations as competing but instead views them as integrated elements of social responsibility of business that include economic, legal, ethical and discretionary obligations. CSP bears strategic importance to any organisation that wishes to adopt it. Their approach helps improve stakeholder engagement resulting in employee motivation customer satisfaction and loyalty as well as a "license to operate" from local communities. Opportunities realised from CSP are therefore significant and worthwhile.

Integrative theories concentrate on the integration of economic, ecological and social value creation. These theories focus on creating shared value with the understanding that an organisation operating in a developing country will look to combine its financial interests with societal demands (Dyllick & Muff, 2016:6). An organisation that embraces the integrative theories will not emphasise one performance measure over another (Gao & Bansal, 2013:244), and will not retreat from its social responsibilities during times of "recession or in anticipation of economic difficulties" (Heikkurinen, 2018:398). Therefore, the manner in which an MNC discharges itself especially during a host nation's social transformation or economic distress, illustrates its commitment to the integrative theories.

The integrative theory inspired organisations seek a collaborative approach which on its own is a great strength. MNCs that do well by being good corporate citizens are more likely to adopt a cooperative strategic posture and strive for innovation in a transformative and flexible manner compared to organisations that are just required to do well (Mosca & Civera, 2017:22). As such, a MNC operating in a developing country will look to use local suppliers thereby contributing to the socioeconomic welfare of the communities and earn itself an improved reputation.

The more these activities are related to and consistent with the organisation's core business, the more the CSR approach can be considered integrated. A challenge however exists in that employees, suppliers and investors need to be fully cognisant of the organisation strategy and be able to implement it in a manner that builds and maintains a symbiotic partnership.

2.6.4. Ethical theories

The fourth set of theories as proposed by Garriga and Mele (2004:60) address the ethical responsibilities that strengthen the bond between business and society. The proposed theories are grounded on the idea of doing what is right for society. Ransome and Sampford (2010:57) assert that "ethical theories aim to guide practical action prescriptively by telling us what is good and bad, right and wrong and what we ought to do". The theories challenge profit maximisation narratives by asserting that organisations should view themselves in a more social context and take the norms and values of society into consideration. They provide guidance for organisational behaviour; setting principles, values and goals for the moral resolution of societal engagement as described by the examples below.

2.6.4.1. Normative stakeholder theory

Although stakeholder management has been discussed within the integrative theories, it has also become a crucial element within the ethical thinking as scholars have argued that it holds a normative element. This theory is seen as a crucial augmentation to stakeholder thinking and recognises the intrinsic value of stakeholders. Donaldson and Preston (1995:74) declared that it is "these moral values and applications that gives stakeholder management its fundamental normative base". This means that even within the stakeholder approach, organisations have a moral obligation to consider the interests of stakeholders. According to Donaldson and Preston (1995:67), the stakeholder theory contains a normative foundation based on two key principles. Firstly, Donaldson and Preston (1995:67) define stakeholders as individuals or groups who have a legitimate interest in the organisation's operations regardless of whether it has a corresponding functional interest in them. Secondly, the authors emphasised that the interests of all stakeholders are of intrinsic value. This means that each stakeholder group deserves its own appreciation, not just for its potential to advance the interests of another group.

Freeman (1984:25) is credited with introducing the discussion around the stakeholder approach describing stakeholders as any individuals or groups or who can affect or be affected by the attainment of the organisation's goals. Furthermore, Evan and Freeman (1988:97) argue that each stakeholder group has the right to be considered not as a means to an end but rather as an end. As such each stakeholder group should have an active responsibility in determining the path of the organisation. The normative stakeholder theory falls within the ethical theories as noted by Donaldson and Preston (1995:68). These authors states that normative stakeholder theory expects the organisation to do (or not to do) something "because it is the right (or wrong) thing to do".

This theory, with its ethical influence, dictates prescribed obligations upon the organisation. Moreover, it clarifies any previously held beliefs about the stakeholder approach, which is both descriptive and hypothetical on its own.

2.6.4.2. Universal rights approach

The universal rights approach is built upon the principle of human rights as addressed in documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations (UN) Global Compact and the Global Sullivan Principles (Cassel, 2001:261; Garriga & Mele, 2004:83; Welford, 2002:4). These documents and many others like them, discuss the fact that although organisations generally contribute towards development through the creation of employment, paying taxes and the transfer of technology and skills, they may also instigate structural violence, poor labour conditions and destruction of the environment and, in so doing, effectively become barriers to sustainable development (Lozano & Prandi, 2005:184).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights were adopted by the United Nations in 1948 to recognise individuals "rights to an adequate standard of living, social security, the rights to work and just and favourable conditions of work, and the rights to education, equality and non-discrimination in addition to traditional civil and political rights" (Welford, 2002:4). These principles are considered to be very important by countries and organisations and have been used as appropriate motivation for social and economic development.

The UN Global Compact was initiated by the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2000. The ten principles of the UN Global Compact seek to give guidelines upon which organisations may conduct their business. The UN Global Compact has since become the largest voluntary corporate responsibility initiative. The principles (see Figure 2.8 below) streamline the broader UN ideals towards a CSR focus and advocate that organisations commit themselves to ensuring that their operations and strategies assist in the development and advancement of human rights, good labour practices and environmental protection.

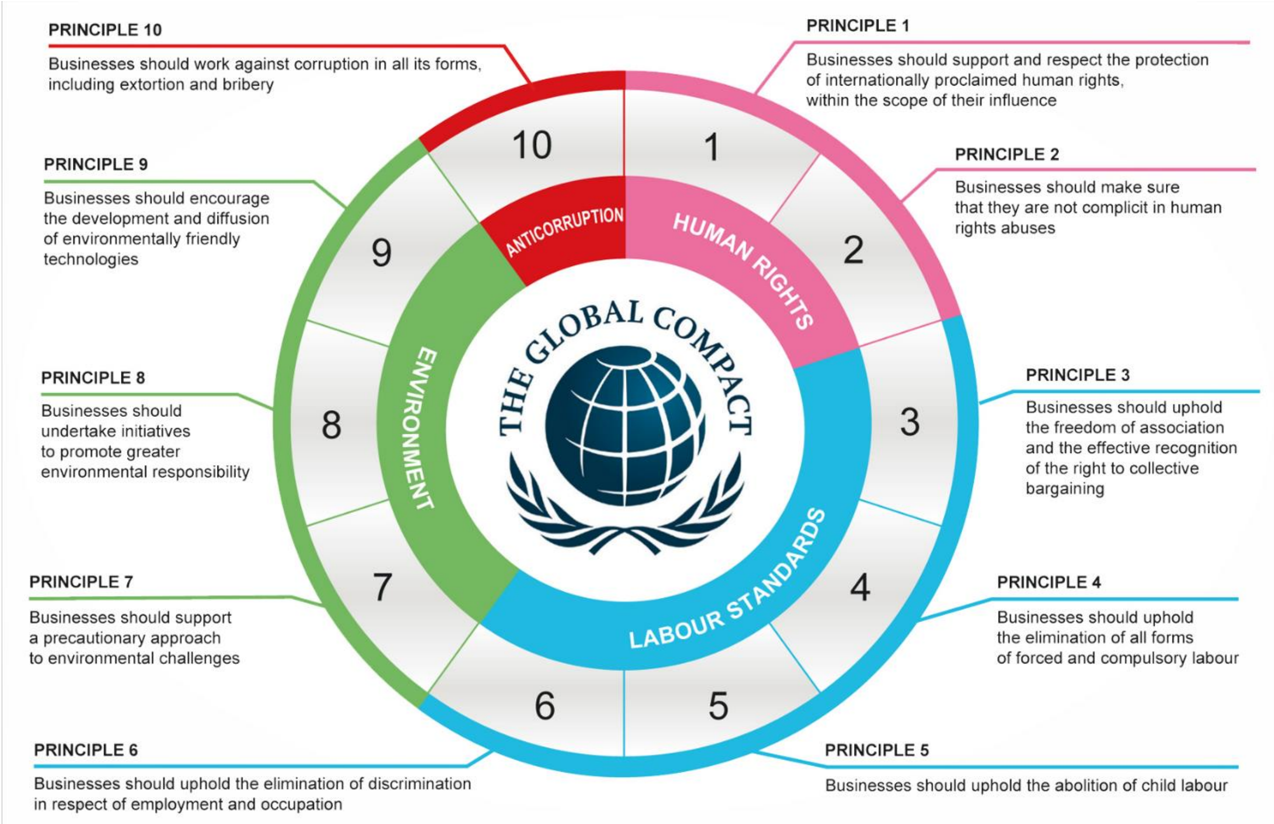

Figure 2.8. The 10 principles of the UN Global Compact

Source: (unglobalcompact.org)

There are more than 16 000 signatories and participants to the Global Compact, with notable inclusions such as Bayer AG, Atlas Corporation, World Vision, Anheuser-Busch InBev, Starbucks and many other organisations including municipalities, public sector organisations and universities. These organisations commit to ensuring that their operations are guided by universally acceptable principles.

Organisations are seen as conduits of globalisation and, as such, have the responsibility to ensure that their actions benefit economies and societies everywhere. Common aims such as market development, anti-corruption initiatives, environmental protection, and tackling inequality have resulted in unprecedented open collaborations between industry, governments, civil society, labour, and the United Nations (Ismail, 2009:206).

The Global Sullivan Principles, which were presented in 1999, are another example of universal guidelines adopted by the corporate world. Under the Global Sullivan Principles (1999: par. 1), endorsing organisations pledge to “support economic, social and political justice by companies where they do business, to support human rights and to encourage equal opportunity at all levels of employment, including racial and gender diversity on decision making committees and boards; to train and advance disadvantaged workers for technical, supervisory and management opportunities, and to assist with greater tolerance and understanding among people thereby helping to improve the quality of life for communities, workers and children with dignity and equality". These principles were introduced as an expansion of the original Sullivan principles that were signed in 1977 and are intended to be a catalyst and compass for CSR and human rights. Signatories to the Global Sullivan Principles (1999: par. 4) consented to implementing the below actions:

- "Express our support for universal human rights and, particularly, those of our employees, the communities within which we operate, and parties with whom we do business.
- Promote equal opportunity for our employees at all levels of the company with respect to issues such as colour, race, gender, age, ethnicity or religious beliefs, and operate without unacceptable worker treatment such as the exploitation of children, physical punishment, female abuse, involuntary servitude, or other forms of abuse.
- Respect our employees' voluntary freedom of association.
- Compensate our employees to enable them to meet at least their basic needs and provide the opportunity to improve their skill and capability in order to raise their social and economic opportunities.
- Provide a safe and healthy workplace; protect human health and the environment; and promote sustainable development.
- Promote fair competition including respect for intellectual and other property rights, and not offer, pay or accept bribes.
- Work with government and communities in which we do business to improve the quality of life in those communities - their educational, cultural, economic and social well-being - and seek to provide training and opportunities for workers from disadvantaged backgrounds.
- Promote the application of these principles by those with whom we do business".

These principles may be described as a global code of conduct whose application is intended to "facilitate greater tolerance and better understanding among those who apply them and to advance a culture of peace" (Global Sullivan Principles, 1999: par. 2). It is also worthwhile to note that following the relative success of the 1977 Principles, the Global Sullivan principles have contributed significantly towards the CSR construct.

Other instruments that are noteworthy within this approach include the Caux Principles for Business (1994), the Global Reporting Initiative (1997), the 1999 Principles for Global Corporate Responsibility: benchmarks, social accountability 8000 (SA8000). These human-rights-based approaches for corporate responsibility help ensure uniformity in the way organisations operate across the globe, especially with regards to human rights, labour and the environment.

The universal rights approach highlights the need for organisations to respect the global economic, social and environmental standards and expectations. This approach illustrates organisations' impact on society and confirms the ethical expectations placed on them by different custodians of human rights. Although governments bear the primary role of enforcing global human rights, there is an increasing expectation and recognition that organisations ought to play a role as well.

2.6.4.3. Sustainable development and Triple Bottom-line

The sustainable development and triple bottom-line is yet another ethical approach. According to the Brundtland Report (1987), sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland and World Council on Environment and Development 1987:8). The ultimate goal of sustainable development is to achieve indissoluble growth which takes socio-economic concerns into consideration.

The World Business Council for Sustainable Development (2002:2) suggests that sustainable development necessitates the integration of social, environmental, and economic factors in order to make long-term decisions that are balanced. Elkington (1998) expounded on this by introducing the Triple Bottom-line. He explains that the evolution of sustainable development to incorporate the Triple Bottom-line (TBL) means that organisations are concerned with the expansion of the environmental agenda in a manner that incorporates economic and social factors.

Sustainability forms the core of TBL, an approach that was introduced by Elkington in 1994. As an ethical behaviour, TBL reflects the trinity of sustainable development, incorporating social, economic and environmental considerations into organisational performance (see Figure 2.9 below). This model encapsulates the interconnectedness of environmental, social and economic elements to which sustainability remains the overall objective (Elkington, 1998:70)

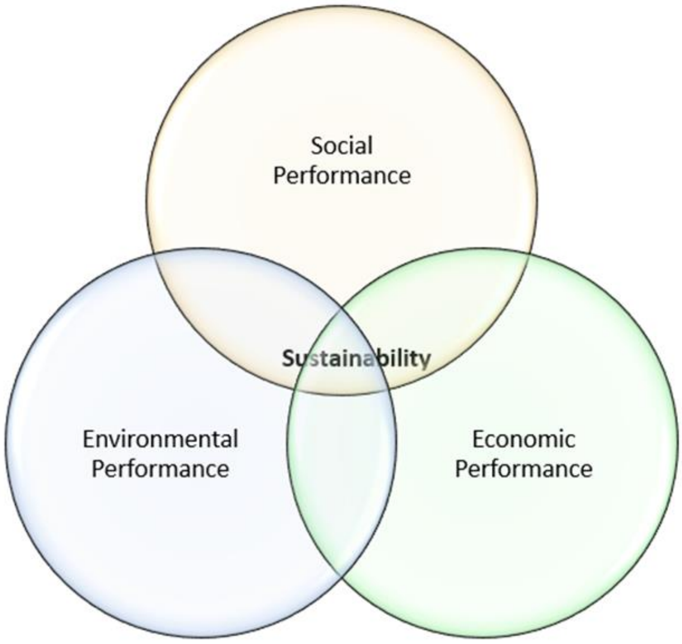

Figure 2.9. Triple Bottom-line: Trinity of sustainable development

Source: (Elkington 1998:70)

The economic element pertains to the impact of the organisation's operations on the economy and its ability to contribute towards growth, development and sustainability. The social dimension refers to conducting beneficial and fair business practices to labour, human capital and to the community (Elkington, 1998). The environmental element of TBL urges organisations to make sure that their operations do not negatively impact the environment. It is concerned with the efficient usage of non-renewable resources, reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and minimising the environmental impact of operations (Goel, 2010).

Paramount to sustainable development and TBL is the social accounting reporting which informs all stakeholders on the accomplishment of an organisation's CSR goals on environmental, social and economic issues. An example of an organisation that has embraced sustainable development and TBL as a strategic part of its operations is The Body Shop. The natural cosmetics retailer is in the forefront of sustainable actions such as sustainable water usage, reduced energy consumption, responsible waste management as well as involvement of local communities in the sourcing of inputs. Its growing reputation attracts conscientious consumers, investors and job seekers who are attracted to organisations that place sustainability at the centre of their operations.

This approach builds confidence and benchmarks performance. Ultimately, stakeholders are able to digest essential reports of an organisation's performance. With this in mind, any organisation that recognises the importance of sustainable development and TBL is set to reap considerable benefits such as improved financial performance, reduced cost, enhanced reputation as well as loyalty from customers and other stakeholders.

2.6.4.4. The common good approach

The common good approach to CSR maintains that organisations, as members of society, must contribute towards the common good as they are a part of it (Garriga & Mele, 2004:62). It considers what is good for all members of society simultaneously and cannot be determined by what is acceptable for a few or even for just the majority.

Argandoña (1998:1095) argues that common good is not simply the sum of interests and "cannot be defined in statistical terms, or in terms of a country's wealth, or the volume of public and private goods and services available to its citizens, or the level of consumption". It is a societal condition which results from a collective or unifying principle. Zamagni (2020:55) argues that within the common good approach, the benefit an individual derives from being a member of a given community cannot be separated from that which other people benefit. As such, any organisation that utilises the common good approach to CSR ought to ensure that those actions benefit all members of society.

Although this approach resembles the stakeholder approach and sustainable development, its philosophical base is different, as argued by Garriga and Mele (2004:62). It is derived from classic Western philosophy as well as Christian social doctrine and is seen as a positive contributor to society. Some scholars argue that even though the notion is grounded in Western philosophy, it may be likened to the Japanese ideology of Kyosei and the Southern African concept of Ubuntu or Unhu. These ideologies can best be defined as the spirit of togetherness, living and working together for the common good.

An organisation that accepts to be guided by the common good approach must practice fairness, avoid both repression and mistreatment, as well as consider the motivational structure of each member of a given community. An example of a common good initiative would be the universal provision of water to the communities.

Although ethical theories may be regarded as rigid, they are seen as purposeful and influential in determining and guiding CSR practices. They deal with duties that govern the behaviour of organisations and upon which CSR practices may be used as an engagement tool. From a global perspective, ethical theories provide uniformity and structure in the manner which organisations interact with society across the world.

These theories or approaches are grounded in mandatory and moral compliance. In this respect, MNCs operating in a developing country may be committed to a rigid adherence to obligation, duties and rights. Any actions beyond this will be guided by moral discretion as asserted by Windsor (2006:99) who further states that society still expects the MNC to operate ethically beyond mandatory legal compliance. It is therefore important for the MNC to appreciate all the legal requirements set by the host country as well as understand both international, and local moral standards, patterns or expectations.

Ethically sound organisations are more likely to attract like-minded investors, customers and employees, who are determined to drive global sustainability and human rights. Nicolaides (2018:290) argues that an organisation that operates "ethically is differentiated from others by the public at large well and is able to gain a strategic competitive advantage in the marketplace by not only communicating its values to its stakeholders but also by its actual behaviour".

Ethical theories are conscious of the responsibility of an organisation in the attainment of social justice. As such, by attracting the right employees, an MNC operating in a country that has enacted an economic empowerment policy, is able to play a meaningful role in the transformation agenda.

For the MNC to maintain an ethical perspective, it needs to ensure that all its operations adhere to local and international standards as already mentioned. In addition, employees, investors and suppliers need to be conscious that, by virtue of being intrinsically connected with the organisation, they too remain under considerable CSR scrutiny. This puts pressure on stakeholders to maintain high ethical standards. This may also present a challenge to the organisation and its stakeholders as the latter may not be able to maintain the standards expected by the MNC which, as an international player, is already held to strict global standards. It, however, presents these stakeholders the opportunity to improve their standards and operations. This pressure that is placed on stakeholders may therefore have a positive impact on the development of the country if these CSR initiatives are implemented successfully.

A comparison of these theories illustrates the differences in opinions in the meaning of CSR. Organisations, scholars and practitioners understand the concept from different perspectives and from different contexts. As demonstrated, CSR may mean the legal obligation to society; ethical social behaviour; opportunity to influence social, economic and political issues; or the altruistic desire to assist in the development of communities. These theories are concepts which guide CSR strategy. They form the framework upon which organisations develop this strategy. According to Garriga and Mele (2004:52) these CSR theories maybe summarised as the "adoption to the environment (related to resources and economics), goal attainment (related to politics) social integration and pattern maintenance or latency (related to culture and values)".

It may be difficult to accurately identify the theory that defines an MNC's actions because most CSR efforts are organised around a specific circumstance, national environment or context; nonetheless, a pattern may be established over a lengthy period, exposing the organisation's real nature and interests. In the mining industry, for instance, the actions of an organisation that continues to handle its waste management recklessly, are more rooted in instrumental theory. Brin and Nehme (2019:22) argue that these organisations typically enforce CSR in a way that reflects only their shareholders' interests and ignores their community's interests.

Vogel (2005:5) asserts that organisations do not always practise consistent moral behaviour and may behave better in some countries than in others depending on the local situation and expectations. Accordingly, Parson (1961) asserts that in a host country, an MNC may accept a particular theoretical position but make variations according to changing circumstances within the parameters of the fundamental structure. A juxtaposition of MNCs' strategies at home and abroad is therefore important for a study such as this.

The contextualisation of theory into strategy offers guidance and meaning to CSR implementation. These theories provide ideas and inspiration to CSR practitioners. The selected theory should resonate with the organisation's vision and be responsible for its values and behaviour. The different approaches from these theories offer valuable arguments to explain and evaluate CSR strategy. From these, an organisation is thus able to formulate and implement CSR strategies that are clear, focused and consistent. It is, however, difficult to validate the success of a particular theory in its entirety, but practitioners may find relevance in certain aspects of it. Regardless, these CSR theories strengthen the concept and outline the need for organisations to pay attention to extramural obligations.

Arguably, CSR theories share certain similar features and characteristics. These theories have similar objectives that is, to improve understanding and innovate approaches that will contribute to the better economic performance, environmental sustainability and social cohesion with all stakeholders. Importantly, only through an in-depth understanding of the available theories can an organisation fully appreciate its role within society and set up strategies that nurture the CSR activity to be implement.

2.7. CSR and Corporate strategy

The relationship between CSR and corporate strategy is grounded in the need to have structure in the manner in which the organisation interacts with its various stakeholders. Having understood the theoretical frameworks that form the foundation of CSR, the formulation of strategy moves from philosophy to operationalisation. Corporate strategy helps to determine the organisation's responsiveness to CSR. Brunsæl (2009:35) states that CSR initiatives are a part of an organisation's strategy from a competitive perspective and as such must to fit into the organisation's holistic strategy. With that in mind, an understanding of corporate strategy would assist in determining the approach used in response to societal needs.

In a world where corporate behaviour is put under the microscope, organisations realise that their strategies and operations increasingly rely on their relationships with stakeholders to survive and prosper (Vogel, 2005:2). As such, a significant paradigm shift exists in the business world today as organisations incorporate CSR into their strategies.

CSR encourages organisations to adopt new policies, strategies, and to innovate products, which result in social gains, increased revenue, expansion of markets as well as improved stakeholder confidence. The importance of CSR has been heightened by the advent of globalisation. Globalisation has stimulated interest in CSR as MNCs have become more susceptible to social and ethical pressure in their operations and localities. MNCs that take CSR seriously may improve their reputation and operational efficiency while reducing their risk exposure and encouraging loyalty and innovation in the various locations in which they operate.

As mentioned before, there are many notable reasons why organisations participate in socially responsible initiatives: be it strategic, defensive or altruistic. When integrating CSR into corporate strategy, the organisation has a choice to make on how much attention it should give towards these initiatives, taking into cognisance its own primary function. It weighs its actions against its primary function and capabilities as well as considers the image that it hopes to exude. The latter is an important consideration because when organisations aggressively promote their CSR effort, stakeholders may become suspicious of what the organisation's true motives behind the integration of CSR are (Du *et al*., 2010:9). Conversely, less effort is frowned upon as the organisation may be seen as uncaring and opportunistic.

Critics of CSR and its importance in corporate strategy argue that social responsibility initiatives have made organisations too risk aversive and redirected management time, effort and financial resources away from the organisation's core economic mission. This argument however negates the fact that morality, ethics and subsequently social responsibility are engrained into the fabric of humanity and by extension into the organisations that we operate. It is upon this understanding that scholars distinguish between two drivers that motivate the formulation of corporate strategy and implementation of CSR. Organisations may be driven by extrinsic or intrinsic motivation towards CSR.

According to Muller and Kolk (2009:3) scholarly literature has distinctly categorised these drivers between "approaches that consider CSR to be extrinsically driven and those that are intrinsically driven". These scholars realise the complexity of exploring a single variable that influence corporate CSR strategy and as such, categorising them into two distinct drivers gives logic to the investigation. This has led scholars such as Looser and Wehrmeyer (2016:547) to suggest that CSR is either a commercial tool that is intrinsically or morally driven or based on extrinsic motivation.

2.7.1. Extrinsic motives

Extrinsic drivers of CSR are those attributes that strategically position an organisation to gain something back or avoid censure from the community in which it operates. According to Du *et al*. (2007:226) the overall purpose of extrinsic or self-interested incentives is to increase the brand's own wellbeing, for example, increasing sales, profits or improving corporate image. Looser and Wehrmeyer (2016:547) add that "extrinsic CSR has a strategic purpose and goal in pursuit of a favourable commercial end". The authors further contend that companies may achieve competitive advantage by strategic CSR participation through managing investor relations, building credibility, seeking win-win results (such as stakeholder engagement or charitable contributions to education), and reducing expense and risk through energy efficiency and environmentally sound manufacturing practices. Ultimately, by setting its CSR strategies based on extrinsic drivers, the organisation better positions itself in the market: ensuring a better reputation, differentiated image and increased profit (which are all considered self-interested motives).

Lougee and Wallace (2008:98) argue that when organisations are driven by extrinsic motives, their well-known reputation helps to ensure that they face less resistance than companies with poor CSR reputations when entering new markets. According to Forehand and Grier (as cited in Du *et al*. 2010:12), acknowledgement of extrinsic, firm serving motives in its CSR message will actually enhance the credibility of a company's CSR communication and inhibit stakeholder scepticism, which underlies the potential boomerang effect of CSR communication. These opportunities are only possible because of the organisation's overt CSR engagement.

It should be noted that extrinsic CSR is based on the communities' or stakeholders' view of the organisation's initiative. Although its actions are often welcomed by stakeholders for developmental purposes, it is easily perceived as self-promotion and self-preservation. Stakeholders are aware that CSR is being used in order to achieve economic benefit for the organisation. Regardless, as Du *et al.* (2010:10) assert, there appears to be an increasing acceptance of extrinsic motives because as consumers come to understand more about CSR and organisational objectives, they are more inclined to embrace a win-win mindset which they see as beneficial to both parties.

2.7.2. Intrinsic motives

Intrinsic motives, on the other hand, are those that are perceived to have been initiated out of genuine concern for societal needs. Du *et al*. (2007:226) describe them as selfless motives whose ultimate goal is to do good and fulfil the organisation's obligations to society. Intrinsic drivers are altruistic in nature and are driven by the organisation's moral duty. As such, organisations that are intrinsically motivated towards CSR are therefore driven by ethical values and moral leadership.

Stakeholders feel connected to organisations that display intrinsic motivation towards CSR. This on its own is an unsolicited reputational benefit to the organisation. There is significant evidence that activities, even though intrinsically motivated, will have unexpected positive impacts on organisational performance. In fact, Bocquet *et al*. (2012:5) found that companies that implement CSR for intrinsic reasons gain a comparative edge, resulting in higher, long-term economic success than companies that adopt CSR for extrinsically driven motives. In this case, stakeholders believe that the organisation's benevolent nature (based on its initiatives) is a true reflection of its values. There is therefore a positive association with the organisation.

In formulating CSR strategies, organisations should be honest and embrace the motives of their CSR activities. This is enshrined in the organisation's vision, mission, values and culture and needs to be effectively communicated to all stakeholders. The organisation should also not shy away from articulating itself meaningfully if indeed its initiatives are driven by business (intrinsic) motives. Intrinsically motivated organisations need to be more intelligent about how they communicate their CSR initiatives, ensuring that consumers credit such effort to intrinsic rather than extrinsic motives (Du *et al*., 2007:238). This is because, by virtue of their intrinsic nature, the organisation may not necessarily expect returns for their efforts. As such, smart communication methods may at least provide the community and other stakeholders with a view of some of the organisations' CSR activities.

Du *et al*. (2010:12) cite Carrefour, a French retail MNC, as an example of an organisation that rationalises its environmental policies. The authors state that Carrefour recognises that "consumers are increasingly attentive to everything that has to do with safety and environmental health. Safeguarding the environment is a criterion they will increasingly consider". This statement illustrates that the organisation is cognisant of consumer expectations and is willing to actively ensure that its operations and products fulfil set standards.

Logsdon *et al*. (2006:54) found that expectations from society lead to responsibilities that are more compulsory in nature. This shows that the organisation's motivation and already established CSR reputation, has a significant bearing on how the organisation is received. Muller and Kolk (2009:6) emphasise that this stakeholder pressure on MNCs from developed countries to exhibit high levels of responsibility would motivate them to embed higher effort within the host country especially if it is within the emerging markets.

As these MNCs come under pressure to be more socially responsible in their home countries, they are also encouraged to remain consistent through transmitting this pressure to their operations abroad. Muller and Kolk (2009:4) argue that "the context in which the firm operates (or from which it originates) determines its CSR both in level and content".

Muller and Kolk (2009:4) suggest that "an international landscape of CSR exists based on national variations, with some countries considered high-CSR environments and others considered low-CSR environments". They further note that research that has focused on emerging markets has shown that organisations demonstrate greater responsibility when subjected to extrinsic pressure such as global regulations, pressure from international trading partners or exposure to Western values. This demonstrates that the types of extrinsic pressures commonly associated with MNCs' foreign trade and investment operations are believed to raise the bar of social responsibility in lower-CSR environments.

The choice of strategic direction, therefore, has a number of variables from which it is drawn. Both extrinsic and intrinsic drivers matter. However, there lies a school of thought that suggests that the choice between the two may not be exclusive or competing but rather interactive or complimentary. Through this interactive perspective, the environment is viewed as a source of intelligence that helps the organisation determine its strategic direction as suggested by Lukas and Halt (2001). It is through total attentiveness and comprehension of this environmental information that the organisation may accurately formulate CSR strategies that are well-tailored or befitting its own beliefs, aspirations and goals. Thus, as Muller and Kolk (2009:10) assert, "there must be a fit between environmental pressures and firm-internal characteristics, including managers' mental models and strategic intentions".

Story and Neves (2015:4) argue that extrinsic CSR alone may backfire as a result of the cynicism it may bring regarding the possible lack of concern about the moral obligations of the organisation. Their research concentrated on employees as internal stakeholders and concluded that CSR also influences performance especially when employees believe that the organisation's initiatives are not only sincere but also strategically beneficial to the organisation (both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated).

The integration of CSR based on either or both drivers reflects the importance of the concept to business. In reality, the difference between extrinsic and intrinsic CSR may be hard to distinguish and may ultimately result in a cross over approach.

Understanding motivation will help policymakers make informed choices on how to persuade businesses to be more socially responsible. This helps build an understanding of how and why MNCs develop particular CSR strategies especially in host countries. Unfortunately, only the organisation knows whether the motivations for CSR are truly extrinsic or intrinsic. Regardless of the motivation, whether intrinsic or extrinsic, CSR is beneficial to an organisation's image, corporate culture and financial outcomes amongst other benefits. These benefits must be explored further especially when evaluating the MNC's position in a country that has implemented an indigenous policy.

2.8. Relevance of CSR on corporate and investment strategy

The question for organisations nowadays is not whether or not to engage in CSR but how best to incorporate the concept into corporate and investment strategy. Rather than treating CSR as an afterthought or just a philanthropic exercise, an increasing number of organisations are incorporating it into their overall strategy. Elkington (1998 cited in Mullerat 2010:149) states that "a commitment of sustainability will only reap maximum benefits when it is fully incorporated into a company's core business models, strategies and processes". This rings deeper for companies that wish to invest in foreign markets as their approach to CSR will add further value to their approach. MNCs seeking relevance and competitive advantage in foreign markets will pursue a strategic approach to CSR: the benefits of which are evident.

2.8.1. Acceptance by the host country

Being socially responsible improves an organisation's relations with the host government. Organisations have to comply with local regulations and legislation as well as voluntarily implementing initiatives to improve societal well-being and, in doing so, their relationship with the government will improve. MNCs that show outstanding social performance and are able to fulfil the expectations of stakeholders in local and global environments gain a better reputation as their stakeholders view them as responsible entities that live up to their commitments (Aguilera-Caracuel *et al*. 2017:330)

Governments are interested in socially responsible organisations because they can help meet policy objectives albeit on a voluntary basis as described by Steurer (2010:50). In fact, it is not uncommon for governments to leave policy gaps to be filled by non-governmental players in the form of social provision and promoted CSR practices. For example, government may introduce tax exemption for employers with the expectation that the organisation will provide employment and medical aid.

The host government may have its own objectives but MNCs may add value by offering its expertise in certain lacking areas. For instance, in developing its competences, BP has acquired knowledge and skills relevant to governments and is, thereby, able to offer its expertise in issues such as corporate governance (Zinkin 2004:78). Zinkin (2004:78) further explains that in the early 2000s, BP had a favourable corporate governance reputation and was scored highly by rating agencies such as Standard and Poor. With such a good reputation, BP was well placed to assist governments with issues pertaining to corporate governance and industry regulations. In 2000 for instance, BP assisted in the formulation of the Malaysian code of corporate governance.

MNCs need not only comply with the legislation, regulation and public policies imposed by the host government but also use their capabilities to assist in the socio-economic development of the country. As expectations on MNCs have changed as a result of globalisation, it has become imperative that they not only highlight the financial benefits of their investment proposal but also have to prove that their investment will provide sustainable socio-economic development through their CSR programmes. These organisations realise the need to craft CSR policies that impact the economic and political demands of the host countries.

MNCs are seen by some anti-globalisation activists as obstacles to the growth of local enterprise and general economic growth of the host countries. They argue that MNCs, amongst other factors, try to dominate the market they operate in, muscle in against local competition and above all reinvest a fraction of their profit in the host country. Park *et al*. (2014:14) contend that this negative impression of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) may be considerably lowered if the MNCs engage in activities which go beyond their direct economic and financial interests, participate in actions that are not mandated by law, do good for society and use organisational resources to benefit local markets through committed participation as members of society. Park *et al*. (2014:14) further note that these organisations earn domestic legitimacy and mitigate the vulnerabilities of being foreign by proving social commitment to host country constituents through CSR. This is corroborated by Zinkin (2004:67) who asserts that MNCs need to rebuild trust lest they appear "enemies" of the countries in which they operate rather than "friends".

Carroll and Shabana (2010:89) weigh in by stating that CSR is a useful tool to "wade off government regulation". They maintain that it is a highly practical argument, built on the notion that any state of involvement may be avoided to the degree that business policies with self-disciplined norms and fulfils societal expectations. Park *et al*. (2014:12) highlight that adopting CSR initiatives that are compatible with indigenous cultural and political settings as well as meeting the expectations of stakeholders who have a significant influence on organisational performance is a crucial prerequisite for entities that hope to thrive in international host countries.

By using their CSR reputation to gain goodwill, the organisation is able to gain acceptance by host countries. Building on this goodwill is very important as local stakeholders will pay keen attention to organisational performance and its social participation.

Interestingly, MNCs accrue CSR experience and capabilities from their home nations and hope to use this in foreign markets. This is indeed a positive attribute especially if the organisation yields institutional reputation. However, there exists the complexity of situational uncertainty and ambiguity in these foreign territories. Campbell *et al*. (2012:84) contend that "the greater the distance between home and host countries, the greater the liability of foreignness (that is, unfamiliarity and discrimination risk in overseas markets) and the greater the need for satisfying local legitimacy". For MNCs to bridge this gap and earn local legitimacy, they need to adopt CSR initiatives that conform to the expectations of their hosts as well as those that go beyond.

According to Nelson (2001:8), it is particularly difficult and irresponsible for organisations to remain on the side-lines as disinterested spectators when severe governance deficiencies or societal failures exist. It is compelling that while MNCs have amassed vast experience in handling conventional complications and challenges connected with international growth, many of them do not appear to understand the strategic relevance of CSR or the key motivators involved with CSR while operating globally (Park *et al*., 2014:12). Be it for selfish reasons, opportunistic or purely altruistic, it would be folly and unfortunate for an investor not to use their CSR capabilities to foster a relationship with the government, who in turn may be very appreciative and oblige their interest in investing.

2.8.2. Access to capital

Investors and financial institutions are increasingly taking an organisation's corporate citizenship into consideration when assessing projects. This is highlighted by Asemah, Okpanachi and Edegoh (2013:51) who state that a growing number of investment funders are incorporating CSR parameters into their evaluation criteria in order to assess organisations and ensure that they satisfy specific environmental or social guidelines. As such, effective CSR management will go a long way to convince investors that their investment will be utilised in not only an ethical manner but also in a manner that will provide financial returns and greater organisational success.

Galbreath (2010:417) notes that CSR operations send noticeable signals, and this allows stakeholders to infer different positive characteristics of the organisation. This is buttressed by Asemah *et al.* (2013:51) who contend that “a CSR approach by a company can improve the statue of the company in the perspective of the investment community, a company’s stock market and its capacity to access capital from that community”.

Notably, these investors’ motives for investing in organisations with strong CSR management may not all be altruistic as there is strong evidence that organisations that embrace CSR generally perform better than those that do not. These investors display a keen interest in working with organisations that exhibit robust social performance because their resources are perceived to be less volatile and less susceptible to public scandal (Park *et al*., 2014:4). For example, Carroll and Shabana (2010:94) point to research by Margolis and Walsh (2003:277) which reviewed 127 studies that were conducted between 1972 and 2002 and found that the researchers agreed that there is a positive correlation between an organisation’s social performance and its bottom line. Regardless of their motives, investors insist that organisations practice CSR management and report on their initiatives.

MNS source funds from different financers including foreign stock exchanges, international banking institutions, venture capitalists as well as from their own reserves. With good CSR practices, MNCs are able to convince or attract investors and therefore raise the capital they need to fund operations in host countries. Lee *et al*. (2017:11) state that when a company actively invests in CSR, it receives a more favourable appraisal from foreign investors, who are more willing to invest in companies that have a significant degree of CSR participation. Therefore, shareholders are more motivated to invest in MNCs that have exceptional corporate reputations. Put simply, being socially conscious is not just a good decision to make; it could also help an organisation stand out from its competitors. Ultimately, an MNC that is deemed to possess positive characteristics is rewarded with favourable attention from financial stakeholders.

2.8.3. Lobbying for good

Another important benefit for organisations to engage in CSR is that it offers them a unique opportunity to lobby governments towards the implementation of a specific policy. With a good CSR track record, organisations are well placed to lobby or advocate for issues which may improve industrial standards or social development. Some well-placed organisations may use their relationship with the host government to lobby for the adoption of new industry standards that would ultimately improve sectorial performance and sustainable development.

Authors Paul and Philip Monagan (2014) have been instrumental in promoting "lobbying for good" as the next wave of CSR. They suggest that such participation is a vital part of the shift towards a more sustainable future. It is not just an encouraging development, but a necessary one, especially if meaningful progress on issues such as global climate change and trade equality are to be made (The Guardian, 2014. par. 4).

By virtue of their standing within society, organisations are well placed to use their influence to persuade governments to implement certain policies. Admittedly, this may be unscrupulously used by the organisation to advocate for policies that are self-beneficial. A good example are tobacco companies in the US who have, since the 1990s, been accused of using their relationship to lobby for favourable regulations such as moderate policies on tobacco products and advertising (Givel & Glantz, 2001:124). This has precipitated negative perceptions amongst legislators and society in general. Despite this, lobbying for good may be used as a strategic opportunity for organisations that have a reputable track record in CSR and have established themselves as trustworthy developmental partners.

Peterson and Pfitzer (2009:46) state that organisations, with their carefully cultivated relationships, greater lobbying leverage and influence, are often better placed to advocate on behalf of specific social causes such as violence against women and children, improving traffic safety, dealing with climate change, and encouraging economic cooperation. In addition, Peterson and Pfitzer (2009:47) highlight that lobbying for good may be used to target social conditions that influence the organisation's operating environment. For example, advocating for improved educational quality such as Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) policy which ultimately should improve the quality of jobseekers in the recruitment pool.

Another example of responsible lobbying is given by Mace (2017: par. 1) who states that in 2017, more than 80 major organisations including Coca-Cola, HSBC, IKEA and Unilever wrote to the then British Prime Minister Theresa May, urging the government to demonstrate, its continued commitment to the UN's SDGs and to work with business to create a transparent reporting framework and projections. The Prime Minister reacted positively, instructing all government agencies to work collaboratively with interested parties to achieve these objectives (Bairstow, 2017: par.3).

Similarly, MNCs operating in developing countries may use their influence to lobby governments to desired outcomes. Its CSR reputation helps it to be able to engage with officials from the host country, often through informal channels (Iftinchi and Hurduzeu, 2018:19) either to maximise profits (instrumental theories) "or to minimise potential or announced adverse actions against their activities" for example threats of nationalisation or forced joint ventures (Keillor *et al*., 2005:634) (integrative theories). Through this relationship, the host government may turn from being a social political risk into a political ally for the MNC (Iftinchi and Hurduzeu, 2018:20).

Ultimately, lobbying for good is becoming increasingly important to the CSR philosophy. Progressive organisations that are prepared to set aside traditional impediments and advocate for progressive policy changes are expected from this (Monaghan & Monaghan, 2014). It offers organisations a different and proactive approach to establishing partnerships with host governments. The importance of lobbying for good has seen the creation of specific offices dedicated to government affairs within MNCs. Peterson and Pfitzer (2009:49) assert that lobbying for good requires more than simply cutting ribbons on donated buildings; it involves a much more meaningful form of commitment that should lead to new avenues for innovation and competitiveness. Peterson and Pfitzer (2009:44) offer Mary Kay, Royal Dutch Shell and General Motors as examples of MNCs that are proactively using their financial clout, relationship with governments and powers of persuasion for the greater good.

Such actions highlight the importance of MNCs and the power they wield in pursuing developmental agendas through CSR programmes. By using their influence in their home or host countries as well as in international organisations, MNCs are able to mitigate political risk. Both the home and host countries have reasons to support these activities at any given time, emphasising the significance of "lobbying for good" when it comes to organisational strategy.

2.8.4. Competitive advantage

Another important argument for organisational interest in CSR is that good corporate citizenship enhances competitive advantage. Competitive advantage arises from the organisation's ability to discover and maintain a position that propels it to a superior industry placement. Competitiveness is described by Ljubojevic *et al*. (2012:559) as the ability of the organisation to offer products and services which create value or serve as a defence mechanism against competing entities.

By implementing CSR initiatives, the organisation is able to improve its financial, social and organisational performance. As depicted in Figure 2.11 below, CSR strategy affects the firm's competitive advantage, which in turn has a bearing on the organisation's financial, social, and now organisational performance.

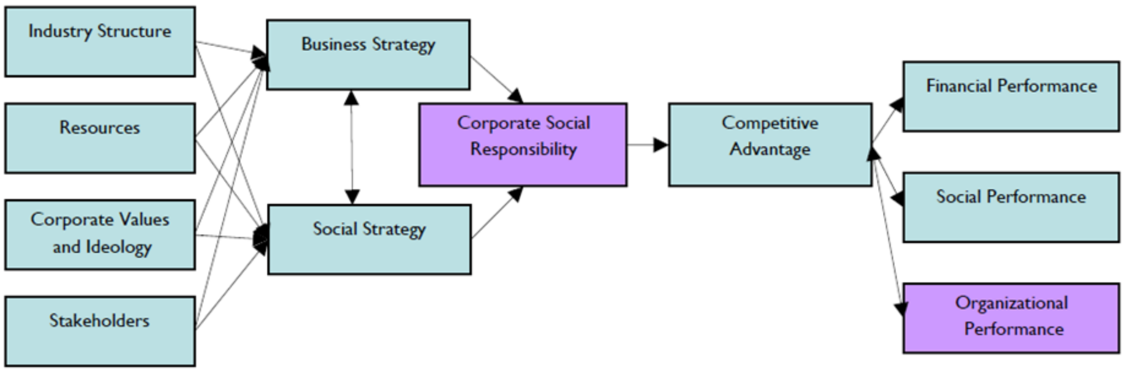

Figure 2.10. A modified model of Husted and Allen's Integrated view of business and social strategy

Source: Falkenberg (2006:29)

Husted and Allen's modified model by Falkenberg (2006:29) illustrates how business strategy and social strategy play an integral role in achieving competitive advantage which in turn culminates to better financial, social and organisational performance. Interestingly the improved financial, social and organisational performance symbiotically rally competitive advantage. Ljubojevic *et al*. (2012:557) state that the adoption of a CSR strategy has a direct impact on competitiveness because it improves the development of a socially conscious corporate vision and sustainable corporate strategy, which broadens awareness of social responsibility and strengthens stakeholder relationships.

An example, as highlighted by Du *et al*. (2007:225), shows that Timberland has incorporated a set of CSR standards into all aspects of its operations. For example, the organisation has included ecological awareness, ethical labour practices and has, since 2005, attached a "nutritional label" advising customers of its environmental and social impact. This has not only resulted in the footwear and apparel manufacturer being rendered 6th on the Business ethics 100 best corporate citizens in 2006 but also achieving greater consumer loyalty (Gillentine, 2006).

Competitive advantage as an effect of strategic CSR management may also result in organisational process and product differentiation and innovation. For example, Apple has a history of donating computer equipment to schools in order to introduce technology to the youth. This offers an obvious social benefit for the youths while improving Apple's prospective customer base and transforming students and teachers into more technologically savvy consumers (Porter & Kramer, 2002: par. 22).

Organisations that have developed a strategy based on the contemporary idea of social responsibility have the potential to strengthen connections with all stakeholders, distinguish themselves from competitors, and therefore create a long-term competitive edge (Ljubojevic *et al*., 2012:559) Social initiatives which resonates with the organisation's mission and objectives are more likely to generate value than projects that are not. This evaluation gives deeper context to the benefits that MNCs derive from implementing CSR in host countries. MNCs develop their CSR strategies fully aware of the benefits that accrue from implementing them and are therefore in the best position to understand the impact of each initiative. MNCs may benefit from CSR strategies in a way that purposefully or unintentionally assists the organisation to achieve its organisational objectives, depending on the innate motives of social responsibility implementation. This evaluation is therefore important as it brings to light the importance of CSR on corporate and investment strategy. It also forms a foundation to explain why MNCs are inclined to formulate certain strategies and how they respond to the needs and expectations of society.

2.9. Multinationals' operations across the globe

MNCs are drawn to various countries for a variety of reasons, including access to natural resources, expanded or existing consumer markets, advanced technology, and financial and tax incentives. Although MNCs have their head offices in developed countries, their activities around the globe contribute immensely towards the development of the host countries. MNCs are amongst the key drivers of globalisation as their activities across borders contribute significantly towards global trade and commerce.

According to a 2018 report by World Atlas of Global issues (2018) pointed out that there are 60 000 MNC's in the world with over 500 000 subsidiaries across the globe. Their efforts have been increasingly considered as significant contributors to the solutions of global problems such as poverty and unemployment given their financial strength. Many of these organisations have turnovers that are far higher than the GDPs of some of the countries in which they operate and therefore serve as engines of economic development and job creation (Alder, 2008:375). For example, ABC Finance Limited (2020) reported that Saudi Aramco, an oil and gas company was worth more than the GDP of countries such as Brazil, Italy, Russia and Canada as illustrated in Figure 2.11. Other notable MNCs whose revenue was greater than some countries in 2019 included Apple, Microsoft, Johnson and Johnson, Disney and Amazon.

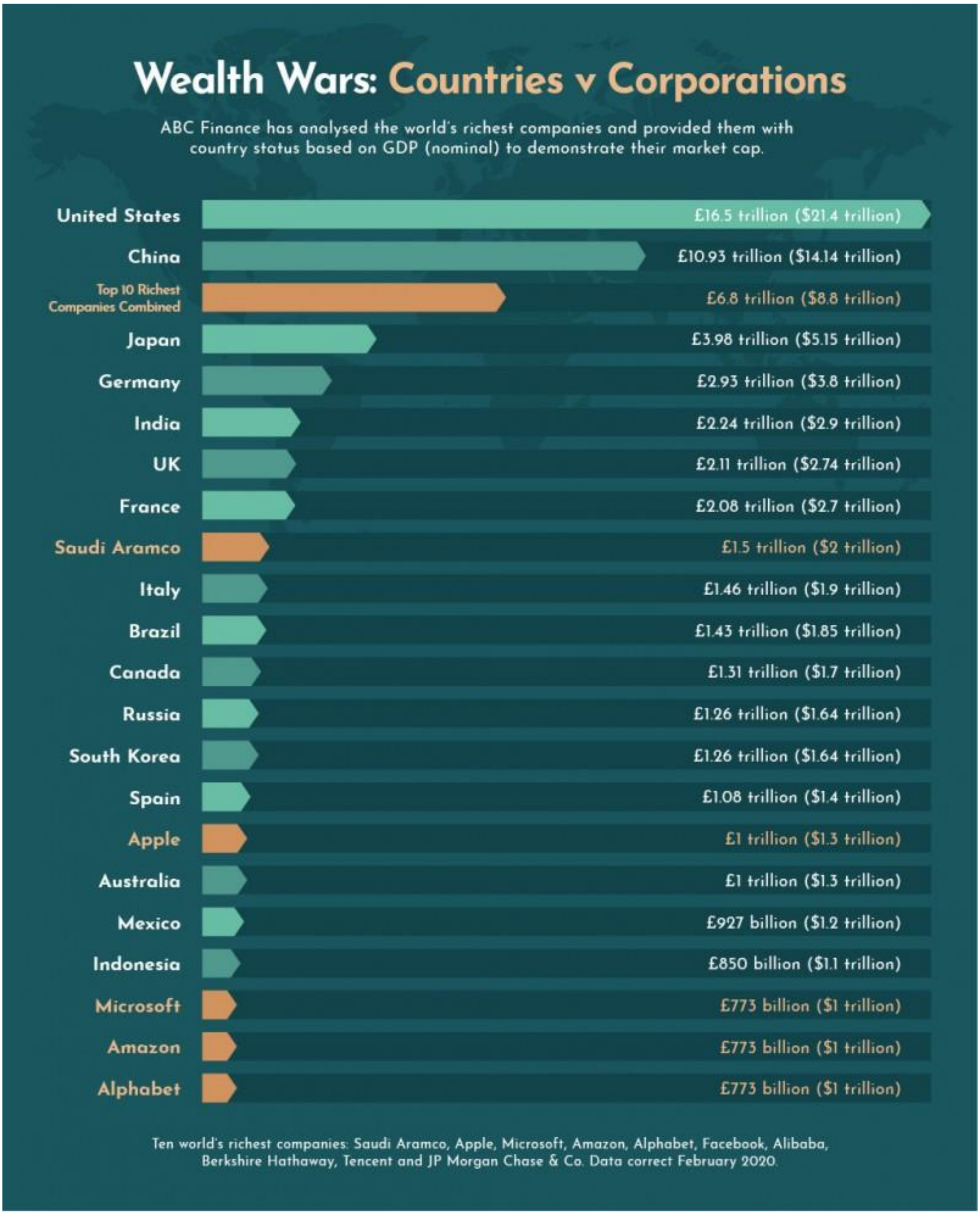

Figure 2.11. Comparison of revenue between countries and MNCs

Source: ABC Finance Limited (2020)

This comparison highlights the enormity of some MNCs and their significance on the global stage. Their contribution to the fiscus of nations is instrumental to the augmentation of the host government's developmental effort. For example, Jones *et al*. (2007:3) state that Unilever contributed US$170 million in taxes (excluding sales tax) to the Indonesian economy in 2003, thus surpassing the UK's aid to Indonesia (less than US$100 million).

MNCs are also seen as important players in the transfer of skills and expertise as well as best practices across the globe (Meyer, 2004:263, 266). Their use of advanced technology and modern business standards and practices helps in upskilling the citizens for present and future prosperity. More relevant to this study, is the fact that these organisations are well placed to improve CSR standards and practices in the countries they invest. Undén (2007:32) asserts that MNCs are recognised conduits for the transmission of CSR standards and ideologies to workers and organisations in host countries. This transmission of knowledge is guaranteed to have a positive ripple effect on CSR practices across developing regions.

Although not their primary objective, MNCs are uniquely positioned to develop infrastructure that is often used to support their operations (Starke, 2002:203). Infrastructure development includes the construction of telecommunication systems, roads, ports, electricity, railways, airports and water supplies, all of which serve a double purpose: that is to serve the MNC and to serve the community in which it plies its operations (Starke, 2002:20). These MNCs inject capital into the host country's economy thereby ensuring, for example, infrastructure development that the host government would otherwise not have been able to provide (Jain & Puri, 1981:58). As such, infrastructure development in most developing countries is characterised by the provision of new structures as opposed to upgrades of existing ones.

MNCs bring about welcome change to the value chain by providing new opportunities for local suppliers to furnish them with their operational needs. In instances where fair competition prevails, suppliers are forced to improve their capabilities, thereby not only improving their ability to meet the stringent demands of the local MNC operations but also to compete on the global market (Undén, 2007:13). Although these initiatives are often linked to the organisation's CSR policy, they also offer a strategic logistical advantage to the MNC. To illustrate this, Porter and Kramer (2011:62) found that, Nestlé redesigned its global coffee procurement processes in 2011, to incorporate smaller farmers from disadvantaged circumstances into the system. These farmers were caught in a vicious cycle of low production, poor quality, and environmental destruction which often saw them attracting unfavourable market prices. With the assistance of Nestlé, who provided advice on advanced agricultural practices and assisted with inputs and equipment such as fertilizers, pesticides and harvesters, they managed to increase the quality and quantity of their yields thereby becoming reliable suppliers of good grade coffee to Nestlé.

2.9.1. Negative impact of MNC operations in host communities

Although MNCs have a global presence and play an important role in economically improving many less developed nations, their activities often come with some undesirable spill overs. A good understanding of these negative spill overs is important to note as host countries need to adequately prepare for their relationships with MNCs.

Jones *et al*. (2007:3) highlight that MNCs often operate in challenging social and geographic environments but have the capacity to substantially invest in these communities if there is a compelling business case for doing so. As such, they are in a position to be part of the solution to the chronic underdevelopment such as in Sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately, some MNCs justify their lack of social investment by arguing that they endure substantial risk by investing or operating in these developing countries and that alone is a significant form of CSR. In some instances, MNCs take advantage of the prevailing social and economic hardship and exploit people and the environment. For example, in 2016, electric car manufactures including BMW and Fiat-Chrysler were identified as having failed to combat child abuse in the cobalt supply chain. Gordon (2019: par. 9) reported that in 2016 Amnesty International wrote a report titled “Democratic Republic of Congo: "this is what we die for": human rights abuses in the Democratic Republic of the Congo power the global trade in cobalt” which found that, although not directly involved, these car manufactures were ignoring the plight of child miners by virtue of not conducting due diligence on their cobalt supply chain. Nike, an American apparel manufacture, was also found to be exploitive in Indonesia, Cambodia and Pakistan in the 1990s (Milovanović *et al*., 2009:96). The manufacturer was exposed to have exploited its workers by paying below-minimum wages and providing unacceptable sweatshop-like conditions at its factories in Indonesia.

In addition, developing nations may sacrifice their otherwise strong labour and environmental and consumer laws to attract FDI. Furthermore, punishment for these negative externalities may be disproportionate to the far-reaching destructive consequences of their actions. For example, some scholars, environmentalists and international organisations such as Amnesty International argue that the punishment bestowed on Union Carbide following the Bhopal explosion in 1984 was not commensurate to the extensive ecological and humanitarian damage (BBC, 2010).

MNCs are also accused of short-changing host countries as the bulk of their profits are remitted to their home countries instead of being reinvested locally (Undén, 2007:14). Although this may seem logical and within normal business practice as the organisation would have met its tax obligations, it may be argued that by repatriating most of their profits back home, MNCs further enrich those countries at the expense of the host countries. The profit repatriation is even greater if the host country had provided tax breaks to lure the MNCs. Faheem and Siddiqui (2020:138) however argue that MNCs are only willing to reinvest in the host countries when there is significant reason, such as political stability, rule of law and favourable monetary policies. These organisations are reluctant to reinvest in the host country where institutions are weak and therefore opt to repatriate their profit. Faheem and Siddiqui (2020:139) contend that this is the reason why repatriation of profit is higher in developing countries as compared to developed countries. This leaves the host country with less to grow their economies with.

Another disadvantage of MNCs on host countries is the introduction and imposition of foreign cultural norms and practices at the expense of the rich local traditions. Starke (2002:198) acknowledges the intrinsic relationship between culture and indigenous land and concedes that MNCs may be disruptive to cultural norms in areas in which they operate as communities may have difficulties in coping with the operations of MNCs and the ingress of outsiders. For example, when contrasted to a Middle Eastern approach of informal comments, negotiations, and a strong respect for rituals and traditional ceremonies, American organisational culture can be characterised as individualistic, straightforward, and very formal (Hofstede, 1984). In some countries, employees strongly identify with the organisation yet in others, identification with the community is more important. The expectations of the MNC in such instances may supersede or be forced onto the employees and communities leading to the erosion of the hosts' values and norms.

MNCs involved in the extraction of raw materials are often accused of negative social and environmental externalities such as water and air pollution, degradation of the natural landscape, changes to the social structure and local culture, increased crime, prostitution and forced relocation. Many communities have suffered though the trade-off of accepting these investments at a cost of direct and indirect challenges that they bring. It is the opinion of Becker-Ritterspach *et al*. (2019:196) that negative externalities are often worse in emerging and developing countries because protecting institutions are missing or inadequate and incoherent. Some MNCs take advantage of the inadequate measures by host governments' and fail to acknowledge that their investments are responsible for significant sources of these externalities. In many instances, local communities face the greatest disturbance to their well-being but receive the least compensation for the extraction of raw material from their area.

In some instances, such as in the manufacturing and retail industries, MNCs may force local businesses to close shop as local businesses are unable to rival their pricing models. This is detrimental to indigenous businesses. Due to the negative competition created by MNCs, Undén (2007:14) notes that they may outcompete indigenous businesses, establish monopolies and compel suppliers to become price takers as a result of the "negative competition" that would have been created. According to Bobo (2005:35), MNCs also provide customers with incentives such as discounts and free samples, expanding their consumer base at the detriment of local businesses. They use their financial muscle to destroy any competition in the area.

Insufficient stakeholder activism, lack of legal awareness amongst the victims of human rights violations and lack of effective remedies to redress the wrongs committed by companies, continue to encourage organisations to pursue socially irresponsible activities (Mwaure, 2006:140). The lax approach by some governments towards providing a comprehensive legal framework that hold organisations accountable for their actions is detrimental to any development.

MNCs operate within a paradox of profit and responsibility. Their commitment to CSR is curtailed by their insatiable appetite to maximize profits even within this modern, progressive world. Despite these disadvantages, MNCs still represent a welcome relief to the development of the global community. These entities meaningfully contribute to the reversal of societal injustices, albeit some of which are created by them. Their commitment to the UN SDGs and other global initiatives goes a long way to promoting sustainable development in across the globe.

2.10. CSR at multinational corporations

The acceptance of CSR as a business concept has increased around the world as many MNCs realise its economic, ethical, social, governance, and environmental value. It has become an essential requirement for business in the 21st century. Chan (2014:1) states that many MNCs such as Starbucks, the Body Shop, and Microsoft establish well-developed codes of conduct. They also try to fulfil some social goals in order to conduct business responsibly, for instance by reducing the environmental impact of their operations, raising public awareness on specific topics, supporting fundraising initiatives, donating funds, improving employee satisfaction, and so on. MNCs across the globe approach CSR in ways that they feel are unique and best tailored for their operations and industries. To have an insightful understanding of how MNCs view CSR, it may be worthwhile to look at a few examples across industries so as to establish an appreciation of their interaction with society. As mentioned previously, CSR practices may be industry and location specific, but by having a view of some of the largest MNCs in the world, one may build a better comprehension of how it is perceived and employed by these entities that represent some of the most important contributors of socioeconomic development.

Organisations such as Nestlé take CSR activities seriously and have integrated CSR into their organisational ‘DNA’ (Nestlé, 2017:5). The organisation aligns its overall strategy towards “Creating Shared Value”, the practise of improving revenue while simultaneously adding value to society by addressing its needs and challenges (Porter & Kramer 2011:62). This approach was adopted in 2005 and has spurred the organisation to pursue actions that offer great internal and external value. According to its “2016 Nestlé in society: Creating Shared Value (CSV) report”, the organisation asserts that CSV is a tool that facilitates the operationalisation and management of all the measures that the organisation takes to achieve value creation for its shareholders and for society at large. Nestlé’s CSV impact areas are ‘nutrition, health and wellness’, ‘rural development’, ‘its people, human rights and compliance’, ‘water’ and ‘environmental sustainability’. The objectives of Nestlé’s Creating Shared Value are closely aligned with the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Since the private sector was strategically involved in the development of the SDGs, it has also taken on a key role in the attainment of those goals (Nestlé, 2016:10). In addition, Nestlé plays its full part in meeting the SDGs not only through its “Creating Shared Value approach to doing business, but also through partnerships, collaborations and stakeholder engagement” (Nestlé, 2016:2).

At Toyota Motor Corporation, the CSR drive is guided by a policy aptly titled “Contribution towards sustainable development” which was first mooted in 2005 (Toyota, 2021). The values enshrined in this policy are an extension of Toyota's guiding principles and aim to contribute positively towards societal challenges. First and foremost, the organisation complies with the laws and regulations at all its global operations and also endeavours to establish and maintain good relationships with all its stakeholders and partners. Toyota is committed to the Global Earth Charter, a document with 16 principles that was crafted to inspire organisations and governments towards a more just, sustainable and peaceful world (Toyota, 2012). In addition, the organisation aims to actively contribute to the attainment of the UN SDGs. As one of the largest car manufacturers in the world, Toyota is concerned about environmental and climate change and has, as such, focused considerable attention to lowering greenhouse emissions and preserving the environment. For example, the organisation is in the forefront of producing electric cars, has modified some of its manufacturing plants to ensure sustainable energy usage and conservation of water and has also established various partnerships with organisations that aim to make the world a better place (Toyota, 2021).

CSR at Barclays, a British multinational financial entity, is centred around the belief that the organisation can have a significant influence on the communities where they operate, especially with conceited focus on areas that best utilise their financial expertise in an endeavour to achieve sustainability and citizenship commitment (Barclays, 2020: par. 4). To illustrate how the organisation uses its financial muscle and expertise to tackle global challenges, Barclays is a founding signatory to the Equator Principles; a set of guidelines agreed upon to tackle environmental degradation by controlling lending to projects that are considered environmentally damaging (Carbonell, 2005:6). The organisation is also publicly committed to a number of other principles and initiatives such as the core resolutions of International Labour Organisation (ILO); the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the OECD guidelines for Multinational Enterprises; as well as the SDGs (Barclays, 2019:2). With the latter, Barclays identified SDG8 (decent work and economic growth) as one which the organisation could best utilise its expertise to tackle. The organisation states that it is committed to job creation, training and development. Barclays' current CEO Jes Staley (Barclays, 2019: par. 5) states that "by addressing the challenges people have in finding employment, we believe that the individual's social and economic prospects increase, which in turn creates broader opportunities for growth and helps build long term demand for banking services". Arguably, this highlights the organisation's extrinsic CSR strategy. According to its 2020 annual reports (Barclays Annual Report, 2020:17) the organisation also committed £1 million to supporting 250 charities across the globe during the COVID-19 pandemic.

At Rio Tinto, an Anglo-Australian MNC, CSR is addressed delicately in all of its interactions, including those involving corporate governance, labour, land rights, climate change and the environment, fair competition, human rights, community development, political engagement, sustainability, health and safety (Rio Tinto Sustainability Fact book 2020:2). Rio Tinto, according to Kapelus (2002:284), is driven by its beliefs and ideals, which are enshrined in a 1998 document titled "The Way We Work". In this document, the organisation declares its commitment to the UN Universal Declaration of

Human Rights; the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; the UN Sustainable Development Goals; as well as mutual respect and active partnership with host governments and communities in which it operates.

The mining giant, which operates in 35 countries across the globe and employs 47 500 (Rio Tinto, 2020), sets its CSR focus around three key pillars. These pillars, which are: “Running a safe, responsible and profitable business; collaborating to enable long-term economic benefits; and pioneering materials essential for human progress”; strategically align the company’s objectives to its contribution towards the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (Rio Tinto Strategic Report, 2020:65). Rio Tinto, however, explains that upon revision in 2020, the organisation realised that in order to better contribute towards the attainment of the SDGs, it would focus primarily on two goals, namely SDG12 (Responsible consumption and production) and SDG 8 (Decent work and economic growth). In this way, the organisation would concentrate its purpose, business, sustainability strategies, risks and relationships to the most impact (Rio Tinto Strategic Report, 2020:65). This approach has been adopted by many organisations as they pay particular attention to those goals that are most relevant to their operations or those that they already have substantial input (PWC, 2016:6).

An important note to remember with regards to MNCs such as Rio Tinto, is that investments have a paramount obligation to achieve profits. Kapelus (2002:291) highlights that organisations may invest in CSR projects either out of moral or pragmatic motives, and as such, critics of Rio Tinto’s operations and social initiatives argue that its actions are high profile public relations ploys aimed at impressing relevant stakeholders. It should nevertheless be noted that MNCs contribute significantly to the economic development of the countries in which they operate through taxes and royalties. For instance, Rio Tinto highlights that the organisation has, in the last ten years, paid over $71 billion in taxes and royalties to countries in which it operates (Rio Tinto Strategic Report, 2020:18). This represents an incredible contribution to economic development over and above other non-obligatory initiatives.

Many other MNCs have embraced CSR as an important and meaningful business practice. Their actions demonstrate the significance that they place on sustainability and stakeholder relations. Their attitude towards CSR may differ depending on various factors including the strategic alignment to economic objectives as illustrated above. Regardless, the rapid changes brought about by globalisation necessitate a thoughtful approach to stakeholder engagement especially in the various locations of their operations.

MNCs may adopt global CSR strategies which they apply to all their subsidiaries including those in foreign lands. This approach means that the CSR strategy is formulated and directed from the home nation and “imposed” on the host countries. Such an approach often exists as universal or global principles identified by a “convergence of religious, cultural and philosophical beliefs around certain core principles” (Donaldson & Dunfee, 1994:265).

Husted and Allen (2011:24) assert that it is common practice for global MNCs to centralise social issues management and leave local units with limited functions and small staff that are unable to monitor and respond effectively. It is nevertheless imperative to highlight that even though there are challenges that transcend national boundaries such as human rights and environmental protection, organisations need to pay particular attention to development issues such as poverty reduction in developing countries. MNCs need to understand not just the global viewpoint of social responsibility but also the local perception as articulated by the latter’s specific needs.

Mullerat (2010:147) argues that, often, a gap exists between what top management of the company thinks it has accomplished through CSR efforts and what it is really accomplishing, at least from the viewpoint of its stakeholders and the public in general, especially in host countries. Tavis (1982) states that a multinational's role in a developing country comes with an additional duty: developing the areas where the organisation operates. It is therefore important to establish whether CSR efforts meet the expectations of local stakeholders. These organisations need to develop capacities and mindsets necessary to be effective global players with effective CSR strategies.

In order to operate globally, organisations need to understand the social, political and economic terrain they work in or intend on investing in. According to Weyzig (2006:69) CSR developments may be primarily influenced by global trends, but they are also influenced by situational variables. For example, factors in the host country strongly affect priority issues and operational aspects of CSR implementation.

From its effort, an organisation is able to contribute to social capital thereby improving labour relations, brand reputation, expand its customer base and, in the long term, the quality of resources they can draw. Reputation and brand value plays a significant role in determining the MNC’s approach toward CSR in the home and host countries. Mullerat (2010:147) argues that MNCs respect CSR as an essential strategy for ensuring the corporation’s reputation, since 85% of consumers report that they have a more positive image of a company that is seen to make the world a better place.

An examination of MNC strategies helps develop an understanding of how they adopt CSR to local conditions. It examines the effectiveness of strategy implementation and explores the relationship between the environment in which they operate and their processes. Strategy is context-dependent by nature, thereby creating an ongoing need for organisations to fit and adapt to changing environmental conditions. An understanding of these strategies will enrich this research further by providing insight into their CSR performance in light of global and local challenges and expectations. This helps to gain a better understanding of the determinants of the CSR strategy process.

2.11. CSR in Zimbabwe

The socio-economic priorities of Zimbabwe mirror those of most developing countries but should be viewed through a unique lens that they deserve in light of the individual challenges that impact each country. Over the past 15 years, Zimbabwe has been rocked by political and economic challenges that have hampered economic growth and development. Business confidence has been low and its attractiveness as an investment destination has been adversely affected. As a result, those companies that have braved the economic turbulence have sought to turn to survival mode with very little aptitude for CSR. According to Manuere (2016:57), in economic distressed environments, organisations are more likely to employ their limited resources on profitmaking rather than committing resources on CSR activities whose monetary value cannot be measured.

Zimbabwe's gross domestic product (GDP) growth has been very erratic over the past 19 years. The country's growth rate (blue line) reached lows of -17.66% in 2008 at a time when the Sub-Saharan regional (green line) average was 5.4%. At its peak during the last 20 years, the country recorded a GDP growth of 19.7% 2010 only to decline again, reaching 3.5% in 2018 and -8.1% in 2019.

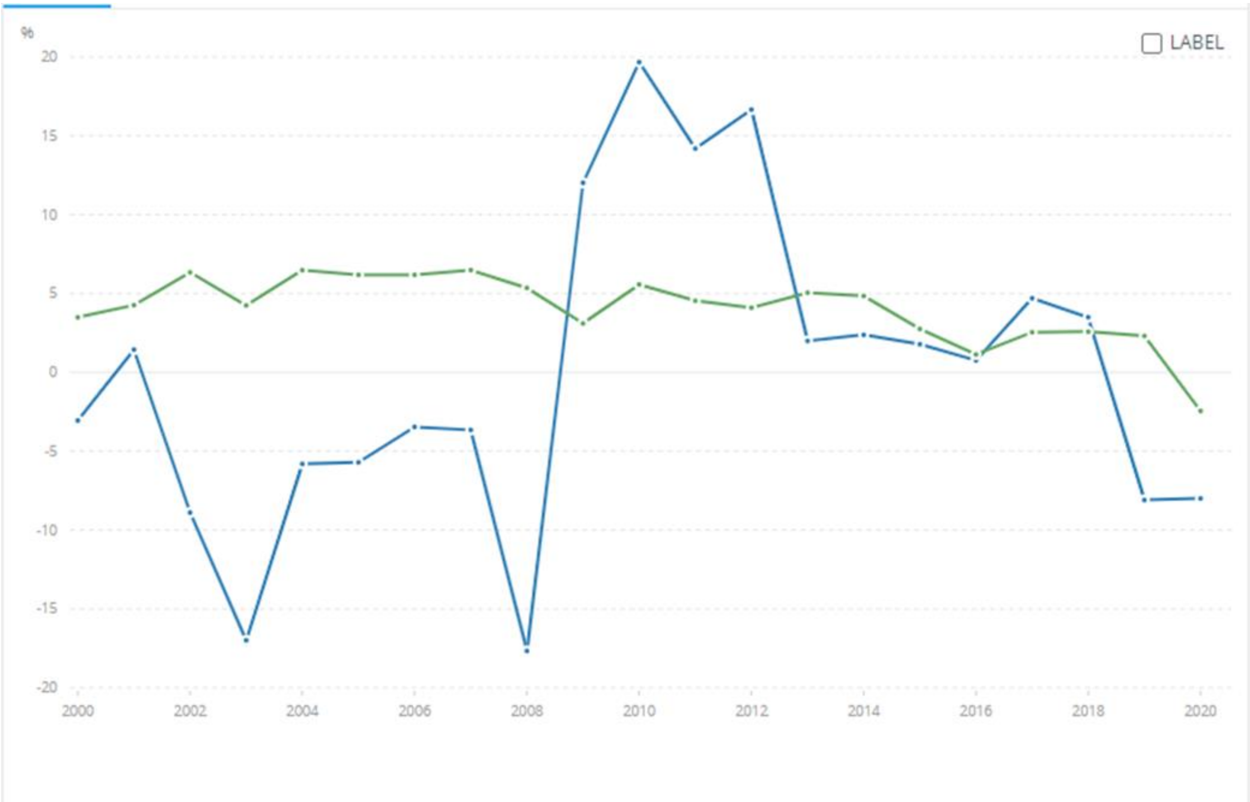

Figure 2.12. GDP growth (annual %) - Zimbabwe, Sub-Saharan Africa

Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files (2021)

The information above serves to illustrate the economic dire straits that the country and its productive sector face. Klara (2011:83) suggests that in times of economic hardship, CSR and the organisation's attitude towards social consciousness will be adversely affected. The author highlights matter-of-factly that some scholars have proposed that in such times of economic hardship, companies should dismiss CSR as it is seen as a financial burden. To that end, Chanakira and Masunda (2019:73) noted that the existing economic environment in Zimbabwe hinders organisations from successfully implementing CSR initiatives as businesses struggle for survival. During this time, organisations are forced to implement strategies which may be described as defensive and conservative. This has been used by many companies as justification to renege on their social responsibility. Many of these companies lack the financial capacity to engage in meaningful CSR activities and would rather cast more attention towards self-preservation.

Those companies that engage in CSR tend to do so using low-cost initiatives which, although appreciated by society, are in essence a far cry from the actual needs and expectations of society as illustrated above. For example, Proplastics, a Zimbabwean plastic pipes and fittings manufacturer reported in their 2019 Annual report (2019:17), that the organisation had invested ZWL 78 965 (US$940 as of April 2021) towards social responsibility activities in 2019 on the backdrop of a turnover of ZWL 233 429 046 (US$2 778 917). This CSR investment was spent on donations to children centres, victims of Cyclone Idai, as well as on other internal activities such as student attachments and employee wellness days. Noticeably, Proplastics' CSR spend in 2019 represented 0.03% of their turnover. Kakava *et al*. (2013:678) argue that these companies participate in low-cost initiatives such as scholarships, donations to charity organisations and institutions that assist the less fortunate as well as patronage of the arts. Small businesses on the other hand have adopted short-term strategies that prioritise immediate economic gain whilst medium to large businesses have taken to business maximisation and cost cutting strategies (Mazibananga, 2012:13).

2.11.1. CSR and culture

The element of culture cannot be ignored when looking at issues that influence CSR. Culture may be viewed from two perspectives, the country level and the organisational level. "Culture is the sum total of all the shared, taken-for-granted assumptions that a group has learned throughout its history" (Schein, 1999:29). It stems from the ethos, artefacts, images, challenges, distinct rules and values that form an integral part of society.

Williams and Zinkin (2008:210) argue that consumers in countries with high incidence of individualism are more likely to punish organisations for irresponsible social behaviour more often than those in countries where collective attitudes are prevalent such as Zimbabwe. They explain that individualistic cultures are internally focused, believing in self-reliance and pursuing self-interest, while communitarian cultures are outward-looking, caring more about what society or their in-group think about their behaviour. (Williams & Zinkin, 2008:214). This would suggest that in a country like Zimbabwe, which may be considered to exhibit communitarian tendencies, citizens are less likely to react to irresponsible, unethical organisational behaviour or inaction with regards to CSR. Citizens may be less willing to actively push organisations to act responsibly. Manuere (2016:137) found that because of this culture of “togetherness and helping each other in time of need”, a company could be cleared or easily forgiven for misdemeanours thereby resulting in an untainted corporate image. Organisations, regardless of their financial status within the turbulence of the Zimbabwean economy may take advantage of the culture of inertness to negate their social responsibility.

Organisational culture is often shaped by the environment in which it operates and given that the implementation of CSR is facilitated by this environment (Aoun, 2007), this could explain the ineptitude of Zimbabwean businesses with regards to social responsibility. Organisational culture also plays a role in determining the actions of the organisation towards society. Organisational culture is founded on values, practises and behavioural norms of the organisation. These are important as they contribute towards the successful implementation of strategy and the motivation of employees to perform their duties in a supportive and constructive manner. Indeed, many authors recognise that organisational culture has an impact on CSR (Jaakson *et al*., 2012:204) and that strong organisational culture promotes successful implementation of CSR strategies. Having considered the connection between the environment and organisational culture, scholars, such as Mazibananga (2012:6), argue that the economic landscape prevalent in Zimbabwe forces organisations to be inward focused. The challenge that shapes the Zimbabwean socio-economic landscape is an obstacle in creating organisational strategies and subsequently fostering organisational culture that embraces CSR as an important aspect of their business practices. Company performance becomes more important during the economic downturn and organisational stakeholders may be less motivated to undertake CSR and more to self-preservation. This suggests that there may “be less CSR as a result of the recession, but what remains is more strategic and concerns the organisation’s performance in the long term” (Jaakson *et al*., 2012:211).

According to Ravasi and Schultz (2006:437), organisational leadership is critical in developing, nurturing, and preserving organisational identity and, ultimately culture. Organisational culture cascades from a business’s leadership and strategy and with that, any effort to foster a CSR culture is directed by management. However, a view by Orpen (1987:89) suggests that because of cultural differences, business leaders in Asia and Africa are under less pressure to pay attention to the organisation’s social responsibility and more towards profit maximisation. Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah (2011:131) agree, stating that in Africa, economic responsibilities still receive the highest attention. With that, attention shifts to consolidating a culture that encourages economic responsibility which will generate much needed income (Burton *et al*., 2000:155) as is the case with many Zimbabwean organisations (Manuere, 2016:711).

Furthermore, because these organisations operate in the same environment, organisational culture may be cross-influenced. This means that organisations may influence each other in either a positive or negative way to assume an organisational culture that values CSR (Caemmerer and Marck, 2009:1). To this, Manuere (2016:60) argues that if the majority of organisations in a particular area shy away from CSR, then other organisations may face problems if they act in a dissimilar manner. From this analysis, it is understandable that the appreciation of CSR in Zimbabwe is adversely affected by the organisational cultural influences across companies.

2.11.2. CSR and consumerism in Zimbabwe

In the absence of robust government oversight of the social, ethical, and ecological performance of organisations in developing countries, activism by consumers may become an important CSR driver. Consumers generally care about issues of corporate responsibility and this often influences their purchasing and consumption behaviour. According to Creyer and Ross (1997:429), consumers regard ethical behaviour as a very important determinant in guiding their buying decisions. This is further cemented by a 2014 study by Nielson which found that 55% of global online customers are prepared to spend more for goods and services offered by organisations that participate in CSR programmes. This provides impetus for organisations to operate their business in a socially and ecologically responsible manner.

Examples of consumer actions that have driven companies to act responsibly, include the boycott of South African products in the UK during apartheid. Campaigns in the UK targeted British companies that were dealing or investing in South Africa as well as boycotting products that what imported from the African country. Skinner (2017:98) draws attention to 1989 awareness campaigns which produced poster taglines such as “Every bite buys a bullet” and “Boycott apartheid” that were used to dissuade consumers from purchasing South African products. Another example of consumer activism is the Nestlé boycott organised by environmental watchdog Greenpeace in 2010 which resulted in the manufacturer formulating a comprehensive zero deforestation policy. Through active consumer pressure organised by Greenpeace, Nestlé was forced to dump its supplier in Indonesia and to formulate a comprehensive supply chain policy (Chaudhari, 2011:2).

Activism by consumers and other stakeholders is an important driver for CSR as it pushes organisations to perform responsibly. However, this is not the case in Zimbabwe. As highlighted, caring for issues of corporate responsibility is not actively observed in Zimbabwe partially because of the aforementioned social and cultural dynamics but also because citizens are too busy attending to issues that directly impact their well-being. Kaynak (1985:25) argues that healthy macroeconomic conditions are necessary for consumerism to flourish. This is not the case in developing nations such as Zimbabwe where consumers are more concerned about minor issues such as prices, product quality, packaging and false advertising, but are less concerned about issues such as the environment, labour exploitation, CSR and foreign ownership (Kaynak, 1985:27). Darley and Johnson (1993:40) concur, arguing that most consumers in developing countries have “low levels of aspiration or aspiration levels equal to their prevailing living conditions”. An assessment of complaints by the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, a consumer protection body, reveals concerns about overpricing, currency inconsistencies on in-store transactions, and the sale of inferior goods (Bulawayo 24, 2021: par. 1).

Over the years, Zimbabwe has lost much of its manufacturing capacity as the economic situation has worsened. This has led to many manufactures closing shop. As a result, the country has relied heavily on imports. Arguably, the level of consumerism has been affected as many consumers have failed to identify the responsible parties to whom to direct their concerns. Furthermore, consumers are more concerned with survival and lose focus on the intricacies of active collective consumerism necessary to punish irresponsibility or to push organisations into positive action. This may lead to the deduction that consumerism is dead in Zimbabwe and with it, the realisation that organisations are able to negate on their responsibility as there is no pressure from ordinary consumers to ensure positive corporate action.

2.11.3. CSR as a business concept in Zimbabwe

Organisations in Zimbabwe are also affected by ignorance around CSR as a business concept as well as the obligations expected of them. This is arguably linked to the lack of CSR framework in the country. This means that, without a guiding framework or regulation, some business leaders are not fully cognisant of their social responsibility. This is supported by Nyawuyanga (2015:19) who argues that many organisations in Zimbabwe are ignorant of their responsibility towards societal issues and without necessary regulations, would find it difficult to appreciate or comprehend their inaction.

Business leaders need to be trained in strategic thinking around CSR as an evolving business concept. This training would go a long way in clarifying what CSR is and help business leaders translate principles into tangible strategic initiatives. This will help them tailor their approaches to meet societal needs as well as to ensure that their businesses remain linked to modern approaches to CSR.

A lack of CSR knowledge and expertise within many organisations in Zimbabwe also hampers the appropriate crafting and implementation of CSR strategies. This is often noticeable by the lack of CSR related departments or positions within corporate Zimbabwe. For example, CBZ, one of Zimbabwe's leading commercial banking institutions handles the management of CSR under a Public Relations portfolio within the Marketing Department (Rukudzo, 2013:38, 57). In other countries, titles such as CSR Specialist, Social Investment Analyst, Sustainability Manager and Social Investment Manager have become quite common in the marketplace. Having a dedicated portfolio shows a focused approach towards CSR and illustrates the company's commitment towards sustainability and interaction with organisational stakeholders as opposed to placing the responsibility to functional authorities within the marketing or human resources departments. Such an approach allows the organisation to improve its sustainability mindset and focuses attention on making a positive impact on society.

2.11.4. Informal sector and CSR in Zimbabwe

Another challenge that impacts the implementation of CSR programmes in Zimbabwe is the actual composition of the economic players in the country. Due to the aforementioned economic challenges, many companies have closed shop and the formal sector has all but collapsed. In fact, the International Monetary Fund (2019:18) estimated that in 2019, over 60% of the Zimbabwean economy is informal. Gobbi (2012:2) explains that an enterprise can be informal when it is not registered, but there may be elements of informality also when it does not pay taxes, has employees who are not formally recruited or does not provide to its workers all the social protection benefits to which they are entitled according to national legislation. This includes informal entrepreneurs such as street vendors, taxi drivers, and others involved in activities such as illegal forex trading, construction and food production.

The informal sector operates within an environment which lacks formal rules to govern its economic activities. Often, this sector is characterised by undesirable practices which may be deemed illegal and may be detrimental to the monetary, health and environmental aspects of the country.

While this sector may not make a direct contribution into the national fiscus, it is very important as it provides income for millions. However, its contribution towards the CSR discourse may not be recognised in the conventional sense but in a rather informal manner. This is supported by Chanakira and Masunda (2019:72) who assert that even though CSR understanding in Zimbabwe may be described as “patchy and incomplete”, the altruistic nature within this sector leads to actions that help to boost social well-being, though on a small scale.

Spence and Schmidpeter (2003:105) suggest that members of the informal sector are closely connected to communities in which they operate and often act as benefactors or strongly committed agents with the values of the constituting a major driver. As a result, they are interested in the relationships and networks that they have built, but do not appear to communicate their social practices, which constitute an informal CSR.

Although the informal sector gives rise to entrepreneurship and innovation, it may be materially impossible for such actors to participate in formal CSR activities. Furthermore, with the absence of market-based instruments and regulations, these players are unable or unwilling to actively participate in recognisable socially responsible practices. They instead concentrate on the main purpose of their operations that is to provide a living for their families and assist the community when they can. It is interesting to also note that such assistance is often given at the whim of the proprietor who may be swayed by personal relationships and preferences.

2.11.5. Influence of other agents

Encouraging corporate responsibility cannot be left to society alone. In South Africa for example, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), introduced the Socially Responsible Investment (SRI) index to identify those companies listed on the bourse that integrate the principle of the triple bottom line and good governance into their activities as well as to provide a tool for a holistic assessment of company policies and practices against globally aligned and locally relevant corporate responsibility standards (SRI Index: 2). This index encourages listed companies, regardless of their size, to be competitive in their approach to CSR, to actively participate in responsible business practices. It ultimately compares the organisations' performance, thereby providing stakeholders, who include investors, employees and customers, with indications that go beyond just the financial performance. Such an initiative does not currently exist in Zimbabwe and this means that the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange misses an opportunity to encourage companies that are listed on the bourse to act in a responsible manner and to report on their activities. The organisation, however, reported in their 2019 annual reports that it would be launching a sustainable index as a commitment to promoting sustainable investment (Zimbabwe Stock Exchange Annual report, 2019:14). Such a step would be encouraging but may take a long time to implement, be accepted and utilised by all listed companies and potential investors.

2.11.6. Lack of CSR framework

In addition to the above, CSR activity in Zimbabwe has been adversely affected by the lack of a framework or policy that directs and monitors the activities of organisations or institutions in the private and public sector. Machadu (2012: par. 1) highlights that there is no explicit law compelling businesses in Zimbabwe to engage in CSR. Whether it be self-regulation or full regulation (also known as government regulation), Zimbabwe lacks a framework to drive CSR activity.

Nyawuyanga (2015:29) states that although the Zimbabwe's Companies Act (Chapter 24.03 of 1952) encourages companies to participate in CSR activities, it does not express how organisations should go about addressing societal concerns. That is not to say that good businesses necessarily need to be told by law how best to conduct their CSR, but a guideline or framework would go a long way in increasing attention towards CSR, highlighting societal expectation and monitoring compliance. Nyawuyanga (2015:29) further suggests that this lack of regulatory and enforcement legislation has led to organisations abdicating their social and ecological responsibilities.

Although IEEP in Zimbabwe plays a pivotal role in regulating the activities of foreign owned organisations and may thus be considered as a CSR regulatory framework as shall be discussed, it falls short of providing an all-encompassing solution to direct all businesses in the country. The policy is designed to dictate the activities of foreign owned organisations. There is no policy that drives locally owned entities. The introduction of IEEP may be seen amongst other things, as a way to influence organisations to plough back to community. The IEEP will be discussed further in the following chapters. Whether it be self-regulation or full regulation (also known as government regulation), Zimbabwe lacks a framework to drive CSR activity.

2.11.7. CSR positives in Zimbabwe

Despite the economic challenges, some organisations in Zimbabwe actively participate in CSR albeit at minimal levels. The country is highly dependent on the primary and tertiary sectors and more specifically, the extractive and service industries. Companies within the mining industry have been very active on issues of CSR. This sector is dominated by MNCs and as such Anglo, Rio Tinto and Impala Platinum. Many of these take their CSR guidance from their home countries. Nyawuyanga (2015:30) notes that some mining corporations have established beneficial social and infrastructure programmes in their communities such as building dams to improve the reliability of water supply in the area and financial contributions to local schools and clinics.

In the service industry, companies such as Econet and Old Mutual stand out. For its CSR activities, the organisation runs the Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo Trust and the Capenaum Trust and has partnered with the Zimbabwe National Healthcare Trust and the Christian Community Partnership Trust. In its 2020 report, Econet reported its commitment to the SDGs. By using its financial capabilities and core competences, the organisation reported that it had assisted 13 333 primary and secondary school children (SDG 4), installed 12 solar installations (SDG 7), donated 7 300 trees (SDG 8) and recorded 22% decline in absenteeism due to improved employee wellness programmes (SDG3) (Econet Annual Report 2020:48). The other SDGs that the organisation has adapted are SDGs 17, 5, 12, 11, 8, 9, 1 and 16. The company was awarded the SDG and community impact award in 2019 by Corporate Social Responsibility Network Zimbabwe and also received runners up recognition in the Excellence in Corporate Governance by the Institute of Charted Secretaries and Administration in Zimbabwe (Econet Annual Report 2020:99).

Old Mutual is involved in a number of initiatives to uplift the livelihood of Zimbabweans in the areas of education, health, arts and culture, environment and sports development. Old Mutual recognises that beneficiaries of CSR programmes can also become an organisation’s greatest advocates (Old Mutual CSR report 2014:6) and as such, embraces its responsibility by actively engaging with the community. In 2018, the organisation reported on its various initiatives in a 24-page Responsible Business report (2018), Old Mutual highlighted its initiatives that included its commitment to toastmasters international, Zimbabwe’s sevens rugby team, the Heath Streak Cricket Academy, as well as the Mathematics Olympiad. The organisation also donated blankets to Bumhudzo Old peoples home as well as US$400 000 to the government of Zimbabwe’s fight against cholera. Notably, Old Mutual used its core financial competences in a housing project in Bulawayo. The organisation invested US$6 million in servicing 1082 housing stands to be mortgaged to citizens upon completion (Old Mutual Annual Report 2018:22). This illustrates that if an organisation is involved in initiatives which resonate with its mission and competences, it is most likely to solve particular problems as highlighted by Husted and Allen (2000:26). It is also worth noting that Old Mutual is an MNC and as such is better place to understand CSR than other local financial institutions in the country.

There have also been significant strides in CSR practices in Zimbabwe's hotel industry. Organisations such as African Sun, Zimbabwe's largest hotel chain, have developed better appreciation of CSR as a business concept. A comparison of their 2016 and 2019 annual reports shows a significant shift in CSR practices. In 2016, African Sun reported that they had donated US$ 35 000 to the Better Schools Programme in Marondera and Tsholotsho Rural District Council as well as handing over linen to various institutions in Harare and Bulawayo. No other information on CSR was provided. This is consistent with research conducted by Nyahunzvi (2012:604). The author found that philanthropy in the form of donations in cash and kind were the main CSR activities undertaken by hotel chains in Zimbabwe. Review of African Sun's 2019 annual report however showed a significant shift in how the organisation approached CSR. The organisation dedicated 14 pages to sustainability reporting in 2019 compared to 2 pages in 2016. African Sun detailed the various initiatives that it had undertaken in the year under review with projects ranging from cheap planting to partnerships with Hwange national parks and Victoria Falls anti-poaching unit. The organisation also provided information on its sustainability committee which it describes as being responsible for policy on sustainability and CSR. African Sun also highlighted employee engagement initiatives which included the promotion of employee equity programmes, women empowerment as well as training and development. This represents a new approach for other organisations to emulate.

Consistent with the activities in other developing countries, corporate philanthropy is noticeably the most significant approach to CSR in Zimbabwe. Visser (2009:490) states that corporate philanthropy is seen as the most direct way to improve the prospects of the communities and as such is seen as an excepted norm and is considered the right thing to do by business. Philanthropy alone is inadequate as a CSR approach. It fails to solve some of the socio-economic challenges such as upskilling unemployed youth or enterprise development. Corporate philanthropy may be seen as the simplest approach as there is little direct involvement by the donor. Furthermore, philanthropy creates a culture of dependency on the part of the recipient thereby discouraging self-reliance. Visser (2009:490) argues that the reason why developing countries prioritise philanthropy is that they are generally still at the early stage of maturity in CSR, sometimes even equating CSR and philanthropy, rather than embracing more embedded approaches now common in developed world. A shift towards supporting practices that promote self-sufficiency within the Zimbabwean society would therefore go a long way in alleviating the socio-economic challenges faced by citizens. Panwar and Hansen (2008:45) assert that over time, societal expectations of business responsibilities broaden as a society passes through the phases of economic development and as its population increasingly seeks to meet not only physical but also social and personal-growth needs.

Although some companies have active CSI, the dissemination or reporting on such activities is inadequate. For example, Nyahunzvi (2013:607) found that a common theme identified was the inadequacy and poor quality of the information reported surrounding CSR activities in the annual reports and corporate websites of hotel chains in Zimbabwe. CSR reporting is important as it not only communicates an organisation's effort but also forms an important part of stakeholder engagement and establishes a basis for meaningful dialogue between all parties involved.

As observed, CSR in Zimbabwe may be described as being in transition mainly because of the country's unstable social economic situation. Most of the measures that may be necessary for CSR to thrive are either in their infancy or do not currently exist. Economically, the country ranks amongst the worst performing in the world and is therefore in dire need of assistance from the corporate world especially if it is to achieve the SDGs. With adequate developmental support from MNCs, the resource rich country would be in a better position to provide for its citizens.

Zimbabwe's social, economic and political situation has had an impact on the way CSR is practised in the country. A critical examination of CSR in Zimbabwe offers an understanding of the practice and gives MNCs a view of the type of initiatives that are applied in the country. Though the CSR priorities of Zimbabwe are similar to those of other developing countries, the extent of its challenges are unique and require a differentiated approach by both the government and non-state actors. Zimbabwe's indigenisation policy presents a different dimension to the needs and expectations of society, and this evaluation presents insight into the capacity and ability of organisations to meet these expectations in light of all the challenges that they face. As societal expectations of business responsibilities broaden in Zimbabwe, so too should the organisations CSR activities. The importance of CSR therefore cannot be understated and by evaluating practices in Zimbabwe, the research is able to explore any additional expectations from communities and the government. As such, this examination is set to add value by illustrating the situation in the country and providing a background upon which to base any evaluation of the manner in which MNCs develop their own strategies in the country.

2.12. Conclusion

It is an important acknowledgement that CSR has, for a very long time, played a significant role in society. From medieval time to today, social responsibility has grown to become an integral part of business interaction with society. It has been interwoven into the fabric of operations and sustainable business models. CSR contributes towards the value of the organisation beyond the bottom-line and enshrines the firm's position as a respectable and trustworthy developmental partner in a world that desperately needs support. The concept has cemented itself as a valuable strategic addition to public-private sector engagement especially in emerging markets where there is a growing interest in establishing what MNCs may contribute towards developmental goals. Granted, this mechanism can take some time to perfect, but it is apparent that policymakers are becoming more involved in CSR and sustainability issues, and they are encouraging the private sector to examine its influence and commitment more closely. It is therefore imperative to ensure that organisations understand their role and play a leading part in ensuring that current and future generations benefit and are not adversely impacted by their operations. It is also important for governments, especially in developing nations, to ensure that the well-being of its citizens and indeed the environment, are not compromised for short term gains. With the support of independent global players such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), governments need to formulate polices that challenge, drive and monitor MNCs to constructively and positively assist in the sustainable developmental aspirations of the host nations.

The examination of CSR in developing countries reveals that the practice is dictated by global trends which are mainly imported into these regions by MNCs. Zimbabwe is no exception to this as the country is heavily dependent on the partnership of MNCs in its developmental agenda. By exploring challenges experienced by Zimbabwe and other developing countries, this research presents an opportunity for MNCs to understand societal expectations and thereby to formulate CSR strategies that, while benchmarked by global best practices, are adjusted to meet these needs. Furthermore, the introduction of transformative policies by countries such as Zimbabwe, adds a unique dimension which requires particular attention.

This chapter realised the objective to explain applicable CSR theories and strategies. It provided a thorough view of CSR. By presenting the evolution of CSR, the research provides a background to the practise and this provided a foundation to understanding the concept deeper. The chapter also presented an investigation of some of the challenges and socioeconomic priorities of developing countries. In so doing, the chapter provided a basis from which MNCs may understand their host countries and develop appropriate CSR strategies to assist in tackling these challenges. Most of the priorities are articulated through the principles described in the UN SDGs and other international approaches for corporate responsibility. The following chapter will introduce the IEEP of Zimbabwe and gives a further context to CSR in Zimbabwe. The next chapter will examine these policies further and build on from the CSR expectations that have been presented here.

Chapter 3: An overview of indigenisation and economic empowerment

3.1 Introduction

In many countries across the world, policies have been introduced to address the social and economic imbalances or discrepancies that may have prejudiced different sectors of society. Through historical bias and injustice, many sections of society have been adversely affected. This chapter describes an intervention policy and thereby addresses the secondary objective of this research on indigenisation and economic empowerment in general and its implementation in Zimbabwe. This will provide an in-depth understanding of IEEP, its rationale, how it fits into the social responsibility ideology and its impact on investment in the mining sector in Zimbabwe.

To begin with, the chapter examines and dissects the definition of indigenisation and economic empowerment as derivatives of affirmative action in order to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the policy adopted in Zimbabwe. In this respect, it examines affirmative action as a practice and investigates the two major policies relevant to this study.

The chapter further examines various theories of affirmative action and social justice that have been presented to support deliberate intervention and restorative measures. It contextualises the theories that advance empowerment and explores the realities of marginalisation in different societies.

The chapter provides examples of economic empowerment policies that have been implemented in Malaysia and South Africa, giving insight into the rationale, expectations and impact of those transformative initiatives on the social and economic development of those countries. This is important as it elucidates the relationship between government intervention, business operations and the social aspirations of the policies. The South African example is also significant because it provides a background of the country in which the two selected mining houses have their headquarters. This is useful because understanding the South African government's empowerment agenda provides a foundation for grasping the multinational corporations' CSR priorities and practices in their home country.

The chapter also discusses indigenisation in Zimbabwe, exploring the precipitants and the corrective actions that have been introduced by the post-independence government. Furthermore, the chapter examines the legal framework of IEEP in Zimbabwe and the government’s perspective on the implementation of the policy. The chapter examines the various amendments that have been made since its adoption and concludes with an evaluation of the impact of IEEP on investment in Zimbabwe. By examining this information, the chapter contributes to a better understanding of some of the responsibilities placed on MNCs that wish to invest in Zimbabwe. It also provides a context of affirmative action, social justice and the need for transformative measures that have been implemented by the Government of Zimbabwe.

3.2 Indigenisation and economic empowerment defined

Indigenisation and economic empowerment may be defined as an affirmative action policy that is intended to address societal disparities that may have been created by years of oppression, marginalisation and discrimination.

During interviews with Government of Zimbabwe and quasi-governmental institutions, the following definitions arose.

> "It is a policy that seeks to redress the past economic imbalances caused by racial discrimination. So, it seeks to bring the previously disadvantaged, (who are the indigenous Zimbabweans) into the mainstream of the economy" (Government Official 1).

> "Indigenisation focuses on ensuring that the previously disadvantaged Zimbabweans have access, ownership and control of the means and factors of production. Making deliberate effort to ensure that they actually become players in the mainstream economy" (Government Official 2).

Indigenisation and economic empowerment is a deliberate affirmative action programme designed to provide indigenous citizens the opportunity to effectively participate in the economic activities of a country. Its transformative argument is underpinned by the historic injustices that have led to the disenfranchisement and marginalisation of indigenous citizens by previous leaders. To comprehend this measure, it is important to interrogate affirmative action as a key term and to build a solid foundation for interpreting actions taken by countries such as Zimbabwe.

3.2.1 Definition of affirmative action

Affirmative action, according to Lee (2014:162), is described as "preferential measures to redress systemic disadvantages faced by a population group that is under-represented in socially esteemed and economically influential positions". Affirmative action, according to Anderson (2010:135), is any policy that attempts to grow the involvement of a disadvantaged socio-economic group in a given environment. Affirmative action may be described as policy that is drawn up in order to increase the opportunities provided to a section of society that was previously disadvantaged or underrepresented.

Many suggest that affirmative action was first introduced onto the political landscape by United States President, John F Kennedy in 1961 to promote social equality in that country. However historical records indicate that measures to sanction affirmative action had been used years before. For example, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a law in 1941 that prohibited the discrimination on race, colour, creed and national origin in the defence industry at a time that the United States was preparing for World War 2. Nevertheless, there is widespread agreement that the term affirmative action had never been used until the 1960s but that changed on the 6th of March 1961 when President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, which featured a stipulation that “government contractors take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, colour, or national origin” (MacLaury, 2010:42).

Affirmative action may be applied to different social and economic conditions, from access to education and admission to universities; gender-based employment appointments; preferential treatment for businesses owned by previously disadvantaged members to proportional representation in parliament. Dietrich (2013:2) explains that there are differences in the various strategies applied by the countries adopting affirmative action due to their respective backgrounds and existing situations. However, there are striking similarities in the societal background that has led to the creation of these policies.

These policies are intended to remedy previous socio-economic imbalances by presenting opportunities for groups that were previously disadvantaged or underrepresented as a population group. These groups may have experienced past and present discrimination as well as limited access to resources and may include collectives of a certain race, ethnicity, region, gender, disability, or religious affiliation. Kaimenyi *et al*. (2013:94) note that affirmative action facilitates diversity and promotes mutual well-being for the general good by expanding opportunities for historically marginalised people and reduces the likelihood of tension when society's participants are on the same political, economic, and social standing.

Affirmative action policies are important vehicles for socio-economic transformation and may be instituted as incentive-based initiatives or directive regulation enforceable by law. The former is a policy that is designed to offer business the chance to play a voluntary role in the redress of imbalances by offering incentives to encourage their active participation. A directive on the other hand, is an instruction given by the government on how businesses should conduct themselves with regards to operationalisation of the socio-economic transformational agenda.

Governments around the world have used these programmes to uplift or empower previously disadvantaged citizens. Dietrich (2013:2) states that the policies are based on the premise that temporary government interventions are required to address a targeted group's social, economic, cultural, or governmental conditions in order for citizens of that group to gain successful equality with each other in that society.

A prominent affirmative action instrument amongst developing countries is an economic empowerment policy as these countries grapple with addressing inequality and poverty. Many of these countries are former colonies and were victims of discrimination and marginalisation of the indigenous populace at the expense of usually a minority group of settlers. These developing countries have designed and adopted economic empowerment policies with varying degrees of success. These policies include Economic Empowerment Reforms in Malaysia; ‘Zairianization’ in Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo); ‘Ivorisation’ in Cote d’Ivoire; Broad-Based Black Economic

Empowerment in South Africa; Citizen Economic Empowerment in Botswana; Indigenisation in Nigeria; and Economic Empowerment in Tanzania. Other countries that have enacted policies to redress economic inequalities brought about by colonialisation; include Angola, Namibia, Mali and Niger.

This was supported by interviewees who stated that:

> "We have China for example. When they closed their economy, they were trying to redress the injustices that had been caused in the past. Only after they had regained control, did they start opening up their economy. And even if you look at the opening up of the economy; it was sector based and it was progressive. They just didn't open up at one go. They started opening up in strategic areas; where they needed investment. What we learnt is that they headhunt the type of investors that they want and they are still protective of a number of sectors in their economy which they reserve for their locals. Singapore and Malaysia; we actually had people who went to understudy their models. In fact, almost every African country has some sort of indigenisation, but the implementation is different and specific to each country" (Government Official 1).

> "You have countries like South Africa; they call it Black Economic Empowerment. Zambia. You've got China. It is a deliberate effort to empower your own people and although it may be named differently but the logic is the same" (Government Official 2).

Thouvenot (2013:2) observes that "indigenisation and economic empowerment appears to be a trend in Southern and Eastern parts of Africa and although several colonial influences exist in these regions, the Anglo-Saxon and Portuguese heritage remains a common feature, as does the fact that colonialism lasted far longer in this region than elsewhere on the continent. As a result, these states faced severe and potentially destabilising disparities of wealth and resources between rich and poor at the attainment of their independence from colonial rule which, because of the economic policies of colonialism, was based on the colour line". It is therefore not unusual that these countries have embarked on such policies to alleviate the socio-economic burden created and maintained during colonial rule.

Indigenisation and economic empowerment are therefore seen as affirmative action policies designed to assist countries in achieving socio-economic parity and shall be explored below. These policies provide a comprehensive and expansive approach that includes schooling, workplace affirmative action, land redistribution, and equity ownership; depending on the particular context (Uppal, 2014:4).

3.2.1.1 Indigenisation

Kwame Nkrumah, the late Ghanaian president, once asserted that despite the decolonisation of Africa, the former colonial power still wanted to keep Africa economically and politically subservient.

A fear of foreign economic domination has spread across the continent and this has prompted countries to instigate measures to cartel “neo-colonialism”. Some of the measures aimed at this economic liberation include policies such as indigenisation.

Indigenisation is a deliberate interventionist approach that seeks to address the socio-economic discrepancies or imbalances created by historical social ills such as racism and colonisation. The intervention of policy makers in this regard, is aimed at correcting these imbalances and ensuring that the victims are empowered in various ways so as to encourage them to proactively contribute in and participate towards the country's economic development. It is a policy that is intended to boost the involvement of locals in economic activities such as the owners of the factors of production.

Uppal (2014:6) dictates that “indigenisation can be seen as a pragmatic approach to dealing with the injustices of the past, starting to resolve contradictions in a system whereby there was a fundamental mismatch between the democratic rights enjoyed by the majority, and yet a lack of economic opportunities”. Indigenisation policy, according to Malan (1976:58), involves the government compelling foreign-owned organisations to sell a portion of their business to locals in order to neutralise ownership, authority, and increase employment. As Balabkins (1980: 21) described it; indigenisation is the ‘deforeignisation’ of a country’s economy.

3.2.1.2 Economic empowerment

Economic empowerment, as articulated by Thouvenot (2013:1), is the process of returning economic control to parts of a society that had historically been excluded from decision-making due to social inequality based on ethnicity, gender, religion, or culture. An act of positive discrimination, this process looks to ensure parity within an economy by enacting measures that help to prepare previously disenfranchised groups to become meaningful contributors and beneficiaries of wealth and prosperity.

These are policies that are made in order to increase economic involvement and allocation of resources to individuals or groups that may have been disenfranchised by events or societal norms. This often includes women, the youth, marginalised ethnic groups and people living with a disability. To a large extent, these are all enshrined in the recently adopted SDGs, (SDG 10 and 5) which, in summary, aims to empower and encourage all citizen's social, economic, and political inclusion, regardless of their age, gender, religious faith, race, ethnicity, disability, heritage, or economic or other status. In this respect, most countries have committed to taking active steps to ensure that laws are enacted to eradicate discrimination and to support change that provides economic opportunities for those affected.

Policies are ambitiously crafted by governments to redress socio-economic disparities and yet simultaneously grow the economy. In South Africa, for example, economic empowerment is used to redress socio-economic inequalities by offering opportunities for Black people to be actively and equitably involved in the running of the economy (Visser, 2005:32). The government of Botswana in its Citizen's Economic Empowerment Policy (2012:3), defines such policies "as a set of interventions aimed at strengthening the ability of the indigenous or citizens of a country to own, manage and control resources, and the flexibility to exercise options, which will enable the native of a country to generate income and wealth through a sustainable, resilient and diversified economy".

For the purpose of this research, indigenisation and economic empowerment policy is thus defined as a deliberate affirmative action initiative designed to provide indigenous citizens the opportunity to effectively participate in the economic activities and development of their country. This definition demonstrates the importance of initiating a transformative and restorative agenda to economically emancipate citizens from past discrimination. Governments need to assume an egocentric, unapologetic but pragmatic stance by implementing policies that will ensure prosperity for citizens, notably those previously marginalised. Such policies are essential tools for eradicating poverty, realising equality and sustainable development. When economic parity is achieved, social inclusion and quality of life increases, thereby improving societal stability and continued economic growth.

To understand some of the affirmative action policies that have been enacted by some countries around the world, it is necessary to review some of the theoretical considerations that precipitate the pursuit of societal equality. The selected theories of affirmative action and social justice help enrich our understanding of inequality and social change in light of historical and present injustice. This helps the researcher to analyse the policies from a critical point of view and to establish an appreciation of the means taken to empower the previously marginalised as well as to comprehend investor responses.

3.3 Theories of affirmative action and social justice

Social justice, according to Miller (1987), is a realistic effort to put the overall system of representation in a society into accordance with societal values. Although the concept can be traced to classic and Christian philosophy, it gained prominence during the 19th-century industrial revolution to counteract the consequences of capitalism and labour exploitation. It is based on two considerations: firstly, that social systems are regulated by clear laws, making it reasonable to attempt to intentionally restructure society; and secondly, that the centre of authority within government that would be able to sufficiently carry out the reshaping is identified. According to Gajendragadkar (1965:73), social justice must be realised by taking suitable and rational steps with confidence, experience, vision, moderation, and fairness to all parties involved.

Jatava (1998:16) describes social justice as "that sort of justice which prescribes certain ideals closely related to human society; it sustains the existence and continuity of the individual, family, society and the nation; its implementation safeguards the interests of the weaker sections of society; and this removes all the serious unjust imbalances formed between man and man so that the lives of all citizens become improved and emancipated. As a result, every man, according to his own potentiality and merit may participate in the power and wealth of the nation and thus may avail of the opportunities for acquiring social status of his own liking and outlook". Jatava (1998:16) adds that, "social justice is so wide concept that it includes all other kinds of justice in its sphere. It gives a vivid depiction of the whole of human society. It is like a looking-glass wherein one can find the picture of a country or of a society. Its subject matter is a sort of study, which is related more to practice than theory. That is why social justice is different from the well-established social sciences and other studies of human life".

While there are several theories of social justice, the following have been identified for this study as important theories underpinning the consideration of affirmative action and in relation to CSR. These are, Existentialism, Marxism, Rawls Social justice, Ambedkarism and Utilitarianism. In an expression of duty, these theories pursue the restoration of social, political and economic rights while also preserving a life of equality for all.

3.3.1 Existentialism

Existentialism is a theory popularised by Jean Paul Sartre in the 1940s but drawn from the works of Kierkegaard (1813-1855), Nietzsche (1843-1900), Dostoevsky (1821-1881) and Kafka (1883-1924). Sartre conceived that freedom is an inevitable feature of human existence and declared that "man is condemned to be free" (Nellickappilly, 2014:7). The belief is that an individual should be free to pursue those actions that allow one to develop to his or her fullest potential and that society should not hinder this. From this freedom, society derives responsibility and in turn people become responsible for whom they become. Put simply, society has the responsibility to make choices and accept the consequences. According to Sartre (1957) those men who refuse to take responsibility, refuse to accept that they are free. "Existentialism, as Sartre described it, is an ethical philosophy and a kind of humanism, which means that it takes morality as the core ethical value," wrote Webber (2010:232). It aspires to the flourishing of the human individual, which it defines as the unrestricted realisation of our most basic existence.

A deeper understanding of existentialism reveals the presence of Black existentialism, which is concerned with the emancipation of communities that history has dehumanised, according to Bassey (2007:917). Bassey (2007:920) argues that whereas Black and European existentialism share similarities in the value of agency and liberation, a stark contrast exists in that not all individuals have equitable access to systems that provide influence and emancipation. Whereas European existentialism may be considered individualistic, Black existentialism is rooted in the ethos "I am because we are". This collective perspective to humanity renders the liberation of the whole as an integral part of true emancipation. Vereen *et al*., (2017:73) argue that "Black existentialism acknowledges the inequality of access for all and challenges the axiom that prior to agency, there must first be liberty". Unmitigated and ubiquitous agency as an end goal comes from a committed fight for freedom and equality. Liberation is therefore seen as the prerequisite and indispensable foundation for gaining influence.

Black existentialism arose from the struggles that people of colour in many parts of the world (for example, France, Haiti, and Algeria) faced as a result of slavery, colonialism, marginalisation, and inequity (Vereen *et al*., 2017:73). It focuses on the suffering and struggles of black people and seeks to identify transformative solutions to these problems. Black existentialism aims to capacitate and empower black people to earn the freedom that they have been deprived of. Gordon (2000) adds that Black existentialism offers a philosophical foundation for exploring the inability of Black people to thrive amid inequity, racialisation, and historical injustice. It is with this in mind that Black liberation thinkers were challenged to seriously reflect on the need to liberate the continent from the oppressive colonisers.

In reclaiming voice and finding meaning in the world, Black existentialism recognises the resilience and agency practiced (Biko, 1978/2002; Gordon, 2000, 2013). Black existentialism provides a prism through which inequality, racialisation and marginalisation, as it relates to Black people, may be viewed while aspiring for recognition and agency in the world (Vereen *et al*., 2017:73). Within the context of an oppressive apartheid regime, Biko (1978:88) opined that “it is not surprising therefore that in South Africa, after generations of exploitation, white people on the whole have come to believe in the inferiority of the Black man”.

Black existentialism bodes well with notions of indigenisation particularly following the attainment of independence. The liberation of these states is often followed by the socio-economic emancipation of its citizens as they take control and subsequently, responsibility of their resources. Indigenisation and economic emancipation is therefore seen as an important aspect within the existence of social justice for African nations following years of oppression and marginalisation by their colonial masters.

3.3.2 Marxism

Marxism is a theory attributed to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' work, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), and promoted by many others, including Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung who refined it over the years. Marxism may be defined as a philosophy of class struggle in which theorists advocate for the public control of the means of production, supply, and commerce. It conflicts with the system of capitalism which endorses private ownership, free enterprise and profit maximisation at any cost. Under capitalism, the working class or the proletariat is only able to own their capacity to work and earn from the sale of that labour. With Marxism, on the other hand, workers are owners of the labour and are an essential part of the ownership of production.

Throughout history, there has been an incessant struggle between those that have and those that do not; a class struggle that has seen the exploitation of the latter by the former. The poor have been unable to receive social justice as their vulnerability has been rooted in the capitalist system itself

(Hantal, 2011:188). The author adds that Marxism seeks to liberate society from inequality by overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism or communism, thus abolishing classism and all other types of inequity.

Karl Marx (1875) popularised the socialist slogan "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", arguing that if this maxim were unconstrainedly applied, all citizens would have enough resources and opportunities. Wray-Bliss and Parker (1998:30) assert that Marxism is a radical and revolutionary ideology which emphasises the power of marginalised communities to resist tyrannical systems. It explores how resistance can be effectively used to challenge or transform capitalist systems. They further state that the Marxist ideology may be interpreted as an attempt to offer a conceptual framework of social inequality within, and class struggle to, capitalism. It is a movement dedicated to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist society.

Although the theory has been enriched by historical experience, the foundation as introduced by Marx and Engels remains solid. Many countries adopted socialism as a policy of governance. Socialism has often been seen as direct opposition to capitalism and its adoption by many countries in the 60s, 70s and 80s was seen as a challenge to the capitalist ideologies presented by Western countries. Global polarisation during this period meant that the world was split between the countries that followed the advanced capitalism of the USA and UK and those that followed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Chinese socialist ideologies. In addition, the fact that many countries, during this period, were fighting for their independence from colonialists such as Britain, France, Portugal and Spain, and they found support from the socialist countries. The latter were more than willing to provide support thereby spreading their socialist ideologies and, in the process, further antagonising Western countries. The assistance rendered to many liberation movements saw post-independence nations adopt socialist policies. These were seen as more inclusive and compassionate compared to the capitalist policies peddled by the Western countries who were also responsible for the scourge of colonisation and, as a result, countries such as Cuba, Zambia, Angola, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Zimbabwe adopted socialist policies.

Simon (2011:6) notes that capitalist nations and MNCs around the world exploit indigenous territories in order to redirect natural resources towards the accumulation of wealth which in turn helps further entrench their exploitive nature. The author further asserts that indigenous workers are exploited by capitalist organisations in systems of production that turn indigenous citizens into perpetual members of the proletarian class. Indigenisation is thus seen from a Marxist viewpoint as a change in power dynamics and forces of production away from capitalist interests to a broader distribution of a country's population. This spread is meant to dismantle the elitist groups and afford more indigenous participation in wealth creation. On the other hand, one could argue that such efforts detract from the true nature of Marxism as it may create a different form of capitalism; one in which small groups of (often well-connected) indigenous people become the new capitalists. However, as Bunten (2011:65) argues, indigenous capitalists differ from non-indigenous capitalists because indigenous economic behaviour is rooted in indigenous cultural values such as environmental stewardship and contribution to community. It therefore has the potential to empower the citizens of a country in a greater way.

3.3.3 Rawls social justice

John Rawls' theory of social justice prescribes that all members of society should be granted minimal rights which would ensure that they became active participants of their community. His theory of justice and fairness is arguably one of the twentieth century's most significant philosophies of justice. Rawls (1971) sought to formulate an ideology of justice as well as a theoretic programme for developing democratic institutions that upheld social justice and individual freedom within this ideology. The theory reflects upon matters of freedom, equality, democracy and the conflict of interest between the person and society. Rawls is credited for revitalising the views of what justice entails and the pressure put on equity, objectivity, parity of opportunities, poverty alleviation and liberty (Dutta, 2017:43).

Rawls argued that the most important aspect of justice is fairness. For Rawls (1971), fairness refers to correct dealings between people who are either collaborating or competing with each other. It seeks to see a solution from the viewpoint of others and not just from one's self. The individual will do so because he or she may find themselves in a precarious situation in which he or she may need to be adequately accommodated. Gündoğan (2009:11) suggests that a practice is deemed fair if nobody obtains illegitimate advantages; a prospect which applies to voluntary practices which require reciprocity and community. Accordingly, a person would select a system of justice that sufficiently and satisfactorily protects those in the weakest echelons of society.

Rawls (2007:571) asserts that "social justice spells a situation where there is social and economic equality among all races despite race or religious and cultural background". This affords members of society fair working conditions and equal opportunities to exercise social justice. In such a society, everyone recognises the same principles of justice, since the fundamental institutions of society meet and are acknowledged to meet these principles of justice (Rawls 1971:4).

If Rawls' theory of justice were fully implemented, there would be no need for affirmative action as society would be just. However, given the realities of the world today, there may be a need to consider Rawls' theory in pursuit of justice, equality and fairness. In this way, one's race, socio-economic background, gender and religious upbringing has no bearing on the opportunities availed to them. According to Rawls' theory (1971:63), equitable allocation of opportunities demands that people with similar abilities and eagerness to use them should have the same intellectual and economic prospects in spite of their social status. Citizens should have equal rights and opportunities to peruse social, economic or political goals.

According to Rawls' school of thought, justice as fairness offers a foundation for the correction of past injustice. It is thus through such policies as indigenisation that historical rectification is effected. These policies have a positive effect on the healing process following periods of oppression, injustice or marginalisation. The return of political and economic self-determination is regarded by Rawls scholars as the social basis of self-respect. To this end Vaca (2013:305) contends that without self-respect, an individual cannot successfully fulfil his or her life path and be a truly contributing member of society. Furthermore, while the government cannot assure that its citizens will value themselves, it can provide the necessary tools required to progress that objective. In this way, citizens are therefore guaranteed of becoming active participants in economic development.

3.3.4 Ambedkarism

Developed in India by Babasaheb Ambedkar in 1936, this theory dictates that the land ought to be distributed to peasants without regard to caste or religious belief, and there will be no landlord, tenant, or landless workers. Land, in this instance, stood as a proxy for the resources that are available within a given society. Ambedkar's ideology promoted intellectual freedom and self-respect by encouraging independent and original thinking in various challenges and issues that affect society (Chandrakant & Shankar Rao, 2015:219).

Ambedkar fought for the eradication of the caste system in India and went so far as the proposition of the adoption of an alternative religious thinking that did not dictate the classification of members of society. Ambedkar (1936:45) found that India's caste system was a cause of extreme injustice and proclaimed that "religion, social status and property with a source of power and authority which one has to control the liberty of another". He emphasised that the best way to liberate the oppressed was to destroy the caste system.

Ambedkarism is a movement that drives the de-valued, de-humanised and disempowered citizens from indifference to intervention, dependence to independence, from frailty to self-assurance, indifference to awareness, isolation to commitment, and manipulation to self-governance (Samuel 2013:9). Swamy (2016:84) adds that Ambedkarism is a concerted fight for justice against all difficulties and societal prejudices that are encountered by previously marginalised groups.

Economically, the caste system, according to Ambedkar (1936:48;50), was a dangerous structure that involved the subordination of men's natural powers and inclinations to the exigencies of social rules, and this would certainly not result in economic efficiency. Ambedkar advocated for a broad economic radicalism interpreted as socialism mixed with and growing out of his democratic liberalism and liberal dedication to individual rights (Omvedt, 1994). These recommendations centred on state ownership of basic industries and collective farms. This was based on the premise that the market, by itself, cannot guarantee equality, that government should serve a defiant and guiding role; or rather that the members of society must act collectively through state regulation.

Compelled with this, Ambedkar realised and theorised that the foundation of self-development lay in education. He believed that the most certain way for the deliverance of individuals lay in advanced academic achievement, higher employment and better means of eking out a living.

Chandrakant and Shankar Rao (2015:219) point out that, to Ambedkar, education was “the weapon to destroy ignorance and darkness”. His commandment: “Educate, Agitate, Organise” was a call to action to use education as a stepping stone towards engaging the status quo in what should become an equal and tolerant society.

This theory finds relevance today as society attempts to achieve social transformation by advocating for equal status and opportunities to all citizens irrespective of gender, race, caste or creed. It promotes affirmative action for overall development of marginalised groups. As Ambedkar (Keer, 1990:235) asserted, “remember that it is not enough that a people are numerically in the majority; they must be always watchful, strong and self-respecting to attain and maintain success. We must shape our course ourselves and by ourselves”. With that in mind, a policy of affirmative action spurs states towards an organised struggle for justice and equality for its citizens, especially in the face of past socio-economic discrimination and exclusion.

3.3.5 Utilitarianism

The theory of utilitarianism may be defined simply as those actions that provide "the greatest good for the greatest number”. Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, John Austin and John Stuart Mill led the discussion and submitted that the real test of morality and justice comes from how practical and useful it is to society. Bentham considered it to be a guiding principle; a call to action for both individuals and governments to provide the highest amount of satisfaction to the largest number of citizens.

These theorists suggested that utilitarianism may be best understood from two perspectives: act and rule utilitarianism. According to act utilitarianism, society should always select behaviour that will result in the highest amount of satisfaction. According to Mill (1863:10) an action under act utilitarianism becomes morally right when it is accompanied by more pleasure than pain. Rule utilitarianism on the other hand contends that society should decipher what sort of actions are most likely to result in satisfaction and cohesion and turn them into a set of rules. The concept of rule utilitarianism tests an action and only conforms to it if it results in the greatest good or outcome for the majority.

The principle of utility dictates that any action is approved or disapproved according to its clear potential to augment or diminish happiness for the person whose interest is at stake; or to put it differently, if it encourages or opposes that happiness (Bentham, 1781:14). Accordingly, these theorists believe that whatever is worthless, painful, unpleasant, immoral or unfair ought to be changed or improved upon to serve the interests of the greatest number of citizens (Jatava, 1998).

As poverty remains one of the most significant challenges in Africa, the utilitarian test would be passed by measures that alleviate poverty and improve the well-being of the majority of its citizens (Kamusoko, 2019:84). Based on this assertion, a policy such as indigenisation may be considered from a utilitarianism perspective as being aligned with the upliftment of citizens thereby providing the most satisfaction for the largest number of local citizens. Because utilitarianism seeks to maximise happiness for the largest number of people, indigenisation is seen as a policy that prepares governments to focus on catering for the economic prosperity of its previously impoverished citizens.

According to Kamusoko (2019:14), this is an economic approach derived from the utilitarian ethics, with the goal of domesticating capitalism for the advantage of the majority. Although this may seem like an oxymoron, it is prudent to realise that the establishment of a domesticated capitalist system has positive consequences as fortunes generated as a result of any overflow or surplus would be beneficial for the majority, as argued by Little (2002:40).

These and other theories of social justice serve to illustrate the need to correct societal injustice through whatever means. Table 3.1 below provides the conclusion and main insights from the theories that have been discussed above. These theories of affirmative action and social justice may be used collectively or uniquely to explain and justify the enactment of indigenisation and economic policies by countries. This is supported by Nel (2011: 11) who states that these theories are "regularly invoked as tools of interpretation and justification of affirmative action policy and legislation". Society is therefore convinced to take actions that that are necessary to redress social and economic inequality and injustice.

Table 3.1 Insights from theories of affirmative action and social justice

Theories of affirmative action and social justice	**Insight for study**
Existentialism	Individuals should have unrestricted freedom in pursuit of those actions that allow them to develop to their fullest potential.
Marxism	Society has an important role to play in its liberation from all aspects of tyranny and oppression and in so doing eradicate all individualistic elements or capitalism.
Rawls social justice	Each individual should be afforded basic rights which allow him or her to become an active member of society.
Ambedkarism	Resources should be shared equally to all within a community regardless of their status.

Utilitarianism	Actions should be perused to offer the greatest potential to the majority within a given community.

Source: Created by the researcher (2022)

These theories influence different aspects of indigenisation and economic empowerment. They provide knowledge and a foundation upon which governments plan and implement their policies. The theories presented above provide a blend of key concepts and theoretical models that have been developed over generations to support the age old problem of social justice. They share similarities in the main tenets of the fight for social justice but may differ in their approach on how this should be achieved with some being more radical than others. Zimbabwe's struggle for independence was fought under the guidance of Socialist/Marxist ideologies as was done by most African countries who identified closer with the Eastern Bloc in pursuit of liberation against Western colonisers. This theory dictated the early years of independence and shaped the way Zimbabwe would be led.

Context is however important in the formulation of policies and as the environmental conditions change (for example, globalisation, the collapse of socialism, the resurgence of neoliberalism, the emergence of sustainability thinking), so too does the strict adherence to ideologies. In addition, Cerna (2013:7) convincingly states that countries "change policies by learning from others and hence shifting their beliefs". Almgren (2017:16) adds that the principles of social justice do not necessarily govern the actions of a particular country. In some cases, governments may decide to enact policies deemed to be unreasonable and pejorative to others, but justifiable within the context of the situation. Nevertheless, these actions are often taken in the best interest of the country and in pursuit of social justice. The support in the formulation and implementation of policies such as the indigenisation policy in Zimbabwe may, therefore, be seen as a blend of ideological thinking strengthened by policy learning and shifting global trends.

It is without a doubt that racial discrimination and social injustice existed during colonial times and, therefore, governments have been energised not only to politically emancipate their citizens but also to eradicate all previously established socio-economic injustices. Affirmative action is not without its fair share of criticism but remains a fundamental necessity in the quest for equality and justice. It is with this understanding that a consideration of policies that have been enacted are given. A brief reflection on the policies in South Africa and Malaysia is thus presented as examples of economic empowerment initiatives that have been introduced with relative success. As a resource-rich African country that has a legacy of colonisation and Western neo-colonialism, South Africa provides an excellent example to examine economic empowerment. The South African model exemplifies a different approach to economic empowerment, with the government adopting an all-inclusive approach of socio-economic affirmative action, national development, and poverty eradication. Malaysia on the other hand, offers similarities with the Zimbabwean model in that foreign shareholding is regulated by law. The Malaysian model has seen the country develop into an industrial powerhouse having achieved its economic empowerment goals in the early 90s.

3.4 Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa

The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 signalled the beginning of a new era for South Africans especially for those who had been affected by oppression and marginalisation during apartheid. This new era brought about the realisation that total freedom would not be achieved without the socio-economic emancipation of its previously marginalised population. South Africa had been a pariah state for 48 years due to its apartheid policy which had segregated and oppressed the black population by the white minority. According to Juggernath *et al*. (2011:8225) apartheid institutionalised racial and gender-based segregation across all facets of social, economic, and political life, with whites enjoying preferential access to productive land ownership, industry, training, as well as government-provided facilities.

The democratisation of South Africa therefore brought about political change and the government set forth to prepare policies that would improve the livelihood of the previously disadvantaged. The South African constitution, which was introduced in 1996, condemned all acts of systematic economic discrimination and disenfranchisement of non-white citizens as had been enshrined during the apartheid period. This condemnation gave South Africa the basis for the introduction of a policy that would move to rectify the injustices of the past. In 2003, the government under President Thabo Mbeki, promulgated the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programme. Administered by the Department of Trade and Industry, BEE attempted to redress the socioeconomic imbalances and encourage the upliftment of previously marginalises members of South African society.

Critics argue that BEE, however, benefited the narrow section of society as opposed to its intended purpose of empowering a significant portion of the previously disadvantaged citizens of South Africa. As a result, in 2007, the South African government revised the empowerment codes and adopted Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) to address significant flaws in the initial policy and to set in place additional steps to further facilitate the integration of more black citizens into the South African economy. Acemogluy *et al*. (2007:10) state that “the aim of these codes was to clarify the conceptualisation and measurement of B-BBEE, to outline the qualification criteria for procurement and other economic activities, to determine the weights attached to different elements of B-BBEE and to also clarify the status of the industry charters”. The B-BBEE Act was again amended in 2013 to address previous regulatory shortcomings, including the introduction of measures to curb incidences of fronting and the creation of the B-BBEE Commission, whose mandate was to monitor and promote adherence to the act. Another significant change to the revised B-BBEE Act (46 of 2013) was the inclusion of a requirement for all South African listed companies to provide reports on their B-BBEE compliance.

Barrett (2012) states that the majority of black South Africans who had been disadvantaged by apartheid laws would be empowered by B-BBEE, particularly in terms of their involvement in the country's economy. This is enshrined in the Trade and Industry Department's definition which defines B-BEEE as "a socio-economic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the number of black people in the management, ownership and control of the country's economy as well as significantly decreasing income inequalities" (RSA, 2001:12). It sought to transform the economic environment to be more reflective and inclusive of the country's demographics.

Under this Act, Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Chinese are identified as racial groups that were previously disadvantaged and in need of socio-economic empowerment. The Act also recognises the need to empower women, labour, people living with disabilities, the youth and rural communities and is therefore codified to facilitate their empowerment. As stated by the Department of Trade and Industry (2014), the policy seeks to stimulate collaborative growth, human capital and skills development, fair employment opportunities for black people and preferential procurement of black-owned enterprises.

3.4.1 Policy features

According to Krüger (2011:209), the objectives of the B-BBEE Act are to

a) "promote economic transformation in order to enable participation of black people in the economy;

b) achieve a substantial change in the racial composition of ownership and management structures and in the skilled occupations of existing and new enterprises;

c) increase the extent to which communities, workers, cooperatives and other collective enterprises own and manage existing and new enterprises and increasing their access to economic activities, infrastructure and skills training;

d) increase the extent to which black women own and manage existing and new enterprises and increasing their access to economic activities, infrastructure and skills training;

e) promote investment programmes that lead to broad-based and meaningful participation in the economy by black people in order to achieve sustainable development and general prosperity;

f) empower rural and local communities by enabling access to economic activities, land, infrastructure, ownership and skills; and

g) promote access to finance for black economic empowerment".

It should be noted that B-BBEE is a predominantly voluntary measure and that there is no legal obligation for organisations to conform to the codes, except for South African listed companies as of Act (46 of 2013). The policy is however important for any organisation that would be interested in conducting business with the state. Arguably, the policy is so well crafted that it compels organisations to comply as an imperative to remain competitive and eligible to conduct business with the government. In this respect, all government departments and public institutions are required to follow the code when making decisions about purchasing, license granting, public-private partnerships, and asset sales. This is emphasised by Werksmans Attorneys (2015:6) who state that "although the B-BBEE Act and Codes do not impose legal obligations on firms to comply with B-BBEE targets, a firm's B-BBEE status is an important factor affecting its ability to successfully tender for Government and public entity tenders and (in certain sectors like mining and gaming) to obtain licences".

3.4.2 Implementation of B-BBEE

In order for the implementation of B-BBEE to be successful, the government introduced various mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the policy. At the apex, the government established the B-BBEE Advisory council in 2009 to review progress made in the transformation agenda and to advise government on black economic empowerment, which includes any proposal on amendments to the policy. This organ is made up of the President as the chairperson of the council, the Minister of Trade and Industry, three other ministers and fifteen additional professionals or experts who are appointed by the president.

Arya and Bassi (2009:6) assert that the South African government, in collaboration with other interested parties, such as trade unions and community groups, actively engaged in public consultations with industry representatives in order to develop acceptable industry-specific charters. For example, industry specific charters were developed for the tourism, mining and the financial services sectors. This collective approach is particularly important as it facilitates active dialogue and encourages commitment from all parties in the ongoing process of transforming the South African Economy. Shumba (2014:29) states that this demonstrates a major difference between South Africa and other post-colonial African countries which seem to antagonise industry and investors.

These charters specify targets for the transformation of their respective industries and offer potential penalties for non-compliance. For example, the mining sector targeted to realise 26% ownership by previously marginalised South Africans within 10 years of the specifications' issuance. (Marazanye, 2016:92). These mining companies also committed to securing R100 billion to finance the involvement of Blacks in mining and also to give preferential treatment to Black suppliers in the procurement of specific products. Likewise, the tourism sector targeted 30% of historically disadvantaged ownership by 2014 (Marazanye, 2016:92).

Arya and Bassi (2009:7) argue that after much contestation, various sectors shifted towards a self-regulatory framework as representatives of these industries realised that it might be smarter to control the monitoring narrative themselves instead of being pressured by the government to follow a set of requirements over which they had little influence. With other measures and incentives having been put in place, the South African government was willing to afford these sectors the opportunity to self-regulate, albeit under periodic review.

The implementation of the policy would not be possible without financial support; not many black entrepreneurs had the capital needed to participate in the ownership transfer. As such, the South African government introduced new institutions to assert Black entrepreneurs to access funding. To this end, establishments like the National Empowerment Fund, National Youth Found and the Small Enterprise Finance Agency were formed. These were supported by already existing institutions such as the Land and Agricultural Development Bank of South Africa (Land Bank) and the Industrial Development Centre (IDC). The latter was founded in 1940 to encourage industrial growth but had its objectives aptly altered for the purpose of transformation and was henceforth expected to provide financial support to emerging Black entrepreneurs, amongst other things.

The government also encouraged other companies and financial houses to support the transformational effort. Anglo-America collaborated with Khula Enterprise Finance, a small, medium and micro-enterprises financier to provide support to mining ventures. In the agricultural sector, Khula also partnered up with Akwandze Agricultural Finance to offer financial assistance to small and mid-sized sugar cane farmers and organisations involved in the supply chain in the Nkomazi Region of Mpumalanga. The Khula Akwandze fund was capitalised to the tune of R100 million, according to James and Woodhouse (2015:18), to provide loans to sugar cane growers for activities such as replanting, purchasing irrigation implements, and acquiring additional land. Other mentionable finance houses that committed to assisting the government and budding entrepreneurs included Sasfin, Metropolitan Life Ltd, ABSA, FNB, Nedbank and Standard Bank, illustrating the private sectors' acknowledgment and commitment to the transformational agenda.

To achieve accelerated and shared transformational economic growth, there was a need to train and develop Blacks to become active economic participants. For example, the mining sector used the limited skills available from previously disadvantaged groups as an excuse for its slow pace of transformation and emphasised that the lack of management or technical skills could compromise mining operations (Shai et. al, 2019:10). The previously disadvantaged had to be trained and equipped with skills necessary to actively participate and influence economic activity and as such, B-BBEE placed considerable emphasis on skills development and training. Businesses were expected to adhere to skills development requirements and to implement policies aimed at improving the capabilities and overall competencies of Black workers. The government had already established sector education and training authorities (SETAs) in 1998 but with the introduction of the empowerment policy, their functions were strengthened in order to support B-BBEE. The 21 SETAs help develop and implement the National Skills Development Strategy and B-BBEE skills development plans as well as provide funds to companies that wish to place employees and previously unemployed people on learnerships amongst other things. Measures such as those included in the revised B-BBEE scorecard which allow businesses to receive maximum Skills Development points if they devote the requisite 3% (QSE Scorecard) or 6% (Generic Scorecard) of their annual payroll on SETA-accredited training programmes, were also introduced to address these challenges (Tonkin, 2021: par. 6).

The various actions taken by the government of South Africa have contributed to the creation of a world-renowned policy. The impact of B-BBEE on the social and economic environment has been staggered as has the evolution of the policy. The government of South Africa has however shown commitment to fulfilling its mandate of empowering historically disadvantaged citizens.

3.4.3 Impact of the policy

President Kgalema Motlanthe in 2004 noted that BEE entailed transfer rather than transformation and that it was struggling to establish new markets and new domestic demand drivers in South Africa (Uppal, 2014:16). The situation was worsened by the fact that most aspirant black businesspeople in the early 90s did not have the requisite capital to make a meaningful effort to the initiative, a condition that Southall (2004:10) described as “capitalists without capital”. From the early days of its implementation, the policy was seen as a conduit for empowering individuals who were politically connected to the governing African National Congress (ANC). Many argue that the policy quickly succeeded in creating a modern Black elite class at the detriment of the masses. Kamusoko (2019:170) found that BEE critics believe that it had benefited the politically connected individuals in South Africa and “brought about black capitalists who continue to exploit their fellow blacks”.

Such criticism resulted in robust parliamentary contestation which led to the refinement of the policy to ensure a broader involvement of citizens. An all-inclusive approach which would see a rethinking of the empowerment drive was discussed, resulting in the more robust measures being implemented, the introduction of B-BBEE in 2007 and all subsequent revisions as mentioned before. This saw elements such as skills development, enterprise development and preferential procurement, being incorporated into a refined approach. Despite the challenges of nepotism, corruption and fronting that have dogged B-BBEE, the initiative has succeeded in not only producing a relatively large pool of indigenous capitalists, but also an increased number of Black managers and equity ownership of Johannesburg Stock Exchange listed businesses.

South African economic empowerment differs from the Zimbabwean policy in that it addresses transformation and restorative justice through consultative and preferential participation rather than the transfer of assets. This case exemplifies the difficulties encountered by a fledgling African nation in its efforts to empower previously marginalised citizens. It also highlights the limitations of the empowerment policy as well as the various actions that have been taken to try to improve the legislation. The process of revising the legislation has been transparent whilst the political environment has been stable, which has aided in boosting investor confidence and maintaining constructive participation with all parties involved. Furthermore, the use of the South African model assists in the delivery of an appreciation of the responsibilities of the South African-based MNCs chosen for this study, including a perspective of their internal obligations.

3.5 Malaysia and the New Economic policy (NEP)

In Malaysia, the government introduced an economic empowerment policy that sought to increase the participation of the Malay Bumiputera. This followed the ethnic riots of 1969 which pitted the Malay Bumiputera (indigenous people) and the predominantly non-native Chinese (non-Bumiputera). This policy is described by Uppal (2014:8) as perhaps the most recognised and most researched case of a systematic affirmative action policy in a country's private sector.

Although the demographics of Malaysia showed a huge Malay Bumiputera population, the statistics showed an unbalanced socio-economic correlation. According to Marazanye (2016:101), Malays make up 50% of Malaysia's population, Chinese make up 37%, Indians make up 11% and other indigenous groups make up 2%. It was recognised that since independence, the Malays held political power, but it was the Chinese, along with foreign parties, who held economic power. The policy thus sought to deracialise the economy by making adjustments which would eventually give all citizens equal opportunities.

3.5.1 Policy features

Through the New Economic policy (NEP) which was adopted in 1970, government hoped to achieve national unity by facilitating inter-ethnic economic parity amongst its citizens. The policy sought to eliminate poverty and reorganise society by eliminating racial associations within economic functions in order to establish conditions that would foster social cohesion (Jomo, 2005:1). The policy aimed to eliminate poverty and to eventually eradicate the racial identification associated with the social and economic structure of Malaysia. Lee (2015:6) highlights that the combined objectives of the Malaysian model was poverty alleviation, economic growth, industrialisation, as well as the advancement of the Bumiputera.

To achieve this unity and accelerated economic prosperity, the government embarked on a two-pronged approach. The government prioritised education of the indigenous population as the foundation of eradicating poverty and creating a future pool of qualified and skilled resources. Secondly, the government looked to expand the Malay middle class as well as accelerate the economic prospects of more indigenous capitalists.

In order to do this, the Malaysian government helped facilitate the admission of Bumiputera into universities and high-level professions, with the aim of eventually creating a Bumiputera middle class (Lee, 2015:8). The government introduced ethnic quotas at institutions of higher learning and set up

Bumiputera elite colleges and grants. They established instruments for Bumiputera educational advancement to help students achieve the requirements necessary to enter university. They also introduced relatively easier routes to university for Bumiputera students. This was done in order to fast track the growth of a pool of well-educated Bumiputera professionals who would be ready to take up positions within government, commerce and industry. For example, Marazanye (2016:112) states that the number of Bumiputera registered accountants increased significantly from 40 in 1970 to 514 in 1988, while the number of Bumiputera engineers improved from 66 to 4,895 in 1988. In addition, the number of Bumiputera medical doctors increased from 79 to 1,653 in 1988. Within the Public sector, barriers to entry for Bumiputera graduates, especially those from domestic universities, were lowered thereby increasing the recruitment of more locals into positions of social, economic and political influence.

On the economic front, the government proposed raising Bumiputera private equity participation and control to 30% by 1990, with a flourishing indigenous Malay capitalist class emerging within a generation (Siddique & Suryadinata, 1981: 676). The government also focused on enterprise development which would see the emergence of Bumiputera industrialists and businesses. The nurturing of a Bumiputera Commercial and Industrial Community (BCIC) was seen as a responsible way to encourage greater involvement in the running of the economy. Lee (2015:10) observes Malaysia's path to establishing a BCIC was bumpy, experimental, and highly government-led, with a focus on state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and the acquisition of foreign-owned companies from the 1970s to the early 1980s, heavy industry from the early to mid-1980s, and expanded initiative on SOE privatisation from the early to mid-1980s to the 1990s. With government intervention and assistance, this community would increase their interest in companies operating in the country. According to Shamsul (1997:250) the execution of the policy culminated in the growth of the Bumiputera middle class as well as the creation of a “Bumiputera nouveau riche” community.

3.5.2 Impact of the policy

According to a report by the US Central Intelligence Agency (1985:7), by its midpoint in 1980, the NEP had made significant strides in achieving greater economic balance largely because of a buoyant economy. Malaysia had recorded strong economic growth which had resulted in an unprecedented 4.1% annual increase in employment during the 1970s. Thillainathan and Cheong (2016:56) add that high growth, averaging 8.3%, was indeed achieved in the decade of the 1970s but tapered off after 1980.

To minimise non-Malay resistance to the pro-Malay policy, the goals of the NEP were not perused through outright redistribution but as an outgrowth of a rapidly expanding economy (Central Intelligence Agency, 1985:9). The strategy was dubbed ‘redistribution with growth’ and the hope was that these interventions, whilst uplifting a previously marginalised section of society, would not result in a sense of loss or deprivation for the rest of the country. This meant that as the economy grew, more opportunities were availed to all citizens. A report by the Central Intelligence Agency (1985:7) observed that “this preferential treatment of the Malays lowers the share of non-Malay holding relative to the Malays, but the absolute size of their wealth does not necessarily decline”. The initial widespread resentment of the policy especially by non-Bumiputera Malaysians subsided over time and with that, the policy achieved considerable success in equitably distributing wealth and influence in Malaysia.

Critics of NEP suggest that the policy produced a group of Malay millionaires as the already well-off individuals were able to capitalise on the provisions offered by the policy. This, in effect, disenfranchised the very populace that was meant to benefit from the policy. The government however, emphasised that the success of these millionaires would snowball to the rest of the country through the businesses that they established. Moreover, according to the government, these millionaires were forthwith able to operate in what was formerly an exclusively non-Malay circle of influential businessmen (Central Intelligence Agency, 1985:9). In addition, a Malay middle class would emerge under NEP thereby bringing many indigenous people into the economic mainstream and improving the livelihood of many in the country.

The initiative was also dogged by elements of fronting as Chinese owned companies paid Malays to be stand-in directors of companies (also known as Ali Baba companies) in order to appear to be compliant with NEP directives. Research conducted in the late 70s and early 80s showed that the composition of the boards of directors of Malaysian companies was made up of a few Malays, often of aristocratic descent or politically connected individuals (Lim, 1981: 55-62).

Despite this, remarkable strides were made to reduce poverty in the country. Uppal (2014:11) points out that the Bumiputera poverty rate decreased from 64.8% in the 1970s to 2.2% in 2012. Furthermore, the discovery of oil and gas in the mid-1970s contributed significantly to realising some of the economic objectives set out. Chinese and foreign participation in the economy was controlled and any company that wished to list on the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange was, upon initial public offering, expected to reserve at least 30% of their shares for acquisition by Bumiputera. Consequently, increased Malay competition in sectors such as transport, retail and construction increased. Although many global economic factors may be considered when analysing NEP, scholars have hailed NEP for reducing poverty amongst the indigenous Malay and for increasing socioeconomic parity amongst its citizens.

The inclusion of the Malaysian case serves to demonstrate the possibility of effective execution of an economic empowerment policy, particularly given the similarities in the cession of a percentage of foreign ownership as in the Zimbabwean policy. Manayiti and Cullis (2021) highlight that although the percentages differ from Zimbabwe’s policy (30% vs Zimbabwe’s 51%), Malaysia adopted the policy with the same intention of redistributive justice in mind. It is therefore seen as a valuable case of a robust affirmative action initiative that was fruitful and yielded long-term positive results.

3.6 Indigenisation in Zimbabwe

The implementation of the indigenisation policies in Zimbabwe have followed a meandering and complex trajectory which has divided social, economic and political analysts. The need for extensive redistribution and economic empowerment has been unquestionable. However, scholars remain divided on various issues related to the policies that the government has implemented since independence in 1980. Many of the challenges have been political but this has not deterred the country from its attempt to uplift the previously marginalised Black Zimbabweans.

3.6.1 Background of inequality in Zimbabwe

In order to understand economic empowerment in Zimbabwe, it is necessary to visit historical facts about the country and its colonial past. This should give background of inequality and marginalisation experienced in the country and a deeper understanding of what precipitated the introduction of IEEP.

Zimbabwe was occupied by the British and proclaimed a colony in 1888. The settlers adopted a policy which saw the segregation of whites from blacks, the forced seizure of land and cattle and the imposition of new taxes amongst other things. The colonialists introduced the indigenous black population to a new way of life; a western lifestyle that was characterised by European governance, industry and commerce. African traditional communitarian values were systematically replaced with Eurocentric capitalist ideologies in a forced manner. Violence was commonly used against the indigenous population, whilst devious and oppressive laws were mooted to dominate and strategically antagonise the local African tribes. This is corroborated by Mlambo (2000:139) who discusses the “white settler racism and discrimination against the African black majority” and states that the injustices perpetrated by the colonialists led to resistance and uprisings by the indigenous Zimbabweans in later years.

To maximise on the benefits of the land, the settlers went into mining, agriculture and manufacturing. These were labour-intensive activities which required cheap manpower and in order to influence or pressure the locals to work as labourers in these sectors, the settlers introduced a monetary system, capitalism and taxation all of which forced Africans who had been dispossessed of their ancestral land and livestock to seek employment as manual workers. This is supported by Johnson (1992:111) who observed that “one of most daunting tasks to confront employers and the state in Southern Rhodesia was that of incorporating African labour into the new capitalist mode of production that had been established by conquest”. Taxes such as grazing and dipping tax were introduced into a population that had previously relied on traditional methods of commerce such as bartering. Arrighi (1970:212) noted that as cash became the preferred method of payment in Africa, traditional transactions, such as bride price, started to take on a monetary value, thus increasing the drive towards investment in the cash economy. Consequently, many Africans went out in search of employment to satisfy the insatiable demands of the new colonial system. These workers, who were poorly remunerated and subjected to despotic working and living conditions, guaranteed the settlers of cheap labour and downstream consumers.

As the years progressed, the settlers prospered at the expense of the locals who continued to toil the land for their colonial masters. In addition, because the country was richly endowed, experienced favourable climatic conditions, had very fertile land and guaranteed cheap labour, many companies from Britain established themselves in the country, operating mines, factories and farms. Arrighi (1970:225) found that “by the late 1940s, the structure of the Rhodesian economy had altered radically and that foreign controlled oligopolies, characterised by considerable 'international mobility', had come to dominate important sectors of the economy (mining and secondary industries), while the financial and entrepreneurial 'entrance requirements' in most branches of production had greatly increased”. Many of the privileged individuals established companies which grew to large conglomeratic entities that were actively supported by the colonial government (Seidman, 1982:13 and Raftopoulos & Compagnon, 2003:15). The country therefore became dominated by MNCs and other large local entities that excluded the locals in the ownership of production and wealth. Blacks were however not afforded the opportunity to become wealth creators but were deliberately reduced to consumers and labourers (Marazanye, 2016:56). This meant that Zimbabwe was fragmented racially, with the white minority enjoying a disproportionate share of the socio-economic benefits.

This systematic subjugation was well orchestrated and entrenched in all spheres of life in the country. The education system was designed to ensure that Blacks would not develop into formidable black competitors on the job market (Herbst 1992:14). Instead, they were educated just enough to realise an adequate level of literacy and comprehension necessary for the menial and physical opportunities that were afforded to them (Marazanye, 2016:54). According to Seidman (1982:23), more resources were allocated for the education and development of minority white children than for black children. This is buttressed by Zvogbo (1981:14) who highlights that in 1971, for example, $21 million was allotted for the education of an African population of 4 817 980 compared to the $20 million that was set aside for the non-African population of 252 414. This equated to an average spend of $5 on each African child’s education compared to $80 per non-African child.

In addition, to fend for their families, many black children had to quit school early in their childhood in search of work in the factories, mines and farms. This meant that only a few blacks ever reached the pinnacle of the academic or professional heights that would propel them to become economic leaders or creators of wealth. This oppression and marginalisation by the minority white administration meant that the indigenous black majority remained perpetual suppliers of cheap labour and rarely earned or accumulated enough wealth or played a substantial role in the ownership and control of the country’s means of production.

In fact, legislation was passed to reserve certain jobs for whites. High paying civil service positions and skilled artisan positions in the mining and manufacturing sectors were categorised for whites. This is articulated by International Commission of Jurists (1976:26) who state that:

“Employment opportunities for Africans are severely restricted. Their principal areas of employment are as unskilled labourers, as agricultural workers on European farms, as domestic servants, as unskilled workers in manufacturing, construction, mining and quarrying, and in distribution, restaurants and hotels. The government ensures that white semi-skilled Rhodesians will not have to compete directly with similarly skilled blacks for employment by maintaining reserved (or occupationally protected) jobs at “European” wage rates, including within the lower echelons of the civil service and within statutory bodies such as the Rhodesian Railways.”

This left those blacks who were fortunate enough to complete school to take up unreserved positions in office administration and teaching. The domination of the skilled labour market by whites was supported by the imperfect education and apprenticeship opportunities afforded to Africans as well as the active and deliberate measures adopted by the Rhodesian government to recruit skilled white immigrants to satisfy the growing business and industry demands in the country (International Commission of Jurists, 1976:30).

Raftopoulos and Compagnon (2003:15) highlight that segregation and racial discrimination began in 1889 and only ended in 1980 when Zimbabwe gained its independence. The successive Rhodesian governments during this period implemented policies and programmes that were designed to continue the empowerment of Rhodesian whites at the expense of the indigenous blacks (Marazanye, 2016:54). For example, in the agricultural sector the government subsidised the purchase of inputs and implements as well as provided white commercial farmers with preferential credit facilities. The Agricultural Finance Corporation was one such institution that was established to issue loans to white farmers at preferential rates. The government also established parastatals such as the Cold Storage Commission, Grain Marketing Board, the Dairy Marketing Board and the Cotton Marketing Board whose main purpose was to purchase and market produce from the white farmers. This had the effect of promoting white farmers and allowing them to grow even more at the expense of black farmers who had neither the means nor the ability to achieve great commercial status.

The best arable land was allocated to white farmers, whilst the less arable land was delimited into reserves to “contain” the blacks. It is interesting to note that according to the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Central Statistical Office (1960:3) in 1956 the population of whites stood at 177 124 compared to the 2 540 000 Blacks in the country. The apportionment of agrarian land in 1958 stood at 48 000 000 acres for the European population and 41 950 000 for the 2.5 million blacks (Floyd, 1962:566).

During this time, the mining sector also performed exceptionally well in this mineral rich country. This sector was dominated by transnational corporations such as Anglo America and Rio Tinto. According to Seidman (1982:14), the sector employed approximately 60 000 black workers who were paid salaries that were lower than those that were offered to their counterparts in South Africa and lower than what these MNCs were expected to pay employees in their home countries.

Seidman (1982:13) highlights that in 1980, 14% of Zimbabwe's GDP was derived from the agricultural sector which comprised of 60 000 farms. These farms employed approximately 320 000 labourers who worked on them but were subjected to living conditions reminiscent of 19th-century slave plantations in America. These 60 000 farms were owned by local minority whites and MNCs such as Lonrho and Anglo America and as well as European absentee landowners. (Seidman, 1982:13). This serves to highlight the vast inequality prevalent during the colonial period.

3.6.2 Post-Independence Zimbabwe

In 1980, the newly elected Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, and his government sought to desegregate the country by dismantling most of the oppressive legislation. They adopted a new negotiated constitution that provided for equality amongst all the citizens of the country. Seidman (1982:13) notes that "the newly independent government inherited a paradox, for whilst enjoying one of the highest average per capita incomes in Sub-Saharan Africa, the majority of its population remained among the most impoverished in the world". Sibanda and Makwata (2017:2) state that since independence, policymakers in Zimbabwe have crafted a number of outstanding economic frameworks, several of which, if executed responsibly may have culminated in significant growth.

One of the earliest and most significant initiatives was Growth with Equity. Growth with Equity is explained as a policy which aimed to accelerate growth and reduce the divide between the rich and the poor. According to the IMF Fiscal Affairs Department (1999), Growth with Equity was a strategy that had the potential of fostering equity, improving social stability, and mitigating political tension. For Zimbabwe, Growth with Equity presented an opportunity to increase involvement of citizens in the affairs of the economy. It sought to "achieve a sustained high rate of economic growth and speedy development in order to raise incomes and standards of living of all our people and expand productive employment of rural peasants and urban workers" (Chikova, 2020: par. 14). This was summarised in a government statement which read:

"Government is determined to forge ahead with the task of building a progressive, non-racial and egalitarian society which draws on the energies and abilities of all its people, without regard for their race, colour or creed. Above all, recognising the confidence of all Zimbabweans in the future of their country and their desire to forget the past and build together a new nation, recognising also the significant achievements already made in this regard, Government is determined to embark on policies and programs designed to involve fully in the development process the entire people, who are the beginning and the end of society, the very asset of the country and raison d'être of Government" (Government of Zimbabwe, 1981:1)

The policy advocated for an end to "imperialist exploitation" and a step toward increased and more equal control of natural resources, including land (Hawkins, 1981: par. 3). In addition, it encouraged investment in rural areas and in parts of the country that may have been neglected by the Rhodesian government or may have been devastated by the armed struggle.

An example of a facet of Growth with Equity was the establishment of a mineral and marketing agency to facilitate the marketing and export of minerals produced in the country. Other success stories included improved health and education for the previously marginalised Black Zimbabweans. As a whole, the policy received positive reviews from the international community, especially the West, who saw it as a retraction from the pre-independence Marxist policies of ZANU (PF). Hawkins (1981:par. 4) described the policy as "the most definitive and detailed statement of economic policy by Mugabe's government since winning the election about a year ago".

On the negative side, however, the growth predictions that had been precipitated by a boom between 1980 - 82 did not materialise, thereby, disturbing the plans that the infant government had projected. As a result, some of the plans that were forecasted did not materialise as they were seen as an unsustainable drain on the fiscus.

3.6.3 Government reforms and the introduction of IEEP

There are two significant factors that influenced the economic, social and political environment of post independent Zimbabwe. Chowa and Mukuvare (2013:5) state that the fast-track land reform programme and the IEEP were critical in determining the country's trajectory. These two policies, although delayed, formed the core of the reasons for the liberation struggle; that is, self-determination, the proprietorship of the natural resources and the socio-economic emancipation of the previously marginalised indigenous citizens of Zimbabwe.

The land reform programme was implemented following the willing buyer-willing seller strategy that had been utilised since independence but had struggled to resolve the land problem. It had yielded little in terms of the redistribution of the land. This market-based approach to land and agrarian reform had been implemented in accordance with the British negotiated Lancaster House constitution which was designed to allow a progressive transfer of land ownership in a manner that would not adversely affect the economy but more significantly, the white community. Unfortunately, because of the historical background already presented, the indigenous black citizens did not possess the financial means to buy land and as such, this approach failed to adequately achieve its intended goal. The approach proved painstakingly slow, and this eventually led to popular unrest and subsequently to large-scale invasions of white-owned farms by the masses led by the liberation war veterans. Much of the blame for this mass land invasion was targeted at the British government's failure to honour the terms of their agreement with the Zimbabwe and as such, white-owned farms were invaded. After government intervention, the chaotic farm invasions were formalised resulting in 4.37 million hectares of land being reallocated to 114 830 families during the first two years (UNDP; 2002 cited in Chowa & Mukuvare 2013: 6).

The land reform programme is the bedrock of indigenisation. Just a few white people owned thousands and thousands of hectares of land. So government came up with land redistribution so that those who were previously disadvantaged would be farmers. Official 2

The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA) was promulgated on the heels of the Land Acquisition Act (15 of 2000), which sought to redistribute land to the black citizens of Zimbabwe, many of whom had been without land. Access to arable land would therefore increase the prospects for the previously marginalised blacks to contribute significantly towards the economic growth of Zimbabwe (Marazanye, 2013:75). The government highlighted that the land redistribution programme was introduced to "fight poverty among indigenous black Zimbabweans, improve the equitable distribution of income and the means of production as well as creating a national bourgeoisie in the country's agricultural sector" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2004:5). Arguably, the land reform programme in Zimbabwe drastically changed the agricultural outlook with varying and very debatable degrees of success. Inevitably, this programme was a precursor to the IEEP. It was also, without a doubt, a move towards broad based empowerment as women, the youth and the marginalised were active beneficiaries.

While the land reform programme epitomises the empowerment struggle in Zimbabwe, it remained a shining example of the possibility of real economic emancipation and a final resolution to the question of sustained growth with equity. It is upon the backdrop of what the Government of Zimbabwe described as a successful land reform programme, that moves were instituted to increase black participation in other sectors. The act, as argued by Mavhunga (2018:241), is in alignment and in fulfilment of the United Nations resolution 1803(xvii) of 1962 which proclaimed that it is the right of the nation's people to have "permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources".

Although the policy framework on the indigenisation of the economy was first mooted in 1998, it was only adopted in 2004. The Government Indigenisation Policy Framework was drafted by Department of State Enterprises and indigenisation in the Office of the President and Cabinet. This framework culminated in the formulation of the National Investment Trust of Zimbabwe in September 2000, whose objective was to support the purchase of company stocks for indigenous investors. (Department of State Enterprises and indigenisation in the Office of the President and Cabinet, 2004:5).

Nyawuyanga (2015:25) argues that the IEEA was enacted to fast track the reform of the mining sector and support broad economic empowerment. This may have arguably been the most significant purpose of the act as the mineral rich country had found that the sector, although particularly important to the economy, was not yielding the maximum benefits to citizens and the national fiscus.

The government identified that there were inhibitive legislature curtailing the entry of indigenous entrepreneurs into different sectors of the economy. These had to be addressed so as to align all 'preventative' laws with the post-independence empowerment agenda. Acts such as The Urban Councils and Regional Town and Country Planning Act (22 of 1976) were identified as having been used by the colonial government to disempower the black indigenous population. This Act gave local government the right to regulate the type, location and activities of black-owned businesses yet provide whites carte blanche in business operations. Worse still, this racist Act empowered local government to demarcate certain areas for whites only and any black found moving around these areas would be prosecuted. Other notable inhibitive laws included the Factory Act (20 of 1948), the Public Health Act (19 of 1924), the Liquor Act (9 of 1974), the Banking Act (65 of 1964), the Shop Licensing Act (40 of 1976), the Second Hand Goods Act (25 of 1956), the Income Tax Act (5 of 1967) and the Mines and Minerals Act (21 of 1961).

Table 3.2 Colonial laws that disempowered black Zimbabweans (1889-1979)

Law	**Summary**
Charter of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), 29 October 1889	Backbone of colonialism and black majority disempowerment.
Land Apportionment Act of 1930	Appropriated land in favour of the white minority. Indigenous people were moved from fertile land to give way to white farmers.
Companies Act (47 of 1951)	Stringent company registration measures designed to exclude indigenous entrepreneurs.
Factory Act (20 of 1948)	Designed with stringent conditions for registration to exclude blacks
Public Health Act (19 of 1924)	Designed to protect the established white businesses, while black small businesses were subject to harassment for failure to meet the standards required.
Urban Councils and Regional, Town and Country Planning Acts (Act 22/1976]	Gave local authorities powers to regulate the activities of all types of businesses and allocation of certain residential areas for whites only.

Liquor Act (9 of 1974)	The sale of clear beer to blacks was prohibited.
Food and Food Standards Act (25 of 1971)	Designed with stringent conditions for registration to exclude blacks.
Second Hand Goods Act (25 of 1956) [Chapter 293]	Prohibited the importation of second-hand goods and sale thereof. Indigenous Zimbabweans were adversely affected as they had very low income.
Income Tax Act (5 of 1967) [Chapter 181]	This included discriminatory taxes such as the hut, cattle and dip tank taxes, meant to force black people to work for whites, usually for a pittance.

Source: Chipika and Malaba (2013: 45)

Table 3.2 above lists some of the most impactful laws that were enacted by the colonial regime in an effort to promote white supremacy and establish the socioeconomic disempowerment of the black majority. As Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, the fledgling black majority government was compelled to resolve the colonial history of racial inequalities and marginalisation by enacting a slew of reforms. Among the amendments that were crafted by the new government was the Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 21:05 of 1961). It was seen as a critical piece of legislation because it had regulated mining activities in colonial Zimbabwe and was seen as a significant impediment to the sovereignty of the resource-rich country and its determination to economically empower its citizens. This act was amended more than 26 times in post-independence to improve efficacy, sustainability and appropriateness. As already mentioned, the Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 21:05 of 1961) became the focal point of the indigenisation and economic empowerment agenda as it was hoped that it would allow for a complete realignment in the ownership and management of a sector that was responsible for a significant portion of the country's wealth and arguably one other most contentious issues that led to the war of liberation.

3.6.4 Consultative process on the Indigenous and Economic Empowerment Act

The IEEA was introduced in 2007 following the realignment of laws and extensive consultation with stakeholders such as the Parliamentarians, Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Affirmative Action Group and the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce as acknowledged by Nyathi (2016:92). Other stakeholders included:

- Indigenous Business Lobby Group;
- Indigenous Business Women Organisation;

- Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union;
- Chamber of Mines of Zimbabwe and
- Political parties.

This list is by no means exhaustive as the government tried to consult as many stakeholders as possible. Employee bodies as well employers' associations were also consulted. Importantly, some of the companies that would be affected by the indigenisation policy were also consulted so as to gather vital information towards the formulation of the policy. This process is articulated in the statement below:

> "The law-making process requires that before any law is enacted, the people have to be consulted. Consultations were done across the country and it is these recommendations that resulted in the legislation. Consultations included ordinary Zimbabweans, indigenous people, indigenous businesspeople; even the non-indigenous businesspeople, the white community, the groups that represent business; the likes of CZI, ZNCC. Even the affected companies; they were also consulted. And also the indigenous lobby groups as well, were also consulted as the major lobbyists who pushed for the policy. We had the Indigenous Business Lobby Group, Affirmative Action Group, Indigenous Business Women Organisation and many others" (Government Official 1).

Sectorial committees were established to facilitate consultations in the different sectors. For example, the transport sector sectorial committee would involve the government, parliamentarians and private players.

> "In the agricultural sectorial committee, it was composed of the Chair, Zimbabwe Farmers Union, Chemplex (Corporation), Ministry of agriculture, Ministry of Lands, Zimbabwe Farmers Development Company, Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union, Dariboard, Horticultural Promotion Council of Zimbabwe, Forestry Commission and many others" (Government Official 2).

Consultation in policy formulation is important for setting an agenda for the implementation of any initiative. This is emphasised by Marazanye (2016:118) who states that "whilst legislation is important in the implementation of empowerment programmes, getting the buy-in of all stakeholders through consultation and persuasion are key to the success of empowerment programmes". The consultative process, although marred by differences in opinions (some very controversial), yielded consensus which culminated in the adoption of the Indigenous and Economic Empowerment policy. It should however be noted that the private sector remained largely unhappy about the policy. Consensus may have been reached under duress because of the authoritarian rule of the Mugabe-led government. Nyathi (2016:121) argues that most businesses reluctantly accepted the situation due to “political intimidation, threats of take-overs and strong arm tactics”, which made the business environment unbearable.

3.7 The Indigenous and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007)

The Indigenous and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007) sought to transform indigenous black Zimbabweans from being ordinary providers of labour and consumers to becoming active economic contributors and owners of resources. The Act provided for the establishment of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB) as the main administrators of the indigenisation Act. As administrators of the indigenisation act, the NIEEB was tasked with developing plans to meet the programme's goals, administer the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund (NIEEF), as well as counsel the responsible minister on different issues relating to the act's implementation.

3.7.1 Objectives of IEEP

The Department of Indigenisation and Empowerment in the Office of the President and Cabinet (2004:7) listed the objectives of the policy as follows:

i. “Economic empowerment of indigenous Zimbabweans by increasing their ownership of productive assets in the economy so as to create more wealth and reduce poverty;

ii. To create a conducive environment that will allow indigenous Zimbabweans to participate in the economic development of their country and earn themselves self-respect;

iii. To democratise the ownership of productive assets of the economy so as to eliminate racial differences arising from economic disparities;

iv. To develop a competitive private sector that spearheads economic growth and development;

v. To develop a self-sustaining country”.

These objectives underscore the Government of Zimbabwe’s desire to economically emancipate its citizens. Put simply, the law's justification was that indigenisation of the Zimbabwean economy would encourage black Zimbabweans to participate in the mining, trade and industry thereby accelerating economic prosperity for locals (Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment, 2012). Consultations were conducted with key stakeholders in various sectors of the economy and in 2008, the Act was promulgated by President Mugabe.

The law directed foreign-owned enterprises with a net value of US$500 000 and above to cede 51% equity to indigenous Zimbabwean participants. The allocation of the 51% would be divided and apportioned to various players or stakeholders with 10% going to employees as their share of the ownership scheme, 10% allocated to the local community through Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs), 15% was set aside for interested indigenous businesspeople and the remaining

16% being taken up by the NIEEF; an instrument established to administer government's participation in the indigenisation of the economy and to finance transactions as well as to support interested local investors with funding.

3.7.2 Community Share Ownership Trusts

Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs) are instruments of IEEP created to economically empower rural communities by ensuring that designated businesses cede 10% equity in all operations that draw wealth from the exploitation of natural resources in their area. The objective of this scheme was to ensure that the exploitation of natural resources by MNCs and any other businesses was controlled thereby protecting the interests of indigenous Zimbabweans especially in the areas in which these organisations operate. Chiunya *et al*. (2017:2) add that "local communities have a natural right to benefit from their God given resources".

According to Nyathi (2016:103) CSOTs "are responsible for planning, designing, programming, implementation, monitoring, supervision and evaluation of development projects jointly with the communities to ensure ownership and sustainability of any development interventions". Chiunye *et al*. (2017:2) contend that CSOTs bring self-confidence to rural communities and that people avoid looking up to the donor community for social, economic and infrastructural development.

The idea of community participation is not unique to Zimbabwe but has been encouraged across the globe. Community participation in economic activities is seen as an important part of economic emancipation. Macfarlane (1993) describes community participation as a concerted effort designed to empower locals in the control and management of natural resources upon which they historically had little authority. This is buttressed by Mate (2002:12) who contends that community involvement in the control and management of natural resources in a locality could help accelerate the empowerment of locals and increase pressure on the government to boost efficacy as well as improve accountability and transparency in the management of mineral wealth.

The necessity for community involvement arises from the historic marginalisation of local communities when their natural resources were being exploited by organisations in their areas. (Nechena & Kurebwa, 2018: 32). The concept can be traced to 1949 in China according to Chiunya *et al*. (2017:2) where community organisations were set up to address the imbalances that were created by foreign businesses. Its significance was recognised at the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development hosted by the Food and Agriculture Organisation in 1979, which proclaimed that rural communities should participate in structures that determine their livelihood, a belief that should be considered as a basic human right (Nechena & Kurebwa, 2018:32).

In Malaysia, the Bumiputera Trust was established by the government and funded by foreign owned companies in the extractive sector. Chiunya *et al*. (2017:2) adds that the trust was established to address the social, economic and environmental problems caused by companies operating in communities. Other examples of community participation through share ownership schemes include the Mwadiri Community Diamond Partnership by De Beers in Tanzania, the Anglo American Zimele Scheme and the Impala Bafokeng Trust by Impala Platinum in South Africa. According to Mabhena and Moyo (2014:73), the Zimele Scheme was introduced as an empowerment initiative to empower economically marginalised citizens and support the development of the country's mining and labour-contributing communities. Similarly, the Bafokeng Trust seeks to support community empowerment in the areas of education, health, sports, leisure and enterprise development. The Bafokeng Trust has played a significant part in South Africa by fostering education and health care, as well as facilitating community capacity building (Chiunya *et al*., 2017:3).

In Zimbabwe, more than 50 CSOTs had been established by 2019 according to Zvoushe (2019:32). These CSOTs were established by the government in partnership with the mining houses that were operating in the country as the indigenisation policy was finalised. Under this ownership scheme, businesses in the industry were expected to cede 10% stake to the community and the revenue raised from this shareholding would be used to finance infrastructure improvements, for example, the construction or rehabilitation of clinics, schools, road networks, bridges and dams (Musarurwa, 2012).

Zimplats established the country’s first CSOT with other companies soon following suite. Launched by President Mugabe in 2011, the Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT was capacitated with a US$10 million pledge from Zimplats. Mawowa (2013:134) states that according to Zimplats, the CSOT would receive pay-outs of approximately US$3.3 million from 2012 to 2014 and that the money would be used for CSR projects “which henceforth will be managed by the community trust instead of the company.” In the company’s view, from 2014 onwards, the company would cease CSR support since the community would have been allocated their share of the operations.

Mimosa and Unki mines also honoured their part in community participation by launching the Mimosa-Zvishavane CSOT and the Tongogara CSOT respectively. The Tongogara CSOT is funded by Anglo American owned Unki mine which is one of the largest platinum producers in Zimbabwe. Unki Mine’s Tongogora CSOT was launched in November 2011 and has, to date, undertaken a number of projects in Shururgwi. This trust covers the area of Tongogara Rural District which is home to approximately 77 570 people according to Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2012:137). Tongogara Community Share Ownership Trust spearheaded the construction of Musasa Primary School as well as additional classrooms at other schools in the area. According to Matsa and Masimbiti (2014:161), the scheme also upgraded the water system at Svika Clinic, rehabilitated Chirume dam, and established a number of income-generating community gardening projects.

The Zvishavane CSOT was launched in 2012 and was the third scheme to be launched in the country. The trust covers 19 wards under the Runde Rural District Council and is presided over by five Chiefs with a board comprising government representatives and rural district appointees. The

19 wards have an estimated population of 72 513 according to Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2012:137). Machinya (2014: 10) highlights that the trust was established following an agreement between Murowa Diamond and Mimosa Mining Company, a subsidiary of Anglo American Platinum. Both these organisations had mining interests in the area and as such were instrumental in the formation of the trust. At inception, Mimosa promised US$10 million towards the programme while Murowa would pledge US$500 000. Evidence of work done by the CSOT is apparent as its footprint covers infrastructure development, the building of schools and clinics in all 19 wards. Sibanda (2019: par. 5) found that Mimosa, through the CSOT, had supported a number of schools and hospitals in and around its area of operation (in and around Zvishavane) and was also focusing on sustainable initiatives such as livestock revitalisation and irrigation projects.

Other notable CSOTs include the Pretoria Portland Cement CSOT, the Gwanda CSOT, Marange-Zimunya Community Trust, Bikita Community Share Ownership Scheme and the Bindura CSOT. These CSOTs contribute to the improvement of citizen's socio-economic status by creating public entities that hold shares in qualifying businesses on behalf of the community (Maodza 2012:16). Tsvakanyi (2012:66) adds that “the main objective of the trusts are to see communities fully benefitting from the natural resources extracted from their areas through the provision of social amenities such as schools, hospitals, health care services, developmental projects such building of dams, drilling of boreholes and construction of roads as well as establishment of income generating projects for the community”.

3.7.3 Employee Share Ownership Scheme

Employee Share Ownership Scheme (ESOS) is another instrument provided for in the indigenisation policy. Such initiatives are implemented to improve workers’ financial well-being by enabling them to receive additional income from occasional dividends in addition to the ability to dispose of their shareholding upon retirement (Ankomah, 2013:43). According to the Government of Zimbabwe (2011), the scheme involves the transfer of a percentage of a company’s equity to its employees. The expectation of such an initiative is that employees, who are already an integral part of the organisation will benefit by becoming shareholders. This is buttressed in a Parliament of Zimbabwe thematic report on IEEP (2015:9), which states that the scheme's objective is to achieve broad-based economic empowerment by guaranteeing that workers participate through direct equity ownership in the organisations in which they work.

Selvarajan *et al*. (2006:252) highlight that when employees are offered stock options, they psychologically feel that they are part of the organisation. Their involvement allows the employees to unite towards a common goal knowing fully well that the end result will benefit them too. The organisation’s vision is much easier to implement when members not only comprehend their role but are also intrinsically intertwined in its implementation. This encourages organisational commitment, harmony, job satisfaction, and promotes a sense of identity and accountability. Trébucq and d'Arcimoles (2004:91) contend that ESOS motivate employees to work better whilst also uniting employees and management. Furthermore, as a wealth redistribution measure, ESOS also help employees earn more than they would as ordinary workers and thus helps to improve their overall living standards. It is also worth noting that by implementing ESOS, the organisation stands to improve its social capital, raise confidence as well as reduce organisational risk.

ESOS have largely been voluntarily adopted by many organisations across the globe as these are accepted as powerful tools in employee empowerment. As a tool for indigenisation and economic empowerment, such schemes are an attractive arsenal in ensuring the redistribution of wealth. As broad-based economic empowerment initiatives, Marazanye (2016:146) argues that Community Share Ownership and Employee Share Ownership schemes are the most effective vehicles to empower the poor and marginalised. It is therefore not surprising that some governments would institute directives to promote such initiatives.

Companies in Zimbabwe have largely embraced the ESOS directive mainly because it represents an already exciting global phenomenon and has obvious organisational value. Companies such as Schweppes Zimbabwe, BAT, Delta, Innscor Africa and Zimplats, to name but a few, have participated in the initiative. In 2013, Nehanda radio (2013) reported that Meikles Africa would comply with Zimbabwe's IEEP and would sell 10% of the company's shares to an employee share ownership trust. Similarly, in 2017, Zimplats reported that the company had complied with the directive and had issued a 10% stake valued at US$95 000 to its employees (Zimplats Annual Report, 2017:19).

Some organisations such as Schweppes, have not only abided by the law but have gone beyond the government guidelines and have issued employees with more than 10% share options. Furthermore, the realisation of the benefits of ESOS to organisational cohesion and performance has led some companies that are not covered by the indigenisation policy to also set up schemes voluntarily. Delta Corporation, for example, voluntarily established a trust for its workers in 1991, years before the IEEA was enacted. African Distillers, also set up an ESOS of 4 million shares in 2017 as way of incentivising and retaining employees (Zwinoira, 2017: par. 4).

Ultimately, this facet of IEEP has been received positively and, although there remain issues of capitalisation, MNCs have largely embraced the initiative. Through it, the government ensures that the working class also become owners of the means of production.

3.7.4 National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund

The National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Fund (NIEEF) was set up in terms of Section 12 of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007 and managed by the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB). According to the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007), the board's purpose of the NEIEEB was to:

(a) “provide financial assistance to indigenous Zimbabweans for any of the following purposes—

(i) the financing of share acquisitions; and

(ii) the warehousing of shares under employee share ownership schemes or trusts; and

(iii) management buy-ins and buy-outs;

and

(b) to provide finance for business start-ups, rehabilitation and expansion;

(c) to finance market research in connection with the objectives of the Act;

(d) to finance capacity-building projects on behalf of indigenous Zimbabweans; and

(e) any other purpose which the Minister considers will promote the economic empowerment of indigenous Zimbabweans”.

According to Zvoushe (2019:276), Blanket mine (Caledonia) was the first mining entity to comply with IEEA in September 2012. In respect to the NIEF, Blanket mine sold 16% of its shareholding to the government fund US$18.848 million whilst 15% of its shares were sold to Fremiro Investments for US$11.01 million. Other companies such as PPC, and RHA Tungsten also ceded shares to the NIEEF in accordance with the act.

The fund was intended to act as a bridging mechanism, allowing interested indigenous investors the opportunity to acquire shares that have been allocated under IEEP. The challenge to this is that NIEEF was bound to encounter difficulties in purchasing shares from MNC's due to government’s financial constraints. Furthermore, the government failed to clarify how interested indigenous investors would purchase the shares from NIEEF leaving Nyathi (2016:127) to argue that, given the enormous capital commitment necessary to execute such deals, it was apparent that this facility would only be available to those with the means to raise funds, such as politically connected individuals.

3.8 The Constitution of Zimbabwe amendment (No. 20) 2013

Until 2013, Zimbabwe had been governed under the 1979 negotiated Lancaster House Constitution. This agreement had been reached to end the protracted war of independence and had been negotiated under the auspices of the British Government. Although this agreement was seen as a welcome step which guaranteed the end of the war and the subsequent independence, it has been described as imperfect and arguably biased to protect the whites in the country (albeit for a specific period). In an article in The Telegraph, Boris Johnson (2015) acknowledged that the Lancaster House Agreement had been flawed and that the betrayal by British Government under Tony Blair had resulted in the introduction of policies which Western countries saw as anti-white, anti-imperialist and anti-property rights. For example, under this agreement, property rights had been secured, at least for a set number of years, under a 'willing buyer, willing seller' policy and which the British Government had agreed to fund. However, in 1997 when the Labour party took over, they came in "and in a fit of avowed anti-colonialist fervour, they unilaterally scrapped the arrangement. The overseas development minister, Clare Short, made it clear that neither she nor Blair gave a stuff about the former colonial farmers" (Johnson 2015: par.15). Short stressed that the Tony Blair led government would not bear any responsibility for the cost of land purchases in Zimbabwe pronouncing that "we are a new government from diverse backgrounds, without links to former colonial interests. My own origins are Irish and, as you know, we were colonised not colonisers" (Johnson 2015: par. 16).

Following an extensive countrywide consultative process and a 2013 referendum that was overwhelmingly supported by political parties and their supporters, a new constitution was enacted. This new constitution was seen as a more democratic and Zimbabwe-centric document which would usher in a new chapter upon which the country would move forward. The new constitution was heralded as a renewal of the country's sovereignty and a complete break from Zimbabwe's colonial past and obligations (Moyo, 2019:12).

With regards to the indigenisation, the new constitution placed empowerment of the marginalised persons, groups and communities at its centre. Chowa and Mukuvare (2013:8) note that the new constitution, which went into effect in January 2013, prioritised empowerment as one of the country's main objectives, stressing that there was an obvious and clear need to address the inequalities that had been caused by previous policies and practices. They add that Section 14 (1) of the new constitution states that "the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must endeavour to facilitate and take measures to empower, through appropriate, transparent, fair and just affirmative action, all marginalised persons, groups and communities in Zimbabwe" with special emphasis on employment creation for women and youths. It is upon this that Marazanye (2016:75) concluded that the indigenisation and economic empowerment legislation therefore derives authority form the supreme law of the land.

3.9 Post-Mugabe Zimbabwe

In November 2017, Mugabe was ousted as President of Zimbabwe in what some describe as bloodless coup d'état (Asuelime, 2018:19). In his place, the ruling ZANU PF installed Mugabe's long time comrade and former Vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa. The two leaders had been close allies; their relationship dating back to pre-independence days when Mnangagwa was Mugabe's assistant and confidante. From this deposition and from the general nature of coup d'états (Asuelime, 2018:9), it was expected that, ideologically, Mnangagwa would stick with the policies that his predecessor had enacted especially since he had been part of Mugabe's government since independence in 1980. It was believed that ZANU PF would not depart from its fundamentals and that there would not be much departure from the policies that they had collectively agreed to during the Mugabe era (Turak, 2017: par.15). However, diplomatic and investor pressure was mounting on the governing party and Mnangagwa had to act decisively to reengage the international community, more specifically, the Western countries that had been discarded by Mugabe. Mnangagwa also had to thaw relations with international investors as the country's economic situation was worsening. One of his first economic policy reflections was to deal with the IEEP, which many had seen as a deterrent to investing in Zimbabwe.

The same political party that had painstakingly enacted this economic policy now had to take considerable steps to modify their strategic thinking in relation to a policy they themselves had formulated. This came as early as December 2017 when the Finance minister, Patrick Chinamasa, announced that the new administration would be overhauling the indigenisation policy. In a report in the Financial Gazette of December 2017, the Finance minister detailed how the government intended to amend the IEEP; stating that the proposed amendments would restrict the 51/49 % indigenisation requirement to Platinum mining and diamond mining only. Chinamasa also announced that other sectors would be open to investment regardless of nationality (Financial Gazette, 2017: par. 7).

3.10 Finance Act (1 of 2018)

The disposition of Robert Mugabe in 2017 followed a series of self-reflection from the ruling ZANU PF government with regards to IEEP in light of weaning investor confidence. This culminated in the amendment of the IEEA in March 2018. The main ambit of the amendments focused on the reclassification of the affected sectors. Amendment 42 of the Finance Act (1 of 2018) states that "the act shall not apply to any business in the national economy other than those specified in Section 3 (91) and those in the reserved sector of the economy".

In March 2018, the government finalised these amendments through the Finance Act (1 of 2018). Observers state that the amendments were made unprocedurally in an attempt to fast track the changes. Nyahasha (2018: par. 3) declared that the amendments to this legislation were nicodemously embedded in the annual Finance Bill, which is normally introduced by the Minister to address matters of national budgeting and taxes. With a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, ZANU PF was able to pass the Finance Bill with little parliamentary resistance, and the reforms were gazetted as law on March 14, 2018.

The act stipulated that "for the avoidance of doubt, it is declared that this Act shall not apply to any business in the national economy other than those specified in section 3(1) (entities or businesses involved in the extraction of diamonds and platinum) and those in the reserved sector of the economy and that accordingly, any person is free to invest in, form, operate and acquire the ownership or control of any business". Under the reserved sector clause, foreign investors are prohibited from participating unless approval is granted by the minister. The provision also permitted foreign investors who were already involved in these sectors prior to 1 January 2018 to continue operating without restrictions. The specified businesses in the reserved sector are:

- Transportation; passenger busses, taxis and car hire services
- Retail and wholesale trade
- Barbershops, hairdressing and beauty salons
- Estate agencies
- Employment agencies
- Valet services
- Grain milling
- Bakeries
- Tobacco grading and packaging
- Advertising agencies
- Provision of local arts craft, marketing and distribution
- Artisanal mining

The Act also provided for the establishment of the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment unit in the ministry responsible for the administration of the Act. This unit was buttressed in September 2018 when President Mnangagwa announced a new cabinet (Veritas, 2018). Mnangagwa dissolved the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment and split its functions between the Ministry of Youth, Sport, Arts and Recreation and the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Enterprise Development under which the new National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment unit would fall. This pronouncement also saw the disbanding of the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board which had been established in 2008 to spearhead the implementation of the indigenisation policy (Veritas, 2018). Its functions would thereon be executed by the aforementioned unit and headed by a new Director, Mr Mike Fungati.

3.11 Finance Act (2 of 2020)

In December 2020, the Mnangagwa-led government amended the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007) once more, reintroducing the provision that limits foreign ownership in the extractive industry to 41%. This was a divergence from prior reforms, which had limited 41% foreign ownership to platinum and diamond mining only. According to the amendments, which were introduced through Section 3 (1) of the Finance Act (2 of 2020), foreigners would not be granted investment licenses to participate in mining activities unless a relevant indigenous entity held a majority stake in their companies. According to Manayiti and Cullis (2021), the Act is intended to economically empower Zimbabweans, reduce poverty, and generate new economic influence through the inclusion of indigenous citizens in the extraction of the abundant mineral resources across the country.

Critics argue that the alterations enabled the government, through the appointed minister, to recommend which minerals would be impacted at any given time. This arguably gives the minister a lot of power at the detriment of Parliament, whose primary function is to pass or amend legislation following vigilant and vigorous examination. The changes were again made clandestinely through the Finance Act and were possibly not clearly understood by Members of Parliament when presented in the document, as argued by Veritas (2021: par.1). The inserted clause read:

"**37 Amendment of section 3 of Chapter 14:33**

Section 3(1) of the Indigenisation and Empowerment Act [Chapter 14:33] is amended—

(a) "by the insertion after "extraction of" of "such mineral as may be prescribed by the Minister in consultation with the Minister responsible for Mines and the Minister responsible for Finance";

(b) by the repeal of paragraphs (a) and (b)."

As aforementioned, the Finance Act is meant to provide legal framework for government to raise funds through taxation, duties and other payments. The inclusion of these amendments to the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act, as was done in 2018, is therefore furtive and unprocedural. Veritas (2021: par.19) argues that "Members of Parliament cannot be expected to scrutinise Finance Bills to check that there are no clauses that stray outside the Bills' legitimate scope".

It is important to note that at the time of this study, no other minerals besides platinum and diamonds had been designated by the government although this may change through a decision from the relevant Minister in consultation with the Minister of mines and mining development as well as the Minister of Finance and economic development. However, the amendments will surely be felt by gold mining companies such as Caledonia which bought back 15% of its shares from indigenous investors Fremirio following the 2018 amendments.

3.12 Impact of IEEP on Investment

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is the cornerstone of economic growth and development especially, in emerging countries. FDI inflows to these resource-rich countries shows that MNCs consider them as lucrative investment destinations. Nunnenkamp (2002:5) argues that in comparison to investment in more industrialised nations, FDI in developing nations is still directed predominately towards gaining access to natural resources and new markets. However, as any favourable investment climate changes, so too does the appetite to invest. Policymakers have to be prudent in the formulation of policies that are constructive towards investment as this will help generate much needed revenue which, in turn, increases the standard of living for citizens. Unfortunately, some policies may be deemed regressive and detrimental to investment as is often stated of IEEP.

Critics argue that IEEP and similar initiatives have a negative impact on investment (Shumba, 2014:68, 69). These critics argue that, legally, the enactment of such policies infringe on an organisation's rights. They suggest that, by its very nature, a directive that forces private sector players to cede equity or influence is an infringement of property and operational rights (Veritas, 2021). Property rights, according to Barlow (1958), can be defined as the sole right to own, enjoy, and dispose of something, or as the sole right to command and manage an economic good. These rights give an organisation or individual the legal stewardship of resources and guarantees them undisturbed enjoyment or use of said property. This legal benefit allows organisations to conduct their operations uninterrupted but within the confines of the law. Adhering to property rights is therefore critical in attracting interest in any country and it is upon this belief that MNCs are attracted to a foreign investment destination.

The conflict, however, arises when there is a clash between property rights and territorial (or sovereign) rights. The latter refers to the state's right to self-governance and ownership of its territories; therefore, the ability to pursue actions deemed beneficial to its citizens as well as to secure economic returns from any resource exploitation conducted within its borders (Schrijver, 1997:265). For example, through policies that are considered to be in pursuant of social justice such as affirmative action, land redistribution and indigenisation. These rights dictate that the operations of organisations are a privilege granted by the state in the best interest of its citizens. As such, investors are obliged to adhere to the laws and regulations enforced by the state including those that aim to redistribute wealth. Garufu (2015:48) argues that a nation "has prerogative powers and discretion to determine its property rights and security of tenure, and their implementation". From an investment perspective, this creates a challenge as it disrupts an organisations' long-term projections. Empowerment programmes are a source of concern for international investors, especially where they infringe on property rights (Chiwunze, 2014: par. 6). Insufficient protection of property rights may lead a country down the path of anarchy; a situation which would deter investors and compromise economic development.

Investment confidence in Zimbabwe has over the years been affected by these policies. Nyathi (2016:107) highlights that the accelerated land reform programme shook investor confidence in the country. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2021), FDI in Zimbabwe dropped to lows of 4 million US Dollars in 2004 as a result of the fast-track land reform programmes that nationalised private land in violation of private property rights.

Although statistically, the flow of FDI after 2009 increased, some scholars argue that the rate of increase was much lower than anticipated. This is in comparison to other countries in the region and in light of the vast opportunities that the country possessed. With the discovery of diamonds in eastern Zimbabwe in 2006, the huge platinum deposits (third largest in the world) and the vast array of minerals, there had been huge expectation that FDI would drastically increase. This was not the case, and a comparison of the FDI inflows of other countries between 2003 and 2019 shows that Zimbabwe was, relatively speaking, the least attractive destination.

Table 3.3: FDI US$ Millions for selected Southern African Countries (2003-2019)

Year	Botswana	Mozambique	Namibia	Zambia	Zimbabwe
2003	418	337	149	347	4
2004	391	476	226	364	9
2005	279	108	385	357	103
2006	486	113	387	616	40
2007	495	399	733	1324	69
2008	521	592	720	939	52
2009	209	898	841	695	105
2010	218	2532	284	1729	166
2011	293	3559	817	1109	387
2012	146	5629	1061	1732	400
2013	67	6175	770	2100	400
2014	515	4902	441	1489	545
2015	379	3867	857	1305	421
2016	143	3093	368	663	372
2017	261	2293	374	1108	349
2018	286	2703	157	408	745
2019	261	2212	-17	753	280

Source: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2021)

Table 3.3 above shows how FDI inflows were depressed during the initial stages of IEEP and although there was a steady increase, it did not reach expected levels. Nyathi (2016:110) states that Zimbabwe Investment Authority accepted proposals worth US$821 million in October 2012, as opposed to US$7 billion in 2011. This decline was credited to negative impressions of the programme, the disruptive way in which it was introduced, and questions over property rights. According to Miller (2008:4), it is a widely held economic belief that governments ought to guarantee property rights and maintain an enabling environment before a market economy can operate effectively. This is supported by Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2010:7) that state that "laws must aim at limiting official discretion to alter property rights in unpredictable ways and at promoting stable and secure rights, thus limiting governmental interference with the most productive uses of property".

However, as Boatright (2012:302) contends "strictly speaking, property is not a tangible thing like land, but a bundle of rights that defines what the owner is entitled to do with a thing". The author adds that "property rights entail the possession of an item as well as the claim of responsibility for it". With this in mind, a government would be within its rights to pursue policies that aim to empower its citizens. Chipika and Malaba (2013:44) state that while it is often claimed that the IEEP discourages FDI, they argue that it guarantees long-term investment tenure because the partnership between the newly established indigenous investors and their foreign partners is sacrosanct and neither party can afford to jeopardise it.

From a political perspective, the uncertainty that arises from the enactment of such policies is undesirable and detrimental to progressive investment. Indigenisation and empowerment policies are often seen as populist and initiated in response to whining political support for the governing party. There is, therefore, often much contestation between the governing party (who are usually the introducers of the bill) and the opposition parties who view the initiative as a political and electioneering ploy and not crafted in the best interest of the country. In the South African parliament, the Bill was introduced by the ruling ANC and received much criticism from the Democratic Alliance and other opposition parties. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, IEEP was mooted by the ZANU PF and greatly opposed by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Much of the objections centre around the detail interred in the policy proposal; for as much as all parties may agree on the need to solve the problems of social injustice, it is the politically motivated context that is usually contentious. This is supported by Julio and Yook (2012:73) who argue that the possibility of policy manipulation to distort the degree of economic performance in a way that would persuade the electorate of progress remains a concern. This scrutiny by the opposition parties therefore goes beyond political suspicion, discontentment and attempting to disempower the ruling party but critiques the policy from a legal, social and economic perspective with attention to the ramifications of its implementation.

Furthermore, the policy is seen as a corrupt scheme aimed at uplifting elite party members and other politically connected individuals. Zvoushe *et al*. (2017:122) argue that "evidence on the ground suggests that the concept has been deliberately twisted, highly politicised, and manipulated as an instrument of exclusionary politics played at racial, political, class, and nationality levels, with the effect of calculatedly side-lining potential beneficiaries, as well as facilitating the expropriation and dispossession of critical resources and assets from perceived "foreigners" in the country". An extract from Marazanye (2016:96) highlights:

"One of the criticisms levelled against the South African Government's BEE policy is that too much emphasis is put on transfer of ownership that benefits only a small number of politically well-connected blacks. For instance, Ernst and Young Management Services reported that in 2003, R42.2 billion (US$6.5billion) worth of BEE deals were made. But the beneficiaries of these deals belonged largely to those prominent blacks with political connections to the ruling ANC elite".

MDC opposition politician, Tendai Biti, (New Zimbabwe, 2013: par. 6) remarked that IEEP was "a model that is not creating new value. Secondly it is a programme that is elitist in nature; now, which ordinary person has that kind of money?" He added that "it is a programme that needs to be revisited. But despite that, indigenisation on the ground has not been a hindrance to any serious investor in Zimbabwe".

Ordinary citizens have also presented concerns on the issue as highlighted by Chipika and Malaba (2013:44) who argue that while IEEP is welcomed by many Zimbabweans, they are worried that the programme could adversely affect FDI as well as the possibility of the initiative turning into "elite indigenisation" as a result of political patronage and abuse. This is supported by Zvoushe (2019:333) who asserts that corruption and the politicisation of IEEP have created an atmosphere conducive to elite indigenisation, through which relations with state institutions and the governing party have predetermined how and to what degree individuals can profit from the initiative.

This political wrangling fuels uncertainty within the investment corridors. According to Hammami (2006:3, 13), political wrangling could contribute to economic paralysis and uncertainty as investors lose confidence in the outcome of such conflicts, their nature and their impact on investment. Parliamentary debate may lead to constant revisions of the policy which in turn leads to delays in full implementation. This bureaucratic contestation tends to unsettle investors particularly on how to engage with the state which could lead to postponement or reconsideration of investment. Coincidentally, political uncertainty means that investors are unsure of how policymakers will shape the policy and whether or not it will be stable during the duration of their investment. This ambiguity, according to Julio and Yook (2012:45), may impede economic development as businesses may postpone investment until the uncertainty surrounding the regulatory frameworks and microeconomic policy is settled.

Another challenge created by IEEP has been how companies are expected to legally restructure their own shareholding (Matyszak, 2010:24). In most cases, shares are not all owned by the business but by private shareholders and as such, the legal right to dispose of shares does not lie with the company. The imposition of IEEP therefore creates a paradox as the individual shareholder cannot be forced to relinquish their stock (Shumba, 2014:64). This leaves MNCs in the difficult position of somehow reorganising and convincing shareholders of the need for stock equity restructuring for the purpose of ceding 51% to a country that is dogged by political and economic instability.

The full impact of IEEP is one that needs a separate and thorough investigation as there may be other variables that have impacted investment in the country. It is, however, worth noting that literature is littered by reports of capital flight. For example, in March 2010, an investment delegation from Germany suspended a trip to Zimbabwe citing the controversial indigenisation law as problematic and declaring that the country had become a "no-go area" for international investors (Nyathi, 2016:112). The Wall Street Journal (2011) also reported that Massmart Holdings, a South African retailer which at the time was being courted by Wal-Mart, had decided to disinvest in Zimbabwe due to the uncertainty around the indigenisation policy. Such reports provide evidence that the IEEP had a significant bearing on investment.

Defensively, the government of Zimbabwe blamed the country's woes on a number of external influences, including neo-colonialism, Western intimidation and racism. This situation reached catastrophic levels to the extent that Zimbabwe withdrew from the Commonwealth in 2003 with President Mugabe blasting: "Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe". Saviour Kasukuwere, the then Minister of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment, emphasised that "the government is not going to compromise on the principle of indigenisation of the economy and economic empowerment of the majority of the people" (Ankomah, 2013:43).

> "If you look at, for example, China; how they are growing. Which means that the policy is actually working. There were concerns that the policy would be detrimental to FDI but look at China; they have categories where foreigners can come to invest. Some areas are permitted and some are restricted and some are prohibited. So there are similarities" (Government Official 2).

These supporters of the policy argue strongly that the policy looks to favour Zimbabweans so that they become key players in whatever they do. Given time and effort, IEEP will be successful. To this, Chipika and Malaba (2013:44) add that indigenisation and economic empowerment is a mechanism that demands the discipline and determination of a committed developmental state. They argue that a stable political and macroeconomic climate, as well as comprehensive investment in strategic economic drivers, such as robust infrastructure growth and intensive skills development, are an essential component of the indigenisation and economic empowerment process. Newfarmer and Pierola (2015: 98) also advise that there is an urgent need for the government of Zimbabwe "to explore policy options that would achieve empowerment without undermining other national priorities, including growth, investment, and export potential".

3.12.1 Impact of indigenisation on the mining sector in Zimbabwe

The mining sector has been negatively affected by the structure, inconsistency and lack of clarity of the IEEP. Organisations understand the motives behind the economic empowerment plan and the need for transformation and restorative justice but have been left confused by how this process should be conducted. In a statement by Mary-Jane Morifi, for example, the then Executive Head of Corporate Affairs at Anglo Platinum, it was acknowledged that the company recognised "the need for black economic empowerment and sustainable development" and that because of its record in

South Africa, it was ready to meet the “eventual requirements” of the indigenisation policy in Zimbabwe (The Herald, 2011: par 4).

The idea of economic empowerment was not new to Zimbabwe, having been first mooted after the country’s independence in 1980. This process was nevertheless not very effective as Zvoushe (2019:74) highlights that even after 10 years of independence, 80% of mining and industry still lay in the hands of foreign investment. Although the requirement for majority indigenous ownership in the mining sector appears to be the norm across Africa, the radical approach that was adopted by the Zimbabwean government in 2008 when MNCs were given strict directive to comply with the new law, was unexpected and has had long-lasting negative consequences. Saunders (2008:82) acknowledges that while the Chamber of Mines and local mining companies had been involved in the consultative process of the drafting of the indigenisation policy, they and other stakeholders such as the Government of South Africa and South African based MNCs were surprised by the Act.

The country had experienced a boom in the mining sector following the structural adjustment polices that the Mugabe regime had implemented in the 90s but what followed could not be expected. According to Saunders (2008: 68), in the 90s, mining companies responded favourably to the liberalisation of investment regulations and Zimbabwe was well on its way to record yields in gold mining as well as new interest in coal, ferrochrome, and platinum. The table below shows some of the investments that were made in Zimbabwe during the 90s.

Table 3.4 Zimbabwe: Mining investment in the 1990s

Investment	Source Company	Source Country	US $m	Year
Hartley Platinum Mines	BHP	Australia	500	1998
Turk Mine	Casmyn Corporation	Canada	30	1995
Eureka Gold Mine	Delta Gold	Australia	24	1998
Indarama Gold Mine	Trillion Resources	Canada	15	1998
Jena Gold Mine	Trillion Resources	Canada	12	1991
Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation	Rio Tinto	UK	5	1994
Chaka Processing Plant	Delta Gold	Australia	3	1998
Bubi Gold Mine	Anglo American	SA	2	1997

Source: Saunders (2008: 69)

The years between 2000 and 2008 were, however, characterised as atrocious as economic and political instability engulfed Zimbabwe. The ruling party had embarked on radical and popularist measures to retain power beginning with the fast-track land reform programme and followed by the indigenisation drive, both which were used mainly for electioneering and political gain. This saw investor confidence plummet as the business community questioned the legality of these policies.

The first few years following the enactment of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007), saw mining output and investment decrease drastically with some analysts citing that the political and regulatory environment as not ideal for unfettered large-scale investments (Seccombe, 2020: par.2). In its annual budget review for 2016, the Government of Zimbabwe (2017: 16) admitted that though the mining sector was an important contributor of foreign exchange, its contribution to the fiscus had waned as illustrated below. Table 3.5 highlights the impact of the policy on mining activities in Zimbabwe in 2009 and the gradual increase thereafter.

Table 3.5 Mining sector revenue 2009-2016

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total Government Revenue (USD millions)	934	2,339	2,921	3,496	3,741	3,727	3,737	3,502
Mining Revenue (USD millions)	50.6	154	161.3	245.8	185.2	335.9	139.9	75.74
Mining Revenue Share (%)	5.4	6.6	5.5	7	4.8	9	3.7	2.2

Source: Government of Zimbabwe (2017: 16)

Analysts labelled 2009 as a poor year for mining, as the industry dealt with the confusion caused by the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007). The Chamber of Mines (Manhando, 2017) observed that outputs of nickel, chrome, gold, coal, and diamonds had all reached historic lows with analysts attributing it to the unstable operating environment. Mineral output increased in subsequent years as more dialogue between all parties involved began to bear fruit with regards to the detail and expectations of the government. Although the mining sector in Zimbabwe during the period 2009 to 2011 was characterised as "generally less hospitable by international standards" (Newfarmer & Pierola, 2015: 92), the years also coincided with the global resurgence of demand on minerals and this saw a significant rise in output.

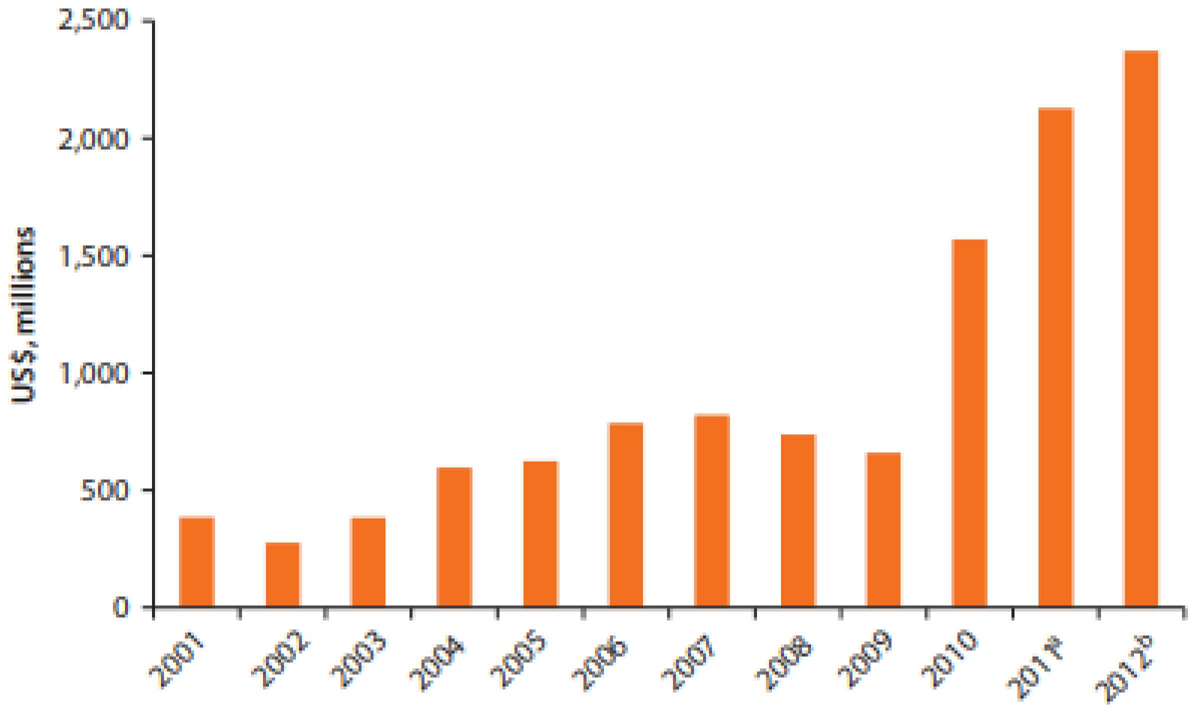

Figure 3.1 Zimbabwe's mineral exports 2001-2012

Source: Newfarmer & Pierola (2015:92)

The figure above (Figure 3.1) shows the country's mineral exports and is used to illustrate the significant slump experienced in 2009 (post implementation of IEEP). It should, however, be noted that this low coincided with the global financial crisis of 2009 which affected commodities. Although outputs began to increase thereafter, the sector remained on tenterhooks as uncertainty and suspicion prevailed amidst the challenging social, economic and political climate. It was during this time that ZANU PF faced the strongest challenge to its rule since the early 80s and the party was aggressively fighting for its political survival in an environment that had seen a rise in unemployment, labour unrest and poverty. According to Zvoushe (2019:192), the situation was exacerbated by the militant stance taken by prominent individuals such as former Indigenisation Minister, Saviour Kasukuwere, who unreasonably and unrealistically anticipated a faster turnaround to indigenisation by foreign-owned companies. Debate around the structure and implementation (timeframes) of IEEP, which involved bodies such as Parliament and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, meant that mining companies adopted a cautious "wait and see" approach. This is echoed by Nyathi (2016:109), who notes that investor interest was largely subdued during this period due to negative sentiments surrounding IEEP and general apprehension about the country's political trajectory.

With limited options available, mining companies began partially implementing their indigenisation plans starting with the simplest and most responsible options first. Zvoushe (2019:202) observed that CSOTs were considered low hanging fruit as mining companies such as Zimplats, Anglo, Falcon Gold and Caledonia were amongst the first businesses in the country to establish these initiatives.

These CSOTs were viewed by mining companies as worthwhile and effective initiatives which would ensure that a significant number of citizens would actively participate in the economy whilst simultaneously protecting the environment around areas of operation (Nyathi, 2016:102). Zimplats, Unki and Mimosa established CSOTs in their respective areas of operation in 2011 and in 2012 Caledonia became the first mining company to comply with Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007).

Companies were also forced to submit beneficiation plans as part of the economic empowerment drive. In line with IEEP, the government introduced regulations and interventions to push mining companies to establish refineries, smelters, catalytic converters and cutting and polishing plants, thereby, adding value to minerals mined in Zimbabwe. Although the policy of beneficiation is not unique to Zimbabwe, the manner in which it was imposed on mining companies was deemed problematic. Baissac et.al (2015:19) state that exports of unprocessed chrome ore were banned in 2011 with the government hoping to encourage the building of smelters in Zimbabwe. Similar actions were undertaken for unrefined gold and uncut diamonds, while President Mugabe's public announcements regarding his government's plans to prohibit the exportation of unprocessed platinum meant that mining companies involved in that area had to be alert and begin preparations in case the threat materialised.

In the Fraser Institute's 2012–13 survey of global mining, Zimbabwe ranked 91st least favourable investment destination out of 96 countries, down from 73rd the preceding year, “probably because the survey took place after the announcement of the indigenisation policy toward mining” (Newfarmer & Pierola 2015:93). According to Shumba (2014:71) the political and economic instability that prevailed, partially due to the effects of policies such as IEEP, led to the shutting down of many manufacturing and mining businesses and the suspension of several mining projects. In 2015, Finance Minister Patrick Chinamasa conceded that between 2011 and 2014 almost 5 000 businesses in the country had collapsed, further harming an already battered economy (Baissac et.al, 2015:21).

The 2018 amendments brought about much relief to mining companies and investors as it meant that it was finally possible for 100% foreign owned shareholding in all mining operations besides platinum and diamond mining. Investor confidence improved as a consequence of the country's economic normalisation and strengthened market environment, attributed to President Mnangagwa's "open for business" agenda. The government appeared to be reprioritising the mining sector through the revision of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (14 of 2007) with immediate investment interest coming from MNCs such as Karo Resources, a Cypriot mining company that pledged to invest $4.2 billion on a platinum mine in Mhondoro-Ngezi. Another major development was the granting of a platinum mining licence and five-year tax exemption to Russian-owned Great Dyke Investments. Other prospects included Lithium mining projects with the government receiving extensive interest in the ore due to the high global demand for electric car batteries. In this respect, the government reported interest from a number of mining MNCs including a US$1.4 billion enquiry from a “South African based company” (Stevens, 2019: par. 8).

In 2020, Winston Chitando, the Mines and Mining Development minister, boldly announced that the government had overcome the investment bottlenecks and had resolved issues of policy clarity and inconsistency and was ready to welcome foreign investors into the resource-rich country (Mathews, 2020: par.4). The minister also clarified that investors were able to remit their capital and dividends back to their home countries. Participants in the mining sector responded positively to these initiatives as interest in the business grew.

The 2018 amendments were also welcomed by mining companies that were already operating in Zimbabwe, with Caledonia Mining announcing that it had reached an agreement to repurchase the 15% shares that had been allocated to its indigenous partner Fremirio investments for US$16.66 million (Caledonia, 2019:15). RHA Tungsten Private also presented updated plans to the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Enterprise Development for consideration and approval in November 2018. The mining company had already ceded 51% ownership to the NIEEF, an agreement which the company described as “financially unviable”. RHA Tungsten therefore sought a reversal of this deal following the announcement that 100% foreign ownership was permitted (Cornish, 2018: par. 10). Parent company Premier African Minerals’ executive chairman and Chief Executive Officer declared the company’s commitment to Zimbabwe in light of these changes and stated that “we are however happy for some of the financial gains generated through RHA to remain within the country for the upliftment of its economy and its people, but a commercial and viable agreement is required with NIEEF to ensure a long-term future for RHA” (Cornish, 2018: par. 11).

The confidence that was slowly gaining momentum was however shattered by the 2020 amendments which some mining observers described as regressive and contrary to the “open for business” mantra first declared by President Mnangagwa following the removal of Mugabe. At the time of writing this study, no other mineral had been designated under the revised law. This could however change at any stage as the revision included a clause which assigned the Minister of Industry, Commerce and Enterprise Development authority, after consultation with the Minister of Mines and Mining Development and the Minister of Finance and Economic Development, to gazette which minerals were to be reserved.

In light of these changes and resultant uncertainty, there is renewed fear that the government’s decision could ignite an exodus of investors not only in the mining industry but also in other sectors. Not only has the policy inconsistency proven to be problematic to investment confidence but the unprocedural manner in which these revisions have been made has affected the trust investors had developed in the post Mugabe Zimbabwe. The highest priority for the government remains clarifying the guidelines and the scope of the programme as well as reassuring investors of consistency and transparency in policy formulation and implementation.

3.13 Conclusion

Indigenisation and economic empowerment is described as a purposeful affirmative action intended to offer indigenous citizens of a country the opportunity to participate in and benefit from economic activities from which they had previously been excluded. Its purpose is to redress historical injustice and establish social equality for all members of society, particularly those who were formerly disenfranchised and marginalised who in this case were the majority Black Zimbabweans.

This chapter explored the fundamentals that drive social justice and affirmative action by discussing the theories most applicable to indigenisation and economic empowerment. These theories point to a need for countries that have experienced oppression and marginalisation to undertake transformative actions aimed at attaining social and restorative justice. The actions taken by governments continue to be a significant component in every country's desire to improve its citizens' well-being, achieve self-determination, and attain economic growth. In order for economic empowerment to be meaningful and successful, the state needs to guarantee stability and transparency in the implementation of the policy. When these are observed, investors are more comfortable with the process. Empowerment of this nature is a process and not an event and, as such, takes time and effort to achieve the expected transformational objectives.

The chapter also provided examples of economic empowerment policies that have been implemented in South Africa and Malaysia before honing down to IEEP in Zimbabwe. In South Africa, the government took an all-inclusive approach to economic empowerment that has seen the involvement of all stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of socioeconomic affirmative action, national development, and poverty eradication. Although not perfect, this policy has been heralded as a beacon of broad based economic empowerment on the continent. This example was also examined because the MNCs presented for this study are based in South Africa, therefore an understanding of their home commitments offers insight for better analysis for this research. The Malaysian approach, on the other hand, is similar to the Zimbabwean model in that foreign ownership is regulated. The approach is considered the best recognised case of systematic economic empowerment and has offered a template for most countries in the world. The ceding of shares in MNCs operating in Malaysia is also an important reason for its inclusion here as redistributive justice was also critical in Zimbabwe.

The discussion also looked at the background of Zimbabwe; focusing on pre-independence inequality as a precursor to understanding the objectives of the policy, the legislative framework as well as the impact on investment with special attention to the mining sector. The discussion helped to evaluate the rationale and content of IEEP in Zimbabwe and investigate the impact it has had on investment in the country. Proponents of the indigenisation law underestimate the difficulty of driving the areas of production towards a focused economic direction that has the possibility of their purpose towards profit maximisation. In essence, in any society, there may exist difficulties in driving all players to adhere to the expectations of a transformational agenda.

Though IEEP leaves much to be desired due to ambiguous content, a lack of clarity and accountability, inconsistent execution and political bias, it remains an essential mechanism for Zimbabwe's path to claiming social justice and economic empowerment. The policy's rationale is noble and demands the cooperation of all stakeholders for it to accomplish its expected goals. Economic empowerment is meant to be rooted in the ideals of social justice, development and long-term sustainability and as such needs to be depoliticised and made less elitist.

Regardless of the debate around IEEP, it is important to understand its transformative foundation as it continues to be an essential instrument to undertake in the pursuit of a development agenda. In this respect, this examination of IEEP in Zimbabwe sets the tone for analysis of Anglo American Platinum and Impala Platinum’s CSR strategy in the country. From this basis, research on the two MNCs investment strategy and CSR approach is simplified when seen from the context given in this chapter.

The next chapter will detail the research methodology followed in trying to fulfil the research objectives. It explains the approach used, the qualitative research process as well as the case study approach.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter draws attention to the research plan adopted to achieve the set objectives. The chapter discusses the research methodology and design that were employed to conduct this study. Close attention is given to the approach, the characteristics of qualitative research juxtaposed to quantitative, sampling, as well as the development of the questionnaire. The comparison is made to improve the understanding of research as a whole and appreciation for qualitative research. The research is explorative and, as such, the chapter looks at the collection, the processing and the analysis of data. It also examines the challenges, limitations and ethical concerns that were observed during the course of the study.

The purpose of this study was to explore and analyse ways in which CSR strategies may add value to MNC's investment proposition in countries with IEEP, thereby determining the relationship between CSR activities and IEEP with a specific focus on the Zimbabwe mining sector. It was important to identify CSR priorities of these MNCs in their home countries juxtaposed to those in the host country, to investigate how the MNCs developed CSR strategies in response to implemented IEEP and to determine the Zimbabwean government's expectation from investors in relation to CSR.

4.2 Phenomenology

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994:116) “paradigm issues are crucial; no inquirer ought to go about the business of inquiry without being clear about just what paradigm informs and guides his or her approach”. Introduced by Edmund Husserl in 1936, the goal of phenomenology is to create a comprehensive, accurate, transparent, and expressive portrayal and understanding of specific human experiences or experiencing moments (Willis, 2002:2). Lester (1999:2) notes that phenomenological approaches are useful at presenting individuals' experiences and perceptions from their own point of view, thus testing structural or normative premises.

Phenomenology is inductive and involves the gathering of in-depth information and perceptions through interviews, discussions and participant observation. Husserl (1970) observed that phenomenological inquiry attempts to describe rather than explain and thus begins without premises or assumptions.

Critics of phenomenology however argue that analysing and interpreting data from this approach may be challenging. They also point out that since this technique is heavily reliant on the researcher’s skills, the collection of data may be difficult as participants may be reluctant to participate fully and openly or may have challenges in expressing themselves. Participants need to be interested and involved in order for data collection to be successful. They also need to be able to express themselves, for example, psychologically and linguistically. That is to say that participants must be in the right frame of mind, be able to communicate and articulate themselves clearly and in a language that is mutually understood by the researcher. It is therefore important for the researcher to be able to probe and facilitate valuable dialogue.

According to Brinkmann (2017:1024) "phenomenology has been extremely significant in the development of qualitative research, not least with respect to establishing steps and procedures of analysis and thereby contributing to making qualitative inquiry a legitimate scientific endeavour". With this in mind, a qualitative approach stemming from the phenomenological paradigm was used to gain a clear and precise understanding of the experiences of MNCs that invested in Zimbabwe in the hope of providing insight and guidance on how other investors can use CSR to develop investment proposals that will be accepted in countries with similar policies. The phenomenological paradigm helped to gain insights into motivations and actions of the organisations.

The identification of a paradigm informs the research methodology as highlighted by Wagner *et al*. (2012:52). It shapes the methodology based on the objectives of the study, the researcher's perspective as well as the research fit.

4.3 Research design

A research design is the overall framework which outlines the manner in which data is collected, analysed and interpreted. It is the process of designing strategies that will be utilised to collect data which answers the research questions. Yin (2004) defines research design as "a logical plan for getting from here to there, where "here" may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered and "there" is some set of conclusions about these questions". Research design focuses the study and guarantees that data gathering protocols are in accordance with the study's aims, as accurate data must be obtained if the study's conclusions are to be meaningful (Mulili, 2011:109). Research design may be categorised under three classifications, that is, explanatory, descriptive and exploratory research.

4.3.1 Explanatory research

The primary goal of explanatory research is to explain why events occur and to anticipate their recurrence. In explanatory research, theories and hypothesis are used to explain the dynamics that resulted in a particular occurrence. This research is structured in nature. Strydom (2013:155) explains that explanatory research is often experimental in nature, where hypothesis testing and group comparisons may be employed. Glicken (2003:267) adds that explanatory research seeks to draw relevant and reliable inferences from the vast quantity of information at one's disposal.

Explanatory research is often deductive and therefore quantitative in character. Alder and Clark (2008:14) state that its primary goal is to collect data on a sizeable number of instances and then interpret the data using statistical analysis. As new research emerges, old explanations for behaviours must sometimes be dismissed or modified (Cozby, 2009:9). That is to say, new theories are derived as new explanations are constructed.

4.3.2 Descriptive research

In descriptive research, information is obtained about the present state of a population or phenomenon. According to Williams (2007:66), descriptive research begins with identifying qualities of a specific phenomenon based on observation or the investigation of connections between two or more occurrences. Descriptive research can be either quantitative or qualitative (Mutakinati *et al*., 2018:56) and its usefulness in identifying characteristics, patterns and classifications, especially within little-known research topics and problems, cannot be overstated.

A descriptive study, as defined by Pierson and Thomas (2010:440) and Royse (2011:71), involves large scale numerical endeavours that seek to describe, for example, age, income, and household size, in order to gain a detailed understanding of patterns of a specific population group, for example, the destitute, and an attempt to distinguish them from other cases or occurrences. With that in mind, Falkenberg (2006:33) adds that, for this type of research, structure, precise rules and procedures are essential and that the same procedures must be used for all objects measured.

According to Salkind, (2000:192), descriptive research paints a detailed image of an event, social environment, or connection. According to Babbie (2010:93) and Barker (2003:116), the purpose of descriptive research is not to identify cause-and-effect linkages, but rather to describe circumstances and occurrences and properly identify what the true scenario is. Although descriptive research often includes a leading question, it is not guided by a formal research hypothesis. It attempts to address the question "what is going on?"

4.3.3 Explorative research

Exploratory research seeks to understand why particular occurrences or behaviours occur. It seeks to examine incidents and decision-making processes. Marlow (2005:334) explains that exploratory research is “a form of research that generates initial insights into the nature of an issue and develops questions to be investigated by more extensive studies”. It seeks to define the limits of the phenomena in which the scenario develops, as well as to ascertain whether or not there are any factors or characteristics that may be identified there and be admissible as evidence (Khan & Van Wyk, 2009:8). This type of research is often carried out to investigate an occurrence or condition for which there has been little or no prior research, thus facilitating the development of new thoughts and conversations, as well as the development of preliminary theories or hypotheses.

Exploratory research generally involves obtaining large volumes of unstructured data to investigate a fresh theme or to address new challenges by pushing the limits and digging into uncharted troublesome areas. The research works on important subjects about which very little data is available in order to obtain comprehensive insight into a problem, community or individual (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000:41; Glicken, 2003:267; Mitchell & Jolley, 2010:550-552; Royse, 2011:27).

Exploratory research can be applied in quantitative, qualitative or mixed method research. The research has a high level of adaptability and is helpful in providing well-grounded perspectives of the issue in question. Alston and Bowles (2003:152) contend that by using explorative research, the researcher's objective is often to develop more specific questions for future studies to answer; a precursor to a more comprehensive investigation.

Considering the aforementioned, and the set of objectives outlined in this research, an explorative approach was used for the purpose of this study. Exploratory research explores and explains a particular situation; therefore, its openness and flexibility will help future researchers establish a basis upon which to continue research related to this particular topic. It helps explore situations and stimulates the growth of knowledge, a feat which is important for this research.

4.4 Research Method

Research method is the strategy used to implement the overall plan and may be categorised as either qualitative or quantitative. It is described as a mode of prudently understanding and logically investigating a recognised issue. According to Gill and Johnson (1991), "research methods can be positioned by taking nomothetic (realist) and ideographic (idealist) ontologies into account". They add that nomothetic research may be defined as a method that uses quantitative techniques for data analysis, while ideographic techniques are concerned with the investigation of subjective accounts collected from internal observations and involves the ordinary cycle of life. The choice on whether to conduct a quantitative or qualitative study is influenced by the expected research destination and has a significant impact on data collecting and research outcomes.

4.4.1 Quantitative research

Quantitative research is deductive in nature and is founded on the measurement of quantity. It places attention on methodology, technique, and statistical measurements of validity to discover relationships between different variables in order to produce quantitative outcomes (Eldabi *et al*., 2002:65). Lowhon (2007:3) states that quantitative research is designed to draw statistically meaningful inferences about a target population by analysing a representative sample.

Babbie (2010:35) highlights that "quantitative research places emphasis on quantification in the collection and analysis of data and that such data can be expressed in numbers, percentages and tables". Such research is thus meant to provide a trustworthy and well-grounded account of the situation under observation and its findings are expressed numerically. Quantitative research is often conducted on an expansive scale frequently employing questionnaires and surveys. It is however possible for smaller groups to be used to make inferences about larger groups.

Another significant advantage of quantitative research methods is that they generate measurable and trustworthy data which is generalisable. This helps in standardising data collection.

Quantitative research is not without criticism though. These methods are often seen as stringent and criticised for their apparent linearity as well as their in-depth failure to consider human behaviour. This is buttressed by Weinreich (1996:53), who contends that one of quantitative approach's major flaws is that it de-contextualises human behaviour, removes the event from its real-world contexts and ignores the impact of factors that may not have been accounted for in the model.

4.4.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is highly descriptive; consisting of an in-depth investigation of an individual's beliefs, feelings, and thoughts on a particular subject. Fossey *et al*. (2002:717) describe qualitative research as techniques aimed at addressing issues with the development and comprehension of the meaning and experience elements of human lives and social worlds. This research explores the behaviour and perceptions of participants using qualitative approaches. It is descriptive research in which events are observed and described as they unfold with the objective of recording the richness of everyday behaviour as highlighted by Stagor (2011:15). Flick (1998:5) adds that “objects are not reduced to single variables but are studied in their complexity and entirety in everyday context”. This was especially important for this study since it allowed the researcher to investigate the various variables that apply to the strategies that MNCs employ in their investment destination.

Gordon and Langmaid (1988) state that qualitative research is best utilised to enhance insight, extend knowledge, explain actual concerns, develop hypotheses, identify a variety of behaviour and attitudes, and identify unique behavioural classes. With that in mind, this research sought to understand the uniqueness of the strategies, if any existed.

Qualitative methods are especially helpful during both exploratory and in-depth descriptive studies and are appreciated for their interpretive perspective. In their study of qualitative data, Lewins *et al*. (2005:38) acknowledge that qualitative research techniques are naturalistic, anthropological, and ethnographic and are based on interpretivism paradigms. That is to say, a position may be created and continually recreated throughout time as a result of experience. This often results in differing views of a study. With this in mind, qualitative research recognises that assumptions, background knowledge, and the researcher's beliefs may also have an influence on that which is observed. It is, however, important to adopt measures that minimise any unintended or unconscious bias. Measures used in this study, such as peer review and triangulation, aided in identifying and correcting any research bias. This helped in ensuring that the research was carried out in a way that allowed for the objective investigation of the cases, thereby adding to the richness of the process.

Qualitative research methods are flexible and afford the researcher space to deal with uncertainty. They allow the researcher to employ a number of techniques and gain access to a wide range of information that may be used to draw inferences on why and how questions (Miller *et al*., 2004:329). As such, researchers make use of the data from reports, documents, in-depth interviews, observations and ethnography to understand situations, events, relationships or actions. In this regard, the researcher gathers rich in-depth description of the phenomena under review. Schurink (2009:15) writes that “the qualitative researcher is concerned with understanding (verstehen) rather than with explanation; with naturalistic observation rather than with controlled measurement; with the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective of an insider as opposed to the outsider perspective that is predominant in the quantitative paradigm”.

For the reasons stated above, as well as the study's lack of quantifiability, this study employed a qualitative research technique to evaluate the CSR techniques employed by MNCs in countries with IEEP. A research design was then selected as a general mechanism of knowledge acquisition.

4.5 Selection of qualitative research design

The selection of a proper qualitative research design is of paramount importance to the execution of the research. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2017:58), a “research design describes a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms, first, to strategies of inquiry and, second, to methods for collecting empirical material”. Cohen *et al*. (2000:73) state that research design is guided by the principle of "fitness for purpose"; that is to say, the objectives of the study determine its methodology and design. The research design for this study is the case study approach. This approach is applied because it generates a deep comprehension of complicated issues and fits well with the objectives of the study under review.

4.6 Case study approach

Yin (2003:5) defines a case study as a “strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence”. It is an approach used for learning about complicated positions or occurrences, based on a holistic understanding of those instances as a whole and in context (General Accounting Office 1990:15). The strategy involves a verifiable investigation of a phenomenon using an array of sources of evidence. This is corroborated by Yin (2009:18) who states that it is useful whenever research deals with exceptional circumstances that possess more factors of interest than data points. The case study approach uses an array of data sources such as interviews, archival documents, observations, artefacts and other sources to provide a holistic triangulation of findings. Additionally, Eisenhardt (1989:548) states that the strategy lends itself well to new fields of study or research for which the existing theory appears insufficient.

Baškarada (2013:2) states that “case studies can be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory and they have been described as the preferred research method when how and why questions are posed”. Baxter and Jack (2008:544) highlight that this guarantees that the topic is examined through a number of lenses, allowing for the discovery and understanding of different aspects of the phenomenon.

For a case study to be successful, it must be supported by proper evidence or audit trail. This allows any curious scholar to connect the case study report's results to the underpinning analysis, supporting evidence, case methodology, and primary research questions (Baškarada, 2013:7). As such, a database which includes, transcriptions, notes, documentary evidence and analysis must be formulated and maintained. This improves the openness of the case study and prepares the research up for independent inspection.

It is important to remember that case study conclusions are more inclined to be persuasive and correct if they are drawn from various sources of data, since this allows for data triangulation and the establishment of convergent lines of inquiry (Yin, 2009:116). Sources include documentary, interviews, artefacts, archived records and observations. These sources should be handled in convergence and not in isolation. Each data source, according to Baxter and Jack (2008:554), is a piece of the jigsaw, with each piece advancing the researcher's comprehension of the situation or event under consideration.

Rowley (2002:16) argues that when compared to other research techniques, case study approaches have been criticised for lacking rigor and objectivity. That is to say, case study research is criticised for its tendency to corroborate the researcher’s preconceived notions. In addition, the urge to collect from multiple sources may be very attractive and fulfilling but with this desire comes the challenge of collecting too much data some of which may ultimately be irrelevant or unnecessary. Furthermore, the accumulation of massive volumes of data may need more administration and analysis, a feat that could prove cumbersome and costly. However, for sanity to prevail, the collection process and analysis of data from various sources, a database has to be set up. This helps in the organising and the management of voluminous amounts of data.

How and why issues are best addressed through case studies since they handle the operational linkages that need to be tracked through time rather than simple frequency or occurrences (Yin, 2009:9). It seeks to shed light on a choice or series of choices; why they were chosen, how they were executed, and what the outcome was (Yin, 2009:9). Daymon and Holloway (2002:113) assert that through such an approach, the researcher may conduct a complete study of the selected instances in their settings, comprehend it from the perspective of the participants, record many various elements that impact the process, and pay attention to how those elements connect to one another.

Although it has been highlighted that the case study approach does not allow generalisation, Yin (2009:38) states that “the aim of case studies is not to generalise to populations (statistical generalisation) but rather to generalise to theories (analytical generalisation)”. This is made possible if two or more instances are presented to corroborate the same hypothesis as highlighted by Yin (2006:38). In this regard, it is useful to identify linkages that support the build-up of presented theoretical propositions. In addition, Rowley (2002:18) suggests that because case studies are undertaken on a particular phenomenon within its “natural” environment, it is not important to duplicate the study in a scientific or controlled environment in order to fully appreciate the phenomenon. Furthermore, the research is seen as being extremely helpful in the development of incremental theories. This is buttressed by Rowley (2002:16) who opined that case studies are especially suitable for new fields of research or areas where theory appears to be lacking as is the case with this study. As such, this approach would go a long way to adding to available theories.

4.7 Case Selection

The idea for this research is to concentrate on organisations that possess particular characteristics that will assist in enhancing knowledge on the topic. There are four selection criteria used in the selection of the cases. The selection of cases needs to be aligned to the research questions and the overall purpose of the study. The goal of this study is to explore critically and analyse ways in which CSR strategies may add value to MNCs’ investments in countries with IEEP. The selected focus area is Zimbabwe and its IEEP has been amended to focus on the extractive industry. As such, the first criterion is that the organisation must be a MNC in the extractive industry that has operations in Zimbabwe.

Secondly, the organisation should have a department in charge of CSR activities. This is important as the study hopes to understand the organisation’s CSR strategy formulation and implementation in both home and host countries.

Thirdly, the researcher needed to have access to the selected organisations for the interview purposes as well as for the collection of documented data and the potential for the researcher from the cases. Stake (2005) highlights that potential for learning is very important. It refers to the accessibility of the researcher to collect the data as well as to interact with interview participants.

Furthermore, accessibility and proximity for the researcher was crucial point in the selection of participating organisations. In order to derive at meaningful conclusions on this research, it was decided to concentrate on two South African based multinational mining houses that have investments in Zimbabwe. The two mining houses, Impala Platinum Limited and Anglo-American Platinum Limited have their head offices in South Africa and have been operating in Zimbabwe since 2001 and 2010 respectively, and as such have been impacted by the implementation of IEEP in the host country.

4.8 Sampling

In many cases, researchers are unable to conduct first-hand examinations of every unit within a population that they are investigating (a census), and they therefore gather data from a group of units (a sample) and use those findings to draw conclusions about the whole population (Nsiah Asare & Prempeh, 2016:17). Population in this instance refers to the number of cases which are subject to the research. This enables the researcher to make quite accurate forecasts or observations on the conduct of the total population.

Sampling in qualitative research is described by Gentles *et al*. (2015:1775) as the "selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objectives". Curtis *et al*. (2000:1002) add that "sample selection is conceptually driven, either by the theoretical framework which underpins the research question from the outset, or by an evolving theory which is derived inductively from the data as the research proceeds". This means that the sample selection is determined by the objectives of the study or by emerging theory as the researcher builds an understanding on a particular topic. It provides the opportunity for the selection and examination of observations. This is considered as an important component in the comprehension of new or current theories about a phenomenon under observation.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994:34) a sample needs to meet a number of conditions for it to be considered meaningful. In their view, a sample should possess the likelihood of generating a considerable amount of data on the phenomenon being researched. It should produce credible descriptions and explanations as well as make conclusions more generalisable. Furthermore, the researcher needs to examine whether or not the sample strategy is ethical and if at all the sampling plan is feasible in light of all considerations.

The most common reason or advantage of sampling is that it reduces costs. Because inferences may be drawn from selected subsets of the population rather than its entirety, the cost of data collection is greatly curtailed.

With sampling, the research is afforded greater flexibility with regards to the type of information that can be obtained. Furthermore, because the sample is only a portion of the whole, the researcher may collect data speedily and easily. It is however essential to mention that the chosen sample should be reflective of the broader population; as a result, the investigator must carefully examine how well the sample reflects that population.

The researcher may select from probability sampling or non-probability sampling techniques when conducting a research study. Probability sampling is a technique that involves randomly selecting individuals from a population (Etikan *et al*., 2016:1). Each individual has a fair and impartial probability of selection; in other words, the admission and exclusion of participants is solely based on chance. Systematic sampling, cluster sampling, stratified sampling, and simple random sampling are the four main types of probability sampling.

These sampling methods require the researcher to be in possession of an up-to-date database of the entire population. This on its own, makes the method relatively costly. In addition, the methods demand a considerable amount of time for the design and execution of the study. Probability sampling, however, reduces the possibility of systematic error and sampling bias which may occur if the researcher, because of convenience, collects data from readily available individuals.

Non-probability sampling, on the other hand, permits researchers to collect data from the participants non-randomly. Researchers are often confronted with time and financial constraints and, as such, it may be difficult to sample the entire population or even randomly select respondents. Non-probability sampling methods are thus employed to select samples based on their convenience, accessibility and cost effectiveness. With this in mind, non-probability sampling was used for this study, with more elaboration discussed below.

4.9 Non-probability sampling

Cargan (2007:242) highlights that non-probability methods "tend to be used for exploratory research where focus is on generating ideas and understanding behaviour". For the purpose of this research and in line with set objectives, non-probability sampling was used. Its convenience and cost effectiveness allowed the researcher to select participants who were best placed to provide the most relevant information on the topic. Geographical access to these participants was also an added advantage and this insured that the cost of the research was manageable.

The most common methods of non-probability sampling include purposive (judgmental sampling), quota sampling, convenience sampling and snowball sampling. These sampling methods usually allow the researcher to decide which of the investigated population components will be selected. Sampling is less stringent, easier to apply and therefore less costly.

Choosing a suitable technique is critical because it needs to be aligned with the research's objectives, the researcher's abilities, and the assessment of research participants (including assessment of accessing participants). An evaluation of the different sampling techniques was conducted, with specific consideration given to the study's objectives and the limitations of each technique. Critics of convenience sampling, for example, contend that the technique is prone to severe bias since the conveniently selected study participants may not actually reflect the whole population. Snowball sampling, on the other hand, is regarded time-consuming and costly to construct, whereas cluster sampling is difficult to evaluate and is prone to significant sampling error. As such, purposive sampling was considered to be the most suitable technique and used for this research as it met all the criteria of this study.

Purposive sampling is a non-probability technique in which the researcher deliberately picks out a participant based on the qualities that he or she possesses. Participants are selected based on the purpose of the research. The researcher decides what requires investigation and proceeds to identify individuals who are in the best position to participate in providing information based on their expertise and experience (Bernard, 2002). Patton (2002:230) suggests that "it is typically used in qualitative research to identify and select the information rich cases from the most proper utilisation of available resources”. Based on Jenson's (1960) definition, a purposive selection involves selecting a group of participants in such a manner that its chosen subsets collectively represent, as close as possible, the entire population with respect to those attributes that are already known. Purposive sampling, according to Cohen (2005:138), enables for a complete range of topics to be examined. The purpose of this type of sampling is so that the research may draw the most information for a particular study.

Although purposive sampling is useful, Sharma (2017:751) notes that the method is prone to researcher bias as it is based on a judgment or selection process which the researcher is in charge of and will likely defend strongly. As a result, this level of subjectivity may be questioned by future researchers. In addition, the chosen participants may be deemed to be unreliable sources of information due to their organisational affiliation. Nevertheless, the researcher must justify the selection of participants by providing evidence that the selected participants are the most appropriate and that their contribution will be valuable for the study. The key objective here is to concentrate on the qualities which will allow the researcher to draw valuable responses to the study questions. The designations of the participants are therefore important as these provide concrete justification for their selection. The researcher is also able to corroborate information obtained through these interviews with secondary data thereby strengthening its credibility. Furthermore, since purposive sampling is ideal for the selection of samples from a small population, it makes sense to make use of this method with regards to MNCs in Zimbabwe.

As part of this study, the researcher used purposive sampling, which involved applying judgment on the most suitable interview participants to provide insight into the CSR strategies formulated by MNCs and how these may have added value to their investment propositions. A purposive sampling process thus provided the study selection with information-rich participants.

4.10 Sampling strategy

Following the choice of the sampling technique (that is purposive sampling), the researcher must identify the type of sampling strategy to be used. The researcher is urged to weigh the merits and limitations of the strategies and determine which best aids the answering of the research questions. Promisingly, each strategy possesses the potential to compare and contrast to discover commonalities and dissimilarities in the phenomenon under investigation and this makes the selection process much easier.

There are a number of purposive sampling strategies to choose from as discussed by authors such as Miles and Huberman (1994), Patton (2002) and Creswell (2013). These strategies include, homogenous sampling, critical case sampling, extreme/deviant case, expert sampling, total population, maximum variation and typical case sampling to name a few. These strategies are useful in addressing important qualitative research needs. For instance, typical case sampling is used where participants are chosen on the basis of their likelihood of behaving like everyone else in the population. Total population on the other hand is a strategy by which the entire population that meets a predefined criteria is included in the study.

After an examination of the usefulness and limitations of all the purposive sampling strategies, such as the need to have particularly knowledgeable participants, the critical case strategy was selected. Critical case sampling is a technique which involves the selection of a small number of critical individuals or samples based on their importance to the study (Patton, 2015:276). It "is particularly useful in exploratory qualitative research, research with limited resources, as well as research where a single case (or small number of cases) can be decisive in explaining the phenomenon of interest" (Rai & Thapa, 2016:8). The criteria used to determine whether or not an example is "critical" is commonly decided using the following statements: "If it happens there, will it happen anywhere?" or "If that group is having problems, then can we be sure all the groups are having problems?" (Etikan *et al*., 2016:3). Patton (2015:404) states that critical case sampling allows for rational generalisation and maximum application of information. This means that the study is dependable and repeatable.

This technique is relatively inexpensive as only a few cases are selected to solve the research problem. It is efficient and yields rich evidence that enhances the quality of the research.

In this study, the critical cases were selected based on their roles in the various entities. For example, with regards to corporate officials, the researcher persuades engagement with the custodians of the investment and CSR strategy so as to obtain the most relevant information on formulation and implementation.

4.11 Participants

In line with the chosen sampling method, four interview participants were selected from the two mining organisations. Of the four, two participants were members of top management who were responsible for strategy formulation while the other two were senior managers; mostly responsible for operations and the implementation of set strategy. These interviews with high level managers are referred to as elite interviews. Elites, according to Odendahl and Shaw (2002:299) are interview participants who wield considerable power, authority, experience, knowledge or wealth. Within an organisational setup, Harvey (2011:433) considers elites as those individuals who "have significant decision-making influence within and outside of the organisation" and mainly hold senior managerial and board level roles.

Interviewing elites is often considered difficult as the researcher must contend with gatekeepers, willingness and availability to participate in the study. Odendahl and Shaw (2002:307) state that gaining permission to interview elites requires meticulous preparation, diligence and creative thinking on the part of the researcher, in addition to having appropriate credentials and connections. Although the researcher was at first sceptical of the chances of accessing these elite interviewees, this was overcome through persistence and the assistance and support of individuals with private access to them.

Elite interviews are considerably important as these participants offer the most pertinent information. These interviews were aimed at exploring organisational and investment decision making, specifically around investment in a country with IEEP, and understanding the formulation of CSR strategy and how it relates to this engagement. Richards (1996:204) states that elite interviewees offer a worthwhile account of events and issues of significance to a researcher's work and as such, by engaging these participants, the study obtained valuable context and interpretation of the MNC's involvement in Zimbabwe.

At operational level, the interviews with senior managers revolved around understanding their interpretation of set strategies as well as the implementation of CSR strategies both at home and in the host country. These participants would offer insightful perspective on the CSR practices in South Africa, while those in Zimbabwe would provide information on their organisations' engagement on the ground in that country. This juxtaposition provided evidence of the differences between the strategies implemented in the MNC's home country and those in a host country that has implemented an indigenisation policy. This would help determine how MNCs' CSR activities are influenced by the host country's indigenisation policy.

To add further value to the study, the researcher also conducted interviews with one participant from each of the Zimbabwean institutions responsible for investment, mining and IEEP in the country. Interviews were conducted with top officials from the Ministry of Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment, Ministry of Minerals and Mining Development and the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB). These three interviews were deemed necessary for gathering an informed perspective on Zimbabwe's position on the indigenisation policy, its design and implementation, the country's expectations as well as perceptions of proposals presented to them by MNCs.

4.12 Peer review

A peer review was conducted to uncover bias and assumptions as well as to fine tune the research process. Peer review, according to Johnson *et al*. (2020:143), is a technique in which researchers engage a third-party researcher to analyse a complete audit trail provided by the study author. Moon *et al*. (2016:2) state that peer reviewing involves "sharing questions about the research process and/or findings with peers who provide an additional perspective on analysis and interpretation". It is a valuable technique which helps to ensure that the study is credible, valid, dependable and transferable. It enables the researcher to evaluate whether there are errors, inadequacies or other limitations in the research process, thereby allowing him to take appropriate measures to reassess or amend elements within the study.

A peer review of a case study assures that the research can be replicated and that different interpretations are considered so as to improve the study findings. Meetings and discussions with a qualitative research specialist enable queries and review of the research method and data thereby strengthening the study findings. “The peer reviewer offers a critique of the study methods and validation of the conclusions drawn by the author as a thorough check on researcher bias” (Johnson *et al*., 2020:143).

Peer reviewing was conducted through meetings and discussions with an ex-colleague who has research expertise and is involved in the mining industry at strategic level. This permitted the researcher to have a qualified examination of the study findings and the research method. Padgett (2008:182) describes peer reviewers as gatekeepers of quality who assess the study’s academic worth and purpose. By subjecting the study to critique, the research was able to implement changes to the research methodology, interview process and questions. For instance, the wording of some questions was altered to ensure more objectivity and explore the best way of retrieving understandable responses from the research participants.

In addition, discussions between the researcher and the research supervisor supported the review process. This also helped in refining the process and ensuring that the researcher maintained focus on the objectives of the study.

4.13 Research instruments

A research instrument is a tool employed to collect data about a particular matter. This includes traditional research tools such as interviews, observations, questionnaires and document data analysis. Document data analysis was used as the first instrument for this study. Document data analysis is useful for researchers interested in exploring in-depth knowledge of a phenomenon under review. It is a rigorous, repeatable procedure for compressing many concepts or ideas presented in text into fewer content categories based on specific rules (Stemler 2015). Yin (2014:160) states that documents play a positive role in any data gathering for case study research. Document data analysis was adaptable to this specific research as it explored various literature to discuss IEEP, CSR strategies and the role played by the latter in improving investment propositions.

Priority was also given to interviews as an important tool for the purpose of this research. Interviews are structured interactions intended to gather information that is usually difficult to obtain in other ways. Interviews can be categorised as either unstructured, structured or semi-structured. Whereas an unstructured interview is conducted with little or no preparation, structured interviews conform to a set of pre-determined questions asked to participants. Semi-structured interviews, on the other hand, are a blend of both structured and unstructured interviews. To accomplish the objectives of this research, semi-structured interviews were used.

Semi-structured interviews are the most commonly used approach in qualitative research, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2008), especially when the interview attempts to explore how the world generates meaning. Such interviews provide a flexible structure of open-ended questions that probe attitudes and knowledge (Trigueros *et al*., 2017:3). As already established, the research at hand embraces a qualitative approach and it is thus imperative that a thorough comprehension of the experiences of organisations when addressing the topic is obtained. With this, the researcher may get to understand the processes, negotiations, attitudes and experiences involved.

4.13.1 Document data analysis

Document data analysis may be defined as the identification, verification and consideration of documents which are related to the study under investigation. Corbin and Strauss (2008) define the process as a systematic analysis of both printed and electronic material to generate meaning, gather factual information, and comprehend a phenomenon.

Document data analysis is the collection and review of existing literature or records, which include articles, reports, published research and books, in support of the study under investigation. Patton (2015:222) highlights the significance of textual data sources and mentions contributions from historical documents, real-time Twitter posts, meeting minutes, reports, lectures, editorials, blogs, web pages, and other social media postings.

It is often used to compliment other qualitative research methods in order to draw from various sources of evidence. Andrade *et al*. (2018:2) describe it as a technique used for collecting and analysing data, which complements other methods of data collection and analysis, in order to make the research subject more relatable and relevant. Bowen (2009:28) highlights that by reviewing data compiled using several techniques, the researcher may confirm outcomes across data sets, thereby decreasing the influence of possible bias that may occur in a single study. This means that the researcher is thus able to assess facts, summarise information, identify trends, and – as far as possible – form opinions.

Document data analysis is an effective and efficient way of gathering data. It is especially valuable in case-study research since it helps to confirm and supplement information obtained from other sources. It bridges the gap between literary evidence and other interpretative research in order to arrive at a well-rounded conclusion. In addition, Bowen (2009:31) emphasises that documents are stable sources of data that cannot be influenced or modified by researcher bias or study methods and in this regard are helpful in tracking developments that have occurred over time.

The collection of data prior to conducting interviews is also useful since it allows the researchers to bring specific inquiries into the conversation, thereby enriching the engagement. Bowen (2009:30) backs this up, claiming that using document analysis is a good technique to guarantee that the interview is critical and comprehensive. Furthermore, the researcher is able to validate information that is derived from the interviews as asserted by Bryman (2003:150).

Documents also carry information that may no longer be accessible and help reveal intelligence that interviewees may have overlooked or forgotten. They provide important dates, names and references which help enhance the study (Yin, 1994).

Labuschagne (2003:101) states that document analysis offers extracts, quotes, or complete paragraphs from documents, correspondence, and official statements that may be organised to enhance information obtained through other research methods. This helps enrich the study thereby producing sound, acceptable and well-informed conclusions.

Despite its acknowledged value, document data analysis has limits. Documents often reflect organisational bias since they are produced for certain goals, most of which are to show the organisation in a favourable light (Bowen, 2009:31-32). Finnegan (2006:145) adds that a document's recipient and the degree to which its writer shares the recipient's prejudices are likely to influence the content of the document. As such, the researcher must carefully identify any bias and only use information that adds value to the discussion.

Caution must also be exercised during the collection and analysis of data from documents as there is an abundance of material available especially through online searches. As a result, the researcher must be disciplined and focus attention only on official and verified documents. In support of this, Puvenesvary *et al*. (2019:94) argue that "knowing when to stop searching and start analysing the evidence and data that has been discovered is extremely important" and that the researcher should thus focus solely on papers of high relevance to the study. Types of documents used for this study included official speeches, annual reports, newspaper articles, press releases, governmental and organisational reports, commissioned research papers, and authenticated public records.

Despite these limitations, this exercise is valuable and worthwhile part of research of this nature and was conducted prior to the interviews. This helped the researcher develop appropriate questions and ensure cross validation of information gathered from the interviews.

Since this study focuses on the implementation of IEEP, document data analysis was considered useful because it gave a comprehensive account of the policy's evolution and how its implementation was received by MNCs. This proved critical since the policy was amended several times during the course of this study. Therefore, through document data collection and analysis, the researcher was able to track the changes as well as their implication to the investment by the two case studies.

In addition, document data collection and analysis were shown to be both cost effective and convenient for the researcher. Bowen (2009:31) emphasises that the technique is less expensive than other research methods and is frequently used when collecting fresh data is not viable. Furthermore, considering the Covid-19 pandemic and the 2020 lockdown which hampered field research, this technique assisted the researcher in covering significant ground in data collection with limited resources.

4.13.2 Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview follows a less structured path and allows the researcher to conduct exploratory discussions with the interviewee. Through the flexible line of questioning, the researcher is able to build rapport with the interviewee thereby obtaining rich empirical data that captures the dynamics of the organisation.

Semi-structured interviews provide the researcher the opportunity to respond to answers given, reword questions, and even ask different questions, thereby uncovering issues that may not have been anticipated before. According to Skritsovali (2015:77), semi-structured interviews are more open in character thus allowing for the introduction of fresh ideas to the subject under review.

Fontana and Frey (2000) argue that having direct conversations with the participants is the most straightforward method to comprehend the phenomenon. Interviews are unique in that they afford the researcher and the interviewee the opportunity to contribute to the formation of reality and comprehension (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:3). In addition, interviews may be recorded, if the participant is comfortable. This allows the interviewer the opportunity to use the recording to verify points that may have been made during the interview.

The downside of interviews is the fact that the flexibility offered by this process may introduce some personal bias from the researcher. In addition, probing may effectively direct the interviewee towards the researcher’s desired response. Furthermore, as Nyathi (2016:143) notes, bias may also manifest itself in the manner in which the interviewer construes answers or selects phrases to summarise the interviewee’s expressed opinion. This means that data quality is dependent on the expertise of the researcher and the nature of his interaction with the interviewee (Kumar, 2010:150).

Critics also note that interviews take a relatively long time to prepare, conduct, analyse and interpret. In addition, setting up appointments to meet the interviews is often a challenge. The bureaucracy involved in setting up meetings with government officials and management of organisations is a cumbersome task. Hurdles such as gatekeepers, schedules, scepticism/mistrust and secretiveness all pose a challenge when setting up appointments. This may all have a bearing on the type of questions posed as well as the time allotted for the discussion thereby affecting the quantity and quality of data collected.

Baškarada (2013:12) also highlights that because the interviewee may be prejudiced or have poor memory articulation, it may be essential to substantiate any collected data from interviews with data from other reputable sources. To this end, the opinions of different organisational members may be collected, and validated with data from documentation such as newsletters, press releases, statutory instruments, articles and reports.

4.14 Interview process

An interview process is a brief guideline which dictates the way the interview will be conducted. Qu and Dumay (2011:241) state that the interview process is “an opportunity to explore the meaning of the research topic for the respondent and a site to be examined for the construction of a situated account”. It instructs the researcher on how to prepare for and conduct the interview, and according to Yin (2014:163), the researcher has two responsibilities during the process: to pursue a predetermined line of inquiry as defined by the case study protocol and to ask the series of questions objectively.

To begin with, all potential interviewees were contacted telephonically to request an interview. This request was followed up by an email with a letter of introduction and a permission letter from North-West University. Upon verbally agreeing to the interviews, a short summary of the research project and a list of questions were sent to participants to help them understand, plan and prepare for the meetings. This is a common technique among qualitative researchers who believe that it informs participants and provides context for the study. “Having the questions beforehand allows one to mull over the questions, pull out pertinent references, and in general, prepare much more well-rounded answers” (Anon., 2009).

Open-ended questions that revolve around the topic under observation were compiled and used. Open-ended questions offer the interviewee the opportunity to provide more information around the topic than closed-ended questions. The aim is to solicit responses that would enlighten, inform and enrich the research.

During the interview, the researcher was responsible for expressing clearly what information was required, why that information was important as well as how the interview was progressing. The researcher intermittently asked probing questions to elicit more information especially when the interviewee presented an incomplete idea or spoke too briefly on a particular topic. Rubin and Rubin (2005) acknowledge that asking probing questions can elicit more detail thereby enriching the answers. For example, when the researcher felt that an illustration would enhance the interviewee's response, comments like "Could you please supply me with an example?" or "Could you please elaborate on the last point?" were used.

Although the interviews were scheduled for 60 minutes, they all went slightly over the allotted time as the participants were fully engaged and had much to say on the subject. Odendahl and Shaw (2002:309) state that while working with elite participants, it is vital for the researcher to make the most of the allocated time. With that in mind, the researcher made sure that all the questions were adequately answered, and that the interactions were cordial and congenial. The actual duration of the interviews varied from one to the next, however, participants were informed that they were free to end the session at any point.

Due to Covid pandemic related protocols, it was difficult to conduct interviews face-to-face. As such only those interviews that were conducted before 2020 (pre-Covid pandemic), that is, those with Government of Zimbabwe officials, were conducted at the interviewees' offices. The rest of the interviews were conducted using Zoom and Microsoft Teams, video conferencing platforms which have become very useful during the pandemic. Lobe *et al*. (2020:6) highlight that video conferencing offers an invaluable opportunity to circumvent social distancing challenges while preserving data gathering activities. This convenience was helpful to both the researcher and the interviewees as it protected them from possible infection. This method of interviewing is, however, considered less personal and prone to technological challenges such as network and connectivity issues.

According to Sedgwick and Spiers (2009:3), although video conferencing is a professional tool that shares parallels with "in-person face-to-face interactions", it reduces the researcher's ability to observe visual cues, emotional remoteness and personal detachment. This may not be very important for formal research such as this, it does however, play a role in the socio-emotional connection between the researcher and interviewee which could lead to ambiguity and misunderstanding (Jowett *et al*., 2011:5). To circumvent this, the researcher needed to be attentive, to seek clarity and allow the interviewee to speak out when uncertain about questions.

Another limitation of video conferencing as tool is network instability and technical challenges as highlighted above. One such situation arose while conducting an interview with a participant in Zimbabwe. The participant's responses were inaudible at some points during the interview due to network instability. This interview took slightly longer than the rest as both the researcher and the participant had to occasionally repeat themselves. This resolved the problem and allowed the interview to continue.

All interviews were audio recorded in order to be transcribed at a later stage. Permission for the audio recording of the interviews had been sought and received prior to the meetings. Furthermore, the researcher reiterated this request and received verbal consent at the beginning of each of these interviews. These audios were captured using the researcher's cellphone, which was the most cost-effective method and also allowed for convenient access and storage. The researcher also took notes to ensure that important points were captured as well as to flag key points along the audio recordings. In addition, Patton (2015:693) suggests that taking notes helps pace the interview by offering nonverbal indications about what is essential, as well as offering subtle clues to the interviewee about what information is particularly "noteworthy."

The researcher encountered a few bureaucratic hurdles such as gatekeepers and institutional protocols. Gatekeepers are individuals with the authority or influence to allow or deny admission to an area, study location, or research subjects, whilst institutional protocols represent official procedures for allowing research to be undertaken. These hurdles are intricately connected because negotiations with gatekeepers and adherence to protocols will determine the boundaries and procedures for how the researcher will go about interacting with the research participants.

Berg (2001:145) contends that if a gatekeeper views the research favourably, he or she may be ready to support the researcher should any problems emerge during the study period. On the other hand, if the gatekeeper is disinterested or disproves of the research, he or she may become an impediment to the process. With this study, the researcher struggled to find the correct contact details for the government departments as some of the information on their websites had not been updated. Once the correct details were obtained, the researcher initially had challenges with the receptionists who failed to connect the researcher with the correct departments. Through persistence and perseverance, however, the researcher finally managed to speak to the secretaries of the prospective interviewees and subsequently, the latter. In addition, the researcher had to submit identification prior to the interviews.

Overall, the above process was effective and insightful as the researcher was able to obtain valuable data from the prepared research questions. In addition, the researcher was able to maintain contact with the interviewees after the interviews. This was not only important because the researcher was able to follow up on some points but also because it allowed the researcher the opportunity to send transcripts and findings for review thereby enhancing credibility. Furthermore, this relationship was important because interviewees were willing to send additional documents such as reports and minutes.

4.15 Qualitative data analysis and presentation

As with any data, analysis and interpretation are required to achieve order and comprehension. In contrast to quantitative data analysis, which derives significance from numerical inferences, qualitative data analysis establishes meaning from words and observations.

Large amounts of data are collected from research and particular case studies. This needs to be adequately processed and analysed for it to be inevitably useful. Data analysis, according to Bogdan and Biklen (2007:159), involves dealing with data; organising it, condensing it into manageable components, categorising it, summarising it, and looking for identifiable patterns. This included a review and analysis of data from annual reports, CSR reports, government reports, websites, articles, publications as well as other available public information. To this, Yin (2009:130) suggests that in case study research, the researcher needs to select an analytical strategy and technique that will allow him or her to evaluate evidence fairly, reach convincing findings and eliminate alternative interpretations.

To begin with, document analysis was used to examine, evaluate and interpret document data. This was done to “uncover meaning, develop understanding” and provide knowledge on the phenomenon under review (Merriam, 1988:118). This tool is useful in research such as this one where the collection of information is dependent on the exploration of both primary and secondary data. This analysis involves combing through different literature sources to produce empirical data for further comprehension of the topic and the enhancement of the collection methods. Data analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of corroborating and enriching data (Bowen, 2009:28) and as such, this study also relied on other analysis strategies.

There are a variety of analysis strategies that a researcher may utilise to compliment document analysis and as Mehmetoglu (2004) argues, there are no clear rules for how this should be done. Analysis of this nature requires the researcher to adopt a method which best fits the objectives of the research and his abilities. It requires ingenuity, discipline, and methodical thinking. This is corroborated by Rowley (2002:24) who asserts that although there are no agreed-upon techniques for analysing case study data, but good analysis should observe the following principles:

- “The analysis should make use of the relevant evidence
- The analysis considers all of the major rival interpretations and explores each of them adequately
- The analysis should address the most significant aspect of the case study
- The analysis should draw on the researcher’s prior expert knowledge in the area of the case study but in an unbiased and objective manner”.

It is also imperative that a convergence of all collected data be made in an attempt to understand the overall case.

After the interviews were conducted, the researcher reviewed the notes and transcribed the audio recordings. By personally transcribing the recordings, the researcher was able to review the data, increase familiarity and identify any emerging categories, themes and relationships. Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out that this inductive approach contributes to a deeper understanding of the connection of "mutually shaping influences" as well as the explicating of the interacting realities and experiences of researcher and participant. Thomas (2006:238) describes the inductive approach as an “approach that primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher”. An inductive approach ensures that unadulterated concepts to emerge from the collected data and not from a predetermined position.

As a first technique for investigating the data, a within-case analysis approach was used. This approach involves in-depth write ups for each case study. According to Goertz and Mahoney (2012:10), within-case analysis involves drawing inferences about an individual case based on specific pieces of data or information. Its main purpose is to establish a deep understanding of each case before comparisons are drawn up. As Eisenhardt (1989:540) emphasises, the overarching goal of this technique is to get thoroughly familiar with each case as a stand-alone entity before seeking familiarity. Within-case analysis is useful because it tackles the intricacies of path-dependent reasoning as well as situations of uncertainty (Willis, 2014:3).

The researcher was then able to organise and write a description of the case, as guided by the identified categories, themes and relationships. A cross-case analysis was then undertaken to compare and contrast the two cases. A cross-case analysis is often used as a follow up in order to identify “what is common across the cases, not what is unique to each” (Stake, 2006:39). This analysis is not only helpful for the comprehension of a particular phenomenon but also prompts alternative thinking and generates alternative ideas and concepts.

Once themes were identified, the researcher drew up a table and entered the feedback from the two organisations after which patterns became clearer. This technique is supported by Yin (2009), who contends that a word table is a valuable tool for multi case analysis since it allows the researcher to observe data from individual cases within a uniform framework. Furthermore, to lower the likelihood of data misinterpretation, the researcher reread the transcripts, re-listened to the research audio recordings, and carefully verified the interview notes to ensure that thoughts were correctly captured.

With the processes completed, the researcher was then able to present the data in a formal and academic manner. Data presentation, according to Creswell (2013) is the examination of information gathered in order to investigate the purpose of the research. To do this, the researcher relied on selected anecdotes and comments from the interviewees to illustrate findings. Williams (2019:261) states that incorporating quotations from interviewees is a helpful technique to illustrate the key themes that arose from the study while also increasing reliability. This was supported by data obtained from document analysis.

The case study write ups were divided into three sections: first, about the organisations and how they see and implement CSR strategy, second, about their operations in Zimbabwe, and third, about their CSR implementation in light of IEEP. Falkenberg (2006:42) suggests that in analysing the organisations’ CSR strategies and implementation perspectives, the researcher must attempt to make the values operational and to measure implementation methods. This means that a link must be established to understand the connection between strategy and operations especially when considering the investment opportunities outside the home country.

The analysis and presentation of data was undertaken in a systematic and logical manner. The main themes that were aligned to the study objectives were identified and presented for discussion and conclusions drawn thereafter.

4.16 Challenges and Limitations of the research study

Research often comes with challenges, weaknesses and shortcomings some of which are beyond the researcher’s control. The researcher must find ways of minimising or overcoming challenges and limitations such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability which are found within the qualitative research paradigm. It is important to identify and document these challenges and limitations in order to strengthen the study as well as open the research to academic review.

Credibility

In qualitative research, credibility may be defined as the degree to which the study's findings are credible, believable, and trustworthy. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) credibility refers to the extent to which the study reflects the overall thoughts of the participants in the study, or the truth value. Polit and Beck (2012:430) interpret credibility as the degree of trust in how effectively the data addresses the desired topic. It entails determining if the findings of the research are trustworthy or credible from the standpoint of the study participant.

Credibility of document data was established through the thorough examination of different sources of literature related to the study. This is supported by Bowen (2009:30) who states that “when there is convergence of information from different sources, readers of the research report usually have greater confidence in the trustworthiness (credibility) of the findings”. By exploring available documents, the researcher is thus able to improve credibility. Furthermore, the process of triangulation helped to ensure that data collected through documentation was corroborated across data sets as proposed by Bowen (2009:28).

To further establish credibility, the researcher referred to interview recordings and notes to ensure a clear link between what was received during the research and the researcher’s interpretations. It should also be noted that while inferences were made, the researcher included as much of the individuals' actual words as possible. Cutcliffe and McKenna (1999:378) propose this method of guaranteeing credibility, stating that the researcher may use the participant's own words to guarantee strong associations to some of the emerging findings.

To strengthen credibility, the findings of this study were presented to the participants for affirmation that the researcher had properly interpreted and documented their views. This technique is supported by Kumar (2010:185) who asserts that the level of concordance is assured by presenting the findings to the research participants for “confirmation, congruence, validation and approval”.

Interviewing individuals from various perspectives has the potential to improve the credibility of conclusions (Rubin & Rubin; 2005:66). To ensure this, multiple interviewees were selected from both the Zimbabwean government and the MNCs as way of increasing the wealth and depth of information. This provided an informed perspective to the research and added to the trustworthiness of the study as the participants were selected based on their comprehensive knowledge of policies and organisational strategies.

The use of the case study approach is also seen as a reliable method of ensuring credibility as it allows the researcher to contrast and synthesise data to arrive at a sound conclusion. Elo *et al*.

(2014:7) support this by stating that in order to assure the trustworthiness and credibility of the outcomes, it is necessary to analyse how effectively categories cover the data and discover whether there are similarities within and differences across cases. This was done through cross-case analysis to compare and contrast the two cases and present findings.

Transferability

The degree to which study findings may be transferred to similar circumstances or contexts is measured by transferability. Elo *et al*. (2014:2) state that it is based on the assumption that results may be generalised or applied to different settings or populations. Moon *et al*. (2016:3) highlight the importance of transferability expressing that it can be critical to the application of research findings because policymakers and investors can count on data, conclusions, and recommendations from research projects.

On the surface, ensuring transferability with research of this nature may be deemed difficult considering that the findings in one particular industry may differ from others. Organisations are known to practices CSR strategies that are specific to the sector in which they operate, thereby making transferability to other sectors difficult. Dabic *et al*. (2016:251) confirm this and state that the "industry or sector in which a firm operates determines CSR practice, as industries have their specific rules, norms, practices and trends". Moreover, even within a sector such as mining, the initiatives will differ depending on the mineral mined and the method of extraction employed. As such, it cannot be assumed that knowledge derived from one study will necessarily be applicable to another. Despite this, by utilising a case study approach, similarities may be found thereby ensuring transferability especially within the mining sector. By providing sufficient data and outlining the research processes, the researcher anticipated that transferability would be made easier.

Although case study research delivers conclusions that are not statistically generalisable, it is helpful in developing theory especially when compared to other available studies (Gibbert *et al*. 2008:4). As such, the researcher selected appropriate cases and research participants which took into account the scope of the indigenisation policy. By utilising case study research and the purposive sampling method, the researcher purposefully selected participants who represented knowledge and insightful contributors to the study. This means that the data collected would easily resonate with other individuals in similar professions or spheres of knowledge.

According to Elo *et al*. (2014:6), academics may provide recommendations on transferability, but it is ultimately up to other researchers' discretion to decide whether or not the given findings are transferrable to other studies. To aid this, it is however the responsibility of the researcher to ensure high quality results and reporting of the research process. To this end, the researcher endeavoured to provide an in-depth account of the research process as well as its findings in a manner that would provide as much meaning to any reader. The researcher gave a detailed account of descriptive data, including the context in which the study was conducted (the evolution of the Act and its consequences for the study process), the sample, sampling strategy, interview procedure and questions as well as the limitations of the study.

Dependability

According to Thomas and Magilvy (2011:153), the dependability of a study "occurs when another researcher can follow the decision trail used by the researcher". It explores the extent to which another researcher would be able to reach the same empirical results or conclusions after following the same processes used by the original researcher. Elo *et al.* (2014:2) go on to say that dependability refers to data stability across time and under varied settings. This points to the need to ensure that research must be auditable and repeatable as suggested by Yin (2014:49).

The aim of dependability is to reduce errors and bias in research and in order to accomplish this, the researcher documented the procedures undertaken during the research and produced a case-study database. This was done to ensure that all documents and information received and referred to throughout the study were effectively captured and stored. Documentation is important because it demonstrates that a systematic method was used when performing the case study, and if the same case study were performed by another researcher following the same technique, then it is possible that the other researcher would reach a similar conclusion.

According to Best and Kahn (2006:329) dependability may also be established by comparing responses given by participants with other submissions and sources. As such, the responses from the interviews were corroborated with the findings from other sources such as other interviewees' responses, annual reports and government statements. With these measures in place, it is expected that a high degree of dependability will be maintained.

Validity

Validity measures the extent to which a study measures up to its objectives. According to Leininger (1985:60), in qualitative research, the term validity refers to obtaining information and understanding the nature (that is, the meaning, qualities, and features) of the phenomena under investigation. It is concerned with the veracity and integrity of scientific findings (Le Comple & Goetz, 1982:32). The interpretation of the research should be deemed to be valid and answer two important questions according to Kumar (2010:178):

1. "Is the research investigation providing answers to the research questions for which it was undertaken?

2. If so, is it providing these answers using appropriate methods and procedures?"

To answer these questions, the researcher focused on two types of validity limitations, namely, surface validity and construct validity. Surface validity, also known as face validity, evaluates the worth of the research technique being used. Construct validity on the other hand, is assurance that the “theoretical concepts are adequately reflected by the operational definitions and measures of empirical phenomenon” (Modell, 2005:237).

To tackle face validity, the researcher tested the interview schedule beforehand and submitted the research findings to participants for feedback. Participants were also given a copy of the transcript to ensure that it accurately reflected their viewpoints on the topic under investigation.

In addition, the research process and findings were subjected to a peer review which revealed for example, anomalies and slight bias in the interview questions. Peer review assures that the research is valid and that multiple perspectives on the process have been considered, ultimately reinforcing the study findings. The reviewer is described by Lincoln and Guba (1985:308) as the "devil's advocate" who challenges the research through inquiries into the methodology, assumptions, interpretations, and findings of the study. This research was peer reviewed by an ex-colleague who holds a PhD and is a senior executive at a mining company in Johannesburg.

The researcher applied the triangulation approach, gathering data from several sources, thereby contributing towards the enrichment of the interview process and subsequent analysis which in turn supported the validity of the research. Triangulation is defined by Cohen *et al*. (2000:112) as the use of various data collection methods to explore a particular phenomenon. It is regarded as a highly effective verification technique to converge all the information to draw themes and eventual outcomes. This is supported by Yin (2014:47) who encourages convergency as a means of enhancing construct validity of case studies.

Cutcliffe and McKenna (1999:375) assert there is only one reality, and its validity is a measure of its correctness. Therefore, the researcher placed considerable effort in ensuring that this research met the validity test and sufficiently represented the objectives set out in the study.

Access to information

Accessing information is another challenge that is faced by researchers who deal with government departments and large organisations. Some participants are typically hesitant to offer complete information on specific issues because they are concerned about the sensitivity of some material. For instance, when engaging with some members of the Zimbabwean government, this researcher was often reminded that some information was sensitive and could not be shared without approval from the President’s office. Zimbabwe is considered as a secretive and closed country and as such the researcher needed to be cautious in the approach to government departments as well as to be aware not to probe deeper than the participants were willing to divulge. The presentation of a research permission letter from the university also helped to settle participants and improve confidence in the line of questioning.

To ensure that the most accurate and relevant information was gathered from government and organisations, the researcher determined that officials at the highest levels of the institutions needed to be engaged. Unfortunately, engaging these high-level officials or elite interviewees is often difficult and this meant that the researcher had to deal with gatekeepers, scheduling and had to comply with strict protocols. The researcher also had to be prepared for repeated questions on the purpose, goals and uses of the study before and during the interviews even though substantial information on this had been submitted beforehand. To overcome these challenges, the researcher sought and received assistance and support from individuals who had private and professional relationships with some of the elite participants. In this way, the researcher was received favourably especially by the mining organisations and this resulted in successful interviews being conducted.

Despite these obstacles, the selected participants provided useful information for the study. This was complemented and corroborated by data gathered through desk research. The researcher encountered no substantial hurdles to getting information from desk research, which increased the study's credibility.

Further limitations

The scope of the study was constrained by financial and time resources available to conduct multiple case study research. Research of this nature can be cumbersome and time-consuming as cases often provide more data than is needed for the research. This was overcome by sieving through the collected data to ensure that only the most valuable information was used.

The Covid-19 pandemic which gripped the world in 2020 was also a great impediment to this research. Various countries initiated stringent protocols in an attempt to curb the transmission of the highly infectious respiratory disease. Lockdown measures were implemented in countries throughout the world, originally involving the complete closure of businesses and schools, as well as strong directives for individuals to remain indoors. On the 23rd of March 2020, the President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa, announced a 21-day national lockdown (effective from 26 March 2020), which included a directive that all South Africans were to stay at home as well as the suspension of international flights and the closure of borders. Only essential services personnel such as nurses, doctors and emergency workers were permitted to continue with their duties but under very strict conditions. The South African Defence Force was also deployed across the country to support the police in ensure public compliance. Similar measures were implemented in Zimbabwe, starting with a 21-day lockdown from 30 March 2020.

Following the first countrywide lockdowns, these restrictions were progressively eased, but the contagious nature of the disease and the absence of a cure meant that strict measures would be maintained throughout the year and beyond. All businesses, with special attention on the mining sector, were adversely affected by these measures. For example, Reuters (2020) reported that as a leading producer of minerals, South Africa's labour-intensive mining sector was regarded as a super spreader because workers were frequently confined to compact spaces and cluttered accommodation and that the shutdown would harm production and revenue.

For this research, the strict Covid-19 preventative measures and restrictions meant that the scheduled interviews could not be conducted on the expected dates. It had been expected that the researcher would attend meetings at the South African Head offices and the operations in Zimbabwe. However, the strict measures, which included border closures meant that these visits would have to be rescheduled. Rescheduling of meetings was hampered by the uncertainty of how the Covid-19 measures would be handled by governments and ultimately, the two mining houses. The researcher, nevertheless, spent most of the year conducting desktop research to compliment and prepare for the interviews in the event that the Covid-19 restrictions were lifted. However, the pandemic stretched longer than anticipated and this meant that the research interview process was hosted via videoconferencing and not face to face as initially anticipated. A study extension was also granted by the university after the realisation that most students had been adversely affected by the pandemic and the measures that had been put in place by governments.

4.17 Ethical considerations

Before beginning the study, the researcher submitted a research ethics application form in accordance with the university's strict ethical guidelines. This document established strict criteria for how research should be conducted and prompted the researcher to follow rigorous ethical norms. Several ethical conditions were observed during this research as discussed below.

Permission

The North-West University approved the research project and provided the researcher with a certificate (NWU-00565-17-A7) in which permission was granted to conduct the PhD research. This document was presented to all participants as confirmation that the research had been approved by the university, was being performed for scholarly purposes, and that the researcher was guided by a stringent code of conduct.

Informed consent

According to Silverman (2010:155), informed consent involves providing as much information about the study as possible so that potential participants may make an informed decision about their participation. It involves explaining the study's objectives to participants and allowing them to decide whether to participate in the research. Consent is often resolved by participants signing off on their participation. For this study, informed consent was first sought and received from the heads of departments at both government and corporate level and then from the interview participants themselves. The researcher encountered a few challenges in obtaining consent from the governmental participants, but because authorisation had been obtained from higher levels, this was handled appropriately.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality refers to the researcher's commitment that any information supplied beyond the scope of the investigation will be protected. It relates to the treatment of information supplied by an individual in a trusting relationship with the assumption that this information would not be shared to others without authorisation. According to Johnson *et al*. (2020:142), researchers must be mindful of respondents' contributions and remarks, and results must be communicated openly and honestly. To do this, the researcher must take precautions to guarantee that the research data and its sources are kept private unless participants consent to their disclosure. In this regard, research participants were masked or coded and only the masked data was presented to third parties.

Participants were guaranteed of the confidentiality of any private details or other information provided accidentally. The storage of such information was also assured thereby consolidating a good relationship between the researcher and the interview participants. This was guaranteed by a written statement in the cover letter.

Harm to participants and researcher

Silverman (2010:156) states that research must be undertaken in a manner that minimises risk or harm to participants. This risk may include the threat of physical harm, embarrassment, stress or harm to the development, occupational prospects or self-esteem. Padgett (2008:63) acknowledges that, while qualitative research rarely involves substantial danger for participants, the sensitivity of their source material and closeness of connections provides obstacles that cannot be overlooked. The author further argues that caution must be taken to protect participants from any unforeseen dilemmas that may arise during the course of the study.

The researcher took careful consideration to make sure that participants were neither harmed nor negatively affected as a result of their participation in the research. Adherence to the ethical code of conduct was strictly maintained. Furthermore, because appropriate authorisation had been sought and obtained from all selected organisations, particularly governmental departments, participants were assured that no damage would come to them.

Objectivity

Objectivity according to Barbie (2010:43) is “conceptual attempt to get beyond our individual views”. It involves maintaining a balanced and unbiased opinion despite any inherent values or inferences on a particular subject. This means that any opinion that is presented by the researcher should be made from an objective and academic perspective. This is the foundation of all good research, therefore vigilant and precise methods of collecting and interpreting data must be employed (Best & Kahn, 2006:307).

Best and Kahn (2006:346) argue that objectivity is often difficult to achieve as research may be affected by the researcher's unconscious bias. They argue that researchers may be tempted to exclude unfavourable findings or conversely overemphasis favourable data.

In this study, the researcher strove to maintain objectivity by triangulation as a means of corroborating collected data. Cross-checking findings and involving participants, followed by counterchecking against available research helped provide the objectivity within this research. This not only helped the researcher achieve a deep understanding of the phenomenon under review but also ensured that an independent review would confirm the finding's objectivity.

Integrity

According to Korenman (2006:2) research integrity may be defined as the conscientious commitment to the ethical principles and professional standards required for ethical scientific exploration. Davenport *et al*. (2010:3) add that research integrity is "the coherent and consistent application of values and principles essential to encouraging and achieving excellence in the search for, and dissemination of, knowledge". These principles and standards include honesty, fairness, trustworthiness and unwavering commitment to scholarly research.

Macrina (2014:18) states that research integrity "involves matters pertaining to data, its collection, management, storage, sharing and ownership". The preservation of these matters enhances the study's significance and usefulness, ensuring that its contribution to science is unquestionable.

A researcher needs to guard against fabrication, falsification and plagiarism throughout the study. To do this, this researcher interacted with literature and the research participants honestly, respectfully and with integrity, ensuring that their contributions were accurately represented. Past works were appropriately credited, and interview responses properly cited. Furthermore, crucial activities were diarised, and a database was maintained in case any records needed to be presented for review or verification in future.

Ultimately, the researcher maintained strict adherence to the ethical requirements of scholarly research. The importance of ethics in guaranteeing the validity and repeatability of the study, its procedures and methodology, and the final conclusions cannot be overstated. It is important to understand and appreciate ethics at the level of the student as well as the institution, as both have reputations to uphold. As such, by adhering to the strict guidelines prescribed by the university, research may achieve a high level of ethical performance.

4.18 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research methodology of the study and described the paradigm, the design, sampling strategy as well as the data collection instrument. A phenomenology paradigm was adopted to explore the subject and an adaptable strategy was defined. Explorative research of this nature is dedicated to exploring why certain actions are taken as well as to examine decision-making processes. With this study exploring how CSR strategies may add value to investment proposals, this methodology was considered most suitable.

The sample strategy was discussed and in line with the research question, two cases were identified for observation. These cases were selected based on their criticality to the specifications of the study. The cases represented characteristics which would satisfactorily answer the research question; for example, being MNCs with investments in a country with IEEP.

The chapter also explained the research instruments, document data analysis, the interview process as well as the data analysis and presentation. These tools were developed specifically to extract the most relevant data to support the research in the most effective way. A detailed explanation of the data analysis and presentation was also given. The qualitative data is analysed by developing themes and inferences from document analysis data and participant responses and is presented in case format, with each instance following a comprehensible pattern.

Attention was also paid to the challenges and limitations as well as the ethical considerations that were observed during the course of this research. These represent the concerns that affected or influenced the research process. Discussing these obstacles and considerations, as well as discussing how the researcher dealt with them, contributes to the study's credibility, auditability, and repeatability. The next chapter presents the findings based on the analysis of data that was collected. The two cases are presented.

Chapter 5: Presentation of two cases

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the cases, that being Anglo American Platinum and Impala Platinum. The chapter presents a description of the two cases based on the investigations and interactions with the respective sources of information. This data is supported or corroborated by information gathered from desk research in order to strengthen its validity. The cases are documented and guided by a pre-established framework that delivers on the research objectives. The chapter provides sufficient data to understand each MNC, particularly in regards to CSR strategies and practices.

Thorough descriptions of the organisations are presented as a means of providing a general introduction on the MNCs and establishing a basis for comprehension of their CSR effort. The chapter follows up with descriptions on CSR priorities and practises as well as the MNCs' interactions with government and communities. The chapter delivers, among other matters, how MNCs develop CSR strategies in response to IEEP, the CSR priorities of the MNCs in their home countries juxtaposed to those in the host country as well as articulating the Zimbabwean government's expectations and how these MNCs have conducted themselves in light of these expectations. Each case follows a similar format, with variations depending on the depth of data that was collected.

A within-case analysis was used to get an in-depth understanding of the cases. This method allows the researcher to be immersed in the cases under review, identifying important statements that have been made by participants and allowing the corroboration of data from documents such as annual reports, newspaper articles, press releases, research papers, official speeches and other authenticated public records. This process helps establish a solid understanding of the MNCs, their CSR practices both at home and in the host country, all of which should culminate in delivering on the research objectives through cross-case analysis and interpretation of these findings in the ensuing chapter.

5.2. Anglo American Platinum

Anglo American Platinum (Amplats) is a subsidiary of Anglo American Corporation (AAC), a South African multinational mining organisation with interests in diamond, copper, iron ore, platinum, coal, nickel and other commodities. AAC was established by German national Ernest Oppenheimer in 1917 and has grown considerably to become one of the largest mining houses in the world. Initially established to take advantage of the gold rush in South Africa, the company gradually diversified into other minerals that were found in the country. In 1926 the company also became the single largest shareholder in De Beers, a company that specialised in diamond mining and trading.

AAC activities are not confined to South Africa and the organisation has expanded over the past 100 years to have a truly global reach. This has seen the establishment of subsidiaries such as Anglo American Gold, Anglo American Coal, Anglo American Canada and Anglo American Australia. The group currently has a footprint (operations and offices) on all continents on the globe, has its headquarters in both Johannesburg and London and is also listed on both the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in the London Stock Exchange. AAC has a market capitalisation of US$54 billion (Forbes magazine, 2021: par. 1) and employs 95 000 permanent and contract workers across its global operations according to 2020 reports (Anglo American integrated annual report, 2020:4). Below is a world map that shows the global operations of AAC.

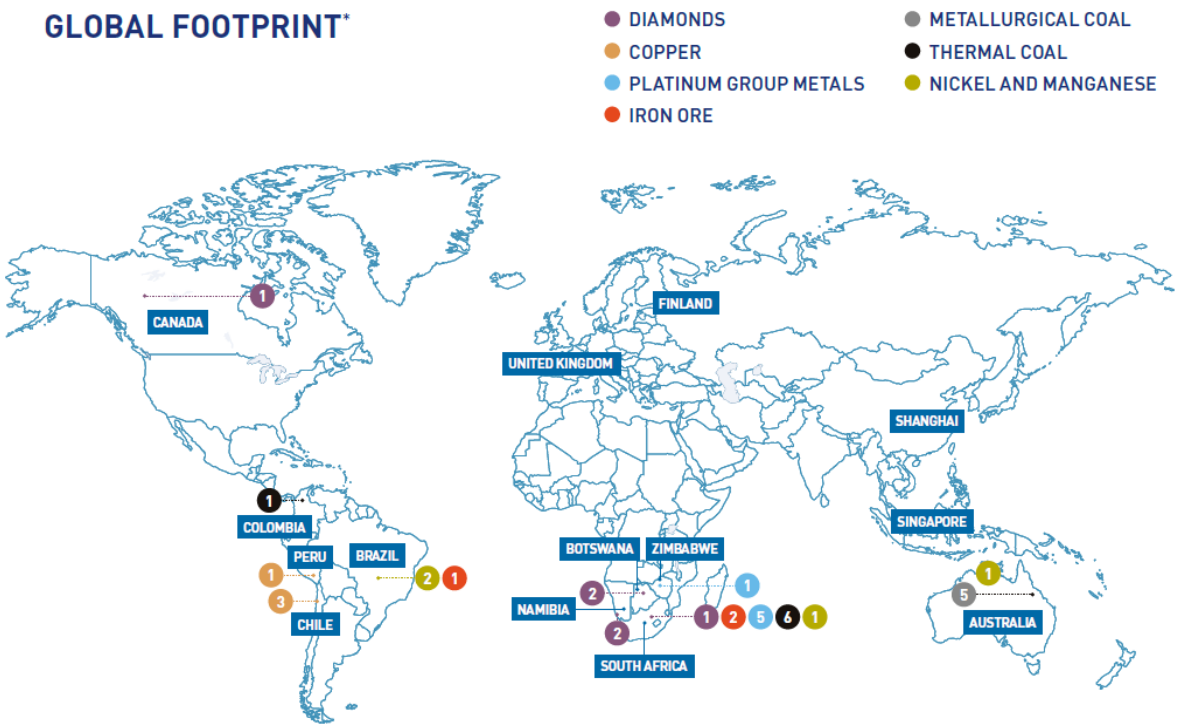

Figure 5.1 Anglo American Corporation global footprint.

Source: Anglo American factsheet (2020:1)

In 1928, upon the discovery of platinum group of metals (PGMs) in South Africa, AAC partnered with Hans Merensky to establish Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, the company that would eventually transform into Anglo American Platinum (Amplats). At this time, the organisation was growing considerably, and its influence was spanning across the South Africa's economic political and social landscape.

Anglo American Platinum as an entity, was established in 1995 following the unbundling of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments and the acquisition and control of Rustenburg Platinum Mines (Smith, Taylor and Anderson, 2006:301). This exercise resulted in a different investment approach in PGM mining in South Africa. According to Anglo American Platinum Limited Ore Reserves and Mineral Resources Report (2018:7) Amplats' "mineral resources of PGMs occur exclusively within southern Africa and are hosted by its two distinct layer intrusions that is the Bushveld complex in South Africa and the Great Dyke in Zimbabwe". These geological structures account for approximately 85% of the world's known platinum and 55% of the world’s known palladium reserves.

5.2.1. Structure of operations

According to Official 4, Amplats is the now the world’s largest producer of platinum and is responsible for approximately 40% of the global platinum output. The company has mining operations in South Africa and Zimbabwe, has its headquarters in Johannesburg and is listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Amplats owns and operates four mines, namely Mogalakwena, Amandelbult, Mototolo in South Africa and Unki in Zimbabwe. The organisation is also involved in three joint ventures in South Africa. The first of these ventures is a 50% joint venture with African Rainbow Minerals at Modikwa platinum mine and the second agreement is with Sibanye-Stillwater and involves operations at Kroondal and Marikana mines. Amplats is also in a joint venture with Atlatsa Resources at Bokoni Platinum Mine. Figure 5.2 outlines the organisation structure, including its relationship with AAC, whilst the discussion that follows serves to highlight the scale of the organisation and its operational capabilities, all of which have a bearing on its CSR approach.

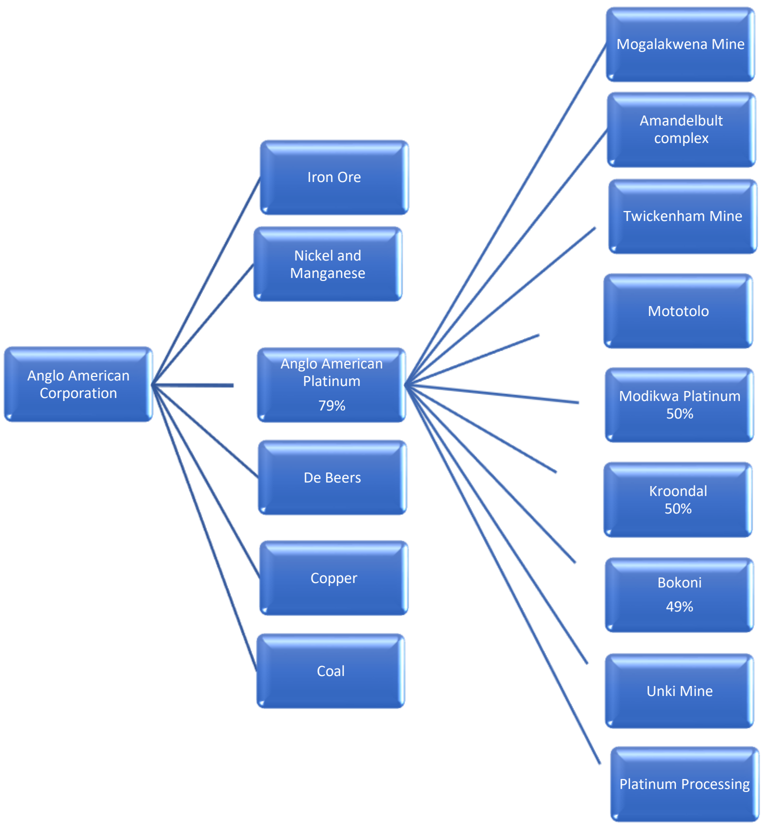

Figure 5.2 Anglo American Platinum structure

Source: Adopted from Anglo American annual report (2020:208)

Mogalakwena mine

Situated in the Limpopo Province of South Africa, Mogalakwena mine was established in 1993 and operates under mining rights which span a total area of 137 square kilometres. The operations consist of five open cast mines which have an estimated life of mine which extends to 2060. In 2019 the mine produced 1 181 600 ounces of PGMs which accounted for a net sales revenue of R28 317 000 (Amplats integrated report, 2020:103). The mine employs 1800 employees and operates two concentrators.

Amandelbult

Also situated in Limpopo Province, this mine operates under mining rights covering 141 square kilometres. The entire operation consists of two shaft mines (Tumela and Dishaba) and three concentrators. According to the company's estimates, Tumela mine has life of mine expectancy which extends to 2030 whilst Dishaba extends to approximately 2057 (Amplats integrated report, 2020:105). In 2020 the mine produced 608,100 ounces of PGM and accounted for 18 248 000 net sales revenue (Amplats integrated report, 2020:105).

Mototolo

Mototolo mine which is also located in Limpopo Province was acquired in 2018. The mine operates under two declining shafts, Lebowa and Borwa. The operations also include a concentrator which is used to separate the valuable concentrate from debris. 223 600 PGM ounces were produced in 2020, an 8% decline from the previous year (Amplats integrated report, 2020:106).

Twickenham mine

This operation which is located in Limpopo Province was placed on care and maintenance in 2016.

Unki Platinum Mine

Unki mine is located on the Great Dyke of Zimbabwe, near Shurugwi in the Midlands Province. The mine is an underground operation and has a life of mine expectation which could extend to 2060. In 2019, the mine employed over 2200 permanent and contract workers (Anglo American Platinum, 2019:2).

Modikwa Platinum Mine

Located 10km from Rustenburg in the North West Province, Modikwa Platinum Mine is a 50:50 joint venture with African Rainbow Minerals. The mine operates three decline shafts, three horizontal shafts and a concentrator.

Kroondal Platinum Mine

Kroondal is another 50:50 joint venture with Sibanye-Stillwater. Also located near Rustenburg in the North West Province of South Africa, the mine operates on 22 square kilometre piece of land and has an estimated life of mine which extends to 2032 and operates five decline shafts and two concentrators.

Marikana Platinum Mine

Marikana is also a 50:50 joint venture between Anglo American Platinum and Sibanye-Stillwater. The mine is managed by Sibanye-Stillwater and operates on 33 square kilometres of land 12km outside Rustenburg in North West Province. The mining infrastructure consists of four decline shafts and a concentrator. Marikana has an estimated life of mine which extends to 2036 and employs a workforce of 22 316 employees and contractors according to 2021 reports (Sibanye-Stillwater, 2021: par 2).

Bokoni Platinum Mine

Situated in Limpopo Province, this mine is a joint venture with Atlatsa, with Amplats owning 49% of the operation. The operation consists of two declining shafts and two concentrators and was placed on care and maintenance in 2017.

As an integrated platinum producer, “Amplats is involved in all five stages of the production value chain which consists of mining, concentration, smelting, refining and marketing” (Official 4). As such, Amplats has concentrators, smelters and refineries over and above its mining operations. Not all PGM producers participate in the value chain, with most producers concentrating on two stages only, that is mining and concentrating. These producers sell the concentrate to integrated producers such as Amplats who then smelt, refine and market. Bafokeng Rasimone Platinum Mine and African Rainbow Minerals in South Africa are examples of mining houses that mine and sell their concentrate to integrated producers. Amplats’ Unki mine participates in the first three stages and sends the product to South Africa for refining and marketing.

Amplats processing capabilities include three smelters and two refineries in South Africa, as well as a smelter at Unki mine in Zimbabwe. With these operations, the organisation is able to offer a holistic approach to PGM production and therefore afford its investors and partners the best yields.

5.2.2. Organisational Values

As a mining entity the organisation has an obligation to be responsible to the community in which it operates. Amplats is guided by the purpose and values of its parent company which is summarised as “re-imagining mining to improve people’s lives” (Official 4). Amplats’ values are classified under six tenants (Anglo American Platinum integrated annual report, 2020:25) as described below.

Accountability

Accountability is one of the core values at Amplats. It refers to how Amplats holds itself accountable and responsible for the social and environmental consequences of its decisions and practices. The organisation states that it takes ownership of its decisions, actions and results, delivers on its promises and acknowledges its mistakes (Anglo American Platinum integrated annual report, 2020:26). This was confirmed by Official 6 who stated that “Amplats is serious about accountability, owns up to its decisions, actions and performance” (Official 6). This adds value to the success of the organisation and how it is perceived by stakeholders.

Collaboration

The organisation drives the belief of working together with its stakeholders to achieve the most successful outcomes for the business and its stakeholders. There is emphasis on collaboration and partnerships with various internal and external stakeholders as this is seen as an effective way to address both internal and external challenges (Anglo American Platinum Limited Integrated Report, 2018:38).

> “Amplats recognises that it does not operate in isolation” (Official 7).
>
> “We collaborate with our stakeholders towards a common purpose” (Official 6).
>
> “Amplats collaborates with various stakeholders including likeminded organisations whether in the industry or not, research institutions, government departments as well as ordinary people who would want to collaborate with the organisation for the betterment of the community and the work that is undertaken” (Official 4).

The statements by the participants highlight Amplats’ appreciation for the benefits of collaborating with stakeholders in achieving objectives which are beneficial to all parties concerned.

Innovation

Innovation is key to the improvement of processes, systems and product offerings. It involves investigating, developing, and improving ways of doing things to improve the performance of the organisation and society at large.

> “Challenging the way things have been done is a key priority for Amplats” (Official 7).
>
> “By exploring new solutions, encouraging new ways of thinking and finding new ways of working, will dramatically improve business” (Official 6).
>
> “As an individual, you are more than welcome to be innovative and be able to push what you’re thinking to the organisation without any fear. We respect the views, and inputs of each and every one of those that are employed by the organisation to contribute” Official 4

These sentiments by the participants express how the organisation views itself as being innovative and accepting of new ideas from its employees and partners. The organisation states that it continuously strives to improve its operations and the applications of its products, and as such, works with both internal and external parties to develop innovative solutions (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report, 2020:137).

Safety

Safety is another area that Amplats is focused on and continually strives to improve. Its policies and actions are based on legislative requirements, industry standards, and international guidelines, and seeks to support the health and safety concerns of local communities as well as its own employees. According to Amplats, "safety is everyone's business – from the board and management to employees, unions, and industry participants," and the company strives to meet the standards it sets for itself as well as those that society and its employees deserve (Anglo American Platinum integrated annual report, 2020:14).

> "The mining industry is a very risky business and as such, safety is set at the core of operations at Amplats" (Official 4).

> "Amplats is committed to safety and as such has put in place systems and processes that ensures that all our employees understand our commitment to Zero harm" (Official 4).

The organisation believes that all injuries are preventable and that by working together it can make safety a way of life, inside and outside the workplace (Anglo American Platinum integrated annual report, 2020:26).

Care and respect

The organisation strives to treat people with respect and dignity regardless of their background, lifestyle or position. Through open, two-way communication, Amplats is committed to building trust with all stakeholders (Anglo American Platinum integrated annual report, 2020:26).

> "We believe in humanity and show care and respect for all people and we embrace diversity in all its forms. We listen, understand and communicate openly with our stakeholders. We also think very carefully about the impact our activities have on our communities, on our stakeholders and on our employees" (Official 6).

> "Things like sexual harassment, things like bulling, things like racism, things like discrimination of any sort, are not tolerated and are dealt with seriously" (Official 4).

The statements by the participants highlight Amplats' commitment to respecting not only its employees but also its immediate stakeholders and partners.

Integrity

Organisations are often encouraged to go beyond the requirements of the law and conduct themselves with integrity. This helps establish a positive reputation for the organisation and ensures that it is regarded as a respected member of society. On its part, "Amplats is committed to behaving with integrity to create and maintain strong and respectful relationships with the communities around our operations" (Anglo American plc Sustainability Report, 2020:72).

> "To Amplats, integrity means taking an honest, fair, ethical and transparent approach to everything that the organisation does" (Official 6).

> "We make sure that all our employees are aware and understand that Amplats is a responsible organisation and that everything that is done should be done with utmost integrity" (Official 4).

These values expand on Ernest Oppenheimer's long term vision. The founding father of Anglo American is on record as having stated in 1954 that "the aims of the group are, and will remain, to make profits for our shareholders but to do so in such a way as to make a real and lasting contribution to the community in which we operate" (Mullerat, 2010:307).

> "Emphasis on these values is not just for our employees to know them, but to live the values at the workplace and within the community. Amplats also shares these values with its stakeholders so that we are aligned in terms of our approach on how to do things and how to engage" (Official 6).
>
> "If you look at our values, they're mostly universal values that are applied within society" (Official 4).

These values epitomise how the organisation aims to deliver on its promises and how it wishes to be viewed by all its stakeholders. For Amplats, it is important for its employees to move from knowing these values to actually living them (Anglo American Platinum integrated annual report, 2020:137).

5.2.3. Investment strategy

An investment strategy reflects what the organisation wants to achieve and charts a steady course upon which this will be achieved, allowing the organisation to survive or grow in the long term. The company's financial strength and competitive goals play a significant role in determining investment strategy.

Amplats has, over the years, reshaped its business in an effort to consolidate its position in the market and concentrate more on its core operations. Having come into existence in 1995 after the unbundling of Johannesburg consolidated investments, the business undertook a restructuring exercise in 1995 which saw the organisation become a single listed entity. The organisation identified that its uniqueness lay in its extensive portfolio of valuable resources as well as its financial clout and, as such, sought to utilise these strengths to move down the cost curve by adding to and enhancing the suite of cost competitive production sites, not only to improve margins, but also to take advantage of market opportunities for growth (Anglo American Platinum, 1997: par.2)

Amplats notes its purpose as "re-imagining mining to improve people's lives" (Amplats integrated annual report, 2020:3) and explains that by "re-imagining mining", it hopes to unlock the potential of the minerals it mines, people's lives as well as the environment. According to the Amplats integrated annual report (2020:3) this is enshrined in the company strategic priorities which are listed as:

- "stimulating new markets and leveraging new capabilities through our market-development activities,
- embedding anti-fragility across our business to increase our ability to manage and thrive through major disruptions,
- maximising value from our core portfolio of mining and processing assets and

- becoming a leader in ESG in the mining sector by being a trusted partner in co-creating thriving communities and ensuring a healthy environment".

These strategic priorities motivate the organisation to pursue avenues which are meant to stimulate growth, improve efficiency as well as consolidate and strengthen its position in the PGM industry.

Valeriu and Sebastian (2012:68) assert that "the success of the investment depends on the strategy". Setting an investment strategy involves determining what motivates the MNC to invest in countries other than its home country, as well as how attractive that country is to the organisation. The four priorities capture the long-term direction of the organisation. This means that Amplats expects to create value and ensure long term sustainability through focusing on its priorities. Amplats (2020:37) states that the organisation is working on achieving its long term objectives by "combining integrity, circularity and smart innovation with the utmost consideration for our people, their families, local communities, our customers and the world at large to better connect our precious resources to the people who need and value them". With that, Amplats has developed a roadmap to guide the organisation through the short, medium and long term. At the centre of its strategy is to "continue to support, with others, efforts to create demand for platinum jewellery and accelerate the adoption of PGM-enabled hydrogen technologies" (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report, 2020:40). By investing in research and development and partnering with downstream value chain operations, Amplats seeks to stimulate greater demand for PGMs thereby ensuring long term opportunities for its core capabilities. This will guarantee greater investment in exploration and mine expansion both at home and foreign territories.

5.2.4. Investment in Zimbabwe

According to the Anglo American Platinum annual report (2020:99), the organisation has invested over R455 million in capital investment in Zimbabwe. This investment has gone towards the establishment of the mine and all necessary infrastructure.

The mine is located along the Great Dyke, one of the largest known deposits of PGM in the world. The operation consists of a twin-decline shaft system, a 120 000 tonnes per month concentrator which was commissioned in 2011 and a newly added smelter. The smelter that was commissioned in 2018 cost Amplats US$62 million and was heralded as a strategic investment for the organisation (Anglo American Platinum, 2019: par. 1). The smelter was added to the operations partially to streamline production but more importantly, to respond to calls by the government of Zimbabwe for mining MNCs to establish value addition facilities in the country. Prior to 2018, Unki would transport concentrate to its operations in South Africa for smelting and refining. Realising the potential revenue lost through this process, the government insisted that Amplats and other platinum producers should beneficiate before exporting. This would ensure that all minerals would be properly declared upon exit, as well as create jobs and other opportunities for the country. The break in bulk was accepted as a benefit to Amplats and hence the construction of the facility.

Amplats is also focused on the expansion of Unki to reach its maximum potential. This is expressed by the participants who explain some of the expansion projects that are targeted.

> "For example, we want to expand the processing capacity to 210 000 tonnes of ore per month and beyond. This obviously means more output, more jobs, more foreign currency generation" (Official 5).

> "We are pursuing an expansion strategy. We still have potential and desire to expand our operations. We have got a debottlenecking project which is underway and will lead to the improvement of the processing capacity at the mine" (Official 6).

This shift has been precipitated by the mine's desire to take greater advantage of the available ore resources, the newly constructed processing infrastructure as well as the favourable commodity prices. Unki mine produced 196 100 ounces of PGM in 2020 and recorded a net sales revenue of R4 963 000 (Amplats integrated report, 2020:105). This investment is seen as a very important asset, especially considering that Amplats expects to operate there for a very long time. Through this investment, the country is finally turning its mineral resources into economic and social opportunities such as employment creation for citizens, improved infrastructure as well as enterprise development for businesses.

5.2.5. Factors that influenced investment in Zimbabwe

The choice of location is determined by the motives and objectives of the organisation. With any mining venture, there a number of factors that may influence an organisation to invest, the most obvious being the availability of mineral reserves and their long term value. This is supported by Lockwood (2016:20) who argues that the primary determinant of investment location for a mining house is predominantly the presence, abundance and quality of the desired mineral resource. These mining companies explore foreign investments in search of profitable mineral reserves due to an insatiable need to secure abundant resources as explained by participants.

> "Our strategy has been driven by the availability of ore, Zimbabwe having one of the largest PGM deposits in the world" (Official 5).

According to Mudd *et al*. (2018: 618) Zimbabwe hosts the world's third largest reserves of PGMs after South Africa and Russia respectively. Zimbabwe's Great Dyke is a 550 kilometre long underground geological "structure that contains the world's largest single resource of PGMs in the world after the Bushveld complex in South Africa" (Wilson & Prendergast, 2001:319).

> "The ability to extract the resource profitably since the deposit may be described as shallow ore body" (Official 5).

The easy ease of extraction as well as the abundance was highlighted as a significant factor by participants. The structure, which is a rich vein of an assortment of minerals including gold, copper, nickel and cobalt, was discovered in 1925 and represents a valuable and strategic resource for

Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe Geological Survey Department (James, 2018: par.1), estimates that the Great Dyke hosts 3.4 billion tonnes of PGMs and that mining activities may continue there until 2060.

Another factor that has influenced mining at Unki is the availability of skilled labour. Historically, the Zimbabwean economy has been heavily reliant on mining activities and has over the years managed to develop a skilled and knowledgeable workforce. Institutions such as the University of Zimbabwe, National University of Science and Technology and the Zimbabwe School of Mines, churn out graduates who are ready for the job market on an annual basis and this is an advantage for many mining organisations that invest in the country. This means that many of the skilled positions at Unki are occupied by qualified personnel from within the country.

> "In terms of employment at operations, there is a difference between South Africa and Zimbabwe in that a number of leadership positions in South Africa are occupied by expatriates but in Zimbabwe, the heads of department are all Zimbabwean" (Official 4).

This illustrates the quality of available manpower in the country. This also illustrates Unki's commitment to empowering locals through employment thereby contributing to the government's economic recovery plans.

In addition, the cost of labour is relatively low in the country owing to the unstable economic situation and disorderly monetary system which has had a wage structure that is vastly favourable to employers. According to an article by African mining market (2021: par. 3) in 2021, the Associated Mine Workers Union accepted 22 000 Zimbabwe dollars (R2 100) compared to the R15 000 demanded by the National Union of Mineworkers (Nkosi, 2021: par. 1). This disparity shows that it is relatively cheaper to mine in Zimbabwe than in South Africa.

The investments proximity to South Africa was also an advantage. South Africa not only provides processing capabilities but also ensures access to markets for the minerals mined in Zimbabwe. Until 2018 when the Unki smelter started operating, Amplats was transporting concentrate to its smelting plants in Polokwane and Rustenburg in South Africa. Refining and marketing of the end products is also done from South Africa and, as such, this proximity meant that Amplats could derive more from operations in Zimbabwe.

5.2.6. Engagement and relationship with the government of Zimbabwe

According to Official 5, "Amplats leveraged off the existence that Anglo American has had in the country over a long period of time". Anglo American had been in Zimbabwe for over 50 years and has held various business interests in mining and other industries through Anglo American Corporation of Zimbabwe (AmZim). Some of the most notable entities in which AmZim had interests included Bindura Nickel Mine, Hippo Valley sugar company, Clay Products, United Portland Cement, Wankie Colliery, Founders Building Society, Hogarths Engineering Limited, National Foods Holdings and Zimbabwe Alloys. This means that at one time, AAC's interests lay in all business sectors of the economy of Zimbabwe. Amzim sold off its interests in non-core businesses and started focusing on large scale mining interests. This historic presence in Zimbabwe helped with the engagement when pursuing mining propositions related to platinum in Shurugwi.

As an entity that had been operating in the country, its longstanding CSR reputation was well known and respected. For example, through its various investment interests, Amzim had been involved in CSR through building Hippo Valley Estates Primary School, which was established in 1986, Hwange Colliery Hospital (1951), apprenticeships at Hogarths in Bulawayo as well as the construction of Valley Chrome Primary School which is in the ZIMASCO compound. Through these and many other CSR initiatives, Amzim established itself as a responsible and worthwhile partner in the development of pre and post independent Zimbabwe. It is with this background that discussions with the government on a new venture were made possible.

> "Our CSR credentials and the fact that Anglo American had already been in the country made some of the conversations easier" (Official 5).

As a well-known entity, the shift towards platinum was much easier than new entrants. This meant that the organisation had stable footing from which to negotiate. This, however, also meant that Amplats was better positioned to reject the terms of the government's indigenisation policy. Engagement with the government was thus somewhat more complex than it was for new entrants. It has been suggested that new entrants into the mining sector were more open to the policy.

> "For new investors, we haven't had any problems, they have adhered to the policy. It's only the existing players who have been a bit problematic" (Government Official 2).

The investment by Amplats also faced a number of challenges. These challenges were mainly associated with economic environment of the host country. This had a significant impact on the initial stages of operations in Zimbabwe as many components had to be imported.

> "The unstable economic environment especially during the time Unki started building its operations around 2007-08 which was the peak of hyperinflation in the country" (Official 5).

Amplats nevertheless maintains a cordial relationship with the government of Zimbabwe as evidenced by the continued investment in the country. The organisation has continued to grow its investment in Unki mining and processing, and this has allowed the engagement between the government and the investor to be more cordial and symbiotic. This is expressed by participants who noted that:

> "The relationship may be described as cordial as the government of Zimbabwe is appreciative of the efforts of the operation." (Official 6).
>
> "One would describe the relationship as a close working relationship" (Official 4).
>
> "We have a reasonable relationship with the government of Zimbabwe. If there are issues, we're able to engage to address them" (Official 5).

> "We enjoy good relationship with the Zimbabwean government, with issues that have been tabled and addressed" (Official 7).

Amplats was one of the first MNCs in the country to show commitment to the indigenisation policy. The organisation stated that "following approval of its indigenisation plan, Anglo American Platinum signed a head of agreement with the government of Zimbabwe in November 2012 that set out the key terms of the approved indigenisation plan for the company's Unki mine investment" (Anglo American Platinum Limited Integrated Report, 2016:23). Although a roadmap had been established in 2012, its full implementation was not achieved as the government was still in the process of refining its position on the policy.

In order to maintain a cordial relationship with the government, Unki mine was one of the first to capacitate a CSOT as per the requirements of IEEP. This was welcomed by President Mugabe who launched the Tongogara CSOT in 2012.

In 2018, after the announcement by Finance Minister, Patrick Chinamasa that the indigenisation act would be amended, Amplats announced to its stakeholders that it was in continued engagement with the government with regards to its position amidst these new developments (Anglo American Platinum Limited Annual Results, 2018:32). A similar announcement was made in 2020 and this illustrates the organisation's commitment to working with the government to pursue a clear understanding and path to the implementation of the policy. It would seem that this protracted engagement is beneficial to Amplats as it places the government in a difficult position of attempting to produce a policy that is acceptable to all parties. This untenable position that the government is forced into, is an example of the power that the MNCs wield and their ability to manipulate situations while continuing to maximise profits. The onus would appear to be upon the government to remain steadfast and cement its position on these issues while also engaging with affected parties to ensure stability and amicable solutions.

> "We are in continuous engagement with the government to understand the policy, its impact on the investment and how it hoped to implement it" (Official 5).

> "Because of policy inconsistency, investment has been affected. The policy has not been implemented fully but some aspects have and in the case of Unki, the operations have implemented the parts that it has been able to" (Official 6).

These comments by Amplats officials illustrate the organisation's commitment to engagement and the frustrations that the MNC endured due to the lack of clarity and inconsistency by the government. The relationship between the two entities was however strengthened by Amplats' building of a smelter in response to the government's value addition drive. The US$62 million smelter that was commissioned in 2018 addressed the Zimbabwean government's call for local beneficiation of minerals and "vision of transforming Zimbabwe into a middle-income economy, with increased investment, decent jobs, broad based empowerment, free from poverty and corruption by 2030" (Anglo American, 2019:1).

From this discussion, it is evident that the relationship, while emanating from a longstanding history which dates back to pre-independence, has been riddled with bouts of misunderstandings and challenges. This is consistent with assertions by Lane *et al*. (2015:473) that relationships between mining organisations and host governments are challenging and not always great. These scholars state that "despite this economic dependence on a prosperous mining industry, host governments habitually treat mining companies with suspicion (Lane *et al*., 2015:473). It is, however, important to acknowledge the continuous engagement that the parties have had, especially over the past 15 years, and to appreciate the resolve that this has had to date.

5.2.7. CSR operations at Anglo American Corporation and Anglo American Platinum in South Africa

Amplats derives its CSR philosophy from AAC. As early as the 1950s, AAC had started practising CSR. This was pointed out by Tony Trahar, former Chief Executive Officer of Anglo American, who stated that from as early as the 1950s, long before CSR became rooted in organisations across the globe, Anglo American already believed in investing for the good of its investors, its employees, the local communities, and the countries in which it plied its trade (Davenport, 2017:12). Its CSR philosophy is enshrined in the group framework entitled "Anglo Social Way" which is adopted and implemented at all AAC operations across the globe.

Anglo Social Way is a framework which incorporates international standards, industry best practices as well as organisational values. This framework is used across all AAC operations and is linked to its values and purpose as articulated by participants below.

> "These principles are applied similarly across Anglo American's operations across the world but with due consideration of host country's situation, context and legislation" (Official 4).

> "Anglo Social way is set up to be in line with the UN SDGs and is considered one of the best standards in the world as far as social responsibility is concerned" (Official 7).

The framework consists of a policy, procedures, standards and guidelines used for the monitoring and assessment of projects. According to Official 6, "through the Anglo Social Way, Amplats seeks to entrench social performance into its core business practices". Official 4 adds that "the Social Way helps us to manage relationships, meaning our approach to human rights, inclusion and diversity remains sure and structured".

AAC insists that to the organisation, "social performance is not philanthropy for reputational purposes, nor is it focused solely on those activities required to satisfy local legal or regulatory requirements" but rather contributes to its strategic goals by safeguarding against harm and creating an environment in which stakeholders are supported in their efforts to flourish sustainably (Anglo American, 2020:2). This ideology forms a part of AAC's global operations.

The group's CSR approach has been shaped by circumstances in which it has found itself in. According to Banda (2013:47) AAC's CSR interpretation is driven mainly by the unjust effects of apartheid. For instance, AAC's Chairman's fund which is seen as an important instrument upon which social investment is driven, was established in 1973 following widespread condemnation of the injustice of the apartheid regime. The 1970s were a turning point for the struggle against injustice in South Africa and AAC together with other large conglomerates stood at the centre of influencing positive change. Rajak (2011:81) highlights that before the 1970s corporates were biased towards supporting white initiatives, however AAC's approach shifted in response to two important events that occurred in South Africa; the 1976 Soweto uprising and the introduction of the Sullivan principles. These two episodes encouraged AAC to rethink its approach towards CSR in South Africa. The shooting of protesting students gave the rest of the world a wakeup call to the oppression and exploitation of blacks and apartheid rule. Babarinde (2009:360) argues that inspired by these events, many South African organisations and including AAC, began to embrace a more holistic and balanced approach to CSR in the country. Rajak (2011:80) highlights that there was a shift in the late 1970s and early 1980s which saw more attention being focused on black education initiatives by AAC even though the organisation had hitherto been committed to "black empowerment and quiet resistance to apartheid".

The Chairperson of the fund in South Africa, Mr Norman Mbazima (Anglo American, 2015. par.4) stated that AAC was dedicated to being a good corporate citizen and to creating positive change in the areas that the organisation operates and in South Africa as a whole. This summarises AAC's CSR ethos.

Social investment at Amplats is the result of compulsory social labour plans and voluntary programmes initiated by the organisation. Amplats has over the years implemented various CSR programmes in South Africa in line with the Anglo American Social Way and guided by the Mining Charter, Social and Labour Plan, B-BBEE and other government initiatives such as the National Development Plan. These initiatives, some of which will be discussed further, are implemented in collaboration with the relevant local authorities in order to maintain the organisation's social licence and legal legitimacy. The voluntary aspect of Amplats CSR programme is drawn from AAC as well as international best practices. Amplats also contributes to The Chairman's fund and AAC's enterprise development arm, Zimele.

Amplats and other subsidiaries contribute towards the Chairman's fund and from this large purse, the scheme is able to work on a wide range of community projects from small scale initiatives to large, capital intensive developmental projects. Marais (2010:87) states that the Chairman's fund is an instrument through which AAC channels its CSR and is mandated to support developmental initiatives aimed at uplifting disadvantaged communities and prioritising areas such as education, health, arts and culture, environment, advocacy and entrepreneur development. The organisation has invested significantly towards these areas in order to create long-term value within its targeted communities.

Anglo Zimele is also another such centralised initiative. This programme was started in 1989 as an enterprise development and empowerment initiative which would address the socio-economic effects of apartheid by supporting young aspirant black entrepreneurs get a foothold into business. Upon identifying obstacles faced by small black businesses, which included lack of capital and technical skills, AAC sought to establish a programme that would capacitate black entrepreneurs by providing a supply chain fund, seed capital and loans as well as advice on different business related basics such as corporate governance, administration, environment, health and safety (Rajak, 2011:105). In its 2019 Sustainability report (2019:73), AAC revealed that the initiative had supported 2 300 small, medium and micro social enterprises and had helped generate more than 50 000 jobs. The success of this initiative is acknowledged by institutions such as the World Bank and the African Development Bank who note that Anglo Zimele offers a potentially replicable model for governments and private sector operators in other resource rich African countries seeking to broaden the social impact and employment generation capacity of their capital intensive industries (African Development Bank, 2016:7).

While Anglo Zimele has been hailed as a beacon of CSR, some scholars, such as Banda (2013:68) have expressed concerns over the lack of attention given to the environmental impact of mining operations, but instead using the initiative to conceal unpleasant facts about operational indiscretions. The organisation offers investments in areas such as greenhouse gas emissions, water, energy, and waste management, which may be viewed as dealing with the symptoms and not the cause. These initiatives can be seen as part of AAC's indirect efforts to address the ecological effect of its operations (Banda, 2013:68).

Amplats views social investment as an integral part of its operations. Its activities are guided by the expectations of the community in which it operates and these programmes are designed to bring about positive benefits to the host communities and ensuring that the organisation fulfils its obligations to its stakeholders.

> “Amplats thrives to be the leading PGM producer and in the same vein looks to be a leader in the provision of social investment” (Official 7).
>
> “The organisation has a sustainable mining plan in which Amplats has made commitments that operations need to work towards to achieve sustainable development in host communities” (Official 6).

Official 4 added that “the overall strategy is embedded in the organisation response to Environmental, Social, and Corporate Governance (ESG) responsibilities. It goes beyond buying shoes for kids in the community but explores what the community wants to achieve in the next five years and as such the organisation builds its CSR plans to support that. There is a long term view;

it's no longer about simply donating items but establishing how the organisation can strengthen the health system of Limpopo for example, to make sure that the community is supported".

The organisation's main areas of social investment focus are education and training, health and welfare, water and sanitation, enterprise development, environment and community development.

> "Amplats focuses on education, (from early childhood to tertiary), health and welfare (strengthening the health system), infrastructure development (building roads, community electrification), basic services (that is water and sanitation) and livelihoods (ensuring sustainable opportunities through empowerment, skills development and entrepreneurial support)" (Official 4).

In 2020, Amplats spent R803 million on social investment, an increase from the R619 million spent in 2019 and R609 million spent in 2018 (Anglo American Platinum Annual Report, 2020:5,158). The increase in social investment spend is indicative of Amplats' commitment to sustainable development and social responsibility. Amplats broke down its 2020 social spend in its annual report (2020:20) as follows;

- "R86 million on health and social welfare programmes
- R66 million on education and skills development
- R44 million on infrastructure projects
- R76 million on enterprise development
- R400 million on community dividends
- R126 million on other programmes, including site CSI, land donation, the interfaith programme and other donations
- R5 million on Unki's CSI projects".

This investment also included support for Covid-19 related programmes as well as the mandatory labour plans (Anglo American Platinum Annual Report, 2020:20). This highlighted Amplats' adaptability as communities across the country were hard hit by the pandemic and challenges that ensued.

Amplats is also committed to the UN Sustainable Development Goals and has set its Sustainable Mining Plan around three focus areas. Amplats sets out to be a trusted corporate leader by maintaining accountability, becoming a policy advocate and by endorsing human rights. The organisation aims to be a thought leader in poverty alleviation, transformation of the mining industry, the promotion of health, education and community development (Anglo American CSI Focus Areas, 2013:5).

> "Amplats' strategies are influenced by world best practises. We also formulate our strategies in response to universal guidelines such as the SDGs" (Official 6).

Amplats looks to challenge itself around areas of biodiversity, climate change and reduced water usage, to build thriving communities and to improve health, education and employment especially in the communities in which they operate. Importantly, under the thriving communities focus area, Amplats has set goals to create three job opportunities in their host communities for every one individual employed at its operations.

> "Amplats has set a target that states that for every job that the organisation has onsite, it needs to create three jobs offsite. This means that the organisation realises that it can only employ a certain number of individuals in its operations and as such implements initiatives that are aimed at creating opportunities away from the mine" (Official 4).

Amplats also participates in various internationally recognised sustainability indices and reporting initiatives including the Johannesburg Stock Exchange - Socially Responsible Investment index, the Dow Jones Sustainability Index, the FTSE4Good Index and the Global Reporting Initiative. This helps to ensure transparency and benchmark performance against other leading global entities. It also helps improve investor confidence and develops a reputation that is palatable to host communities and governments. Some of the focus areas and initiatives that the organisation has implemented in South Africa are discussed below.

Education

Support for the educational sector is a very important part of Amplats' social investment. Over the years, the organisation has invested millions in this sector, for example, through the construction of 26 classrooms at Thlabane primary school in 2011, the R8.4 million spent on science laboratories at Bakwena High School and the R4.7 million computer laboratories at the President Mangope Technical School to name but a few. According to their integrated annual report (2020:20) in 2020, Amplats spent R66 million on education and skills development - an increase from the R33.8 million spent in 2019.

These education initiatives support early childhood development, maths, science and technology support programmes, school infrastructure as well as teacher development. It is also important to note that through the focus on education, Amplats also helps create jobs and opportunities for local businesses. For instance, the construction of the Photsaneng Primary School IT centre and classrooms in 2017 created 20 job opportunities and utilised 6 contractors for the project (Anglo American Platinum, 2017: par.10). The ripple effects of such projects to the community are immense and greatly appreciated especially by those who benefit directly from them.

> "If we are to prepare communities to take advantage of future opportunities at our operations and at other places around the country, then we have to invest in education especially in subjects such as science and maths" (Official 7).
>
> Amplats is guided by government needs, instructions and plans such as the National Development Plan. Collaboration with the Department of Education, for example, helps to

> ensure that the guidelines of the department are considered when assisting communities in that specific area of social need” (Official 4).

The investment in education is commendable and supportive of government’s efforts to improve livelihood. This needs to be well coordinated to ensure that educational investment and provisions by Amplats are indeed within the scope and capacity of communities, lest infrastructure goes to waste as was the case in Limpopo in 2012, where computer labs became redundant due to lack of trained teachers (The Bench Marks Foundation, 2012:55).

Health and social welfare

In 2020, Amplats spent R86 million on health and social welfare initiatives (Amplats, 2020:20). With projects that met the health and safety needs of both employees and the community. Amplats states that it focuses on the prevention of HIV/AIDS, strengthening primary healthcare and providing meaningful and effective healthcare and support to employees and the communities in which they operate (Anglo American, 2011:6). It recognises that “the health of employees cannot be viewed or treated in isolation from the health of the communities living close to operations” and with that goes about ensuring that health and social issues are taken seriously (Anglo American, 2009:51).

Amplats (Anglo American Platinum, 2017. par. 14) states that it spent R39.5 million on the construction of Seraleng Primary Healthcare Clinic in 2016 and donated an ambulance and equipment worth R1.2 million to cater for communities in the Rustenburg area. In the process, these projects created a significant number of jobs and business opportunities for locals.

This focus area also includes the well-being of Amplats’ employees. Amplats’ aim is for zero harm, supported by targeted health and safety initiatives which should result in fewer health and safety incidents.

> “Investing in health infrastructure, helps ensure that our employees, their families and the community at large are taken of” (Official 4).

While these efforts in the health sector should be acknowledged and generally applauded, it should be highlighted that the organisation bears the blame for some of the issues that bedevil the community. The spillage of mine tailings contaminates water supplies, while blasting leads to noise and air pollution (Yeboah, 2008:53). All of these activities undermine the health and well-being of the local communities. The provision of these health initiatives by Amplats may therefore be seen as the organisation’s attempt to appease host communities in light of these externalities.

The Covid-19 pandemic posed a significant challenge for operations, employees and the community at large. Amplats states that its unrelenting focus on the health and well-being of its employees and host communities contained infection rates in and around its operations as well as strengthened relationships with key stakeholders (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report, 2020:14). Another cause for concern is HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is a challenge that has affected South

Africa as the country is recorded as having one of the highest number of people living with HIV in the world, 7.8 million according to UNAIDS (2020:1). With that, Amplats recognises the need to protect its employees, improve awareness, reduce HIV related deaths and facilitate treatment for those affected. Amplats (2020:122) states that the organisation achieved 94% testing of its employees, 92% uptake of antiretroviral therapy and 84% of all people receiving antiretroviral therapy having viral load suppression as part of UNAIDS 90:90:90 goals.

Sustainability community development

Sustainability community development comprise of "providing welfare support, working towards sustainable livelihoods through skills training and job creation as well as supporting capacity building for enterprise development" (Anglo American, 2011:6). The organisation thrives to ensure that its stakeholders actively participate and economically benefit from its operations. Amplats has established a number of initiatives to support communities in South Africa. One such initiative was Alchemy, the organisation's community equity ownership scheme, which was established in 2011 to ensure that communities and employees were given shares that would produce long-term value for everyone involved. Through development trusts who hold the shares on behalf of employees and communities, Alchemy has issued approximately 1.4 million unencumbered Anglo American Platinum shares (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report, 2020:14). Dividends from these may be used for community projects in response to identified needs.

Through Anglo Zimele, the organisation also helps empower entrepreneurs, especially those involved in supply chain management. In 2018, Amplats issued 22 loans worth R27 million to capacitate SMMEs in Amandelbult, Mogalakwena, Rustenburg and Burgersfort thereby creating a significant number of opportunities and jobs (Anglo American Platinum Limited Supplementary Report 2018:73). The initiative also provided mentorship programmes and opportunities for the youth of these areas. Amplats also opened up a Zimele Multi-Purpose hub in Rustenburg in 2019 to better cater for supplier, enterprise and youth development in the area. The initiative is seen as a creative way of responding to the country's challenges by leveraging off Amplats' capabilities.

Employee empowerment

According to the 2018 Anglo American Platinum Limited Integrated Report (2018:124), an employee share ownership scheme was established in 2018 to replace the Anglo Platinum Kotula Trust which had run for eight years from 2008 and had apportioned approximately 1.5% of the Amplats shares to employees. Beneficiaries of the trust include all permanent employees of Amplats' South African operations, including joint ventures and has dividends paid out annually (Mining review, 2008: par. 3). The organisation highlights the importance of these schemes to Historically Disadvantaged South Africans (HDSA). At the launch of the Kotula Trust, Amplats stated that it was in full support of black economic-empowerment as a strategic transformation objective and that it recognised how important it was for its workers to participate in the transformation agenda (De Bruyn, 2008: par. 6). Kotula Trust's funding structure consisted of 40% free shares and 60% loan shares, with the latter required to be repaid by the trust. The new scheme that was launched in 2018 is a five year initiative, similar to its predecessor.

Thought leadership and policy advocacy

By virtue of its size and significant contribution to the economy, Amplats is in a strategic position to use its position to contribute towards policy discussions on various matters including mining, the environment and governance. Amplats states that it "participates in policy-engagement processes with the Mineral Council, National Business Initiative, Business Unity South Africa and the International Council on Mining and Metals" (Anglo American Platinum Limited Supplementary Report 2018:94). The organisation also participates in policy deliberations on UN SDGs particularly gender equality, responsible consumption and production, peace, justice and strong institutions and partnership for goals (Anglo American Platinum Limited Environmental, Social and Governance report 2019:18). Participating in these forums helps the organisation contribute knowledge and expertise it has drawn from its presence in various countries thereby adding to the betterment of policies and standards in South Africa.

B-BBEE

As mentioned before, Amplats is an active participant of the B-BBEE programme. Amplats contributes towards economic empowerment through various initiatives such as partnerships with Black owned businesses, setting annual targets and participating in internal empowering projects (for example, skills development, women participation and youth employment). Amplats' joint venture with a B-BBEE partner, African Rainbow Minerals, is an example of the work that has been put in to facilitate more Black participation in the mining industry. The organisation states that it views B-BBEE as a strategic business imperative and that participating in the programme contributes to broadening the base of the South African economy and promotes economic participation by all citizens (Anglo American South Africa Transformation Report 2007:9). This programme is encouraged through various voluntary processes and participation incentives and looks to large organisations such as Amplats to ensure its success.

Despite its interpretation and commentary on the importance of B-BBEE, Amplats' performance does not fully reflect this. In 2020 Amplats failed to achieve the majority of the empowerment targets that it set for itself (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report 2020:124). In addition, according to Honeycomb BEE Ratings (2021:1), as of 2021, Amplats B-BBEE rating stood at level 7. This is low rating was acknowledged by Official 4 who stated that "in as much as our overall B-BBEE score is not what we would like it to be, we have been doing very well with regards to socio-economic development (SED) element and working hard to improve our position". Amplats states that it recognises its contribution and is committed to the transformation of the South African economy by building on progress in addressing the ownership requirements of the Mining Charter; improving relationships with B-BBEE partners and consulting widely on ways to better facilitate transformation (Anglo Platinum, 2007:6).

Amplats CSR presence in South Africa while formidable, is not without criticism. Banda (2013:11; 71) affirms Amplats contribution, noting that the organisation has made outstanding CSR contributions especially towards the eradication of poverty in South Africa but also highlights its degeneracy as the “consequences of its mining operations remain grave”. The discrepancy between what Amplats reports and its practices as witnessed by external entities is worth scrutiny. Research by the Bench Marks Foundation (2018:53) showed that Amplats reports on issues that portray the organisation in good light but fails to adequately address issues of concern to the community and the environment. The report by Bench Marks Foundation (Houdet & Capel, 2018:53) found that “issues appear, disappear or are inadequately reported on” and that “when it comes to water, air, land, and other contested issues, one is left with an impression on the surface that they act responsibly”.

In another report by Bench Marks Foundation (2019:3) it was highlighted that Amplats had stated that from 2008, the organisation would construct 20 000 houses for its employees but by 2018, only 1 300 had been built. These and other critical views are important as they highlight that Amplats, while aware of the issues that dog society and its own social responsibility in overcoming such challenges, chooses to concentrate on disseminating information that enhances its reputation. According to Banda (2013:49) AAC has an entrenched desire to remain the largest corporate donor (based on statements in its 2005 and 2007 CSI reports) and this has come at the expense of the core developmental priorities of society.

5.2.8. Relationship with community in South Africa

An editorial by Business Day (2021: par. 3) was critical of mining organisations such as Amplats stating that these “companies work hard to combat an image of being rapacious, polluting and indifferently selfish in their pursuit of minerals and profits”. The publication pointed out that Amplats’ relationship with communities was characterised by challenges mainly linked to the country’s faltering economy. For example, operations are sometimes affected by social unrest such as the community disturbances at its Modikwa mine in 2018 which resulted in work stoppages and the tragic death of six employees (Anglo American Platinum Limited Integrated Report, 2018:36).

The expansion of Amplats operations, whilst bringing socio-economic benefits to host communities, comes with externalities which sometimes disrupt stakeholder relations. The expansion of its Mogalakwena mine caused a breakdown in relations with the community as the latter accused Amplats of reneging on promises of financial compensation made by the organisation (Khumalo, 2021: par. 1). Business Day (2021: par. 10) states that the platinum mining company experienced the wrath of the community in 2000 and 2005 when they planned to relocate 706 and 957 households respectively and again in 2015 when violent unrest erupted "near Mogalakwena by aggrieved community members complaining Amplats was not living up to its pre-location promises". The organisation acknowledges that these challenges have an adverse effect on relations between Amplats and the community and works hard to address them. Announcing the appointment of Natascha Viljoen as the Chief Executive Officer of Amplats, Mark Cutifani, Chief Executive Officer of AAC indicated that she had been appointed with the task of improving community relations after the darkest episodes in post-apartheid South Africa (Seccombe, 2020: par. 1).

In its analysis of threats and risks, Amplats also identified the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic as a cause for concern. In its 2020 report, Amplats states that "with the lockdown being economically unaffordable, loss of livelihoods and unemployment are soaring, especially among youth. Coupled with existing challenges relating to widespread hunger, domestic violence, mental health and impact on education, this may trigger social unrests and riots in certain areas" (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report, 2020:82). To mitigate this, the organisation planned to establish a formal community grievances, issues and incidents mechanism, ring fence local supplier opportunities and schedule stakeholder engagement amongst other measures. This, Amplats believed, would help improve confidence, reduce the risk of unrest and ultimately decrease the possibility of operational disruption.

Despite this, Amplats considers itself as a worthy partner in the development of communities. The organisation periodically and methodically conducts evaluations to determine the quality of their relationship with various stakeholders. To assess the state of its relationship with communities, Amplats conducts reviews which help guide the organisation towards healthier engagement.

Official 7 highlights that "the organisation conducts periodic reviews and surveys to determine the level of satisfaction". It tracks its successes and failures on projects and seeks ways to improve as noted by Official 6 who also stated that "each project has a monitoring and evaluation framework that defines measurement". Amplats also goes a long way to ensure that promises made to the community are kept as much as possible. To do this, "the organisation uses a commitment register or legacy issue register to check on commitments that have been made to the community during engagements and through this, the organisation is able to assess its own social behaviour. In this way, Amplats ensures accountability in its social responsibility" (Official 4).

The organisation states that it focuses on transparency and responding timeously and professionally to issues raised by stakeholders (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report 2020:64). For instance, from this exercise, Amplats noted that in 2020, its engagement with faith-based communities was strong and that an interfaith initiative, that would see the participation of religious leaders in community development, conflict resolution and moral regeneration at all Amplats operations, was launched. Amplats (Integrated annual report, 2020:64) also highlighted that its relationship with traditional leaders was “cordial” as the organisation was still in consultations with Mapela traditional council over settlements. However, in the same report, Amplats also acknowledged that it was struggling with demands for employment and procurement opportunities by communities.

In summary, the relationship between Amplats and communities in South Africa may be described as situational as people form perceptions of the influence of mining operations. This is acknowledged by one of the participants who states that:

> “The relationship is difficult to determine because it is highly situational and can best be described a “moving target” because while the business would like to achieve a certain level of the relationship with the community, there are situations that change as it deals with others. We might never even get to it, but the reality of the matter is that the impact is felt by the highest number of members of the community” (Official 4).

Whilst Amplats invests significantly towards CSR and social development, it is often the expectation of communities that more can and should be done. Although community members realise the benefit of the investment to the area as explained by Muntingh (2011:110), some groups remain unsatisfied by the effort. In its Anglo American Platinum Limited Environmental, Social and Governance report (2020:132) Amplats reported that it had received 192 (up from 122 in 2019) community complaints which ranged from lack of “local employment, procurement opportunities, SLP community consultations and environmental impacts”. Muntingh (2011:114) found that some community members viewed the source of the conflict and discontentment on mining companies over promising and under delivering on many social and economic issues, leading to situations in which the community become disgruntled. These community expectations are exacerbated by the low levels of education and high levels of unemployment in most parts of rural South Africa, mostly because of marginalisation experienced during the apartheid era.

> “We face challenges as community expectations, the lack of development and high unemployment in neighbouring communities increases demands on our operations to provide basic services and employment” (Official 4).

> “It helps us to respond to the needs of our host communities, ensuring nothing falls through the net” (Official 7).

The statements by these participants help to illustrate the situation on the ground. Through engagement with the community, Amplats gets to understand some of the root causes of community disgruntlement and seeks ways to provide solutions.

From a purely subjective view, the organisation sees the relationship as relatively good but emphasises that the community may have a different opinion on the relationship especially when agitating elements such as politicians are added into the mix. Under normal circumstances, local leaders should play a constructive and progressive role in the development of the community, through facilitating and advancing inclusive engagement. Frederiksen (2018:168) argues that the engagement between local leaders and mine operators is straddled with complexities as the need to present a solid and convincing argument (sometimes through militancy) is curtailed by the realisation that “going too far and being unreasonable” could disrupt relations and ultimately, local development. This is often seen as a passive approach and is therefore vulnerable to manipulation from outside elements who may use “political opportunism” to present “populist rhetoric” which is disruptive to the relationship between the mine and locals (Heyns & Mostert; 2018:836). The South African Human Rights Commission (2008:1) acknowledges that the “relationship between South Africa, South African communities and mining is admittedly a complex relationship where the existing vulnerabilities of communities have not been adequately addressed” and that the actions of the mining industry have exacerbated these challenges and brought inequality sharply into the limelight. As such, Amplats realises that as much as it may push to understand and address some of those community challenges, there are other factors beyond their scope that may play a role in the engagement process. The organisation, nevertheless, has the responsibility to conduct itself in a caring manner (Official 4).

Amplats states that open and honest engagement with stakeholders is critical in gaining and maintaining social and regulatory licences to operate (Anglo American Sustainability Report, 2020:8). This realisation is critical for the organisation as it strives to build a healthy relationship with the community, assuring seamless operations and consistent, dependable, and transformational social investment.

5.2.9. CSR in Zimbabwe

Amplats Unki mine has been involved in many CSR projects in Zimbabwe. These activities are influenced by the Anglo Social way, the government’s guidelines as well as the needs and expectations of the host communities. The operation takes guidance from the organisational vision on social responsibility and sustainability but also prepares initiatives based on the needs of the country and the community in which it operates. This was corroborated by statements by participants.

> “Strategies differ from one country to another because of the different circumstances and gaps that exist from community to community” (Official 6).

In relation to the needs of the host country, Official 6 states that “we operate in a country where unemployment is very high”. Official 4 expressed that “we operate in a community where social services were virtually non-existent or performing poorly”. In response to these country challenges, the organisation prioritises initiatives in education, infrastructure development, agriculture, water and sanitation, sports development, local enterprise development, community health and employment creation. Through these initiatives, Amplats seeks to contribute towards sustainable socioeconomic development, improve the welfare of disadvantaged groups, reduce the environmental impact of its operations, maintain community trust and subsequently secure its social licence to operate.

"Amplats stance has always been about local empowerment, local procurement, investment in skills and the capacitating the community" (Official 4).

"Our approach is to ensure a thriving and diversified local economy so that even after the life of mine, the communities will continue to thrive" (Official 7).

As articulated in the above statements, Unki's approach is designed to address some of the community challenges. In 2021, Unki mine achieved IRMA 75, an award presented by the Initiative for Responsible Mining Assurance (IRMA) based on the operation's business integrity, planning for positive legacy, social and environmental responsibility (Anglo American Platinum Limited integrated annual report, 2020:44). This independent assessment showed Amplats' commitment to responsible mining and social welfare. Some of Unki mine's CSR initiatives are discussed below, with participants insights added to the discussion.

Education

Unki mine recognises that education plays an important role in rural development and has over the years invested in education through the construction of schools, the rehabilitation of infrastructure, the donation of equipment, scholarships, teacher funding, skills training and internships. Along with the targets set by AAC, Unki Mine looks to ensure that schools within its jurisdiction perform within the top 30% of government schools nationally (Anglo American plc Sustainability Report 2020:17).

Unki mine works with the Ministry of Education and has engaged consultants who have identified a number of challenges and gaps and made recommendations that inform its education strategy and investment in education" (Official 6).

Unki mine has also constructed a number of local schools from scratch; upgraded some, providing electrification and adequate sanitation, donating furniture and equipment" (Official 4).

These statement support available evidence on Amplats' commitment to education. Mango (2017:44) explains that Unki's contribution to the education sector in light of the developmental challenges that exists in Zimbabwe, is welcome, and emphasises that after the completion of projects, facilities are handed over to the respective government department. For example, in 2018, Unki mine completed the construction of Impali Primary School to cater for residents of Impali housing project which is also an initiative of the mine. Unki mine has also donated equipment (for example, computers and laboratory equipment) to schools such as Chachacha School and Selukwe School as well as responded to emergency requests such as replacement of blown off roofs following storms in the area, according to Official 6.

Official 6 also highlighted that the mine has been involved in education and skills development at tertiary level. Unki has donated material for the construction of a library at Midlands State University, donated laboratory equipment to the University of Zimbabwe and donated scholar prizes to tertiary institutions including the School of mines in Bulawayo. The organisation has also established an annual scholarship which provides for 25 disadvantaged students at tertiary institutions. Learners are targeted to achieve better results and prepare them to earn qualifications that propel them into STEM careers. These initiatives are well placed to assist citizens attain the education and skills necessary to improve their future.

Community health

Since its inception, the mine has contributed significantly towards community health and safety. Some of the projects include the construction of a casualty ward at the Gweru provincial hospital in 2013; the refurbishment of facilities at Chironde and Svika clinics; Zvamabande rural hospital and Shurugwi district hospital: as well as the donation of ambulances and medical equipment to various health facilities.

> "Amplats works together with the Ministry of Health to identify and address issues that affect the community. The mine is also involved in campaigns so that communities have information that will help them to make informed health choices" (Official 6).

As articulated above, Unki mine looks to augment government's efforts in the health sector and notes that this also helps ensure that its own employees and their families receive the best attention. This is explained by Official 4 who states that "the community infrastructure we help to improve is also useful to the mine and therefore the investment is beneficial to both the operation and the host community".

In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, Unki mine sought to limit the impact of the disease on its operations and the host community by donating equipment to Gweru provincial hospital. The donation included intensive care unit beds, protective equipment, monitors, oxygen tanks and other medical supplies which would be useful in the fight against Covid-19 (Anglo American Platinum, 2020: par. 2). An article in Ming weekly (2020: par 2) reported that this Covid-19 ICU facility formed part of Unki mine's US$2 million commitment to dealing with the pandemic.

Unki mine also upgraded its own testing laboratory to cater for Covid-19 testing of its stakeholders. This allowed tests to be done on Covid-19 samples from workers and community members (Mining weekly, 2020: par 4).

> "With Covid testing, we have our own labs and it's not just for our employees, but communities can also come through to test at our labs" (Official 4).

Many businesses were encouraged to augment the effort of government and the World Health Organisation in combating the Covid-19 pandemic and through Unki's swift response, the situation was combated. According to the Amplats integrated report (2020:18) the group only lost 18 employees due to Covid-19 across all its operations. This was attributed to the organisation's commitment and timely collaboration with governments in the countries it operates.

Water and sanitation

Amplats has committed to the sustainable use of water resources. In its 2019 report (2019:145) the organisation reiterated its commitment to the implementation of best practice water-treatment/recovery technologies in its drive to improve water use volumes and intensities. This has included the construction of dams, drilling of boreholes as well as the recycling of water in order to better manage usage by its operations and the community.

Unki utilises a tailings storage facility at the mine but also draws water from Impali dam. Impali dam is particularly important as it also supplies water to the housing project located near the mine. In 2019, Unki contracted WEC projects to construct a treatment plant which would treat water for the community (WEC Projects, 2020: par. 2). Projects such as these and other water related initiatives, provide the precious commodity to the community as expressed by participants.

> "Unki has also constructed outlets along the pipeline from Impali dam to provide untreated water to communities to use for their farming needs" (Official 6).

The mine is also mindful of biodiversity standards and obligations to downstream communities and abides by the Environmental Management Agency, Zimbabwe National Water Authority and the International Council on Mining and Metals guidelines. For instance, the Environmental Management Agency instructed Unki mine to construct settling ponds to manage discharge into the country's water bodies, and this was completed in 2016 (Initiative for Responsible Mining Assurance, 2021:21). The Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association also found problems with the mine's handling of hazardous waste facilities and slug dumps, which community members claimed had led to livestock losses. (Sibanda, 2021: par 6). Despite this, the Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association commended Unki mine for conducting an audit through IRMA, for receiving a respectable audit outcome and for working to address audit findings.

Above this, Amplats has drilled boreholes in and around its area of operation. In 2020, the organisation reported that it had drilled and equipped 17 boreholes in the Shurugwi district (Anglo American Platinum, 2020: par. 3). Notably, Unki mine as also drilled boreholes in communities as far as Gweru. A 2012 article by The Chronicle (2012: par. 2) reported that Unki mine had offered to drill boreholes in Gweru as a measure to ease the water problems that the city was facing.

Agriculture

Amplats prides itself with the number of agricultural projects that it is involved in. Unki mine believes that these projects will assist the community to become self-sufficient, improve livelihoods and therefore less reliant on opportunities at the mine.

> "The area is largely agrarian with most of the farming being subsistence. Unki has identified that one avenue of assisting with sustainable community development is through agriculture" (Official 6).

> "By supporting the community's agricultural projects Amplats hopes to elevate farmers to producers capable of creating wealth through farming" (Official 4).

According to Official 7, Unki has reported its involvement in irrigation projects, poultry, and beef farming initiatives as well as horticultural projects. This has seen an improvement in the lives of community members and helped reduce pressure on the mine.

Official 6 revealed that Unki works with farmers to influence change from subsistence farming to commercial farming. The mine has appointed technical partners, TechnoServe, who have the relevant expertise in horticulture, beef and poultry to work with communities in the host district of Shurugwi rural as well as part of Gweru rural. TechnoServe is an international organisation that assists communities to transform projects into competitive farms, businesses and industries. TechnoServe trains farmers on how to grow cash crops and how to identify local and foreign markets and, in so doing, empowers local communities within a sector that they are most familiar with.

Official 4 expressed that "with technical partners TechnoServe, Amplats supports about 80 farmers to develop agricultural skills, inputs, and marketing". These projects are very important for the people of Tongogara district as they guarantee food security and income generation. Official 6 added that "these projects have set a target of 1980 jobs that need to be created over a period of three years through the implementation of horticulture and beef and poultry value chains". Unki monitors and conducts periodic evaluations to analyse progress to ensure that performance is in line with set plans.

Employment and local enterprise development

In 2019, Unki mine stated that it employed over 2 200 permanent and contract workers at the mine and smelter (Anglo American, 2019:1). These employees are drawn predominately from Zimbabwe, with most of the unskilled labour coming from the area of operation. Official 6 confirmed that "most general labour that does not require formal qualifications is ring-fenced for locals from the surrounding villages". This goes a long way to alleviate unemployment in the district and ensure more community involvement in the mine's operations.

With regards to enterprise development, in 2020 Unki mine spent R674.4 million on the procurement of goods and services from local suppliers, highlighting Amplats commitment to not only creating direct employment but also empowering locals and building thriving communities. This is emphasised by Official 7 who asserts that "the organisation has committed to creating offsite jobs so that it reduces pressure on its operations in terms of demand for jobs. This is done through support of enterprise development". These initiatives are tracked and seen as part of AAC's ultimate goal of creating five new opportunities for every worker employed at its operations.

> "We track the jobs that we create through our initiatives to ensure that they are aligned to the targets that we have set for ourselves" (Official 4).

Unki mine has also been involved in the formation of various co-operatives which are aimed at empowering the community. The mine identified that “poverty and unemployment are a huge challenge in Zimbabwe, so the projects that Unki run there try to alleviate those challenges” especially through co-operatives (Official 7). Through these co-operatives, community members come together to participate in income generating projects and with the assistance of Unki, these units are able to grow to support the community.

> “Unki helped establish a sewing club for school levers and hopes that once it has refined skills and capacity, the project will be able to supply the mine’s protective clothing needs” (Official 6).

The assistance from Unki comes in different forms, from financial assistance, skills development and training as well as by becoming customers or facilitating markets. For instance, the organisation engaged Gweru Polytechnic to provide training and technical support to Impali Sewing Club and, in this way, members would be better skilled to produce quality garments to supply the mine and other industrial customers.

Community Share Ownership Trust (CSOT)

The Tongogara CSOT (TCSOT) was established in 2011 in partial fulfilment of the terms of the indigenisation policy. This was done through a payment of US$10 million to set up the trust, an autonomous body that would oversee the sustainable development of the community over and above all CSR effort by Unki mine. According to Official 4, the US$10 million was put in so that the trust could kick-start empowerment programmes for the local communities. As such, this body is responsible for the management of the funds for investment in sustainable projects and businesses as well as the developmental needs of the community.

> “The trust is an independent body that was sponsored by the mine. It has a board of trustees who are responsible for investment and formulating community development strategies which they implement as a trust” (Official 4).

> “Tongogara CSOT benefits the 24 wards that make up Tongogara rural district” (Official 6).

Since its establishment, TCSOT has been involved in a number of projects both individually or in collaboration with other partners such as Unki mine. Through its involvement, the TCSOT has improved conditions and services at various community facilities, for example, the construction of a mothers’ waiting shelter and mortuary at Zvanabande clinic in ward 10, the construction of a communal home for teachers at Banga Primary School in ward 8 and the construction of Musasa Primary school in ward 18 (Matsa & Masimbiti, 2014:159). The TCSOT was also instrumental in the construction of a vocational institution in ward 18 which, as Chiunya *et al*. (2017:7) attest, is a critical foundation in addressing the unemployment scourge that dogs the country.

> "The trust has also assisted the community by drilling boreholes and improving the water and sanitation issues at schools and clinics across the district" (Official 6).

The trust has also acquired equipment such as drilling rigs and grading vehicles to assist with the drilling of boreholes and the rehabilitation and maintenance of roads in the area. Roads that connect different settlement have been upgraded and continue to be rehabilitated especially after the rainy season.

> "The CSOT has also upgraded gravel access roads to improve access to social services such as schools, clinics and business centres" (Official 6).

The TCSOT has become an important part of the district as it also employs local labour and contractors thereby improving the livelihood of community members, albeit on a temporary project basis. For instance, Matsa and Masimbiti (2014:160) found that 35 community members were employed by the construction company that was tasked with the building of Musasa primary school. Similar opportunities have been availed on various projects that the trust has embarked on.

> "Of the US$10 million, they've invested in social development for example, clinics, boreholes, dams, started irrigation facilities and built schools" (Official 4).

These statements by Amplats officials illustrate the importance of the scheme in assisting in the development of the community. This success is also supported in research by Matsa and Masimbiti (2014:161) who concedes that "considering the fact that Tongogara Community Share Ownership Trust was only launched in 2012, it has to some extent proved to be successful". It should however be reiterated that because the trust is an independent entity, its successes and failures cannot be accounted for by Amplats. Amplats plays a supporting role in capacity building and when requested for assistance. As such, the organisation should only report on projects that it has been involved in.

It should also be highlighted that this trust is not technically a share ownership trust as stipulated by the indigenisation act as it does not hold shares in Unki mine. Government Official 1 noted that "according to the law and policy, communities are supposed to get 10% of the shareholding of the business". This was reiterated by Government Official 2 who highlighted that "according to policy, the community is not supposed to pay for the 10% shareholding". The donation by Unki mine, while welcomed by the government and the local community, was seen as the first step towards the fulfilment of the requirements of the policy. Government Official 2 lamented that "in terms of the Community share ownership, mining companies have not been forthcoming in terms of issuing share certificates in recognition of the 10% which should be issued to them". This is a source of concern for Zimbabwe's drive for economic empowerment.

Employee Share Ownership Scheme

Similar to the CSOT, the ESOS was meant to empower a section of the Zimbabwean economy that had previously been disregarded or marginalised. Amplats announced in November 2012 that their indigenisation implementation plan had been approved by the government of Zimbabwe (Anglo American Platinum 2012: par 3). In it, Unki proposed that 10% equity ownership transaction with a trust would be established for the benefit of its employees. Because of the government's inconsistency on the indigenisation policy, further action in the implementation of the plan has not gone as planned. The organisation's reservations were well articulated by participants.

> "Whilst the purpose of the policy makes sense, like all investors, we don't believe that being a minority shareholder is ideal and even if one looks at the government itself, they have realised that asking major investors to come in and be minority shareholders is not a sustainable model and that is why the policy has faced various changes" (Official 5).

Amplats highlighted its concerns in a speech by Mr James Maposa, Chairman of Unki mine, on the opening of the Unki Smelter in 2019 that "outstanding regulatory issues – in particular the indigenisation policy for the PGM sector – are all issues that we are engaging with Government on and are confident that we'll be able to find solutions to allow further growth of the sector". This has left the organisation without an ECOST.

Questions could however be asked about Amplats' sincerity with the actual implementation of the clause of the IEEP that encourages the establishment of ESOTs. ESOTs are seen as a more reasonable way of empowering local citizens compared to the allocation of shares to indigenous business as the latter may end up in the hands of a few well-connected individuals who know very little about the industry (Sithole, 2019:6). Even without legislation to dictate the establishment of ESOTs, they are seen as noble initiatives that have many benefits and as such, MNCs should voluntarily want to establish them. Strikingly, an examination of Amplats' employee share ownership scheme in South Africa is not convincing of the organisation's intentions either. Its Kotula Trust, which ran from 2008, offered employees approximately 1.5% ordinary share capital to a group of approximately 46 000 employees (De Bruyn, 2008: par. 1). To this, Diale (2016:67) states that "Kotula's benefits have been limited to minimal dividends and a small value that vested in relation to the free shares". This seems meagre in the broad scheme of things especially when considering the size of the organisation. Diale (2016:91) adds that the scheme was "found to be inconsistent, sometimes complicated; and they remain largely opaque to the employees". As such, not only does the ESOP fail to provide for the short term needs of the workers, but also fails to demonstrate meaningful employee ownership of the organisation.

Amplats prides itself with the Unki operations. AAC also recognises the mine's operational excellence, stating in its 2020 Integrated Annual Report (2020:75) that "Unki is regarded to be amongst the very best operations across Anglo American". With regards to its CSR contribution, the Capel (2019: par. 6) state that "Unki mine is probably one of the best run mines when it comes to community performance".

5.2.10. Zimbabwean governments' expectations from investors in relation to CSR

Zimbabwe does not have a clear CSR framework or legislation. This is emphasised by the participants, who explain that the lack of a framework to guide organisations on how to invest in social initiatives is different from South Africa.

> "From a statutory perspective, Zimbabwe does not have a statutory requirement to address CSR" (Official 5).

> "It is very different in Zimbabwe because there are no strictly CSR related legislation such as the Mining charter and SLP in South Africa" (Official 4).

> "Currently CSR is encouraged in the Mines and Minerals Act but there is no specific legislation enforcing it" (Government Official 3).

With the absence of a guiding framework, CSR is something that the mine undertakes without any legal obligations from the government of Zimbabwe. Unki mine has the flexibility to address the needs of the community without government intervention. The social investment is therefore not linked to government expectations but rather on supporting government to achieve greater development in all focus areas.

Despite the lack of a CSR framework in Zimbabwe, there is always an expectation that is cast upon any investor that enters a foreign land. Investors are not only expected to earn their host country revenue but are also looked upon to create employment opportunities, improve local infrastructure and improve livelihoods. MNCs are aware of these challenges as shown by statements made by participants.

> "The government of Zimbabwe has known challenges and Amplats' CSR reputation meant that the government would be able to worry less about the areas surrounding the operations, for example Shurugwi and neighbouring areas, and therefore focus somewhere else" (Official 4).

A key consideration of the government is, for example, "the extent to which the proposed investment will lead to the creation of employment opportunities and the development of human resources" under the Zimbabwe Investment Authority Act (1 of 2019). These guidelines are important for the approval of applications for investment licenses, since they help investors understand the expectations of the country. Moreover, the silence on the CSR prescription in law makes it easy for organisations to overlook social responsibility since there are no requirements for social investment, nor are there any statutory recommendations or consequences for defaulters.

The indigenisation policy, as a social transformation initiative may, however, be seen as legal requirement on organisations to empower communities in their areas of operation. This is however debatable as Amplats does not recognise the policy as a CSR initiative or expectation as expressed by participants.

"Unki sees IEEP and CSR as two different things as the former is seen as a requirement that the government of Zimbabwe imposes on Unki as an operator. CSR on the other hand is about seeing that the host community benefits" (Official 5).

One may argue that whilst the government of Zimbabwe has not explicitly designed CSR related legislation, the introduction of the IEEP, as a transformational agenda, is an implicit way of partially dictating the social responsibility of MNCs. The policy gives guidance to the fundamental needs of the host country and should therefore provide MNCs with a foundation upon which to formulate their CSR initiatives.

"We tell them it's 49-51% shareholding. This is non-negotiable; take it or leave it. It's a precondition" (Government Official 2).

Social responsibility, especially in developing countries, encompasses empowering communities through different initiatives that will transform lives and ensure long-term sustainability, and this is what the indigenisation policy tries to achieve. This is argued by Chahoud *et al*. (2011:6) who state that CSR and economic empowerment policies are meant to achieve the upliftment "of previously disadvantaged communities and raise them into a formal, primary economy where opportunity exists, and economic growth is taking place". This is seen differently by Amplats in Zimbabwe.

IEEP had more to do with ownership but at community social investment level, it did not really change much" (Official 4).

Despite this debate, Amplats has gone ahead with its CSR projects without the imposition of the government, and this has insured that the two parties continue to enjoy cordial relations. This lack of explicit CSR expectations has led to Amplats coordinating its own projects albeit through consultation and collaboration with the government and local communities.

5.2.11. Relationship with community in Zimbabwe

When asked to provide a brief description of the organisation's relationship with the community in which it operates in Zimbabwe, the interview participants, described it as very good and exemplary.

"The organisation's relationship with the local community can be described as mutually beneficial in that as the mine not only values its legal licence to operate but also values the social licence, that is, a broader acceptance and support of the operations by the communities" (Official 6).

The responses below suggest that Zimbabwean communities appear more appreciative than their South African counterparts.

"People in Zimbabwe are much more grateful for the work that the organisation does because they do not have much" (Official 7).

"The community appreciates our effort" (Official 4).

> “The community appreciates that the presence of the operations also bring value to all stakeholders” (Official 6).

When probed further especially on why they believed such differences existed, the expressed their view that communities in Zimbabwe saw value in the operations and that their reaction to CSR activities may be influenced by many factors including the cultural differences as well as the prevalent economic environment. The participants explained that:

> “There are many reasons for this which include historical, cultural, political and economic differences” (Official 4).

> “Communities in South Africa are more expectant and militant about the lack of opportunities and service delivery” (Official 5).

> “We don’t get the same kind of contestation in Zimbabwe as we get in SA” (Official 7).

> “The communities understand that such support is important as it ensures continuity of operations so that the mine is able to generate revenue which will be ploughed back to the community through socioeconomic development initiatives that benefit the communities around the mine and beyond” (Official 6).

These statements are important as they provide a subjective view on how the organisation sees its relationship with the community. It also provides insight into the logic of some of the initiatives offered by the organisation, as it values its engagement with the community it serves and the reception it receives for its effort.

Since its inception, the mine has had only one major community protest which was led by youths in 2014. These youths were disgruntled about what they perceived as limited employment opportunities. According to the Zimbabwean (2014: par. 1) protestors were disgruntled that the mine had been recruiting unskilled labour from outside the district and that it had prioritised the development of housing in Shurugwi urban centre at the expense of the rural areas. Following that incident, the operation hosted “The Shurugwi Indaba” which incorporated the local community representatives, local leadership and relevant government officials to discuss the issues and measures to address them. The outcome of the meeting paved way to the establishment of a social agreement to local recruitment, with the mine committing to recruiting at least 75% of unskilled labour from the local communities through their Chiefs. Notably, since then, Unki mine has implemented that social agreement and has not encountered any significant social unrest.

Despite this, Official 6 noted that “although communities are very appreciative of the CSR initiatives, we do encounter some individuals who think that the mine should be doing much more. Upon investigation, we have noticed that these are often politically motivated, particularly when elections are near”. For instance, Gumbo (2020:211) reported on a protest in 2014 in which protesters were seen using ZANU PF inspired placards and regalia. Such politically driven protests do little to deliver an accurate message to the mine and frequently result in dissatisfaction and occasional unrest among community members. To try to mitigate instances of disgruntlement, Unki mine hosts community engagement forums and has an open door policy which allows community members to air their grievances or challenges.

Community members often fail to understand the scope of the organisation's CSR effort. Proper engagement needs to be undertaken to explain to community members about how the organisations CSR projects are implemented as there has been great concern both in South Africa and Zimbabwe that these initiatives should be implemented for the betterment of the immediate community and not for the nation at large. For instance, Dhliwayo *et al*. (2014:35) found that there was a perception that the host community of Tongogara district should be the sole recipients of Unki mine's social investments. Official 5 however explained that Unki mine works within a 50km zone of influence, and this is where most of the CSR activities are targeted, but could also conduct programmes that would benefit the rest of the country. Official 4 explained that while it is important to have a national outlook towards social investment, Amplats' main focus was the host community, neighbouring areas and identified labour supplying areas. Effort may therefore be needed to properly explain how the organisation's CSR focus applies to community level and country level.

5.2.12. Differences between CSR in South Africa and Zimbabwe

The differences between Amplats CSR in South Africa and in Zimbabwe is significant considering the different investments in the two countries. To begin with, Amplats has substantially more investment in South Africa then in any other territories and would be expected to invest more towards social and sustainable development in that country. Furthermore, because South Africa has CSR prescribed legislation the organisation is obliged to invest more in community development social labour plans. In addition, since Amplats has its headquarters in South Africa, it would more likely use its CSR practise to build a reputation that would attract investors, impress the government, and engage other stakeholders.

This researcher noted that in South Africa, the different mine complexes published community newspapers, for example, Amandelbult Times, Rustenburg Times and Mogalakwena Times; yet there are none in Zimbabwe. The dissemination of information on CSR seems to be higher in South Africa than in Zimbabwe. This is also confirmed in research conducted by Dhliwayo *et al*. (2014:38) in which it was reported that 73% of those interviewed did not receive information about CSR activities that were conducted by Unki.

In Zimbabwe, the CSR is more defined by best practise which is expected at group level. Whereas in South Africa, the CSR and social labour plan is tied to the legal licence to operate. In a nutshell, "one would say that the CSR in South Africa is more legislated whereas at Unki, CSR is determined by best practice as well as the Group vision to make a difference in the communities in which we operate" (Official 6).

In relation to the empowerment projects in Zimbabwe and South Africa, namely the Tongogara CSOT and Project Alchemy respectively, it was noted by Dhliwayo *et al.* (2014:32) that the latter did not have rights to a minimum guaranteed dividend. This means that, unlike Project Alchemy, Tongogara CSOT did not command investment in the mining operation therefore would not accrue dividends from the success of the mine. Such an observation is important as it means that the trust is solely responsible for the investment of the seed money it was given by Unki and should, in principle, not expect more if exhausted or not reinvested wisely. Tongogara CSOT has to manage its funds wisely and find opportunities to invest. It should, however, be noted that Alchemy is financed through vendor financing and the organisation did suggest such an alternative to community empowerment to the government of Zimbabwe. Government Official 1 conceded that "Mining houses suggested that the communities buy the shares through vendor financing which the organisations are willing to finance". This proposal was however not in line with the government's expectation and was declined, leading to the donation of the US$10 million with no shareholding.

5.2.13. Anglo American Platinum Conclusion

The fact that Amplats does not recognise Zimbabwe's transformation drive as part of its social responsibility may be seen as an issue that leaves the organisation's CSR strategy in the host country incomplete. It suggests that the organisation is inclined to practicing mandatory CSR as seen by its adherence to compulsory CSR requirements in South Africa. Whilst many of their CSR initiatives go a long way to improving livelihoods, their main reason for the implementation of such projects seems to be to build and manage relationships with the government and the host communities all in an effort to maintain legal and social legitimacy for their operations.

Amplats' primary CSR objective appears to be to ensure a visible flow of benefits from their operations to the community through investment in education, healthcare, and basic infrastructure. The organisation has made a significant difference in communities and has been involved in social responsibility since its early days of existence albeit with a different focus. The introduction of compliance requirements has seen the organisation invest more towards social development in South Africa and has led to a strategic realignment of its CSR strategy. This illustrates that Amplats is capable of undertaking more especially with regards to voluntary CSR in South Africa and transformational CSR in Zimbabwe.

5.3. Case 2: Impala Platinum

Impala Platinum (Implats) was established in 1966 as an entity within Union Corporation, a South African mining company which had significant interests in gold mining. Founded by Adolf Goertz in 1897 in response to the South African gold rush, Union Corporation was initially named Adolf Goertz and Company and had 326 claims in the east of Johannesburg, along the rich Witwatersrand belt. As the company grew, it expanded further along the far East Rand and by 1902, it fittingly listed on the London Stock Exchange.

World War One adversely affected the company's operations mainly because its German association made its London Stock Exchange listing very precarious. Although Adolf Goertz and Company was listed in London, it was predominately a German entity and as such the war meant that trading was difficult. According to Lewis (2016:11), during this period, the company became the target of bitter attacks which resulted in shares being confiscated by the British Government. Consequently, in 1918, the company ended its German association and changed its name to Union Corporation.

After the war, Union Corporation consolidated its operations around lucrative mines such as Modderfontein Deep Levels and grew to become a formidable player in the gold mining industry. As the company grew, it also ventured into copper mining, with the acquisition of substantial shareholding in mines in Zambia. Union Corporation also ventured into chrome mining in the Lydenburg district and later diversified into other industries. Lewis (2016:21) states that "since its formation in 1897, Union Corporation has held investments outside its mining activities, but it was not until the 1930s that diversification and expansion into industry became of any major significance, apart from its interest in power generation in the early years of the Witwatersrand". The company diversified into paper manufacturing with the formation of South African Paper and Pulp Industries (SAPPI) in 1936. This interest led to other paper aligned companies such as Kimberly-Clark of South Africa, Carlton Paper Corporation, Kohler Brothers and African Coasters, a logistics company that would be used to ship paper between Durban and Cape Town.

In 1966, Union Corporation established Impala Platinum, a subsidiary that would concentrate on the mining, production and sale of PGMs. According to Martin Creamer (2003: online), Impala was initially granted 12 000 hectares to the north of Rustenburg. The area is tribal land owned by the Bafokeng (now known as the Royal Bafokeng Nation). The first blast by Impala occurred in 1967 and by 1969, the company has improved its capabilities by building refineries in Springs at its East Geduld property. The refineries would be used for the processing of nickel, copper and other PGMs.

The importance and value of platinum on the global stage grew significantly and this saw Impala grow steadily. This growth however slumped due to a recession in the US as well as issues of oversupply from Russia. This slump was however short-lived as demand for platinum and palladium soon increased. Lewis (2016:25) states that a contract with General Motors to supply 300 000 ounces of platinum and 120 000 ounces of palladium annually as well as contracts with other car producers led to a period of great expansion for the organisation. This resulted in the opening of three additional mines, namely Bafokeng North, Wildebeestfontein and Bafokeng South. This success cemented Implats' position as Union corporation's largest mining subsidiary. In 1973, Bishopgate Platinum Limited, of which Impala was wholly owned subsidiary, was listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. In 1980, Union Corporation merged with General Mining and Finance Corporation to establish Gencor.

Impala platinum is listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and has a market capitalisation of approximately R90 billion as of 2020 (Implats annual integrated report 2020:73). According to the

Implats fact sheet (2020:2), the organisation employs around 50 000 employees across its operations and is seen as one of the largest producers of platinum and related PGMs in the world. These metals are used in the manufacturing of electronic, industrial, medical goods and jewellery. Implats markets its products across the globe to countries such as Japan India, USA, China and many European states.

5.3.1. Structure of operations

Implats hosts seven operations across three countries which include mining and processing plants in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Canada. The organisation boasts of having operations in two of the world's most significant PGM deposits, that is the Bushveld Complex in South Africa and the Great Dyke in Zimbabwe. The organisation also has newly acquired operations in Canada. The comments below explain this structure from the perspective of the participants

> "We are distinguished by the geographic spread of our operations; with operations in Zimbabwe, Canada and all the major producing regions of the South African Bushveld complex" (Official 9).
>
> "Impala is platinum producers, mainly focusing on PGMs within a geographic scope of SA, Zimbabwe, and Canada" (Official 10).
>
> "Implats is a multi-jurisdiction, PGM producer. The primary products are platinum, Palladium and Rhodium. We have operations in South Africa, out in Rustenburg and also in Limpopo as well as in Zimbabwe and Canada" (Official 8).

Implats plies its operations in the locations discussed below. These locations are very rich in PGMs and therefore offer Implats lucrative reserves for exploitation.

Official 9 states that the organisation's assets range from shallow, conventional operations to labour intensive deep level mining. Official 10 adds that "Implats operates under different business models, fully managed operations such as Impala and Ngezi mines as well as in Canada. There are also Joint Venture operations across the portfolio". Implats' operations, including the joint ventures that the organisation has with other mining houses, are detailed below.

Impala mine

Impala mine is located in North West Province (South Africa) over 29 773 hectares along the Western part of the Bushveld complex (Impala fact sheet, 2020:4). This operation consists of 10 shift mining complexes which take advantage of two geological layers, the Merensky and UG2 reefs. According to Impala fact sheet, (2020:6) an agreement with Royal Bafokeng Nation (RBN) was reached in 1999 which allowed the organisation to mine the area for a period of 40 years in exchange for royalties. This agreement was revised in 2007 with its terms resulting in RBN converting its royalties to equity in the organisation. This deal saw Impala paying R12.5 billion (representing royalties from 2007 onwards) and RBN using the money to purchase 13.2% shareholding in Implats Holdings. Impala mine also hosts a concentrator and a smelter and employs 28 754 permanent employees and 10 621 contractors (Impala fact sheet, 2020:7).

Marula mine

Marula mine is located on 5 494 hectares of land in Limpopo Province (South Africa). Implats manages the operation and has a 73% interest in Marula. The remaining 27% is equally controlled by three empowerment groups, namely Mmakau mining, The Marula Community Trust and Tabatse Platinum. According to the Implats integrated report (2020:122), the mine is currently on a 30 year lease (as of 2008 agreement) with the estimated life of mine standing at 10 years (as of 2020). The operation consists of two shaft mines and a concentrator plant and employed 4 360 permanent employees and contractors in 2020 (Marula fact sheet, 2020:7).

Two Rivers mine

Two rivers mine is also located in Mpumalanga Province (South Africa) on 11 349 hectares of land. The mine is a joint venture between African Rainbow Minerals (54%) and Implats (46%) with the former managing the operations. It consists of two shaft mines, with the concentrator plant also available onsite. Based on their mineral resource and mineral reserve statement (2021:71) the life of the mine should extend to 2040 at which time extension infrastructure may be needed. In 2020, Two Rivers mine employed 2 365 permanent workers and 965 contractors (Two rivers fact sheet, 2020.7).

Impala Refining Services

Implats is an integrated PGM producer and as such, concentrate from its various plants is transported to Impala Refining Services in Springs, Gauteng Province of South Africa where further processing takes place. The operation provides smelting and refining services for the group as well as other platinum mining contracts (Impala Refining Services Fact Sheet, 2020:2).

Zimplats Ngezi mine

Zimplats Ngezi mine is one of Impala platinum's mining operations in Zimbabwe. Located along the Great Dyke, Ngezi is one of two mines that Implats operates in the country. For this operation Implats holds rights over 24,632 hectares and has a shareholding of 87%, with the remaining 13% being held by minority shareholders (Implats – mineral resource and mineral reserve statement, 2021:74). In 2020, the mine employed 3 332 permanent workers and 2 798 contractors on its operation which consists of four shallow declining shafts, one open pit mine as well as two concentrators (Zimplats fact sheet, 2020:7). The organisation estimates that the operation has 20 years life of mine as of June 2020 (Zimplats fact sheet, 2020:4). Zimplats also operates the Selous Metallurgical Complex, which is located 77 km away from the mine and consists of a concentrator and a smelter.

Mimosa mine

Mimosa mine is a 50-50 joint venture between Implats and Sibanye Stillwater. The operation is also located on the Great Dyke of Zimbabwe along the Wedza geological complex in the Midlands Province. Mimosa mine is a non-managed operation which comprises a shallow underground mine as well as a concentrator. With mining rights which cover 6 594 hectares, the mine has 11 years life of mine. According to its 2020 fact sheet (2020:4] the whole body is shallow and mining commences at a depth of 150 metres below the surface and extends to a depth of approximately 200 metres. As of 2020, the operation had a labour complement of 1 291 permanent employees and 2 231 contractors (Mimosa fact sheet, 2020:7).

Lac des Iles Mine

Located in Ontario, Canada, this operation was acquired from North American Palladium in 2019. The operation is 100% owned and managed by Implats and operates on 78 234 hectares of land (Implats – mineral resource and mineral reserve statement, 2021:91). The mine, which is rich in palladium, consists of an underground mine, a surface operation and a concentrator. According to Implats from 2020, the mine had enough resources to operate beyond 10 years and employed 879 employees (Annual integrated report, 2020:9).

5.3.2. Organisational Values

As one of the leading producers PGMs in the world, Implats aims “to mine, process, refine and market high quality PGM products safely, efficiently and at the best possible costs from a comprehensive asset of portfolios through teamwork and innovation (Implats sustainability report, 2019:3). Its values are summarised under the terms respect, care and deliver. Implats states that “we place people at the centre of the organisation, and engender a shared culture, founded on our values to respect, care and deliver” (Implats Annual integrated report, 2020:58). This is emphasised by Official 9 who states that “these values inform our purpose and the way we do business”.

Respect

Implats values and respects the environment, processes and all its stakeholders. The organisation states that it expects its employees and partners to always behave ethically, and to reliably display care and respect for each other, communities, and stakeholders in the jurisdictions they operate in (Implats – Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021: 115).

> “We respect each other as fellow employees as well as our environment, and we respect our stakeholders” (Official 8).

In addition, the organisation commits itself to respecting human rights and states that through its human rights policy, it pledges to comply with applicable legislation in the countries in which it operates, as well as the tenets of the UN Global Compact (Implats Sustainable Development Report, 2019:21). This is important for all those involved with the organisation as it highlights Implats’ pedigree as a good corporate citizen committed to making a difference.

Care

To explain this tenet, Implats states that it is mindful of what needs to be achieved for the organisation and all its stakeholders to be successful, it cares for the environment, works safely and intelligently and works towards creating a positive influence on humanity (Implats – mineral resource and mineral reserve statement, 2021:8). This is summarised by Official 8 who states "as Implats, we care for our employees, care for our people, care for all our stakeholders". By caring for the environment and building good relations with its stakeholders, the organisation acknowledges and appreciates that its survival depends on its environmental stewardship and commitment to operating responsibly.

Deliver

Implats highlights that it aspires "to deliver value through excellence and execution, adjusting to market dynamics to remain competitive, delivering strong financial returns through commodity cycles" (Implats – Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:8). The organisation strives to improve lives and produce positive results and "superior value" to all its stakeholders (Implats Sustainable Development Report, 2019:3). Official 8 explained that "we deliver in terms of our value proposition and in terms of our production targets as well as our goals and strategy". Official 11 added that "by paying attention to the needs of its stakeholders the organisation commits to delivering on its sustainability commitments".

According to Implats these values "underpin health and safety goals, the management of operational impacts on the environment, responsible stewardship and progressive, sustainable development practices, while building value-accretive relations with host communities" (Implats, 2020:2). These goals may be achieved through the organisation's commitment to building and solidifying relationships with stakeholders investing in employees, improving accountability as well as minimising the environmental impact of its operations.

Implats is committed to contributing towards the attainment of the UN SDGs and is guided by these in its operations. The organisation boasts that it is highly rated among its peers in demonstrating socially and environmentally responsible practises as well as good governance which has seen the organisation receiving recognition from various international rankings such as the FTSE/JSE Responsible Investment Index, the Vireo Eiris best emerging-markets performers ranking for ESG responsibility, the Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes, the Bloomberg Gender Equality Index and the Morgan Stanley Capital International (MSCI) ESG ratings (Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:4).

5.3.3. Investment strategy

An investment strategy is the approach used by an organisation to guide its decision. Valeriu *et al*. (2012:68) assert "a well-grounded strategy is a prerequisite for success". It is highly dependent on the organisation's goals common values, available resources as well as its appetite for risk. It is a fundamental requirement for the organisational long term survival and growth and provides a road map for meandering the business environment.

According to its annual integrated report (2020:73) Implats highlights that its strategic focus is based on:

- “Responsible corporate stewardship,
- operational excellence in PGMs through value-driven, modern, safe and competitive production,
- organisational effectiveness,
- sustaining an optimal capital structure,
- leveraging the competitive portfolio of mineral and processing assets,
- supporting market development and value chain optimisation to unlock future potential.”

This strategic focus underpins Implats intended direction, as the organisation looks to position itself to deliver positive outcomes and greater benefits for all its stakeholders.

According to Official 8, Implats’ investment strategy has been around the expansion of some of its operations, prolonging the life of mine as well as looking for shallow, low cost type ore bodies.

> “Over the last 10 years or so, given the depressed PGM prices, we have basically consolidated our portfolio and looked to mine out those not so profitable operations. However, over the last two years or so, a lot has changed in terms of commodity prices and that has made the organisation relook at some of its assets, especially in South Africa, where there are deeper, more expensive type of operations. There are a couple that had been earmarked for closure, but the organisation has continued mining them but not necessarily expanding them” (Official 8).

This strategic drive takes into account the organisation’s external macro environment as well as its own resources and capabilities. The organisation looks to optimise its effort and leverage off its resources to “entrench operational resilience” (Implats annual integrated report, 2020:41). To do this, Official 9 stated that “our capital expenditure has been focused on three key areas. Optimisation at our Rustenburg operation, the expansion of our low cost mechanised assets, primarily in Zimbabwe, and the Canada acquisition that was concluded two years ago to increase the diversity of our operations”. In an interview with Mining Review (2020: par. 8) Implats CEO, Nico Muller, highlighted that the organisation’s repositioning and operational resilience coupled with the favourable commodity prices had cushioned the mining house from unexpected factors such as the Covid-19 pandemic. The conclusion of the Canadian acquisition also strengthened Implats’ position as emphasised by Official 8.

> “We recently acquired an operation out in Canada which is shallow PGM specifically rich in Palladium deposits. This acquisition is unique and will help diversify the Implats’ offering” (Official 8).

This focus illustrates Implats current financial position and subsequently, its ability to implement strategies that ensure that it copes with market challenges and ultimately present benefits to all its stakeholders. Valeriu and Sebastian (2012:68) state that when MNCs turn to strategies such as these, their main goal is to increase efficiency through production rationalisation, economies of scale diversification of risk. To that, Official 9 adds “We are also planning three big pushes in terms of capital investment. The first being an expansion in Zimbabwe, at Zimplats. We’re building a new mine at an existing property on the Eastern limb, and we are assessing a range of options to expand our processing capacity both in Zimbabwe and South Africa”. This will boost production and set Implats on solid footing for the foreseeable future.

5.3.4. Investment in Zimbabwe

According to Official 9, “there are three key parts of Implats’ investment in Zimbabwe, that is, mining, processing as well as lots of investment in infrastructure”. Implats operates three operations in the country; Zimplats Ngezi mine, Mimosa mine and the Selous Metallurgical Complex. The organisation has been in the country since 1998 when Implats started negotiations with BHP to take over Hartley platinum mine and subsequently took over the shares in 2001 (Zimplats fact sheet, 2020:6). In 2001, Implats also acquired 35% shareholding in Mimosa for R246 million (Mimosa fact sheet, 2020:6) and increased its stake in subsequent years thereafter. The company currently holds a 50% stake, with the rest held by Sibanye-Stillwater. 2001 is also the same year that Implats acquired shares in Ngezi mine and the Selous Metallurgical Complex. According to the Zimplats fact sheet (2020:6), Implats has, over the years, increased its stake in Zimplats and currently holds 87% shareholding.

Mimosa mine is located 32km west of Zvishavane, along the Great Dyke. The shallow underground mining operation is managed by Mimosa mining company under the 50:50 joint venture. The mine has a concentrator onsite and transports the resultant concentrate by road to Implats’ mineral processing plant in Rustenburg for smelting and refining. According to the integrated annual report (2020:147), Mimosa mine was exempted from closing during the Covid-19 induced nationwide lockdown of 2020 and this helped the operation produce 247 800 ounces of concentrate that year, up from 122 100 ounces in 2019 (Mimosa fact sheet, 2020:7). Implats reported satisfaction with Mimosa, with the mine looking to increase milling capacity as well as negotiating to acquire more land to expand operations (Implats annual integrated report, 2020:147).

Ngezi mine is located on the Hartley Geological Complex of the Great Dyke in Mashonaland West Province. The complex is “the largest of the PGM-bearing complexes containing 80% of the known PGM resources in Zimbabwe” (Zimplats fact sheet, 2020:2). To take full advantage of the available resource, Zimplats began developing underground operations in 2008. These replaced the existing open pits and saw production volumes increase to 6.8 million tonnes per year (Zimplats Holdings Limited Integrated Annual Report, 2017:70). According to the Implats integrated report, (2020:18) Zimplats produced 580 000 ounces of matte in 2020 and recorded revenue of R14 426 000.

Selous Metallurgical Complex is located in the town of Selous, 38km away from Chegutu and 77km away from Ngezi mine. Ngezi mine and Selous Metallurgical Complex are connected by a road which is maintained by Zimplats and is used to transport feed material from the former to the latter. The plant consists of a mill, concentrator, smelter and a convertor. Selous Metallurgical Complex also hosts a base metal refinery which is under refurbishment. Once complete, Zimplats will be one of the first players to have responded to the government's call for beneficiation.

5.3.5. Factors that influenced investment in Zimbabwe

Mining investment is largely determined by the availability of financially viable ore reserves and in the case of Zimbabwe, the platinum deposits are along the Great Dyke. According to Wilson and Prendergast (2001:322) the Great Dyke, a 550 km long and up to 11 km wide structure has been extensively explored since the mid-1960s to determine the most economic or potential economic grades and thicknesses. It has been established that this geological structure has four PGM rich complexes, namely, Wedza Complex (Mimosa – Sibanye-Stillwater and Implats), the Selukwe Complex (Unki –Anglo Platinum), the Hartley Geological Complex (Hartley and Ngezi Platinum Mines – Zimplats) and the Musengezi Complex (Mimosa fact sheet, 2020:3). Participants summarised and explained this investment as follows:

> "There are only so many places in the world where one would find PGMs" (Official 8).
>
> "There were good quality PGM assets in Zimbabwe" (Official 11).
>
> "Investment is the same across businesses. Before a company makes an investment, the return on investments should be sound. The first priority would be the financial feasibility and then all the peripheral aspects would be considered" (Official 10).
>
> "When we look at investing in a jurisdiction, we do a full analysis. The basics would cover political, economic, social, technological and legal but in the case of a mining company, the nature of the ore body and the quality of the asset would be of utmost importance before making a decision" (Official 9).

The availability of skilled labour is another factor that made the Zimbabwe investment an interesting proposition. In the early years of its independence, Zimbabwe invested significantly towards education and skills development. This has culminated in a high number of skilled and educated populous. The Zimbabwe School of Mines is an example of an institution that produces good quality graduates. The over 90-year-old institution was established to provide technical and practical training to individuals who wished to pursue careers in the mining industry. The institution hosts students from across the SADC region and provides the continent with skilled and qualified mining graduates. According to Kuzunga (2021: par. 6), 186 students graduated from the institution in 2020 in various disciplines including mining geology, surveying, mineral processing, environmental engineering extractive metallurgy and metallurgical assaying.

Valeriu and Sebastian (2012:68) list access to skilled and relatively cheap labour as an economic determinant that influences MNCs' investments. Other notable institutions that provide graduates for the mining sector in Zimbabwe include the National University of Science and Technology, Bindura University of Science Education and the University of Zimbabwe.

There are obviously other factors that a mining investor would also consider, such as country risk, the social, economic and political climate as well as other macroeconomic factors. Official 9 explains that "Zimbabwe has some of the best resources, best people in the world but is risky investment destination because firstly, if you're domiciled in the US or any one of those sanction bearing countries, then investing in Zimbabwe is not possible or may have negative repercussions". Official 8 added that "the political environment is a big concern and that has been the case over the last 10, 15 years. The in country risks are specific around politics and how the broader world views Zimbabwe".

Despite these concerns, Zimbabwe remains a fairly convenient and practical investment destination that has great potential for investor returns. This is corroborated by Official 10 who explained Implats' position stating that "the number one thing for investing is to get a return for shareholders and to do that, the organisation has to look at what the returns are likely to be considering all probabilities".

Implats recognises this inescapable potential and is willing to invest further in the country. Chief Executive Officer, Nico Muller noted that Implats' greatest growth potential lay in Zimbabwe and Canada and that that the processing capacity of the former would promote further growth opportunities (Business Day, 2020: par. 1). This is indicative of the direction that the organisation looks to pursue.

5.3.6. Engagement and relationship with the government of Zimbabwe

Engagement with the government of Zimbabwe began in the late 90s when negotiations with BHP started. Implats had already been operating in platinum mining in South Africa for four decades and had earned a solid reputation in the industry. Its social development and transformational reputation especially with regards to its dealing with the Royal Bafokeng Nation was well observed and the organisation had grown financially to become a credible investor in Zimbabwe.

> "If mining companies are genuine and committed to social development, it does help with relationships and also government support for that mining project" (Official 10).

Implats built a strong CSR reputation especially in the North West Province of South Africa where the organisation had invested heavily on social development. Implats had built schools, clinics, sporting facilities and developed infrastructure in the province since it started operating there. For instance, Implats was "running a fully equipped hospital at Rustenburg/Phokeng" (Implats annual report, 2000:45). Its ability to engage in negotiation with the Royal Bafokeng Nation changed to this corporate's reputation. Although not always harmonious, the longevity and success of the engagement is a testament to the relationship that these parties enjoyed, especially considering that

RBN became shareholders in the organisation. As an investor, Implats believes that this reputation added value to the investment proposition in Zimbabwe as explained by the participants below.

> "It did in a way. We are seen as the model corporate citizen in Zimbabwe. Zimplats is one of the, if not the most admired organisations in Zimbabwe. We are held in very good stand or esteem by the government of Zimbabwe" (Official 8).

> "A good track record in terms of CSR; how it treats the environment and how it follows the rules, is an important factor to ensure good government relations" (Official 10).

> "That reputation when it came to the interaction with the government of Zimbabwe, that does carry some equity" (Official 11).

This reputation and interaction with the Zimbabwean government was summarised by Official 9 who stated that "if a government takes a very good and strict position about good citizenship, CSR and sustainability in general, they can see huge benefits for the country". It also reflects Zimplats importance to the group. One of the CEO's 2020 balanced scorecard objectives was to ensure long term prosperity of Implats investment in Zimbabwe "and to advance the country's economic development aspirations" (Implats annual report, 2020:18). This highlights the importance of the organisation's engagement with the Zimbabwean government as it realises and understands that only through effective engagement can it achieve its own. In 2020, the organisation reported fruitful and collaborative dialogue with the government leaders in Zimbabwe. Official 9 explained that Implats commitment has been unwavering even in the midst of challenges for both country and business.

> "Implats has demonstrated over years of continued investment even in years when there has been capital flight, that the organisation can be trusted as a social and investment partner" (Official 9).

Zimplats actively engages with the government to assist the country's aspirations to develop and broaden the PGM industry, as well as to support its economic recovery plans. Although the organisation has been mining in Zimbabwe for 20 years, the political situation has made it difficult for Implats to relax its engagement with the government. Granted, any business has to be alert to the ever-changing environment, but this has been challenging for Implats as a foreign investor in Zimbabwe because of the policy inconsistency and social and economic uncertainty that has been witnessed in that country particularly over the last 15 years. The change of guard in Zimbabwean politics that occurred in 2017, signalled a shift in tact, as the new dispensation proclaimed a "Zimbabwe is open for business" mantra which included a declaration that desired to revisit the indigenisation laws that existed. This inspired many MNCs including, Implats, and reinvigorated the engagement between MNCs and the government.

> "The indigenisation policy is difficult to follow. The rules change from what you think they are today but may be different tomorrow" (Official 9).

Implats highlighted its concerns that “policy uncertainty regarding fiscal contributions, ownership, procurement and beneficiation had the potential to increase host governments share of returns relative to other key stakeholders, including employees, communities and ultimately limited appetite for inward investment in regions where resource nationalism is flagged as a growing risk” (Implats integrated annual report, 2020:42). This has been expressed to the government of Zimbabwe with the hope of reaching common ground for both investor and country. For the organisation, “regulatory uncertainty and issues that come from that, as well as the economic challenges for instance the currency fluctuation and currency related risk remain a challenge” (Official 8).

The organisation, however, admitted that “while the socio political context in both South Africa and Zimbabwe remained dynamic, in some respects, the mining regulatory and policy environments have improved in both countries over the past year (Implats integrated annual report, 2020:42). This encouraging view further demonstrates the faith and commitment the organisation has in its operations and engagement in both countries.

Other issues that have affected operations in Zimbabwe include the drought and the risk of electricity supply. To this end, the organisation embarked on a project to develop a large scale solar PV plant which would serve the requirements of operations at Zimplats as well as provide any excess power to the country’s grid, thereby further contributing to the aforementioned economic recovery.

Further engagement with the government of Zimbabwe has revolved around beneficiation. The Zimbabwean government has been aggressively calling for mining houses to do more with regards to value addition/beneficiation and has advocated for beneficiation to be part of operations of all mining entities in the country. This push was first mooted by former President Robert Mugabe and has been maintained by the new dispensation. This beneficiation process is an expensive, but worthwhile exercise which results in value addition. Government engagement has therefore revolved around the development of a refinery in Zimbabwe. According to Implats’ annual report (2020:139), the government of Zimbabwe offered to defer Zimplats export levy to 2021 to allow the organisation a break during which it should work on its beneficiation plan.

Heeding this call, Zimplats has continuously engaged with the government to ensure these goals are achieved with mutual benefits. Zimplats stated that it would continue to engage the government on mutually acceptable solutions to achieve the government’s aspirations of further beneficiation of PGMs in Zimbabwe (Zimplats annual integrated report, 2020:139). The organisation reported in its integrated annual report (2020:67) that it was working with other platinum producers in the country to explore the possibility of establishing a national refining facility. Such an option would help reduce the capital burden on each platinum producer, collectively respond to the call for beneficiation and improve production efficiencies for each participant.

The engagement with the government of Zimbabwe has over the years become inescapable as the country has gone through a protracted economic challenging period. The government has become increasingly dependent on businesses that have been performing relatively well under such economic conditions. These organisations have been pushed to assist where possible over and above their legal obligations. In its 2020 annual report (2020:15), Implats highlighted its commitment to assisting the government to overcome the fiscal challenges that had befallen the country and expressed the hope that their efforts would increase the social and relationship capital by strengthening its licence to operate and also protect its long term financial and human capital as the success of its operations is impacted by the economy in Zimbabwe.

Implats states that the organisation is fully supportive of the SA and Zimbabwe governments' aspirations to not only grow but also transform the mining industries. To this end, Implats indicates that it continues to engage at all levels "to encourage the growth and predictability necessary to ensure Implats continues its significant contribution to economic growth in South Africa and Zimbabwe" (Implats annual report, 2020:36). The organisation added "we will continue to maintain open and constructive engagement with the government of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Canada, and are committed to advancing positive and mutually beneficial relationships with our mine-host communities in all three countries (Implats annual report, 2020:93). The organisation further states that "sound value enhancing relations with the Zimbabwean government underpinned by ensuring democratic principles and inclusive economic growth remain a priority (Implats annual report, 2020:38). Participants viewed this relationship as cordial and one which allowed respectful engagement.

> "It's a cordial relationship. The parties engage regularly and discuss matters that impact the business including policy issues that are relevant to the operations" (Official 11).

> "It's a relationship of open dialogue" (Official 10).

> "Implats has a very good relationship with the government of Zimbabwe. We work extremely close with the government in terms of developing legislation for the mining industry, as well as collaborating with them with regards to social and humanitarian projects" (Official 8).

The relationship between Implats and the government of Zimbabwe has also been strengthened by the former's commitment to the indigenisation policy and social development across the country. Implats has, from the beginning, shown interest in engaging with the government on various empowerment issues. As early as 2006, Zimplats had engagements with the government of Zimbabwe with regards to how they envisaged the empowerment agenda would go. This led to an agreement which saw Zimplats cede 36% of its land claim back to the government in lieu of indigenisation 'credits' which would prevent further empowerment claims (Saunders, 2008:78). The agreement also included the submission of the 80km road between Ngezi and Selous, the supply of electricity and other infrastructure and amenities that the company had built and maintained. This agreement, according to Mawowa (2013:13) meant that Zimplats was ceding 29,25% of its mining operation in anticipation of the IEEP and this would leave 21,75% for the rest of the elements of the policy (10% towards ESOT, 10% towards CSOT and the remaining 1.75%). With the disorganisation and policy inconsistency from the government, this agreement has stood despite occasional murmurs of disgruntlement from the hosts.

Speaking at the reopening of Nyagwene Primary School in 2011, then Vice President of Zimbabwe, Joyce Mujuru stated that “while government has encouraged mining companies to embark on community investment programmes, I am glad to say that in the case of Zimplats the company has, over the years, voluntarily invested in a number of infrastructural development projects both at national level and in and around certain parts of this vast province” (Radio Voice of the People, 2011: par. 7). This relationship was also cemented when Zimplats became the first MNC to help establish a CSOT as prescribed by the IEEP. In 2011, Zimplats launched the Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT and in 2012 Mimosa mine (which is partially owned by Implats) also launched the Mimosa-Zvishavane CSOT. Each CSOT was given US$10 million from their respective benefactors. Zimplats has also been one of the few MNCs that have established an ESOT. This was concluded in 2017. Zimplats stated that it continued “to support the Government of Zimbabwe in its endeavours to empower indigenous Zimbabweans and to develop the Zimbabwean economy” (Zimplats integrated annual report, 2020:25). The partial fulfilment of the terms of the IEEP have been welcomed by the government and helped build a cordial working relationship between the parties.

It should, however, be noted that the relationship between the government of Zimbabwe and Zimplats has sometimes been turbulent especially around the indigenisation agenda. Both parties have tried to use their strength to influence the outcome of certain aspects of the policy. For instance, in 2011, then Minister of Youth, Indigenisation and Empowerment, Saviour Kasukuwere, was quoted as observing that Zimplats had threatened to withdraw from Zimbabwe in retaliation against the 51% indigenous shareholding requirement (Ndlovu, 2011: par. 9). In his response minister Kasukuwere heatedly declared “they can pull out, because the Chinese and Indians are more than ready to move in, comply with the laws and mine our platinum reserves” (Ndlovu, 2011: par. 9). Such public statements did very little to encourage investment but were seen as political sentiments which brought parties to the negotiating table. When asked about the mining investors’ reaction to IEEP, Government Official 1 also explained that “there was resistance as the MNCs did not want to lose control”.

Zimplats has also been able to use its economic and financial strength to persuade the government to rethink its position on some aspects of their policies. Such engagement has led to concessions from both parties, with Zimplats, for instance, ceding land (Saunders, 2008:78), establishing ESOT, funding the Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT and continuing with its CSR effort. The government on their part have been appreciative of the partnership and the efforts to transform the economy. Participants reacted to the initial stages of the indigenisation policy as follows:

> “We have been told for years that there is in theory a 51% equity participation by locals but the government is in the process of changing it” (Official 9).

> “At the time when indigenisation was a major topic of discussion, obviously it was a concern because an investor would have to give up a substantial shareholding of their asset but that conversation has sort of died a natural death and the government is now focusing on other issues. So, it hasn’t had a significant impact, especially in recent times because it is no longer a material issue” (Official 8).
>
> “All the discussion on indigenisation had zero impact on our social responsibilities and we continue addressing needs within Zimbabwe throughout that time. We continued our work and it did not impact our approach to social responsibility” (Official 11).
>
> “For Impala, it is very important to make a difference to the indigenous people, so whether it’s prescribed or not, it is a basic principle that the organisation would like to apply and make a meaningful contribution to communities where it operates. It makes long term sense makes business sense as well” (Official 10).

This symbiotic relationship has ensured continued support for the government’s social and economic developmental agenda especially in areas where it does not have enough resources to work. As a result, Zimplats has enjoyed respect and amiable treatment by the government. This goodwill and good-naturedness is beneficial to both parties for the sustainable development and the security of the investment respectively.

5.3.7. CSR at Impala Platinum Holdings and operations in South Africa

CSR at Implats is focused on making a significant difference within the areas in which the organisation operates as explained by Cindy Mogotsi Group sustainable development manager (Dimmer, 2019: par. 4). The organisation acknowledges that for the success of the business it needs the support of a healthy and sustainable community. Official 8 explains that “sustainability in mining is about providing solutions that are practical, profitable and permanent”. These are aspects which are enshrined in the UN SDGs as well as the UN Global Compact to which Implats subscribes. The organisation has identified and adopted 11 SDGs which it believes resonate with its business and has set out to implement initiatives that may contribute towards the attainment of the goals. The 11 SDGs that Implats has committed to are:

- Goal 1: no poverty
- Goal 3: good health and well-being
- Goal 4: quality education
- Goal 5: gender equality
- Goal 8: decent work and economic growth
- Goal 10: reduced inequality
- Goal 11: sustainable cities and communities
- Goal 13: climate action
- Goal 14: life below water

- Goal 15: life on land
- Goal 17: partnerships to achieve the goal

Implats has identified these goals and has set its sights on actively contributing to their achievement. Implats also subscribes to voluntary codes and social compacts such as the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) guidelines, the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and observes the guidelines of the Task Force on Climate-related Financial Disclosures (TCFD). These are important international standards and models of best practise which any responsible organisation should seek to implement.

CSR plays an integral part of Implats with the projects that the organisation implements aimed at improving lives and creating superior value for all its stakeholders. To achieve this, Implats dedicates approximately 99% of its CSR spend to communities which it operates as well as towards areas from which it draws its workforce (Dimmer, 2019: par. 5). In so doing, the organisation not only contributes meaningfully towards community but also ensures stability in its operations. This supports the organisation through delivering “healthier, more motivated and better educated skilled workforce that has access to decent education, health and sporting facilities” (Dimmer, 2019: par. 5).

Implats view of CSR is summarised by the participants as follows:

> “CSR in our view is not one thing, it’s a thousand things. It starts with corporate structure, whether you own the land that you mine on, whether the community, workers and government have equity in the mining operation, it’s the way you employ, how you treat them, it’s your procurement, where you procure, what programs you have in place for local procurement. It’s how you collaborate with government. How you invest in goodwill. It is beyond compliance; adhering to all the compliance regulations may get you to the starting line but it’s not going to make you successful” (Official 9).

> “Implats considers itself a responsible corporate citizen. It is part of our value system; respect care and deliver. We are aware of the needs that exist in society and we try to the best of our ability to try to alleviate those need as far as we can” (Official 8).

> “We strive through CSR, to maximise corporate goodwill and collaboration in the most cost effective way so that all stakeholders are treated equitably, and commercial success and sustainability is ensured” (Official 11).

Implats’ CSR or social performance strategy is based, firstly, on making sure that the organisation is compliant. This is explained by Official 10 who states “Firstly, we want to make sure that we comply with legislation that’s in place”. The organisation then looks at specific focus areas that it pays attention to, based on community requirements and needs. The latter are considered voluntary and form part of Implats’ reputation building, relationship enhancing and altruistic projects. Compliance requirements include all legislative requirements such as the BBBEE and SPLs in South Africa.

Apart from the compliance requirements, the organisation conducts a whole range of analysis such as the human development index, skills development index, ease of doing business across the operations, unemployment, and environmental exposure to land at a set of projects (Official 10). These stand out as critical societal issues in most areas in the world.

In South Africa, Implats' approach to CSR is drawn from voluntary and legislated requirements. This is highlighted by Official 8 who states that "in South Africa, social responsibility is two pronged; the compliance related elements, (which is where the majority of our spend goes) and the philanthropic initiatives which entail contributions, sponsorship and assisting after natural disasters". This was reiterated by another participant who stated that:

> "We would like to ensure that our mining communities are supported in terms of sustainable livelihoods during and beyond mining" (Official 10).

In South Africa, Implats operates primarily in rural areas where there is little formal economic activity, youth unemployment is high, infrastructure is inadequate and service delivery is poor. In 2020, the organisation spent R126 million on socio-economic development and donations (Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:96) specifically in the following areas:

- Empowerment of community structures
- Health, safety and environment
- Education
- Sports
- Enterprise development
- Community welfare, arts and culture
- Housing and living conditions.

These priority areas are determined by compliance factors as well as through consultations with the communities in the specific areas.

> "We have compliance projects, which are legislated by nature. We have to comply with certain requirements. And then we have beyond compliance initiatives. These are projects that are not required by legislation, but the company is actually going the extra mile to make sure that it addresses aspects around social licence to operate and also in terms of shared value" (Official 10).

> "In SA, given the legislative requirements, as a mining right holder, you are expected to fulfil certain social obligations in line with the Mining charter and related SPLs. So, the majority of the social spend is in line with the compliance obligations, which could amount to 99% of the overall social spend. The remaining 1% would be defined as voluntary CSR" (Official 8).

> “We formulate strategies through internal planning but have engagements with government, employees, unions, community leaders, NGOs to try and gauge where priority needs are and where the organisation can make the biggest impact, aligned to the business” (Official 9).

Interestingly, the needs of the two South African provinces in which Implats mines differ. For instance, North West Province is a more affluent region than Limpopo Province, therefore the needs and expectations of the communities vary. Since each operation is permitted to undertake its own CSR projects, more may be spent in one province than would be spent in the other.

> “In Limpopo for example, the majority of the spend is directed towards infrastructure development because of the fact that that area is not very well developed. We build a lot of roads, schools and housing, whereas in Rustenburg, where the area has relatively better infrastructure, the focus is on enterprise development, skills training, construction of sporting facilities and health services” (Official 8).

> “In Limpopo its focused on infrastructure whereas in Rustenburg the focus is on services and enabling communities in terms of skills and employment” (Official 9).

> “We also look at major risks that influence the organisation as well as the geographies that we function in, to make sure that the projects that we wish to implement actually help support and address those” (Official 10).

The following sections discuss some of the organisation's focus areas and initiatives in South Africa. These initiatives form part of the compliance as well as voluntary aspects of Implats’ CSR focus.

Health and social welfare

Implats states that the objectives of its health strategy are to improve the health and wellness of its employees, their families and the mine community (Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:16). Implats has been involved in many projects to improve the conditions of the health sector in the areas in which it operates. The organisation operates Impala Platinum Mines Hospital which provides healthcare for employees, their families as well as nearby communities (Implats Sustainable Development Report, 2017:43). Implats reported in its 2012 annual report (2012:84) that in FY2012, a new medical clinic offering employees occupational and non-occupational health services had been opened in the Marula area. Other healthcare projects include the donation of an ambulance and equipment at the Luka community clinic as well as the refurbishment of some of its facilities as reported in the Implats Sustainable Development Report (2017:45). The organisation also donated 120 beds and mattresses, and oxygen machines to Bhisho Hospital, while other hospitals received increased medical support at the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic (Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:102).

Implats is also concerned about the prevalence of TB and HIV/AIDS cases at its operations and sets out to monitor and assist those who are affected, through the provision of counselling, treatment and lifestyle benefits. To that, the organisation reported that in 2020, it had recorded an improvement in the TB incidence rate to 196 per 100 000 workers which is notably lower than the South African average of 360 per 100 000 citizens (Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:62). Implats was also involved in the construction and equipping of Tapologo hospice and continues to support the organisations fight for better care for those affected by HIV/AIDS (Independent Online, 2005: par. 7).

There are other community welfare projects that the organisation embarks on. With the advent of Covid-19 for example, Implats started projects such as feeding schemes, supplying PPE to schools, communities and clinics as well as vaccination initiatives in both Limpopo and Rustenburg. In its Environmental, Social and Governance report (2021:16) Implats reported that the organisation paid its employees in South Africa (including long-term contactors) a once-off allowance of R5 000 to cushion them from the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown. A total of R250 million was spent on this initiative. Implats also donated ventilators, Covid-19 antigen tests, immune booster tablets, sanitisers, masks and provided training and equipment to schools in North West Province.

Some of the health and safety initiatives that the organisation hosts are not all altruistic in nature. Some are in response to the country mandate and compulsory, while others are done for obvious self-benefit. For example, the organisations stated in its Sustainable Development Report (2016:46) that "effective management of occupational health risks, as well as promoting health and well-being in the workplace, protects our employees, enhances productivity and helps maintain our licence to operate". This illustrates the extrinsic and instrumental nature of organisation's CSR approach.

It is also worth noting that Implats' contribution towards community health is expected, given that the mining industry has been found to contribute substantially towards environmental and human health problems (Stewart, 2019:1154). The argument here is that mining houses such as Implats contribute to the creation of the problem and therefore should significantly contribute towards fixing it or at least, mitigating human suffering caused by mining externalities. Investment in community health is also expected as the "beneficial legacies of mining" as explained by the International Council on Mining and Metals as mines are "expected to go beyond mitigating social impacts and work towards creating lasting benefits that sustain people beyond the life of mine" (International Council on Mining and Metals, 2021 par. 4).

Sustainability community development

Implats asserts that its sustainability development goals are to provide important societal benefits that will ensure long-term sustainability for communities (Sustainable Development Report, 2016:46). This includes promoting initiatives that improve livelihoods and create opportunities within the organisation's operations and elsewhere.

> "Implats has a big focus on enterprise development, both in and out the mining value chain and as such we want to make sure that there's benefit to local supply chain" (Official 10).

Marula mine for example, established the Marula Business Forum through which offers local BBBEE compliant enterprises the opportunity to supply the mine's procurement requirements. Impala Rustenburg has a similar initiative, with SMMEs presented to vendor committee for approval as suppliers.

Preference to procurement is offered to local suppliers, with emphasis to black-owned businesses especially those are run by the youth and women. This helps to empower the youth and women and afford them the opportunity to penetrate the male-dominated system. Implats also offers identified SMMEs training and mentorship through service providers such as Accuracy and Classic Oriental Consulting (ESG report, 2021:109).

Education and skills development

Implats has made substantial investments in the education and skill development of its employees and community members. This is specifically in response to the challenge that exists in South Africa following the racially skewed investment in the education of blacks. As such, the government has sought the assistance of organisations such as Implats to participate in the upliftment of the education sector especially in rural communities. Implats has heeded the call and supported schools as well as invested in the development of its own employees. Muir (2019: par. 7) reported that Implats' focus on education through "bursaries, learnerships and school support projects" saw the organisation have a lion's share of its social investment spend in South Africa on education; that is 43% or R38.2 million.

Implats has been actively involved in the construction of schools and infrastructure in its areas of operation. In 2018, Implats, in collaboration with the North West Provincial Education Department and the Impala Bafokeng Trust, opened the Sunrise View and Platinum Village schools which were built at a cost of R86 million and R130 million respectively (South African Government, 2018: par 2). The organisation also built Vuk'uzenzele Primary School in North West Province and Hlahlana Primary in Limpopo Province and has been involved in the construction and refurbishment of laboratories and libraries at schools such as Hukwazi Secondary, Nkumbulo Comprehensive School, Zamukhanyo Primary and Bakerton Primary, to name but a few (Implats corporate responsibility report, 2006:113).

Implats also acknowledges that one of the "greatest challenges in addressing the skills shortage remains the quality of formal education received at secondary level" (Implats Integrated Annual Report 2010:105). This challenge not only affects the country but has a bearing on mining operations. As such, Implats works with government to implement measures that will improve the quality of education especially through the promotion of STEM subjects. In addition, the organisation provides opportunities for school leavers and affords them the opportunity to acquire skills necessary for their development whether at Implats or elsewhere. Implats states that Impala Rustenburg and

Marula recruit youth from their communities through cadet mining training, bursaries and learnerships (Environmental, social and governance report, 2021:86).

Implats also pays attention to the development of its employees. The different operations recognise potential in their employees and nurture them through skills development, talent management and incentives. The organisation reported that in 2021, it spent R719 million on skills development in South Africa ESG report, 2021:97). It should be noted that this spend is also part of the compliance requirements of the Mining Charter, BBBEE and SPLs.

Employee share ownership schemes

Implats prides itself with having introduced employee share ownership schemes at its Impala and Marula operations. The Impala ESOT was established in 2016, while the Marula ESOT was finalised in 2021. The schemes are open to permanent workers at the two mines as means of sharing in Implats success. According to the Environmental, social and governance report (2021:86) the Impala ESOT holds 4% shareholding in Impala mine and posted dividends of between R1 000 to R9 325 to qualifying employees in financial year 2021. Qualifying members of the Marula ESOT are also expected to receive payments from the 4% shareholding in Marula mine. According to Wu and Moodley (2009:14), employee share ownership schemes are important as they account for a significant representation of black participation and ownership within the mining sector. There however needs to be greater transparency from Implats in the allocation of shares to the different levels of workers as this would clarify the difference between truly altruistic and transformative objectives versus industry competitiveness.

B-BBEE

Implats is an active contributor towards B-BBEE. According to Empowerbee, a B-BBEE verification agency (2020:1), as of 2021, Amplats B-BBEE rating stood at level 8. This is one level above non-compliance and should worry the organisation. Despite its numerous activities which include partnerships with B-BBEE partner, African Rainbows Minerals Mmakau mining, The Marula Community Trust, The Royal Bafokeng Nation and Tabatse Platinum, its empowerment standing is dismal.

In its 2019 Sustainable Development Report (2019:80) Implats acknowledged its challenges and highlighted it was working towards aligning with the "B-BBEE Act and compliance with the new B-BEE codes". To this end, the organisation is committed to improving its procurement processes to ensure more was spent with "companies in which HDSA/B-BBEE ownership was greater than 25% as per Mining Charter" (Implats Sustainable Development Report 2019:76). To better facilitate these processes, Implats also set out to investigate the impact of B-BBEE fronting and to build internal safeguards to prevent dealing with untrustworthy vendors (Implats Annual Integrated Report 2020:27).

It should however be acknowledged that under the new codes, it is more difficult for organisations to achieve high B-BBEE ratings. This is highlighted by Mokgobinyane (2017:37) who acknowledges this and adds that a challenge that has made it difficult to achieve good scores is the introduction of compliance with priority elements, which have been identified as ownership, skills development, enterprise and supplier development elements.

5.3.8. Relationship with community in South Africa

In its Environmental, Social and Governance report (2021:98), Implats reported that the organisation's "maintained positive community relations across our operations, engaging with host community stakeholders through formalised structures. This relationship between Implats and the communities in South Africa was described by the participants as "intermittent and situational" but relatively good.

> "The relationship is very difficult to describe. It comes and goes. When its local elections, issuers flare up but in other times, things are generally quiet" (Official 9).

> "The relationship depends on the situation. It's largely cordial" (Official 8).

Implats works hard to maintain a good working relationship with the communities in which it operates. The organisation, however, acknowledges the challenges that exist and looks to engage with community members to resolve them as and when they appear. The public socio-economic benefits of the establishment of any business in an area are immense, and many individuals may be attracted to the area in search of opportunities. There is always a battle for resources and opportunities between locals and opportunity seekers from other areas or regions and this is exacerbated by the high unemployment rate in the country. This struggle often results in huge challenges for the investor. In the case of Implats, the organisation draws a significant portion of its workforce from the Eastern Cape and has to balance the relationship with the locals who may sometimes feel neglected. One of the respondents acknowledged this and explained that it was an important area of concern.

> "This is a critical performance area and it's something that we work extremely hard on" (Official 9).

Though Implats has invested in community relations, externalities exist due to the toil of mining operations. Stewart (2019:1154) states that " across the world, mining contributes to erosion, sinkholes, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, significant use of water resources, dammed rivers and ponded waters, waste water disposal issues, acid mine drainage and contamination of soil, ground and surface water, all of which can lead to health issues in local populations". For instance, in villages around Marula mine, villagers complained about the amount of traffic that the operation brought to the area. According to the Bench Marks Foundation (2012:44) putting pressure on their roads and raised dust has affected the environment, housing infrastructure and health. Understandably, such inescapable externalities cause disgruntlement from communities and need to be properly addressed. These sentiments are also echoed by communities in the Rustenburg area who feel aggrieved by the mining house and the government. As early as 2004, the Luka community has complained about not benefiting from operations. Hamann (2004:287) reported that the community's resentment emanated from "the belief that the company's historical communication with and contributions to the tribal authority have not benefited the community". By 2011, some of the communities' concerns had not been addressed as discovered by the Bench Marks Foundation (2011:22). These grievances included compensation for operations on tribal land and negative impacts of mining (for example, cracks in homes due to blasting and degradation of water supplies) (Hamann, 2004:287). Such challenges push Implats to increase its community engagement and to support legitimate community representation. Implats reported that following meetings with community leaders in 2017, the organisation had begun construction of two roads in the Luka area and was also upgrading water infrastructure (Implats Sustainable Development Report, 2017:45). By 2020, the organisation was reporting that the established community engagement structures had improved relations with host communities in South Africa and had not experienced any operational disruptions due to mine-related community unrest during the year under review.

5.3.9. CSR in Zimbabwe

Zimplats describes itself as a committed corporate citizen that embraces CSR as a means to address the organisation's overall response to economic, social and environmental considerations as well as the organisation's contribution to the localities in which it operates (Zimplats, 2018: par. 2). The investment has had a significant impact on the livelihoods of community members, its employees and the country in general (Muruviwa, *et al*., 2018:6).

> "It is a practise in which we integrate the social and environmental aspects of our business and forms part of what we report to our stakeholders" (Official 11).

Zimplats' strategic focus is in four areas. The organisation maintains that the interconnectedness of its values and the communities' sustainable development aspirations ensures progress in areas that will improve livelihoods (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2020:72). Zimplats invests in skills development and education, local enterprise development, socio-economic development (which includes factors such as health, income generating activities, access to potable water and food security) and infrastructure. The participants explained this focus as follows:

> "Initiatives are aligned with Implats focus areas. In each of the focus areas, there are Zimbabwe specific projects. There are skills development projects, enterprise, food security projects such as the cattle and dairy projects as well as a number of education project and job creation" (Official 10).

> "Within Implats group, the way in which we implement our social development projects is uniform in terms of the focus and direction" (Official 11).

The country does not have a CSR framework and most of the work done by Zimplats is seen as voluntary. Many of the projects are undertaken following requests from the community but align with the overall social performance strategy. This was confirmed by officials who confirmed that:

> "In Zimbabwe, it's more classic CSR. There we typically focus on education related projects, health related projects as well as looking at projects that can eventually absorb a large number of people therefore creating employment" (Official 8).

> "There is a very deep commitment by Zimplats to make a difference especially since there is no legislative obligation" (Official 10).

Furthermore, operations are given the leeway to formulate their own plans as long as they are aligned with Implats strategic thinking. The organisation acknowledges that the operations have a better understanding in terms of what the community needs are than the corporate office does. As such, "CSR strategy formulation is done at operation level" (Official 9).

> "The operations are in a better position to make decisions on CSR projects because they know the needs of the community better than head office" (Official 8).

Interestingly, Zimplats makes use of its internal capabilities to assist with projects. For example, the organisation has a business unit that was established primarily to work with locals to develop business enterprises and also uses its engineering department to assist in infrastructural projects such constructing clinics.

> "We have a business unit that was established to work with the LEDs. It is part of our commercial unit" (Official 11).

Discussed below are some of the CSR initiatives that Zimplats has embarked on in Zimbabwe. These initiatives are seen to support the groups CSR focus and long term vision.

Education

Zimplats has invested significantly towards community education and skills development in Zimbabwe. This investment has gone towards supporting the delivery of quality education the provision of resources to support sports and education, as well as the construction of schools and related infrastructure. Zimplats has renovated, refurbished, and constructed school infrastructure with the aim of transforming most of the rural schools in its areas of operation into modern schools capable of competing with those in the cities.

Zimplats built David Guzuzu in Mhondoro-Ngezi and also reconstructed and furnished Nyangwene Primary School at a cost of US$ 300 000 after the school had been destroyed by hailstorm.

> "The Nyangwene Primary School project involved the reconstruction of 15 classrooms, all the administration as well as supplying all the furniture" (Official 11).

Other projects included the construction of classrooms at Chingono Secondary School, Rockbar Primary School and Turf Town Primary school. Zimplats has also constructed houses for the teachers at schools such as Turf Primary and Wanganui Secondary as well as contributed towards staff retention by augmenting their salaries. Zimplats has also initiated a project which it hopes will improve science education in the Mhondoro-Ngezi area. The organisation has undertaken to address this with a five year programme in which it will build at least one science laboratory per year at the schools in the area. The project has seen Zimplats constructing science laboratories at St Michael's school and Wanganui Secondary School, with more laboratories lined up for the years ahead.

> "The area in which Zimplats operates has challenges in terms of science education. Zimplats has been tracking the number of children who are taking up science subjects and noticed that many had been avoiding these subjects because the schools did not have the proper facilities. This initiative will help the learners in the area in making them more marketable and availing opportunities especially in the science and engineering fields" (Official 11).

Implats sees its contribution as an opportunity to future-proof learners and prepare them for opportunities that are not necessarily in their traditional scope or career path. This is expressed by Official 10 who states that "we need to prepare learners for the 4th industrial revolution and STEM opportunities". In addition, these educational opportunities are seen as a foundation for future entrepreneurial opportunities that could be useful to the Zimplats operations and the community at large.

Community health and humanitarian effort

Official 8 stated that "Zimplats focuses on health initiatives, which is apt considering the Covid-19 pandemic and a lot of health infrastructure in the country has been poorly maintained because the government has not had a lot of money to maintain a lot of these facilities. The organisation has been involved in many projects to improve the conditions of many health facilities in the country. For example, Zimplats participated in the upgrading of Gutu Hospital from a rural facility to a District Hospital, thereby ensuring it availability as a referral centre for clinics in the area (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2020:72). The organisation also refurbished Kadoma General Hospital in 2018, equipped Gora clinic and continues to capacitate Turf town clinic.

> "We augmented the facilities at Turf town polyclinic by constructing female and male wards, a maternity ward, a mothers' waiting ward as well as staff quarters. In addition, we also equipped the clinic and also donated an ambulance" (Official 11).

The organisation also donated dental and laundry equipment to Chinhoyi Provincial Hospital, made renovations at Selous clinic as well as built a counselling room, a sluice room and a mothers' shelter and ensured that the facility had running water and proper sanitation. Zimplats acknowledges the enormous challenges faced by the health sector in Zimbabwe and looks to undertake as many projects as possible. This sees the organisation as having many "low cost, high impact investments and explores partnerships with development partners that result in shared costs" (Implats Sustainable Development Report, 2019:71).

Implats states that during the Covid-19 pandemic it continued to support efforts by governments in the countries in which it operates to fight the pandemic (Environmental, Social and Governance report, 2021:26). Zimplats assisted hospitals such as St. Michael's Mission Hospital, Norton Hospital, Turf Polyclinic, Chinhoyi Provincial Hospital as well as Wilkins Hospital, one of Zimbabwe's largest infectious diseases referral centres (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2020:75).

Water and sanitation

The provision and efficient use of clean water is another area that Zimplats has focused on over the years. Zimplats constructed Chitsuwa cha Mandizadza dam under a build, operate and transfer arrangement. This dam was built to supply Zimplats' operations as well as settlements at the dam and along the pipeline to the mine.

> "The dam guarantees water supply for Zimplats' mining and processing operations as well as accommodating the requirements of the local community. Zimplats has erected outlets along the pipeline from Chitsuwa cha Mandizadza dam to allow the community to draw water primarily for farming. The same is done along the pipeline that runs from Darwendale dam to Zimplats' Selous operations." (Official 11).

The availability of water in these areas not only supports domestic consumption but livestock and horticultural provisions; as well as other CSR initiatives that Zimplats is involved in. In its 2020 annual report (2020:73) Zimplats highlighted that the availability of water through its borehole drilling exercises, for instance, at Zimbo Junction and Tangwena schools, helped "reduce learners' exposure to diseases thereby creating a safe learning environment". All in all, Zimplats has sunk over 60 boreholes in the area since 2008. (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report 2020:74). These boreholes have allowed many within the community to start gardening projects for self-sustenance as well as for income generation.

Zimplats is also involved in water recycling projects in its quest to reduce consumption at its operations. The organisation has remained focused on recycling and remaining environmentally astute and states that in 2020, it recycled 39% of the water used at its operations to reduce pressure on water resources (Zimplats Holdings Limited Integrated Annual Report 2020:74). While these efforts may be considered self-serving, the focus on the provision of water allows an otherwise unserved community access to adequate water in line with the targets of UN SDG 6 (clean water and sanitation).

Agriculture

Zimplats has embarked on a number of agriculture-related sustainable living projects that were set to promote socio-economic resilience in the communities around its operations. Rural communities are highly dependent on agriculture for sustenance and income generation and with the support from Zimplats, these stakeholders are able to improve productivity and efficiency. The support from Zimplats is strategic because with communities occupied in farming activities, there is less pressure on the organisation to employ community members. In addition, agricultural produce may be sold to the operations and its employees thereby ensuring sustainable livelihood and ultimately effective rural development.

Zimplats also established a cattle farming project. Kwaramba (2021:par. 2) reported that Zimplats had partnered with Palmline Holdings, as the operating entity, to set up a US$15 million cattle ranching project in Mhondoro.

> "We have recently launched a cattle ranching and dairy project in Mhondoro-Ngezi where the community are providing stock feed and pasture for the project" (Official 11).

> "In partnership with other social partners, we have secured a large piece of land and have approximately 2500 heads of cattle which we are rearing for dairy and meat purposes. The benefits from that go to the communities" (Official 8).

This initiative, which was praised by the government, aims to "contribute significantly to the resuscitation of the national herd and dairy milk production, whilst improving community herd health" (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2020:67). The involvement of the community on this project is paramount as fellow farmers are expected to benefit from training, improved cattle health and better herd genetics. The project will also empower locals by providing job opportunities, establishing community paddocks, and improving pastures, all of which should have a positive impact on community livelihoods.

Enterprise Development

The organisation acknowledges the economic challenges that affect Zimbabwe and affirms its commitment to contributing towards the resuscitation of the economy and the development of local enterprises (Zimplats Holdings Limited Integrated Annual Report, 2018:32). Zimplats has established and assisted 22 businesses to grow which are involved in manufacturing and supplying a range of goods and services such as catering, engineering spares, personal protective clothing, silica and the supply of other products which are important to the mining operations. According to the Zimplats Integrated Report (2020:38) these local enterprises employ more than 1400 people and therefore contributes towards livelihoods of across the country and "supporting national efforts to revive the economy".

> "Of the 22 enterprises, 90% are based in Mashonaland West Province and some are local at country level with some operating from Matabeleland and some from Bulawayo" (Official 11).

Zimplats reported that local procurement accounted for 60% of total spend in the 2020 financial year but acknowledged that this could have been more had it not been for demand for imports for strategic projects (Zimplats Integrated Report, 2020:38). Some of Zimplats local enterprise development initiatives included the engagement of local landowners who were found to have a crop of silica on their land. According to Official 11, Zimplats approached the landowners and asked if they were "aware that they were sitting on a potential commercial asset and assisted them to start up a business that would mine and supply Zimplats operations with silica". Although these business currently only supply Zimplats operations, the organisation hopes to assist them to grow into formidable entities capable of supplying other markets "so that the Zimplats custom becomes only part of their customers" Official 11. These strategic capacity buildings are supported by Ernst & Young, who have been contracted by Zimplats to conduct independent maturity assessments on the 22 enterprises to evaluate their growth levels and recommend strategies to grow them further. This highlights Zimplats commitment to local enterprise development and the growth of Zimbabwean industry. Officials indicated that these projects are monitored and evaluated to ensure that they remain productive.

> "The organisation employs independent service providers to assess projects. They look at elements such as expectations versus delivery as well as the long term practicability and sustainability of the entity" (Official 8).

With regards to employment, most of the miners and general workers are recruited from surrounding villages and towns. Zimplats has become one of the biggest employers in the Mhondoro-Ngezi area and works with community leaders to find solutions to the insatiable demands for jobs at their operations.

Community Share Ownership Trust (CSOT)

The Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT was established in 2011 with the donation of US$10 million towards the establishment of the trust. This was a noble gesture by Zimplats but arguably fell short of the demands of the indigenisation policy which stipulated that the CSOT should have 10% shareholding of the organisation ceded to the community and administered by the trust. Instead, this gesture, whilst important, was used as an attempt to quell the indigenisation debate. Like most MNCs, Zimplats had proposed that the shares be bought by the respective entities involved in the indigenisation equation and with this proposal, the organisation was willing to provide a loan facility. This was seen as unacceptable by the government as the state believed that the shares were meant to be given to the communities without compensation. This was expressed by government officials as the position of the state.

> "The communities are supposed to benefit from the resources which are being exploited within their areas" (Government Official 2).

> "As custodians of the resource, the 10% shareholding should be issued in lieu of the resource that is being exploited" (Government Official 1).

The issue of the CSOT owning shares was further complicated by Zimplats insistence that if the government went ahead with the cession plan, then the organisation would cease CSR support within its area of operation since the community would be receiving dividends and capable of funding its own projects. This is explained by Mawowa (2013:17) who states that Zimplats “position was that once shares have been transferred to the CSOT CSR support will be halted”. This would create a predicament as the profitability of the mining operation is dependent on commodity prices and thus such a proposition would be unfavourable to the CSOT’s social projects. As it stands, the CSOT has no share ownership in the mining company.

Regardless of the eventual structure and status of the CSOT, the body was funded and has, since 2011, been involved in various community developmental projects. The CSOT’s footprint concerning infrastructure development, schools and clinics is visible in all wards in the districts with varying degrees of concentration. Research by Chimutenga (2018:30) found that some wards did not have adequate health facilities, while others had benefited in that area; for example, community members from ward 14 indicated that they were still travelling a considerable distance to assess health care. Besides the health sector, other community needs appear to have been sufficiently addressed across the wards. To this, Zimplats (2021) reported that the trust had completed 162 projects in health and education and drilled more than 20 boreholes enhancing community access to potable water.

To ensure sustainability, the CSOT has also focused on community enterprise development for income generation. In 2016 the Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT acquired shares in Sable Foods. The Chegutu based business supplies poultry products to the Zimbabwe market and works with a host of farmers across the country.

> “Recently they’ve invested in Sable. They’ve increased the revenues of Sable Foods by 30% in only the first quarter since they invested” (Official 4).

> “The CSOT now holds 33% shares in a poultry company called Sable foods and that was done in order to safeguard against the depletion of their funds” (Official 11).

This investment is seen as a strategic move to manage risk, ensure community participation and guarantee sustainability. Zimplats states in its reports (2018:59) that local communities participate as outgrowers and suppliers to Sable Foods thereby actively contributing in the generation of their own wealth. It should, however, be noted that like any investment, this asset has already encountered challenges since its tenure. Zimplats reported that the poultry business has experienced setbacks due to escalating cost of inputs and inflation which affected both the production and the market.

Other projects that the CSOT has been involved in include community income generating initiatives (horticulture and livestock farming), infrastructure development and plant equipment hiring. The trust built an X-ray room at Banket District Hospital; assisted community groups with commercial red onion farming, bee keeping and egg production (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2019:62); and secured a contract to supply sorghum through a community outgrowers scheme to a local brewery (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2017:54).

It is important to note that while the work done by the CSOT is often reported by Zimplats, the body is independent of the CSR initiatives conducted by the mining organisation. The CSOT has an independent board of trustees that makes autonomous decisions in terms of how the fund should be utilised within the community. When probed on the functions of the CSOT and how their developmental effort relates to the social work that is undertaken by Zimplats, Official 11 stated that it is complementary as both parties are concerned with the development of the community but use their respective resources to achieve this.

While the effort of both the CSOT and Zimplats may be considered complimentary, special attention must be made to differentiate these projects and any challenges associated with these entities. Zimplats provided funds that would be managed by the CSOT and not the company. In this respect, the challenges faced by the CSOT, such as the debate over the inclusion of Zvimba district in the trust despite the fact that Zimplats does not operate in that area, were generally overlooked by the mining organisation as it felt that it had fulfilled its commitment (Chidakwa, 2019: par. 16). Ultimately, community projects undertaken by these entities can run parallel but with coordination, in order to avoid duplication.

Employee Share Ownership Scheme

Zimplats has shown its commitment to empowering indigenous Zimbabweans as mandated by the government. In 2017, Zimplats established the Employee Share Ownership Trust (ESOT) and issued 10% equity stake to its permanent employees (excluding its executive directors and company secretary) (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2020:176). The organisation believes that the ESOT will be beneficial to its employees as it will provide dividends which will supplement their incomes. From an organisational perspective, the establishment of the ESOT is beneficial to Zimplats as it promotes a sense of ownership and that will help "secure and retain skilled and experienced employees thereby ensuring long term operational and production success" (Zimplats 2017: par. 3).

> "We are on record as having put in place the ESOT" (Official 11).
>
> "Even before there was any obligation of indigenisation, Zimplats had already postulated a 10% share ownership scheme for workers" (Official 9).

Although the establishment of this trust partially fulfils the obligations of the IEEP, it falls short of the prerequisite of the policy in that these shares were not ceded to the employees but rather sold to them. Zimplats states that "the ESOT subscribed for, and was issued with a 10% equity stake in the operating subsidiary that was funded through a vendor finance scheme" (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2018:20). This was accepted by both the government and the employees and the trust continues to pay back the loan through its dividends, the first declaration being made in the financial year 2018 (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2018:78). Notably, this employee share ownership arrangement is similar to the one that is provided for in South Africa.

5.3.10. Zimbabwean governments' expectations from investors in relation to CSR

The government has no explicit CSR requirements or expectations on Implats. This is indicative of the lack of CSR framework in the country, a point which is often used by organisations to neglect or underperform in their CSR obligations.

> "There is nothing mandated in Zimbabwe. We conduct CSR because that how we do business not because there is a law or expectation" (Official 9).

It is noteworthy to highlight that though there is no CSR related legislation, there is an expectation that investors will positively contribute to the development of the country and the area in which they operate. The proposals of investors fair favourably if they have a CSR component as discussed by participants.

> "Before we accept the proposal, an investor who goes to the Zimbabwe investment centre has to show sincerity in their CSR. Because that's why they're given investment certificates" (Government Official 2).

> "Some highlight their CSR plans, and it does add value to the proposal because we have an interest in knowing for example, how many people will be employed, issues of roads, and so on. Yes, it would add value" (Government Official 1).

According to the Mines and Minerals Act [Chapter 21:05] of 2001, an investor is meant to submit, amongst other things, "details of any roads, railways, electricity supply and other infrastructure which will be required and which the applicant proposes to provide for the purpose of the mining operations". As part of the act, manpower requirements as well as environmental impacts are also discussed. Despite fostering social investment in some ways, this does not address the specifics that a CSR framework would offer.

Nevertheless, as with any investor, there was due expectation that Zimplats would continue to develop the community, add to existing infrastructure as well as work with the government in areas that would be highlighted from time to time. For instance, the building of schools, clinics, roads, the provision of water and the electrification of areas around Zimplats operations as articulated by the participants below.

> "Things are not forced down but there should still be a contribution by the private sector to make a difference in the country" (Official 10).

> "There are the usual expectations as with any other investor but there is no undue pressure from government with regards to CSR" (Official 8).

“There is an expectation that mining companies should plough back proceeds into their mining communities but there is no legislation yet and as such, we do this because it is integral to how we do business” (Official 11).

Interestingly, too, is the fact that Implats was willing to engage with the government of Zimbabwe in its quest to transform the economy through IEEP. This attitude is not unique to Zimbabwe as demonstrated by the establishment of ESOTs in South Africa, which the organisation describes “a meaningful way of aligning employees’ interests with the future profitability of Impala” (Creamer 2007: par. 3). The options availed to the government of Zimbabwe and Zimplats’ ability to continue with its CSR projects in light of the prevalent uncertainty surrounding the indigenisation policy is testament to the organisation’s desire to be a good corporate citizen.

“If a country has strong indigenisation policy, it actually supports what we want to do in any place” (Official 10).

This comment is illustrative of Implats’ position on social investment and is aligned to its vision. The organisation seeks to contribute in practical and meaningful ways to the country and in particular to the communities’ surroundings its operation (Implats annual report, 2000:41).

5.3.11. Relationship with community in Zimbabwe

According to Zimplats, the organisation maintains constructive relationships with local stakeholders, understands community needs, and manages expectations through proactive engagement with community representatives and government officials at all levels (Zimplats Integrated Annual Report, 2019:57). This helps nurture a working relationship which should culminate in a mutually beneficial commitment. Zimplats describes its relationship with communities as cordial and one of great respect and understanding. Community members were described by participants as engaging, appreciative and responsive to the effort that Zimplats was doing. This was supported by participants who stated that the relationship was cordial.

“It’s a cordial relationship. We listen to their view on the company, how it impacts them, their expectations and needs” (Official 11).

Research conducted by Muruviwa *et al*. in 2018 (2018:5) showed that 94% of those surveyed in the Mhondoro-Ngezi area recognised that Zimplats efforts in education were transformative and were positively contributing to the quality of education in the area which had experienced neglect from the government. This exemplifies the community’s acknowledgement and appreciation of the work being undertaken by Zimplats under its CSR focus. This appreciation is echoed by the participants who were also enthusiastic to speak about significant differences between South African and Zimbabwean communities and their observations with both.

“In South Africa there is a very broad sense of entitlement but in Zimbabwe the attitude is very much one of being thankful that there is a successful mine in close proximity and that there is a good open relationship with the mine” (Official 9).

"In Zimbabwe, despite the much high level of poverty, there's a lot less discontentment and also more gratefulness and gratitude by communities over what projects are delivered by mining houses" (Official 10).

"When you do something in Zimbabwe, you get a thank you" (Official 8).

Participants tried to explain why they thought that these differences existed and highlighted that the reasons varied from mentality, cultural and historic elements to the political and socio-economic disparities between the two countries. According to the participants, these differences play a significant role in determining how communities react or respond to mining houses and their CSR effort.

"South African communities are very discontent because of poor service delivery in general. The communities often look to mining houses to solve service delivery problems. So, for instance, protestors will march to the mine, to have their water issues solved, even though it's not necessarily the mine's problem to solve, but because they know they will get reaction" (Official 10).

"For example, during turbulent times, "we sat down with our employees in Zimbabwe and the unions with a suggestion to reduce salaries to try and save jobs and we undertook this exercise over a two year period whereby we reduced basic wages by up to 20%. We got a thank you letter". A similar exercise in South Africa was met with protests" (Official 9).

"Expectations are greater in SA and that is because of the legislative link to social responsibility. Because it is part of the licence to operate, the expectations are greater. In Zimbabwe, that link does not exist so whatever Zimplats does for the community, it is seen as a bonus. These countries are also different in that there is a different mentality and different risk tolerance" (Official 8).

Another difference that was highlighted was that Zimplats' CSR initiatives are not only restricted to the areas of operation but include projects that are across the province of Mashonaland West and the rest of the country. For instance, Zimplats is involved in a countrywide project to address the challenges faced by people living with albinism. The organisation also responds to requests for assistance from various parts of the country, for example, calls to assist when Cyclone Idai devastated south eastern Zimbabwe.

"In Zimbabwe, the initiatives that we undertake are not as localised as they are in SA. In SA, it's mostly our host communities as well as our labour sending areas that is the Eastern Cape. Whereas in Zimbabwe, our mines are in Mashonaland west, but we undertake projects throughout the country or projects that would benefit the grater Zimbabwe" (Official 8).

"Zimplats' area of influence covers a wide geographical area. If one looks at the map of Zimbabwe and the two districts in which we have our footprint, Mhondoro-Ngezi Rural District

> and Chegutu Rural District, one will find that it covers a significant geographic space" (Official 11).

Interestingly, Zimplats did not report any notable incidences between the organisation and the community or other stakeholders over the past five years. That is not to say that the operations have not encountered issues with the local community, but it does demonstrate that Zimplats' engagement process is efficient and well-received by both parties. Incidents that are, however, noteworthy in the past 20 years include two culturally related incidents and the debate around the separation of the Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT. The first was conflict over custodianship of ancestral land in 1999 in the area that the mine was to be established (Mkodzongi, 2013:84) and the second was a 2014 dispute around the naming of Chitsuwa Dam to accommodate the Mandizadza heritage (Mbanje, 2014: par. 9). The ejection of the Zvimba from the CSOT came about because the district did not host any of the Zimplats operations (Chidakwa, 2019:par. 1). These debates were amongst the communities themselves and only involved Zimplats as a third party in the conflicts. This has left the organisation with positive sentiments about their relationship.

> "We don't have any significant issues with communities in Zimbabwe" (Official 8).

> "Where we have made investments, our effort has been received positively, but certainly, we do come across requests for further investments, which is understandable because of the economic environment that we operate" (Official 11).

Communities surrounding mining operations are often victims of political manipulation. Incidents occur especially towards elections as politicians campaign with promises to engage mining operations for more social benefits. Mkodzongi (2013:77) however, claims that Zimplats enjoys the protection of the governing party and is therefore saved from politically aligned protestation in return for jobs for local party members. The interference in the recruitment exercise is corroborated by Chanakira *et al*. (2019:1) who found that traditional chiefs in the area are politically partisan and are known to "exercise uncontested influence over Zimplats' labour recruitment". Although this claim cannot be fully substantiated here, it may not be too far-fetched considering the influence of politics in Zimbabwe.

Despite these anomalies, Zimplats has set up engagement processes which allow the community to present issues as they arise. According to its 2021 integrated annual report (2021:60), Zimplats holds regular structured meetings with community representatives to discuss matters of common interest including the pursuit of enhanced community safety. These meeting, which are held quarterly assist Zimplats to gather concerns as well as to disseminate information on their operations and CSR initiatives.

> "Zimplats hosts quarterly stakeholder meetings where it meets with community leaders, community chiefs, representatives of local community groups (for example women and the

youth) and local authorities to discuss issues around the business and community development" (Official 11).

"Over and above all the structures, there are very good stakeholder engagement forums that are formalised and also informal channels for instance where requests for engagement may come in from the community" (Official 10).

"In between the quarterly stakeholder meetings, Zimplats regularly finds opportunities to engage with the community and that keeps the relationship cordial" (Official 11).

This type of engagement helps to maintain a cordial relationship and builds a good reputation for Zimplats. The engagement also guides Zimplats CSR strategy and ensures that the community is kept abreast with developments at the operations.

5.3.12. Differences between CSR in South Africa and Zimbabwe

Official 9 explained that Implats' CSR priorities in South Africa and Zimbabwe are the same. Operations in both countries pay attention to organisationally fixed focus areas but differ in relation to specificity and execution which depend on the challenges of the locality.

In terms of the focus areas, they are aligned, but in terms of the execution, it is done differently. For instance, for a long time, Zimbabwe had a percentage allocation in terms of social project. It was not by legislation but by design that 2% pre-tax profit would be allocated to development projects.

The main difference from Implats perspective is the fact that CSR in South Africa is prescribed yet in Zimbabwe, it is not as explained by the participants.

"The biggest difference is the legislative requirements. In SA for example, we're guided by delivering on the SLPs and have to comply with the processes as prescribed by the government" (Official 10).

"In Zimbabwe, you don't necessarily have that compliance framework that says that as a mining right holder, there are certain social responsibilities that you have to shoulder" (Official 8).

"Zimplats does not have the legislative obligation to undertake certain projects" (Official 11).

For an organisation such as Implats, this difference is significant as it allows the organisation to pursue CSR initiatives in a manner that it sees fit. For a responsible organisation, this may be an exciting disposition as it allows it to coordinate CSR effort towards areas that it best sees appropriate. On the other hand, without a CSR framework for the country, a MNC like Implats may neglect its social obligations or just undertake the bare minimum to maintain its social licence.

"Zimbabwe is probably a more rewarding jurisdiction in which to invest in social responsibility and make a difference" (Official 9).

"In SA, Implats builds schools, provide water and electrification, all of which are part of the SPL obligations as the organisation works with government in that respect" (Official 8).

"In Zimbabwe, there's more of a choice on where Zimplats wants to spend its money. But even though there's a choice, the different types of focus areas still remain the same mainly because of similar developmental challenges" (Official 10).

Implats is looking to formulate a new social strategy which looks at the various areas of operation and deciding on what it is that the organisation wants to do. Although activities will still be decided at operations, Implats hopes to have more direction from head office, thereby ensuring uniformity.

"So historically, the operations have developed their own strategies. Only recently, in the last year or so, Implats has started to look at a more consolidated group effort that looks at what exactly is the organisation best at and concentrate on the initiatives that are maximum impact" (Official 8).

"The local compliance type initiatives will continue, with oversight from corporate" (Official 9).

"One of the areas that the organisation is considering for this, is education across all the operations. In that way, there is a uniform approach throughout the areas of operations" (Official 10).

This will also include more robust CSR impact analysis and measurement which will provide Implats with relevant data to improve its social investment and performance. The organisation acknowledges that many organisations fall behind when assessing social return on investment and other impact measurements and is looking to improve on that so as to become more purposeful and efficient.

"One of the things we've picked up is that even though we do good work, the impact is not measured well. In terms of impact and outcome issues, we are busy defining how that should be done, because it is more difficult" (Official 10).

"Implats recently started looking at Return on Social Investment type measures but historically used project management type measures such as project delivery and budget success" (Official 8).

This new strategic thinking on how Implats may better formulate, implement, and measure social performance is necessitated by the organisation's desire to do more and to be able to

"Now that things have improved, the organisation has the ability to do more. That is to say, in good times, we try to do more and in bad times, we try not to compromise on what we have committed to do" (Official 9).

Given the change in commodity prices, Implats can now do more to go beyond compliance. That requires a whole separate strategy and approach that can will be directed by corporate" Official 8

5.3.13. Impala Platinum Conclusion

Implats' approach to CSR is intertwined in the manner in which the organisation operates. Its commitment to international standards and best practices symbolises how important the organisation views sustainable development, innovation and transformation. Implats acknowledges that mining worldwide has a very direct and meaningful impact on people, natural resources, and other areas. To be able to successfully operate, outperform competitors and generate value for shareholders, Implats needs the support of a very wide and very diverse stakeholder base. The organisation needs to ensure that its actions are in congruence with the aspirations of the country and more specifically, with the community in which it operates.

Evidence from this research suggested that Implats has played a vital role in community development and poverty reduction and economic transformation in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. This is illustrated by the projects that the MNC has undertaken both in response to compliance protocols and the needs and expectations of the community through voluntary initiatives. The establishment of employee share ownership schemes in Zimbabwe and South Africa as well as the funding of the Mhondoro-Ngezi-Chegutu-Zvimba CSOT is testament to Zimplats commitment to empowerment.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, a description of the two cases was provided based on the investigations and interactions with the relevant information sources. MNCs' interactions with government and communities were described in the chapter, along with their CSR priorities and practices. In addition, the chapter delivered on themes such as CSR strategies of MNCs in response to IEEP, the CSR priorities of the MNCs in their home countries compared to those in the host country, as well examined the Zimbabwean government's expectations and how these MNCs have conducted themselves given these expectations. An overview of the MNCs' relationship with communities in both countries was also provided as means to further understand the organisations' approach to CSR. The next chapter will provide an interpretation and analysis of the main findings from the case studies as well as data from secondary sources. A perspective will be drawn from the analysis and a theoretical approach presented to improve discussion on CSR strategy formulation for MNCs that have invested or wish to invest in countries with IEEP.

Chapter 6: Interpretation, discussion and analysis of findings.

6.1 Introduction

As part of the study, it was necessary to analyse the data that has been collected, to interpret it and provide a meaningful discussion around the findings. This chapter provides an interpretation and analysis of the findings from both the literature review and the case studies. These findings are analysed, with a discussion around their relativity to the theoretical framework and, in so doing, provide a consolidated understanding of what has been investigated in fulfilment of the research objectives.

The chapter discusses the CSR strategies of MNCs and analyses how these are used to add value to the investment proposition in countries with IEEP. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the relationship between investors' knowledge of CSR and IEEPs and how these corporates respond to indigenisation polices. The chapter also focuses on the expectations of the Zimbabwean government from investors regarding CSR and how the indigenisation policy impacts investment. The chapter closes by presenting a theoretical approach to CSR strategy formulation which may be used by MNCs who wish to invest in a country with IEEP.

6.2 Analysis and interpretation of data

Patton (2002:432) states that analysis is the process by which data is transformed into findings by giving order, structure and meaning to the extensively acquired material. By analysing the available data and categorising information, the researcher is able to answer research questions better. According to De Vos *et al*. (2005:333) the analytical process "does not proceed tidily or in a linear fashion but it is more of a spiral process, it entails reducing the volume of the information, sorting out significant from irrelevant facts, identifying patterns and trends, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what was revealed by the data".

Once the data has been analysed, it needs to be interpreted and a discussion provided. According to Creswell (2009:186), it is from data analysis that interpretations are made, and discussions formed. As stated by Kruger *et al*. (2005:218) "data analysis does not in itself provide answers to research questions as these are found by way of interpretation of the analyse data".

Analysis and interpretation of data is a convergence of all collected data. It involves an examination of the literature review and a cross-case analysis to provide a holistic comprehension of the subject matter. It also draws on the researcher's knowledge and considers rival interpretations to address the topic at hand. This is all in line with a pre-discussed methodology and sets up the study for the realisation of the objectives of the study.

6.3 Understanding CSR

To begin with, an analysis of CSR was explored. This examination was necessary as it provided an understanding of the concept and practices, thereby laying a foundation for the rest of the study.

The study established that CSR is a function that has existed in different forms and for varying reasons over a long period of time. The review of literature showed how the concept has evolved over centuries; from a time when social responsibility was seen as the function of a few privileged individuals or institutions, to the 21st century, when CSR has become an integral part of how businesses operate. Recognisable names and institutions such as Carnegie, Ford, Rockefeller and the Roman Catholic Church come to mind because of their philanthropic work to society during the early days of social responsibility and philanthropy. “They saw this as part of their civic obligations and social responsibility, of putting something back, albeit on a very paternalistic basis” (Holme & Watts, 1998:5). The idea of giving back to society has however gained traction and has been accepted by businesses, who have since incorporated it into their strategic thinking and as an “inescapable priority” (Porter & Kramer, 2006:3).

CSR has developed into a recognisable concept not only in scholarly halls but also in the boardrooms of many organisations across the globe. However, while CSR has become an important part of society and business, understanding the concept has not been simple. As described in the literature review many definitions have been submitted to explain CSR but none has been universally accepted. As a result, organisations embrace different versions of what they believe reflects the essence of social responsibility. This on its own is problematic if one is to compare and contrast the CSR efforts of different organisations. Further complicating the issue is that different industries approach social responsibility sectorially as illustrated in the study. In other words, CSR in the mining industry differs significantly from that which is practiced in the financial sector.

However, academic, corporate, and institutional attempts have been made to develop more widely agreed definitions, standards and practices. The study revealed that, largely through the efforts of institutions such as the United Nations, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, the Caux Round Table and the International Council on Mining and Metals, there is a better understanding of and appreciation for global social challenges, as well as how different organisations may meaningfully contribute to meeting those needs and developing communities.

After reviewing several definitions, the study settled on one that encompassed an organisation's purposeful duty to society, taking into account both legal and social commitments. As discussed, the definition chosen for this study defined CSR as “actions that appear to further some social good, beyond the interests of the firm and that which is required by law” (McWilliams & Siegel, 2001:117). This definition was considered appropriate because it highlighted both the voluntary and obligatory factors that should be taken into account when investing in CSR. This is important because with this definition, the research was able to analyse the social investment of different organisations, paying particular attention to two MNCs that have invested in Zimbabwe and are the source of information for the study. By applying this definition, the research was able to compare the CSR policies and practices of different organisations, paying particular attention to the two MNCs under review thereby understanding how it applies to investment in countries with indigenisation and economic empowerment policies.

From the study, it is worth noting that the two cases under review preferred to use the term CSI and not CSR. This is consistent with Kloppers' (2014:62), findings that South African companies were uncomfortable with using the term CSR because of the negative perception associated with the word "responsibility". That is to say, the word carries a heavy burden on the corporate world especially in light of the failures by government to fulfil their service delivery mandate. However, as the researcher explained to the corporate participants, CSR is sometimes used interchangeably with the term CSI or as an umbrella term to describe the practices undertaken by organisations, of which CSI is a part of. This is explained by Trialogue (2020: par. 11) who state that "CSR is an overarching value-based framework that encompasses all social aspects of business operations" and that "CSI forms part of CSR".

Having understood this, the research found that organisations formulate strategies for a variety of reasons. An examination of the theories and related approaches that precipitate organisations to participate in CSR exposed the various reasons that an organisation may formulate their strategies. It was discovered that some organisations participate for purely altruistic reasons, others to achieve competitive advantage, to seek legitimacy and still others, to improve their reputation. With the latter for example, it was observed that some organisations have utilised CSR to polish and improve their public image and reputation by participating in charitable activities. As a result, stakeholders will praise the organisation for being responsible, and government and community relations will improve (Chanakira & Masunda, 2019:64).

The examination of the theories presented in the literature review compared to the strategies and practices undertaken by the two MNCs, showed that their approaches fall under a stakeholder theory. This observation is made with the realisation that the ability of these organisations to satisfy the needs and expectations of their various stakeholders is critical to their survival. This is corroborated by Sousa (2012:28) who explains that the focus of the theory is to identify and acknowledge the organisation's stakeholders and recognise that their needs and expectations "have an impact on the organisations, such that without their support or explicit, support an organisation will cease to exist". For the mining sector, their operations "would not be possible without the land from which the minerals are extracted, the communities which live on top of this land, and the workers whose labour results in the extraction of the minerals" (Houdet & Capel, 2018:46). These groups or individuals, who also include the government, suppliers and investors, are central to the sustainability and promotion of the MNCs' CSR activities and outcomes.

According to Mutti *et al*. (2012:213), responding to stakeholders' interests and concerns is critical for mining companies as they formulate suitable and practical CSR strategies. Okan *et al*. (2015:10) add that “from the aspect of stakeholder theory, understanding the priorities and interests of the stakeholders in mining sector is highly important for mining corporations in order to understand the expectations of other stakeholders they face”. The MNC can identify important stakeholders at various stages of the mining investment using the stakeholder theory since it helps to prioritise stakeholders by taking power, legitimacy, and urgency into consideration.

Greeno and Robinson (1992:226) and Mitchell *et al*. (1997:854) argue that organisations should assess the legitimacy and urgency of their constituents' claims and consider their power, ensuring that the most affected stakeholders' interests are met first. This is indicative of the strategies and practices identified in this study as they seek to pacify different stakeholders at different phases of their investment.

According to Post *et al*., (2002:19) stakeholders are “individuals and constituencies that contribute, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to firms’ wealth-creating capacity and activities, and that are therefore its potential beneficiaries and/or risk bearers”. Building and maintaining a good relationship with these parties is crucial to both the sustainability and the continued activity of the organisation.

Established from the study is the fact that MNCs seek to address their own economic needs before anything else; that is, their financial obligations to their economic stakeholders. This of course follows and aids the organisations’ own economic interests and financial stakeholders as presented in Carroll’s pyramid of CSR. The MNCs then move to satisfy their legal obligations, which in this case means observing the host governments legal requirements such as the Mines and minerals Act [Chapter 21:05] of 2001. It should be noted that by adhering to these regulatory requirements, MNCs earn economic benefits as it guarantees them their legal licence to operate. In line with Carroll’s pyramid, both economic and legal responsibilities are characterised as required (Schwartz & Carroll, 2003:504).

With mining in mind, an adjustment of the pyramid may however be drawn. Based on the findings of this study, philanthropic responsibilities seem to be more important to the mines than ethical responsibilities. This would see ethical responsibility at the top of the pyramid. Mutti *et al*. (2012:219) state that the ethical behaviour of mining organisations has often been questioned, as many find contradiction between ethics and the economic interests of the organisations. Canfield *et al*. (2020: par. 7) firmly state that mining is unethical, given effects on the land degradation, employee welfare, pollution and land conflicts. This is also supported by Irina and Stückelberger (2014:7) who asset that despite efforts to comply with sectorial codes, local regulations and international standards, the mining sector is critisised for social and environmental externalities of its operations. As such, the diagram below reflects the findings from this study and places ethical responsibility at the top of the pyramid.

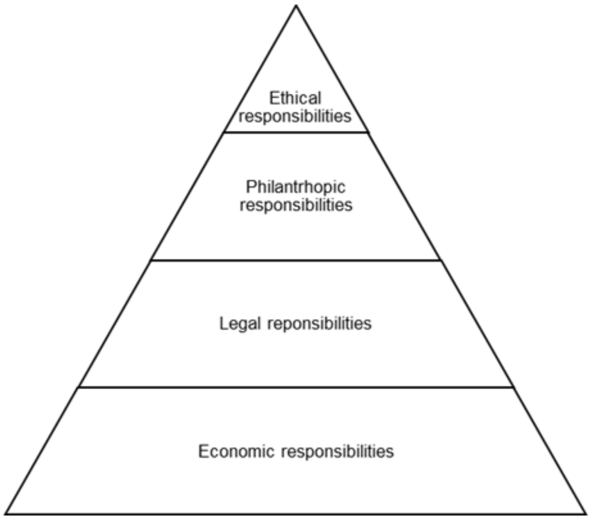

Figure 6.1 Revised CSR Pyramid for mining industry based on findings

Source: Created by the researcher (2022)

Although the extractive sector should go beyond mere compliance with laws and regulations, it has been heavily criticised by governments, non-governmental organisations, academics and community leaders for its failure to do so. This is addressed by Banda (2013:66) who criticises mining organisations such as AAC, stating that despite the organisation's positive economic contributions, claims against their mining operations demonstrate how they may be guilty of failing to meet their ethical responsibilities. Banda (2013:66) clarifies those claims, stating that "concerns for economic responsibilities are prioritised over ethical responsibilities" and in some instances, these mining organisations have been accused of failing to adequately address the externalities of their operations on communities. Environmental incidences such as leakages and spillages of tailings, accidental discharge and elevated sulphur dioxide emissions have a negative impact on the environment and on the public health of nearby communities. Such externalities weaken the MNC's relationship with local stakeholders and presents an ethical dilemma for mining operations. In the face of such accusations, organisations are left to defend their image and present rebuttals. For instance, in response to a 2008 report by Philip Mattera titled "Anglo American's track record. Rhetoric or reality?", AAC published a report titled "Anglo American: The reality" in which the organisation attempted to defend its track record by stating that "as the world's largest platinum producer, the total emissions are obviously going to be substantial in absolute terms" but that Amplats had "the cleanest process and lowest sulphur dioxide emissions in the industry" (Anglo American, 2008:6). Such oxymoronic statements may pacify the legal obligations, but present an ethical conundrum which in reality may affect the organisation's CSR standing. The findings presented examples of community discontentment and this illustrates the impact that operations have on society.

The findings suggest that more emphasis is placed on philanthropy than ethical responsibility as MNCs realise that their success is intrinsically linked to the successful communities. These MNCs view philanthropy as a way of uplifting the communities in which they operate. It may however be argued that philanthropy is used by mining companies to offset the consequences of their operations. These actions help to fulfil the expectations of communities to the level of maintaining a sound relationship with stakeholders. Mutti *et al*. (2012:218) emphasise that the main objective of such initiatives is "to ensure visible flow of benefits from the mining project to surrounding communities". Porter and Krammer (2002:1) add that "philanthropy is used as a form of public relations or advertising, promoting a company's image or brand through cause-related marketing or high-profile sponsorship". With a firm understanding of the expected and unintended outcomes of the mining operations, philanthropy is therefore seen as an attempt to generate goodwill.

Interestingly, this redesigned CSR pyramid is similar to the one proposed by Visser for developing countries in that ethical responsibilities are placed at the top. Visser (2008:487) suggests that the development of this pyramid was necessitated by the realisation that Carroll's CSR pyramid was American-centric, based on research there, and that in developing countries, the least emphasis was placed on ethical responsibility.

Canfield *et al*. (2020: par. 7) state that "it's worth recognising explicitly, that the nature of mining, whether it is across supply chains or the fact that it often occurs in developing countries, make mining inherently prone to more environmental, social and governance ('ESG') issues than other areas". As such, it may be more apt to consider this realignment of the CSR Pyramid with respect to this industry.

Both MNCs under review have comprehensive strategies which emphasise the fulfilment of compliance requirements before other responsibilities. Their CSR objectives are mainly focused on ensuring legal, social and environmental compliance both in South Africa and Zimbabwe. This includes responsible labour practices, sector-based environmental management systems and social obligations as prescribed by legislation. Mostert *et al*. (2016:28) confirms that these considerations are indeed a necessity in the decision-making processes of mining organisations.

Criticism has been levelled against the stakeholder theory because an organisation's actions are embedded in its inherent purpose, values, and culture. This means that the organisation's essence or motivation can hardly be altered and its actions reflect this. This is corroborated by Spitzeck (2013:1769) who suggests that empirical research has shown that organisations and management are unlikely to change their behaviour purely on the basis of arguments that run counter to set ambitions. This is consistent with the findings from this study which suggest that the two MNCs are stuck in their ways and are reluctant to fully embrace the call for social justice and affirmative action which are a major priority in both Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The stakeholder theory is also critisised for its failure to equitably fulfil the needs of all stakeholders. It is difficult for organisations to guarantee long-term socioeconomic benefits for all stakeholders. In some cases, vulnerable stakeholders, such as the immediate community, may be adversely affected by the operations of the organisation (Mutti *et al*., 2012:214). The organisation is forced to do its best to ensure that no conflict arises from its engagement with the various stakeholders while also maintaining its own interests.

Understandably, a business is an investment with egocentric interests, and every attempt will be made to maximise the return on investment. Despite this, it is imperative to ensure that the organisation's stakeholders are taken into consideration since operational success is highly dependent on their approval. In light of this, the findings showed that the economic empowerment drive of these developing countries needs to be given serious attention and not whitewashed through philanthropic initiatives. As such, a different approach to CSR strategy design and implementation which incorporates IEEP is required.

CSR, according to Chitate (2016:28), ought not only to provide sustainability, but also human dignity, acceptance, respect, completeness, and ethics. This means that regardless of whether the organisation is successful or not, it should participate in CSR activities in some form or another, and maybe at a lower cost than would usually be expected. For instance, organisations may actively participate in activities or programmes that promote human well-being or kindness.

6.4 Understanding IEEP

The two cases under observation revealed that they took CSR as part of their mining operational obligation. This is synonymous with mining houses across the world because the industries' operations have a huge impact on society and the environment. As such, Implats and Amplats participate in CSR initiatives to honour the obligations to their industry, government, society and the environment. This is demonstrated in their CSR investment towards issues in the countries in which they operate.

In response to the research objectives, the study presented an examination of IEEP as a step towards understanding how such policies influence CSR strategies and practises. The research examined various theories of social justice, affirmative action and economic empowerment and found that there is a need in different spheres of society for interventionist policies to be adopted in response to societal vices such as inequality, discrimination and prejudice. Such policies are useful, transformative and assist society deal with biases that exist. Indigenisation and economic empowerment policies are particularly important for developmental states as they help bring socioeconomic parity and work towards removing any historical prejudices that existed due to policies such as slavery, colonisation, and apartheid.

Indigenisation and economic empowerment policies, as discussed, have the potential to transform and develop countries. The respective governments seek partnerships with various institutions, from corporates, non-governmental organisations and international entities and states, to help ensure that corrective processes are achieved. It should however be noted that these partnerships may at times be made out of vested self-interest or self-preservation on the part of external partners. This is suggested by Taylor (2016:10) who asserts that in such cases, foreign agents and investors are concerned about their interests being threatened by what appears to be "empowerment" being turned into "redistribution". Whatever the case may be, it is important for all parties to engage productively towards restorative justice which should culminate in empowered communities and sustainable development.

Indigenisation and economic empowerment policies have worked with varying degrees of success in a number of countries across the globe. Many of these countries suffered historical injustices such as slavery, colonisation and apartheid and such interventional policies are therefore seen as appropriate measures that should result in the correction of these injustices. The research explored the policies of two countries and established that these deliberate affirmative action policies have been received with varying views and criticism. South Africa's B-BBEE programme, for example, has been criticised for being segregatory and politically prejudiced, while the Malaysian NEP was said to be elitist. Despite the criticism, the investigation revealed that economic empowerment policies are best judged by history as is the case in Malaysia where the deliberate actions taken by government in the 1970s have resulted in a transformed economy that is the envy of most developing nations that have experienced similar colonial challenges.

Due to Zimbabwe's colonial history, IEEP has been formulated and implemented as a deliberate directive rather than a moderate and co-operative process. The study found that this command tactic was synonymous with President Mugabe's latter approach to dealing with issues related to colonisation and followed on the heels of unsuccessful transformation initiatives which the government had tried to implement at the dawn of the Zimbabwe's independence. Mugabe's earlier approach to desegregation and redistribution was seen as reconciliatory, market-friendly, liberal and potentially progressive (Hawkins, 1981: par. 4) but relied heavily on the cooperation of economic and international partners. The government's stance shifted following political challenges and the failure by both businesses and international partners to significantly contribute towards transformation. As a result, a more radical approach was adopted and saw the country undertake the fast tracked land reform programme and the abandonment of the Lancaster House Constitution in 2013.

The study found that the government under President Mugabe believed in this radical and popularist approach as seen by the measures undertaken in the 2000s. These included the government's initial stand on how shares should be ceded to empowerment participants and its calls for mining organisations to undertake beneficiation initiatives. As radical approaches go, these calls were met with resistance from businesses as shown in the study, and this contributed to variations in the comprehension and implementation of the policy, as well as threats of disinvestment by larger MNCs. Government's inconsistency even after the Mugabe era has continued to affect the affirmative action drive.

IEEP forms a part of developing countries' priorities and should be recognised as such. The study, however, found that Zimbabwe's attempt at addressing colonial injustices through IEEP has been shambolic. The policy has lacked concrete enforcement and has been left at the whim of participants. Application of the policy has been inconsistent, and this has led to different interpretations by all participants. An example of this is presented in the manner in which the MNCs under review have interpreted and participated initiatives in response to IEEP. The study found that the inconsistency and lack of control of the IEEP had led to capital flight or disinvestment and loss of investor confidence to the detriment of the economy which the government wishes to improve. Despite this, Zimbabwe has been forced to recognise the efforts of some businesses and has accepted or conceded to the plans that have been implemented by MNCs such as Implats and Amplats.

The reviewed theories of affirmative action and social justice present a combination of basic principles and theoretical models that have played a role in the development of IEEP. Their main tenets in the fight for social justice are similar, but the methods of achieving this may differ, with some being more radical than others, as seen with the Zimbabwean model. The research, however, found that, to get the best out of these theories, adjustments may have to be made to facilitate the participation of businesses in the transformation agenda. Mindful of this, the research found that a solid acceptance and comprehension of the theories of social justice and affirmative action as well as theories of social responsibility would support a drive to improve economic empowerment, transformation and the active and voluntary involvement of MNCs, as exemplified by the participation of South African businesses in B-BBEE. As such, the Zimbabwean government's calls for beneficiation in the platinum industry should be viewed as beneficial to both state and mining organisations, as the latter would benefit from improved efficiency and reputational capital as discussed by interview participants. With the comprehension of these theories and a firm acceptance of the intentions of the government of Zimbabwe, MNCs may be amicable to furnishing of ESOTs and CSOTs differently, in view of the benefits to the MNCs, government and communities.

All in all, the study established that more attention needs to be paid to the preparation of a policy that is truly transformative and accommodative to the interests of all parties involved. These parties need to collaborate in an effort to produce a policy that is suitable and serving the interests of the host country. This should be done with due consideration for social, environmental, legal, ethical and economic needs and interests of the host country. The realisation from the study is that transformation is a process and that the policy should be a fluid document that takes into account changes in the social and economic environment. South Africa's B-BBEE, for example, has been amended a number of times since its introduction, with the latest amendment coming in 2019 and more expected in 2022 (Businesstech, 2021: par. 4), and this has refined the policy in response to growing demands for more to be done towards transformation and for better clarity. Similarly, the Zimbabwean government may need to reconsider its approach so as to harness greater economic potential for citizens through the reconfiguration of the policy towards a CSR outlook.

6.5 IEEP as a component of CSR in Zimbabwe

Having understood the factors that influence CSR and the reasons behind the enactment of IEEP, the findings revealed that MNCs ought to fully appreciate the needs and expectations of their host countries in order to formulate strategies that best serve their hosts. There are many elements contained in CSR practises, but grasping the priorities or needs of society should be paramount to any organisation's CSR strategy. As it stands, economic empowerment is a priority for many countries that have experienced the injustices of colonisation and as such transformation and economic empowerment should be embossed into any MNC's CSR thinking, particularly if operating in a developmental country.

Economic empowerment has the ability to transform society and ultimately reduce the country's dependence on social investment from MNCs. That is not to imply that MNCs should not make meaningful contributions in other ways; rather, it is to demonstrate that an economically empowered society would place less or different demands on MNCs, as is the case in developed nations.

As such, whether voluntary or mandated, economy empowerment should be considered as an important element within CSR. It forms what may be termed a national priority. Kloppers (2014:60) supports this notion, stating that such policies are useful in the improvement of communities and, therefore, should be looked upon “as an adapted version of CSR".

While the indigenisation policy does not compel MNCs to assist local communities, it does set the tone for community development (Mathende & Nhapi, 2017:149). Siawor-Robertson and Awaworyi (2015:5) hold that in developing countries like Zimbabwe where the legal requirements often lag behind social standards, voluntary initiatives can temporarily augment them. The goal of these initiatives would be to contribute to long-term socio-economic growth, improve the well-being of marginalised citizens and encourage environmentally friendly mining operations that do not endanger local populations.

Having established this, MNCs in Zimbabwe need to recognise the importance of IEEP in the development of the country and as part of CSR. It was, however, discovered that organisations did not recognise IEEP as a CSR element. The examination of the two MNCs establish that they would rather consider IEEP as a legal requirement that does not deserve continued support as may be the case with other CSR projects. This is seen for example, through the once-off donation made towards the creation of CSOTs, whose funds could be depleted before the life of mine ends. A more meaningful method would have been a negotiated approach towards the allocation of shares to ensure active participation as intended by the policy.

6.6 CSR practices and priorities compared

The study investigated the priorities of MNCs in their home countries and measured them against those in the host countries. This was done to establish whether or not CSR practises in the home country have a bearing on initiatives in the host country and to find out if host priorities are integral to strategy and investment propositions. This was also done to measure the two MNCs responsiveness to indigenisation and economic empowerment since both organisations have their headquarters in South Africa; a country that already has enacted an economic empowerment policy.

In terms of CSR, the study established that the values and priorities of the organisation inform CSR culture in both the home and the host country but that the activities are determined by the needs of the host country and communities as discussed earlier. An examination of the priorities and practises of MNCs revealed that they seek to comply with legislative requirements first and foremost. This is consistent with Nelson's (2008:1) assertion that issues of "compliance with the law and efforts to be accountable and transparent and to do no harm should be the starting point for leading companies". Analysis of the two cases revealed that both MNCs sought to comply with compliance requirements such as SPL, the Mining charter, and B-BBEE in South Africa and the Minerals Act in Zimbabwe. These requirements provide the organisation with the legal licence to operate and are therefore duly and assiduously met.

The study established that once these requirements are met, the organisations are then willing to invest in voluntary CSR, albeit for various reasons as articulated through the literature review. Because the research involved cases from developing countries, the evidence revealed that the CSR priorities are similar. The degree of similarity is, however, different as South Africa may be considered a more developed country than Zimbabwe. For instance, the unemployment rate in South Africa in 2021 stood at 34.4% (Statistics South Africa, 2021:1) while in Zimbabwe, the unemployment and inflation rates are so high that a political decision was made to stop Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency from publishing figures (Muronzi, 2019: par.5). As such, greater emphasis is placed on initiatives that seek to improve livelihood through enterprise development and self-employment and subsistence projects. This illustrates that though priorities are similar attention paid to particular issues would differ.

Needless to say, CSR, whether voluntary or prescribed, offers society significant benefits which cannot be understated, especially if undertaken correctly and for the right reasons. For example, the two MNCs participate in projects that assist in the development of education, healthcare, as well as enterprise development and sustainability projects. This has seen significant improvements in the level of development in the areas in which they operate. For example, both MNCs were seen to prioritise the improvement of education and related infrastructure. This has been done to augment efforts made by the governments of South Africa and Zimbabwe and in line with attempts to improve education across the globe as recommended by SDG 4.

In terms of healthcare and community welfare, the study identified similarities in that the MNCs invested significantly towards the provision of health education and facilities. The MNCs faced comparable expectations in both their home and host nations as a result of their operations being in developing countries. For instance, both countries have challenges dealing with HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases. Variations in the demands on the operations however exist, depending on the respective government's level of participation in the health sector. It was found that communities in Zimbabwe received less attention from their government than their counterparts in South Africa and as such, a lot of attention would be given by the MNCs in that country. This is exemplified by the type of initiatives undertaken by the MNCs, including subsidising the salaries of health workers, equipping of facilities and the construction of staff quarters, most of which would normally fall under the purview of the government. It should be highlighted, however, that while mining companies invest substantially in healthcare in these communities, scholarly debate still exists about the reasons for such investment. While investment in healthcare may be seen as altruistic CSR, it may also be viewed as indemnification for the externalities of mining operations. Despite this, the health sector is indeed an area upon which CSR strategies should concentrate.

Interestingly, the two MNCs that were studied did not recognise IEEP as part of their CSR but were prepared to satisfy South Africa's B-BBEE and Mining Charter requirements and, in doing so, acknowledge that economic empowerment is part of their socio-economic responsibility. This could be testament to the government of Zimbabwe's weak command with regards to enforcement of the policy, its inconsistent application, or what corporates have insisted are unreasonable demands contained in the policy. On the other hand, it could be out of disrespect on the part of the MNCs considering their ability to bully governments in developing countries. Juneja (n.d.) argues that "many developing countries have been unable to control multinational corporations because of the power that they wield over these countries". This means that MNCs are often able to use their financial power and global influence to convince governments to alter their policies. Whatever the case may be, it is clear that there is hypocrisy by the MNC in respect to their acceptance of economic empowerment in their home country compared to the host country; although one could highlight differences in the approaches to economic empowerment.

The study also found that CSR has evolved over the years and as such organisations seek to realign CSR strategies around universal principles and standards such as the SDGs, International Organisation for Standardization (ISO) 14000 standards on environmental management and International Council on Mining and Metals principles. Many MNCs have adopted the SDGs, for example, as guiding principles upon which to structure their social responsibility strategies regardless of their investment origin or destination. This helps to standardise practises across jurisdictions. The research, however, noted that because of differences in national priorities, organisations are very specific on which principles they would prefer to adopt. For this, organisations also consider their own capabilities and interests. Having established this, the study found that organisations incorporate these principles and standards in the application of CSR practises in both jurisdictions; with variations in their targets.

The study also compared the relationship that these organisations have with communities in both countries as a way to understand the acceptance of CSR strategies. It was determined that differences exist as communities in Zimbabwe were found to more appreciative and less confrontational than South African communities. Explanations varied from social and economic variances such as educational, historical and cultural differences, variations in the level of poverty and inequality, as well as disparities in both countries' degrees of development. It was recognised that the relationship with these communities played an important role in the manner in which strategies are formulated and executed. Organisations value their engagement with communities and are concerned about the relationships as these have an impact on their operations and reputation.

6.7 CSR strategies in response to IEEP

The cross case analysis revealed that MNCs establish their CSR strategies based on a variety of factors. As aforementioned, these MNCs highlighted that strategies are formulated first and foremost in response to legal obligations as these give the organisation licence to operate. Their strategies are a reflection of the organisation's values, purpose and objectives and are mostly aligned to the expectations of the community in which they operate.

The study also revealed that MNCs do not formulate strategies in response to IEEP in Zimbabwe. Unlike in South Africa, Zimbabwe’s indigenisation law is not binding on MNCs to fulfil CSR initiatives. The study showed that in South Africa, B-BBEE is specific about how businesses should participate in empowerment programmes and prescribes points and participation benefits to organisations as they conduct their projects. Zimbabwe's indigenisation law, on the other hand, is very vague and non-specific with regards to the prudent value of empowerment beyond the share ownership aspect. For instance, it makes no mention of the necessity to measure the participants spend on skills development neither does it prescribe direction on how the organisations should focus on empowerment through socioeconomic development (education, health and development programmes for women, youth, people with disabilities, etc.).

The vagueness and non-specificity of Zimbabwe’s indigenisation law, compounded with the government's inconsistent implementation of the said policy has left many MNCs with the liberty of undertaking CSR initiatives in any manner they deem fitting. This could be detrimental to social development as the organisation may allocate funds and attention to issues which may not reflect the core priorities of the host country.

In spite of the vagueness, MNCs develop CSR strategies to address the needs of their host communities and in line with their corporate values and objectives. For instance, both Unki and Zimplats illustrated their flexibility in addressing the needs of the community without the government’s intervention.

The findings confirmed that CSR strategies of MNCs are driven by organisational values and objectives and that this is done purely for strategic reasons. These organisations understand that proper CSR planning and implementation has the ability to improve their reputations and operational efficiency while reducing their risk and exposure thereby encouraging better relationships with important stakeholders. An analysis of some of their initiatives, suggests that their motives are both intrinsic and extrinsic in nature. This confirms findings by Lukas and Halt (2011) that intrinsic and extrinsic motives can be complimentary. These initiatives are drawn from organisational values and objectives but are undertaken in response to host situations or needs. If their motives were purely intrinsic, then MNCs would voluntarily push to drive the transformational agenda of developing countries, with less intervention from governments.

As the study identified, these MNCs provide educational support, agricultural and sustainability assistance, healthcare and welfare initiatives, and enterprise development. These initiatives have seen considerable success especially in light of the development vacuum that has existed in Zimbabwe due to the social, political and economic situation in that country. Implats and Amplats participate in these CSR projects without any natural or constitutional obligation to do so.

The study also found that there has been selective interpretation of IEEP by MNCs. The two MNCs under review have also interpreted the policy differently. For instance, whilst both organisations helped to create CSOTs, their interpretation of how and why this should be done is different from how it was intended by the government. Both mining houses settled for a donation towards the creation of the trusts in their respective communities in contravention of the core of the policy which opines that any funding or shareholding should be given to the community in lieu of the resources. The mining houses criticised this tenet as they felt the communities benefiting under CSOT were enjoying the same benefits through their CSR initiatives. At one point, Zimplats threatened to withdraw its CSR participation in retaliation to the government's insistence that mining houses cede shares to the CSOTs (Mawowa, 2013:17).

Interestingly, other large business in the country have also taken the route of donating funds towards the establishment of CSOTs. It should, however, be noted that fault does not fall entirely on the organisations as the government of Zimbabwe has complicitly accepted this interpretation of the policy and has celebrated the creation of the CSOTs through donations.

The study established an anomaly in that despite donating seed capital towards the creation of CSOTs, the MNCs were still reporting on the activities of the trusts. As separate entities, there is technically no need to report on the activities of the CSOTs except in cases where the mining company has collaborated or actively participated in the initiative. For example, in its 2019 annual report, Zimplats (2019:62) reported on CSOT initiatives, including the construction of "an X-ray building at Banket District Hospital" but did not provide details on its involvement in these projects. This seems like double-dipping and seeking credit for initiatives that did not involve the organisation. The study also found that there was a need to coordinate the effort of both entities in order to reduce the possibility of duplication or over concentration on a particular need or location. In addition, the MNC's strategies lacked clarity with regards to how the organisations would support the COSTs beyond the possible exhaustion of funds, given their failure or reluctance to issue shares to the communities. With the considerable local developmental demands, the improper use of funds, lack of sustainable investment strategies, fragmented community participation and reported political interference (Mango, 2017:21, Gilberthorpe, 2015:6), it is more than likely that the fund may run out. Granted, the government of Zimbabwe should be held accountable for these challenges and lack of proper foresight, but, the MNCs need to have formulated contingency plans to capacitate the CSOTs, ringfence their financial and investment knowledge as well as prepare for the possibilities of future challenges.

The study also established that the two MNCs under review embraced the tenet that prescribed the creation of employee share ownership schemes exclusively. Amplats ignored the requirement, while Implats proactively established an ESOT. This further illustrates that there is no consistency in the manner in which IEEP is interpreted and handled.

6.8 Government expectations

The study established that the government of Zimbabwe does not have any explicit expectations with regards to CSR as the country does not have an existing CSR framework. A CSR framework would be a clear mandate by the government on how organisations should disclose information on the social and environmental investment and performance. According to Lin (2020, par. 3), such a regulation "would compel companies to identify social and environmental risks associated with their business operations and establish and execute reasonable plans to prevent harm from the identified risk". Such a mandate would also expect organisations to commit a certain percentage of their profits to CSR initiatives such as the construction of amenities as well as support educational and healthcare efforts.

Having noted the above lack of explicit CSR legislation, it is important to reiterate that IEEP should be considered as a CSR obligation similar to B-BBEE in South Africa. The indigenisation policy reflects similar values. The policy is motivated by the desire to empower ordinary Zimbabweans so that they can actively participate in economic progress after being disadvantaged during the colonial period (Mathende & Nhapi, 2017:149; Chidyausiku & Muzingili, 2017:65). Both CSR and economic empowerment policies seek to uplift citizens by enhancing their quality of life and equitably sharing the value that mining creates through the exploration of natural resources in their localities and as such, fall within a similar ambit. Regrettably, the government of Zimbabwe has not introduced stringent steps to show that there is a need for IEEP to be considered as an element of CSR.

The analysis of data showed that while the government of Zimbabwe does not have a CSR framework, it does pay attention to the organisations' social reputation over and above the financial elements of the proposition. This was found through the government's requirement that a potential investor must specify socio-economic intentions upon submission of their proposal. In addition, evidence collected suggests that the government pays more attention to MNCs that have the financial clout to undertake social initiatives in the community as this unburdens the host, which in the case of Zimbabwe, is already failing to meet its mandate. The government is thus willing to listen and, in some instances, accept compromises. Banking on their track record on CSR programs, both Zimplats and Unki mine have for example, managed to successfully engage government to be given more time to implement outstanding projects such as beneficiation.

The study highlighted that a gap exists in CSR knowledge in Zimbabwe and that this has affected government's expression on the concept. The government of Zimbabwe does not have any explicit expectations with regards to CSR as the country does not have a CSR framework.

It is clear from the available data that expectations for social impact, though unclear, do exist through tenets in legislation such as the Zimbabwe Investment Authority Act and Mines and minerals Act [Chapter 21:05] of 2001. As established in the study, these acts expect investors to provide explanations on issues such as employment, infrastructure development and environmental impact.

6.9 Relationship between investors' CSR knowledge and IEEP

From the data gathered, the understanding of CSR and priorities of the investment destination is very important. It gives credence to the organisation's social investment.

CSR is more complex than governments and organisations care to accept. It would take a deeper understanding of CSR to resolve how best to formulate an IEEP which would be suitable and more acceptable to the state and investors. This may be achieved through solid engagement between all parties. The study showed that there has been constant disgruntlement between the Zimbabwean government and investors, which has resulted in an array of problems for both parties. The study also highlighted how the private sector had continuously been engaged throughout the process of formulating B-BBEE in South Africa and how this ongoing process had culminated in the refinement of the policy. This demonstrates how proper engagement can help develop empowerment policies which are suitable, progressive, sustainable, developmental and responsible. As part of CSR, IEEP would certainly improve the way businesses accept and develop strategy. To this, Albareda *et al*. (2008:349) argue that CSR is a valuable instrument for developing collaborative platforms which are truly beneficial to governments, businesses and citizens.

Understanding CSR would assist the state in formulating policies that would fit into the global way of thinking. The world is moving towards a CSR culture which understands the role of government, business and citizens in the attainment of policies and practices that are sustainable and developmental. As a result, in order to connect with investors, the state must embrace a role other than conventional command and control and adopt "approaches that encourage voluntary CSR practices as a complement to state regulations" (Almatrooshi *et al*. 2018:3). To this end, the study established that MNCs are well aware of their social responsibilities especially since they operate in countries with far advanced appreciation for and knowledge of CSR practices. As such, these MNCs may first and foremost, assist in the improvement of CSR knowledge and culture in Zimbabwe. The study did highlight that this was lacking and that MNCs have been involved in different capacities of knowledge transfer and could play a significant role in that regard in Zimbabwe.

MNCs play a significant role in lobbying for or against policies, especially those that have a bearing on their investment. According to Nye (1974:156), MNCs can use their clout to shape the policy direction of host countries, particularly weaker developing nations, by offering either inducements and assurances of additional investment; or deprivations and threats of withdrawal of investment. An example of this was shown in the study when Zimplats threatened to withdraw its investment over disgruntlement pertaining to the indigenisation policy in Zimbabwe. In so doing, such negative (or positive) actions, help shape policies such as IEEP and CSR frameworks. Because of their global footprint, especially in countries that have implemented such policies, MNCs may have a better understanding on how the formulation of such policies will be received by business and may impact investment. From their footprint in different jurisdictions across the globe, MNCs have gained expertise which could be useful in spreading knowledge on CSR and IEEP. The study showed how organisations such as BP and Anglo American Corporation have been useful in engaging with state actors in discussions which have culminated in formulation of policies in countries such as Malaysia and South Africa respectively.

It is, however, important to highlight that the transfer of CSR and economic empowerment knowledge to state actors is dependent on the acceptance appetite of the state. That is to say, the government must be willing to accept assistance of this nature from MNCs. Nevertheless, there is a need for improved CSR knowledge in the country and MNCs can play a leading role in developing this understanding as demonstrated in through the findings.

6.10 Value addition of CSR to investment

CSR strategies and reputation add value to investment proposition. Ward (2007:4) highlights that “governments may seek to align national investment promotion strategies with responsible foreign investors”. An organisation practising CSR could present itself as a transparent, responsible, and accountable entity that addresses the necessary concerns of society (Grainge, 2007:27).

CSR helps to build a reputation after responsible organisation which is easily recognisable to investors and other stakeholders. The study showed that CSR strategies provide the organisation with the opportunity to show their human face as many countries would prefer to work with organisations with sustainable business practises. From the study, it was established that MNCs employ different CSR strategies in order to add value to their investment propositions, as well as establish a mutual relationship with government and community stakeholders. This helps build relationships with the government and facilitate regulatory approval processes.

In enhancing positive benefits from foreign investments, governments may seek to court responsible MNCs whose strategies align with their developmental interests. In Peru for example, the government courts investors who are “able to transfer state-of-the-art technology and to take responsibilities respect to the development of their social environment” (Ward *et al*., 2008:4). Furthermore, potential investors need to disclose the role and social commitment they have towards the environment and citizens.

Mindful of this, the study found that investors show their attractiveness by committing to legislation such as the Mines and Minerals Act [Chapter 21:05] in the way they disclose their social and labour plans for instance. The organisation demonstrates its capabilities based on projects that it has delivered on in its home country and shows commitment to actively contributing towards the development of the country.

The government also showed lukewarm attention to comprehensive CSR strategies but did acknowledge that an investor’s potential to show provision for socio-economic issues did add value to the investment proposition. This was the case in relation to Amplats and Implats whose CSR reputation preceded them. With Amplats, the reputation was mainly linked to the presence of AmZim in Zimbabwe as well as its effort in platinum mining communities in South Africa. Implats’ reputation was found to be associated predominately with its engagement and relationship with the Bafokeng nation, its empowerment record, as well as its social investment particularly in the Rustenburg area. This reputation was seen replicated in the way that the MNCs invested in social development in Zimbabwe as well as how they interacted with the government, the community, other stakeholders and how they responded to IEEP.

It was found that the government considers the degree to which the MNC will provide infrastructure and social development linked with new investments (for example, roads, schools, and health amenities) and how this will reduce the load on the state. Special consideration may also be accorded to MNCs who plan to transfer ownership of the infrastructure that they plan on building back to the local community or the state after a certain period of time. This, as it was established, was the case with Zimplats' investment in the Chitsuwa cha Mandizadza dam project, which included a build, operate, and transfer agreement. This supports the conversation by Ward *et al*. (2008:8) that an offer to “take over the administration of the service or infrastructure in due course is also an important consideration”.

MNCs who require legitimacy tend to be more cooperative to government’s demands and are willing to add value to their propositions. This should motivate potential hosts to accept the proposition. This is particularly certain in sectors where the competition for resources is high. In this regard the developmental aspirations of the host country can be met through the acceptance of investors who have the greatest command of the country’s needs.

6.11 Theoretical contribution

Diverging views on CSR, particularly in developing countries, compounded by the low level of appreciation of the concept in these countries, makes the formulation of CSR strategies at a corporate level, and CSR policies at the government level, very difficult. The study has already identified that a stakeholder theoretical approach is best suited to describe the CSR actions of MNCs operating in Zimbabwe. A revised CSR pyramid for the mining industry was also introduced to fit into the narrative of the two mining houses that were investigated and demonstrating how they deviate from what would be normatively preferred from MNCs in developing countries.

Any strategy that is formulated or adopted by MNCs that wish to invest in countries that have initiated IEEPs must take into consideration the economic empowerment priority of that country and incorporate it into their strategic thinking. It has already been demonstrated that finding a theoretic approach to use as a foundation of such a strategy is difficult to establish. It was however established that the strategies and practices of the MNCs that were studied fell under the stakeholder theory. This theory is identifiable by the attention paid to the mine's stakeholders in what was found to be a win-win relationship. This entails continuing to operate in a safe, sustainable, and unhindered manner while meeting the needs and expectations of the stakeholders. The stakeholder theory purports that organisations do not only pay attention to the maximisation of shareholder value but also consider the wellbeing of other stakeholders who are affected by the operations of the organisation (Cragg & Greenbaum, 2002:319).

As mining entities, the two organisations prioritise their stakeholders and how to engage with them, and in line with Schwartz and Carroll's (2003:504) observation on the prioritisation of responsibilities, economic and legal priorities are met first. The strategies of mining investors fall into this category as they seek to observe laws and regulations that guarantee their operating licence. The MNCs however wield power and influence by virtue of their financial clout, size and global presence and may be able to use it to dictate their engagement with their various stakeholders.

According to Zaaiman (2020:4), "power is the legitimate possession of capacity, or any capacity to produce effects" while influence ensures that certain actions are made possible. The power and influence that MNCs wield, falls under the political theory of CSR. This theory describes the intentional and unintentional political influence that organisations have on society. According to Wickert (2016:1) political theory of CSR involves organisations playing a political role in addressing the "social and environmental" gaps that exist in the countries in which they operate. The MNCs investigated here however miss the opportunity to utilise their power and influence in the direction and implementation of policy. It is therefore important for these organisations to reconsider the theoretical basis of their strategies and to use their power and influence to facilitate positive change.

It is not uncommon to integrate more than one theory into strategic thinking. An approach of this nature holds merit as it allows the organisation to consolidate its own objectives with the priorities of the foreign market in which it operates or wishes to operate. A critical theoretical review of strategy formulation for MNCs that invest in countries with IEEP dictates that such CSR strategies are best understood with proper consideration for the economic empowerment needs of those countries. This proposed approach considers that the broader political role of MNCs will be more useful for understanding their activities and for accounting for the wider context of their operations. This is in line with realisation that MNCs wield inherent, desirable and undesirable power and influence in the jurisdictions that they operate. This helps support Davis' (1973:63) assertion that "those who do not utilise power and influence in a way that society deems responsible will ultimately lose it as other groups will move in to accept those duties".

This research however proposes the addition of political theoretic thinking to provide a combined approach to influence strategy formulation. A combined theoretical approach of the political theory and stakeholder theory would open avenues for the redefinition of CSR practice with focus on the successful integration of the transformational agenda into its strategies. The adoption of this theoretic approach as a function of strategy formulation would mean that these MNCs recognise their shortcomings and accept that they wield power and influence necessary to actively contribute towards the government's transformational agenda. This means that the MNCs become active participants in assisting to redefine the IEEP as well as in the implementation of transformational programmes through their CSR strategies. This engagement does not mean that the host government is abdicating its role or responsibilities as the principle, but that it is acknowledging the benefits of accepting business as an important partner in the development and transformation of the country. The government still needs to play a controlling role and only accept assistance that is in the best interest of the country and with recognition of its sovereignty. Figure 6.2 below introduces the "bricolagical approach" (own formulation) to CSR based on the analysis of this study and as a recommendation for the foundation of the formulation of CSR strategies of MNCs. An explanation is presented thereafter.

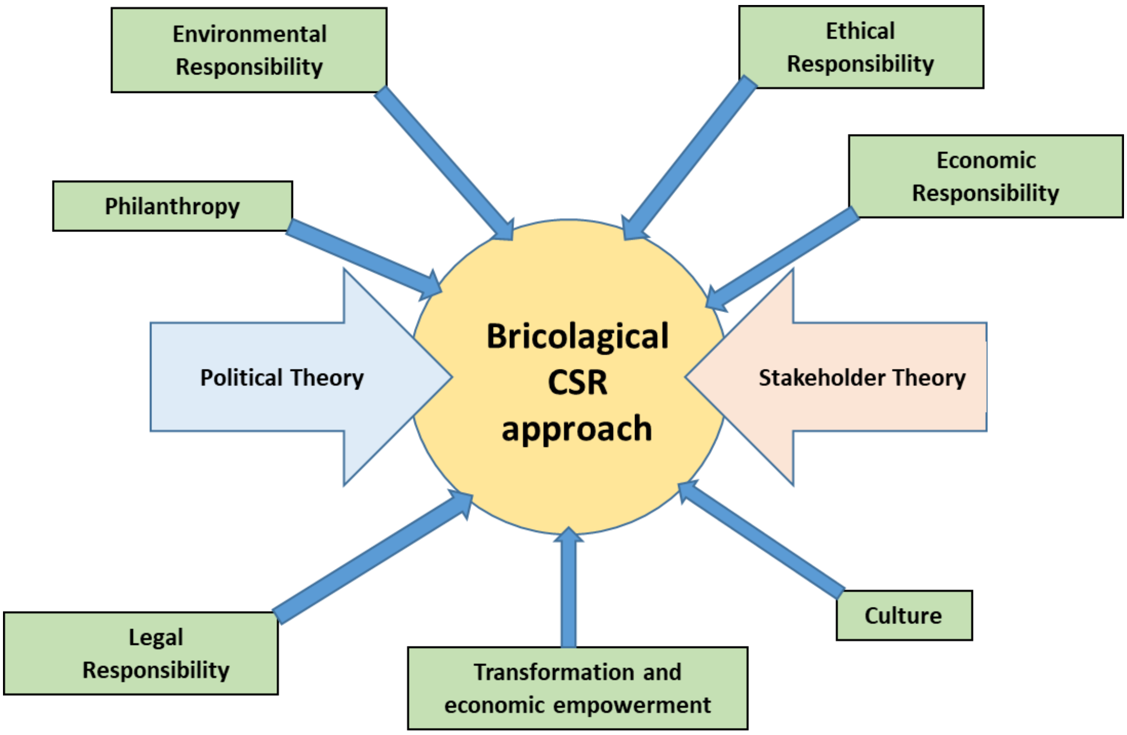

Figure 6.2 Proposed Bricolagical CSR approach

Source: Created by the researcher (2022)

The word bricolage is defined by Baker (2007:705) as using a resource and linking it with additional resources to maximise on new opportunities. This means that organisational effort and resources are efficiently and effectively used to achieve specific objectives. The Oxford dictionary of difficult words (2004:52) adds that bricolage is the "construction or creation from a diverse range of available things". The term is therefore aptly used here because it is concerned with the effective utilisation of organisational resources in pursuit of a CSR strategy that may be used to support indigenisation and economic empowerment.

The approach brings together the critical areas of CSR, as well as responses to critical issues, in order to advance our understanding of the purpose and responsibilities of responsive organisations. These issues must be recognised as the most significant aspects of sustainability in the context of a country that has initiated IEEP.

The stakeholder and political theories are brought together to establish the bricolagical CSR approach. The inclusion of the stakeholder theory is in realisation that MNCs seek to fulfil their obligations to their stakeholders as they enter into a host country, while the political theory is included into the approach because of the influence and power that the MNCs wield.

The theoretical approach does recognise that the central obligation of business is economic. It however attempts to further this neoclassical economic paradigm by embracing the expectations of the host community as well as the impact of the organisation's activities. This is only possible if the organisation pays particular attention to a host country's specific needs. Although these needs differ, some commonalities exist within developing countries, especially those that are in the throes of addressing the injustices of their colonial past. These include social, economic and environmental challenges such as poverty eradication, unemployment, lack of health and sanitation, inadequate housing and deforestation as presented in the ecosystem of poverty (Sarkar, 2015:77).

The organisation needs to comply with legal, ethical and environmental requirements but because of its power and influence, needs to go beyond mere compliance. This includes active and voluntary participation in the formulation and implementation of industry specific codes and standards as well as the evaluation of their activities. Where the industry lays minimum requirements, the organisation could be exemplary and voluntarily go further so as to ensure the highest level of participation.

Economic responsibilities

These responsibilities include the obligations that the organisation have to investors and the host government in the form of dividends, taxes and royalties. According to Visser (2008:490), economic responsibilities should also include the value additions that the MNC directly or indirectly generates. This includes the organisation's responsibility to create employment, construct infrastructure such as roads and bridges, community electrification, transfer technology as well as attract ancillary services and support local supplier.

Environmental responsibilities

In the neoclassic model produced by Carroll, environmental responsibilities were not included. These responsibilities are however important as they include the organisation's commitment to protect the environment and operate in a responsible manner. This includes guarding against land degradation, air, water and, noise pollution, water shortages (due to tailing) as well as other avoidable externalities. For example, for the mining industry, Mutti *et al*. (2012:219) state that "environmental responsibilities are the primary responsibilities of mining companies" and that they "are not seen as being socially responsible if they are not fulfilling their environmental responsibilities". With this in mind, organisations should not only ensure that their operations do not affect the welfare of their stakeholders but also be prepared to be monitored and evaluated against local and international standards.

Ethical responsibilities

According to Okan *et al*. (2015:10), "ethical responsibilities refer to meeting the standards, norms, and expectations beyond regulations while considering public relations". These are characterised as expected responsibilities (Schwartz and Carroll, 2003:504) and require the organisation to operate transparently and accountably. Paliwal (2006:4) adds that "ethical behaviour and undertakings relate to actions, which are characterized by honesty, integrity, morality and good management practices while earning profits for the business organization". This includes compliance with principles of good governance as well as consciously operating beyond legal requirements and philanthropic responsibilities.

Visser (2008:491) argues that ethical responsibilities have been neglected in developing countries but should be given greater attention considering the need that exists in these areas. Developing countries are mostly involved in the primary industry and because they lag behind in terms of ethical codes, it is necessary for MNCs to voluntarily be more responsible. In the era of globalisations, MNCs have been accused of unethical practices which include environmental degradation, unfair labour practices, depletion of natural resources, undermining local cultures and imposition of alien values, prioritising property rights over human interests, corrupt externalisation of resources and generally taking advantage of developing nations (Milovanović *et al*., 2009:93). This criticism is often rebuffed by business and scholars of free market capitalism and neoliberalism who argue against market interference and government intervention while advocating for wealth generation and distribution whose contributions surpass the externalities of their activities (Okan *et al*., 2015:12; Jenkins, 2004:24). By contrast, these views are at odds to the post-colonial, anti-exploitation, environmentally conscious, global developmental perspective (pro-ethical behaviour) that is propagated by global institutions such as the UN, the World Fair Trade Organization and the International Council on Mining and Metals. These progressive forces advocate for sustainable and ethical business practices, respect for human rights, transparency and accountability for actions undertaken by MNCs across all their operational jurisdictions.

Philanthropic responsibilities

Carroll, (1979:50) described philanthropic responsibilities as charitable activities and other contributions to society that allow an organisation to be considered as a good corporate citizen. These responsibilities are often considered less important than others as they are considered voluntary or discretionary. However, philanthropy plays an important role in developing countries as there is a great need for social assistance. Organisations are thus able to contribute through the initiatives such as response to crisis (drought relief, Covid-19 assistance) and the construction of schools, clinics and other social amenities. Visser argues that the (2008:490) "reason for developing countries' prioritisation of philanthropy is that they are generally still at an early stage of maturity in CSR, sometimes even equating CSR and philanthropy, rather than embracing the more embedded approaches now common in developed countries". In redefining the Carroll's CSR pyramid, Visser (2008:479) argued that the economic and philanthropic aspects of CSR dominate CSR discourse in developing countries.

Culture

MNCs need to understand and accept the cultural uniqueness of the host county. Different territories have different cultural norms and values as demonstrated by Hofstede. Hofstede (2011:12) found that, for example, "individualism tends to prevail in developed and Western countries, while collectivism prevails in less developed and Eastern countries". Most southern African countries may be considered as very traditional and respectful of the aspect of community, collectivism or ubuntu (humanity). According to Visser (2008:487), culture may have a significant impact on how CSR objectives and activities are viewed. As such, MNCs need to recognise this and respect the differences that may exist between their home countries and the investment destination. An MNC operating in Zimbabwe for instance, would do well to consider symbolic gestures like inviting community members to be involved in the CSR activities in whatever capacity possible; be it brick moulding or clearing land for the construction of a clinic. This would go a long way in ensuring a sense of community, therefore building a good relationship with the community and guaranteeing social licence.

Transformation and economic empowerment

This study found that the need for social justice and affirmative action through policies of indigenisation and economic empowerment, ranks high in the list of priorities of developing countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa. The study also established the need to incorporate these issues of transformation and economic empowerment into the CSR discourse. It is therefore imperative for MNCs, under the bricolagical approach, to recognise and acknowledge the host country's desire to improve the socio-economic stead of its citizens and to accommodate the restoration of social justice in their strategies. As active economic players, their active and hopefully, voluntary participation in this process, will go a long way in ensuring the achievement of set goals. For instance, through their power and influence, MNCs could participate in the revision and refining of IEEP in Zimbabwe, B-BBEE in South Africa or Broad-based Citizens Economic Empowerment in Zambia. As aforementioned, these policies are living documents that require periodic revision or refinement. As such, these MNCs may play an important role, albeit a secondary one, in working with the host government to ensure the best policy outcome. It is important to note this need has been separated from the economic responsibility ambit because it holds prominence in the socio-economic priorities of developing countries.

Application of the bricolagical CSR approach

Although there are many models and approaches that may be used to assist MNCs to develop CSR strategies, this proposed approach uniquely considers the transformation and economic agenda and cultural dynamics of developing countries into consideration. This study highlighted the need for more involvement of the private sector in the formulation of policies that affect them such as IEEP in Zimbabwe and B-BBEE in South Africa. Unlike in South Africa, where the private sector has been involved in the discussions around B-BBEE through industry specific charters, this has not been the case in Zimbabwe. The argument is thus that organisations may use their engagement with the government to ensure that their interests are accommodated during the formulation of policies such as IEEP. The authoritarian position of the Mugabe-led government could have affected this engagement. It was however found that organisations reacted to the policy after it was enacted through threats (for example by Zimplats in 2011), negotiations and concessions after the fact. The bricolagical CSR approach however proposes that by acknowledging and using their political influence and their ability and capacity to engage with various stakeholders, these organisations may formulate CSR strategies that facilitate more proactive involvement during the formulation of the policy and not after the enactment of the law.

The major problem with such a proactive strategy is, of course, that it is highly contingent and thus may lead to dual standards in the global market when dealing with stakeholders operating in different socio-political contexts. This is in realisation that a corporate strategy would have to be accommodative of all global operations. This can however be curtailed by introducing territory specific strategies that embrace the organisation's values.

The bricolagical CSR approach is highly dependent on MNCs accepting their role in the development of the host country. This may be difficult as MNCs are known to be egotistic in nature; with their main objective being to maximise returns. Resistance to such an approach is therefore anticipated. It is however important that these MNCs accept that they wield considerable power and influence and that their participation can lead to benefits for all parties. These MNCs need to acknowledge their inherent role in social development or lose it to other parties. As an example, losing this power and influence could result in them losing preferential treatment from the government in terms of concessions and engagement, which is detrimental to their operations. In the case that they lose their influence through inaction and failure to actively participate in socio-economic development of their host county, they should not cry foul when mandatory measures are dictated upon them.

The use of the bricolagical approach is also dependent on the host government's acceptance of MNCs as active partners in the development of their countries. This comes amid the realisation that some governments of developing countries are authoritarian and may not take kindly to working with MNCs. This scepticism may be based on the historic experiences with foreign entities which led to slavery, colonisation and the externalisation of resources to the detriment of the host. This legacy has been brought up as established in the study, with terms such as Western neo-colonialism and neo-liberal capitalism being used.

Furthermore, the high level of corruption and political interference witnessed in developing countries may lead to the engagement between governments and MNCs being tainted. Both state and corporate corruption is seen as a yoke to the development drive of many developing countries. This could see the participation of MNCs in the sustainability and development drive being marred with undue outcomes.

Despite this, the bricolagical CSR strategy is given as a tool for MNCs who have invested or aspire to invest in countries with indigenisation and economic empowerment goals to develop CSR strategies. For aspiring investors, this means that they need to approach the investment proposition with due consideration for the developmental aspirations of the host country, in particular, its transformation agenda. Entry strategies should be formulated based on this understanding and that by increasing the value addition of their CSR plans, their proposition may be met favourably. These plans must include the acceptance of IEEP, or at the very least direct engagement with the host government, which will result in a greater economic participation of locals. Furthermore Roy and Alam (2007:76) state that organisations that demonstrate willingness to engage "in practices that assure and go over and above regulatory expectations are known to be given less scrutiny and freer rein by both national and local government entities". This is beneficial to MNCs as they may be "subjected to fewer inspections and red tapism" and might be given greater access to policy makers (Roy and Alam, 2007:76).

By understanding the bricolagical CSR approach, and by embracing the inherent power that investors wield, the MNC should be able to convince the host government of its CSR intentions over and above its investment proposition. A government with progressive and transformative aspirations should be amicable or receptive to the proposal of an MNC that demonstrates a commitment to constructive engagement and recognition of IEEP as a tenet of CSR. The bricolagical CSR approach should build a foundation upon which this engagement is cemented. Rather than pursuing specific business commitments in the hope of improving society, the approach encourages MNCs to examine each responsibility in relation to the larger goal of social welfare.

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter analysed and interpreted the findings from the various sources of data. It presented a sound discussion on the research objectives, addressing issues of CSR, IEEP and how MNCs may formulate strategies in response to the needs of the host country. Zimbabwe does not have a CSR framework that helps to determine the actions of business and has failed to appropriately demonstrate the need for investors to take its IEEP as part of their CSR thinking. This has adversely affected the manner in which the policy is interpreted and implemented. As a result of this gap, MNCs undertake CSR initiatives in ways that they deem fit. The chapter also discussed the findings on MNCs' CSR strategies and their initiatives in response to IEEP. Key to these strategies are the MNCs' values and interpretation of IEEP. The chapter also discussed how the misunderstanding and inconsistency with respect to IEEP has hampered economic empowerment in Zimbabwe and how knowledge on CSR may assist developmental partners to better engage towards and formulate sustainable and empowering polices. The chapter concluded with the introduction of a theoretical approach, developed from the findings above. With this understanding at hand, the following chapter sets out to provide an overall summary of the study. It provides a conclusion and recommendations arising from all the findings and discussions.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this study is to critically analyse how CSR strategies may be used to add value to investment propositions of MNCs in countries with IEEP; to understand how their CSR practices are influenced by IEEPs; and to contribute to the field of CSR knowledge with regard to its relationship with IEEPs. This chapter provides an overall summary of the conclusions that were drawn from the primary research and the secondary research. The researcher's contribution to knowledge is a proposal for a theoretical approach which recognises the indigenisation and economic empowerment priorities of countries like Zimbabwe. This approach could be used by MNCs in the formulation of CSR strategies which may draw the attention of host countries. This takes into account the investigation on CSR and IEEP and how the latter fits into the former's discourse. An analysis of the implications of the study and the approach is also undertaken in order to strengthen the argument. The chapter also includes recommendations drawn against the backdrop of the researcher's understanding of all the discussions presented in this study. The chapter concludes with an acknowledgment of the limitations of the study and a brief discussion on the direction of possible future research.

7.2 Summary of key findings

The study discussed various issues pertaining to CSR, how it has evolved and how it can contribute to tackling societal problems. These challenges differ from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, with some needing more attention from others. The study found that it is thus necessary to approach each territory with the unique attention that it deserves. This is particularly true for MNCs as they expand across the globe.

The emergence of globalisation has enhanced the importance of CSR as MNCs enter different territories. With globalisation, it has become important for organisations to demonstrate their commitment to being socially responsible, more so in developing countries, where they are identified as partners in the sustainable development of their hosts.

The study explored the content and precipitants of IEEP and established that the need for social justice and economic empowerment in developing countries is intrinsically linked to the eradication of poverty and conflict. One would boldly assert that an economically empowered society is a thriving community and it is in the best interest of all parties to accept the transformational drive. However, it was found that uncoordinated IEEP and CSR practices frequently result in recognisable gaps in the quest to address Zimbabwe's social and economic needs; ergo the need to recognise IEEP as an element within CSR.

IEEP is a necessary interventionist policy that should culminate in transformation of the economy thereby giving indigenous citizens the opportunity to effectively participate in the economic activities and development of their country. It is a critical instrument for eradicating poverty, realising equality and sustainable development, thereby improving societal stability and unity of purpose. It was, however, found that, because IEEP had been formulated inappropriately and without due consideration for the private sector participants, it had adversely affected the economy and led to capital flight and loss of investor confidence, especially in the mining sector. It was, however, expected that the Mnangagwa-led government would revise the policy into a well-drafted and purposeful document but that has not been the case.

MNCs that view CSR as mere compliance with externally imposed criteria automatically embrace a moral mediocrity code for their organisations. Instead of a difficult restriction, MNCs who embrace the commitment approach see CSR as the organisational imperative, a reason to connect operations and encourage corporate performance and improved community engagement. These MNCs accept their developmental role in society and are prepared to assist the government in transforming the economy.

Zimbabwe hosts a distinct set of CSR agenda challenges when compared to countries with a high appreciation of the concept. For instance, the study found that the country does not have a CSR framework or policy and as such cannot possibly drive business purposefully to act responsibly. This is, however, not unique to Zimbabwe as Visser (2008:492) established that “CSR tends to be less formalised or institutionalized in terms of the CSR benchmarks commonly used in developed countries, i.e. CSR codes, standards, management systems and reports”. In addition, the study found that the government of Zimbabwe does not have any explicit expectations with regards to CSR. A clear mandate by the government on how organisations should participate in and disclose information on their social and environmental activities would go a long way in improving CSR practices in the country. The country does, however, pay attention to potential investors’ social reputation over and above the financial elements of their propositions. This was found through the government’s requirement that a potential investor must specify socio-economic intentions upon submission of their proposal.

It was also found that MNCs do not formulate strategies in response to IEEP in Zimbabwe, unlike in South Africa where businesses voluntarily participate in B-BBEE. This was found to be partially the fault of the government of Zimbabwe due to the policy's substance and structure, as well as its inconsistent and ambiguous interpretation and execution. The private sector, for its part, was very selective of which tenets of the policy best suited them. The bricolagical CSR approach was therefore proposed to ensure that strategies were formulated to better handle the transformational and economic empowerment priorities of Zimbabwe. This approach combines the stakeholder theory and the political theory to produce a theoretical approach which may be used by MNCs to formulate CSR strategies that take the transformational needs of a host country into account. This approach integrates the stakeholder theory in acknowledgement of MNCs' responsibility to their stakeholders in host countries, while the political theory is incorporated due to MNCs' inherent influence and power. The bricolagical CSR approach is seen as worthy a contribution to the field as it allows MNCs to be proactive in their CSR strategy formulation.

7.3 Implications

CSR should be seen as an extensive and inclusive concept, encompassing a range of responsibilities that must be simultaneously fulfilled. Through the inclusion of sustainable IEEP in Zimbabwe, CSR has the ability to transform the country by empowering citizens. The implication presented here is that through the use of the bricolagical CSR approach, MNCs may be effective in the creation of a CSR profile which is beneficial to their expansion. When taking into consideration that the various responsibilities are constantly in dynamic interaction with one another, the MNC's role is not only to assist in resolving challenges or to prevent them from developing in the first place, but also to promote harmony and create opportunities for mutually beneficial partnerships.

7.4 Recommendations

MNCs need to make a concerted effort to understand and embrace indigenisation and economic empowerment as a tenet of CSR and formulating strategies that incorporate this element will go a long way in retaining the attention of the host government. As established, these organisations would find this as an important step towards acceptance by host governments. The need for social justice and affirmative action is not going away; policies may be reviewed or refined, but the need will remain for the foreseeable future. MNCs therefore need to demonstrate commitment to becoming active partners in the push for indigenisation and economic empowerment.

Through the use of the bricolagical CSR approach, both MNCs that have already commited to host countries, and those that are looking to invest in it, may deliver CSR strategies that attract the attention of the host government. The bricolagical CSR approach not only allows or forces the MNC to realise and acknowledge the power that they wield but also encourages them to become active partners in the push for transformative and sustainable inititatives through CSR. This show of commitment in a partnership that is set to yield positive outcomes for all stakeholders is the foundation upon which future interaction is built. The bricolagical CSR approach is thus recommended as a tool to shift the manner in which MNCs enagage with the host country on issues that are pertinent to both parties.

The government of Zimbabwe also needs to support its own economic aspirations by re-examining IEEP and remaining consistent in its push for social justice and affirmative action. The policy is a noble but badly crafted piece of legislation which lacks proper guidelines for the attainment of its intended goal. Just like the fast tracked land reform programme, this initiative has been implemented with political motives to the detriment of the economy. By allowing broader, robust and open-minded discussions on IEEP, the government may develop a policy that drives the indigenisation and economic empowerment agenda more purposefully and in a manner that will not adversely affect the economy. The government would do well to be less authoritarian or politically motivated in this respect, and facilitate proper engagement with the private sector and other developmental partners. This approach to the revision of IEEP should also consider the adoption of progressive components from other policies across the continent and also encourage greater voluntary participation from the private sector. Linking IEEP with a CSR framework would also be an improvement to the policy.

MNCs need to share their knowledge of CSR in Zimbabwe. The study found that parent companies, international stakeholders, and international institutions all play vital roles in how local subsidiaries undertake their CSR activities. Despite institutional voids and limited local stakeholder pressure (rejecting CSR activities), MNCs possess the knowledge and skills necessary to transform developing countries into what Muller and Kolk (2009:4) described as high-CSR environments. If CSR does not address stakeholder expectations, it will remain theoretical and cannot produce mutually beneficial outcomes. As such, comprehension of the concept has strategic implications for CSR practices in Zimbabwe.

It is important that the government cultivates a culture of CSR. This may be achieved through the formulation of a globally inspired, corporate friendly, development and sustainability focused CSR framework which inspires organisations towards voluntary practices but also includes minimal mandatory elements. There are, of course, different ways to encourage more participation from businesses. Some countries follow self-regulation, others have CSR regulated through a code of conduct and others through a mandatory approach. Countries like India have introduced mandatory measures which include a requirement that organisations of a certain size and above, should allocate at least 2% of their annual profits towards CSR projects (Karnani, 2013: par. 2). In the event that compliance is not achieved during the fiscal year, the organisation must present a reasonable explanation so as to avoid penalties. Whichever direction the government of Zimbabwe wishes to go, be it enforced, coded or self-regulatory, this study has shown that it is important for the state to pay more attention to CSR as a means of complementing their social and economic ambition.

A CSR culture may also be motivated by strengthening institutions that would contribute towards a more active and conscious citizenry which is able to push business towards being socially responsible. For instance, the study showed that low levels of consumerism existed in Zimbabwe and yet consumer-driven activism has been shown to play a very important role in persuading companies, especially fast-moving consumer goods manufacturers, to act responsibly and play role in developmental and environmental issues. Therefore, by strengthening institutions such as the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, the government may increase awareness on consumer rights which would motivate citizens to be more aware of their rights as well as the social responsibilities of businesses.

MNCs and the government should fund CSR research. Facilitating the inclusion of CSR related courses at tertiary institutions would encourage more academic participation in the field. This would assist in the development of knowledge and in the production of graduates who are able to formulate and implement well-grounded CSR strategies in Zimbabwe's corporate world. This partnership would include sponsoring academics from high-CSR environments to lecture in the field. Such an approach is not new as Zimplats participated in a similar initiative by supporting a Professor at the University of Zimbabwe (Gumbo, 2020:171).

It is further recommended that MNCs support and participate in sustainability reporting through accurate and periodic disclosure of their CSR activities as well as listing on a Zimbabwe Stock Exchange Sustainability Index, once introduced. Zimbabwe, through the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange, needs to encourage sustainability reporting as well as introduce a sustainability index similar to those initiated by the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and New York Stock Exchange. As described by the United Nations Environment Programme (2015:4), stock exchanges have traditionally played a crucial part in economic growth and development by facilitating effective investor interaction and today, these institutions provide sustainability indices and ratings that are useful in encouraging listed companies of all sizes, to be competitive in their approach to CSR and to actively participate in responsible business practices. Therefore, a fully functional Zimbabwe Stock Exchange Sustainability Index would help promote voluntary CSR participation in the country. This would also include the consistent and accurate reporting of CSR activities. To this, Holder-Webb *et al*. (2009:499) assert that "it is not enough for corporations to simply engage in CSR activities but it is also important and desirable to make information about these activities available" to all stakeholders. Such a move would surely improve the CSR discourse in Zimbabwe.

7.5 Limitations of the study

The study focuses on strategies that can be used by MNCs when investing in countries with IEEP and uses two cases to investigate the possibility. The MNCs used for the investigation are in the mining industry, and more specifically, in the platinum mining sector. This means that it does not provide a comparative view of other industries. However, findings and recommendations from this research are important as they form a foundation upon which MNCs from other sectors may draw lessons and formulate CSR strategies.

Furthermore, the proposal of the bricolagical theoretical approach is made under certain assumptions. For instance, it is assumed that MNCs are willing partners in the development of host countries and that motives are more intrinsic than extrinsic. Intrinsic motives are altruistic in nature and are driven by the organisation's genuine concern for societal needs. The assumption, therefore, is that in formulating CSR strategies, organisations that care to use the bricolagical theoretical approach are sincere and driven by ethical values and moral leadership.

7.6 Direction of future research

With the proposal made on the introduction of the bricolagical CSR approach, it is necessary for further research in this area to be conducted. A critical evaluation on its practicality would go a long way in refining or criticising the approach. This researcher would be willing to study the practicality of this approach further. Such a study would capture a longitudinal view of the approach in developing countries along with its practical use in the formulation of CSR strategies of MNCs that wish to invest in countries with indigenisation and economic empowerment goals.

Future research that incorporates the views of other stakeholders, such as communities, to better understand the impact of CSR in Zimbabwe would also contribute significantly to the body of knowledge. Several questions remain unanswered with regards to the effectiveness of CSR practices in Zimbabwe, especially when viewed from the perspective of communities. As such, research into this area would be recommended.

7.7 Conclusion

The study set out to understand CSR as a concept and to establish how MNCs that wish to invest in countries with IEEP may best develop CSR strategies that would assist them in their investment proposition. This study accomplished this and established that IEEP is currently not recognised as an element of CSR but rather a mandatory business measure that guarantees investment.

Although CSR is meant to be an inherent or intrinsic practice initiated out of genuine concern for societal needs, it is often necessary to encourage the corporate world towards more action. Minimalistic mandatory laws should be enacted to nudge business into doing more for society. The fear is that, without this, organisations will only do the bare minimum or enough to maintain their legal and social licence. However, a progressive and developmental framework which sets minimum standards, would ensure the participation of business in tackling societal challenges.

The study also presented a theoretical approach which may be used by MNCs wishing to invest in countries such as Zimbabwe. It recognised that IEEP is a priority in such countries and that MNCs need to recognise the transformational and economic empowerment needs of the country if they wish to make a significant impact to the social and economic environment of the country.

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Appendex 1

Interview questions for Government Officials

1. Can you give me some background on the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Policy (IEEP)?

2. Who championed the policy?

3. What factors influenced the development of the IEEP?

4. What did you consider during your policy and legal planning?

5. What consultations were made before the enactment of this policy?

6. Please tell me about the stakeholders that were engaged with during the planning process?

7. Are there any model countries that have implemented similar policies?

8. How have they fared?

9. What positive aspects of these policies did you incorporate into this policy/ what do you think was adopted from these policies

10. From a legislative point of view, how was the policy received in parliament?

11. Was it supported fully?

12. What were the reasons for those who did not support it?

13. Did you need to amend any aspects before it was passed in Parliament?

I am satisfied that you have given me a full background and we can now move on to the next set of questions. I would like to know more about the implementation of the policy

14. How has implementation progressed?

15. Would you say that IEEP is achieving its intended objectives?

16. When do you envisage full implementation of the policy?

17. What have been the biggest challenges in the implementation of the indigenisation policy in Zimbabwe?

18. Are there any industries or sectors that have been successful in implementing the policy? Why?

19. Are there any industries or sectors that have been unsuccessful in implementing the policy? Why?

20. Are all sectors treated equally and if not why?

21. How has the policy been received by the indigenous people at large?

22. There have been some reports in the media that Indigenous business community are not welcoming this policy. Why do you think that is so?

23. Since the enactment of IEEP, what has the impact been on investment in Zimbabwe?

24. What can be done to improve the indigenisation policy in Zimbabwe?

25. The mining industry is an example of a sector that would have a high amount of foreign investors how have they reacted to the policy?

26. Do you have any mining companies that are not complying? What have been their major objections/ reasons for non-compliance?

27. What have you done about these objections?

28. Which mining houses have been the most cooperative?

29. How do you track the implementation of IEEP in this sector?

30. From a broader perspective, how has the IEEP benefited the economy?

31. How has IEEP benefited the immediate community?

32. Since the enactment of IEEP, what has the impact been on investment in the mining sector?

33. Please describe the government's relationship with mining houses such as Anglo Platinum and Impala Platinum?

34. Is this policy a ZANU PF initiative or does it cut across party lines?

35. Do you envisage any changes to the policy if ZANU PF loses its parliamentary majority in 2018?

36. What are some of the socio-economic challenges that the Zimbabwe experiences in general?

37. What are your expectations from investors in relation to CSR in Zimbabwe?

38. Do you look at a company's Home CSR policy before allowing investment in the country?

39. What elements of CSR does the government prioritise?

40. Could any of these be addressed through public-private initiatives?

41. Do you request that the company outlines its CSR ambitions (strategy) before investing in the country?

42. How important is this strategy to the investment approval?

43. Do you follow up on these strategies?

44. What impact does IEEP have on the companies CSR Strategy and its acceptance by the government?

45. What role does a company's CSR strategy have on its IEEP strategy?

46. What are the government's CSR expectations on the mining investors?

Appendix 2

Interview questions for MNCs

About the organisation

1. Please provide a brief description of the organisation
2. Please provide a brief overview of the operations of the organisation
3. Kindly provide an organogram of the organisation.
4. Please describe your organisational values.
5. What is your position in the organisation and please kindly describe your role?
6. Please provide a brief description of the organisation's investment strategy, particularly focusing on the last 10 years.

Investment

7. Please provide a brief description of your investment in South Africa.
8. What is the value of your investment in South Africa?
9. What is the value of your investment in Zimbabwe?
10. What factors influenced or were taken into consideration when pursuing investment in Zimbabwe?
11. What do you see as hurdles in investing in Zimbabwe?

CSR at the organisation

12. What is the organisation's view on CSR?
13. Please describe the organisation's overall CSR strategy
14. Kindly provide information on the top CSR or sustainability reporting accolades received by the organisation over the past 10 years."
15. What are your CSR priorities in South Africa?
16. What factors influence the practise of CSR in South Africa?
17. Please provide a brief description of your relationship with the community in which the organisation operates in South Africa.
18. What are your CSR priorities in Zimbabwe?
19. What factors influence the practise of CSR in Zimbabwe?
20. How do you develop your CSR strategies in Zimbabwe?

Linkage between IEEP and CSR

21. How would you describe your organisations relationship with the government of Zimbabwe?
22. What has been the impact of IEEP on your investment in Zimbabwe?
23. Is IEEP a hindrance to your CSR programmes in Zimbabwe?
24. What does the Zimbabwean government expect of your organisation with regards to CSR?
25. What has been the impact of IEEP on your CSR programmes in Zimbabwe?
26. How did your CSR strategy add value to your investment proposition to the government of Zimbabwe?

Operations in Zimbabwe

27. Please provide a brief description of your relationship with the community in which the organisation operates in Zimbabwe.
28. How has the community reacted or responded to your CSR initiatives in those areas?
29. Which are some of the initiatives that the organisation has implemented in the area?
30. How much has been allocated to these projects?
31. How do you measure their success?

32. What would you say is the difference between your CSR practices in South Africa and Zimbabwe?
33. Why do such differences exist (if any)?

Future investment

34. How do you think your CSR reputation or practices helped improve your investment proposition in Zimbabwe?
35. Do you see future investment opportunities in Zimbabwe?
36. Have you invested in any other country that has an empowerment policy?
37. With your experience in investing in countries with empowerment policies, what lessons have you learnt for future investment prospects?

Appendix 3

Ethics approval certificate of project

NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
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ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE OF PROJECT

Based on approval by the **Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts (FA-REC)** at the meeting held on **2017-06-29**, the North-West University Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (NWU-IRERC) hereby **approves** your project as indicated below. This implies that the NWU-IRERC grants its permission that, provided the special conditions specified below are met and pending any other authorisation that may be necessary, the project may be initiated, using the ethics number below.

Project title: Corporate social responsibility strategies for multinational corporations investing in countries with indigenisation and economic empowerment policies.

Project Leader/Supervisor: Prof Johan Zaaiman
Student: L. Muchirahondo

Ethics number:	N	W	U	-	0	0	5	6	5	-	1	7	-	A	7
	Institution				Project Number						Year			Status	

Status: S = Submission; R = Re-Submission; P = Provisional Authorisation; A = Authorisation

Application Type: N/A
Commencement date: 2017-06-29 **Expiry date:** 2019-05-31 **Risk:** N/A

Special conditions of the approval (if applicable):

- Translation of the informed consent document to the languages applicable to the study participants should be submitted to the FA-REC (if applicable).
- Any research at governmental or private institutions, permission must still be obtained from relevant authorities and provided to the FA-REC. Ethics approval is required BEFORE approval can be obtained from these authorities.

General conditions:

While this ethics approval is subject to all declarations, undertakings and agreements incorporated and signed in the application form, please note the following:

- *The project leader (principle investigator) must report in the prescribed format to the NWU-IRERC via FA-REC:*
  - *annually (or as otherwise requested) on the progress of the project, and upon completion of the project*
  - *without any delay in case of any adverse event (or any matter that interrupts sound ethical principles) during the course of the project.*
  - *Annually a number of projects may be randomly selected for an external audit.*
- *The approval applies strictly to the protocol as stipulated in the application form. Would any changes to the protocol be deemed necessary during the course of the project, the project leader must apply for approval of these changes at the FA-REC. Would there be deviated from the project protocol without the necessary approval of such changes, the ethics approval is immediately and automatically forfeited.*
- *The date of approval indicates the first date that the project may be started. Would the project have to continue after the expiry date, a new application must be made to the NWU-IRERC via FA-REC and new approval received before or on the expiry date.*
- *In the interest of ethical responsibility the NWU-IRERC and FA-REC retains the right to:*
  - *request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project;*
  - *to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modification or monitor the conduct of your research or the informed consent process.*
  - *withdraw or postpone approval if:*
    - *any unethical principles or practices of the project are revealed or suspected,*
    - *it becomes apparent that any relevant information was withheld from the FA-REC or that information has been false or misrepresented,*
    - *the required annual report and reporting of adverse events was not done timely and accurately,*
    - *new institutional rules, national legislation or international conventions deem it necessary.*
- *FA-REC can be contacted for further information via Yvette van der Merwe (13128388@nwu.ac.za) or 018 285 2301.*

The IRERC would like to remain at your service as scientist and researcher, and wishes you well with your project. Please do not hesitate to contact the IRERC or FA-REC for any further enquiries or requests for assistance.

Yours sincerely

Linda Du Plessis

Digitally signed by Linda Du Plessis
DN: cn=Linda Du Plessis, o=Chair-Institutional Ethics Regulatory Committee, ou=NWU, email=linda.duplessis@nwu.ac.za, c=ZA
Date: 2017.08.11 13:54:44 +02'00'

Prof Linda du Plessis
Chair NWU Institutional Research Ethics Regulatory Committee (IRERC)