



Community Participation in Corporate Social Responsibility Practices of North Mara Gold Mine in Tanzania

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Abstract

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) projects that do not engage local communities around the areas of their operation are often unsuccessful or rejected by their intended beneficiaries. In Tanzania, some communities ignore or reject CSR projects, raising doubts about whether they were initially involved in such projects. Drawing from North Mara Gold Mine CSR initiatives, this paper argues that community acceptance or rejection of CSR projects relates to the extent to which the mining company engages with the community. The paper utilises survey data drawn from a systematic sample of 358 households. In addition, it uses data from interviews, documentary review and focus group discussions. The study applies descriptive and content analysis to make sense of the data. The results show inadequate involvement of communities around the goldmine in all the stages of the CSR project cycle. Consequently, the North Mara Gold Mine's CSR initiatives have not served as an effective tool to harmonise community relations and mitigate conflicts.

Keywords

Community Participation, Corporate Social Responsibility, Practices, Projects, Tanzania.

1. Introduction

Community participation in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) projects of extractive industries is of paramount importance. The plausible explanation for this is that extractive industries, especially the mining sector, tend to attract many grievances and dissatisfaction among the surrounding communities the impact of which on the sector has tended to be negative (Frederiksen, 2019). The benefits of active community participation in CSR projects

have been extensively documented. For instance, Eleberi *et al.* (2021) show that community participation in CSR programmes enhances people's capacity to define, analyse, and address their problems; leads to better decision-making, accommodation and support to community priorities and needs; and fosters psychological satisfaction, motivation, and mobilization of community members, among others. Community participation facilitates project cost-sharing, and sustainability, and empowers community members to take full responsibility and feel a sense of ownership. Specifically in the mining sector, community involvement in the CSR project planning, implementation and evaluation processes has been found to be an integral part of the successful CSR programmes implemented by mining companies (Rhee *et al.*, 2021). Similarly, the lack of project beneficiaries' involvement in the decision-making process has been termed as one of the contributing factors to CSR project failure in the sector (Mbirigenda, 2017; Que *et al.*, 2018).

Corporate Social Responsibility refers to initiatives and programmes undertaken by an organization to positively impact society, workers, and other stakeholders beyond their core organizational economic roles (Tembo, 2019). Corporate social responsibility, also known as corporate responsibility, social responsibility, or corporate citizenship, represents a concept where organizations prioritize the well-being of people. They achieve this by being accountable for their actions and positively impacting communities, customers, employees, and other stakeholders. According to Latapí-Agudelo *et al.* (2019), CSR reflects a business or organization's commitment to sustainable economic development. This commitment involves collaboration with employees, their families, the local community, and society at large to enhance living standards in ways that benefit both business and the community. In the context of this paper, CSR is defined as the integration of social issues into corporate activities while actively engaging stakeholders to improve their overall well-being.

Globally, the concept of CSR has its roots in the 19th Industrial Revolution in Western Europe, especially after businesses and governments sought to improve working conditions in industries and the surrounding communities (Chaffee, 2017). The initial focus of CSR was primarily on improving workers' conditions, legal rights, and the responsibility of businesses to support community well-being (Kabir *et al.*, 2015). After World War II especially in the United States of America, CSR became increasingly associated with the belief that businesses have significant responsibilities toward society beyond merely seeking profit (Latapí-Agudelo *et al.*, 2019). Business enterprises such as Carnegie, Mellon, and Rockefeller introduced CSR activities by funding public works, building schools, and health facilities, and rewarding scientific innovations (Latapí-Agudelo *et al.*, 2019). According to Saluja (2018), CSR gained popularity in developing countries, particularly in Africa in the early 2000 due to increased globalization, access to information, and rising public expectations. In Africa and especially in the mining sector, CSR in many countries is associated with charitable activities for communities living near the mines. However, some countries, such as Botswana, South Africa and Tanzania, have enacted laws making CSR for mining companies a mandatory requirement (Jamali & Karam, 2018; Brew *et al.*, 2019). For instance, Tanzania's National Mineral Policy of 2009 incorporated a CSR component that requires mining companies to contribute to the development and well-being of surrounding communities and to actively involve them in CSR initiatives (Kwaslema *et al.*, 2022). Through CSR, mining companies in Tanzania have been contributing to social services, supporting community projects, and donating to vulnerable populations around the mines (Mbirigenda, 2017). These CSR initiatives include supporting local communities through education, healthcare, and infrastructure development projects, as well as providing safe working conditions for employees and sponsoring charitable campaigns (Saluja, 2018).

In general, CSR holds significant importance for organizations, governments, and society. Through CSR, governments receive assistance in providing public services related to health, water, education, and infrastructure. Meanwhile, society benefits from social services provided by companies with credible CSR practices. Additionally, businesses foster strong relationships with the government and host communities where they operate, ultimately enhancing overall business performance (Shoo, 2020). Similarly, studies show that properly implemented CSR programmes in the mining sector, along with active Stakeholders' involvement, may enable mining companies to contribute to the development of local communities residing near the mines (Maliganya & Paul, 2016). By active stakeholder participation or involvement, we refer to a process through which stakeholders influence and jointly control development initiatives, decisions, and resources (Rela & Amin, 2022). Community participation in CSR involves the active involvement of individuals and their ability to contribute to the decision-making processes (Eleberi *et al.*, 2021). This entails the engagement of individuals or groups in decision-making, aiming to identify, plan, implement, and evaluate CSR projects that impact people's lives. This way, mining companies can enhance community well-being and sustainable development by increasing employment opportunities, providing essential public services, and building local people's skills in mining, business, and agriculture.

While there seems to be a consensus on the importance of community participation, the modes through which communities are or should be engaged remains a contentious issue. Rela and Amin (2022) explain eight stages of community participation in a project, namely: manipulation, therapy, notification/informing, consultation, order, partnership, delegation of power, and community control. Manipulation and treatment are considered non-participation, while community control represents the highest level of participation, with participation increasing as the level rises. When participation reaches the level of community control, the project focuses on the requirements and desires of the local community, allowing them to fully manage project activities for their benefit without interference from others (Rhee *et al.*, 2021; Rela & Amin, 2022). Different scholars have emphasized the importance of actively involving communities in all stages of companies' CSR projects (Deigh *et al.*, 2016; Eleberi *et al.*, 2021). CSR projects that do not engage communities have a greater chance of either failing to achieve their objectives or being rejected by their intended beneficiaries (Adema *et al.*, 2016; Mbirigenda, 2017; Rhee *et al.*, 2021). However, the practice suggests that only community leaders are involved at certain stages, such as during the selection of CSR project sites, and in limited cases, during the maintenance of CSR projects (Eleberi *et al.*, 2021). Similarly, others found that even where there have been some attempts to involve the community at large, community participation was inconsistently done and occurred mainly when project contractors required labourers for manual work or when the project was ready for use (Adema *et al.*, 2016). Most of the time, people were merely informed of what had already been done (*ibid.*).

Studies done by Adema *et al.* (2016) and Shoo (2020) indicate that even when community members are invited to participate in projects funded by mining companies under CSR, their inclusion and views in decision-making cannot be guaranteed. It has been reported that mining corporations often do not involve the community in implementing CSR projects, they neglect local needs and priorities and implement CSR initiatives with limited local knowledge and socio-cultural contexts (Mbilima, 2021). While this is fairly known, still little is known about community participation in CSR practices in Tanzania. As revealed previously, Tanzania incorporated CSR in its mining policy since 2009. However, the relations between the citizens and the mining companies especially the North Mara Gold Mine located in Tarime

District, North Western Tanzania have always been in turbulence. A good example was in 2010, 2011, 2014 and 2017, when serious conflicts erupted over land ownership, pollution of water sources, CSR projects and conflicts over insufficient compensation for land and resources (Marato 2011; Mulikuza, 2015; Buhori, 2016; Coumans, 2022).

Previous research has documented the role of CSR in promoting good relations between communities and investors but this seems not to be the case in North Mara. Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to assess the Community participation in CSR Practices of North Mara Gold Mine. Specifically, the paper examines the extent to which the mining company engages community members in implementing CSR projects by looking at the five stages of the Project Planning Cycle (project identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation). The extent of community participation in CSR projects was measured by seeking community opinion about the nature of participation and their satisfaction with the level of involvement. The assessment of community participation in CSR projects provides valuable insights into the level of involvement, showcasing best practices and areas for improvement. It deepens understanding of how mining companies engage with local communities, crucial for promoting sustainable investment and development. The paper also offers insights into the effectiveness of CSR initiatives in fostering positive relationships and addressing community needs.

The paper is organized into five sections. Section one provides the introduction. Section two presents the theoretical framework of the study. Section three details the research methodology. Section four covers the results. Finally, Section five offers the conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

This paper was guided by Stakeholder Theory, which was first proposed by Edward Freeman in 1984. Stakeholder theory provides a framework for how organizations practising CSR can engage with their stakeholders. Essentially, the theory asserts that an organization should actively involve its stakeholders in its activities and decision-making, despite their varying interests (Tembo, 2019). Moreover, the theory maintains that a firm's success depends on the depth of its relationship with stakeholders and the level of their participation (Hamidu *et al.*, 2015). Stakeholder theory navigates the dual forces of business interests on one hand and social or moral interests on the other. Organizations must strive to achieve their objectives (including profitability) while simultaneously addressing the legitimate claims of their stakeholders. The theory offers insights into understanding the underlying behaviour of mining companies when involving stakeholders such as the community in CSR activities.

Notably, the theory has some strengths. It insists on the importance of companies working with all their stakeholders, maintaining good relationships, and recognising their responsibilities in assisting local host communities (John, 2019). The stakeholder theory is core to CSR as it creates reputational and legitimacy values obtained through the mining company complying with community laws, ethics, and norms (Tembo, 2019). Working with stakeholders leads to the successful meeting of the company's goals and the successful implementation of CSR (Nawanda, 2021). Accordingly, stakeholder theory insists on stakeholders' involvement and the responsibility of organizations towards their stakeholders' wellbeing.

3. Methodology

The paper is based on a cross-sectional study conducted in Tarime District where the North Mara Gold Mine (locally known as Nyamongo Gold Mine) is located. North Mara Gold Mine was the ideal place to assess the dynamics of community engagement in CSR of large-scale mining operations because it has a complex history with the local community normally characterised

by recurring conflicts revolving around CSR projects, land ownership, environmental pollution and property compensations (Mulikuza, 2015; Coumans, 2022). A systematic random sampling technique was used to obtain 358 heads of households from six villages in four wards where North Mara Gold Mine's CSR initiatives are implemented. These were Kewanja, Kerende (Kemambo ward), Matongo, Nyangoto (Matongo ward), Nyamwaga (Nyamwaga ward) and Genkuru (Nyarokoba ward).

The study employed diverse methods for data collection primarily survey, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews and Documentary Review. A household survey was carried out using a semi-structured questionnaire. This method enables to gathering of useful quantitative data from a large sample of 358 households (Field, 2018). Six focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in six villages, one FGD in each village. Each FGD had six to nine members with varying occupations, sex, age, and social status. This method enabled us to gain insights into community members' perceptions, opinions, and experiences of community involvement in CSR initiatives and their relationship with the North Mara Gold Mine. Nineteen (19) Key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with people who were regarded as having an in-depth understanding and relevant knowledge about the study's subject matter. These individuals were purposively selected and they included village and ward executive officers and officials from North Mara Gold Mine, Tarime District Council, the Ministry of Minerals, and the Geological Survey of Tanzania. The interview method was used because it enabled the collection of richer and more in-depth qualitative data about the company's CSR projects, community involvement and the mining company's relationship with the community. The interview Method has been described as a powerful data collection method that allows flexibility, and probes and enables collection of specific as well as in-depth information from the respondents (Kumar, 2019). Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study. Moreover, a documentary review was conducted to collect secondary data through reviews of diverse sources of information, which included journal articles, legislation and policy documents (for example: the National Mineral Policy of 2009 and the Mining Act of 2019)¹, the North Mara Gold Mine CSR policy and village reports on CSR projects. This method was used as it provides rich data on the background information and the problem under study (Muhanga, 2019).

Content analysis and descriptive statistics were employed to analyse data and information captured from the study. Content analysis helps to interpret and construct meanings from the text and enables systematic classification and identification of themes or patterns (Maliganya & Paul, 2016). Qualitative data were categorized, coded, and grouped into sub-themes and key themes for interpretation. Also, some of the expressed voices from respondents are presented as respondents' statements. Additionally, quantitative data were processed by using IBM Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 25 and analysed by computing descriptive statistics.

4 Results

4.1 *Community Participation in CSR Project Planning Cycle*

The extent to which the North Mara Gold Mine engaged with the community members in implementing CSR projects was assessed. Respondents were asked about their involvement in CSR project identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Findings revealed that about 78.2% and 72.1% of the total respondents said they were not involved in the

¹ E.g. see The United Republic of Tanzania (2009 & 2019)

project monitoring and identification, respectively (Figure 1). Also, 57.2% and 68.3% of the respondents were not involved in the planning and evaluation of CSR projects respectively. A quarter (24.9%) of the respondents said they were not involved in project implementation. Overall, 60.1% of the respondents had the view that community members were not involved in either CSR project identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, and or evaluation.

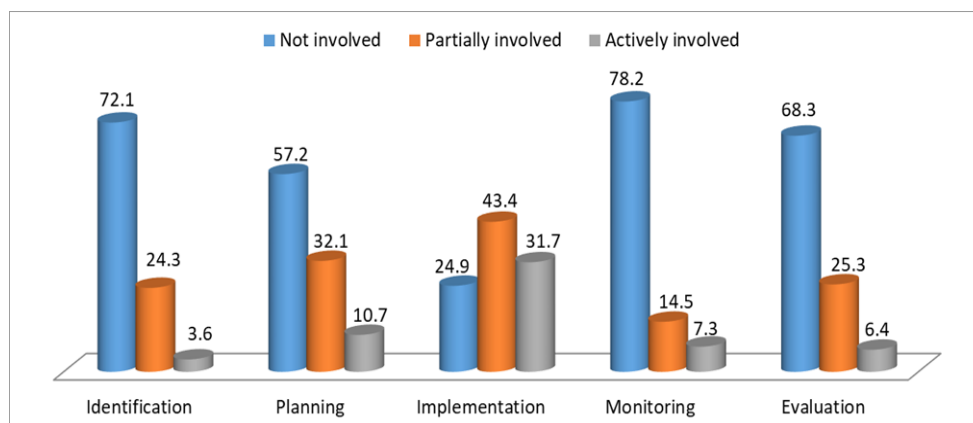


Figure 1: Community Involvement in CSR Project Cycle

Source: Field Survey, 2022

During FGD at Nyarokoba Ward, the participants reported that in most cases, when CSR projects were being implemented for the community, the company executed CSR projects alone by using contractors. The contractors were used in the construction of classrooms, teachers' houses, health centres, roads, dispensaries, and other projects. This was also confirmed by other FGD participants at Kemambo ward as they said:

The community is normally not involved in project identification, planning, monitoring and evaluation. People were only involved during project implementation. All the decisions about the project were made by the mining company with very few community leaders. As a result, some of the CSR projects have not been completed in time and in a cost-effective manner (FGD at Kemambo Ward, 12th May 2022).

Another FGD participant at Nyamwaga ward reported:

The community do not have a say in what the company sets out to do. For priority areas, and activities to carry out, the company normally introduces and implements what they want, not what people need. The CSR activities lack transparency to the communities (FGD at Nyamwaga Ward, 14th April 2022).

These findings imply that the majority of the people around the gold mine have not been actively or partially involved in CSR projects. Only about 43.4% and 32.1% of the respondents said they were partially involved in project implementation and planning respectively (Figure 1). For instance, FGD participants from Matongo Ward reported that they were not properly involved in the planning and implementation of the construction of two hand water pumps in the ward. As a result, the projects are no longer functioning. Similarly, a quarter (24.3% and 25.3%) of the respondents revealed that the community was partially involved during project identification and evaluation respectively but only a significant minority (14.5%) reported community involvement in project monitoring. The FGD results from Nyarokoba confirmed that the community was partially involved in the identification, evaluation and monitoring of the

construction of the ward's roads. This created a lot of complaints from community members whose land was taken without proper compensation.

Generally, findings indicate that, overall, 28.3% of the respondents had the view that, there was a partial involvement of the community in the identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. The FGD participants from the Matongo ward revealed that the company, with a few community leaders, was deciding and dealing with what had to be done. This implies that the company preferred to work with community leaders but forgot to engage the wider community. While participation through representation may be the appropriate way of community engagement, it largely depends on local political dynamics, especially the legitimacy of local leaders. These results indicate that the community in North Mara Gold Mine is not satisfied with the mode of community engagement in CSR projects.

The findings emphasize the imperative of engaging various stakeholders in the planning and execution of CSR projects. Ineffective stakeholders' involvement may result in neglect of community feelings that may eventually affect the sustainability of the CSR projects. Contrary to citizens' claims, the Ministry of Minerals officials stated that the implementation of CSR projects in North Mara met legal thresholds as were implemented in accordance with the Mining Act:

Corporate Social Responsibility services at North Mara Mine were planned, formulated, monitored, evaluated and decided as directed by Mining Act Cap 123, Section 105(1), (2), and (3), which requires the mining company to work jointly with the community and local government authorities in consultation with the ministers responsible for local government and finance in all activities related to Corporate Social Responsibility services (KII with the Ministry of Minerals official, 26th May 2022).

A few percentages of the respondents who reported active engagement (Figure 1) and those who reported partial involvement confirm the claim by the government official that citizens were involved. However, results from FGDs reveal that the mode of participation was confined to only lower levels of the participation ladder. FGD participants from Nyamwaga ward said they were told to agree on what the mining company planned to do, which was not in the best interest of the communities but the company. One FGD participant reported:

The company made contact with the community but only to tell them what they had planned to do next and not to discuss with them what to do. They do not come to the community and ask what to do (FGD at Nyamwaga Ward, 14th April 2022).

Similarly, FGD participants from the Kemambo ward reported further that community members were not involved in suggesting what projects to implement, how to implement them, who would be responsible for what activity, when, and where to implement them. It was found that the majority of local people were less involved and sometimes not involved at all in CSR processes. Inadequate community involvement in CSR projects has a negative impact on the community as well as on the mining company. Participants during FGD at Kemambo ward reported that poor community involvement had created a gap between the mining company and the community, and hindered efficiency, innovation, accountability and sustainable implementation of CSR projects. It was also reported that poor community involvement in CSR projects created unnecessary conflict and tension which delayed the completion of the projects. One example is the delay in the construction of a two-in-one teacher house at Nyangoto Primary School. The building was estimated to cost 88 million shillings, but it has used 102 million shillings and the project is not yet completed. The impact of poor community

involvement in CSR projects was also reported during the FGD at Nyarokoba ward. One participant put it that:

Poor involvement and cooperation of community members in CSR projects has resulted in community rejection, sabotage and delay of the CSR projects. People have lost interest in CSR projects and the company has failed to build a sense of belonging and connectivity to the society (FGD at Nyarokoba ward, 22nd April 2022).

Studies from other settings have also revealed the criticisms of the mining companies for their lack of consideration for the needs of local communities and their rights to direct participation in decision-making (Adema *et al.*, 2016). Other findings by Strand (2019) reported that CSR projects can be blocked by stakeholders because the company may have failed to include the community in the CSR planning process. Many CSR operations have been delayed, disturbed, and even shut down because of poor community engagement (Que *et al.*, 2018).

4.2 The Community Satisfaction with CSR

The study also investigated community satisfaction with CSR projects. This was done by exploring the mining company's community relations. The assumption here was that properly planned and implemented CSR projects would improve community relations with the mining company and eventually reduce the tensions between the company and the communities surrounding the gold mine. Findings in Table 1 indicate that overall, 89.6% of community members were not satisfied with the kind of relationship they had with the mining company. Only the minority (10.4%) said they were satisfied. The fact that the majority of the respondents were unhappy with the North Mara Gold Mine suggests ineffective participation of the community in the company's CSR initiatives.

Table 1: Community Satisfaction with the Mining Company

Level of Satisfaction	Respondents (%)				Total
	Kemambo (n= 81)	Matongo (n= 214)	Nyamwaga (n= 29)	Nyarokoba (n= 34)	
Satisfied	9.7	12.3	7.9	11.7	10.4
Not satisfied	67.1	50.1	53.4	63.8	89.6

Source: Field Survey, 2022

To build a clear understanding of the existing relations between the community and the mining company, respondents were also asked to explain the reasons for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the kind of relationship they had with the mining company. The findings indicate that the majority of the respondents (91.9%, 89.5%, and 85.3%) held the view that loss of land, poor community involvement in CSR activities, and negative impacts of mining activities respectively were the main reasons for the poor relationship between the company and the community (Figure 2). These findings reveal the disconnection between the mining operations and community needs and priorities. This calls for inclusive, transparent, and compensatory mining operations. The FGD participants also revealed that the conflicts and misunderstandings between the community and the company were due to the effects of mining activities (e.g., pollution) on people, livestock, and the environment and the loss of land to the mining company. On this, FGD participants in Matongo ward reported:

We have lost our local mines and a large area of our land to investors. We have no sources of income and some of us are amputated and we are living only under God's providence (FGD at Matongo Ward, 30th April 2022).

The FGD participants from the Kemambo ward also reported that the mining company has done a lot of damage to the land, houses, and livestock. Participants also stated that people's health and livestock were affected by drinking the poisonous water due to pollution from the mine. Yet, no proper compensation was provided to the community. An official from the Ministry of Minerals also confirmed that *"The community was unhappy because the company had taken a large amount of their land; the company was granted a special mining license (SML) by the government"* (KI, Ministry of Minerals, 26th May 2022).

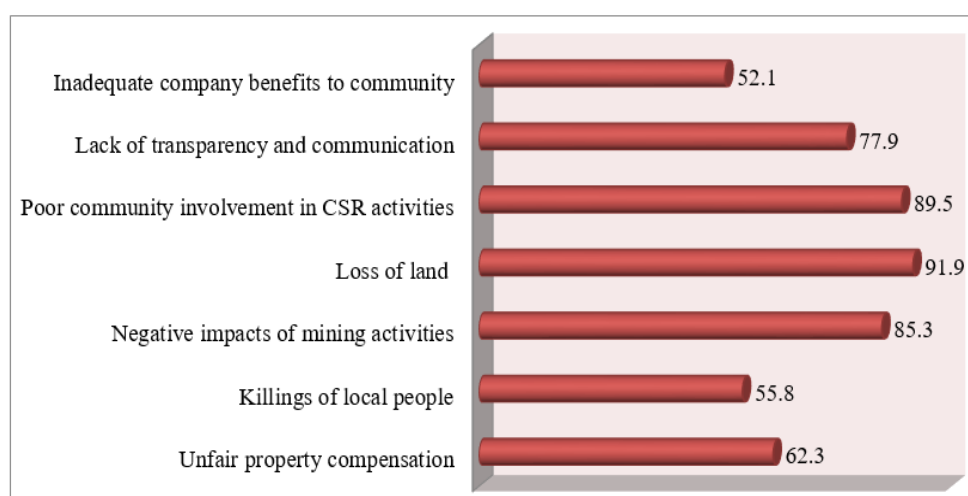


Figure 2: Reasons for community dissatisfaction with the mining company
Source: Field Survey, 2022

The results in Figure 2 indicate that 77.9%, 62.3%, and 55.8% of the respondents respectively mentioned lack of transparency and communication, unfair property compensation, and killings of local people by the company guards as reasons for the poor relationship between the mining company and the community. This indicates a fundamental failure in the company's CSR initiatives to build trust and ensure that community members are adequately informed and involved in decisions impacting their lives. Also, there is a perceived inequity in how the company compensates for properties, creating feelings of exploitation. The alleged killings of local people by the company guards suggest severe human rights abuses that affect the company's reputation and probably make citizens see no value in the company's CSR initiatives.

Similarly, FGD participants from the Nyarokoba ward reported inadequate involvement of the community, lack of transparency in CSR projects, and less benefit from the mines as causes of bad relationships. Also, during FGD at Nyamwaga ward, the participants reported unfair property compensation and the killing of villagers. It was further explained by the FGD participants in the Nyamwaga ward that people from all the areas in the wards (Matongo, Nyamwaga, Nyarokoba, and Kemambo) who gave their land for company expansion were not properly compensated. On this, one of the FGD participants from the Nyamwaga ward claimed:

The majority of people willingly signed the contract with the company (before the government became part of the company) to give their areas to allow company

expansion with the expectation that they would be fairly paid like other years. But when the government entered as part of company owners, very small rates were paid for the land and properties, and even others have not been paid up to now (FGD at Nyamwaga Ward, 14th April 2022).

The poor relationship between the community and the North Mara Gold Mine was also confirmed by the village and ward leaders. For instance, one village leader reported:

The company did not fulfil all the agreements made with the village when we provided our license to the [company]. The consequences of unfulfilled promises and concerns from the local community were that, the community generated negative feelings about the company. Thus, there is inadequate relationship between the community and the mining company (Kil, Village Leader, 8th April 2022).

Regarding local people's killings, participants reported that in 2019 alone, five villagers in Matongo village were killed by the company's security officers. According to Marato (2011), twenty-five (25) people lost their lives in the conflict between the North Mara Gold Mine and the neighbouring villagers in 2011 alone, and several others were injured. These findings are in line with Buhori (2016) who found that at least one villager around North Mara Gold Mine dies or gets injured every day. One of the reasons there have been alleged killings is that the community members constantly break into the mining sites to steal various properties (ibid.). This was also confirmed during FGD in Kemambo ward that, the mine's security officers were killing villagers (especially young men) who were trespassing on the mine to steal gold-bearing stones from accumulated heaps of gold ores ready for crushing and grinding, despite the presence of a huge company concrete wall. Similarly, during FGD participants reported:

The mining company does not treat us like human beings. Despite the government being there nowadays, their guards kill our sons when they go near the mine. The company is not even fulfilling its promises to the community of building VETA for our children to study and forget about going to the mine and being killed (FGD at Kemambo Ward, 12th May 2022).

The participants' views suggest a sort of consensus among the community members that it is justifiable for the youth to break into the mining company's sites no matter the illegality of such actions on the face of the law. This indicates the highest level of enmity between the company and communities which also suggests failures of the company's CSR programmes. These results confirm the findings of studies by Buhori (2016), Mlowe and Olengurumwa (2018), Stephen (2019), and Nawanda (2021), who found a poor relationship between mining companies and communities living near the mines in Tanzania. The reasons for such situations included land conflicts, environmental issues, unfulfilled promises, human rights abuses, and poor property compensation. This suggests that mining companies need to listen to community members' concerns and address them, and such measures will foster good relationships and sustainable CSR projects.

4. Conclusion

Community participation is a fundamental aspect of effective CSR practices as it cultivates a sense of commitment and ownership of the CSR projects. Effective community participation in CSR project decision-making processes from project identification, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation is very crucial. The paper assessed the extent to which the North

Mara Gold Mine has been engaging community members in the CSR project planning cycle and findings have revealed unsatisfactory engagement of communities around the gold mine. As a result, CSR projects undertaken by the North Mara Gold Mine have not been effectively implemented nor contributed to harmonising the relations between communities and the company. While the conflicting relations between communities and the North Mara Gold Mine are multidimensional, the findings of this study suggest that the tensions may be lessened if the citizens actively take part in the company's CSR projects. Mining companies can improve their CSR programmes if they actively engage communities at every stage of a CSR project and, most importantly, through a free, prior, and informed consent policy. Rather than dealing with community leaders alone, the entire community needs to be consulted and well-involved. Mining companies should work collaboratively with the community to identify and prioritize CSR projects.

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