**Gordon Institute
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Trade union participation in social and labour plan and corporate social responsibility planning and execution to placate community relations in the South African mining sector

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I. Abstract

Despite the vast amounts spent by the mining industry through corporate social responsibility (CSR) and Social and Labour Plan (SLP) initiatives (Davids, Guedes, & Kell, 2016), regular community protests continue to severely disrupt mining operations, leading to billions of rand in lost production (Seccombe, 2017). Simultaneously, trade unions, in an attempt to revitalise declining membership, have increasingly mobilised constituents around exactly those societal challenges that the CSR and SLP spend try to address (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013; Holgate, 2015; Ibsen & Tapia, 2017; Kelly, 2015b).

This research explores ways in which mining firms can including trade unions during the planning and execution of their CSR and/or SLP initiatives to alleviate community-related disruptions. It fills a gap in the literature on political CSR and social movement theory, which currently lacks insight into the mechanics of how, and conditions under which, a trade union and a mining firm would jointly craft and take responsibility for the success of firms' CSR and SLP initiatives.

A total of ten semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with purposively selected participants: six with representatives of mining houses and four with representatives of trade unions whose members are employed in the mining sector. A thematic content analysis was used to analyse the interview transcripts.

The results indicate that there is a zone of mutual interest where both trade unions and companies can work jointly to address community-related disruption through collective CSR deliberation. However, to do so, business leaders need to work proactively to build the transparency and trust required to bring trade unions to the table. The study suggests that it may be possible to attribute partial responsibility for sound community relations to trade unions. This could be done by way of the first phase of firm-led union co-responsibilisation, followed by the methodical inclusion of trade unions in the process of collective diagnosis and prognosis to address community challenges. Trade unions have the potential to be a powerful ally in the quest to quell (mining) community-related disruptions.

II. Keywords

Corporate social responsibility (CSR), social movement theory, collective action frames, trade unions, stakeholder engagement

III.   Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

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1   Introduction

Despite the vast sums of money spent by the mining industry on the provision of education, health and other public services through corporate social responsibility (CSR) and Social and Labour Plan (SLP) initiatives (Davids, Guedes, & Kell, 2016), the mining industry has been unable to improve community relations (Chabana, 2016). Regular protests by communities continue to severely disrupt operations, leading to billions of rand in lost production (Seccombe, 2017).

Simultaneously, trade unions are increasingly mobilising their constituents around the same social challenges that these CSR and SLP initiatives seek to address. This, often in an attempt to revitalise declining trade union membership (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013; Holgate, 2015; Ibsen & Tapia, 2017; Kelly, 2015b). Conversely, the South African Association of Mine Workers and Construction Union (AMCU) bucked the trend in declining membership post-2012, successfully recruiting and mobilising new supporters and community members to engage in strike action against the mines (Wöcke & Marais, 2016).

More recently, however, AMCU has lost around 6500 members in Marikana in the North West province of South Africa alone, as mining firms, struggling to tread water, shed jobs (Mahlakoani, 2017a). The resulting job insecurity has seen union leaders having to plead with mine workers trying to get to work not to confront community members blocking their access to the mines. This in fear of not only of escalating violence but also, by their own admission, losing further members and the associated bargaining power (Mahlakoani, 2017a).

Clearly, mining firms have a strong motivation to seek ways in which to moderate tensions with surrounding communities and reduce disruption to their operations. Similarly, there is a clear rationale for trade unions to seek ways to revitalise and stem their declining membership in an attempt to retain their relevance and power. Thus, a question which arises is how both the employer's and the trade unions' objectives can be met contemporaneously? An answer to this may lie in the inclusion of labour in the evaluation, design and execution of an organisation's CSR and SLP initiatives.

Harvey, Hodder, and Branner (2017) use the concept of political CSR, a phrase used to describe the encroachment of business initiatives on traditional state responsibilities (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011), to argue that trade unions are both "legitimate and effective

deliberative partners with the firm towards CSR" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 42). They go further to suggest that, in fact, active participation by trade unions in CSR may lead to union revitalisation by attracting individuals who would traditionally not consider trade union membership (Harvey et al., 2017).

Social movement theory and the concept of framing have become increasingly prominent in explaining how unions can go about revitalising themselves (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). A trade union, through the use of narrative, symbolism and other methods of communication, actively works to create a "frame", or "lens" that shapes how their constituents interpret, and therefore react to, their world (Benford & Snow, 2000). It is through such active framing of a grievance, with the intention of mobilising its members, that a social movement such as a trade union comes to construct what is known as a collective action frame (Benford & Snow, 2000). Importantly, to mobilise workers (and attract new members), a trade union must be able to attribute blame for a grievance, which is perceived by its target members as a collective injustice (Kelly, 1998).

One can argue that employers, in this instance the mining houses, are not directly responsible for the broader societal issues that form this shared grievance, and thus industrial action will not be effective in addressing the disputes raised. Thus, the ability of AMCU and other unions to continue mobilising workers around these social challenges is called into question (Wöcke & Marais, 2016).

It has been shown, however, that a private party or firm can be made to take responsibility for an issue over which it does not have direct control, by cleverly framing the problem and its cause to enable such attribution (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). In fact, much of AMCU's past success has been credited to its ability to identify and frame social challenges in ways that resonate with its constituents (Wöcke & Marais, 2016). In other words, just as a person can be "framed" for a crime, so too can a company be framed as the party responsible for the social injustices faced by a trade union's members.

Nevertheless, people are more likely to strike if they believe their actions will be effective (Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg, 2013). Put differently, if action against the accused party is thought unlikely to be successful, then the motivation for strike action will be low. AMCU's recent decline in membership and disillusioned members claiming the union is failing to protect jobs (Mahlakoani, 2017a) is a case in point.

Harvey et al.'s (2017) suggestion that trade unions are legitimate and effective partners

in the planning of CSR activities highlights an alternative path to trade union renewal. Rather than fuelling community and worker discontent, by emphasising and attributing blame for societal ills to the mining house, the trade union and mining house can collaborate on the identification, design and delivery of a jointly constructed solution. Participation by the trade union in such a collaboration is considered to be ultimately in the best interests of the trade union's members and the trade union itself (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017). It is likely then that the benefits of such participation by the trade union would extend to the mining communities and ultimately to the mine.

However, Harvey et al. (2017) made their argument in the context of a more homogenous and developed society. In South Africa, and specifically in communities surrounding the mines, disruptions to mining operations are often the result of escalating disagreements between various community factions. A recent example of such infighting stems from a disagreement, between different community factions, over the distribution of proceeds from a project intended to create stable mining community relations (Seccombe, 2017). In this context, a better understanding of how employers and trade unions can co-design and deliver a firm's CSR and SLP activities, with the objective of moderating community (and firm and union) relations, is needed.

This research builds on the work of Harvey et al. (2017) by exploring the way in which business and labour can go about co-authoring a firm's CSR and SLP activities; this in the hope that through the process of deliberation, the community-oriented frame promoted by the trade union and the frame promoted by the mining firm transform and align. Moreover, that this jointly constructed collective action frame is one that seeks not to rally communities against the mining house, but rather to rally the community, the trade union and the mining house behind one another.

The literature review that follows starts by describing the background to the South African mining industry and related CSR activities. This is followed by a section on declining trade union membership and the use of social movement theory and the concept of framing as tools in trade union revitalisation. The concept of political CSR is then reviewed, highlighting how the line between state and company responsibility has become blurred. A section on the attribution of responsibility follows, which describes the way framing is used to attribute responsibility for broader societal challenges to a private party. Finally, trade union involvement in CSR and the inclusion of unions as an effective and legitimate stakeholder in CSR deliberations is discussed.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Background to the South African mining industry

The South African mining industry has been a mainstay of the South African economy for over 100 years. In 2015, the industry directly employed 457 698 people, representing just north of 3% of total national employment, and contributed R286 billion (7.1%) to South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) (South African Chamber of Mines, 2016). However, the industry continues to be plagued by community protests and industrial action with devastating effect. As an example, the 2012 and 2014 strikes in the platinum sector are said to have cost the country at least 0.5% of GDP, or more than R16 billion (Jordaan, 2016). More recently, protests that stem from a disagreement among community factions on the distribution of proceeds, intended to contribute to the development of the community, have led to a mining firm announcing the retrenchment of up to a third of its workforce (Seccombe, 2017).

The mining industry contributes billions of rand per year to address social development challenges, both as a result of government regulation in the form of Social Labour Plans (SLP) and voluntarily through corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives. SLPs, which detail the way a mining company will contribute towards the development of mine host communities and labour-sending areas, account for approximately R2bn per year spent by the mining industry on mine community development (Chabana, 2016, p. 7). In addition to SLP expenditure, the mining and quarrying industry contributed approximately R2.75 billion or 32% of total CSR spend in South Africa during 2015/16 (Davids et al., 2016). In total, CSR and SLP expenditure represents approximately 1.7% of industry-wide revenue, an amount which is not insignificant for a sector that has been loss-making for some years.

The SLP and CSR funds are targeted at health, education, environmental and other causes and seek to address a perceived need or to remedy/offset a social and environmental wrong in an attempt to protect a business's social licence to operate (Claasen & Roloff, 2012). However, despite this substantial contribution to broader societal issues, the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) has successfully leveraged workplace and societal issues, such as living conditions, to persuade mine workers and nearby communities to embark on industrial action (Wöcke & Marais, 2016). It is not surprising then that social licence to operate has once again been rated among the top 10 risks facing mining and metals firms across the globe (Ernst

and Young, 2016).

The mining industry is well aware that current practices are not effective. The industry has publicly acknowledged that "mining companies cannot resolve the social delivery issues on their own" (Chabana, 2016, p. 7), and has called for "an improvement to the SLP model of social delivery, especially when it comes to ensuring that the projects undertaken are reflective of a consultative process, undertaken with legitimate representatives and addressing the developmental needs of the community in which it operates" (Chabana, 2016, p. 7).

According to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, based at Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand, this view is echoed by mine host communities. The Centre conducted five case studies, which revealed that by and large local communities were not familiar with the obligations imposed on mining firms through their SLPs, and importantly, most of these obligations were not met. These commitments range from the provision of housing through to childcare centres and bursaries (Sguazzin, 2017). It is no surprise then that the general public continues to view the mining industry as a bastion of human and environmental exploitation that "continues to fan the embers of discontent" (Humby, 2016, p. 653).

In this context of rising community disaffection, which is exploited by trade unions in a bid to stimulate industrial action, ways in which mining companies can placate community relations without alienating the trade unions still elude both the industry and academia. Importantly, in the words of the CEO of Lonmin PLC, "loss-making mines can't drive development" (Omarjee, 2017).

2.2   Declining trade union density

Declining trade union density is a common theme in the developing world (Hodder, Williams, Kelly, & Mccarthy, 2016; Ibsen & Tapia, 2017; Kelly, 2015b). South Africa's unionisation statistics align to the global norm, with unionisation of the workforce declining from a peak in 1997 of 45.2% of total employment to 25.4% in 2012 (Steyn, 2014). One noticeable exception, however, is the rise of the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), which has become, in a relatively short space of time, a dominant force in the South African mining industry at the expense of the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM), which remains focused on traditional employment issues and its alliance with the ruling ANC (Wöcke & Marais, 2016).

As the legitimacy of trade unions around the world has declined, questions have been raised around their purpose and strategy, and whether they can revitalise themselves by reinventing themselves as broader social movements (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). To arrest this decline, trade unions have engaged in strategies that include extending their focus beyond the workplace to tackle broader societal challenges and forming coalitions with like-minded social movements. Forming coalitions with non-labour-focused movements and engaging on issues not directly related to employment are done in a bid to remain relevant and to shore up the influence the trade union has lost (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017).

Similarly, AMCU has recently ventured beyond the traditional trade union role of "maintaining or improving employment conditions of wage earners" (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017, p. 2), by incorporating broader societal issues in its recruitment and mobilisation rhetoric. AMCU's ability to leverage these broader societal issues has been highlighted as a key success factor in its recruitment and mobilisation activities (Wöcke & Marais, 2016). But, what happens if these same communities perceive the mining industry as genuinely attempting to address their needs? Will the trade unions' ability to mobilise around these social issues be dampened? Will the power of the unions decline? Importantly, AMCU's recent decline in membership and disillusioned members claiming the union is failing to protect jobs (Mahlakoani, 2017a) highlights the risk, to a trade union, of losing focus on its core function.

2.3   Social movement theory and framing as tools in trade union revitalisation

There is now broad alignment among researchers on the concept of "framing" as a way to understand how social movement organisations (SMOs), those for and those against a cause, go about creating shared identities to enlist and rally new and existing members (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). But what is a social movement? Social movements do not simply emerge from unexpected events or existing ideologies; they are created by people who continuously work at portraying a phenomenon in a certain light, to attach meaning for observers to their cause (Benford & Snow, 2000). Social movement scholars employ the verb "framing" to represent "an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614).

The work of an activist or signifying agent results in what is referred to as a "Collective Action Frame" (CAF) (Benford & Snow, 2000). A CAF is, in simple terms, a lens created

by the activist or SMO through which constituents of the movement can view and interpret their world. This lens is, however, created with the intention to mobilise these constituents or other bystanders in support of the SMO's agenda. These frames matter because the way in which an individual thinks about a problem influences the way he or she will respond to that problem (Powell, 2011).

It is clear CAFs are created to solve a problem. It follows then that first the nature and source of a problem must be identified, then the modus operandi to solve the problem must be established and, finally, constituents must be mobilised and put into action. These three framing tasks are known as "diagnostic framing", "prognostic framing" and "motivational framing" (Benford & Snow, 1988). The first two tasks, diagnostic and prognostic framing, seek to create a shared view of the grievance, its origin and its potential solution. The objective of the third framing task, namely, motivational framing is, as the name suggests, to encourage and sustain participation in the SMO's actions (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013).

The concept of frame alignment, which explains how SMOs purposefully align their interests or collective action frames with potential new recruits, is considered to be of the most important tools in understanding how SMOs function (Powell, 2011). There are four alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation, with frame bridging being most commonly employed (Benford & Snow, 2000). Frame bridging is the process of connecting two separate but analogous collective action frames and can be achieved by finding and highlighting commonalities between the SMOs or their members (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013).

Recently, AMCU's success in rallying union members into collective action has been partly attributed to its ability to "identify and frame" broader societal issues (Wöcke & Marais, 2016, p. 110). AMCU, in contrast to NUM, mobilised constituents by constructing a collective action frame that entailed both workplace and broader societal issues. NUM, on the other hand, retained its traditional strategy of mobilising predominantly around workplace issues (Wöcke & Marais, 2016).

AMCU's ability to retain and grow its membership base by employing workplace and broader societal issues is consistent with the actions and experience of other labour unions. In Australia and the United Kingdom, for example, trade unions are using labour–community coalitions to represent the broader society and to gain legitimacy and power (Holgate, 2015). Moreover, in the United States, it was found that those unions which

are experiencing stable and growing memberships are the same unions which are successfully aligning themselves with social movements whose agendas resonate with their own (Albert, 2014). Put differently, the unions that are referred to as "revitalised" are exactly those unions that are engaging on broader societal issues.

While legitimacy and power are necessary conditions for trade unions to mobilise their constituents, unions will find the task of mobilisation far easier if their constituents believe the union and the concomitant action will be effective in addressing their grievances (Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg, 2013). Based on Kelly's (1998) work, Heery (2002) identifies five conditions that are needed if unions are to mobilise workers successfully. These are: (1) workers must have a shared view of the injustice done to them; (2) the injustice must be attributed to the employer; (3) there must be an organisation or union through which mobilisation occurs and which is perceived as effective; (4) it must be perceived that collective action will correct the injustice; and (5) union leaders must be able to construct a legitimate collective action frame in spite of employer opposition (Heery, 2002). Accordingly, the establishment of a collective identity around a shared grievance is key to Kelly's philosophy (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013).

In an industrial relations context, broader societal issues would not then be expected to be sufficient motivation to mobilise union members, especially when these issues are outside the direct control of the employer (Wöcke & Marais, 2016). If this is the case, why then was the mining industry not more successful in subduing protest action? Surely it just had to create and disseminate a narrative centred on its lack of connection to the grievances raised and, moreover, its inability to solve them?

AMCU's success may be explained by Kelly's (1998) argument that unions' attempts at revitalising themselves would be improved if they were to strategically construct collective action frames which align with workers' complaints (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). In the case of mine workers, it is a known fact that worker living conditions have long been a contentious issue which the industry has been slow to address (Hartford, 2012). It can be argued that AMCU has seized on this inequality to seed its revitalisation. This speaks directly to Kelly's (2015) statement that "the world's major capitalist economies display a number of features and tendencies which could provide the foundations for union revitalisation centred on a 'narrative' of injustice and exclusion" (Kelly, 2015a, p. 539).

2.4   Political corporate social responsibility (PSCR)

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become a universal phrase in all discussions and activities that reflect the responsibility a firm has towards its employees and the society and environment in which it operates (Frynas & Stephens, 2015). The terms *corporate citizenship*, *sustainability* and *accountability* have also often been used in place of CSR (Frynas & Stephens, 2015).

Aguinis and Glavas (2012) reviewed 588 journal articles and 102 books and book chapters related to CSR. Based on this review, they created a theoretical framework, which synthesises what is known and what is not known at the individual, organisational and institutional level. Specifically, CSR is linked to improved organisational reputation, financial outcomes, competitive advantage, attractiveness to institutional investors, firm capabilities and employee retention (Aguinis & Glavas, 2012). Other studies find that the legitimacy attached to a firm's CSR activities is not based on the initiatives that it undertakes, but rather the perception that it does the best it can. In other words, a company's CSR actions are compared with what stakeholders assume it can do (Claasen & Roloff, 2012).

Scherer and Palazzo (2007) argue that emerging CSR practices such as "developing corporate codes of behaviour in collaboration with critical NGOs, exposing corporate CSR performance to third-party control, linking corporate decision-making to civil society discourses, and shifting corporate attention and money to societal challenges beyond immediate stakeholder pressure, point to politicization of the corporation" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, p. 1115). Thus, political CSR sees companies establishing and engaging in activities that are usually considered to be the responsibility of the state, such as education, health, environmental protection and the like. The firm in a way becomes a proxy for the state by delivering public services where the government is not able to, and by enforcing codes of practice which are not necessarily enforced by the respective governments in all jurisdictions where it operates (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011).

Political CSR research has been criticised for attributing the politicisation of the firm solely to globalisation (Whelan, 2012). However, the following, more recent, definition for political CSR does not restrict the concept to globalisation:

> PCSR entails those responsible business activities that turn corporations into political actors, by engaging in public deliberations, collective decisions, and the

provision of public goods or the restriction of public bads in cases where public authorities are unable or unwilling to fulfil this role. This includes, but is not limited to, corporate contributions to different areas of governance such as public health, education, public infrastructure, the enforcement of social and environmental standards along supply chains or the fight against global warming, corruption, discrimination or inequality. These corporate engagements are responsible because they are directed to the effective resolution of public issues in a legitimate manner, often with the (explicit) aim of contributing to society or enhancing social welfare, and are thus not limited to economic motivations (Scherer, Rasche, Palazzo, & Spicer, 2016, p. 276).

PCSR begins to shed light on why trade unions or other social movements are able to use broader social challenges to motivate their constituents to take action against a firm, despite such firm not being directly responsible or obligated to resolve the issues. Interestingly, AMCU overcame one of the core requirements for mobilising, namely, the attribution of responsibility for a grievance to the employer (Heery, 2002). AMCU's ability to successfully attribute responsibility for broader societal issues to the employer is surprising when considering how challenging this would be to do within the complex layers of social and environmental governance (Ramasastry, 2015).

One can argue that AMCU pointed fingers at the parties who were most likely able to provide a solution. Specifically, this happens when multinational corporations and their global economic transactions, which are often executed outside the legislative borders of the host country, have undermined the ability of host nations to enforce the rule of law and thus the host nation ceases to be the "legal and moral point of reference" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011, p. 905).

2.5   Framing as a tool to attribute responsibility for broader societal problems

The politicisation of the firm raises questions on the boundaries of responsibility. Where is the line of responsibility drawn, and how is business made responsible for problems that would traditionally be perceived as beyond its sphere of liability? The definition of "responsible", according to the Miriam Webster dictionary, is that of being "liable to be called to account as the primary cause, motive, or agent" ("Definition of responsibility," 2017), which "suggests imminence of retribution for unfulfilled trust or violated obligation" ("Definition of responsibility," 2017). Carroll (1991) constructed a pyramid of CSR that has four distinct layers. At the base of the pyramid is economic responsibility, followed

by legal, then ethical and, finally, philanthropic responsibility (Carroll, 1991, p. 40).

Economic responsibility refers to the responsibility of the firm to make a profit, without which there would be no firm. Legal responsibility refers to adherence to the rule of law and is intended to mirror the expectation from society regarding what is acceptable and what is not. Ethical responsibilities, although not required by law, are, however, expected by society. Carroll (1991) defines ethical responsibilities as "those standards, norms, or expectations that reflect a concern for what consumers, employees, shareholders, and the community regard as fair, just, or in keeping with the respect or protection of stakeholders' moral rights" (Carroll, 1991, p. 41). Philanthropic responsibility concerns business's contribution to supporting its community and improving quality of life (Carroll, 1991).

These concepts of responsibility do not, however, take into account attribution of responsibility as a result of being complicit or in some way or form connected to an event of injustice (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). Events such as the Rana Plaza disaster in Bangladesh, where 1129 workers were killed and more than 2500 others injured when a building collapsed, has raised the profile of corporate complicity. The building that collapsed was used to produce clothing for top retail chains that included Walmart, spearheading the extension of corporate responsibility into the supply chain (Reinecke & Donaghey, 2015). "Complicity criticism thus refers to the fact that corporations can be held responsible for other actors' deeds" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011, p. 913).

Further extending the concept of responsibility, Young (2006) argues that "obligations of justice arise between persons by virtue of the social processes that connect them" (Iris & Young, 2006, p. 102). The concept of social connectedness infers that "actors bear responsibility for problems of structural injustice to which they contribute by their actions" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011, p. 913). Thus, by encroaching on the role of the state, participating in the formation of public policies and influencing collective decision-making, firms have assumed broader responsibilities while ensuring they retain their legitimacy by offering solutions to public issues (Scherer et al., 2016).

Much attention has been paid to how firms have extended their activities and assumed responsibility for activities and the delivery of services that were traditionally the role of the state. There are also many examples, including the Rana Plaza example, which show that, increasingly, firms have been held to account for injustices outside their direct legal jurisdiction. However, there is little research on how, or the process by which, firms are

made to be responsible for social ills (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). Reinecke and Ansari (2016) argue that "responsibility – the state of duty, accountability, and opportunity for action for an issue – is socially constructed through collective negotiation" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 300). This aligns closely with the definition of political CSR (PCSR) already discussed, which emphasises the role of deliberative democracy in CSR.

As already discussed, there are three tasks necessary to induce collective action, namely, diagnosis, prognosis and motivation (Benford & Snow, 1988). However, social problems complicate the process of framing in all three of the required tasks (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). With respect to diagnosis, social problems are complex and identifying the root cause, and the responsible entity is not a trivial matter. Defining a solution (prognosis) is thus complicated by the ambiguity of the problem. Finally, how to motivate persons to mobilise is unclear, given the tenuous link to those responsible and the unproven nature of the suggested solution (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016).

In their study on conflict minerals in the Congo, Reinecke and Ansari (2016) identified three major frame shifts, resulting in frame transformation (Benford & Snow, 2000), that companies undertake to "shift from denial to acquiescence, and finally to assume a political role in conflict resolution" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 301). These three frameshifts are depicted in Figure 1 and described in more detail below:

Figure 1. Model of Corporate Responsibilisation for Wicked Problems (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 316)
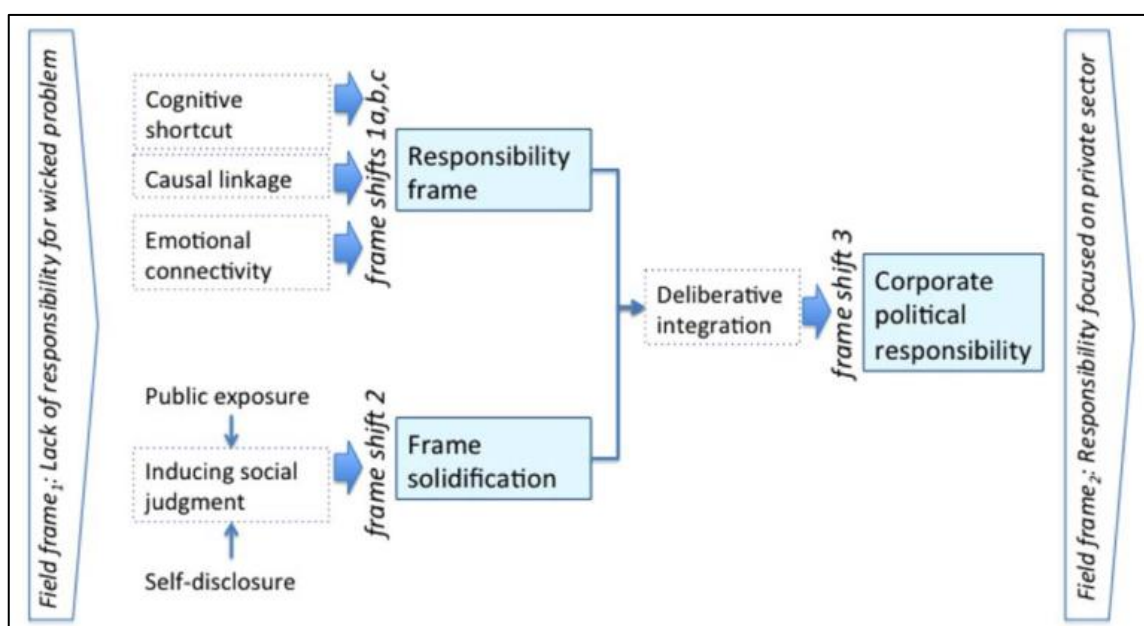
Frameshift 1 is about constructing the responsibility frame, which leads us to the first research question: How can a joint company and trade union responsibility frame be developed?

The construction of a responsibility frame requires three separate actions:

i. The creation of a suitable cognitive shortcut - This entails the simplification of a complex problem by breaking the problem down into a number of smaller problems and then handpicking those that have plausible links to the "villain"; thus, reducing the scope of a problem makes it easier to understand and also easier to attribute to the transgressor. "Narrowing a problem's scope can reduce fatalism, make the problem appear tractable, and spur action by providing hope for a possible resolution" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 317).

It is clear from level of disaffection and amount of strike action that mining firms and trade unions have very different understandings of the challenges at hand. This leads to a second supporting research question: How can a new cognitive shortcut begin to be formed that aligns company and union understanding of the grievances?

ii. Creating a link between the grievance and the responsible party, i.e. constructing a causal linkage - A complex problem needs to be causally linked to a party that is likely to be able to provide a solution. Using Young's (2006) theory of social connectedness, it may be stated that broad societal problems are potentially everyone's problem "by virtue of the social processes that connect them" (Iris & Young, 2006, p. 102). "Activists can use this 'commons logic' – to construct causality and link private actors to a problem, even if they are not the main culprit" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 316).

While companies might acknowledge some level of responsibility, they certainly do not align themselves with unions on who is to blame for the broader societal challenges. Unions place the blame squarely on the companies, as key players in a capitalist society, while the mining firms point to a lack of service delivery and capacity of government. This leads us to the third research question: How can unions and companies find or create a common enemy?

iii. Creating emotional connectivity by linking an issue to deep-seated emotions. In other words, a CAF should be constructed such that its target members can relate, on an emotional level to the grievances the activist seeks to address (Benford & Snow,

2000). Creating these emotional connections facilitates mobilisation through "making a link appear more immediate, salient, and potent" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 316).

It has already been argued that AMCU seized on a deep-seated and contentious issue, namely, miner and community living conditions that resonated heavily with their members in their mobilisation activities. Based on the voracity and violence of subsequent strikes such as those of 2012, it is clear that the emotions of employees are heavily influenced by the trade unions and are negative towards the employer. This leads us to a fourth research question: How can employers and trade unions redirect negative emotions to create an environment characterised by hope and trust?

Frameshift 2 is about solidifying the frame, which has been constructed and forcing companies to accept it. To facilitate this second frameshift, one would need:

i. Work to induce social judgements of the targeted private party. This can be done through third-party exposure such as naming and shaming and/or praising the responsible parties in public. This inducement of social judgement is intended to pressure the targeted party into changing their behaviour, and/or

ii. Inducing social judgements through self-disclosure – Self-disclosure may be voluntary or involuntary, such as carbon disclosure reporting and sustainability reports. In essence, the reporting or lack of reporting may lead to social sanctions

In summary, "inducing social judgments can render the responsibility frame consequential and thereby solidify it" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 319). Currently, the public portrayal of companies by the trade unions is vastly different to the way the companies portray themselves in their annual reports. This leads us to the fifth research question: How could mining firms and trade unions go about publicly portraying a common message?

The third and final frameshift on the path to corporate responsibilisation is deliberative integration. Practically, this entails companies engaging in public consultation in which responsibility and commitments are deliberated. In such public forums, it becomes difficult for companies to avoid moral debates, often forcing them to accept, publicly, responsibility for something which, in private, they deny responsibility for. "Through deliberative integration, business can assume a political role by becoming co-authors of the responsibility frame" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 319).

The three frameshifts described above can occur successively over time or simultaneously. Regardless of when this frame shift occurred, their enactment creates the field frame necessary to make companies responsible for broader societal problems. This attribution of responsibility is not necessarily permanent. Rather the extent of corporate vs public obligations is continuously renegotiated amongst stakeholders (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). Corporate responsibilisation as an ongoing process resonates with Wöcke and Marais' (2016) doubt over AMCU's ability to sustain the mobilisation and recruitment of new members (Wöcke & Marais, 2016).

Importantly, who the stakeholders are that should be included in this "public debate" is not articulated by Ansari and Reinecke (2016). The section that follows discusses how trade unions, in particular, have been excluded in CSR deliberations in spite of arguments for their inclusion.

2.6   Trade unions and corporate social responsibility

"Trade unions have rarely been discussed in CSR literature" (Delbard, 2011, p. 263). This is supported by Harvey et al. (2017), who maintain that academic work to date on CSR and the involvement of trade unions has been relatively sparse (Harvey et al., 2017). Much of the work that does exist is largely empirical in nature.

There is considerable suspicion of CSR by [European] trade unions who often see themselves as outsiders, rather than important stakeholders, in CSR deliberation (Preuss, 2008). In general, [European] trade unions view CSR as an abstruse concept (Delbard, 2011). Importantly, if trade unions were to engage fully and jointly manage a firms CSR program, full transparency from both sides would be a prerequisite (Delbard, 2011).

Despite trade union scepticism as to their inclusion as a stakeholder in CSR, the exclusion of trade unions as equal partners in the formation and governance of CSR activities has been met with surprise (Brammer, Jackson, & Matten, 2012). While not specifically mentioning trade unions, Dobele, Westberg, Steel, and Flowers (2014) argue that successful CSR programmes "[rely] on employees as major stakeholders in what becomes a process for 'co-creation and implementation' of trust and engagement with other stakeholders" (Dobele et al., 2014, p. 157).

Yu (2009) adds credibility to the argument that trade unions are best placed to represent

employees. In a study on worker participation in the CSR practices at one of Reebok's supplier factories in south China, Yu (2009) found that, "workers collective participation through trade unions was deeper and broader in terms of both influence in decision-making and scope of issues" when compared to individual worker participation (Yu, 2009, p. 235). Important to note is the fact that trade unions are simultaneously internal stakeholders, with major exposure to the success of the firm, and also external stakeholders, being legally and structurally independent of the firm and having their own agenda (Harvey et al., 2017).

The question on whether trade unions should be included in CSR deliberation has been addressed by Harvey et al. (2017), who argue that trade unions are both legitimate and effective partners in CSR deliberation. Trade unions are legitimate partners in CSR for three key reasons: (1) Trade unions are democratic in nature, which implies that decisions are made through consensus among members. (2) Trade unions are sensitive to broader societal issues. This is evidenced by trade unions expanding their remit and engagement to include broader societal issues (Holgate, 2015; Ibsen & Tapia, 2017), which affect their members as part of that society. And finally, (3) firm and trade union incentives are aligned in the sense that trade unions are sensitive to the economic realities of business. Trade unions are thus well placed to allow flexibility in a firm's social commitments in trying economic times (Harvey et al., 2017).

Harvey et al. (2017) establish the efficacy of trade unions in CSR deliberation by pointing to the unique ability of trade unions not only to communicate and mobilise within the firm but also externally. "Central to political CSR is the participation of actors with the capacity and moral authority to hold business to account in processes of deliberation" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 43). Trade unions are already well placed to facilitate communication and conduct negotiations between employees and management. Externally, the trade union is unencumbered by corporate rules and regulations and is easily able to disseminate and monitor compliance by the firm. Importantly, unions are able to mobilise their members to enforce compliance where necessary, which is a significant incentive for firms to remain compliant (Harvey et al., 2017).

Harvey et al. (2017) also discuss the potential implications for unions should they become entrenched as true partners in CSR deliberation. This includes a potential decline in membership if members believe that the broader societal focus reduces the union's capacity to represent workers' core interests. Of course, establishing a new collective action frame also presents an opportunity for revitalisation (Gahan & Pekarek,

In other words, through involvement in PCSR, trade unions can enforce CSR compliance by companies and reframe themselves as "warriors of social justice", potentially attracting members who would not generally be interested in union membership (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 52). Participation in PCSR offers trade unions the opportunity to partner rather than oppose employers, a strategy considered superior for their longer-term revitalisation (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017, p. 11).

The argument for the inclusion of trade unions in CSR deliberation is strong. Moreover, the rationale from a trade union's perspective for engaging with broader societal issues is also clear. However, the literature has not, to the best knowledge of the author, covered how an employer might actually go about including trade unions in the formation and execution of their CSR agendas. This includes insights as to the conditions under which employers would embark on such an engagement with trade unions. As argued by Dobele et al. (2014), "the appropriate selection of a representative to liaise with all stakeholders, to build relationships, establish trust, promote the shared value of CSR initiatives and manage the relationship between the company's business and social goals is a critical one" (Dobele et al., 2014, p. 157).

A sixth research question arises from the combination of the argument that trade unions are important stakeholders in CSR deliberation and, as discussed in the previous section, that the final frameshift on the path to corporate responsibilisation is deliberative integration. The question that is posed is then: How can a responsibility frame be developed so as to enable shared responsibility between mining firms and unions?

The six research questions are summarised in Figure 2 below. The figure mirrors the model of corporate responsibilisation proposed by Reinecke and Ansari (2016), with the research questions superimposed.

The six research questions described thus far provide some insight into answering the one overarching question: How can firms and trade unions jointly work, using corporate social responsibility as the raison d'être for their collaboration, to placate community relations?

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Figure 2. Research questions superimposed on the model of corporate responsibilisation by Ansari and Reinecke (2016)
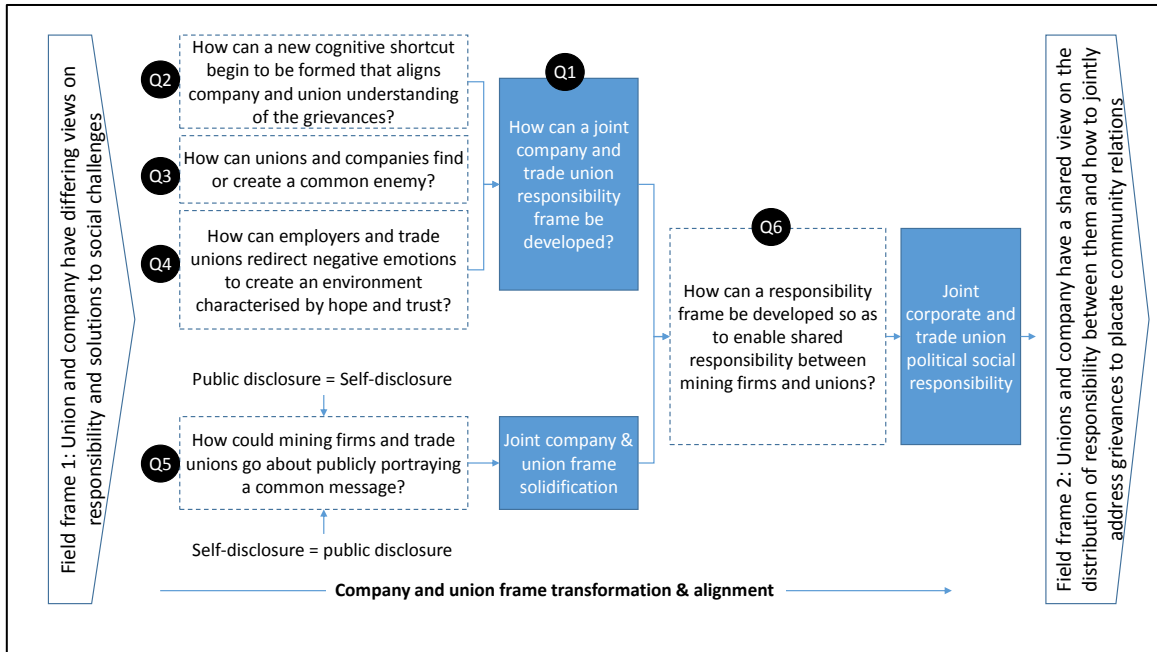
3 Methodology

The study protocol described herein was approved by the Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS) MBA Research Ethical Clearance Committee on 22 June 2017. Interviews commenced shortly thereafter.

3.1 Research paradigm

3.1.1 An exploratory, qualitative study

The objective of the study was to explore how firms and trade unions could jointly work, using corporate social responsibility (CSR), as the raison d'être for their collaboration, to placate volatile community relations. A quantitative approach would not be able to shed light on this question and the supporting research questions posed. Thus the approach followed falls within a qualitative paradigm.

Further, while prior research on the role played by trade unions in CSR is limited (Harvey et al., 2017), underlying core concepts, from which the research questions investigated originate, stem from well-developed but separate, bodies of theory, namely, social movement theory and political corporate responsibility (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013; Scherer et al., 2016). Thus, the researcher's "desire to reinvestigate a theory or construct that sits within a mature stream of research in order to challenge or modify prior work" (Edmondson & McManus, 2007, p. 1165) further supports the use of a qualitative, exploratory approach.

3.1.2 The researcher's role

Qualitative research is interpretive research, meaning that the researcher will present data as he or she has interpreted it. The researcher's interpretation is of course affected by his or her background. As such researchers should actively identify biases that may result from their background, values etc. This in an attempt at understanding the impact their past experience may have on the interpretation of the data and the presentation of the subsequent results (Creswell, 2014).

My perception of trade unions, mining houses and mining community unrest has undoubtedly been shaped by my personal experiences. From October 2011 to July 2012,

I worked for a non-governmental organisation helping to design and deliver HIV and Aids outreach programmes in and around the coal mines of Mpumalanga. These programmes were jointly funded by a number of mining houses and the United States Agency for International Development.

During the delivery of the above-mentioned programmes, I was involved in a number of door-to-door information-gathering sessions in the communities surrounding the mines, and I also facilitated a number of mining community forums. The forums comprised discussions with mining community members and religious and community leaders on the challenges they faced. This experience has enhanced my awareness and knowledge of and sensitivity to the daily challenges faced by mining communities. In this role, I experienced mining companies as wanting to comply and to be seen as responsible citizens, but essentially outsourcing their responsibilities.

From August 2012 to April 2014 I worked for a mining-focused management consultancy. During this time, I worked mainly on profitability improvement projects, none of which included any focus on community-related disruption. Since May 2014, I have been employed by Anglo American Platinum, working in the marketing business unit. Here I am largely responsible for the deal-making activities of the group's corporate venture capital programme, a role which is also very removed from actual mining activities and which has no interface with mining communities or labour unions.

My experience has thus been on the two opposite ends of the spectrum, one of which was focused solely on the struggles and challenges endured by mining communities, who often portrayed these challenges as being a result of the mining operations. The other is purely commercial, working in environments which are far removed from the daily operations of the mines and, in particular, removed from any community or trade union-related activities undertaken by the mining industry.

Overall, my past experience has reinforced my view that mining companies are disconnected from the communities in which they operate. Although every effort has been made to ensure I provide an objective analysis, these biases may have shaped the way I collected data in the interviews, as well as my interpretation of the data collected.

3.2   Research process

3.2.1   Sample

The population of interest, as defined by Vogt (2005), was members and/or representatives of mining firms with trade unions. The researcher was specifically interested in finding those individuals who are engaged in CSR or community-related activities such as CSR managers; engaged in trade union activities such as shop stewards; and/or persons who may represent mining firms or trade unions on issues related to community, trade union or CSR matters, such as an employee of the South African Chamber of Mines. The unit of analysis was thus the opinions, experiences and/or perceptions of these individuals.

To this end, purposive sampling was employed, where interviewees who are members of mining firms with trade unions were deliberately chosen because of their knowledge on the topic of interest (G. Payne & Payne, 2017). As the researcher was himself an employee of a mining house, relevant representatives from the mining sector, known to the researcher, were approached by email or in person with a request for a meeting to conduct an interview. A "snowball" sampling technique was subsequently followed where each interviewee was requested to identify and provide the contact details of, other relevant stakeholders to be interviewed (Creswell, 2014). In an attempt to avoid a biased view from a specific stakeholder group, each interviewee was asked to identify representatives from both mining houses and trade unions.

In total, ten semi-structured interviews, representing two different stakeholder groups (mining houses and trade unions – see Table 1), was conducted between the receipt of ethical clearance and the end of August 2017.

Table 1 - Stakeholder Groups Represented

Actor	Description	# Interviews
Chamber of Mines (representative of mining industry)	"The Chamber of Mines (CoM) of South Africa is a mining industry employers' organisation that supports and promotes the South African mining industry. A vital function of the organisation is to represent some sectors in collective bargaining with organised labour" (South African Chamber of Mines, 2016). Importantly, the CoM represents about 90% of South Africa's mineral production.	1
Mining houses	This group include representatives from mining houses that are engaged in sustainability issues and employee and trade union relations on a daily basis	5
Trade unions	This group included current and past high-level representatives of three major trade unions	4
	Total	**10**

3.2.2 Data collection through semi-structured interviews

All interviews were held face to face at a venue chosen by the interviewee. Interestingly, company representatives chose to be interviewed at their place of work in each case, while two of the four trade union representatives chose to be interviewed at a neutral venue. Prior to the start of each interview, the background of the researcher was given, followed by an explanation to the interviewee as to why they were asked to participate in the interview. Participants were then advised that the interview would be recorded, that their participation was purely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the interview at any time without penalty. Finally, written informed consent was obtained from all interviewees prior to the commencement of the interview.

The interview guideline for the semi-structured, in-depth interviews, as shown in Table 7 on page 120, was structured around the six research questions. Each research question was in turn supported by a range of accompanying questions which were used to prompt further thoughts and talking points from the interviewees as and when necessary during the interviews. To limit researcher-introduced bias during the interview, interviewees were often asked to extrapolate on the issue being discussed (Creswell, 2014). The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for the collection of rich data (Creswell, 2014),

while still maintaining flexibility for the discussion to proceed to areas not previously considered by the researcher.

Prior to commencing the interview, interviewees were again advised that the interview would be recorded and were specifically informed when recording was underway and when it was stopped. The interviews were recorded using the voice recording function of a smartphone and subsequently sent for transcription to an independent third party providing professional transcription services. Transcriptions were reviewed by the researcher for accuracy by comparing the recordings of the interviews with the transcripts prior to analysis. All interviews were conducted and analysed in South Africa's official language, English. Further, all interviews were conducted by the researcher. On a few occasions, a work colleague of the researcher, who had an interest in the topic, accompanied the researcher to the interviews.

The amount of data collected per research question varied between respondents, as each had a different set of expertise and comfort level concerning the questions being asked. As the majority of those interviewed were senior and/or executive-level employees, interviews were often limited to an hour in line with the scheduling requirements of the participant. As a result, the average length of the interviews was just shy of one hour, with the shortest interview lasting approximately 40 minutes and the longest approximately 75 minutes. Notes were also taken during the interviews when pertinent points were made.

3.3   Data coding and analysis

Notes that were taken during the interview, together with the interview transcripts, were analysed in two readings, using a web-based computer-aided qualitative analysis platform, Dedoose (SocioCultural Research Consultants LLC, 2016).

3.3.1   Generating initial codes

As already mentioned, a rigorous process of coding (Creswell, 2014) was started by first loading the transcribed interviews onto the web-based, computer-aided, qualitative analysis platform, Dedoose (SocioCultural Research Consultants LLC, 2016). Once the interview transcripts were loaded, the researcher began to code each response. The researcher began by taking the literature and the resulting research questions and

forming a list of initial codes. The initial list of codes, corresponding to each of the research questions is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2 - Preliminary constructs / codes

Research question	Initial codes
RQ1: How can a joint, company and trade union responsibility frame be developed?	1. Company perception of societal challenges 2. Trade union perception of societal challenges 3. Alignment of perception 4. Potential for alignment
RQ2: How can a new cognitive shortcut begin to be formed that aligns company and union understanding of the grievances?	5. Source of societal challenges 6. Cognitive shortcut 7. Company grievance 8. Union grievance
RQ3: How can unions and companies find or create a common enemy?	9. Company responsibility 10. Government responsibility 11. Trade union responsibility 12. Common enemy
RQ4: How can employers and trade unions redirect negative emotions to create an environment characterised by hope and trust?	13. Community perception of company 14. Community perception of trade union 15. Community temperament 16. Community relations
RQ5: How could mining firms and trade unions go about publicly portraying a common message?	17. Company narrative 18. Trade union narrative 19. Aligning narrative 20. Spreading the narrative
RQ6: How can a responsibility frame be developed so as to enable shared responsibility between mining firms and unions?	21. Sharing responsibility 22. Prerequisite for shared responsibility 23. Deliberative integration

3.3.2   Generating additional codes

Using the initial list of codes, phrases and ideas were identified in the transcripts that corresponded to the codes. However, as expected, the data quickly began to show that

the preliminary list of codes was too clumsy to capture the data at hand adequately. As such new codes had to be formed. For example, the code "cognitive shortcut" was too restrictive to capture the nuances in the text, while the concept of collaboration had to be considered both as it is now and what it could be in the future.

Thus while the literature and the resultant research questions provided an important starting point, new codes were added over time and consolidated as the analysis evolved. Codes were also changed and updated based on interviews across a constituency and between the two constituencies. Thus the researcher followed an iterative process of adapting the set of codes to fit the dataset as new information arose.

Unexpected codes that emerged from the dataset included "temporal changes", "job security", "legal obligations", "leadership", "no leadership", "migrant labour", "apartheid", "transformation", "transparency" and also "trust and authenticity".

The table below shows the final list of primary codes that were used in the analysis. The first column is again the research questions, which drew on the work by Ansari and Reinecke (2016) and which provided a framework for constructing the initial codes. The second column shows the initial codes that the researcher predicted would describe the data. The third column shows the additional codes generated that were needed to describe the final data set adequately.

Table 3 - Final list of primary codes

Research Question	Initial codes constructed from research questions	Additional codes that emerged from the data
RQ1: How can a joint, company and trade union responsibility frame be developed?	Company perception of societal challenges; Trade union perception of societal challenges; Alignment of perception; Potential for alignment	Social issues as driver; Community unrest; Trade union and company engagement
RQ2: How can a new cognitive shortcut begin to be formed that aligns company and union understanding of the grievances?	Source of societal challenges; Cognitive shortcut; Company grievance; Union grievance	External forces; Job security; Blame and accountability; Apartheid; Migrant labour; Transformation
RQ3: How can unions and companies find or create a common enemy?	Company responsibility; Government responsibility; Trade union responsibility; Common enemy	Other stakeholders; Role of government; Legal obligations; Trade union jobs focus
RQ4: How can employers and trade unions redirect negative emotions to create an environment characterised by hope and trust?	Community perception of company; Community perception of trade union; Community temperament; Community relations	Temporal changes; Engagement; CSR expectations
RQ5: How could mining firms and trade unions go about publicly portraying a common message?	Company narrative; Trade union narrative; Aligning narrative; Spreading the narrative	Trade union and politics; Trade union legitimacy; Collaboration; Transparency
RQ6: How can a responsibility frame be developed so as to enable shared responsibility between mining firms and unions?	Sharing responsibility; Prerequisite for shared responsibility; Deliberative integration	Leadership; No leadership; Collaboration - others; Trust and authenticity; Trade union incentives

3.3.3   Developing the themes

In a second reading, the coding was reviewed for consistency and corrections made. Overall, coding was found to be consistent. The first coding process was followed by an axial coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), where the identified codes were related to each other and grouped into themes or broader concepts. Finally, these themes were interpreted in relation to the research questions. Accordingly, the data was coded and organised into themes, and hence a thematic content analysis was conducted. A number of the final codes were retained in their own right as important themes, this includes for example, "migrant labour", while others were grouped to form a single broader theme.

Data saturation was reached relatively early in the interview process (Creswell, 2014), with no new concepts emerging after the third interview in the respective groups (mining houses and trade unions). This might have been because the research questions and prompts were relatively specific in that they focused the conversation on specific topics. Although further concepts might have been identified had more interviews been conducted, there were two main constraints to this. Firstly, there was a time constraint, in that the researcher had to secure time slots in the diaries of busy executives at relatively short notice.

The second more restrictive constraint was the fact that interviewees acted as representatives of their organisation. As such, they felt that once their organisational view had been offered, interviewing further individuals in their organisation was unnecessary. As a result, it was rare for an interviewee to refer or suggest an interview with someone else in the same organisation as them. This was particularly the case with the trade unions.

3.4   Validity, reliability and limitations

3.4.1   Validity and reliability

In qualitative research, as with quantitative research, it is important that the researcher consciously employs techniques to ensure both the reliability and validity of the study (Creswell, 2014).

Reliability in research refers to its repeatability, i.e. the consistency and trustworthiness of both the data and the process that was followed. In other words, if the research was repeated, similar results would be achieved (Creswell, 2014). For a study to be considered reliable then, "observations made in that study must be stable over time, and different methods, such as interviews and observations, should yield similar results" (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing Liao, 2004, p. 958).

Creswell (2014) suggests several procedures to improve qualitative reliability and validity. These include: Standardising research questions across interviews, reviewing transcripts for obvious errors that may have occurred during transcription and ensuring that the definition of coding remains consistent across different transcripts. All three of the above suggestions were employed during the research process. Specifically, the same interview guideline, as presented in section 8 on page 120, was used for all interviews. The interviews began, in each instance, in the same way, with the researcher providing his background and the rationale for the research. Each of the interview recordings was transcribed by a professional transcriber and subsequently checked by the researcher for accuracy by comparing the recording to the transcript received. Finally, coding was reviewed for consistency and accuracy in a second reading.

Validity, on the other hand, refers to the extent to which a study reflects the core of what it was intended to reflect (C. G. Payne & Payne, 2004). Validity can be thought of along two axes, internal and external validity. Internal validity can be thought of as methodological fit. In other words, does the research methodology, measurement instrument enable the research questions to be answered and thus, is the conclusion of the study defensible. External validity refers to the accuracy of the findings and the extent to which they can be generalised, such as their authenticity and credibility (C. G. Payne & Payne, 2004). Importantly external validity commands that the researcher provide sufficient context so that the reader can ascertain for themselves whether or not any findings can apply to their situation.

To improve the validity of results one can triangulate sources of data, which means that a theme that emerges from a number of participants is considered more valid, or otherwise if the concepts which arise from the interviews are backed by other sources of information such as news articles or other academic sources. Further, internal validity can be improved by referring the identified themes back to the original interviewees to see if they reflect the interviewee's original thoughts. Finally one can limit the bias the researcher introduces during the interview by allowing the interviewee to extrapolate on

the issue being discussed (Creswell, 2014).

Admittedly, data triangulation was one area where this research can be faulted. While many themes were consistent amongst interviewees, which provided one level or data triangulation, the accuracy of the statements made by the interviewees were not triangulated in all cases. For example, if a trade union member said that they were not included in a specific event or forum, then the researcher did not cross-check the attendance register of that event or forum. Rather, comments made by the interviewees were accepted at face value.

The researcher did, however, make a concerted effort not introduce any bias into the conversation. This was done in two ways. Firstly, as already described above, the researcher was acutely aware of his background, described in section 3.1.2 on page 24, and that this may impact the findings. Secondly, the researcher attempted at all times to allow the interviewee to continue along their train of thought by prompting for further information, using the interview guideline, as opposed to suggesting a path of discussion.

In terms of external validity, while every attempt was made at presenting the context, methodology and results in such a way as to support the findings. The intention being to provide insight into a potential starting point for how a firm can about including trade unions in CSR deliberation with a view to placating community relations. Only the reader can assess whether or not the researcher's intention was achieved.

3.4.2   Limitations

The methodology that was followed has a number of limitations (Creswell, 2014), these include:
1. The responses received were informed not only by reality but also by the background, interview situation, the current context of the interviewee and so forth. Specifically, this research took place in a time of severe job insecurity and instability in the mining sector. One would expect that in such situations trade unions and companies, perhaps as a result of their desperation, would be more amenable to collaboration.
2. The presence of the researcher and probing for additional information may have biased responses. Since the researcher was a senior employee of a large mining firm, trade union interviewees may have formed their responses to align with their organisation's current position, as opposed to what they truly felt.
3. English was not the native language for the bulk of those interviewed. It was thus not

uncommon for the researcher to have explained some concepts, or to have to rephrase the questions asked. While every attempt was made to limit the extent of the rephrasing, this did take place. Further, as a result of an interviewee not being a native English speaker, there were instances where the interviewee struggled to articulate themselves. In these situations, the researcher made notes in an attempt to capture the essence of what was being said.

4. The range of interview targets was concentrated in the platinum mining sector. This meant that many of the interviewees were already engaging in other forums and their views were thus potentially "co-ordinated" in the sense that many of the interviewees were experiencing similar conditions on the ground.

5. Time and available population size limited the size of the sample to only ten interviewees. However, the researcher feels that given the detail in which each interview was handled, the smaller sample enable a more in-depth description as opposed to being overwhelmed with volume in a limited study such as this.

6. Finally, as already mentioned above, interviewees acted as representatives of their organisations, meaning that once their organisational view had been offered, they felt that interviewing further individuals in their organisation was unnecessary and hence were unlikely to offer introductions to other persons within their organisation as a potential interviewee. This was particularly the case with the trade unions.

4   Results

4.1   Overview

The results below are derived from a series of interviews conducted across the two core constituencies for this research, namely, trade unions and mining companies. As described in Chapter 3, the interviews were recorded and the recordings subsequently transcribed by a third party. After reviewing the transcriptions for accuracy, the transcriptions were coded, using a web-based computer-aided qualitative analysis platform, Dedoose (SocioCultural Research Consultants LLC, 2016), and themes were identified for the purpose of addressing the overarching research question and each of the supporting research questions.

In total, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted between the receipt of ethical clearance and the end of August 2017. At the outset, the researcher was specifically interested in finding those individuals who are engaged in CSR or community-related activities such as CSR managers; engaged in trade union activities such as shop stewards; and/or persons who may represent mining firms or trade unions on issues related to community, trade union or CSR matters, such as an employee of the South African Chamber of Mines.

The researcher managed to interview five senior and executive employees of large mining firms and who had specific experience in CSR, labour and trade union relations. Only a limited sample of South African mining firms was represented. However the firms represented accounted for more than 60% of total platinum group metal production. A sector which is acutely affected and aware of the impact of community-related disruption. Moreover, a senior executive of the Chamber of Mines, with more than 15 years' experience in the industry, specifically in mine-union relations was also interviewed and was able to provide a broad mining industry perspective to the questions posed.

In total four interviews were held with senior trade union representatives from UASA, NUM and Solidariteit. Unfortunately, AMCU, a key trade union in the mining sector was not included in the sample. However, the trade unions participating in the research represent a sizeable portion of current mining employees. Specifically, statistics received from the trade union Solidariteit (2017) indicate that while AMCU dominates the platinum sector with just over 70% representation. In the gold sector, NUM holds a 60% representation while NUM, UASA and Solidarity collectively represent around 72% of

employees. In the coal mining sector, AMCU has been relegated as the majority union, with NUMSA and the NUM together representing just over 50% of the coal sector employees. In the iron ore sector, the NUM holds a 60% representation (Solidariteit, 2017). Moreover, while the researcher was unable to get a direct view from AMCU, most of the other interviewees commented on what they believed AMCU's response would be. The researcher also reviewed newspaper articles which throw some light on the response one might have expected from AMCU.

Finally, all persons interviewed were legitimate representatives of their particular stakeholder group and the vast majority were also influential decision-makers. Moreover, all persons interviewed were experts in their respective field with specific knowledge relating to the mining industry, community, and employee and trade union relations. As a result, the sample of interviewees is skewed towards powerful and legitimate, and therefore salient (Mitchell, Wood, & Agle, 1997), stakeholders that represent the mining houses and the trade union elite.

In summary, the researcher believes the sample achieved, was a fair representation of the intended target population and had the experience and background necessary to provide an educated, insightful response to the questions posed during the interviews. Further, in line with the approval granted by the GIBS ethical clearance committee and as conveyed to the interviewees, all interviews and statements made by stakeholders are presented anonymously.

4.2   Summary of results

A table summarising the views of the main constituents of this study (mining companies and trade unions) by the themes identified is provided in Table 4 on page 38. Thereafter an analysis of the themes is provided in the form of a number of graphs which highlight, among other things, the importance of certain themes, the co-occurrence of themes and the frequency with which themes occurred during interviews. A detailed review of each of the identified themes is then provided, together with pertinent extracts from the interviews.

Table 4 - Constituent View by Identified Theme

Identified Theme	Trade Union Perspective	Company Perspective	Point of Departure	Related RQ
1. **Company and trade union frames**	Companies broadly understand the communities' issues but lack the depth of knowledge that trade unions have. Companies do not necessarily know how to address the issues.	Companies and trade unions have a shared understanding of the social issues. There are some areas where trade unions and communities are not aligned.	Trade unions believe that companies lack a detailed understanding of the issues and how to address the root cause. Companies meanwhile think that trade unions overestimate their credibility as community representatives.	1,2,6
2. **Common enemy**	The obligation is shared between government and companies – but mostly government.	It is in the company's interest to play a role in communities, but the government is not doing enough.	Similar, apart from the extent of the companies' role. Trade unions support a larger share of responsibility for companies than the companies would accept.	2,3
3. **Collaboration currently**	Believe companies to be resistant to working with trade unions beyond legal obligations under SLP. There are inadequate frameworks for	Trade unions participate in SLP, but this participation is limited to labour issues. Trade unions focus on survival, and therefore social issues	There is a misunderstanding of each other's perspective on collaboration. Both parties	1,4,6

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		collaboration.	are secondary.	are willing collaborators.	
4.	**Future collaboration**	Trade unions can certainly play a bigger role in identifying challenges and ensuring that companies fulfil their obligations	Optimistic about the prospect of working together but doubtful of trade unions' willingness to look beyond labour issues.	All parties appear optimistic about greater collaboration but misunderstand the willingness of the other party to participate.	1,4,6
5.	**Shared responsibility**	Reluctant to take responsibility as legitimacy is undermined by the perception of being aligned with the company.	Does not believe trade unions would be willing to share responsibility for execution.	Shared view of responsibility obligations. Both parties recognise that companies are more responsible.	1,6
6.	**Messaging**	Trade unions can provide a legitimate platform for companies to communicate with communities.	Companies fail to communicate their intentions and achievements in communities.	Both inward-focused perspectives.	4,6
7.	**Historical influences (apartheid)**	Communities are affected by apartheid and historical mining practices. Mines have a role in correcting this.	Mines acknowledge the impact of historical practices and apartheid but are less clear on how to address this and the process to be used.	Shared view of historical challenges and implications but not the scale of redress required.	1,2

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8. **Transparency and authenticity**	Trade unions understand the difficult financial position of mines currently and appreciate transparency but want to see authentic efforts to address social issues.	Trade unions are aware of the financial difficulties faced by mines and are thus less demanding.	It is not clear to trade unions that mines are committed to addressing labour and social issues, even in the context of financial difficulty.	1,4,5,6
9. **Role of government**	It is government's role to provide services to the community, but companies can also exert influence on government deliver. Government is dysfunctional in the affected communities around mines.	Government is obliged to deliver services, but companies represent the "soft underbelly" so are targeted Government is dysfunctional in the affected communities around mines.	Fundamental alignment on expectations and assessment of government capability.	2,3,4,5
10. **Trade union agenda**	Trade unions have broad "Marxist-Leninist" agenda beyond labour issues.	Trade unions are pre-occupied with labour issues, and social issues do not drive bargaining or industrial action.	Mismatch in the understanding of trade union role.	1,2,5,6
11. **Leadership**	Company executives don't care about the community.	Broad leadership is required from all parties to understand the long-term implications of not addressing community unrest.	Lack of mutual respect for intent in resolving community issues.	3,6

12. Legal obligations	Companies have an SLP and they must fulfil these obligations.	Companies fulfil their SLP obligations, but the issues extend beyond these.	Alignment on roles defined in SLP	1,6
13. Impact of community unrest	Disruptions as a result of community unrest understood insofar as they affect short-term bonus structures.	Companies believe parties don't see the potential impact of community unrest on employment	Trade unions appear myopic in the understanding of the impact of community unrest.	3,5
14. Migrant labour	Migrant labour requires trade unions to balance their interests across local communities and labour-sending areas.	Local communities and migrant labour have opposing interests given limited resources.	Migrant labour may be a hurdle to local community social impact.	5,6

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4.3   Theme analysis

Figure 3 below is a simple world cloud composed of the codes identified in the interviews in which the size of each phrase (code) indicates its frequency or importance. The image reinforces the importance of the 15 key identified themes, namely: Company and trade union frames; Common enemy; Collaboration currently; Future collaboration; Shared responsibility; Messaging; Historical influences (Apartheid); Transparency and authenticity; The role of government; Trade Union Agenda; Leadership; Legal obligations; Impact of community unrest; Migrant labour and the Mining Economy. As can be seen in the word cloud, the concepts of responsibility and a common enemy are some of themes which feature most prominently.

Figure 3. Word Cloud Representation of Major Codes

Figure 4 on page 43 shows the co-occurrence of themes in the data set. The most notable outcome is the co-occurrence of the "role of government" and the "common enemy" theme, with 13 co-occurrences. This is further emphasised by eight co-occurrences of the role of government and shared responsibility. These are areas indicate where representatives were clearly aligned and these are described in more detail in sections 4.4.2 on page 49; 4.4.5 on page 56 and 4.4.9 on page 63.

Figure 4. Co-occurrence of Themes

Figure 4. Co-occurrence of Themes

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Co and TU collaboration current	■		1	2		1	1	3	2				2		4
2. Co and TU collaboration future		■	3	3		1		1	5				4	2	2
3. Common enemy			■	3		1	1	1	1		1	13	4	1	2
4. Company and TU Frames				■	1	3	5		3	1	1	2	7	5	
5. Historical influences					■		1	1		4	1	2			
6. Impact of community unrest						■			2		1	1	1	2	2
7. Leadership							■	1	1			1	3	1	1
8. Legal obligations								■	3	1			5		
9. Messaging									■		2	1	4		5
10. Migrant labour										■	2		2		
11. Mining economy											■		2	4	1
12. Role of Government												■	8		
13. Shared responsibility													■	6	3
14. Trade union agenda														■	
15. Transparency and Authenticity															■

The data presented in Figure 5 on page 44 show whether a theme was addressed by a particular respondent. These data suggest that there was significant overlap in the discussion areas across interviews, in fact, almost all themes were identified in each of the ten interviews. This supports the theme identification and inclusion. This analysis also supports the argument for saturation. While there were two different constituencies, both identified and discussed the same ideas. Moreover, although there were differing views on a specific topic, the underlying topics addressed and, hence, the themes identified were largely the same.

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Figure 5. Themes by Respondent

	Co and TU collaboration current	Co and TU collaboration future	Common enemy	Company and TU Frames	Historical influences	Impact of community unrest	Leadership	Legal obligations	Messaging	Migrant labour	Mining economy	Role of Government	Shared responsibility	Trade union agenda	Transparency and Authenticity
Co 1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TU 1	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Co 2	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TU 2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TU 3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Co 3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Co 4		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
TU 4	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Co 5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
Co 6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Figure 6 represents the number of times a theme was addressed in each interview. This heat map again indicates the importance of shared responsibility in answering this research question, as well as defining a shared responsibility frame. Shared responsibility was identified 111 times across the ten interviews.

Figure 6. Frequency of Theme by Respondent

	Co and TU collaboration current	Co and TU collaboration future	Common enemy	Company and TU Frames	Historical influences	Impact of community unrest	Leadership	Legal obligations	Messaging	Migrant labour	Mining economy	Jobs	Role of Government	Shared responsibility	Trade union agenda	Transparency and Authenticity
Co 1	2	2	2	6	3	1	2		2		1		3	4	2	3
TU 1	3	3		7		1	2	5	5	1	3	1	2	20	6	6
Co 2	4		5	8	3	6	2	3	8	2	1	3	3	3	4	2
TU 2	4	8	8	20	2	2	10	4	6	2	3	6	5	10	4	1
TU 3	3	3	6	11	6	2	8	7	7	6		1	6	11	3	5
Co 3	1	3	7	16	1	6	1		14	4	1	1	6	12	6	5
Co 4		9	7	8	4	2	6	3	6			1		4	19	15
TU 4	2	4	3	5		4	5		12	2		2	2	11	4	3
Co 5	1	7	9	10		5	3	1	5	5	9	8	10	13	16	
Co 6	5	4	6	7	1	4		3	13		2		9	8	1	9

Figure 7 and Figure 8 show the distribution of themes by constituency. Again, shared responsibility and joint frames lead both data subsets. Trade unions give additional weight to leadership whereas companies reference the role of government more often. This is in line with the trade union expression of concern over company leadership in particular. It also aligns with the companies' determination that anger and expectation should be directed at the government.

Figure 7. Distribution of Themes by Constituency (Trade Unions)
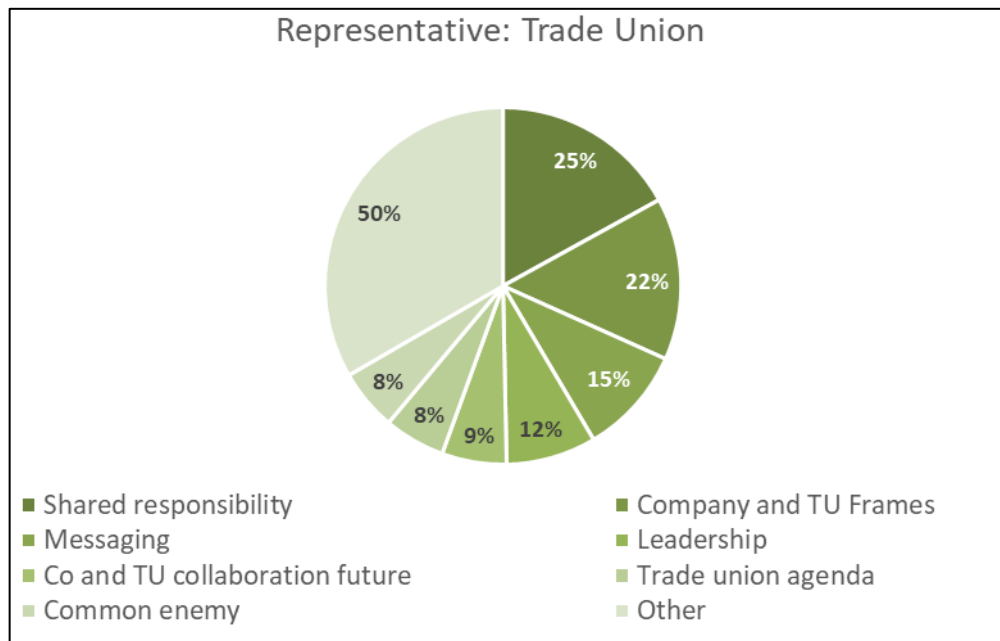
Figure 8. Distribution of Themes by Constituency (Mining Companies)
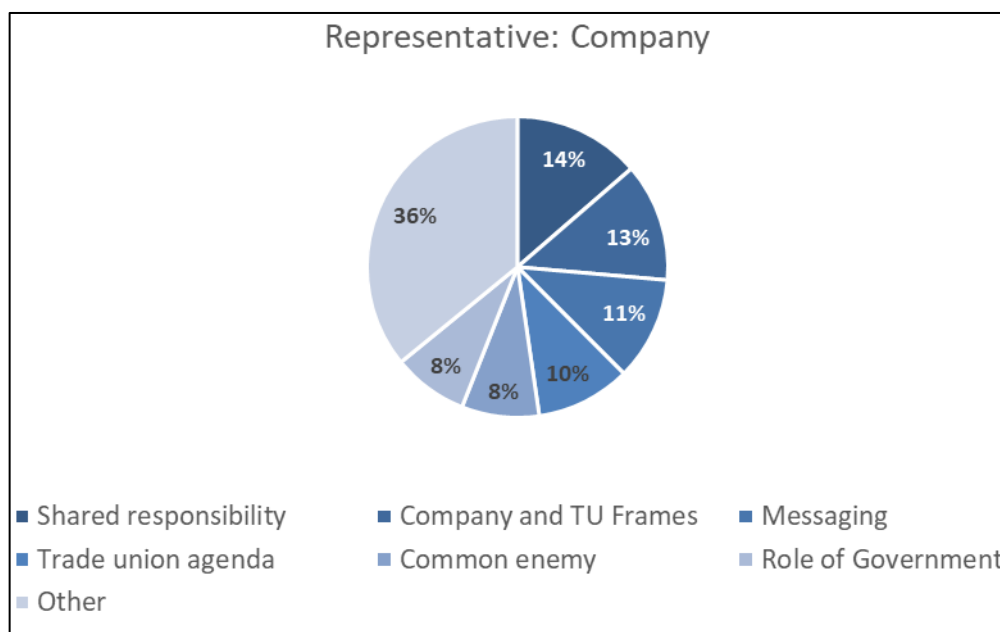
Figure 9 provides a view on data saturation, indicating, together with Figure 5, that it is likely that data saturation was achieved. The quick rate of saturation can be explained by two factors. Firstly, company respondents are all more or less homogenous in the sense that their experience of the communities and trade unions, the methodologies by which they engage communities and the frameworks which govern their response to community challenges are the same. In this context, a "coordinated" view from the companies can be expected. Secondly, the responses from the unions can be explained by the unions that were represented in the sample. A potential gap in this research is the absence of AMCU, which may have a non-traditional perspective and which might have offered contrarian views. This and other potential sample bias is described further in section 5.4 on page 105.

Figure 9. Data Saturation
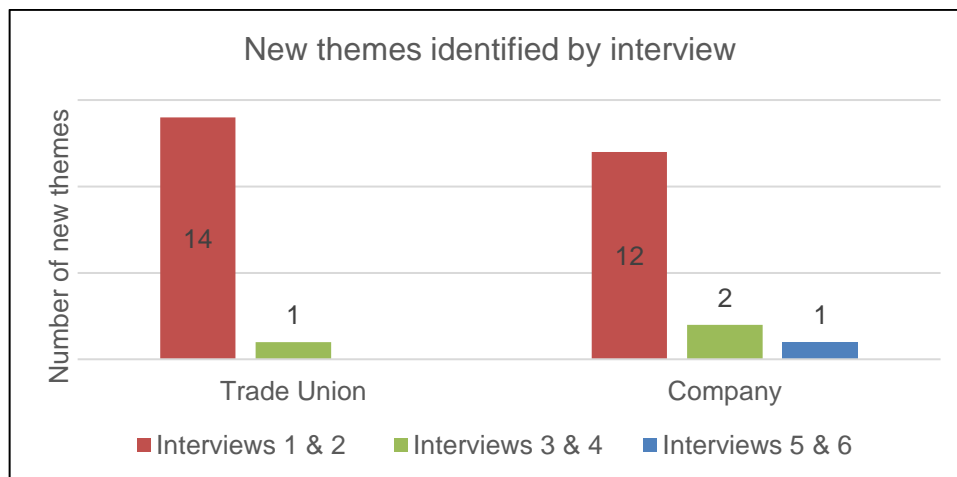
4.4 Detailed results per theme

4.4.1 Theme: Company and trade union frames

This theme is centred on the concept of how companies and trade unions perceive their own and the other constituencies' responsibility frame. Specifically, it takes into account what each constituency regards as the underlying challenges in communities and how they are to be addressed. This theme is also closely linked to shared responsibility and the potential for future collaboration between trade unions and companies. In this vein, this theme also highlights how each constituency perceives the other's view of the responsibility frame.

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4.4.1.1 Company perspective

The company respondents described the community grievances as complex and varied. They identified typical examples around healthcare, education, infrastructure, housing and employment. Within this understanding, they expressed that while there are a variety of challenges across different communities, there is a common conception concerning lack of service delivery in the identified areas. As an example, a company representative stated that "there are just multiple challenges and it depends which jurisdiction you are in" (company).

Companies described different sources of information that guide the activities undertaken. These activities include engagement initiatives, privately funded surveys and government provided development plans. The last-mentioned are described as wish-lists that lack detail or substance. As an example, a company representative flippantly mentioned that "municipalities are 'supposed' to be doing or conducting integrated planning" (company). While companies acknowledge their responsibility in addressing community issues they also believe that their efforts are already substantial and are limited by the resources they have available. One company used the phrase "I have to translate what the community's crying about to the boardroom so that the money's available and we do it" (company). The idea that efforts are already substantial was also supported by another company who was of the view that "there's a genuine concern for uplifting the community and being a responsible corporate citizen", (company).

Companies also believe trade unions understand the issues within communities but do not necessarily champion them as they are driven by a different agenda. This is covered in a separate theme on "trade union agenda"**.** One specific comment made talks to how trade unions know what narratives to create, but don't necessarily act. "So, their [the trade union] interest is for the people that they collect membership monies from every month, right, but if they cannot use, if they can get the community to come on-board, this [is] when they then start going and creating a narrative that when the community looks at it and the community says, ja, actually, we need to join up with the union" (company).

4.4.1.2 Trade union perspective

Trade union respondents identified a need for the expected social goods (education, healthcare, infrastructure, housing and employment) but placed a strong emphasis on

employment and housing. The results show that job security features prominently in the trade union framing and the trade union agenda. One union mentioned that "[there is] massive frustration around unemployment because the unemployment rate is highest in those communities" (trade union). This view was supported by a second union representative who used the phrase "look the mere fact that you have one dependant, or 10 dependants for every full time employee basically means that it is all about jobs" (trade union).

Trade unions are reluctant to expend their influence in addressing social issues, which are considered non-core. Having said that, trade unions do believe that they are legitimate representatives of the community. As an example, one of the trade union representatives was of the view that "our interest conflicts with anyone's interests (that) are not to the best of the community. Now it can never be (the entire) community interest, (but) it can always be certain segments of the community" (trade union). This view was further supported by a second union who was of the opinion that "trade unions now have to be strategic. Strategic means is that you must not be just inward looking, you must be able to represent those communities… you must represent the labour-sending areas" (trade union). The suggestion that trade unions are legitimate community representatives was further supported by a third union representative who promoted the idea that mine workers are community members first and employees second. This respondent specifically used the words "firstly workers are community members before they are employees" (trade union), which gives the trade union additional information on the issues affecting communities. He went on to say "outside the workplace guess who was that community? The very same workers, so you can never divorce the two, you see" (trade union).

Trade unions also referenced municipality development plans and SLPs as sources of information on community needs. One respondent, for instance, suggested that "companies should do a basic socioeconomic survey and understand the needs. The shortcut is, pick up the document called an IDP. Companies love shortcuts" (trade union).

Insofar as the concept of responsibility affects both the company frame and the trade union frame, the views are consistent regarding the role of companies and government. The prevailing view is that government is responsible for service delivery, but companies have a responsibility to their host communities as well. The benefits attributed to companies as a result of apartheid underpin their obligation to address community challenges. Moreover, companies are expected to use their influence over government

to ensure delivery. This view is supported by a number of the unions with one saying "Government is responsible all right, that is why you have more protest towards Government than individual companies right. But at the same time companies cannot escape" (trade union). While another union suggested that "Government needs to take 100% if not 300%, not only for the provision of services but for ensuring that there are sufficient skills in the municipalities" (trade union).

Both constituencies described the fact that companies deliver results whereas government is largely ineffective at doing so. Blocking roads and disrupting operations affects company profitability and therefore companies react accordingly. There is no equivalent mechanism to motivate government. "It is not a mining town; it is basically a mine, a town of a mine. If the mine switches off the lights everything dies, you see" (trade union).

4.4.1.3   Comparison

The two constituencies are mostly aligned on the issues affecting communities. There is a slightly different emphasis within the problem set, however. The role of companies in addressing community grievances is somewhat consistent across both groups of respondents, in that companies are expected to play an active role in the community and its development. Both constituencies focus on SLPs as guidelines for what should be done; however, both constituencies also recognise the failings of SLPs and associated frameworks. Each constituency also believes that it could play an increased role in enhancing these frameworks.

4.4.2   Theme: Common enemy

This theme addresses perspectives on existing common enemies both in the community and in this responsibility frame, as well as how new common enemies may be identified and agreed upon. The idea of a common enemy is critical in the formation of a collective action frame. As previously discussed, blame for a grievance that is perceived as a collective injustice must be attributable to a common responsible party (Kelly, 1998).

4.4.2.1   Company perspective

Companies believe that they are vilified in communities and held partially responsible for

addressing community grievances. This is not surprising since mining companies are the largest businesses in the communities in which they operate and therefore attract a lot of attention and expectations in creating economic opportunity. These views were expressed by company representatives using phrases such as "they're (the communities) blaming government, they're also blaming the companies but more around saying things like you don't give us the jobs, if they are from that local community" (company). One company representative had a slightly different view stating "they (the communities) blame not the mining company, they blame the municipality.

Companies believe that they are not the common enemy, however. Instead, companies believe that there are multiple parties and past events to blame, including government and apartheid, but that they are targeted because of their willingness and ability to act. One company representative said, "I mean corporate is easier to target" (company), while another used the phrase "'it's not all the company's responsibility, but it was the soft belly approach" (company), referring to the fact that companies are easier targets at which to direct blame.

Although companies recognise their responsibility to act, they believe that they are acting in a quasi-governmental function owing to the ineffectiveness of local, provincial and national government. Companies discussed the idea of a common enemy as the abstract concepts concerning poverty and inequality. For example, one company representative mentioned, "[The] common enemy of poverty and poor health, low education, poor employment etcetera, etcetera" (company). As an alternative, companies propose that government be framed as the enemy, as social security and improvement are positioned squarely within its obligation set. This sentiment was supported a company representative voicing the fact that "the union movement and business actually do have a common enemy, and that is a very corrupt government", (company).

Companies also believe that the communities acknowledge government as the responsible party, but because the government does not deliver results, angst is directed at companies. This view was supported by a number of company representatives with one saying "they [the communities] blame not the mining company, they blame the municipality" (company), while another repeated "they [the communities] blame government" (company).

Companies also believe that trade unions support the narrative that the companies are responsible for community grievances and are responsible for addressing them. This

sentiment was expressed a comment from one company that "trade unions do tend to respond and blame companies" (company), and was supported by another company representative who said "trade union and advocacy NGOs will still hit you and hammer you on certain things. That is what their job is" (company). This is consistent with the relationship between the two constituencies.

Further, companies are unlikely to target government as the common enemy as a result of the implications this could have for operations. Respondents (trade union respondents) cited a gold mining company that has received increasing numbers of Section 54 notices (requiring halting of operations) from government purely because of the anti-government position of its management.

4.4.2.2   Trade union perspective

Trade unions primarily believe that the government is responsible for addressing social issues but that it is also entirely dysfunctional. These views were expressed multiple times with phrases such as "government needs to take 100% if not 300% (responsibility), not only for the provision of services but for ensuring that there is sufficient skills in the municipalities" (trade union) and "government is responsible all right", (trade union). Referring to municipal workers, one of the trade unions said: "most of those councillors, between you and me, don't even have a standard eight, it's the very first job they have" (trade union). In this regard, the trade unions see government as a common enemy.

Trade unions also recognise that mining houses are not able to deliver the things that government is supposed to. This sentiment was conveyed by a number of respondents, with one saying, "90% of your issues are service delivery related things, and they are a mining house [implying mining houses are supposed to mine, not deliver social services]" (trade union). However, the trade unions also emphasise the role that companies should play in addressing social issues owing to the benefits the mining firms received during apartheid. Moreover, the ineffectiveness of government is seen as negating its value as a target, and therefore anger is directed at companies. "Government is responsible all right, that is why you have more protest towards government than individual companies right. But at the same time companies cannot escape" (trade union).

Like the companies, some trade union respondents recognise the potential for an abstract common enemy but this is not the prevailing discourse on this topic. Trade union respondents referred to examples where tangible common enemies were effective in

uniting previously unaligned interests. For example, one union representative stated that "the same thing happened in World War II you know, Germany was the common enemy but now years later the French and the English hate each other" (trade union). While another concluded that "So to find a common enemy you must, it can only be corrupt politicians or whatever you know", (trade union). Importantly, owing to political allegiances, trade unions (at least those in the sample) are unlikely to paint the government as the common enemy beyond local discussions.

4.4.2.3 Comparison

Both groups identify that the obligation to correct social issues is shared between government and companies. When discussing an enemy, most respondents from both sides indicated the incompetent and dysfunctional local governments. "The union movement and business actually do have a common enemy, and that is a very corrupt government" (company). Trade unions, however, express their naturally oppositional view and maintain an expected level of anti-company sentiments.

4.4.3 Theme: Collaboration currently

This theme reviews respondents' perspectives on the current state of collaboration between trade unions and companies in placating community relations. Existing frameworks and contributions are captured here.

4.4.3.1 Company perspective

Companies describe how they and trade unions collaborate through future forums and mandated SLP activities. Trade unions are, however, perceived as rubber stamping SLP requirements but not getting involved in the detail of identifying needs and formulating SLPs. This sentiment was revealed in statements such as "they're [unions] supposed to be party to it, and they've vetted it, and they've agreed to whatever you're going to spend" (company), the idea of limited collaboration between firms and unions in formulating SLP initiatives was supported by a second company representative who claimed "the legislative thing around SLPs almost seeks to stop collaboration" (company). Moreover, companies perceive trade unions as unlikely allies based on their specific member-focused and wage-centred agenda, claiming "unions come with firstly a focus on their membership and what's in it for them and having to develop a broader vision of it's not

just me being a trade union looking after my members", (company).

Company representatives believe there is a need for more substantial engagement with trade unions on social issues. This sentiment was expressed by a number of company representatives, with one specifically claiming "it's all about collaboration…in fact, we rely on the input and authorisation from the relevant bodies that are involved and in fact, it's the successful implementation of various projects rely on this networking and this close collaboration and good relationships (with unions)" (company).

A large mining firm refers to a so-called tripartite engagement platform to enable engagement with trade unions and government. Other frequently mentioned forums include the existing future forums. Such a platform is a potential tool to enable improved engagement, but no judgement was given on its effectiveness given its infancy.

4.4.3.2 Trade union perspective

Trade unions recognise the potential for limited collaboration with companies. Respondents described scenarios where trade unions could be effective in maintaining accountability while moderating community expectations but were generally reluctant to appear to be an "agent" of company management. This sentiment was supported by a number of trade union representatives. For example, one trade union representative claimed "in my view, we should be looking at community development through the unions", (union). While another referred to the fact that trade unions "are in a very good position to understand exactly what resources the company has right because you are inside?" (trade union). A third union member referred to a trade unions ability to "ensure that implementation is done", (trade union)

Trade unions agree that there is scope for collaboration where the interests of companies and trade unions are aligned. An example identified was on health and safety where there is mutual interest from companies and trade unions in health and safety processes and policies being effective. For example, a trade union member made the comment: "yes, look health and safety is now being used, we do it as part of the agenda that we have, but I have noticed the Chamber of Mines and your big mining houses are getting, put so much time and effort into your Health and Safety structures where you have neutral ground where AMCU, NUM, Solidarity, NUMSA and the company can only be on the same side" (trade union).

In contrast, trade unions do not believe that companies would be willing to include trade unions beyond where they are legally required to in future forums and SLPs. This sentiment was reflected in comments by one union representative who said "I think, you know yet again, unions are underutilised" (trade union). While another claimed there is a "lack of executive will" when discussing better inclusion of unions.

4.4.3.3   Comparison

Both parties are suspicious of each other's willingness to work together. This is despite both unions and companies actually being willing collaborators. The misalignment is thus more a case of parties misunderstanding each other rather than a case of their underlying objectives being misaligned.

4.4.4   Theme: Future collaboration

The potential to expand on the existing collaboration efforts is explored in this theme. Companies and trade unions were questioned on the possibility of increased collaboration and the steps required in order to increase collaboration.

4.4.4.1   Company perspective

Companies believe that trade unions can certainly play a bigger role in identifying challenges and ensuring that companies fulfil their obligations. This was reflected in a number of statements such as "we can start working together at an early stage, bring each other on-board before we even start going to the community to talk to them about the SLPs" (company), and another representative mentioning "I think they (firms and unions) can work together, it is a question of coordination and planning" (company).

Respondents do, however, recognise that there is no scenario in which trade unions and companies would be fully aligned. As described above, there is an expectation that trade unions will be reluctant to collaborate. This sentiment was supported by a company representative who, while discussing firm and union collaboration, said "that I'm saying that it is, I don't know if it's possible" (company), while another company representative reiterated the point that "agendas of companies and the agendas of unions might be very different" (company). A key limitation on future collaboration cited by companies is trade unions' narrow agenda which is focused on limiting retrenchment and increasing wages.

This sentiment was well articulated by one representative who claimed "the chamber pushed very hard for a compact between the chamber and the unions, which didn't only deal with wages, but also dealt with the social issues", (company).

4.4.4.2 Trade union perspective

Trade unions share the view of companies that collaboration is possible within a limited framework. This framework would include trade unions maintaining their position as representatives of the workers and the community but working with companies in developing the responsibility frame and, in turn, directing actions to address community concerns. For example a union representative expressed his thoughts saying "I think unions would get a plus if they are actively involved because they can claim, they can be credited to say you know, through your efforts we were able to get water, we didn't have water in this village you know or A, B, C, D, you know" (trade union). This was supported by another union representative who suggested "'we (the unions) are just as guilty as the companies at that point in time because, and this is why I said, I've got a role to facilitate, I've got a role to mediate. I've got a role to ensure that whatever goes into the community from the company side, will benefit my members" (trade union).

Beyond the accountability role that trade unions would seek to play, the scope for trade unions to play a communications role was identified. Trade unions can access the community through its workers, who are also community members. "The process is taken to a mass meeting whereby all workers can fit into it" (trade union). Alignment on communications could address shortcomings in companies with regard to messaging and their own legitimacy. "In my view, companies should be looking at community development through the unions, especially if you look at a place like Mogalakwena, eighty percent of your labour in Mogalakwena comes from the direct community in the area so therefore, if you talk to your employees and the leaders in the community in some forum, on some platform, you will be able to get some ownership from the people" (trade union).

4.4.4.3 Comparison

Both parties are optimistic about the possibility of working together. The potential role proffered for trade unions within the framework is similar. Where there is some divergence is on the potential for trade unions to co-author the design of social impact

initiatives. The limiting factor here is centred on the resources available for deployment, bearing in mind that they are company resources and therefore within companies' strict purview. Both parties recognise that "inherently in this relationship, there are contradictions" (trade union) but believe through engagement these can be addressed and overcome.

4.4.5 Theme: Shared responsibility

In a theme related to the concepts of a common enemy and collaboration, this theme looks at the concept of responsibility. The allocation of responsibility is evaluated within the total ecosystem (including government and other structures) and then reviewed in the context of the dynamic between trade unions and companies.

4.4.5.1 Company perspective

Responsibility for creating the circumstances communities find themselves in is primarily attributed to government and apartheid, while the responsibility for correcting them is understood as being shared between companies and government. Respondents also frequently stated that they are "not government" but that addressing community grievances reduces disruptions and so it is in companies' interests to satisfy communities. This perception was conveyed multiple times with one respondent using the phrase "companies generally step into the breach" (company), while another company representative referred to the situation where "[mine-name] has taken over the supply of water, if you look at it actually you'll stand back and say hang on, this is the job that the municipality must do, why should the mine supply water in the villages?" (company).

Respondents tended to recognise the moral obligation of companies to address social issues within their host communities and the labour-sending areas but similarly understand that these may not necessarily be the drivers behind organisational actions and policy direction. For example, one company respondent communicated that "[trade union leader] will tell you that the suffering in the labour-sending areas is because of mining, because when mining was making profits, mining was not giving back to its employees" (company). Another company respondent declared that "companies do CSR mainly because they want to be seen as good corporate citizens in terms of the King Code for example and that is very positive" (company).

Furthermore, companies do not believe that trade unions would be willing to share responsibility for execution. This links to the general themes on collaboration and messaging. In fact, trade unions are expected to lose their power by taking responsibility for implementation, should it be unsuccessful. This sentiment was well articulated by one company respondent who, when asked about trade unions also taking responsibility for CSR/SLP initiatives said, "I don't think it is possible because I think unions would sort of be seen to if they actually did that, would be seen as not having enough might and perhaps their opposition to companies would be lessened and that sort of takes the teeth away from the lion" (company).

4.4.5.2   Trade union perspective

Trade unions do not believe it is their responsibility to act in communities. Some respondents described the potential role trade unions could play in ensuring companies are effective in addressing community concerns. This role is understood as giving trade unions the ability to position themselves as responsible for successes with limited downside. Some respondents indicated that trade unions currently do not do enough on this measure. For example, one trade union member stated: "look, my experience is that trade unions have never been really focusing on social labour plan, it only when it affects them directly they tend to have an interest" (trade union). This was supported by another union respondent who communicated that "trade unions have been abdicating their responsibility" (trade union).

Using SLPs as the existing framework for collaboration, trade union respondents noted that they could play a larger role in managing the non-worker features of SLPs and their implementation. More specifically, trade unions would be able to monitor and enforce compliance. For example, a union respondent expressed how "we (the union) are the eyes and ears, for example in another company … your target for bursaries is 10 this year, so in your presentation to DMR you say, targets 10, actual 10, you see. So the achievement is 100%. Then we said, okay, wait, this company is very compliant. Let's break down who are those 10. When we broke down those 10, 6 of those were white males" (trade union).

A trade union respondent highlighted the necessary condition of trade unions being involved in the idea generation process in order to accept shared responsibility, by suggesting company should "say (to the unions) 'you draft (the SLP/CSR framework)

and you tell me', the union comes back with a well-structured plan and a budget and then I [the mining company] will look and accommodate and that is the kind of way you know that you make unions responsible" (trade union). Another union representative supported this sentiment by saying that if they were involved in idea generation then "when I (the union) point fingers at the company, in a way, (I will have) three pointing back at me" (trade union). In other words, if the union had written the SLP, they could not as easily direct blame at the company.

4.4.5.3   Comparison

There is a broadly consistent view on the way responsibility is shared in addressing community social issues. Trade unions are reluctant to share the responsibility load as expected by companies. However, this reluctance does not translate into a complete unwillingness to participate and take some form of responsibility – even if this responsibility is just in terms of maintaining oversight.

As discussed in the theme on common enemies, the government is understood to be the cause (including the former apartheid government) of social ills and a vehicle incapable of their redress. As such, much responsibility falls on the mining companies.

4.4.6   Theme: Messaging

A critical component of the research question and a theme throughout the research was the importance of messaging. This looks at effective ways to engage with communities both in seeking information and disseminating information on activities and their impact on communities. Within this theme, the possibility of trade unions and firms agreeing on a shared message to communities is explored.

4.4.6.1   Company perspective

Companies recognise that they are poor at engaging communities. One company respondent used the words "I mean we are not very good at often engaging in communication, we are certainly not very good at site" (company). This point of view was supported by a 2nd company respondent who said: "we (the company) struggle with the message that the unions send out to our own employees," (company). Shortcomings were identified in the way companies determine the current needs and how they

communicate their efforts to correct any social issues. Companies have an existing rapport with trade unions, albeit inherently confrontational.

Company respondents see significant value in relying on trade unions to convey messages to communities. Using the example of a worker acting as a company ambassador in the community, one respondent said: "He should be knowing exactly what, what's our strategy, what's our CSI program, what is our social level plans, what are the mining charter requirements and be able to say to the community, stand up to that community to say this is what [the firm] is doing" (company).

There is some uncertainty about the role trade unions can play in engaging with communities to understand needs better. Companies perceive trade unions as being somewhat removed from communities on the needs side of the equation. This sentiment was reflected in statements such as "so, I don't think that the unions are actively engaging with communities" (company).

As discussed in other themes, all parties believe they have a shared view of the high-level community needs. Companies are, however, cautious of trade unions representing community needs, given their own agendas and the potential for competing for community agendas. This attitude was common across company respondents. For example, one company respondent described the situation as follows: "Look, they [the trade unions] are opportunistic, their interest is for their members. The community does not pay; the community doesn't pay membership to the union, that's how they see it" (company). Supporting this idea of uncertainty, a second company respondent said "imagine the risk of unions, of us going and having this conversation with the community and then the union going back to the community and say, oh, by the way, this and this and this and that, you know," (company)

4.4.6.2   Trade union perspective

Trade union representatives discussed how they already, by virtue of being a trade union, have the requisite structures in place to communicate and debate efficiently as necessary. For example, the platforms created at mass meetings and other forums to reach significant sectors of the community and the workers. The perspective from which trade unions approach the community is different. Trade unions believe there is certainly scope for them to work with companies to use these platforms to communicate with the community. This view was expressed through comments such as "there should be a

functional future forum. A functional future forum. What is important is functional, not a future forum because in many companies there is a future forum in place, it does nothing" (trade union). Another union representative supported the notion that trade unions are well placed to communicate to communities saying "trade Unions are (already) active in community structures or community issues" (trade union).

The primary limitation identified is the need for trade unions to maintain a legitimate identity distinct from that of the company. Unions do refer to good examples of how a distinct identity can be maintained by the company while still ensuring that a common, aligned message is communicated to workers or community members. For example, one trade unionist stated "sometimes they (the mining firms) send messages on WhatsApp or SMS and so on [directly to the workers], you know and they have pamphlets and all those things you know, they are engaging directly and without undermining the trade union, in other words, what has been discussed between the union and management you cannot undermine them and jump and so on. But you have authority to communicate with employees" (trade union).

One respondent identified a case where a mine was loss-making, and labour wanted to strike for improved wages. The union prevented the strike based on its view that the company simply could not afford it. This particular union respondent explained "we went to the ground (referring to the mine workers) and said this is wrong, this is wrong, a loss has been declared, audited by a credited independent party, was that Ernest & Young. So we had to take flack" (trade union).

4.4.6.3 Comparison

Both perspectives focus primarily on each constituency's own position. There is, however, agreement on the potential role that trade unions can play in enabling companies to better connect with the communities.

4.4.7 Theme: Historical influences

This theme is centred on the impact of apartheid on the responsibility frame. In addition, this covers the impact of apartheid on the potential for collaboration between trade unions and companies.

4.4.7.1 Company perspectives

Companies acknowledge the role of apartheid in creating social challenges for communities. For example, one company respondent declared "look, I think it's important also that you understand the history of South Africa" (company). While another company respondent supported this view claiming "I think the societal challenges come with a historic (perspective), we have to take the historic perspective on this" (company).

Companies also recognise that they benefitted from previous discriminatory policies. They are nevertheless unclear on how this flows into their responsibility frame. Respondents were fairly vague and general in saying "look, I think it's a legacy issue, right, and I don't think that the industry has done enough to repay, to repair the legacy issues" (company). While another company representative used the phrase "there is a lot to do in this country, I mean it's the legacy" (company), while not elaborating on the role of the firm. The state of the mining economy currently acts as a counterbalance to additional responsibility by companies.

4.4.7.2 Trade union perspective

Respondents frequently cited the role that apartheid played in shaping communities around mining. For example, one trade union representative said "look, let me start with the easy one and blame apartheid and colonialism and all that" (trade union). Another trade union supported this sentiment but gave more insight saying "the issue of not only housing and living conditions, labour-sending arrears, the migrant labour system, trying to address that is fundamental because that has been the route of the historical imbalances" (trade union). Trade unions also recognise the benefits that accrued to mining houses but are similarly pragmatic about the expectation to address social issues given the current state of the mining sector. That said, trade unions think apartheid is a key reason why companies should not shirk their responsibility to host communities.

Apartheid is also noted as being central to the relationship among parties within communities. It is noted that trade unions were the central means for black collective representation. This also created the confrontational foundation upon which relations were built. This opinion was reflected in comments such as "black unions were the only vehicle to channel your political frustrations, and that is still I think part of the DNA" (trade union).

4.4.7.3   Comparison

Trade unions and companies are centrally aligned on the role that apartheid played in shaping communities. Trade unions are, naturally so, less willing to allow companies to limit their response to apartheid's ills due to lack of resources but do recognise the practical extent of what is possible.

4.4.8   Theme: Transparency and authenticity

Throughout the interviews, the concept of trust was central for both constituencies, as was the notion that transparency and authenticity are the central pillars upon which to build such trust. Transparency and authenticity play a role in any form of collaboration that the constituencies would seek.

4.4.8.1   Company perspective

Companies have found that transparency is the key to improved relationships with trade unions. Nevertheless, companies describe a relationship with trade unions that is characterised by a "trust deficit". Continued transparency is seen as key to overcoming this deficit and any future collaboration. One company respondent conveyed the need authenticity and transparency as follows: "'full accountability, being accountable (for) what … but the key thing is to say we got it wrong; this is why it happened, explain how you got in that situation and explain what you are doing about it" (company)

Respondents extend this concept to the quality of engagements with communities. In creating any cognitive shortcut that aligns community and company interests, companies see the need to "be much more transparent" (company). This desire to be more transparent was supported by other company respondents using phrases such as "I'm a great believer in conversations and engagements, what have you got to lose?" (company).

4.4.8.2   Trade union perspective

As discussed throughout this paper, trade unions and companies are natural opponents. Trade union respondents discuss decades of mistrust and obfuscation for "positional" victories in negotiations. They note the value of increased transparency in placating

relations between the parties. For example, a trade union respondent said: "It would have to be driven by a very transparent company to do that, because remember at the end of the day we are the only ones staying behind in the community" (trade union). Another trade union respondent, while not directly using the words transparent, or authentic said, conveyed the need for more transparency and authenticity saying "you've got to go back (talking about engaging) in the good times as well and be open and honest" (trade union).

To complement transparency, trade unions discuss authenticity. Authenticity is described as the credibility created by following through words with consistent actions. "A lot of it comes down to authentic intent" (trade union). Here it is seen as unclear whether or not companies are delivering.

Trade unions are quick to note that transparency is convenient when mines are in difficult times, but there is an expectation that when the sector is performing well there will be similar levels of transparency. "If there is an urgent future forum meeting we know retrenchment is imminent, because the companies don't use the future forum in good times" (trade union).

4.4.8.3   Comparison

Respondents from both constituencies tend to believe that trust can only be built on the back of transparency and authenticity. Trade unions reflect a scenario where there is a need for more intent and action on the ground. This may reflect companies' poor attempts at messaging and ineffective communications.

4.4.9   Theme: Role of government

In soothing community relations, another key role player is the government. When community unrest is triggered by a lack of services typically considered to be public goods, the role of government in particular needs to be explored. The role of government is very briefly explored here.

4.4.9.1   Company perspective

Company respondents are very critical of the role of government. There is criticism of all levels from local through to national government. The view expressed is one of frustration

as an effective government reduces the reliance on companies to fulfil service delivery needs within communities. This view was expressed by a number of company respondents. Companies, for example, claim that communities are in "municipalities that are dysfunctional that don't provide basic services" (company). A second company supported this view saying "when you talk to trade union leaders, they are even more irritated by municipalities and the fact that they are incompetent and they don't provide services" (company).

Local government is seen as ineffective and corrupt. It is unable to deliver even basic services, and companies are currently working to address a lack of capacity at local government level. The new Mining Charter was frequently referenced as indicative of national government's inability to set effective policy. For example a company representative used the phrase "[In] its crudest form for the companies that R51 billion is wiped off from their market value on the 15th of June because of a mining charter, when you analyse it, and very crudely put, if you really look at it, it's crafted with the sole aim of channelling money into an agency which to date we still don't know who will run it, who will decide what will happen to that money, who will be the beneficiaries" (company). Another firm strongly supported this sentiment saying "if the Charter has to be implemented in the form that it's in, [mining firm] closes shop. Period" (company).

The government, however, controls mining rights and other regulations and is thus recognised as an important stakeholder in any position on addressing community issues. It is government's role to provide services to the community, but companies can exert influence on government, as well as support delivery.

4.4.9.2   Trade union perspective

In defining its responsibility frame, trade unions focus on the role of government to perform basic service delivery. One trade union respondent used the words "'government needs to take 100% if not 300% (responsibility), not only for the provision of services but for ensuring that there is sufficient skills in the municipalities" (trade union). A second trade union was more scathing saying "they [the community] are going to burn the municipality" (trade union). While a third trade union respondent said: "you know local government, nobody takes responsibility" (trade union). Clearly, local government is seen as being ineffective in delivering services but also is a weak representative of the communities. Further, development plans are cited as generalised wish-lists that are not

created with any real insight into the community needs.

The conflict for trade unions comes in the relationship between trade unions and various political parties. Certain trade unions are aligned with the incumbent government while others are described by respondents as "apolitical". This influences the practical implications of trade unions' views for government ineffectiveness. This view was confirmed by a trade union respondent saying "where [trade union] local structure used to be the local ANC structure as well" (trade union).

Trade unions do see value in using companies to influence governments to take action. It was noted that while governments are ineffective, companies may be able to use their scale and influence to drive government action. "You might find a government service delivery protest turns to the company" (trade union).

4.4.9.3   Comparison

Neither party appears willing to hold the government to account, despite agreeing that it is centrally responsible for poor service delivery and addressing outstanding social needs. That said, in these conversations, the role of government is the most commonly addressed theme.

4.4.10 Theme: Trade union agenda

In forming a collaborative framework, the research needs to understand the trade union agenda. In this theme the trade union agenda is evaluated to understand the scope for social issues to play a part and to understand the legitimacy of trade unions as agents for the community.

4.4.10.1 Company perspectives

Companies perceive trade unions as being focused on worker issues and in particular on wages and job security. Further, the state of the mining economy has created an environment in which companies and unions are in survival mode. Accordingly, companies believe that trade unions are focusing only on the core needs of their members. There were a number of comments that supported this outlook. For example, one company described the situation as follows: "Look, they (the trade unions) are

opportunistic, their interest is for their members. The community does not pay; the community doesn't pay membership to the union, that's how they see it" (company).

While companies mentioned the way trade unions had expanded their focus since the national strike in 1987 that introduced the demand for a miners' pension fund (representing social security). The current sentiment does not support this view. A second company supported the position described above saying "the chamber pushed very hard [but did not succeed] for a compact between the chamber and the unions, which didn't only deal with wages, but also dealt with the social issues" (company). Unions dismissed this idea as not critical in the context of retrenchments and limited wage growth. The events at Marikana in 2012 are cited as reflecting the role that social issues play in the trade union agenda. Housing was central to this strike and was also key to AMCU building its support base.

4.4.10.2 Trade union perspective

Trade union representatives differ on the extent to which social issues are addressed in the trade unions' agendas. The differences show the respondents' perspectives, as trade unions are not homogenous; nevertheless, they generally reflect a need to introduce social issues into the trade union agenda. One respondent described the idea that trade unions have a "Marxist–Leninist" agenda that extends beyond labour issues. The idea explained here concerns the importance of the happiness of the mineworker beyond his role as a mine worker. This trade union representative gave the following explanation: "The Marxist–Leninist approach deals with societal issues which include working conditions. So for example when you're measuring productivity from a workerist's point of view, as you enter at 07:00 and you leave at 17:00 what have you done? From a Marxist–Leninist approach where I slept plays a fundamental role in determining my productive nature at work" (trade union). Another trade union describes the situation as follows: "The terrain has changed now so it means that they must go beyond your normal engagement work, you know with representing workers, or wage negotiations and disciplinary hearing and so on" (trade union).

Social issues are described as inherently critical to trade unions. Respondents describe the fact that the worker is first a community member and then a worker and, more generally, that unions are socialist structures that must consider more than the individual and their work-related compensation. This perspective was reemphasised by the same trade union who described the Maxist-Leninist approach saying, "Its socioeconomic

perspective is derived from a document called the Freedom Charter. Now the [trade union] was the first sole trade union in South Africa to adopt the Freedom Charter, do you know that?" (trade union).

Increased competition among unions in mining and the frailty of previously impervious trade unions in South Africa was cited as the driving forces behind trade unions needing to find new ways to attract members. One trade union representative described how trade unions are adapting to the new circumstances saying "new unions are targeting a model similar to where the United Democratic Front used to make community issues worker issues and worker issues community issues" (trade union).

4.4.10.3 Comparison

Trade unions and companies recognise that trade unions are incentivised by membership fees, which are a function of the number of members and the wage level. While trade unions argue that social issues are critical in their agenda, in fighting for survival they acknowledge the need to first address members' core needs. This being said, there seems to be an increasing understanding that in fact these core needs (e.g. job security) may be better addressed if social challenges were resolved.

4.4.11 Theme: Leadership

Leadership is a concept that needs to be understood across the two constituencies and extending through to the communities. This theme explores the leadership requirements in successfully soothing community relations.

4.4.11.1 Company perspective

Leadership is identified as a key requirement in driving change in communities and for the various stakeholders to become aligned. Respondents described the importance of leadership in developing cognitive shortcuts. One respondent explained the importance of leadership as follows: "We need to be leaders in our own capacities you know, whether you are a union official, whether you are a community member, whether you are the CEO of a mining company, do what you can to, you know uplift those around you, communities you know it is wider than that, it is not just you know it's not just uplifting a community. It's being a responsible citizen" (company). A second respondent supported this view

saying "we speak about transformative leadership, we need to start developing that type of leadership" (company).

A challenge in addressing community relations is identifying the leaders within communities. There are numerous stakeholders (including traditional leadership structures and community factions) that act as leaders, and respondents described the challenge of trying to align all these stakeholders in creating a common frame. A few company representatives did allude to how such community leaders could be identified saying, "the shop steward ambassador program (of the mining firm) is looking at saying hang on, this guy is a leader here in our operation, we must recognise also the fact that he's a leader in the community" (company).

Companies also acknowledged that there was previously a lack of attention given to community affairs at the leadership level. A company representative noted that "all new CEOs, they have a much greater awareness of the fact that you have to take responsibility to some extent for the social issues" (company). Another supported this view but caveated the ability of companies to act saying "' I guess at the leadership level they do understand that (the importance of community relations) but also I think they have a problem, in some cases it's a political issue" (company).

4.4.11.2 Trade union perspective

Regarding companies, trade unions believe that executives sit in Johannesburg and dictate to the communities from ivory towers and are not engaged. A trade union representative used the following apt phrase: "I call it the disjuncture between Sandton and Kuruman" (trade union). It is noted that this has changed somewhat, but that company leadership remains out of touch with community needs and deprioritises efforts to address them. Another trade union conveyed much the same sentiment as the first saying "you see, unless the mining industry and the decision-makers are transformed all this will never happen" (trade union).

The effect of this is to undermine efforts at collaboration. The discussion around sharing responsibility and shifting energy to create an environment of hope and trust cannot be driven without committed leadership.

4.4.11.3 Comparison

Leadership is understood by both constituencies as a critical success factor. Each side recognises a lack of clear leadership on the other side in addressing community concerns.

4.4.12 Theme: Legal obligations

The work companies perform in communities is driven by legal obligations (B-BBEE, SLP, etc.) and voluntary work (CSR). The existing frameworks for collaboration are primarily driven by those that are legally mandated. This theme covers the role these obligations play in affecting mutual efforts at soothing community relations.

4.4.12.1 Company perspective

Companies are acutely aware of the requirements placed on them to address community concerns in host communities and labour-sending areas. The Department of Mineral Resources (DMR) can suspend a firm's mining rights if it does not comply with these requirements. As a result, companies recognise this risk and it drives compliance. The legal obligations most frequently noted were SLPs, the requirement for future forums and the new mining charter.

Companies also acknowledged that in some instances compliance is treated as a "box-ticking exercise" whereby the minimum necessary steps are implemented for compliance. Companies lament the lack of involvement by other stakeholders in developing SLPs and the trivial participation of all participants in future forums. These legal obligations represent existing frameworks for engagement and collaboration on social issues. Companies do, however, recognise that these frameworks are sub-optimal, but the nature of responses suggests a lack of will even to reach these minimum levels of delivery. The above sentiment was conveyed in statements such as "Legally, in terms of process, I say legally, but in terms of process the DMR expects that you've consulted labour and what you're spending in the community, labour agrees. But they [trade unions] really don't care because their mandate is to fight for their members" (company). This view was supported by other companies. For example, a second company representative said: "we don't bring in the unions to say guys, in that community and that community, this is their agenda and these are the demands and that's what

we're going to be doing in our social and labour plans" (company).

The new mining charter has been broadly dismissed but remains an area of uncertainty in terms of how companies will be required to interact with the community in the future. Company representatives stress that they fulfil their obligations under the various legal requirements but recognise that these are blunt guidelines that are not necessarily applicable in every community and every situation.

4.4.12.2 Trade union perspective

Respondents described the role that trade unions are expected to play in SLPs and future forums. Trade unions are supposed to participate in both and approve SLP deliverables. This is an area that trade unions note they could improve on. The impression given is that the SLP is a response to government's wish-list that it develops in its own economic development planning tools and that it is not necessarily reflective of social needs. Moreover, the trade unions are primarily concerned with the implications for labour. Given a limited pool of resources, trade unions identify a preference for the direct benefit for workers.

Respondents identified the potential for trade unions to play a bigger role in monitoring performance against SLPs and through the DMR, thus ensuring accountability from the mines. One trade union representative, when talking about enforcing compliance with regards SLPs, alluded to trade unions as the potential enforcers saying "now if you have commitments in the social and labour plan but you are not delivering, what then?" (trade union). Another trade union representative also suggested that trade unions already has the power to play a more active role, saying "I'm abdicating my responsibility, because in terms of the social development plans, mining companies need to submit a report each and every year end, in terms of how they are living up towards their social development and plans, etcetera, etcetera, etcetera. And guess who signs it off? Unions" (trade union).

4.4.12.3 Comparison

Both constituencies recognise the need and the potential to play a bigger role in the SLP process and future forums. On the one hand, trade unions acknowledge that they have been abdicating their responsibility, while companies, on the other hand, maintain that

they can do more. Importantly, the existing SLP and future forum platforms have the potential to enable the co-authoring of the responsibility frame and collaboration in addressing community needs. Currently, each party is performing to the minimum required level. Further research is needed to explore the reason for this as well as ways to enhance the effectiveness of these mechanisms

4.4.13 Theme: Impact of community unrest

An oft-cited cognitive shortcut that is seen as largely missing from community leadership and, potentially, trade unions is the impact of community unrest. In placating community relations, there may be value in clarifying the connection between community unrest, disruptions on the mine, reduced profitability and the ability of the company to support employment and ultimately the community.

4.4.13.1 Company perspective

Companies are acutely aware of the effect that community unrest has on operations and, in turn, profitability. They also see the impact that such unrest has on the worker in terms of targets and potential retrenchments. Companies also believe that the impact of community unrest is not fully understood by either the trade unions or the communities themselves. One company respondent suggested the link between community unrest and job security is not firmly in place saying "I don't think they make a connection, I don't believe they do" (company). This view was refuted, but not convincingly, by a second respondent who said: "'NGO's and Trade Unions and I think they do get it is, chiefly what we don't want is a disgruntled community" (company).

Companies do believe the link between community unrest and job security is a cognitive shortcut that, if well-formed and conveyed, could be used to placate community relations. This links to the requirement for strong leadership in order to guide members through the causal links. One respondent, referring to trade unions and the link to losing members, claimed: "we've made them make the link" (company), but this is inconsistent with the other feedback and the respondent's description of their own experience.

4.4.13.2 Trade union perspective

Trade union leadership understands the impact that community unrest has on mining

operations and potentially on workers. They believe that members on the ground may have the same understanding, at the very least at the shop-steward level, but that this understanding is not always in place. Examples were cited where lucrative bonus incentive schemes were used to align worker and company interests and resulted in labour confronting the community. A trade union representative used the following as example saying: "'Let us take, for example, it will affect the bonus payment, you don't produce, if you go to [mining firm] they have got huge bonuses, all right, to the extent that those workers work every holiday. They volunteer for Christmas day, Workers Day, they go because there is huge bonuses. Now if you are to have a community disturbance which would make them not go to work then they can see the link. They say no, no, this is not right, but sometimes they don't see it unless it comes closer to them" (trade union).

A second trade union respondent supported this position saying "Look in some instances I will say they can make that link" (trade union). A third trade union used the example of legal industrial action to suggest that trade union members do make the link between community unrest, work stoppages and job security saying: "even in the legal industrial action I'm losing out on the daily wages. It is no pay. They [the trade union's members] are suffering" (trade union).

Trade unions describe another area of impact on communities. The fact that workers are also community members exposes them to risks when there is community unrest. It is clear that the effects of unrest are negative for the worker, but the impact of opposition may be worse or more direct. Scenarios are described where workers' safety and possessions are at risk.

4.4.13.3 Comparison

There is a need for the two parties to align their positions. Although they are aligned on the economic consequences of community unrest and how they may affect workers, there is some misunderstanding between trade unions and companies on the extent to which each party understands the impact, as well as the consequences to the other if action is taken. There is also scope for improved relations regarding what is going on at ground level.

4.4.14 Theme: Migrant labour

Mining is characterised by migrant labour, and this offers some distortions in terms of community objectives and needs to be considered in terms of the trade union agenda. Specifically, the definition of the community, when migrant labour present, is not limited to the host communities in which mines are located.

4.4.14.1 Company perspective

Migrant labour is an area that company respondents described as affecting the ability of trade unions to represent the interests of the community. In a frame where the community is primarily the host or indigenous community, it is argued that migrant labour's interests may be opposed to the interests of the host community. This relates to a limited pool of resources that then needs to be allocated to whichever issues are prioritised. In some instances, the majority of the labour force comprises migrant labourers, in which case a trade union would not necessarily share the host community's interests.

This sentiment was expressed by a company responded who used the words: "The community, who are they? They are people who lived in the area; they are people who were migrant labourers who came from the Eastern Cape who now live next to the mine but are unemployed or still working for the mine?" (company). Other company representatives also supported this position, for example, a second company respondent conveyed: "I think that's a better way of putting it, of migrant labour. And they happen to recruit a lot from the Eastern Cape where people preferred to build their homes there, and whatever and live temporarily, so literally they've come to Marikana to work and they go home" (company).

4.4.14.2 Trade union perspective

Respondents recognise the complexity introduced by migrant labour but note that even migrant labourers spend the majority of their time within the host community, so there is some overlap. As such, trade unions do not perceive a potential conflict of interest because their general underlying socialist approach targets improved living standards for all. However, unions do point out that SLP resources should be directed at labour-sending areas as well, this does present a potential conflict as resources are diverted from those communities which are adjacent to the mines.

The above position was supported by a number of statements across the trade union respondents. For example, one trade union mentioned "it is different if you using a lot of migrant labour versus local. So you need to invest obviously from the labour-sending areas if you are using migrant labour" (trade union). A second respondent supported this position saying trade unions "must be able to represent those communities, you (trade unions) understand better the dynamics of the company, you (trade unions) must represent the labour-sending areas" (trade union).

4.4.14.3 Comparison

Migrant labour is seen as a complicating factor on both sides. On the one hand, it affects the definition of the community, and on the other, it affects the representation of the community. Along with limited leadership and community factions, migrant labour thus complicates any efforts to soothe community relations in the long term.

Both constituencies note that the concept of migrant labour is not static. A migrant labourer could become established in a community or could become unemployed and remain in the community. The concept of migrant labour is an important example of the complexity of the issues being explored by this paper.

5   Discussion of results

This section interrogates the results presented in the previous chapter. The results show that there is potential for collaboration between trade unions and mining companies in addressing community challenges. Such collaboration, however, relies on resolving the supporting research questions. Specifically, a unified firm–union approach to addressing community disruption is reliant on the community-oriented frame promoted by the trade union and the community-oriented frame promoted by the mining firm, transforming and aligning, by engaging in a process of inclusive deliberation, with trust and transparency underpinning the very fabric of any collaboration. What is also clear is that there are structural limitations to the scope of any collaboration between the constituencies.

The results must also be viewed through the lens provided by the theory and the resultant research questions. Clearly, there are limitations on the inferences that can be drawn from a limited research project on an expansive and complex issue such as this. The results do, however, provide insight into areas on which future research could expand on the body of knowledge in this field.

A high-level summary of the results per supporting research question is provided below. This is followed by a detailed discussion, structured around the six research questions. Finally, a model is proposed in response to the overarching research question, which asked how firms and trade unions can collaborate to placate community relations. The proposed model builds on the work of Ansari and Reinecke (2016), and suggests a way in which firms and trade unions could work together, using CSR as the core motive and tool for their collaboration, to placate community relations in the South African mining sector.

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5.1 Summary of findings

Table 5 - Summary of findings by supporting research question

Supporting RQ1: How can a joint company and trade union responsibility frame be developed?	• Respondents felt that there was a mismatch between trade union and company perspectives on social issues and each other. Closer alignment across the board is required to develop a joint responsibility frame and such a frame is developed through a relationship based on trust.
Supporting RQ2: How can a new cognitive shortcut begin to be formed that aligns company and union understanding of the grievances?	• Existing cognitive shortcuts that link mining firms to social ills are largely centred on past injustices. These cognitive shortcuts are strong and emotional and will be difficult to reframe. • Trade unions and companies are, however, exposed to similar conditions and have a shared interest in community harmony. By clarifying this shared interest in minimal community unrest, both parties may be able reshape the existing cognitive shortcuts.
Supporting RQ3: How can unions and companies find or create a common enemy?	• Both parties believe that government should be providing the services that mining host communities lack. There are differing opinions on the extent to which mining companies should supplement this service provision. Companies and trade unions are unlikely to overtly oppose government, as both groups have some reliance on different branches of government. • The concept of government is not distinct as there is significant blame attributed to the previous apartheid government, which is separate from current government structures. • Respondents from both groups recognise the benefits that accrued to mining companies as a result of apartheid.

	• Abstract concepts of poverty and unemployment are seen as the most feasible "villains".
Supporting RQ4: How can employers and trade unions redirect negative emotions to create an environment characterised by hope and trust?	• Hope is built through credible and visible action in addressing community grievances. • Trust is built through authenticity and transparency. • Trade unions and companies need to build trust between them in order to create the environment of trust needed to jointly address community challenges.
Supporting RQ5: How could mining firms and trade unions go about publicly portraying a common message?	• There is already significant common ground between the two groups. There is a shared understanding of the relevant issues experienced by communities. • At a high level both groups understand the impact that community unrest has on each party's success and their shared interest in the mining companies' prosperity. • There is some divergence on the idea of responsibility. Specifically, groups do not appear to agree on the extent of companies' obligations and the potential for trade unions to share responsibility.
Supporting RQ6: How can a responsibility frame be jointly developed so as to enable shared responsibility between mining firms and unions?	• Most parties understand that business and trade unions both contribute to the creation of the responsibility frame. The process is not, however, intentional nor aligned. • The burden of responsibility lies primarily on mining companies, with trade unions being reluctant to share the burden. • Respondents propose a model whereby trade unions act as community representatives in monitoring company compliance with obligations and communicating successes in CSR.

5.2 Detailed discussion of results per research question

5.2.1 Research question 1: How can a joint company and trade union responsibility frame be developed?

In this context, the responsibility frame refers to a lens created by the unions and the company through which the intended targets, in this case the community, can view and interpret their world (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). In other words, the responsibility frame in this context relates to the community perceptions of social challenges around service delivery and other areas that drive (their) community wellbeing. To create a joint responsibility frame, companies and unions would need to specifically create a shared view of the issues themselves and the cause thereof (diagnostic framing), as well as a shared view of the possible solutions and to whom one can assign blame or responsibility (prognostic framing) (Benford & Snow, 2000).

In this instance, responsibility extends to both addressing the issues and responsibility for the underlying causes. The question seeks to understand whether these aspects can be agreed between trade unions and firms and thus if a unified frame can be presented to the intended target communities. The ability to present a unified frame is important for two reasons:

- Firstly, for a collective action frame to be established and to be effective, it needs to resonate with its intended target in spite of any opposition (Heery, 2002). By aligning the frames of the employer and the union, any opposing frames would naturally be removed.
- Secondly, the way one understands a problem and its root cause directly affects how one responds (Benford & Snow, 2000). Thus, if there is a common frame being presented to a community, their actions will more likely be aligned to what the mining firms would like them to be.

A shared understanding of the issues affecting communities forms the basis for future collaboration and building a joint responsibility frame. While the research revealed that both mining houses and trade unions have a shared understanding of the issues affecting communities (issues are centred on economic opportunity and basic service delivery), it was also clear that the challenge is far more complex. For example, the definition of the community is in many cases opaque, and thus the challenges often identified do not necessarily reflect the views of a community as a whole, but rather those

of a single faction. This finding resonates with that of Reinecke and Ansari (2016), who highlight how identifying the root cause and the responsible entity, within social complexities, is not a trivial task.

Further, the ability of unions to "co-manage the CSR agenda with companies, with full transparency from both sides" has been cited as a precondition for trade unions to fully engage in CSR (Delbard, 2011, p. 272). Such a theme also emerged from the research. Specifically, the importance of trust, which is a result of authenticity and transparency in engagement between the two constituencies, was critical. With the direction of questioning this was an unexpected theme, but nevertheless one which emerged strongly from a number of interviewees. Interestingly, while Delbard (2011), discusses transparency, the need for authenticity is not mentioned.

The existing state of trust between trade unions and the mining companies was described as continuously improving. While respondents indicate that, historically, relationships have been characterised by conflict and opposition, more recently, particularly since Marikana, the trust deficit has been reduced through closer engagement. Dobele et al. (2014) argue that successful CSR programmes, "[rely] on employees as major stakeholders in what becomes a process for 'co-creation and implementation' of trust and engagement with other stakeholders" (Dobele et al., 2014, p. 157). Thus, a continued, vigorous focus on closing the remaining trust deficit between unions and companies will be key to establishing a joint responsibility frame.

One outcome of this previously sub-optimal engagement is that representatives from both constituencies do not necessarily understand the position of their counterparts on community issues. Thus, as a first task, an improved understanding of the other party's views, intentions and objectives would be a necessary condition for developing a joint responsibility frame.

There are existing platforms and legal frameworks in place which can be leveraged to improve understanding by the mining house and the trade unions of each other's positions. Interviewees identify the SLP process as the primary framework for firm and trade union collaboration on community issues. SLPs are simply the plans that mining firms develop to address social issues in host communities and labour-sending areas. Such plans should be draw up in consultation with trade unions and approved by the DMR. The SLP process is thus clearly defined and sets the minimum requirements for firms, but the plans are not designed to foster joint idea development and

implementation. This process thus enforces what Carrol (1991) refers to as the "legal" responsibility of firms. In a way, by meeting their legal responsibilities, the SLP process itself acts as an anchor where firms feel that meeting their SLP objectives implies they have fulfilled their obligations to society.

Other platforms such as the Tripartite Working Group, introduced by Anglo American, also serve as an example of a platform that can be extended to address broader community challenges. The tripartite alliance includes the trade unions and the DMR in an effort to improve mine health and safety. Importantly, reflecting the concept of a shared understanding, this alliance was "born out of the perception of common need by each of the stakeholders" (Anglo American Plc, 2011, p. 22). The tripartite alliance is a perfect example, outside the auspices of CSR, of what Scherer and Palazzo (2007) refer to as the politicisation of the firm. That is, Scherer and Palazzo (2007) argue that emerging CSR practices such as "developing corporate codes of behaviour in collaboration with critical NGOs, exposing corporate CSR performance to third-party control, linking corporate decision-making to civil society discourses, and shifting corporate attention and money to societal challenges beyond immediate stakeholder pressure, point to politicization of the corporation" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2007, p. 1115).

The research revealed that it is in the area of responsibility that alignment becomes more difficult. This, in turn, affects the practical steps to address any social issues in the community. While there is a shared understanding of the role of government in providing economic opportunities and service delivery, there is a divergence between the two constituencies of this research on the extent of company responsibility for those factors. This divergence again is reflective of the complexity of the situation, and hence defining a solution (prognosis) is complicated by the ambiguity of the problem. Therefore, how to motivate persons to mobilise (or act in a specific manner) is unclear, given the tenuous link to those responsible and the unproven nature of any of the suggested solutions (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016).

As one might expect, trade unions believe that firms should fill the void left by government. This is driven by the view that the firm benefits from being part of the community and has benefitted historically from the apartheid regime. In other words, firms are being held responsible because they have in some way or form benefited from or were complicit in the events of the past (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011).

While firms do not deny their responsibility to ensure improved conditions for host

communities, they often cite adherence to SLPs to argue that they meet their legal obligations. This narrow view is not shared across firms but is indicative of the belief that firms think they are doing what they can for their host communities. However, what firms think they have achieved holds little weight, more important is what communities perceive they are able to do (Claasen & Roloff, 2012). This again points to the importance of a single coherent frame presented to the target communities by the mining firms and the trade unions.

Recently, on 26 June 2017, COSATU and Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) issued a joint statement on corruption (Business Leadership South Africa, 2017). Respondents used this example as indicative of the potential for firms and trade unions to form agreements and seek to shape the responsibility frame together. This is explored further in the discussion supporting research question 4.

Finally, developing a joint responsibility frame is the foundation upon which collaboration can be built. If firm and trade unions are to work together to soothe community relations, this will be dependent on a shared understanding of the issues affecting communities and how to address these issues. Importantly, developing a shared understanding of the challenges and a joint desire to act will not happen by itself. Here firms need to take a leading role and actively work to shift trade unions from "denial to acquiescence, and finally to assume a political role in conflict resolution" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 301).

5.2.2   Research question 2: How can a new cognitive shortcut begin to be formed that aligns company and union understanding of the grievances?

As previously described, a cognitive shortcut is essentially the positioning of a complex causal chain as a direct link (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). In other words, it is the over-simplification of a complex problem to enable the attribution of blame. This is done by breaking the problem down into a number of smaller problems and then handpicking those that have plausible links to the "villain". The villain referred to here is the common enemy which is discussed further in the next section. Such a "narrowing [of] a problem's scope can reduce fatalism, make the problem appear tractable, and spur action by providing hope for a possible resolution" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 317). Thus, a powerful cognitive shortcut is key to generating agreement across a group. Table 6 below summarises some of the existing cognitive shortcuts identified during the interview process.

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Table 6 - Existing Cognitive Shortcuts Identified During Interviews

Apartheid	Community issues are the result of apartheid.
	Spatial planning forced black people into undesirable areas and created migrant labour.
	Broader South African inequality challenges are the result of apartheid policy and mining companies are partly responsible.
Dysfunctional local municipalities	Municipalities do not have the capacity to address community needs.
	Municipalities don't understand community needs.
Migrant labour	Migrant labour exports cash from host communities.
	Migrant labour distorts the definition of the community.
	Labour and host communities are not aligned.
Mines are easy targets	Mines are the "soft underbelly" and are easy to target to get results.
	Mines recognise the cost of disruption so they respond quickly.
	Mines are responsible for looking after host communities.

The cognitive shortcuts identified in the research shows some alignment between mining firms and trade unions in understanding the perspectives of communities. However, unions tend to focus primarily on worker concerns and any community initiatives supported by them are centred on the benefit to the worker. Firms and trade unions, therefore, should first align on the cognitive shortcut necessary to merge the two constituencies' interests. This need to first align firm and union cognitive shortcuts reinforces the need for a two-phase approach to achieve firm and union collaboration in addressing community relations, where the first phase is a firm-led phase of union co-responsibilisation. This two-phase approach is detailed further in section 5.3 on page 96.

An example of where alignment was cited is how the health and safety of the worker extends beyond the work day. That is, both firms and unions agree that health and safety is a topic that requires joint action, and which is equally applicable after work as it is at work. This highlights one possible framework for ways in which firms can use labour-related matters as a route to solving community issues. This also highlights how constituencies need to see beyond the immediate causal relationship in order to develop cogent cognitive shortcuts.

Respondents also think that there is a lack of leadership with the ability to understand the ultimate implications of community disquiet and distil these implications into direct

effects. Both constituencies emphasised the absence of this understanding among trade unions. A missing cognitive shortcut, among trade union members, is thus the link between community unrest, mine disruptions and the wellbeing of labour, trade unions and the community. These disruptions threaten the viability of mines within communities which affects their ability to pay wages, retain staff and engage in CSR activities. Creating the necessary cognitive shortcuts to resolve this chasm in understanding matters because the way in which an individual thinks about a problem, influences how he or she will respond to that problem (Powell, 2011).

This misalignment is contrasted at certain mines where production incentives are higher than average and therefore a larger part of the income of the mine worker. In these instances, workers stand up against disruption because even a single day of missed production targets affects their income disproportionately. This example highlights two further options that could reinforce the necessary cognitive shortcuts.

- Linking worker incentives to community disruption or even community sentiment may be a way to align the prevailing cognitive shortcuts between labour, companies and trade unions.
- In efforts to soothe community relations, there may be value in linking community benefits to mining performance.

Such a link may reinforce a labour union's legitimacy and support its power. For example, in Australia and the United Kingdom trade unions are using labour–community coalitions to represent broader society and gain legitimacy and power (Holgate, 2015).

A more appropriate approach to this effort is probably by creating a shared understanding of the mine's needs and how those needs translate to community benefit activities. This softer approach leans on the concepts of authenticity and transparency which were constant across the interviews. The alternative of hard links to performance may preserve an adversarial relationship.

To work with trade unions to address community unrest, it is necessary for firms to understand the role that trade unions perform within communities. This is an area where there was some uncertainty and a notable point of departure for firms from trade unions. Trade unions strongly believe they are the natural ally and representative of the community whereas firms believe there is a limit to the proximity of the relationship. The view taken by the trade unions is supported by Harvey et al.'s (2017) suggestion that it is the democratic nature of trade unions and their sensitivity to broader societal issues that makes them effective partners in CSR.

Companies, on the other hand, believe that there is some complexity in the community, with the existence of various groups that are not associated with labour. Beyond the mine workforce and their dependants there are groups that are employed outside of the mining ecosystem as well as large populations of unemployed. As an example, unemployment in Mogalakwena, the region hosting Anglo American Platinum's flagship mine, exceeds 40% of the available labour pool (Mogalakwena Local Muncipality, 2016). These groups will have different and occasionally opposing views from unionised labour at the mine. Moreover, migrant labour has a different interest set from local labour. Migrant labour is a theme that both parties identify as a challenge in addressing issues in host communities.

Unions, however, believe that their broadly socialist agendas and their representation of large segments of the community give them the necessary "moral authority to hold business to account in processes of (CSR) deliberation" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 43). Importantly, trade unions have existing structures for engagement and engage regularly through mass meetings, and in other ways, to understand the grievances of their members. These members represent themselves and their dependents. Interviewees referred to the scenario where a spouse who lives in the community expresses a grievance to a trade union member, which then becomes the member's grievance. This relationship should also hold in the reverse, that is, if a trade union member expresses a view, it is likely that their immediate family members will be influenced by this view and begin to hold similar viewpoints. What is apparent is that outside of the workplace, the trade unions are unencumbered by corporate rules and regulations and are easily able to disseminate and monitor compliance by the firm (Harvey et al., 2017).

It is important to note here that of the unions interviewed, these factors more closely represent the views of the unions whose members are typically low-skilled and live in the informal communities surrounding the mines. Solidarity indicated that it predominantly represents skilled workers who are subject to different socioeconomic conditions.

Certain union leaders recognise that this social focus is incomplete. They share the company view that there is conflict between the unions' objectives and other sectors of the community. Experienced union leaders have highlighted the "factions" that often exist in communities. Nonetheless, labour holds an important position in communicating to its members, which comprise a significant portion of the host communities. Harvey et al. (2017) establish the efficacy of trade unions in CSR deliberation by pointing to the unique

ability of trade unions with regard to communication and mobilisation internal to the firm. Thus, if trade unions and companies could start to agree on the cognitive shortcuts that matter, they could start to shape community perceptions on these issues by shaping the views of the members.

Thus, the role of trade unions as a communication agent is particularly valuable for firms seeking to change cognitive shortcuts. Messaging is an area in which firms recognise they perform poorly within communities. This theme forms part of a broader disconnect between firms and the community, which trade unions may bridge, even if incompletely.

Ultimately, trade unions and firms working together to reshape the responsibility frame, and in turn soothe community relations, will rely on jointly redefining the prevailing cognitive shortcuts. From the firms' perspective, the goal is to not only reduce the blame, and in turn the expectation on the firms to deliver, but also to highlight the value the mine creates in the community.

The unions want to show their role in creating value in the community and how they are able to influence the mines. They will want to maintain their position as the representative of labour and influencing the mine and will be cautious of any position that implies they represent the mines, thus influencing labour. Importantly, unions are able to mobilise their members to enforce compliance where necessary, which is a significant incentive for firms to remain compliant (Harvey et al., 2017).

Cognitive shortcuts link closely to the concepts described the next section regarding a common enemy. Many of the cognitive shortcuts described here link responsibility to the issues facing communities. By effectively reshaping the prevailing cognitive shortcuts and reassigning credit through effective cognitive shortcuts, a new common enemy may be found.

5.2.3   Research question 3: How can unions and companies find or create a common enemy?

The defining of a common enemy is an attempt to create an identifiable target at which the communities can direct their grievances. The identification of this common enemy, part of the diagnostic phase of constructing the collective action frame, is critical in that it identifies the origin of any grievances and determines on whom the expectation for resolving the grievances lies (Benford & Snow, 1988). Importantly, the existence of a

common enemy "facilitates the need for alliances between unions and community structures" (Xali, 2006, p. 142). It stands to reason then that if the common enemy identified is also the enemy of the mining firm, then a broader alliance between unions, community and mining firm would be a natural extension.

Two main ideas emerged from the research relating to the idea of a common enemy. Firstly, the government is strongly responsible for the circumstances existing in the mining communities. Secondly, the idea that inequality and poverty more generally can be treated as a common enemy. However, an abstract common enemy, while the only plausible option in this instance, is unlikely to be as effective as the identification of a concrete entity or individual to whom blame may be attributed (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Government as the common enemy is an entity also comprising two parts. Firstly, blame is attributed to the previous government under apartheid. It is well understood that the policies of apartheid were detrimental to poor black communities in both host communities and labour-sending areas. The second element is the expectation that government is obliged to provide the services and economic opportunities that the host communities so clearly lack.

It is within this context that mines are targeted as a source of redress. While the relationship is clearly adversarial the interviewees suggest that the pursuit of mines for redress is a secondary effect. All parties agree that local municipalities are dysfunctional and therefore incapable of providing the required services and opportunities. This view of ineffectiveness extends to national government with interviewees typically highlighting the new Mining Charter (The Department of Mineral Resources, 2016) as indicative of misplaced policy.

While targeting mines as a source of redress may be a secondary effect, there are two clear reasons for this being the case. Firstly, "obligations of justice arise between persons by virtue of the social processes that connect then" (Iris & Young, 2006, p. 102). Mines are seen as beneficiaries of the previous government's policies under apartheid and, since seeking redress from the previous government is not possible, mines within host communities make for an adequate substitute. In other words, the concept of social connectedness says that "actors bear responsibility for problems of structural injustice to which they contribute by their actions" (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011, p. 913).

Secondly, mining firms are targeted due to perceptions that they are more capable and

have the resources needed to address the grievances raised against them. This speaks to the way that people are far more likely to strike if they believe their actions will be effective (Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg, 2013).

Respondents indicated that previously relations between firms and trade unions were more adversarial and trade unions also sought to target firms as a source to address all ills. This has changed over time as mining firms have been more open about their financial circumstances and the extent of what is possible. It was also noted that executives are more aware of the needs of labour and the communities than before the strikes of 2012, and the events at Marikana are seen as a turning point in mining and labour relations.

This improved transparency has coincided with weaker financial performance in the mining sector and trade unions prioritising maintaining employment of their members over expectations for increased wages and benefits. This shared understanding between trade unions and mining firms on the capacity of the latter is an important building block on which to build a shared responsibility frame. Thus, supporting the argument for trade union inclusion in CSR deliberation, firm and trade union incentives are aligned in the sense that trade unions are sensitive to the economic realities of the business (Harvey et al., 2017).

Encouraging the targeting of government is not without risks. The government has the power to cause harm to both firms and trade unions. In this way both constituencies will be reluctant to criticise government or overtly position it as the common enemy. And thus, an abstract common enemy, such as poverty or unemployment, would need to be jointly constructed over time without alienating government.

Conversely, if mines wish to avoid the enormous expectation among communities they must be more aware of their role in CSR. By offering solutions to public issues in an attempt at retaining their legitimacy, firms are in fact encroaching on the role of the state (Scherer et al., 2016). By doing so they are creating the expectation that the mine is an easy target.

Trade unions' role in creating the common enemy is through the engagement and education of their members. Trade unions have a vested interest in being perceived as opposing mines. To that end they can neither stand alongside companies as a co-enemy for the community to target nor can they fully represent the company in defending its

role. The role for the trade union is thus likely centred on ensuring accountability from mining companies and representing mining successes as their successes. This risks trade unions assuming some responsibility. Trade unions should, however, be cognisant of the fact that partnering rather than opposing employers is considered a superior long-term strategy for their revitalisation (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017).

As already mentioned, respondents described the potential for abstract common enemies, such as "poverty" or "inequality". This may prove the most effective way for trade unions and companies to align and establish the requisite common opponent. However, this is reliant on the prevailing cognitive shortcuts being reframed to attribute responsibility within abstract concepts such as these. In a way these shortcuts would be an indirect framing of the government as the common enemy as these are core areas under government purview at both local and national level.

The concern is that these abstract concepts lack the concreteness needed to establish a new collective identify and shared grievance so critical to the successful construction of a new collective action frame (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). Drawing on the common thread amongst the interviews that soothing community relations is dependent on authenticity and transparency, these abstract concepts were recognised as a potentially difficult approach. Intangible concepts may be seen as a distraction and an effort to shirk responsibility, which would undermine efforts to soothe community relations in the medium to long term.

As discussed in the previous section, the cognitive shortcuts are responsibility centred. Thus, the concepts of a common enemy and cognitive shortcuts are mutually reinforcing. In defining the responsibility frame firms must understand the various constituencies and how blame is distributed. Moreover, they must understand how the cognitive shortcuts contribute to this assignment of blame.

5.2.4   Research question 4: How can employers and trade unions redirect negative emotions to create an environment characterised by hope and trust?

The emotional connectivity of a collective action frame is key in that it seeks to enable mobilisation by linking an issue to deep-seated emotions. Thus "creating emotional connectivity mobilises support by making a link appear more immediate, salient, and potent" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 316).

Respondents see hope as being driven by the credibility of positive outcomes, while credibility is the result of two combining forces: addressing community grievances, and effectively communicating the role played by firms to address these grievances to the communities in question. Firms have performed poorly on both of these measures. One firm representative described a recent review of the firm's spend on education (building schools) in a certain community. The review found that despite spending millions of rand on schools, there had been no measurable impact on education levels in the community.

Messaging is another area where firms recognise that their efforts have not been very effective. Effective communication is critical in building credibility and reshaping the responsibility frame; that is, effective communication is what induces social judgement, and "inducing social judgements can render the responsibility frame consequential and thereby solidify it" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 319).

Again, trade unions can work to communicate company activities and objectives to communities through the labour base. This would enable companies to build the required community-level credibility. The risk remains, however, that trade unions lose their legitimacy by appearing to be acting as agents of the company.

Before this credibility can be built, mutual trust between trade unions and firms must be achieved. As discussed throughout this research paper, this is an area where there has been significant progress over the last five years. The challenge remains, however, that interactions between trade unions and firms are inherently adversarial. Developing this trust is considered a necessary first step in creating trust across the community constituencies. This adversarial aspect affects the other parties in communities as well, but firms and trade unions have the opportunity to correct this in their engagements.

The first step is to bridge this gap and identify areas in which trade unions and companies are currently aligned and use these areas as a platform for collaboration. By agreeing on these core principles the parties can develop shared values, which are important in creating trust. Against this backdrop, non-adversarial interactions will be distinct from the typical dynamic that exists today. Such a process is comparable to the process of frame bridging, which is the process of connecting two analogous collective action frames and is achieved by finding and highlighting commonalities between the mining firms, the trade unions and their members (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013).

One of the difficulties in creating an environment characterised by hope and trust is the

ease with which negative events can disrupt this environment. Respondents referred to frequent small incidents that trigger protest action. Sometimes these incidents are triggered by specific factions within communities that have different objectives. But what is apparent is that negative events are effective motivators. As this paper argues, creating a responsibility frame is aided by building a common enemy and a cognitive shortcut and these can be introduced easily by negative events in the community. This introduces volatility into the community that disrupts any attempts to build an environment of hope and trust.

The factions mentioned here also indicate that communities are heterogeneous within and between communities. One of the flaws in firms' approach to CSR is cited as the assumption that communities have the same grievances and needs. Companies and trade unions need to overcome the negative energy that exists and the volatility created by this heterogeneity in order to create an environment characterised by hope and trust.

There is scope to rely on other concepts in this paper to form the basis for trust and hope. For example, a shared enemy among trade unions and companies may be a tool for engendering trust, or at least collaboration, between them, which is a critical requirement for trust and hope in the community. Trust and hope are fundamentally positive goals and thus framing a common enemy risks creating negativity. This paper discusses the potential to use abstract concepts such as poverty and inequality as the common enemy. While these concepts are intangible, the salience of these issues should make a collective action frame, with poverty and inequality as the enemy, resonate strongly with communities (Benford & Snow, 2000) .

The creation of a new cognitive shortcut may however also be possible while maintaining positivity. The cognitive shortcut that is probably most useful here is the realisation of the value the mine creates in the community. This relates to its role as a driver of the local economy, a provider of jobs within the community and the benefits extended to the community from mining firms' CSR initiatives. While mining firms are recognising, albeit only recently, that community happiness is important to their ability to operate, an improved understanding by mining communities that successful mining operations lead to improved community outcomes is needed.

Overall, undoing the existing negative energy and changing the dynamics in communities and between trade unions and companies is another element in the foundation to building a new responsibility frame. This is key to enabling companies and trade unions

to share responsibility as well as to shape community expectations and ensure that needs are being legitimately targeted. Complex community dynamics may make this difficult to achieve but incremental shifts in this direction would likely provide meaningful benefit to all parties involved.

5.2.5 Research question 5: How could mining firms and trade unions go about portraying a common message?

The ingredients for enabling successful frame bridging (Benford & Snow, 2011) between mining firms and trade unions are present. Fundamentally there is significant common ground between trade unions and companies regarding the issues faced by communities. This is evidenced, as shown in the results section, by respondents from both constituencies describing similar issues and themes. However, both the trade unions and the mining firms interviewed were unclear as to the role played by the other party and harbour doubts over the other party's perception of the issues. That is to say, while there is agreement between trade unions and firms, there appears to be a gap in understanding between them.

As previously stated, it is this misalignment in understanding, not of the issues themselves but of each other, that supports a two-phase approach to firms and unions collaborating to address community grievances. In other words, "collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change" (Benford & Snow, 2011, p. 615).

There was limited discussion on the role of trade unions as responsible agents. One interview on the trade union side reflected on the responsibility of trade unions within the SLP framework to ensure that effective solutions are being provided and to build accountability around this framework. However, there was an admission that trade unions have "absconded on their responsibilities" (trade union), and have not participated to the extent afforded by legislation, in the formation and execution of mining firms' social and labour plans.

To publicly portray a common message has risks for both companies and trade unions. The typically adversarial nature of the relationship is driven by the fact that in some ways

trade unions and companies have opposite objectives. If viewed simplistically, one could interpret trade union objectives for higher pay and benefits as oppositional to firms' goal of profit maximisation. This simplistic view is not accurate and it is clear from respondents that community and labour contentment is not necessarily at odds with firm profitability, particularly in the long run. As Ibsen and Tapia (2017) point out, partnering with rather than opposing employers is a superior strategy for trade union revitalisation in the longer term.

Nevertheless, trade unions appeared cautious during the interviews of being perceived as being "in bed" with companies. In retaining members, trade unions need to show that they represent labour first and foremost and are not agents for management and the firm. As recently as May 2017, AMCU's decline in membership was attributed to it now being "comfortable like NUM was" (Mahlakoani, 2017). Harvey et al. (2017) highlight the risk of a decline in union membership if members believe the broader societal focus reduces the union's capacity to represent core worker issues.

The idea then is to build a common message around those identified areas of alignment, while maintaining both parties' independence, and linking this common message to each party's organisational objectives. Interviewees referenced the recent joint statement by Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) and COSATU on condemning corruption as an example of the two groups aligning on a limited set of issues (Business Leadership South Africa, 2017). The understanding is that the areas upon which the parties agreed were determined. Areas where there wasn't agreement were put aside and the joint statement was issued focusing on the areas of mutual interest. COSATU here was in a way presenting itself as a warrior for social justice (Harvey et al., 2017).

This is a rare event and given the typically oppositional stance of the parties was powerful in indicating the importance of the issue – corruption. A similar focused message to addressing community issues could thus be formulated by mining firms and labour unions. Importantly, trade unions could frame their participation in the initiative as ensuring the enforcement of social justice, potentially attracting members who would not traditionally be interested in union membership (Harvey et al., 2017).

While company respondents believed it would be unlikely that unions would stand alongside companies representing a shared message, trade unions believed that it is possible but is reliant both on maintaining the view of independence as described above and on developing the necessary trust between the parties. This links to supporting

research question 4, which highlights this continued, albeit shrinking, trust gap between companies and trade unions. Firm respondents may be correct if the common message is broad but it is expected that a narrowly defined message would be possible based on the BLSA and COSATU example discussed.

Being able to create this common message and deliver it together has the potential to be a powerful force in communities. As discussed in other questions, trade unions provide a valuable communication platform connecting companies and the community, as they are unencumbered by corporate rules and regulations and are easily able to disseminate and monitor compliance by the firm (Harvey et al., 2017). This is, however dependent on trade unions having the requisite moral authority and legitimacy in the eyes of the community. "Central to political CSR is the participation of actors with the capacity and moral authority to hold business to account in processes of deliberation" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 43). Given the veracity of these factors, the shared message is amplified beyond mere corporate PR and is likely to build community support.

Independence of the trade unions is important for their own agenda but also to keep this shared messaging effective. The value of standing together is lost if the community and labour perceive trade unions to be puppets of the firms. Alignment on community grievances and the responsibility frame therefore needs to be consistent with trade union objectives and messaging must be packaged carefully to reflect a limited frame of alignment. If trade unions are able to drive membership by claiming that they have been instrumental in driving change (Harvey et al., 2017), then trade unions should be as motivated to make communities and their members aware of the CSR work being done by companies as the companies themselves. Under these circumstances the shared messaging is beneficial for all parties.

In relation to other supporting research questions, trade unions will likely want to manage the cognitive shortcuts and the definition of the company as the common enemy. Trade unions may not look to redirect these entirely but initially at least may attempt to dismantle the common enemy idea in order not to be seen as standing alongside the enemy. As discussed throughout, a common message is reliant on closing the gap in trust between trade unions and firms. This is, in turn, reliant on one of the central themes of this paper, which is transparency and authenticity.

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5.2.6   Research question 6: How can a responsibility frame be jointly developed so as to enable shared responsibility between mining firms and unions?

This question goes to the heart of the question around a responsibility frame. Here the research interrogates a scenario in which the community-oriented responsibility frame is jointly crafted by both firms and trade unions and questions whether or not this would lead to shared responsibility. Reinecke and Ansari (2016) argue that "responsibility – the state of duty, accountability, and opportunity for action for an issue – is socially constructed through collective negotiation" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 300). Thus, through the inclusion of trade unions in the construction of the joint responsibility frame, some level responsibility would naturally be bestowed on the unions.

The ability to co-author a firm's SLP and CSR initiatives is, however, reliant on resolving the underlying issues addressed in the other supporting research questions. In order to work together in authoring this frame, firms and trade unions would first need to agree that community dissent is damaging to both the mining firms and the trade unions. The parties would need to identify a common enemy, formulate an agreed response and be willing to collaborate and project a shared message, with all of these features reliant on mutual trust.

Once companies and unions have a common view of the impact, to themselves, of community disruption and the desire to act in unison, a shared community-oriented responsibility frame can begin to be constructed. This process of collective diagnosis and prognosis, the first two tasks in constructing a collective action frame (Benford & Snow, 2000), will begin to reveal how responsibility between the firm and unions, for the success of the jointly agreed initiatives, is shared.

Over time, companies, through their CSR actions have taken on much of the responsibility for addressing social grievances in communities (Scherer et al., 2016). What is unclear is the extent of trade union responsibility. We have already argued that the most suitable role for trade unions has two features:

- Ensuring accountability and that companies fulfil their obligations (Harvey et al., 2017). This can start with leveraging existing structures for SLP monitoring, evaluation and enforcement but extending to new structures as needed to co-author a new responsibility frame.
- Using its existing platforms to communicate to communities in an attempt to add legitimacy to the work of the mining houses and to redirect community

grievances. This relies on enabling firms to show their progress and efforts in addressing these grievances.

As discussed, the second feature of this role, the communication aspect, is dependent on trade unions fulfilling the first feature. As enforcers of firm responsibilities trade unions would be able to maintain their allegiances with labour and, in turn, the community would enable the firm to improve its communications and thus receive recognition for its work in communities. Trade union communications to the community on current and future CSR activities should help close the gap between what is being done and what the communities assume can be done, adding to the legitimacy of a firms CSR activities and intent (Claasen & Roloff, 2012).

Trade union respondents were reluctant to agree to a concept whereby trade unions are responsible for delivery, as the benefits claimed in terms of attracting membership were seen as disproportionate to the potential risk. However, responsibility need not be willingly assumed. Responsibility can be inferred or attributed to the trade unions by virtue of the social processes that connect the unions to their members and the communities in which they operate (Iris & Young, 2006).

What is clear is that trade unions will not necessarily proactively attempt to co-author a firm's CSR and SLP initiatives or take responsibility themselves. Thus, firms need to actively work to "shift (trade unions) from denial to acquiescence, and finally to assume a political role in conflict resolution" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 301).

The outcome of this question is central to the overall research question on the ability of companies and trade unions to work together on soothing community relations. The ideal outcome from a company perspective is that trade unions would actively work to co-author the responsibility frame and in doing so would share responsibility for the outcomes. The more likely outcome, however, is a dynamic in which trade unions work to support companies in fulfilling their CSR obligations by monitoring performance and communicating successes to the communities.

5.3 A proposed extension of the model by Ansari & Reinecke (2016) as a means to achieve firm-union collaboration to placate community relations

The six supporting research questions elaborated on above are all in support of one overarching question, which asks how firms and trade unions can work jointly, using CSR as the raison d'être for their collaboration, to placate community relations.

As already discussed, a coalesced firm–union approach to addressing community disruption is reliant on the transformation and alignment of the community-oriented frame promoted by the trade union and the community-oriented frame promoted by the mining firm, through a process of inclusive deliberation. Transparency and authenticity are crucial in this process as they underpin the very fabric of any collaboration.

Accordingly, an extension of the model by Ansari and Reinecke (2016) is proposed to take mining firms and trade unions from (A), a point of having differing, sometimes opposing, community-oriented collective action frames, to (B), an intermediate point where both the firm and the unions have a shared view of the impact of community disruption and the desire to act; and finally, to (C) a point where unions and the firms agree on the actions that need to be taken and the distribution of tasks and responsibilities.

A schematic representation of the proposed model is provided in Figure 10 on page 97. This is followed by a detailed description of phase 1 (the transformation from point A to B in the proposed model) and thereafter the process from point B to C in the proposed model is described as phase two.

Figure 10. A Proposed Extension of the Model by Ansari and Reinecke (2016) as a way to Achieve Firm and Union Collaboration in Addressing Community Relations
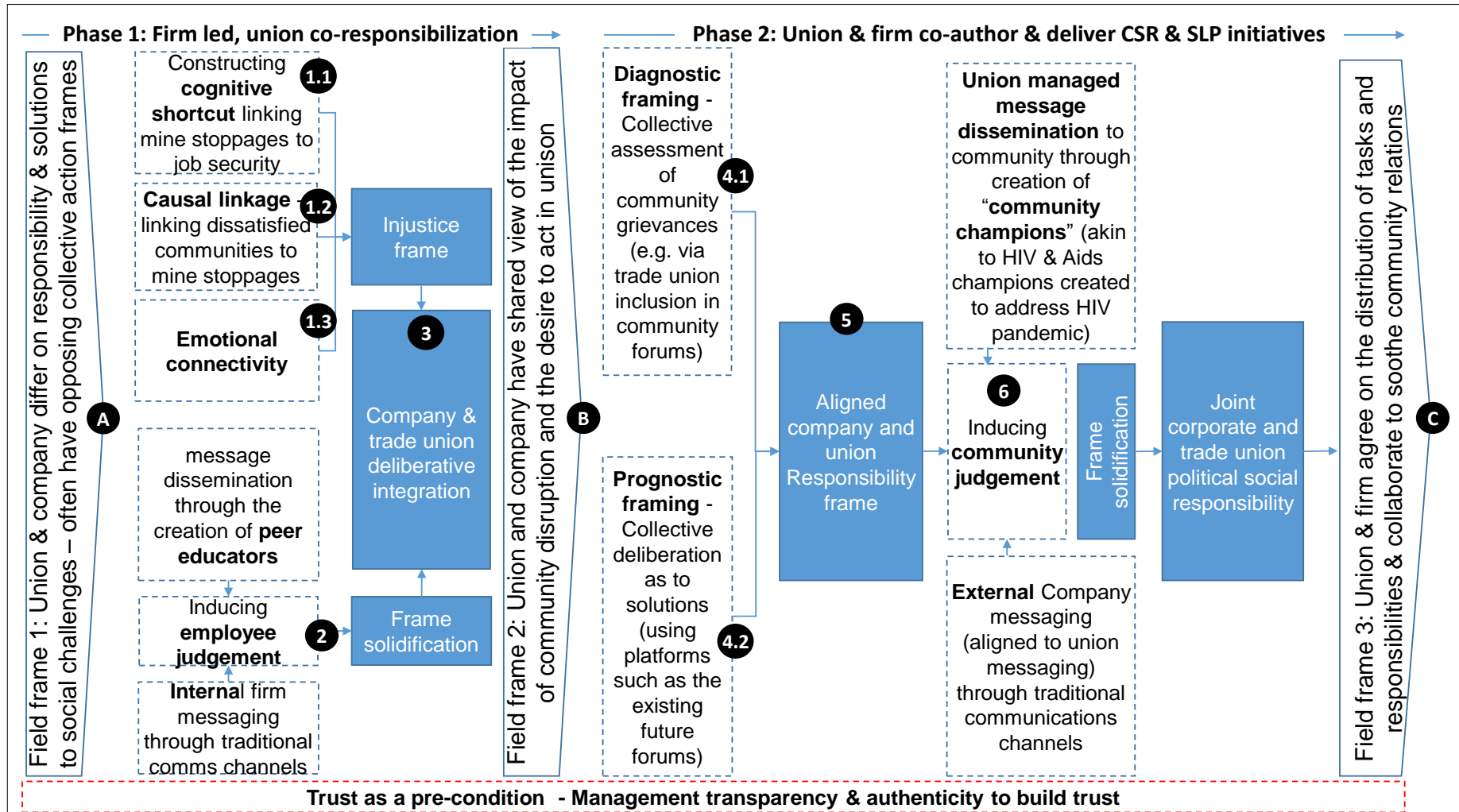
Phase one: Firm-led, union co-responsibilisation

As the results have shown, bringing trade unions and companies to the same table will require them firstly to align on the need for a joint attempt at soothing community relations. It is here that companies will have to take the lead in a first phase of firm-led, trade union co-responsibilisation, much like the NGOs that led the responsibilisation of corporates in the case presented by Ansari and Reinecke (2016). The idea that social movements do not simply emerge from unexpected events or existing ideologies, and that they are created by people who constantly work at portraying a phenomenon in a certain light to attach meaning for observers of their cause (Benford & Snow, 2000), provides further rationale for companies to lead the endeavour.

Further, it has already been described how a private party or individual can be made to assume responsibility for issues outside its direct control (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). Much of this is based on the idea of social connectedness, which argues that "obligations for justice arise between persons by virtue of the social processes that connect them" (Iris & Young, 2006, p. 102). Trade unions, which are both internal to the firm and, importantly, also independent entities and external stakeholders of the firm (Harvey et al., 2017), can thus, like firms, be made to participate and take some form of responsibility for resolving community-related disruptions to mining operations.

Phase one, firm-led union co-responsibilisation, uses the model of corporate responsibilisation as applied by Ansari and Reinecke (2016). However, here the firm is applying the model to achieve union co-responsibilisation. While the model proposed by Ansari and Reinecke (2016), as shown in Figure 1 on page 17, is largely reliant on coercion and public humiliation, in this instance, a coercive, degrading approach will lead to a further gap in trust. Thus, a subtle, dignified approach is needed. However, the key elements of the model are still applicable.

Starting point – Field Frame 1: Union and company differ on responsibility and solutions to social challenges – often have opposing collective action frames

The proposed model begins at point A (field frame 1) in Figure 10 on page 97, with both parties, mining firms and trade unions differing on the nature of the social challenges, the impact of community disruptions, the distribution of responsibility and the solutions to the social challenges. As previously mentioned, this divergence between the parties may not necessarily be on the issues themselves but on each party's perception of the

other party's understanding of the issues. Parties may also have opposing collective action frames. It is thus proposed that that the firm proceeds with the construction of an injustice frame, through which trade unions members can view and interpret their world (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013), which encapsulates the impact of community unhappiness.

Step 1.1: Constructing a cognitive shortcut linking mine stoppages to job security

Existing cognitive shortcuts that link mining firms to social ills are largely centred on past injustices. These cognitive shortcuts are strong and emotional and will be difficult to reframe. Nevertheless, trade unions and companies are exposed to similar conditions and have a shared interest in community harmony. By clarifying this shared interest in minimal community unrest both parties may be able reshape the existing cognitive shortcuts.

Specifically, one shared interest for all parties is the achievement of job security and consistent income, an issue which is already clearly linked to mine stoppages (Mahlakoani, 2017). Thus, the link between community happiness and reduced mine stoppages and security of employment should be established or reinforced so as to resonate with the trade unions and more importantly the trade union members.

Step 1.2: Causal linkage – linking dissatisfied communities to mine stoppages

"Activists can use 'commons logic' – to construct causality and link private actors to a problem, even if they are not the main culprit" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 316). In this instance both firms and trade unions believe that government should be providing the services that mining host community's lack. While there are differing opinions over the extent to which mining companies should supplement government service provision, both companies and trade unions are unlikely to overtly frame government as the common enemy.

One approach that can be taken is to establish the abstract concepts of poverty and unemployment as the enemy. While abstract, these issues are prevalent and should be a topic "close to home" for many trade union members.

Step 1.3: Emotional connectivity

Emotional connectivity seeks to enable mobilisation by linking an issue to deep-seated

emotions. This speaks to "the resonance of a collective action frame which is affected by its salience to the targets of mobilisation" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 613). Thus "creating emotional connectivity mobilizes support by making a link appear more immediate, salient, and potent" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 316).

The concepts of poverty and unemployment are already emotional topics. However, firms should attempt to create a feeling of hope, without which it is unlikely that trade unions or their members will be mobilised. This speaks to the idea that people are more likely to take action if they believe that their actions will be effective (Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg, 2013). Such hope can be built through credible and visible action in addressing community grievances, which is, establishing with trade unions members the trust that something can be done to improve the situation on the ground in the communities.

The intention of steps 1.1 to 1.3 is for the firm to construct an injustice frame, which is simply "a well elaborated collective action frame that includes some injustice component … and which calls for some form of political and/or economic change" (Benford & Snow, 2000). In this case it is an injustice frame calling for a collaborative effort to address community ills.

Step 2: Inducing employee judgement

Agreement as to who or what to blame is often a point of disagreement between different organisations making up a social movement (Benford & Snow, 2000). In this case, firms and trade unions can be viewed as two organisations, which are to form part of a single social movement, formed to improve community relations. As has been previously stated, trade unions and firms differ on the extent to which firms are responsible for community ills and, importantly, trade unions have also shown reluctance to engage employers directly on these issues.

The part concerning inducing employee judgement is thus intended to solidify the injustice frame (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016) already constructed in two ways. Firstly, through the use of traditional communication channels firms can begin to disseminate the requisite messaging to establish the cognitive shortcuts and causal linkages created.

More importantly, however, is the creation of pressure on the union by their own members to participate in solving the community-related challenges. Firms can begin to

generate this pressure through the creation of peer educators, as successfully demonstrated in the rollout of HIV and AIDS initiatives at companies such as Anglo American (Anglo American Plc, 2011). Here, individual employees would be elected to become a peer educator. These peer educators would be trained on community challenges, the impact on mining houses and employment, what the mines are doing and what more can be done. As trusted peers, such peer educators would then disseminate this learning to the broader employee pool.

If thoughtfully executed, firms have the opportunity, through the process of frame solidification, to establish a level of transparency and authenticity. Such transparency, backed with genuine intent, should facilitate building the trust needed between trade unions and mining firms in order to build the environment of trust required to jointly address community challenges.

Step 3: Company and trade union deliberation

Together, the mining firms' newly constructed injustice frame and the process of frame solidification should create the urgency required for trade unions and companies to jointly deliberate the impact of community disruption on employment, job security and ultimately trade union and firm wellbeing. Ansari and Reinecke (2016) describe the act of inducing social judgement as a means to pressure the target organisation into changing their behaviour. Importantly, there are existing legislated platforms such as the future forum platforms that can be utilised for any initial deliberative engagement.

Through this initial process of deliberative integration, firms and trade unions would seek not to define or provide solutions to community-related challenges, but rather to agree on the process of collective diagnosis and prognosis that follows, as presented in phase 2 below. Deliberating the process to follow will be as important as deliberating the eventual CSR initiatives. This is because the procedural fairness of the process a company follows to define its CSR activities has more influence on its moral legitimacy than the content of the CSR activities it undertakes (Claasen & Roloff, 2012). Achieving legitimacy in the eyes of the trade unions will be key to strengthening the requisite trust cited as a prerequisite for any collaboration.

Field frame 2: Union and company have a shared view of the impact of community disruption and the desire to act in unison

Following step 3, the company and the trade union should both be at a point where they have a shared view of the impact of community disruption and the desire to act in unison. This is indicated as field frame 2 (point B in Figure 10 on page 97).

Phase 2: Union and firm co-author, deliver and monitor a firm's CSR and SLP initiatives

The first two steps of phase 2 (steps 4.1 and 4.2), as shown in Figure 10, are essentially an extended act of deliberative integration (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). Here firms would be required to industriously include trade unions in an open and public forum to both observe and participate in the process of identifying community needs (diagnostic framing), as well as take part in the definition of solutions which will form the basis of a firm's future CSR or SLP activities. Both the acts of diagnostic framing and prognostic framing work to facilitate agreement between the parties, or the members of a social movement (Benford & Snow, 1988).

Step 4.1 – Diagnostic framing: Collective assessment of community grievances (e.g. via trade union inclusion in community forums)

The rationale for the inclusion of trade unions in such a process has numerous supporting elements. This includes (a) that trade unions are sensitive to broader societal issues (Harvey et al., 2017); (b) that trade unions have the "capacity and moral authority to hold business to account" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 43); (c) that collective action frames are the result of different parties negotiating shared meaning (Benford & Snow, 2000), (d) that such engagements are "responsible because they are directed to the effective resolution of public uses in a legitimate manner, often with the (explicit) aim of contributing to society or enhancing social welfare, and are thus not limited to economic motivations" (Scherer et al., 2016, p. 276); and finally, (e) because "responsibility – the state of duty, accountability, and opportunity for action for an issues – is socially constructed through collective negotiation" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 300).

Step 4.2 – Prognostic framing: Collective deliberation as to solutions (using platforms such as the existing future forums or legislated SLP processes)

Prognostic framing is process of determining potential solutions to the challenges identified during the diagnostic phase (Benford & Snow, 1988). Typically, actors not party to a particular social movement, and who have differing views, would create opposing, or counter-frames, that refute the logic of the solutions proposed (Benford & Snow, 2000). Thus, by virtue of including trade unions in the process of prognosis, they are afforded the opportunity to refute the logic of the firm's proposed solutions early on, lessening the opportunity for counter framing by the union, publicly, at a later stage.

Together the processes of collective, diagnostic and prognostic framing are intended to create an aligned company and trade union responsibility frame (point 5 in Figure 10). The final step is then for this aligned company and trade union responsibility frame to be solidified by jointly disseminating the now agreed messaging and proposed solutions to the target community.

Inducing community judgement to solidify the aligned company and union responsibility frame

The act of inducing community judgement is akin to the act of inducing social judgement as described by Ansari and Reinecke (2016) in their model of corporate responsibilisation. In this instance, however, the responsibility frame promoted by the company has been agreed with trade unions. Companies and trade unions would thus disseminate pre-agreed messaging. This process of "taking the message to the world" is what Benford and Snow (2000) termed *motivational framing*, which included "the construction of appropriate vocabularies for motive" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617). The intent here is of course to provide the target audience, in our case the communities, with a compelling argument to support a successful mining operation.

Companies could disseminate their messaging via their usual channels, in effect self-disclosing (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016). Most importantly, trade unions would provide the necessary "public exposure", which in Ansari and Reinecke's (2016) model is intended to pressure a firm into changing its behaviour. In this instance, however, unions would manage the dissemination of the same message as that of the company to the community, reinforcing the legitimacy of the message conveyed by the company. Unions could do this, as proposed by one of the trade union interviewees, through the creation

of "community champions" (akin to HIV & AIDS champions, which were created to take the fight against the HIV pandemic into mining communities [Anglo American Plc, 2011]).

This process of inducing community judgement by promoting this new collective action frame also presents an opportunity for union revitalisation (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). In other words, through involvement in PCSR, trade unions can enforce CSR compliance by companies and reframe themselves as warriors for social justice, potentially attracting members who would not generally be interested in union membership (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 52).

In summary, collective diagnostic and prognostic framing is intended to result in an aligned responsibility frame. Together with the act of frame solidification, and with unions taking up the responsibility as "enforcers" of agreed CSR or SLP initiatives, joint corporate and trade union PCSR can be achieved. This leads to field frame 3 of Figure 10).

Field frame 3: Union and firm agree on the distribution of tasks and responsibilities and collaborate to soothe community relations

Of course, the achievement of joint corporate and trade union political social corporate is not a given, nor is it permanent. "Corporate (and in this case trade union) responsibilization is an ongoing process where multiple stakeholders negotiate the boundaries between private and public responsibilities" (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 320).

Regardless of whether or not the proposed model works, the work by Ansari and Reinecke (2016) has shown the adoption of responsibility can be purposefully constructed. Moreover, the steps proposed need not necessarily be sequentially followed. Some may happen simultaneously or in reverse. The exact order or applicability of events is something which would need to be further investigated in future research.

5.4   Sampling and respondent bias

Only four of the ten interviews were conducted with trade union representatives. Of these four interviews two were from the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) and one representative each from the United Association of South Africa (UASA) and Solidarity. Notably, no one from the union AMCU, a substantial and important union in the mining sector, was found who was willing to participate in an interview. This might be interpreted as a sampling bias, as firstly, six of the ten interviews were conducted with representatives of mining houses and four of the ten with trade union representatives. Secondly, within the trade union sample, the interviewees were biased towards the politically affiliated union, NUM.

However, the trade unions participating in the research represent a sizeable portion of current mining employees. Statistics received from the trade union Solidarity (2017) indicate that AMCU dominates the platinum sector with just over 70% representation. In the gold sector, NUM hold a 60% representation while NUM, UASA and Solidarity collectively represent around 72% of employees. In the coal mining sector, AMCU has been relegated as the majority union, with NUMSA and the NUM together representing just over 50% of the coal sector employees. In the iron ore sector, the NUM holds a 60% representation (Solidariteit, 2017). Moreover, while the researcher was unable to get a direct view from AMCU, most of the other interviewees commented on what they believed AMCU's response would be. The researcher also reviewed newspaper articles which throw some light on the response one might have expected from AMCU.

A second source of bias stems from the fact that the interviewees acted as representatives of their institutions. While this may be desirable in this instance, it was found that representatives of the mining houses in particular were acutely aware of the current politics at play in the mining sector and made an effort to make politically and socially appropriate statements. Respondents also switched between statements made as representatives of respective institutions and those made in their personal capacity. No statements were made off the record and thus all statements, both personal and as an organisation's representative, were taken into account during the analysis.

Finally, the difficult trading environment the mining industry finds itself in, and the significant number of retrenchments over the last few years in the mining sector, will have played a role in the response from both the mining houses and the trade unions.

6   Conclusion

A solution must be found to the community-related disruptions that cost mining firms billions of rand in lost production every year (Seccombe, 2017). Reducing unnecessary mine stoppages is even more urgent for marginal operations, where a few days of additional production would mean the difference between being cash flow neutral or cash flow negative. With 60% of the platinum sector loss-making under current market conditions, the threat of labour-intensive mine closures is real (Peyper, 2017).

As recently as May 2017, Lonmin PLC had to shut down two shafts in Marikana to protect the lives of their employees from protesting community members (Mahlakoani, 2017a). The closure lasted for seven days, costing Lonmin in excess R40 million (McKay, 2017). The shafts in question happen to be two of the older, labour-intensive shafts in Lonmin's operations. With these shafts already reaching the end of their lives and suffering from declining production (Lonmin PLC, 2017), any work-related stoppages simply accelerate the decision to shut them down permanently. When one considers that a single shaft employs thousands of people, lost production and the closure of even a single shaft can have a significant impact on entire communities.

It is in this context that this study set out to explore how firms and trade unions could work together to placate community relations. This, with the understanding that profitable mining operations are both in the interest of the firm, and the trade unions as they struggle to retain their membership, relevance and power. It is the work by Harvey et al (2017), who suggest that trade unions are legitimate and effective partners in the planning of CSR activities, which highlights a firms CSR agenda as a platform for such collaboration. However, while the literature provides the rationale for the inclusion of trade unions in CSR deliberation, it did not, to the best knowledge of the researcher, describe how a firm might practically go about including the trade unions in such deliberation.

To further clarify, it was not the objective of the researcher to describe how firms can go about including trade unions in CSR deliberation simply for the sake of their inclusion. Rather, the objective was to shed light on how firms and unions can collaborate *to placate community relations*, however, using a firms CSR agenda as the raison d'être for such collaboration. Further, a coalesced firm–union approach to addressing community disruption is reliant on the transformation and alignment of the community-oriented frame promoted by the trade union and the community-oriented frame promoted by the mining

firm.

Accordingly, a model has been proposed that follows a two-phased approach to achieve such alignment and joint action. In a first phase, the firm leads the effort to construct a shared (firm-union) view of the impact of community disruption and a shared desire to act. This is followed by a second phase, where the firm and union essentially act in concert to construct a new community-oriented collective action frame.

This research thus begins to fill the gap in existing literature by proposing an extension of the model of corporate responsibilisation by Ansari and Reinecke (2016), as a means to achieve union inclusion in CSR deliberation, with the intention of ultimately placating community relations.

6.1   Principal findings

It was found that just as firms can be made to assume joint responsibility for a complex problem outside their direct control through collective negotiation with various stakeholders (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016), so too can trade unions, through a similar process of frame transformation as described by Ansari and Reinecke (2016), be guided from avoiding responsibility for social challenges to acknowledging the consequences of community disruption and, finally, to collaborating with the firm to jointly tackle the community challenges faced.

However, unlike the model of corporate responsibilisation proposed by Ansari and Reinecke, the tactics of the firm cannot be based on coercion and public humiliation. Accordingly, the approach would need to be one of (a) cleverly, and morally, framing the problem of job insecurity to enable its attribution to unprofitable mines and in part to unhappy mining communities, and (b) embarking on a process that is deeply consultative, participative and inclusive of unions and communities so as to allow the collective diagnosis of community challenges and the collective development of tangible, implementable solutions. Underpinning this entire process, however, is trust and authenticity, without which it will be nigh on impossible for the two constituents (mining firms and trade unions) to engage effectively in their attempt at addressing community relations.

Importantly, it is through a process of collective deliberation with mining communities that mining firms and trade unions can collectively begin to establish the challenges that

communities face and the root-cause of these difficulties and, subsequently, jointly develop and propose solutions.

Such a process of collective deliberation enables two conditions. Firstly, complete and thorough inclusion in all community engagements, from problem formulation through to solution construction, establishes the invariable transparency required for unions to co-manage a company's CSR agenda (Delbard, 2011). Moreover, the act of transparency enforces procedural fairness which supports the firm's moral legitimacy in the eyes of its stakeholders (Claasen & Roloff, 2012).

Secondly, by including trade unions in the process of collective diagnosis and collective prognosis, "a (joint) state of duty, accountability, and opportunity for action" will begin to be constructed (Ansari & Reinecke, 2016, p. 300). However, while it appears that there is a willingness to work together on both sides of this equation, trade unions are unlikely to lead the effort to tackle community challenges proactively. As such, firms will need to take the lead and constantly work at portraying social ills as a source of injustice to all stakeholders thus motivating for a collective effort in their resolution (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Trade unions and mining companies both recognise the role of the other in community engagement but need to understand the nuance of the other side's perspective better. Finding common ground is not out of reach as it is clear that both sides share the objectives of happier communities and, in turn, easier community relationships.

There are, however, limitations on the extent of the relationship. The research questions and the theory in the literature review frame an idea where trade unions and companies stand shoulder to shoulder united in their thoughts around community issues, the source of any social challenges and the responsibility for redress. This intensity is unlikely to be realised. The most likely outcome will be a scenario where trade unions present themselves as warriors for social justice (Harvey et al., 2017). Nevertheless, their position as a social force for good would have been jointly constructed with the mining firms and, as such, is more likely to be constructive than critical.

Hope and trust are the consequence of authenticity and transparency. Through improved engagement between companies and trade unions, there is scope for businesses to bring trade unions closer to them and benefit from the role that trade unions play in the community. Trade unions benefit from access, through members and legitimacy, as a

socialist concept, to the community. Combined with insight into the realities of companies and the activities undertaken by them, trade unions offer a unique avenue for providing credibility to companies (Harvey et al., 2017).

Through the "the construction of appropriate vocabularies for motive" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617), companies and unions can take a unified message to communities, comprising a compelling argument to support a successful mining operation, with the intent of soothing relations between all parties. To motivate trade unions to take this path their role in ensuring that social obligations are met, needs to be elevated. Trade unions are unlikely to share responsibility for execution, but if they are to shift the negative emotional energy away from companies, they will need incentives. The ability to take some credit for companies CSR activities could be a powerful motivator.

Kelly (2015) has said that "the world's major capitalist economies display a number of features and tendencies which could provide the foundations for union revitalisation centred on a 'narrative' of injustice and exclusion" (Kelly, 2015a, p. 539). In the current South African mining context, attempting revitalisation with such an approach is likely to accelerate the rate of job destruction.

At a recent event, the CEO of Lonmin, Ben Magara clearly articulated the situation the mining industry finds itself in: "Without a profitable business, we cannot have money to invest in anything … stakeholders, including government and unions, must realise it is in their interests that businesses are thriving … similarly, all stakeholders should be concerned that whatever growth is being achieved is inclusive and that communities are benefitting from it" (Omarjee, 2017, p. 1).

Fortunately, there is an alternative path to trade union renewal (Harvey et al., 2017). Here trade unions avoid fuelling community and worker discontent by emphasising and attributing blame for societal ills to the mining house. Rather, through a process of union co-responsibilisation, initiated by the firm (see Figure 10 on page 97), the trade union and mining house collaborate on the identification, design and delivery of a jointly constructed solution. Such a collaboration will ultimately be in the best interests of the trade union's members and the trade union itself (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017). What is equally important, however, it that such a collaboration would extend to the mine and ultimately to the mining communities.

6.2   Implications for management

Firms and management would do well to heed the lessons that can be taken from social movement theory. Benford and Snow (2000) give an apt description, stating that social movements do not simply emerge from unexpected events or existing ideologies; they are created by people who constantly work at portraying a phenomenon in a certain light to attach meaning to their cause for observers (Benford & Snow, 2000). As such, mining firms should consider themselves social movements, and the development of vibrant, thriving mining communities their cause. Mining leadership should be the activists who continuously work to construct the necessary collective action frame for their target audience, namely mining company employees and the trade unions within their operations.

Firms show a tendency to be inward focused and underestimate the willingness of trade unions to attempt to find a solution to community challenges. Firms also do not appreciate the extent to which trade unions recognise the negative effect of disruptions to operations on their own organisations.

Firms should take comfort in the fact that there are existing platforms in place that can be leveraged to begin the process of collective deliberation. As an example, the concept of the tripartite alliance should be extended to tackle community-related challenges and should include unions and community representatives. However, firms need to ensure that they take a dignified, authentic approach, which includes ensuring that they stay the course during both good times and bad times. Ignoring the potential for collaboration during the good times does not bode well for authentic collaboration when times are tough.

Finally, continuous education of employees on the impact of community disruption through the creation of peer educators and community champions is a starting point. Firms have the power to begin the process of bringing trade unions on board. But first, before defining the responsibility frame, firms must understand the various constituencies and how blame is distributed. Moreover, they must understand how the existing cognitive shortcuts, and their own CSR and SLP activities, contribute to this assignment of blame.

6.3   Limitations of the research

This research is context, time and situation specific in that it was conducted during a time of acute job security related stress. The urgency of the situation and the dire need to stem the loss of jobs in the mining sector undoubtedly played a role in shaping the views of the interviewees and ultimately the results of this study.

The sample size achieved was also not of a size large enough to be able to generalise the results. In part, this was due to the inability of the researcher to access key stakeholders, specifically the trade union AMCU. However, the intention of this study was not to provide a definitive answer or solution to the questions posed, but rather to highlight potential avenues which mining firms and trade unions could explore in an attempt to begin their journey towards jointly authoring and taking responsibility for the firm's CSR and SLP initiatives in an attempt to moderate community relations.

Importantly, a short study such as this cannot do justice to such a socially complex topic as was examined here. Moreover, key stakeholders that hold significant influence over the realities on the ground in the mining communities, for example government representatives and AMCU, one of the major trade unions, were not included. These views would be an important inclusion for a future researcher.

Very importantly, community views are not reviewed here to better understand the factors they experience. While trade unions and firms gave their accounts for the cognitive shortcuts and responsibility attribution that they perceive in soothing community relations, all parties need to better understand community perspectives. This is a shortcoming of this limited research project but is also, more importantly, a shortcoming in firms' efforts to address community needs.

As such, the proposed model as shown in Figure 10 on page 97 should be seen as a starting point, and one that will need to undergo multiple iterations as extended stakeholders are included in future research.

The potential bias introduced by the researcher has been discussed in section 3.1.2 on page 24. Specifically, it was discussed that the researcher's past experience may have reinforced his view that mining companies are disconnected from the communities in which they operate, and thus this background may have shaped the way data were collected in the interviews, as well as the interpretation of the data collected.

The semi-structured interview guideline used to collect the data may have also inhibited the collection of better results. For example, the first supporting research question is naturally a result of the three questions that followed. Thus the order of the questions may have introduced unnecessary confusion and repetition, possibly limiting the depth of the data that could have been collected.

Moreover, a theoretical proposal is far removed from the realities of practical implementation. As such further investigation will be required to establish the most practical method of implementation.

Other limitations include the fact that English was not the native language of all participants, and thus the use of some terminology may not have been fully grasped by the interviewee. As a result, responses received were not all equally articulate. Importantly, there were times when interviewees would say one thing but it was clear from the context that they meant something else. Such a nuance would not have been taken into account during the analysis per se as the analysis was conducted from direct transcripts of the interviews.

6.4 Suggestions for future research

As already mentioned, a more in-depth engagement with an extended set of stakeholders is needed. Future research on this topic should include local, provincial and national government representatives; an expanded set of mining houses beyond the platinum sector; lower-level trade union members; operations-based employees of mining houses; and most importantly, members of communities surrounding mining operations.

Another area of interest is the reason behind the current lack of cooperation. Both mining houses and trade unions recognise the need and the potential to play a bigger role in the SLP process and future forums. Trade unions on the one hand acknowledge that they have been abdicating their responsibility, while companies maintain that they too can do more. Importantly, the existing SLP and future forum platforms have the potential to enable the co-authoring of the responsibility frame and collaboration in addressing community needs. However, currently each party is performing to the minimum required level. Further research is thus needed to explore the reason for this and potential ways to enhance the effectiveness of these mechanisms.

Other topics that should be covered in future to better understand the dynamics of how to include trade unions in the delivery and execution of a firm's CSR and SLP initiatives, in order to soothe community relations include the following:

- Increasing understanding on the role played by trade unions within communities, and how trade unions currently engage and disseminate information in the community.
- Understanding how communities perceive companies, trade unions and the community protests.
- Reviewing legislation and identifying both legislative barriers and enablers of productive community, trade union and firm relations (e.g. the Labour Relations Act includes the concept of an agency fee, where regardless of whether or not you are a member of that union a fee must be paid, i.e. the non-union worker must pay a fee to cover collective bargaining costs).
- Defining the best structures, forums, frequency and methods of engagement for problem identification, solution identification, and implementation and monitoring.
- Investigating the role of other stakeholders such faith groups and NGOs, which could potentially play a mediating role and facilitate and ensure trust and transparency.
- Increasing understanding on the definition of a mining community. Specifically, where

do the boundaries of community start and stop when migrant labour is present? When does the migrant population have interests that are aligned to those of the host community and when not? How does one determine and account for this?

- The ideas of transparency, authenticity and trust resonate with the concept of Ubuntu. Thus, a review of how the principles of Ubuntu could be applied in structuring the discourse between labour, mining firms and communities is a further area that could be studied.

Finally, regardless of whether or not the proposed model works, the work by Ansari and Reinecke (2016) has shown that the adoption of responsibility can be purposefully constructed. Moreover, the steps proposed need not necessarily be followed sequentially, as some may happen simultaneously or in reverse. The exact order, or applicability, of the steps suggested in the model in Figure 10 on page 97 is something which would need to be further investigated in future research.

7   References

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8 Appendix - Semi-structured interview guideline

Table 7 - Semi-structured Interviews: Interview Guideline

Overarching research question: How can firms and trade unions work jointly, using corporate social responsibility as the raison d'être for their collaboration, to placate community relations?	
RQ1: How can a joint, company and trade union responsibility frame be developed?	24. What is your position on addressing broader societal challenges? 25. What is your understanding of the other party's position in this regard? 26. Do you accept the party's point of view? Why, why not? 27. Can you describe a scenario in which your views and those of the other party align? 28. Will your/the trade unions power/influence change if there is collaboration between the union and company?
RQ2: How can a new cognitive shortcut begin to be formed that aligns company and union understanding of the grievances?	29. What do you think is the core underlying reason for the broader societal challenges? 30. What do you think is the other parties' view in this regard? 31. (If different) Why do you think these views are different? 32. (If the same) Is there agreement on all aspects of underlying causes?
RQ3: How can unions and companies find or create a common enemy?	33. To what extent should business be held responsible for societal challenges? 34. Where is the line of responsibility between government and companies for social services? 35. How have company activities contributed to the perception of responsibility? 36. In an ideal world, where would ultimate responsibility lie for these broader societal challenges? 37. How can this person/entity (discussed above) be held accountable?
RQ4: How can employers and trade unions	38. What do you think communities feel about you? 39. What do you think communities feel about the other party? 40. What drives these feelings?

redirect negative emotions to create an environment characterised by hope and trust?	41. How do you go about measuring and/or influencing community temperament? 42. Is it possible that community temperament is driven by the other party? How, why? 43. Stable community relations are clearly desirable – how do you work with the other party to pre-empt and redirect negative emotions?
RQ5: How could mining firms and trade unions go about publicly portraying a common message?	44. The narrative around broader societal issues disseminated to the public by the companies and the unions seems to be very different – why is this the case? 45. What would need to happen for you and the other party to present a joint, unified message?
RQ6: How can a responsibility frame be developed so as to enable shared responsibility between mining firms and unions?	46. What are your thoughts on the unions (your) responsibility towards addressing societal challenges? 47. Should unions take greater responsibility? What should be their responsibility, and how should they accomplish this? 48. Under what circumstances would you (the union) accept joint responsibility for CSR/SLP delivery with the company?