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Community development through corporate social responsibility: some issues from selected companies in Tanzania

Shukrani K. Mbirigenda[1], Colman Titus Msoka[2]
[1]Assistant Lecturer of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam,
[2]Lecturer of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam

Abstract

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is said to be of mutual benefit for both corporations and the local communities. However, local communities in Tanzania are either reluctant to cooperate or outright reject CSR programs. This study interrogated the CSR management systems that are in place in Tanzania to see whether they provide opportunities for the development of local communities or challenge it, and if these management systems have relationship to reception or rejection of the CSR projects. The study was purely qualitative, that used interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and observations to understand the relationship between firms and communities, how the two relate and co-exist and how that relationship could be improved by CSR. The study found that, among other things, there are no common CSR management systems put in place by companies in Tanzania, there is no common definition of CSR, and communities are involved only at the later stage of implementation and not in the initial decision making of CSR formulation process. The study also revealed that CSR offers an opportunity to be used for community development but it also partly tends to make local communities dependent on the corporations. The study thus concluded that there is a clear link between lack of community involvement and CSR project acceptance or rejection by local communities. The study thus recommends the following: companies should share power to define CSR, as CSR offers opportunity for community development if communities are involved; there should be

state mechanism to regulate funds used on CSR by companies and consider this fund as cost rather than profit; effort should be made to avoid CSR dependence for community development by Local Government Authority (LGA) collecting taxes instead of waiting on the good will of the companies in their areas. Lastly the study recommends that countries such as those of SADEC or EAC should come together to form CSR policies so as to have common definition and also gain power to enforce regulations on companies.

Keywords: CSR, local community, development, involvement, CSR reception, CSR rejection

Introduction

In recent period, companies have raced to communities and given out what is popularly known as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). The giving out ceremonies are covered by media with men and women in expensive attires shaking hands with leaders of the communities, vulnerable groups, and politicians by their sides. This conveys the message that companies are not only sensitive to the needs of the people but are also generous and concerned. Despite this robust picture, CSR has to be looked at with a critical eye as companies use it to promote their images and products while communities gain just a token.

CSR is not a modern phenomenon and certainly not something that can be accredited to more economically developed countries. Long before the coming of colonial traders in many parts of Africa and Asia, donation-to-community culture was practiced (Chatterji, 2011). The concept once known as "noblesse oblige" (nobility obliges) has experienced rigorous resurgence since the 1950s (Mintzberg, 1986). At the dawn of the 21st century CSR has become one of the most influential topics in both the academic world and real life practices (Satci and Urper, 2013; Anwar, 2011; Greider, 1997). In the era of globalization corporate scandals have evoked soul searching among practitioners and academicians (Kashyap

et al, 2003). CSR is part of the vocabulary and agenda of people of all walks of life, from academics to professionals, NGOs to consumer groups, employees to suppliers, shareholders, and investors (Winkler, 2005; Mintberg, 1986), and local residents (firms' neighbours).

CSR is increasingly seen as a way companies engage their external environment to develop linkages between business strategies and societal stakeholders' impact strategies (Browne and Nuttall, 2013; Saatci and Urper 2013). Multinational Corporations (MNCs) have become common in low-income markets such as Africa, searching for legitimacy and growth opportunities (Egels, 2005). In some places such as Malaysia, MNCs build public housing and income supports (Greider, 1997) as a way to gain legitimacy to operate. In India it takes a variety of forms: religious grants; building wells and rest houses; commissioning relief work in times of disaster so as to gain social status; developing infrastructure and education; arts and culture; public welfare, and many others (Chatterji, 2011).

In countries like Ghana, Zambia, Kenya, and Tanzania, MNCs are also active in a number of areas: health care; water and electricity supply; job creation; sale of inexpensive good quality products; social and recreation clubs; building schools; dispensaries; awarding scholarships; sponsoring sports and local NGOs (Lungu and Mulenga, 2005; Barrick, 2010; Diallo and Ewuse, 2011; Lunogelo and Mbilinyi, 2009; Mbogora, 2011; Kivuitu and Yambayamba, 2005). These forms of support are collectively known as CSR. World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) defines CSR as the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of employees and their families as well as of the local community and society at large (Okusaga, 2007; Petkoski

and Twose, 2003).

Kumar and Balakrishnan (2011) also uphold that since 1990, CSR lobby groups or interested parties have grown to a commendable level. Such groups include the World Economic Forum, World Business Council for Sustainable Development, Business in the Community (BITC) in the UK, Business for Social Responsibility in the US, Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) in Amsterdam, Corporate Citizen Research Centre in Australia, Quality Associates International Inc. (which developed the Social Accountability norms SA 8000), International Organization for Standardization (ISO) in Switzerland (established standards on the Environment, Risk Assessment, Food Safety and Sustainability elements), European Foundation for Quality Management in Belgium, and Malcolm Baldrige Excellence Program in the US, to name just a few. In addition several organizations worldwide have the so-called "CSR Season" on going and associated budget as well, regardless of how they understand and customize their CSR practices to create maximum benefits to the society (Kumar and Balakrishnan, 2011). This cornucopia of lobby groups and interested parties points to the fact that CSR is popular and the business community sees the concept a way to link their business to society, whether for altruistic reasons or otherwise.

Chatterji (2011) pointed out that society increasingly turns to corporations for help with major problems such as poverty and urban affliction. It is also provides society with knowledge and skills to carry out business and understand modern societies in a more organized way. CSR is of mutual benefit to the companies and the local communities which are beneficiaries of projects started as CSR. In this case, CSR has to go beyond philanthropy as unethical behavior sometimes makes society extremely tolerant and insensitive. Recently, in countries like Tanzania, unethical

behavior has become order of the day and thus unethical people are praised and ethical ones looked upon with suspicion and apathy. In this environment, business therefore has the responsibility to either be extra vigilant to keep away catastrophes or take advantage of the familiarity with unethical behavior to pursue unethical activities (Chatterji, 2011).

Though the CSR concept and its practice are not without critics, it remains instrumental in benefitting the society in areas such as health, safety, literacy, poverty, etc. (Kumar and Balakrishnan, 2011). However, there is evidence that CSR practice in Tanzania is doing poorly with some projects failing, others rejected by local communities, and some showing disappointing results (Egels, 2005; Emel et al, 2012). The study therefore aimed at finding out how CSR can be used to contribute to community development in Tanzania.

Background of the study

In Tanzania, the modern form of CSR is still at a nascent stage mainly because Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) and the informal sector comprise a large per cent of the private sector following the liberalization of the economy and introduction of the private sector in the country. This becomes a barrier because of the costs involved in doing CSR and issues of competitiveness facing SMEs (Bekefi, 2006). In the mining industry for example, Barrick in North Mara in 2007 financed a $28 million hydroelectric project to bring power to parts of the remote Mara region where the mine is located. The project was a partnership between Barrick and the Tanzanian government and was in line with the government's plan to bring electricity to 25 per cent of the population by 2010 (Matthews, 2007). The Company had also joined the Global Business Coalition (GBC) on HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria, an

alliance of 220 international companies that lead the private sector fight against the three epidemics, and has employed a range of multifaceted HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria programs made to address local needs and priorities (Matthews, 2007; Barrick press release, 2010).

Other companies that were involved in CSR are Airtel Tanzania (formerly Zain Tanzania) through its "Build Our Nation" project that aimed to help schools and students with special talents (Habari Leo, 2007) and Tanzania Breweries that sponsored students to Higher Learning Institutions and also sponsored sports in the country. Tanzania Tea Packers (TATEPA) in Rungwe started to help tea growing farmers improve production and thus made good business and boosted the incomes of the people surrounding its factory (Mbogora, 2003). Other companies involved in CSR in Tanzania included Vodacom, Coca Cola Company, CRDB, Barclays, and Citibank, among others. Despite all these, what makes Tanzania an interesting case was the fact that some local communities were either disappointed with CSR or rejected CSR projects in their areas (Egels, 2005; Emel et al, 2012).

The problem

CSR in Tanzania has gained momentum and is now a buzz word in business as well as in academia. While companies give little in terms of helping the communities, they reap a lot in branding, marketing their products, and repair the image of some tarnished companies. Regardless of ulterior motives, the practice of CSR still remains with potencies to positively contribute to development of communities in Tanzania. The aim of this study was to find out the opportunities and challenges of CSR in contributing to development of local communities in Tanzania.

Literature survey

Corporate Social Responsibility became a household concept in the late 1960s and early 1970s after many MNCs and TNCs began self-initiative to serve the society (Kumar and Balakrishnan, 2011). Since then CSR has evolvd as a concept with different meanings to different groups, sectors, and stakeholders (Votaw, 1972; Carroll, 1994; Aggarwal, 2004).

CSR is not a one-time adhoc "look good" project that lacks business objectivity and review of impact to the society. ATE (2012) indicated that CSR is not:-

- Philanthropy, donations and charity. CSR has to observe the long-term benefits of the support.
- A Public Relations (PR) stunt and football club sponsorship. These activities only aim at building the company's image without necessarily impacting the society positively.
- One size fits all solutions. One CSR project for a financial firm may not necessarily be the best for a raw material supply firm.
- What CSR staff does. It should involve the entire organization (corporation). It is not something to be treated in isolation by one department or unit.
- Something anyone can do. It requires well-defined strategy thus people and planning.

While we agree that CSR should not be PR stunts, in practice there is a thin line between CSR and PR (Masuku and Moyo, 2013). ATE also seems to differ with other authors who affirm philanthropy, donations and charity as part of CSR (Garriga and Mele, 2004; Post, 2006; Masuku and Moyo, 2013; Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah, 2011; Koehn and Ueng, 2010).

Theoretical perspective

Academicians have difficulty in agreeing on any one theory of CSR due, in part, to the broad and abstract nature of the concept (Thibos and Gillespie, 2011). CSR situation is like an electric field with loose boundaries: multiple memberships and different training/perspectives; broad rather than focused; multidisciplinary; wide breadth that brings in a wide range of literature; interdisciplinary (Carroll, 1994; Aggarwal, 2004; Votaw, 1972; Thibos and Gillespie, 2011). This is shown by the many different CSR definitions. The evolution of CSR as a concept reveals different motivations for starting CSR projects and within those motivations different CSR theories can be located (Kashyap et al, 2003). CSR projects depend on the motivations and thus theoretical frameworks that guide it. Depending on what the company wants to achieve by CSR, it will use one framework against the other.

CSR can also take different approaches, such as community approach, philanthropic approach, sustainability approach, health and welfare approach, strategic approach, social accountability approach, and emergency response approach (Kumar and Balakrishnan, 2011). In community approach, a community will be selected and their social-economic needs will be identified. The trend is usually that of taking a nearby village community's needs in terms of educational scholarships, employment for people with special needs, etc. Philanthropic approach gives financial and physical contributions for the needy, while sustainability approach focuses on energy conservation, prevention of pollution, and sustainability related themes. Health and welfare approach makes firms organize health and public awareness campaigns such as of those of blood donation,

road safety, HIV/AIDS awareness, anti-smoking campaigns, and many related areas. In strategic approach, a theme is identified and organized in relation to the firm's organizational strategy. Social accountability approach ensures socially accountable business in terms of fair trade, fair pay and work conditions, equality in treatment for all employees, ethical consumerism and human rights. Lastly, Emergency Response Approach deals with natural disasters response and relief programs to those affected. These responses include but are not limited to provision of rescue, shelter, food, domestic appliances, relief fund, and health care measures (Kumar and Balakrishnan, 2011).

With the above background in mind, Garriga and Melé (2004) classified CSR theoretical field into four frameworks: economics, politics, social integration, and ethics. This is rooted in four aspects that can be observed in any social system (Parsons, 1961) which are adaptation to the environment (resources and environment), goal attainment (politics), social integration, and pattern maintenance or latency (culture and values).

The above theories are good explanations for the relationship between CSR and the corporate world. However they all fall short in explaining the effects of CSR programs to the local communities and the reactions that follow after. The discussed theories mostly speak about why companies engage in CSR, how to formulate and implement CSR programs, what would be considered as good a CSR program and what the benefits are. None however, tackles how to analyze the effects of CSR programs to the intended beneficiaries and therefore none can link the process, effects, and the reaction coming from the beneficiaries. This calls for a theory outside the popular CSR theories.

One CSR definition that already points in the above direction is by Thibos and Gillespie (2011) which defines

CSR as any corporate activity designed to benefit society, as a whole or in part, that may or may not directly benefit the corporation itself. In line with this definition this study uses Dependency theory to analyze the relationship between firms and local communities where these firms operate. This theory was chosen because of its power to explain and analyze the capitalistic relationship that exists between corporations and the local communities in Tanzania. Dependency school includes scholars such as Furtado, Andre Gunder Frank, Graffin, Sunkel, Dos Santos, Szentes, and others. Dependency theorists are concerned with the relationship between developed and developing countries. They argue that developing countries are incapable of following an alternative path because their decisions are conditioned by the developed countries. They therefore suggest breaking the cycle of economic and political reliance on dominant capitalist nations.

In CSR, society is a reflection of the corporate world as a result of continuous bombardment of advertisements, promotions and ultimately CSR. CSR is control, domination, exploitation, oppression and ultimately manipulation of the weak societies in the world, or weak segment of a particular society. In this study we show how resources from the local communities increase wealth of the MNCs while leaving the local communities poorer than they were before the corporations came, thus creating dependency of the local communities on the company. The rejection and indifference of CSR programs implemented by companies indicates that local communities do not see their life reflecting that of the companies in their areas and ultimately does not reflect the resources they have in their communities. Those local communities/societies where CSR is done perceive themselves as an adage, dependent on the firms and cannot think of development away from the company doing CSR.

Dependency theorists contend that to break dependency is possible and it is here that dependency scholars differ from the Marxists who deny this possibility because the change at the Centre (Core) would also make change at the periphery. Despite much criticism Dependency theory still functions as catalyst and a way for alternative development today in developing countries. Dependency theory is the most valuable contribution to modern social science. This theory fits more for this study because it can critically analyze the capitalistic relationship of production of corporations and its effects upon the local communities in which they operate. CSR is a result of global capitalism, which in recent times has found ways to exploit by investing in low tax regions of the world where environmental regulations are not as stringent as in the North.

Ferraro (1996) identified three common features in dependency definitions. First, dependency characterizes the international system with two sets of states, the dominant and dependent, also described as the core and periphery. The dominant states are the advanced industrial nations while the dependent states are those of Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low per capita GNPs and rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings. In this study we took the corporation as one representing the dominant part and the local community as the dependent part. This helps to demonstrate how the two interact and how their interaction leads to underdevelopment of the dependent part (the local community).

The second common feature is that both definitions make the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign

assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad. In this research we show how the external forces of MNCs become one important factor to the economic activity of the local community after MNCs confiscated land and displaced people and thus left the community without tangible alternatives for survival.

The third common feature in is that all definitions indicate that relations between core and periphery states are dynamic. Interaction between the two sets of states tends to not only reinforce, but also intensify the unequal patterns. Therefore, dependency is a deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Dependency is thus an ongoing process. The exploration of MNCs in the low-income markets in Africa in search of legitimacy and new growth opportunities is an historical process embedded in the internalization of capitalism, which recently sees MNCs investing in these regions of Africa, Latin America, and Asia in an attempt to run away from high tax and stringent environmental regulations in core countries. The capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labour, which makes many parts of the world underdeveloped. The dependent states are the suppliers of the primary goods. The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labour, and also serve as the storehouses of surplus capital, old technologies, and manufactured goods. Money, goods, and services flow in the periphery nation but its allocation is determined by economic interests of the core country (Ferraro, 1996). Ferraro asserts that:

> *… to a large extent the dependency models rest upon the assumption that economic and political power are heavily concentrated and centralized in the industrialized countries, an assumption shared with Marxist theories of*

> *imperialism. If this assumption is valid, then any distinction between economic and political power is spurious: governments will take whatever steps are necessary to protect private economic interests, such as those held by multinational corporations.*

It is this above truth that leaves countries in the North silent on atrocities committed by their companies in the low-income markets. Local communities in the low-income markets were undeveloped at some point but with the coming of the MNCs they were rendered underdeveloped. Undevelopment would mean an area where land is not actively cultivated on a scale consistent with its potential. However, underdevelopment refers to a situation in which resources are actively used, but in a way which benefits dominant states and not the poorer states in which the resources are found (Ferraro, 1996).

There is a relationship between capitalist companies and CSR. Capitalist companies want to show that they are not just soulless ugly giants milking profit from the poor but also allies of government and Non-Government Organization (NGO) also known as Not for Profit Organization (NPO) (Bakan, 2004; Chatterji, 2011). Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee (2007) was concerned with the power relations under the level where we see the good face of CSR. To Peter Newel (2008) CSR is a machinery to gain public trust and confidence in the wake of corporate irresponsibility. The argument here is that CSR is not for the society but for legitimizing harmful results of capitalist economy. Thus CSR, like globalization, is nothing new but a result of neo-liberal political economy (Akbas, 2012).

Dependency theory makes us see CSR in a new light and prompts us to find a way to formulate and implement meaningful CSR that will be "school of learning" for the society so that local communities can stand on their own

and be creative in solving their societal problems. Dependency theory explains how core countries represented by MNCs and TNCs pull resources from the periphery represented by local communities and leave the latter poor and dependent. Dependency explains how and why major decisions on CSR activities are taken by the core (companies) alone while the decisions affect the periphery (local communities), a process that imbues behavior of resentment, rejection, or indifference on company's CSR activities by the local community. To make CSR timely and meaningful, we need to go back and analyze the relationship that exist between the corporation and the society (thus local communities), and analyze the motives of CSR beyond what corporations say and do. Therefore, unlike popular theories of CSR, dependency theory has the power to describe, explain, analyze and offer an alternative path for CSR programs that will bring development of local communities.

Methodology of the study

This research was a case study that involved twelve companies from different regions in Tanzania (see table 1 and figure 1). The research employed three data collection techniques. These techniques, namely documentary reviews, personal interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). At the initial stage the research relied heavily on documentary reviews. It involved analysis of published materials on Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Governance. This started by approaching the subject from the global level, regional (Africa), and lastly at the local (country) level. At the local level, documents consulted included those at the ministry of industries and Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) and finally in the twelve companies that were involved in the study.

Table 1: List of corporations involved in the study arranged according to how they appear in the big taxpayers list for 2011.

SN	Name of Company	Industry	Sector
1	Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL)	Beverage	Consumer Services
2	Tanzania Cigarette Company (TCC)	Tobacco	Consumer Services
3	Vodacom Tanzania Limited	Telecommunication	Consumer Services
4	Airtel Tanzania Limited	Telecommunication	Consumer Services
5	M.I.C. Tanzania Limited	Telecommunication	Consumer Services
6	Bulyanhulu Gold Mine Limited	Extraction/Mining	Natural Resource
7	Kilombero Sugar Company Limited (KSCL)	Sugar production	Consumer Services
8	Geita Gold Mining Limited	Extraction/Mining	Natural Resource
9	Barclays Bank Tanzania Limited	Banking	Consumer Services
10	Williamson Diamonds Limited	Extraction/Mining	Natural Resource
11	Mtibwa Sugar Estate Limited	Sugar production	Consumer Services
12	Artumas Group Incorporated	Extraction/Mining	Natural Resource

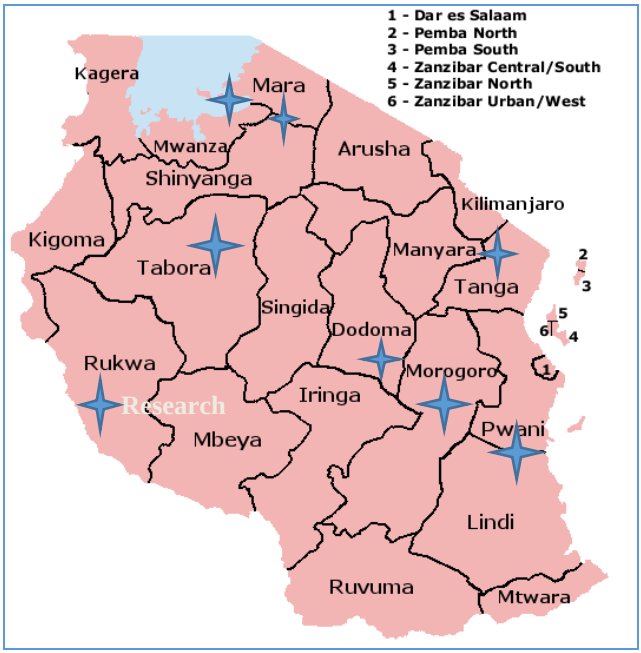
A total of twenty-four officials were interviewed but their names and posts are kept confidential. Some of the interviewees were frank and candid, and thus provided the required information. The interviewees were officials from the twelve companies, leaders and members of communities were these companies had CSR projects, and TRA officials. A small number of officials from some mobile phones service provider companies, mining companies, and banks completely refused to be involved in the research with the claims that either their companies did not allow

research or they had no information to offer. Two mining companies claimed that the information we were seeking required top management approval which they said were not present at the time of research, or were residing outside the country. As a result, the research questions that we singled out for findings were those for which data were readily available. We are convinced that if those companies were to provide those inside reports, CSR departments meeting reports, finances allocated and ultimately used for CSR projects, they would have enriched the empirical evidence of this article.

FGDs were employed in collecting information for this study. Seven FGDs were conducted in the local communities of Mtibwa, Kahama, Geita, Lindi and Mwadui. Local community leaders were used to identify members for FGDs. Each group involved ten to eighteen members who were divided according to their age group and gender. All protocols for ethics in research were followed.

CSR opportunities for community development

Local communities involved in FGDs and community leaders who were interviewed were all of the opinion that CSR was not helping the communities at all. The majority were of the opinion that CSR was geared to help the companies at the expense of the communities and individuals.



Source: Modified from Bing.com

Figure 1: Map showing Areas of Research

These people I do not understand them, a big company like this brings here ten tables! Does it mean we cannot afford ten tables? The government couldn't afford ten tables? First they (Airtel) should come to us to enquire about our needs, they should let us tell them our needs, the areas we need assistance and not to bring to us ten tables and boasting of helping us while they have helped their own businesses. Why don't they help in buildings? They should in addition come with receipts so that we know they really spent that amount on the tables. There is a possibility that they used half of the money and then divided the other half among themselves.

However, a few individuals (not communities) who were involved in CSR in some communities talked very well of some CSR projects such as those that give loans without interest, offer start-up capital, and give wheelchairs for people living with disabilities. One respondent spoke about CSR activities of KSCL and said:

> *We benefited, this company has helped us even if not to great extent as we expected but we were helped, the roads have been leveled, our farm products have market and we get loans. For one who is ready to work we see results, let no one lie to you, farming pays. This is my message for those who are jobless in towns and cities.*

Out of the three sets of CSR motivations that the study found out (the image boost driven model, social legitimacy improving model, and the pure business case model), none could offer tangible evidence of improving welfare of the local communities and reduction of inequality, which might be more important than anything else in CSR. This last part is more important because the Constitution of Tanzania recognized land as belonging to the people of Tanzania and it is under the trustee of the president. This means the constitution recognized that the mining land for example, belongs to the local communities under trusteeship of the president. This means there is no private ownership of minerals and other mined objects, as in the case of Indonesia (Prayogo, 2013).

Some individuals in the local communities were made to gain so long as the corporations also gained and were deserted as soon as they outlived their utility. This was the case with Artumas Group and the company's vegetable production CSR in the villages of Mchepa and Msimbati. The study showed positive relationship between how

companies conceptualize and implement CSR and how local communities receive, resent, or reject CSR projects. There were common traits in the approach of those CSR projects that were rejected, resented or failed. These companies involved neither the local communities' leaders nor the local communities' members in either formulation of CSR strategy or implementation, or both. These companies' CSR activities were not aimed to help the community but designed to solve problems the companies were facing. AG visited several villages before starting their CSR and one of those villages was Madimba. The companies were Vodacom Tanzania, Airtel, MIC (Tigo), Mtibwa Sugar Estate, Artumas, Tanzania Breweries Limited, Barclays, Geita Gold Mine, Buzwagi Gold Mine, and Williamson Diamonds Mine. CSR activities of Mtibwa Sugar Estate were formulated and implemented without consultation with local communities. The company, either as an entity or at times as one person in the administration, made decisions without any consultation with neither the local communities authorities nor the members. At times the implementation was even forced on members of local communities. This was the case with forced contribution to the Nassor Seif secondary school from sugar canes farmers' sales. The reason for the start of all Mtibwa Sugar Estate projects was not to help the communities by any means but to help the company to acquire and transport raw materials and then their sugar product to the consumers. Thus the company repaired roads and bridges and built Nassor Seif secondary to boost the company image in the face of the government officials and the public. The timing of helping the dispensary says more to this end; the coming of the Uhuru torch which meant media coverage. Hand in hand with this was the donation of a pump, meant to make up for the river pollution by the poisonous dirty water resulting from the company's factory activities.

Geita Gold Mine and Buzwagi had their CSR based on the principle of compensation or replacement; reactive CSR. These companies started CSR activities as a reaction to an event that was perceived would tarnish the companies' image. Schools were built after damage to the school, water supplied after some damage to the local community, and electricity supplied to diffuse some anger among the community members. The whole idea of CSR was based on the companies' needs, thus it was decided and implemented by the companies. It was always driven by what the company wanted to give and not about what the community needed. The aim of these CSR activities was to acquire licence to operate and make the company accepted in the community so that members do not vandalize the properties of the company. It was about the establishment of a good relationship and to do away with any antagonism. In addition, a number of companies spent more costs on CSR administrative issues than direct benefit to the communities. The name given to some of these places where the CSR projects were located already said a lot about ownership. Someone going to fetch water at the company water point would refer to it as "nakwenda chota maji mgodini" (literally translated as "I am going to fetch water at the mining"). It the end this brings a problem of sustainability and vandalism as people do not perceive themselves as owners of the CSR projects started in their communities.

What Vodacom, Barclays, TBL, CRDB and Tigo call CSR was a clear business case that has little or no help at the community but did a lot to help their corporations to advance their agenda in profit making. Unlike some other models, theirs was a selective case of few members in the communities who were compatible with what the firms were doing. Individuals involved were taught what the project was all about and also how to implement it. This

kind of project only served to divide the communities into those favoured, and those neglected. Those involved in the projects were seen as darlings and those without perceive themselves or were perceived by others as the orphans. Names such as "watoto wa Vodacom", "wapendwa wa tigo" were used to depict those who benefited from the companies CSR programs. At times these names were also used in a derogative way which conveyed resentment lashed out from members of the community who did not benefit from the project towards those who did.

TCC and KSCL were the only two with CSR projects partly well received. After realizing the companies' business problems and needs, the two approached the communities. Both involved the community leaders, NGOs in the area CSOs and FBOs. These missions were aimed to convince the local communities on the importance of the projects and thus the need to implement them. This is what Bakan (2004) called "seducing the people" by CSR in trusting the corporate world.

Discussion and conclusion

Gachanja et al (2013) defines CSR as the pursuit of commercial success in ways that honour ethical values, compliance with legal requirements, and respect for the people, communities and natural environment. Though the main rationale of corporations to engage in CSR is to improve the image of the company, it should be clearly distinguished from philanthropy or charity by making economic contribution, which is seen as the most important and effective way for business to make a social impact. Corporation is part of the society thus they too have rights and obligations.

Looking at the TCC CSR, there is one thing that the other companies did not do and that is lobbying. TCC started its CSR activities by convincing the local

communities, starting with their leaders, on the importance of the project to the local communities. Somehow TCC used the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) that tries to convince people to implement the project. TCC realised that local community leaders are an important in getting things done by communities. Certainly TCC and KSCL did not start with involvement of the communities at the conceptualization stage of CSR but they then convinced the communities that the project is good for them and thus communities agreed to the implementations. This solo type of conceptualization results from TCC belief that CSR is not corporate philanthropy thus it is not about solving communities' problems but addressing business challenge. TCC went direct to address that business challenge, but they addressed it by involving the communities to whom they see a solution to their business challenge. From the TCC model we learn that lobbying is important when beneficiaries, local community members, are not involved in decision making or the process that gave birth to the CSR project they are now called to implement.

6.1 CSR as a tool for community development in Tanzania

Corporations should offer help to communities in areas which need it or without which (sine qua non) there could be a long delay. This help should be done without discrimination starting with communities around their areas of operation to communities that are in grave need. Since the aim is to bring about community development then corporations doing CSR should attract, encourage, and mobilize other corporations in contributing to community development. However, care should be taken to avoid dependency, which can be avoided by involving the community members in the process of making decisions from the beginning. If community members are not involved, there is a danger of sabotage and lack of

commitment in the engagement of the project. The role of the state is not to take sides with the private sector but make sure that the community is empowered so that it is not negatively affected by the private partner. There is a need for collaboration on equal footing as contribution from only one side creates unequal partners. The communities should therefore not only be on the receiving end.

The study revealed that there are several opportunities for firms and communities to come together in CSR and implement programs that would be beneficial to community development. One area of opportunity for corporations to contribute to community development is the ward schools popularly known in their Kiswahili nickname "shule za kata". These schools are in dire need of qualified teachers and textbooks among many others. The most important and hard to get is qualified teachers. Many of these schools are located in rural areas with poor infrastructure, making them unattractive to qualified teachers. One way corporations could do CSR in this area is to find and pay qualified teachers for these remote schools. They could enter a contract with these teachers for a period of four years and thus make sure that they carry students from form one to form four. They could also furnish the school libraries and their laboratories while mobilizing other corporations to do the same. Companies can also be places for students to acquire quality practical work experience (ATE, 2012).

So far we can say with certain confidence that no company in Tanzania that is does CSR that can be said to be exemplary in community development. The examples that we have are sporadic with companies trying to do as little as possible such as giving cheap scholarships to one or two community members, building a classroom, buying a few desks for community school, village government office, and at times even the ridicule of giving balls and jerseys to a

community football team or sponsoring sports and other social events. A number of companies are also spending a lot on paying for their own people and administrative costs than directly on the communities. It should be remembered that CSR money is public money (Bakan, 2004) thus it should not benefit only a small group in the community. So far there has been marginal impact that perpetuates inequalities and mis-opportunities that are however celebrated as successful stories.

To make a real difference, companies need to help communities stand on their own, facilitate their economic activities so that they can produce or sell more, and thus improve their welfare. The aim of companies' CSR should always be independence and self-reliance of the people in the community, so that they can survive even after the company stops the help it gives. This is to say that CSR has to make an impact to the community in question, try to solve community problems and not simple individual problems of some members in the community. If members must be selected in the community then it should aim at the marginalized group. Some communities such as those of Lindi-Mtwara corridor complained of CSR rubber stamping projects that did not help the community while leaving important areas of dire need such as those of water, health, education, and community local production unattended.

CSR should in fact put more emphasis on empowering the local community members with skills so as to get jobs in companies present in their areas. CSR should stop being just another way to make companies grow as the case of Vodacom, Barclays, CRDB, Tigo, TBL and others, just to mention a few. What can make CSR sustainable is its ability to use the business' experience to help a local school, charity, or community group become more efficient and entrepreneurial (Insyirani et al, 2013).

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