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***ENCOUNTERING CORPORATE
RESPONSIBILITY:***

**Mining, development and conservation
in south eastern Madagascar**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Anthropology

2012

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Declaration for PhD thesis

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Abstract

This thesis explores conflicts over natural resources through an ethnographic investigation of a multinational mineral mining project in Madagascar. The analysis focuses on how corporate environmental and social impacts are justified through new regimes of development and nature conservation programmes near extractive sites in developing countries. The thesis argues that such “Corporate Social Responsibility” (CSR) programmes rely on new modes of social and environmental governance linking multinational resource extraction, community development and participatory nature conservation. These new governance forms entail new regimes of rights and responsibilities, which lead to an increase in the socio-environmental exclusion of already marginalised local people. The thesis shows how these new forms of exclusion stem from rights and benefits being channeled to deserving corporate “stakeholders”, and the differentiated capacity of local people to perform this role.

Through multi-sited ethnography, the thesis investigates the rich social fields generated by CSR-based government of people and nature, focusing on new subjectivities and new types of social differentiation resulting from corporate land and resource capture and new benefit flows. I demonstrate how in south eastern Madagascar, the CSR programmes themselves also change in the encounter with a complex local history of struggles over control of the region’s natural resources. I show the active efforts of “translation” deployed by corporate staff in order to represent complex local encounters including forms of resistance to corporate resource access as success stories of corporate engagement and as justifications for corporate resource extraction.

I conclude that corporate responsibility discourses and programmes must be accounted for not merely as neoliberal “projects of rule” over people and nature, but also as a rich social arena where officially stated ideologies are constantly being reinvented and altered as they encounter specific actors in particular places. The thesis thereby contributes to debates about neoliberalism and its local effects, arguing for the need to

critically account for both the historical continuity of powerful global ideologies which justify corporate land and resource access in Africa, and how these global projects are also changed, thwarted and reworked through specific local encounters.

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Glossary

<i>Association</i>	Community based organisation
<i>CARE</i>	International development NGO doing vegetable gardening projects in the Anosy Region
<i>COGE</i>	“Comité de Gestion”; Management Committee for implementing the <i>dina</i> for community co-management of the Mandena mining and conservation zone, and for channeling QMM development funding to local people
<i>Commune</i>	Second lowest government circumscription, translated as “municipality”
<i>CSR</i>	Corporate Social Responsibility
<i>Dina</i>	Traditional legal agreement reinvented by conservation agents in the 1990s to form a legal basis for community conservation agreements
<i>FAFAFI</i>	Lutheran church development NGO, one of two official NGOs commissioned to work with the PAPs, focusing on agricultural projects
<i>FIMIRA</i>	Community association for implementing the Lanirano lagoon system <i>dina</i> for community co-management of the aquatic resources and for channeling QMM development funding to local people
<i>Fokonolona</i>	“Unit of people”, local community
<i>Fokontany</i>	“Land of a unit of people”, Lowest government circumscription
<i>Hazo-ala</i>	“Trees from the forest”; original forest; often contrasted to imported trees
<i>HIMO</i>	“Haut Intensité de Main d’Œuvre”, cash for unskilled work project intended to generate local income, such as road clearing schemes
<i>Horaky</i>	Wet rice field
<i>Lonaky</i>	Male lineage head
<i>Mahampy</i>	Reed growing in marshlands, collected by women for weaving
<i>Mandena</i>	2,000 hectare mining and 230 hectare community forest conservation zone a few kilometers north of Fort Dauphin town

<i>Mpamadiky</i>	Traitor; colonial-era name for turncoat
<i>Mpamosavy</i>	Witch
<i>Mpiavy</i>	“Arrived person”, immigrant; connotations of dubious origins
ONE	“Office National de l’Environnement”; Malagasy governmental environment agency
<i>PAPs</i>	Persons Affected by the Project; people officially impacted by mining-related involuntary resettlement and displacement
<i>QMM</i>	“Qit Madagascar Minerals”; joint venture subsidiary of Rio Tinto Mining Corporation (80% Rio Tinto and 20% Malagasy state owned)
<i>Rio Tinto</i>	Multinational mining corporation with headquarters in the UK and Australia
<i>SEIA</i>	Social and Environmental Impact Assessment
<i>Taha</i>	Tanosy marriage ritual
<i>Tesaka</i>	Person/people and language from the Atsimo Atsinanana Region
<i>Tsimeto</i>	Sorcerer whose spoken words come true
<i>Tanosy</i>	Person/people and language from the Anosy Region
<i>Tandroy</i>	Person/people and language from the Androy Region
<i>Tompontany</i>	Land-owner, with connotations of first comer and rightful owner
<i>Toteny</i>	“Speaker of truth”, ritual speechmaker; now: community spokesperson
<i>Vazaha</i>	White foreigner; also foreigners in general, e.g. multinational mining company

Prologue: The sacrifice

On a rainy morning in February 2009, a group of very different people – young and old, suited and shoeless, men and women - are assembled on a new, shiny black asphalt road a few kilometers north east of Fort Dauphin town in south eastern Madagascar. The black, glistening road, with reflective markers running along the yellow middle line, leads from the Rio Tinto mining corporation subsidiary QMM's Mandena ilmenite mining site to the new, deep sea port of Ehoala, on the other side of town. Bypassing the town centre due to the heavy truckloads it carries, the road is what ensures that the newly started multinational mining project can continue sending a daily shipment of mineral sands from the nearby littoral forest ground, where the gradual stripping of 2,000 hectares of surface vegetation has just begun. In the Mandena mining zone, the first of three such projected sites in the region, a specially designed dredge floating on an artificial lake is sucking up the valuable black sands twenty four hours a day, seven days a week. At nightfall, while the rest of the region is enveloped in darkness, the Mandena mining perimeter is an alien-looking pool of diesel-powered light and motorized activity.

The road, planted on each side by nearby villagers with anti-erosion bushes, an initiative financed by the mining corporation as a local "income-generating activity", is busy with white Toyota 4x4 vans driven by Canadian, South African and European mining site managers, and with large mini busses that carry the Malagasy staff. The latter, unlike taxi brousy ("bush taxis", Malagasy regional transport) have everyone seated on their own seat, with individual seat belts, and dressed in what has become the most desirable outfit a young man can wear to demonstrate wealth and status: the eye catching corporate staff outfits known as "epi" ("équipement de protection individuel" - blue trousers with high visibility patches, black, steel toed boots, white helmet and yellow high visibility vest).

However, today, the shiny black asphalt is coloured a deep crimson red by the blood of a newly killed zebu ox. White Toyotas slow down as curious vazaha [foreigners] turn their heads to catch a glance of the unusual assembly of people and the still

shuddering animal. Just before the throat of the ox was slit, the Chef de Region [head of regional government] gave a speech. Surrounded by community relations staff from the mining corporation and the mayors of the two municipalities hosting the mining project, the Chef de Region stated that “this is proof that all problems resolve themselves through negotiation and discussion. The roadblocks were not worth it”. He also thanked the local elders and traditional spokesmen for their participation in the search for solutions, emphasizing the need for dialogue. The Chef de Region praised the efforts of the mining corporation QMM in the negotiations, stressing the importance of peaceful reconciliation and emphasizing the economic development and crucial role of the investments of QMM in the region, stating that if people prevented this development, it would go against their own interests.

After the ox has been killed, the corporate and government delegations quickly depart in separate 4x4 cars, but the rest of the assembly remains. Two men expertly start chopping off the animal’s legs and proceed to skinning it and cutting up the meat. The assembled people, chatting excitedly, do not seem to mind the pouring rain as slices of meat are handed out. There is a hiatus as nobody quite seems what to do. Then, slowly, the party moves along a muddy side road towards one of the town’s poorer neighborhoods. They arrive at group of houses in an impoverished immigrant quarter of Fort Dauphin town, where the bull’s blood, carried in buckets, is boiled with rice. The group of people, now joking and laughing, are handed out portions of the mix to eat. The group dissolves after the shared meal, some staying in town and some commencing a 7 km march across the sandy dunes to their homes in and around nearby fisher villages. The walk leads them along fresh and brackish water lagoons, which used to lead into Indian Ocean, but where the river mouth is now straddled by a weir which ensures that the mining dredge is not contaminated by salt water.

That afternoon, the mining corporation's communications team in Fort Dauphin issued the following public statement on the event (QMM 2009b):

Resolution of the differences on the use of land within the perimeter of the Mandena mining site:

After several rounds of negotiations, the land users, residents of the Amparihy neighbourhood in Fort Dauphin, have finally accepted the proposals on land use in the mining perimeter.

We recall that the main objective of the accord between QMM [Rio Tinto mining corporation's Madagascar subsidiary] and the traditional users was to give a permanent access to use their land in the Mandena zone, based on the Malagasy mining code. Beyond these legal obligations, QMM will additionally contribute to these traditional users' agricultural activities. According to the agreement, the Amparihy resident land users will continue their cultivation activities and de facto integrate with the land users of Ampasy Nahampoana and Mandromodromotra [the two municipalities hosting the mining site] in the implementation of the management plan of Mandena, as foreseen in the DINA [traditional legal agreement] implemented since 2002. They will thereby benefit from the positive effects of this plan: The participation in HIMO [unskilled manual work for cash] work, in income generating activities, etc. However, the idea of monetary compensation was not accepted [...]

The mutual agreement, reached at the "socio community" level, materialised today and tomorrow through traditional ceremonies. These ceremonies, which are commonly called TAHA in the antanosy tradition, are a sort of reconciliation rite between parties which have experienced disagreements. QMM, in its approach, works as closely as possible with its hosts in the mutual respect of not only the law but of traditional customs [...]

After the speeches came the giving of "tso-drano" [ancestral blessings] and zebus between QMM, the mayors of the three communes and the groups of traditional land users represented at the ceremony [...] thereby ending the disagreements over the use of the mining perimeter.

Local people's varied interpretations of this event will be discussed in chapter 3. The corporation's above statement is an example of ongoing corporate efforts of "translation" from failure to success of their social engagement policies which the thesis further analyses in chapters 5-6.

Introduction: Thesis context and justification

This thesis explores struggles over land and natural resources in the context of multinational resource extraction justified through corporate socio-environmental responsibility programmes. The study thereby explores the new frontiers of land and resource access generated in the context of a growing global demand for natural resources. This situation has been labeled a neo-colonial “land grab” (Borras Jr. et al. 2011; White et al. 2012) in a “new scramble for Africa” (Carmody 2011; Dzingirai 2003). As part of this global trend, natural resource rich developing countries are attracting a new nexus of resource extraction, nature conservation and social improvement programmes led by multinational extractive corporations (Fairhead et al. 2012; Li 2007b; Sullivan 2009). In this context, there is a need for further analyses of the new mechanisms of socio-environmental inclusion and exclusion generated by the rapidly growing phenomenon of large scale corporate land and resource access in Africa (Borras Jr. et al. 2011). Along these lines, the thesis examines the complex socio-environmental effects of international mining corporations becoming conservation and development actors in order to justify land and resource access.

The Rio Tinto ilmenite mine in south eastern Madagascar represents the first of the two biggest multinational mining ventures in Madagascar’s history. It thereby sets a precedent for natural resource management in the context of an increasing national reliance on export-oriented extraction of non-renewable resources (cf. Randrianja 2012). The thesis explores struggles over land and resources generated by this mining project and its explicit and ambitious conservation and development programmes. Through a focus on local actors and their experiences I illustrate how existing inequalities are both maintained and extended as new rights and responsibilities are engendered as the corporate form reinvents itself through corporate social responsibility.

The thesis argues that new alliances between private sector actors and the state, part of the global trend towards “inclusive neoliberalism”, play a key role in furthering new forms of private sector captures of land, resources and people. Such new alliances entail new regimes of rights and responsibilities near sites of corporate extraction,

based on worthy local “stakeholder” responsible for their own development through active participation in new, market-oriented income-generating activities and community-based conservation. This creates new forms of socio-environmental exclusion as some people are better able to access new resource channels based on commodified nature, whereas others, unable to place themselves as worthy corporate stakeholders, also find their existing land and resource use becoming criminalized, leading to experiences of being doubly excluded: First, from land and resources and second, from new, market-based income streams intended to compensate for corporate socio-environmental impacts.

However, while accounting for the power of “inclusive neoliberalism” to justify corporate capture of land, resources and people, the thesis argues that we must also account for the gap between the discursive hegemony of neoliberal corporate projects and the vulnerability which appears when such discourses are translated to specific programmes and places. This helps to understand the possibilities for local contestation in spite of apparent corporate hegemony. By accounting for the practices of corporate staff and the need for ongoing efforts of mobilization and enrolment into ambitious corporate projects of socio-environmental engineering, the risk of corporate failure and subsequent efforts of translating “failure” into “success” becomes visible. This shifts the analytical focus from discourse analysis of seemingly hegemonic projects of rule to the possibilities for autonomy and micro-political contestation.

This thesis thereby investigates the neoliberal ideological hegemony which underpins the new nexus of resource extraction, conservation and social improvement initiatives, and complements this by accounting for the complexity of actors and contingent encounters such initiatives generate. I show how corporate projects of rule over land, resource and people based on expert-led regimes of knowledge about people and nature are made vulnerable to contestation in the encounter with local people and places who may not behave according to hegemonic representations of the world. As local realities influence corporate programmes, occasionally making alternative representations of the world possible, corporate projects are thwarted and reworked.

Thesis outline

The thesis is separated into nine chapters. The first chapter presents the theoretical debates within which the thesis is situated. I briefly summarize three key debates on which the thesis draws and to which it also contributes new knowledge: First, Foucauldian theories of governmentality and neoliberalism, with a focus on CSR-framed reinventions of the corporate form. Second, actor-oriented theories within the anthropology of development, focusing on the new subjectivities and forms of social inclusion and exclusion generated by corporate-led development encounters. Third, the neoliberalisation of environmentalism and how this has led to “green” land and resource grabbing by corporations reinventing themselves as conservation bodies.

The second chapter presents the methods and research ethics on which the thesis is based. I discuss the methodological challenges of analyzing people’s multiple experiences near sites of resource struggles. I also account for the ethical challenges of fieldwork in sites of research fatigue, illiteracy and abject poverty, and how ethnographic research can be made to benefit both researcher and research participants. In this context, I refer to the need for researchers to consider who benefits from academic knowledge co-produced with marginalized people, and to engage with publics beyond academia.

Chapter 3 introduces the field site in Madagascar and key informant groups, and gives an overview of the regional history. Drawing on the thesis’ opening vignette of the cattle sacrifice on the mining road, I discuss how a multinational mining project brings together multiple actor groups in struggles over land and natural resource access. I show how in order to understand local understandings of and reactions to corporate resource capture and community-based compensation programmes, we must take into account an array of historical socio-environmental interventions already layered into society and landscape near the mining zone.

Chapter 4 explores how a new nexus of resource extraction and conservation has come to influence access to natural resources near the QMM mining site in Fort

Dauphin. I explore how narratives about local culture and nature underpinning corporate socio-environmental impact assessments and mitigation programmes were linking multinational mineral extraction and nature conservation programmes, serving to justify corporate access to natural resources.

The fifth chapter discusses the politics of becoming a mining project stakeholder and beneficiary in the context of disputes over the environmental impacts of mining. I analyse actors who specialize in the acquisition, control and redistribution of development “revenue”, and the social spaces that develop between funders and recipients. I also show how this creates new forms of socio-environmental differentiation. Those better able to become corporate intermediaries and project participants benefit from new resource flows from corporate commodification of land and nature, whereas those who are unable to participate in these new flows of resources, rights and responsibilities experience “double exclusion” as local land and resources are no longer accessible, and their livelihood practices have also become illegal.

Chapter 6 analyses Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as a global project of rule over distant people and place. It demonstrates how apparently inevitable multinational extractive projects justified through references to CSR need to be ethnographically accounted for via actor-led strategies and contingent encounters. I analyse how the shift from global to local entails “practices of assemblage”. The chapter investigates these practices through contingent encounters at a shareholder meeting in London and as knowledge creation by corporate social anthropologists. I argue that CSR represents a new form of knowledge making as well as a strategy of neoliberal rule over distant, unruly people and places.

Chapter 7 provides an ethnographic exploration of the ongoing efforts by actors working for global extractive industries of negotiating governable spaces for resource extraction, community development and nature conservation. The chapter thereby accounts for the contingent practices of translating global ideologies into locally specific programmes. Such efforts include the “assemblage” of CSR ideologies and

available resources into viable programmes and the enrolment of various groups of people as project supporters and participants in the context of contingent encounters and struggles where outcomes are never certain.

In chapter 8, I analyse the social effects of development and conservation programmes implemented in the context of corporate resource extraction and nature conservation. I argue that new spatialities generated by the commodification of nature into value as “biodiversity”, thereby separating it from the social, entailed the dispossession of marginal people who failed to qualify as local “community” members entitled to new, mining-related economic and natural resources. I account for the new forms of citizenship, land and resource access rights that were generated by this new nexus of natural resource extraction and conservation near the mining site.

Finally, chapter 9 explores the perspectives of local and international mining-related campaigning bodies, through the lens of an oral testimony project led by a UK-based and locally based NGO. I argue such forms of global resistance to corporate rule paradoxically relied on similar technologies of rule over local people, by turning them into objects of information rather than subjects of representation. This was because in order to be heard on the global arena, the familiar languages of the powerful have to be used. I account for the complex local experiences of participating in this project, and how “productive misunderstandings” between global campaigners and local participants were necessary moments of furthering new social action.

Chapter 1: Theorizing neoliberal development and resource extraction

Introduction

The thesis addresses the following questions: How are mineral extraction, nature conservation and social improvement programmes led by a multinational mining corporation experienced in south eastern Madagascar? What are the socio-environmental effects of corporate responsibility programmes? Do rapid changes in land and natural resource access generate new forms of socio-environmental inclusion and exclusion?

In order to address these questions, the thesis engages with three broad academic debates. First, the anthropology of neoliberal development encounters and interfaces. I here situate the thesis within the ethnography of international development projects as part of the socio-economic ideology of “inclusive neoliberalism”. This approach helps account for the reinvention of the corporate form in terms of “Corporate Social Responsibility” (CSR). The thesis here draws on literature about neoliberal development how this governmental model entails new alliances between private sector actors and the state which justify increasing corporate capture of land, resources and people. The thesis thereby adds new insights into the new regimes of rights and responsibilities that appear through corporate technologies of rule, creating differentiated citizenship as some subjects are afforded rights and resources where others are neglected and fall behind.

Second, building on discussions about power and agency that stem from the above academic discussion, the thesis contributes to the analysis of autonomy and contestation in situations of apparent hegemony. I here draw on the actor-oriented approach within the anthropology of development, focusing on the appearance of new social interfaces and development “brokers and translators” which stems from neoliberal, community-based strategies of government. I thereby investigate the new social groups, identities and life strategies that ensue from corporate technologies of rule, and how this opens up for resistance and contestation as well as participation and

compliance. The thesis here adds new insights into how people operate and strategize within new regimes of rights and responsibilities linked to the ability to perform as worthy corporate stakeholder and community representative, including the new types of social differentiation that ensue.

Third, the thesis focuses on issues of global resource struggles and neoliberal conservation, and how such tendencies are articulated and experienced by people living near sites of extraction and conservation in Madagascar. I here draw on literature within the field of political ecology which focuses on the technologies of rule that have been labeled “green neoliberalism” and their deployment in environmentally rich developing countries. This analytic approach helps to account for the socio-environmental effects of neoliberal development projects on local subjectivities, bodies and nature, and the linkages between environmental commodification and new forms of social differentiation and exclusion.

Neoliberalism and the new, “responsible” corporate form

The thesis draws on and adds new insights to social scientific theories about neoliberalism. This analytic approach helps account for corporate capture of land, natural resources and people justified through new forms of knowledge creation about local people and nature, and. I will first account briefly for some of the main concepts within this academic tradition.

The thesis makes use of Foucault’s influential analytic notions of power and knowledge as being mutually constituted through dominant discourses, understood as a power of definition which excludes alternative realities (Foucault 1982). In this context, I make use of the concept of “governmentality”, defined as “the way in which one conducts the conduct of men”, which represents an analytical framework for understanding societal relations of power (Foucault 2008 [2004]: 186). This approach entails accounting for governmental power as productive of new forms of personhood rather than as merely constraining. In this context, neoliberal economic theory which

appeared in the first half of the 20th century is analysed as a new form of government focused on the objective of generating new subjectivities and bodies which contribute to the optimal functioning of the market (Foucault 2008 [2004]). This has important consequences in terms of what constitutes a legal form of government.

Since neoliberal governmentality is based on economic notions of efficiency and scientifically-determined optimal outcomes, the production of truth becomes an essential activity of government. This entails a governmental action which is based on either success or failure according to expert-based definitions rather than legitimacy or illegitimacy (Foucault 2008 [2004]: 16). In this context, the market is what must ultimately be produced in government, and this entails not “laissez-faire”, but permanent vigilance, activity, and intervention (ibid: 117; 132).

Neoliberal constellations of power thereby do not entail a reduction of the state, but rather a fractioning of state responsibility and accountability into a plethora of new institutions, where “the market” is constructed as site of optimal management of people and nature (Foucault 2009 [2004]). This represents a shift in political theory from a focus on natural public rights that exist prior to the exercise of governmentality to the naturalness of the practice of government itself (Foucault 2008 [2004]: 15). It also entails the redefinition of institutions of justice as regulating in order to facilitate the competitive market economy (Foucault 2008 [2004]: 160).

Neoliberalism thereby represents a dominant economic doctrine with particular ideological presumptions about the rational individual, the market and the optimal society in what has been termed the hegemonic mode of discourse of our times, concentrating power and wealth in elite groups around the world (Harvey 2005: 3; Saad-Filho & Johnston 2005: 1). This involves the systematic use of state power to impose financial market imperatives, based on presumption that markets are socially optimal and self-regulating social structures (Saad-Filho & Johnston 2005; Shaikh 2005: 41). Neoliberal governmentality also involves a shift from governing through “society” of the welfare state model to governing through the regulated choices of individual citizens, now constructed as subjects of choices and aspirations to self-

actualization and self-fulfillment (Foucault 2008 [2004]; Rose 1996: 41). This involves multiple efforts of “translation”, rather than direct enforcement, of political programmes articulated in general terms, such as efficiency, democracy, development and economic growth, into ways of seeking to exercise authority over persons, places and activities in specific and possibly distant sites of intervention (Rose 1996: 43).

The analysis of corporate encounters thereby entails a focus on power relations that are rooted in specific social practice and history rather than existing "above" society as a supplementary structure (cf. Foucault 1982: 208). Power relations framing corporate programmes are here conceived of as both intentional and non-subjective (Foucault 1998 [1976]: 94-95). Even though corporate strategies have calculated objectives of justifying capture of land, resources and people, they have not been explicitly designed for this purpose, but represent anonymous strategies carried out by people who themselves may be “without hypocrisy” about their intentions (ibid.). This makes it necessary to analyse corporate strategies of explicit socio-environmental “responsibility” both as representing a discursive framing of reality and as a specific, historically situated practice of government which may engender multiple reactions.

In terms origins and definitions of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), the concept became popular during the 1990s as a response by the private sector to public pressure for making what had become the most powerful global institution, the corporation, “more responsive to human needs” (Cheney et al. 2007: 3). Exact definitions of CSR are lacking, with the term being contested and shifting (Blowfield and Frynas 2005: 503). However, definitions usually focus on the addition of social and environmental concerns onto the traditional corporate objective of maximising shareholder value through profit-making, thereby creating a “triple bottom line” to guide corporate operations (McIntosh 2007). CSR has been termed a radical reinterpretation of the role of private business, backed by global frameworks such as the UN’s “Global Compact” of corporations voluntarily aspiring to follow certain global corporate standards, with the World Bank having coined a definition widely used in international development contexts:

The commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve their quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development (Lodge and Wilson 2006: 73).

The promise of CSR is thereby nothing less than to civilize corporate behaviour so that there is an alignment between capitalism and social progress (McIntosh 2007: 48).

In this context, the thesis analyses Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) as part of the history of neoliberal governmentality based on presumed universal laws of “society” and “the economy” to be governed at a distance (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]: 354; Rose 1996). The thesis discusses how “rule” through CSR is based on proactive corporate knowledge creation about people and nature as static and manageable categories of “stakeholders” and “biodiversity”. This explains why CSR policies and programmes are based on the development of regimes of knowledge which predicate a presumed ideal state of population as economically rational individuals and of nature as stable and quantifiable biodiversity. I relate this to how the objective of corporate “governmentality” is to make these supposedly “natural” processes work (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]: 350). This is further analysed in chapter 4, where I focus on the Rio Tinto mining corporation’s CSR policies and programmes.

As part of an outline of a “genealogy”¹ of the rise of CSR as a neoliberal technology of rule justifying corporate capture of land, resources and people, I will here refer to analyses about the shift to “inclusive” neoliberalism. This has been defined as a social project which represents a reaction to the “roll-back neoliberalism” of the 1980s which had been characterized by processes of deregulation, the de-legitimation of welfare institutions and the foregrounding of markets and the individual as self-organizing entities capable of achieving a good society (Peck & Tickell 2002). In the

¹ A genealogy is a historical examination of practices, events, and histories which have established certain forms of dominant discourses (Foucault 1979).

early 1990s, due to the negative economic and social consequences of narrowly market-centric reforms, neoliberalism was reconstituted towards socially interventionist solutions which have been termed “inclusive neoliberalism” (Craig & Porter 2006). This entails new modes of social policymaking, concerned specifically with the “reregulation, disciplining, and containment” of those marginalized or dispossessed by neoliberalism as practiced in the 1980s (cf. Li 2010; Peck & Tickell 2002: 389).

Inclusive neoliberalism thereby entails the spreading of new forms of institutional structures, based on technocratic economic management and increasingly invasive socio-environmental policies. This includes international development policies based on order and surveillance schemes encouraging the development of self-contained local “communities” in poor countries eager and able to participate in the global market place (Craig & Porter 2006; Mosse & Lewis 2006; Peck & Tickell 2002: 389). This also involved a new focus on “partnerships” with private actors for service delivery which aimed to develop educated and engaged citizens able to partake in market opportunities, and a focus on the decentralised governance through “community” as the site where these citizens interact and hold the government to account (cf. Li 2006).

It is easy to draw parallels between “inclusive neoliberalism” and the development and ideology of CSR, with the rise of CSR as corporate discourse in the 1990s corresponding with this shift (cf. Sharp 2006). Garvey and Newell (2005: 390) argue that there has been a general shift away from the regulatory role of the state that characterized approaches to social and environmental regulation of multinational corporations during the 1970s and 1980s, towards informal, voluntary and corporate self-regulation, with CSR representing a part of this shift. This, they argue, has been supported by international donors, as well as a growing number of NGOs, who increasingly portray multinationals as partners in delivering “sustainable development”, with CSR a vehicle for this trend. This reinvention of the corporate form represents an example of Polanyi’s (2001 [1944]) notion of the “double movement” whereby the negative impacts of markets are curbed through mechanisms

such as CSR. This modification of capitalism thereby permits its maintenance and extension into new areas despite the growth over the last two decades of global anti-capitalist movements.

Rather than to halt the process of unequal accumulation and displacement resulting from capitalism, new forms of “inclusive” governmental rationality such as CSR have only sought to counterbalance its more negative effects (Li 2003: 5121). This has resulted in ongoing management and adjustment, so that allegedly “idle” populations are set to work, revolutions averted, and resources optimally deployed (ibid.). In this light, CSR represents a turn towards selective appropriation of “community” and the mobilizing of local “voluntary associations” in the service of neoliberal goals (Peck & Tickell 2002: 390). As Hickey (2010: 1141-1142) argues, inclusive neoliberalism accords individuals a right to be included in a way that market-focused neo-liberalism does not, but it is a right filled with moral and social obligations. The thesis discusses how such new forms of rights and responsibilities ideologies and techniques were at the heart of the CSR programmes implemented in my field site.

In this context, the thesis discusses how citizenship has become limited to participation in projects, rather than to engage in politics, and the right to have targeted subsidies, not the “right to have rights” (Hickey 2010, citing Arendt). Sharp (2006: 217) similarly argues that CSR involves a new form of entitlement to development services based on being a “stakeholder,” i.e. a member of a host community to corporate operations, with entitlement stemming from corporate operational impacts. I argue that this represents a new form of contractual morality with citizenship rights depending on being “seen” by the corporation (cf. Corbridge et al. 2005).

Along these lines, Rajak (2005; 2008; 2012) has explored how distinctly neoliberal ideologies underpin CSR-programmes of multinational mining corporations on the South African platinum belt, and how this serves to depoliticize structural issues of poverty and social exclusion. These CSR-programmes strategically encourage communities of poor people to take responsibility for their own improvement by

engaging with markets, to learn how to conduct themselves in competitive arena, and to make appropriate choices (cf. Li 2007).

There have been recent calls for new anthropological research analyzing the corporate form and how it generates novel types of social organization (Welker et al. 2011).

This includes both the material and symbolic power of corporations over human and environmental life, how counter-movements to capitalism are reshaping the corporate actions, and the contested internal nature of corporations. As for the anthropological study of the corporate form, Nash (1979) in a seminal ethnographic study of mining in Bolivia called for studies of the multinational corporation that would include corporate personnel and cover different regional scales. However, the political economy approaches that developed since have mostly focused on “exploited subalterns”, a category that suited the political agenda of certain anthropologists (Welker et al. 2011). A more nuanced anthropology of the corporate forms can maintain the relevance of the discipline as a study of global change (ibid.).

Additionally, the influence of large corporations over politics, resources and public meanings, requires a questioning of the tendency to treat corporate power as inevitable and inexorable, which has been termed the “politics of resignation” (Benson & Kirsch 2010).

Within this perspective, the thesis ethnographically scrutinizes the increasing tendency of extractive industries to reinvent themselves as socio-environmentally “responsible” actors. Ethnographic studies of the extractive industries operating in African postcolonial contexts have explored their particular violence (Crush 1992; Ferguson 1999; Ferguson 2005). However, other studies (Hamann 2003; Hilson & Mohammed 2009; Rajak 2008; Rajak 2012) have focused on their new corporate responsibility agenda as an articulation of global neoliberalism creating new subjectivities and forms of exclusion. This thesis adds to this growing corpus of CSR literature, focusing on the unpredictable nature of the encounters and realities generated by the new “responsible” corporation.

In particular, my research engages with the studies of Kapelus (2002) and Rajak (2006, 2008), who both analyse the ideological underpinnings of CSR programmes led by multinational mining companies in South Africa. By focusing on the concept of “community” as a prominent category in the new CSR discourse, Kapelus (2002: 279-280) describes how this results in a “depoliticizing” of the social field of contested access to land and resources in the context of mineral extraction in South Africa. Rajak analyses the CSR policies of multinational mining corporation Anglo American, and the experiences and analyses of CSR staff both in London and on South Africa’s platinum mining belt. She explores how new forms of corporate moral authority are accumulated, authenticated and exercised through ethical regimes of CSR, based on a neoliberal social model of building the capacity of “stakeholders” to participate in the “market”. These concepts are also reflected in my analysis, although I nuance such ideological analysis with a focus on local people’s strategic responses and occasional possibilities for resistance despite dominating corporate “rule”.

This thesis thereby adds an aspect which seems to be missing from both Kapelus’ and Rajak’s analyses, namely the importance of the local historical and social context in shaping how CSR-regimes are implemented. By focusing on the perspectives of the “beneficiaries”, I illustrate the gap between official discourse and the messy reality of everyday encounters and historical social struggles which are inevitably framing the implementation of corporate plans (cf. Moore 2000). As Li (1999: 298) points out, discursive formations by powerful players, while stable on paper and in text, are fragile in the practice of specific development encounters.

The practice of corporate encounters: development brokers and translators

In the 1980s and 1990s, Foucault's concepts were increasingly used to analyse international development. Scholars focused on the links between power and knowledge in development, deconstructing the notion of an independent rationality by focusing on how the parameters for valid representations of the social order always favour the powerful. Key authors in this tradition include Escobar (1984, 1995) whose influential analysis entitled "encountering development" focuses on development as an extension of a uniform and all-encompassing Western capitalist ideology to the rest of the world. Similarly analysing development's structuring power, Ferguson (1990) conceives of development as an "anti-politics machine" whose actual goal is to strengthen centralized state power. Sachs (1992) deconstructs key development concepts and their capitalist basis, and Hobart (1993) with the notion of "the growth of ignorance" emphasizes how development policy is intrinsically based on ignorance of complex realities on the ground.

However, more recent analyses of neoliberal development encounters have pointed to the limits of analyzing development merely as unilateral power discourses. Watts (2003) points out that in the context of resource wars in Nigeria, both governable and manifestly ungovernable spaces appear in what he terms "economies of violence", generated by the "evil twins" of authoritarian governmentality and petro-capitalism. This denies any uniform pattern to the creation of governable spaces as a necessary outcome of neoliberal governmentality projects led by extractive industries.

As an alternative approach, drawing on actor-oriented analysis, Li (1999: 295) emphasises how the accomplishment of development conceived of as a strategy of government is as much based on the solutions worked out "in the contingent and compromised space of cultural intimacy" as on the imposition of development schemes and disciplinary power. As a methodological alternative, Li proposes the analysis of the rationale of official governmental schemes and the study of "social history" as two different, but complementary exercises, which need to be brought into

dialogue, in the study of the intersection of governmental programmes with the world they seek to transform (Li 2007: 27).

An actor-oriented approach helps to highlight a new category of actors in postcolonial Africa created by the implementation of neoliberal development programmes: The intermediaries between international development agencies and local recipient communities, or *courtiers* (brokers) of development (Bierschenk et al. 2000). These brokers act as links between global financial flows and local villages, channeling and capturing resources, and influencing project implementation in the multiple new social arenas of neoliberal development projects. Adding the notion of “translation” in the making of these new social interfaces, Mosse and Lewis (2006) focus on the social production of meaning within these global to local encounters. The interface between international agency and local people is analysed as a space filled with constant strategies and negotiation, leading to new forms of socio-environmental inclusion and exclusion.

In the context of struggles over land and resources such as those analysed in this thesis, a focus on individual actor strategies helps to reveal the on-going effort of bringing together disparate elements of structuring ideologies, institutions, forms of expertise and social groups whose deficiencies need to be corrected, or what Li (2007b) terms “practice of assemblage”. The thesis thereby focuses on the constant efforts by multiple actors to bring together into meaningful orders the disparate elements of natural resources and multiple groups of actors seeking land and resource access rights. Although such actor-oriented approaches have been criticised for neglecting broader issues of power and structure, they help to explain “differential responses to similar structural circumstances” (Long 2001: 13). As Foucault (1998 [1976]: 100) points out, when analyzing power, we must also account for the multiplicity of discursive elements that come to play in various actor strategies.

When linking global structuring discourses of CSR to local sites of resource conflict, the thesis uses the notion of “translation” as a way of examining the production and protection of unified fields within development (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 14). This is

especially relevant when analyzing the corporation's social and environmental team and their ongoing efforts to identify, mobilize and enroll local "stakeholders". The thesis shows how corporate staff was constantly engaged in producing the appearance of congruence between problems and interventions, creating the coherence of policy logic, and using the authority of expertise (cf. Mitchell 2002). The thesis thereby shows how multiple and heterogeneous actors in sites of resource conflicts are constantly engaging in creating order through political "acts of composition" (cf. Latour 2000): The "translation" of heterogeneous entities of people, ideas, interests, events, and objects into the material and conceptual order of a successful corporate project (Li 2003; Mosse 2005).

The thesis thereby adds insights into how the coherence of corporate socio-environmental programmes was not a matter of design or policy, but of the active strategies of corporate staff in the encounter with elusive local people who did not automatically fit into official categories of "stakeholders" and "communities". I show how complex local realities were stabilized only when actors actively engaged in strategic representations of these realities, which they did through a process of "translation". Such efforts of translation were based on the negotiation of common meanings and definitions and the mutual enrolment and cooptation into individual and collective objectives and activities (Li 2003). The thesis uses as an example the corporation's "Integrated Development Programme", which corporate staff developed during my fieldwork in response to the failure of the corporation to mobilize and enroll local people, resulting in both the lack of participation in new socio-environmental programs and also direct protests such as roadblocks. I show how this CSR-programme, which was due to corporate failure to mobilise "stakeholders" and to direct confrontations with local people was "translated" in corporate discourses and literature into a well-planned success.

The thesis thereby shows how global policy models become transformed locally as those who participate in their formulation and implementation, such as corporate staff, local community members, and government officials, "make them part of their own social and political trajectories" (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 15). Global policy discourses

are thereby influenced and occasionally thwarted by their translation into the different logic of the intentions, goals, and ambitions of the many people and institutions they bring together, and who lend them solidity and the appearance of consensus (Mosse 2005: 232).. The particular places and actors which make these global discourses operational, such as the opening of a multinational subsidiary at a mineral rich site of endemic forest and marginalized local farmers and fishers, may thereby also provide the context for a “plurality of resistances”, each made possible within a particular historic field of power relations (Foucault 1998 [1976]: 96).

My analysis of CSR-framed encounters also reveals how actors tend to defer to dominant or official narratives of agency and history that work to reinstate policy ambitions and to conceal divergent and contradictory logics of practice (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 16). In this context, the thesis shows how global ideologies of power, such as that of capitalist multinational resource extraction, are assisted by dominant global development narratives which presented the Madagascar mining project as the only solution to solve local poverty and environmental degradation.

The “brokers” linked to the mining project were corporate project managers, fieldworkers, and community leaders. The thesis shows how these people adapted the meanings of corporate CSR policies into the different institutional languages of their publics in order to create interest and make reality solid, thereby resisting the ever-present threat of failure due to non-participation and resistance (cf. Mosse 2005: 9). For village-based brokers, the efforts concerned both being recognized by the corporation as stakeholders and beneficiaries, and capturing resources such as projects and compensation money. As such, the thesis discusses how local brokers were dealing in people and information, not only for profit in terms of financial reward, but also more broadly in the maintenance of coherent representations of social realities and in the shaping of their own social identities (Mosse & Lewis 2006).

Extraction for conservation: Political ecology and “green grabbing”

The new role of the corporation as previously analysed is evolving alongside environmental advocacy and new forms of resource management influencing social interaction in the vicinity of mining projects (Welker 2009). In a context where mining and nature conservation have come to represent a new nexus of commodification and dispossession in the name of biodiversity conservation and capitalist accumulation, my thesis contributes to discussions within the domain of “political ecology”. This involves the study of how powerful ideologies and institutions are framed by, and in turn influence, what notions of the environment are considered as valid, and how this determines access to rights and resources. The term “political ecology”, coined by the anthropologist Eric Wolf in the 1970s, aims to conceptualize the relations between the political economy and ecology, analysing the social relations of production and questions of access and control over resources (Paulson et al. 2005: 17).

Within this tradition, which draws on the previously defined theories of Foucault, this thesis contributes to the study of how power relations mediate human-environmental interactions. Questioning the concept of “nature” as independent of human conception many scholars have shown how this problematic concept is strategically deployed in order to justify neoliberal resource extraction (Biersack 2006: 3-4; Escobar 1999). Specifically, through the pricing of nature as “service provider”, extractive corporations are able to “offset” the environmental degradation they cause through conservation zones paid for by the same corporation (Sullivan 2009: 21), with Rio Tinto mining corporation exploring options to generate marketable ecosystem services on land it “owns or manages” in partnership with global conservation body IUCN (ibid.).

Such corporate capture of land and resources in the name of environmental conservation has been named “green grabbing” (Fairhead et al. 2012). This may involve complete alienation of land, or changes in rules and authority in the access, use and management of natural resources that may have profoundly alienating effects

(ibid.). As this thesis discusses, both of these aspects of “green grabbing” were present near the mining project as part of its double ambition of extraction and conservation. The thesis also adds new insights into how “green grabbing” involves numerous new actors and unlikely alliances engaged in novel forms of valuation, commodification and markets for aspects of nature (cf. Fairhead et al. 2012).

In terms of accounting for these new actors, the thesis refers to authors who have applied Foucauldian theories of governmentality to the environmental field. Luke (1999: 150) argues that an “ecological domain” has become a central location for new forms of knowledge-production which engender certain formations of power, which he terms “environmentality” and “ecogovernmentality”. This transformation is located in a specific historical moment: The early 1970s, when the oil crisis and the détente between the US and the Soviet bloc opened up for environmental considerations. This was strengthened in the 1980s by the formation of international institutions such as the UN World Commission on Environment and Development, as well as general concerns over ecological limits to economic growth (ibid.).

Luke (1999) argues the rise of “sustainable development” as influential discourse is a result of the two interrelated concerns of the negative impacts of environmental degradation and the increased importance of macro-economic competition in geo-political power struggles. This represents the expansion of the object of governmental rule, with the focus on “population” of neoliberal rule highlighted by Foucault expanded to include “all of life’s biodiversity”, which due to the interconnected nature of environmental systems justify state control beyond their territorial boundaries to ensure the security and productivity of their population (Luke 1999: 122; 134). This shift is helpful in the account of transnational discourses of CSR which justify the new nexus of corporate resource extraction and conservation analysed in this thesis.

Applying this notion of “environmentality” to colonial and post-colonial interventions, Agrawal (2005b) demonstrates the making of “green” subjects in rural India through a historical exploration of changing relations between central and local government and local people. He illustrates how ordinary rural people have experienced these

historical shifts and how local subjectivities have changed, in a combination of strategic adaptations to governmental interventions and as more profound changes in perceived values and life trajectories. This thesis similarly discusses local experiences of shifts in resource management regimes led by powerful outsiders and the varied local strategic reaction to these interventions, focusing in particular on the new types of socio-environmental differentiation they engender.

Similarly to Agrawal, Hanson (2007) applies the notion of “governmentality” to development-related conservation, focusing on Madagascar. Hanson argues that the green neoliberal project led by powerful foreign agencies in Madagascar represents a governmental strategy of “green interiorization and normalization” which aim to make “resource-based peoples” into “disciplined environmental subjects.” This is based on a “technology of need” with constituent linguistic techniques through statements of need, their interpretation, and the subsequent formation of programs related to them. According to Hanson, the explicit governmental aim is to render people involved in “non-sustainable” production in the region such as swidden farming accountable and responsible for their “damage” to the forest and the land. This is based on a complex of institutions, discourses and practices that facilitate the objectification and commodification of nature’s values into “natural capital.” The emphasis is on the exchange values in nature and the education of forest residents as individually responsible for their actions in terms of their impact on biodiversity conservation. As my thesis demonstrates, such “technologies of need” of local stakeholders are strongly reflected in the mining corporation’s CSR-literature. However, adding to this debate, I argue that the accomplishment of such technologies of rule is not given from the onset.

In this context, my thesis also discusses the role of knowledge-creation through corporate impact assessment and CSR-literature in “enframing” local nature and culture as two separate concepts in order to conserve the one and improve the other. My thesis here adds to discussions by Fairhead and Leach (1995; 1996; 1998) of how dominant discourses of deforestation have led to a regime of conservation and development initiatives which empower expatriate conservation and development

experts but marginalize local farmers in sub Saharan Africa. Similarly, Richards' (1996) explorations of resource use in Sierra Leone shows how popular commentators, as well as experts in "development", have linked environmental degradation and population growth with social and political crises, in what he labels a "New Barbarism" view of Africa. Richards counters this view, similarly to Fairhead and Leach, by arguing that environmental change is not necessarily equivalent with environmental degradation. However, in a more synchronic, and perhaps less romantic view of "local" natural resource management, Richard shows the ways in which the societies of Sierra Leone are irrevocably interpenetrated with the rest of the world, culturally and economically. My thesis similarly shows how complex histories of conflicting resource management regimes are layered into the local landscape near the mining site, and that current resource struggles must be understood in this context.

Similarly drawing on foucauldian concepts, in a historical overview of nature conservation discourses, Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010: 389-390) distinguish between different stages. The oldest is the discourse of fortress conservation, excluding local people from sites of "pure" nature (cf. Brockington 2002). This changed during the 1990s, when the conservation debate became dominated by a neoliberal, market-oriented "win-win discourse" (cf. Sullivan 2009) on protected areas, emphasizing local participation in conservation management, and involving notions of benefit-sharing and compensation. Partnerships which increasingly include multinational corporations as well as NGOs have been set up to generate these win-win situations, which claim to generate both environmental conservation and local development. This is part of a growing influence of neoliberal economic policies on conservation over the last two decades (Brockington & Duffy 2010; Corson 2010). As the thesis demonstrates, corporate CSR-programmes can be analysed within the "win-win" discourse, as they similarly emphasize participation and compensation.

The thesis thereby engages with discussions of how extractive industries such as oil and mining companies are proactively engaging with the environmental movement, with international environmental NGOs increasingly working with extractive industries to reformulate and repackage environmental conservation and

“sustainability”, making them central parts of profit-making industries (Sullivan 2010: 2). This includes the assistance with finding “offset” solutions, so that environmentally damaging extractive development in one location can be made up for with investments in environmental conservation in a different location, as biodiversity is conflated with hectares of land transformed into conservation areas (ibid.).

In this context, the thesis discusses how the environmental justification behind the mining project in Madagascar was crucial to its installation. Such neoliberal conservation perspectives are transforming both the private sector and civil society through new partnerships around resource extraction and conservation. The thesis adds to existing discussions about the Rio Tinto mining project in Madagascar, showing how the project is at the forefront of such developments, with several “offset” forest sites and complicated calculations illustrating their “net positive impact” on biodiversity. A recent study of the mining project has analysed the strategic deployment of sustainability tropes in corporate partnerships with international conservation NGOs which facilitate corporate land access through a neoliberal project based on the commodifying of nature into both capitalist profits and “offset” biodiversity (Seagle 2012).

Seagle’s (2012) study also shows how resulting exclusion of current and future generations of local people from their nearby natural resources resulting from Rio Tinto’s offset ventures is bracketed out in corporate sustainability discourses, as potentially productive land and resources are reduced to the static commodity of calculable hectares of biodiversity. My thesis adds to Seagle’s analysis by focusing in more detail on local people’s complex experiences of this situation. I show how those able to strategically perform as corporate stakeholders gaining advantages, whereas others, who were frequently already marginalized, experienced a double form of exclusion: Both from the natural resources on which they had depended and from the new corporate-framed resource channels.

In an analysis of local experiences of “green” land and resource capture, Walsh (2005: 656), in an ethnography of “ecological underprivilege” in northern Madagascar, calls

for a distinction between “ethnoecologies”, or unique, culturally grounded perspectives on the environment that do not necessarily correspond to those of foreign conservationists, and local “political ecologies” – that is, marginalised Malagasy understandings of the complex workings of power that ensure that most rural people are, as Walsh’s informants put it, “left behind” in spite of living and working in a natural resource-rich region. Such “political ecologies of the poor”, which emerge under specific political, economic, historical, and ecological circumstances, are worthy of greater attention, and show how political ecology is not a singular field of academic debate, but relates to multiple struggles and conflicting rationalities (Walsh 2005: 656). In line with this perspective, the thesis accounts for the local “political ecologies” of land access, poverty and environmental conservation as experienced near the site of mining-related conservation and development projects in Madagascar.

My field site can thereby be analysed in terms of what Tsing (2005: 32) terms a “salvage frontier,” where making, saving and destroying resources are utterly mixed up, as zones of conservation, production, and resource extraction overlap almost fully. In this context, accountability for public services, including natural resource management, also becomes unclear as roles and responsibilities shift between a multinational corporation and various state agencies. I discuss such new, complex forms of spatiality, focusing on the new forms of exclusion from land and natural resources and inclusion into a capitalist system of commodified nature that they generated.

Chapter 2: Methodology and ethics

Research and fieldwork context

The thesis consists of an ethnographic study of encounters generated by a multinational mining project in the Anosy Region of south eastern Madagascar. The mining project was owned by Anglo-Australian corporation Rio Tinto via subsidiary QMM. Maps of the Anosy region and Rio Tinto/QMM mining site are found in Annex 1. A map of key fieldwork villages near the new mining and conservation zone of Mandena, which also shows the multiple claims to land in the area discussed in chapters 3 and 6, is found in Annex 2.

My choice of research topic was based on my prior knowledge of development and environment issues and actors in Madagascar from my work with UNDP Madagascar from 2004 to 2006. During this period I had visited the future mining town of Fort Dauphin, where UNDP was establishing a centre for vocational training in order to benefit from expected mining-related growth in the area, and was struck by the many different perspectives on the mining project.

When I returned to the area as a research student, my existing networks from the UN system, local media outlets and NGO, helped to introduce me to relevant governmental and corporate persons. This greatly facilitated access to powerful institutions and people. In addition, research links which I established with the University of Antananarivo and University of Toliara in order to benefit from academic guidance and share research results put me in touch with students from the Anosy region. This included Lôlô, a Master's student originating from the Anosy Region, who in addition to becoming my language teacher in the *Tanosy* dialect also became my main field collaborator. Lôlô's extended family networks in the rural sites near the mining project greatly helped me with accessing ordinary people near the new mining and conservation zone. These multiple networks formed a basis for identifying key informant groups, and inevitably shaped the scope and angle of my research.

The main part of field based data collection took place from September 2008 to September 2009, with additional information gathered over the following year both in Madagascar and in the UK. My fieldwork was based in the capital of the Anosy Region, officially called Tolagnaro, but usually known by the colonial name of Fort Dauphin. From this base I spent a year with families in rural and peri-urban areas near the mining site, focusing on areas directly impacted by mining operations and conservation areas. I also traced the mining project's socio-environmental policies from south east Madagascar to corporate headquarters in London, participating in the corporation's Annual General Meeting in 2009.

Methodology

An essential part of my research methodology rested on capturing viewpoints from both powerful and marginalized groups which were in some way connected to the mining project, in order to capture the varied discourses and experiences it generated. Data gathering methods thereby rested on a combination of approaches. First, desk-based literature reviews about the mining project, the rise of CSR as major corporate discourse, and archival research on historical sources focusing on the Anosy Region of Madagascar. Second, semi-structured interviews with informants comfortable with such a format. This included government officials and mining corporation and NGO staff, both in Madagascar and in the UK. Third, less formal methods when gathering information from people with little or no formal education living near the mining and conservation site.

The methodological starting point for field research was thereby that of “multi-sited ethnography”, where research is designed around “juxtapositions of locations” as the ethnographer establishes her presence through an explicit, posited “logic of association or connection among sites” which defines the argument of the ethnography (Marcus 1995: 105). This approach rejects a pre-existing social structure or field to be uncovered by the social scientist and focuses on acts of composition,

assembly and translation into orderly discourses by specific, situated actors as constitutive of the social order (Latour 2005). This approach involved strategies of following connections, associations, and contingent relationships, with the selection of sites of investigation emerging inseparably from the way that the problem of investigation and then writing is conceived of (cf. Marcus 1995: 97, 99).

My methodology was also based on Latour's (2005) focus on individual actors, their perspectives and linkages including the constitutive role of the natural world. As such, my analysis takes into account how all actors, and not just social analysts, produce interpretations. I here added a focus on differentiated power, focusing on how dominant actors such as corporate project managers offer scripts into which others can be recruited, such as claims of poverty reduction through people's participation in income-generating projects. This helped me account for how powerful groups are more successful in transforming the world "in conformity with their perspectives on the world" (Latour 1996: 194-195). This methodological approach helped to focus on unequal capacity to strategically represent the world near sites of resource struggles.

I thereby accounted for CSR-related projects, similarly to other development projects, as always unpredictable, becoming real through the work by project staff and their allies of generating and translating interests, and creating a dominant social context by tying in supporters and so sustaining interpretations (Latour 1996; c.f. Mosse & Lewis 2006). "Translation" in this sense entails a mutual enrolment by actors into a shared social understanding, and the interlocking of interests that produces project realities.

As such, I sought to account for the expression of individual and collective identities as provisional and as ongoing projects of composition and translation from ideology to project and back again, rather than fixed and stable. This is particularly useful when looking at the implementation of seemingly stable capitalist projects of "inclusive neoliberalism" such as CSR and avoiding the trap of assigning them with pre-given, universalist logics - and thereby risk taking such discourses at face value (cf. Ferguson 2010) - rather than acknowledging complex social dynamics where contingency and new social formations of alignment, contestation and expression of identity are

accounted for, and how these singular dynamics influence the ongoing formulation of universalist discourses. The focus on the multiplicity of actors and strategies at play in fields of globally powerful projects of capitalist resource capture also helps to capture situations where such projects encounter, inform and are occasionally thwarted by a plurality of local resistances (cf. Foucault 1998 [1976]: 94, 100).

My fieldwork as a foreign researcher was made challenging by the fact that people near the mining site were particularly sensitive to outsiders and formal information gathering exercises, having been subject to numerous such exercises led by the mining corporation, government and other researchers. Information gathering among such people was frequently based on various forms of “deep hanging out” (Geertz 2000) and participating in local activities such as community meetings, forest brigade rounds, weddings and funerals, circumcision ceremonies, weaving mats, and conversations during long marches from forest or lake to market and village. When conducting formal interviews among illiterate groups, following recommendations from anthropology staff at the University of Antananarivo, I avoided taking notes in order to both avoid instilling a sense of *afa-baraka* [loss of honour] and to avoid people’s fears of being reported to the government or mining staff. Instead, I frequently used my voice recorder with these people often more comfortable with a *ampangala-feo* [voice capturer] than with having their words noted down on paper.

In the Anosy Region of Madagascar, Merina and French colonisation and post-colonial resource extraction and social control measures, which I discuss further in the next chapter, had led to distrust and fear when confronted with formal social surveys and interviews. Sharp (1993: 21) in her research in north east Madagascar, which has a similar history, describes how her attempts at formal social surveys were met with great resistance and anger, with life histories and informal discussions providing a better avenue for information and trust. As I worked in a similar context to Sharp, I also pursued less intrusive research methods during my fieldwork, in particular when interacting with people with less formal education. In addition to what I learned from observation and participation in everyday life situations and specific mining-related encounters, life histories as well as narratives about the 20 year inception of the

mining project and about notions of change and of the future provided key research methods throughout the field research.

My role as a student of the local dialect facilitated asking questions about definitions, which lead to helpful insights about local conceptions of power, self and social change in Madagascar (cf. Thomas 1998). By interacting with people on their own terms rather than imposing a research agenda through structured interviews or surveys, I strived to generate an atmosphere of friendship and trust, which was crucial for accessing and understanding sensitive information about power, hierarchies and subjectivities, with certain questions only possible after a long time in the field. As further discussed in the ethical section of this chapter, I always discussed the research objectives and how the information would be used, both when introducing myself and before any formal interviews, in order to ensure informed consent of research participants.

Forest or fish? Locating the main fieldwork sites

My research and fieldwork was based in the Anosy regional capital of Fort Dauphin. The inhabitants of the Anosy Region, although they belong to different sub-groups with place-based names, are usually known as Antanosy – the French colonial label now used by the Malagasy government - for administrative purposes (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 11-12), or Tanosy in the local dialects, which is the word I have chosen to use in this thesis. As Sharp (1993) points out, Madagascar’s colonial-origin ethnic divisions have become significant in everyday discourse, as Malagasy people now use them to define themselves in relation to each other. This is also the case in Anosy.

I had entered the field with the rather naive intention of seeking out encounters between forest based, subsistence villagers and a mining corporation. I soon found that local people could not easily be put into two clear boxes of “villager” or “corporation”. Instead, I ended up with a mix of informants with diverse and

individual livelihoods and survival strategies. What they had in common was having their lives radically changed due to the mining project.

Four main areas near the mining site became my primary field sites. Apart from a town based host family, I also stayed in two villages near the new nature conservation and mineral extraction site (see map of the primary fieldwork villages in Annex 2).

1. The Andrakaraka fisher hamlets

From the onset of my fieldwork, I frequently visited the fishers and farmers in the Andrakaraka freshwater lagoon system south of the mining site. My local host family there, *bebe* (grandmother) Noelline, her son Guy and their wider family, experienced a radical transition in socio-economic status during my year in the field. When I first met them, people from the Andrakaraka hamlets were organizing demonstrations and road blocks against the mining project due to mining-related inundations of fields and CSR-based conservation regimes which reduced access to aquatic resources. I followed these families as they went from confrontational resistance, while experiencing starvation due to loss of aquatic and land resources, to negotiations with the corporation, and to some people becoming participants in corporate-led “alternative income generation” programmes. These people thereby went from being branded as illegal troublemakers, with corporate personnel characterizing them as “*maditra*” (naughty children), to being included in the mining corporation’s development programmes as community representatives. I show how this also led to new forms of localised social differentiation and experiences of “double exclusion” as certain people were both prevented from their main livelihoods of fishing and cultivating and unable to perform as worthy corporate participants in the corporation’s income-generating programmes.

2. Migrant quarters in Fort Dauphin town

As my main field work base I rented a room with a family in Fort Dauphin town, and this introduced me to a network of town-based people who were also resource users near the mining site, whether as migrant farmers, loggers or fishers. I rented a room with Fredy's family in a central part of town as a base for writing and continuing language lessons. Originally from Vangaindrano, 300 km north of Fort Dauphin, the family still considered themselves *Tesaka* [people of the Atsimo Atsinanana Region immediately north of Anosy], but termed themselves *valovotaky* [settled migrants].

Rather than the "neutral ground" I had first imagined, I soon found out that Fredy was one of the leaders of a recently created association of anti-mining farmers whose rice fields had been flooded since the construction of a mining-related weir on the nearby lagoon system's river mouth. They frequently interacted with the Andrakaraka fishermen previously mentioned, as they had similar grievances towards the mining corporation, although their main complaint was about lost farmland. As migrant farmers based in Fort Dauphin town, their land claims were disregarded, with only resident farmers qualifying as official "project affected people".

My host family's compound frequently hosted groups of people discussing strategies for claiming compensation, arguing about how to best represent their views, and about who qualified for being on the ever changing lists of compensation payments. Instead of "neutral ground", my town based family gave me valuable insights into town based migrant perspectives on the local politics of land access, contestations and compensation.

3. Ampasy-Nahampoa municipality and Mandena mining site

My third fieldwork area was in Ampasy-Nahampoa² municipality among the hamlets to the immediate west of the Mandena mining and conservation site, a few kilometers north of Fort Dauphin town (see map in Annex 2). The people here were closer to what I had imagined my “authentic” local informants to be like, living near the mining zone, and using local forest resources. My field collaborator, Lôlô, had family living in this area, and most of my informants from this area were accessed via her family network. These people were considered mining project stakeholders due to their location next to the mining and conservation zone, and had been targeted over several years by corporate “community relations” programmes. In particular, the *dina*, or community forest management agreement set up in 2001 between the mining corporation, local government and “local communities” was one of the main interfaces established by the corporation to manage relations with local people. However, I soon found that local “villager” aspirations were far from uniform, and that similarly to among the Andrakaraka hamlets, the mining corporation’s presence represented new forms of inclusion and exclusion from land and natural resources, with marginalized and forest dependent people becoming “doubly excluded” due to their lack of capacity to participate in corporate programmes.

4. The mining corporation’s CSR team

In order to also give “voice” to the corporation, I also conducted interviews and spent time with the mining corporation’s socio-environmental team. Described as “an NGO within a corporation” (Harbinson 2007), mining subsidiary QMM’s CSR team was made up of a diverse group with differing life trajectories, perspectives and objectives. By coincidence, one of my first language teachers and members of her family would later work for the mining corporation. This person introduced me to many of her

² Often referred to locally as “Ampasy”. Official spelling: “Ampasy-Nahampoana”. I have chosen to use the local dialect spelling.

colleagues. She gave me many useful perspectives and insights into everyday work and challenges within the mining corporation. In particular, she helped me understand how the staff within a multinational mining enterprise can be just as diverse as villagers near a mining site. With conflicting objectives, from efficient resource extraction to local people participating in development programs, corporate policy might be stable on paper, in their sustainable development reports and on corporate websites, but voices from within the corporation show how the implementation of a neoliberal project intending to capture land, resources and people is fragile, contingent and actor dependent.

5. Civil society organizations, campaigners and corporate interfaces

As part of my stay in the field, I also interacted with several local NGOs. One such organization was part of a globally funded “communications for development” partnership implementing an oral testimony project among people who had experienced loss of land and natural resource access due to the mining project. This gave me first hand insights into the challenges, moral dilemmas and problems encountered with externally driven initiatives to mobilize local “civil society” by giving “voice” to illiterate and marginalized people near the mining sites. The paradox of distilling multiple individual voices and experiences into effective campaigning tools I found comparable to the corporate social team’s efforts at reducing complex local society into “stakeholders” ready responsible for their own development as “green” entrepreneurs. My engagement in this process, discussed in the final chapter of the thesis, also assisted my entry into a multi sited field. I was invited to attend NGO stakeholder meetings with Rio Tinto, as well as the corporation’s Annual General Meeting in London, and accessed information about other global mining campaigning groups.

Research ethics

As my research involved the investigation of the social effects of a controversial mining project, it raised several ethical issues which I addressed throughout the project period. For this purpose I drew on the ethical guidelines of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth³ as well as the SOAS Code of Practice on the use of personal data in research.⁴ Based on these guidelines, a fundamental aspect of my ethical approach was to avoid causing harm to my research subjects by what I did in the field or what I have written about them. Specifically, this involved protecting the interest of the most marginalised research participants, since my research is situated within a socio-economic context with great power differences, ranging from corporate employees of one of the world's biggest mining corporations and World Bank staff to illiterate subsistence farmers in a remote region of Madagascar. I did my utmost to ensure that people's participation in my research would not compromise them by associating them with opposition to the mine, or preclude them from taking part in CSR programmes. Further I strived to adapt to people's daily lives, by avoiding lengthy formal interviews which would prevent people from continuing their livelihoods activities.

I always aimed to ensure that people understood the objectives of my research, their role in its completion, and how it would be used, including potential later impacts on their lives. This involved gaining informed consent in becoming a research participant. As many of my research participants were not literate, a signed consent form for formal interviews with these people was not feasible. Instead, I explained the implications of their participation and the use of the information in locally understandable terms, and respected the fact that some people occasionally decided not to become research participants. However, before interviewing the CSR-department of the mining corporation I presented them with a written statement about my research, including its funding and main objectives. This was a corporate

³ <http://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.shtml>

⁴ <http://www.soas.ac.uk/infocomp/dpa/dparesearch/file49912.pdf>

requirement presented to me before I was able to formally interview any corporate staff.

I aimed to prevent potential harm to my research participants by ensuring that confidential information was used with appropriate safeguards, including anonymity and the use of pseudonyms throughout the thesis. This included both local people in Fort Dauphin town and near the mining site and corporate and NGO staff. I always aimed to protect the physical, social and psychological well-being of my research participants, and to respect their rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy.

I also aimed to take into account the ethical and political issues relating to personal and national disparities in wealth, power, and my legal status as a researcher. This was particularly relevant to my fieldwork among the most marginalised people in my field site, and I have aimed to represent them as genuinely and respectfully as possible. Interacting with the most marginal people, those not comfortable with foreigners and NGO projects, was always difficult. I did my utmost to be aware of these “invisible” people, who often did not act as “appropriate” research collaborators, for instance by being busy working other people’s fields, guarding houses or doing other types of subordinate work. These people were generally excluded from sites of social prestige such as schools, churches and community associations, and not allowed near sites of cultural production and expression of status and identity such as social rituals in which I was invited to participate.

In Madagascar, such people are often *andevo* (descendants of slaves), considered as having no ancestors, no tombs, and attracting bad luck, marginalized from education, doing low status work, and living in poor housing in the low status area of villages (cf. Evers 2002; Graeber 2007). In the Anosy Region, this is still a reality for some people (cf. Somda 2009). Further, a striking influence and ongoing discursive category among people I lived with was that of *mpiavy* (immigrant), frequently linked to allegations of sorcery, criminality and generally low social status.

Statement of positionality: Knowledge production near sites of resource extraction

During the first days of my field work, an elderly man living next to the mining zone, where several mining-related socio-environmental impact assessments had been conducted, told me in an angry voice:

There is always someone coming here asking for information, and we always tell them all the information they want, but we never get a reply from where they go back to. We never get any benefit from it. There are too many 'mpagnadihadidy' [social surveyors – from verb “to dig”], and it is 'mahakivy' [exhausting and depressing]. The things we tell about, our suffering, we have had no reply, not even one!

This statement illustrates the fundamental ethical challenge of how to ensure that my research participants would also benefit from the knowledge production to which they contributed. In the final chapter of this thesis, this issue is further explored. However, this section will address some of ethical issues on which this thesis is based.

One of the key ethical difficulties with doing anthropological field work near the mining site was the fact that anthropologists among other social and environmental “experts” had been involved with social impact assessments of the mining project over a twenty year period prior to the commencing of actual mineral mining. As this thesis further discusses in the chapter about mining project staff, some anthropologists are thereby caught up in the development process as “experts” who can supposedly bridge discursive gaps (Grillo 1997: 25-26). Therefore, the social and environmental effects of such knowledge creation must be carefully considered by our discipline. If anthropologists assume the role of social “expert”, how can we ensure that it genuinely benefits the people we take upon ourselves to be “representing”? Do we have any ethnographic methods at our disposal to give people with whom we do fieldwork a chance to represent themselves in their own words and access the tools necessary to participate in the debates around their own livelihoods and future?

As anthropologists, we need to acknowledge the “politics of representation” that we are engaged in by analysing the complex politics of information production and its deployment in cases where political decisions are justified in terms of “information” (Mosse 1998: 24-25). As discussed in the previous chapter, expert-based knowledge production is central to justifying neoliberal projects of rule over people and places. Therefore, for actors at all level, information based on representation of particular places and people can be understood as an important source and instrument of power. Anthropologists can thereby contribute to helping different players in negotiating alternative outcomes.

As is further explored in the next chapter, the Anosy region of Madagascar, in the context of an extractive industries project had a long history of “extractive” social research. The extraction of social information had been part of the social and environmental impact assessment of the mining project, an exercise which had fed into the dispossession of land and access to natural resources through mining and conservation, as discussed in chapter 4. My encounters with local people as a “social scientist” were therefore filled with moral dilemmas about doing ethnography and how to accurately represent local experiences and perspectives.

In his wide-ranging exploration of the evolution of ethnographic practice, Clifford (1988: 7) argues that the time is past when anthropologists as privileged authorities could “give voice” (or history) to others without fear of contradiction. However, in my field site, this did not seem to be the case. To the contrary, it seemed that knowledge production was still in the hands of powerful outside “experts”, often in the name of anthropology, via new notions of the “socially responsible” corporation and associated “social impact” assessment exercises, as further discussed in chapters 4 and 5. The political uses of the knowledge produced when speaking as an “expert” authority were therefore highly problematic in my field, and as someone considered a “social expert”, had to be carefully considered (cf. Mitchell 2002). Indeed, when interviewing people inside the corporation, they were eager to know about my analysis of the situation, in particular in terms of local people and how to more effectively manage some of the ongoing social conflicts.

The question for anthropologists in contexts of struggles over resources seems to me twofold: First, who has the authority to speak for a group's identity and experience, and second, how is this knowledge produced and put to use? Clifford (1988: 25-26) points to what was then new paradigms of ethnographic authority based on the dialogic role of interpretation of encounters and opinions, with the role of transcription, translation, and textual interpretation central to this form of knowledge production. In this process, he argues that our "native informants" themselves become ethnographers when they are asked to think and interpret their culture. In this vein, several ethnographers have made use of a format of ethnography of a dialogue, letting their informant's speech be transcribed and represented nearly unaltered (cf. Crapanzano 1980, Shostak 1981, Dwyer 1982, Caplan 1997).

However, these ethnographies are inevitably framed by the presence of the ethnographers, with their questions dictating the form, and with their name as author on the resulting book. The authority of the author and social scientist still lies with the ethnographers. Further, the dissemination and uses of this co-produced knowledge is up to the ethnographer. As Ricoeur (1971) points out, whereas oral interaction between speaking subjects can only be understood by "being there", once a discourse is put into text, it becomes autonomous, separated from the original utterance and intention of the speaking subject. It becomes open to multiple interpretations and gains political potential which the original speakers might never themselves have had, with the superior authority of written text over spoken word, which can be disseminated to multiple locations and used as a tool for political purposes.

The notion of "narrative ethnography", based on a co-production of knowledge, has been exemplified within the tradition of "testimonio", the testimonial narrative of a situation involving repression and marginalization, intended to function as bearing witness to and denouncing of human rights abuses (Robben and Sluka 2007: 20-21; cf. Menchu with Burgos-Debray 1984). As Scheper-Hughes (1995: 418) points out, fieldwork can give people an opportunity for self-expression, whereas not recording situations of marginalisation can in itself be considered a hostile act. Robben and

Sluka (2007: 24) argue that this “compassionate turn” in anthropology represents a turn back to classic holistic fieldwork, focusing on an understanding of the social context and history of current social fields in distant places rather than the more solipsistic postmodern anthropology, but with an added focus on political engagement as an epistemological approach: As the fieldworker and research participant share a subjective space, they are implicated in each other’s lives and the production of ethnographic knowledge. Ethnography should therefore be a form of social advocacy “delivered mostly from the steps of academy and only rarely implicated directly in the field”, with anthropologists acting as witnesses rather than as activists, and connecting readers to the world’s trouble spots, generating public discussion and engaging politicians, thereby achieving “genuine social change”, without however becoming “involved in its realization” (ibid.).

This dichotomy of delivering knowledge from “the steps of academy” and direct implication seems however difficult to maintain if the ethnographer gets truly implicated in people’s lives in situations of injustice and suffering. As Dwyer (2008: 214) points out, anthropological practice has a political side, in that it directly touches other human lives and deliberately initiates and restructures human relationships. Consequently, Dwyer advocates ethnographic writing for a “general, literate audience rather than for a narrowly academic and professional one”, focusing somewhere between the day-to-day events that journalism attends to and the deeper, but more esoteric matters that scholars study, and concentrating on and presenting the spoken words of one’s interlocutors, which have a vitality and direct connection with the speaker which can be lost in academic discussions.

Eventually, my personal and professional identities were entangled, as I met my husband during the second half of my fieldwork. Although he lived in the capital, he originated from the Anosy region. As Pertierra (2007) experienced while “being a bride in the field”, in addition to generating new insights on my ethnographic data, the process of getting engaged after I had left the field required me to re-examine the limits between my ‘fieldwork life’ and my ‘real life’. An engagement on a deeply personal level both facilitated certain insider information and made my own position

as engaged researcher in a field of struggles and strategic representations more difficult. Similarly to Pertierra, I concluded that keeping clear distinctions between “field” and private life were necessary and productive strategies to manage the emotional and intellectual challenges of extended fieldwork.

However, it must be acknowledged that in my research, similarly to anthropological research in general, there is no longer a clear distinction between “home” and “field”, since both exist in same holistic context of globalised power relations (Robben and Sluka 2007: 25). As I returned to Europe after fieldwork, the issues brought up in my findings have kept returning. The NGO responsible for the oral testimonies was contacting me in order to help promote the cases. I found myself exchanging emails and comments on conservation and development policies with a group of engaged researchers focusing on Madagascar. I was contacted by the mining project’s socio-environmental liaison group and asked to contribute information to their discussions. In this context of rapid global information flows, in order to maintain its relevancy, anthropology needs to consider our audiences beyond academia, including the media and social movements, as well as policy makers and even corporations. We have a moral obligation to make our arguments available in a way that engages with publics which directly influence the lives of our research collaborators.

This moral obligation entails an acknowledgement of the inevitable positionality of the thesis, as written by a Norwegian woman funded by a government largely dependent on extractive industries, within an academic discipline which tends to celebrate the “subaltern”, “peasant” voice. As a privileged member of a global economy dependent on extractive industries, this academic tradition becomes ethically questionable. Of specific relevance here is Fletcher’s (2001: 59) observation that some anthropologists have tended to ignore complex local realities and aspirations around development projects such as large dams, due to a pre-conceived agenda of studying “resistance”. I have therefore also tried to focus on people’s complex experiences of CSR-led development and conservation, including by giving voice to corporate staff. However, I have also consciously written “against the grain” of influential corporate

socio-environmental success stories, with the explicit ethical agenda of representing voices of people not normally heard on the global stage.

Chapter 3: *From violence to blessing* - Sacrifice and the corporate encounter

Cave ab Incolis

(Watch out for the locals)

1653 inscription on Fort Dauphin monument by de Flacourt, French colonial governor

Our history is that of the betrayal of our rulers. Our history is that of the greed of our conquerors. Slavery. Unification of the island. Protectorate. Pacification. Our history is that of our death. (Raharimanana 2001: 103)

Introduction

This chapter introduces the field site in Madagascar and key informant groups. I analyse the cattle sacrifice on the mining road described in the opening vignette of the thesis as a prism for how a multinational mining project brings together multiple actor groups in struggles over land and natural resource access. Taking a historical perspective, the chapter demonstrates how such struggles are nothing new to the region, a fact that shapes local people's understandings of and reactions to the mining project. A brief reminder of regional history is therefore important when seeking to understand current socio-environmental changes in the region. The current day situation of corporate land accumulation and resource struggles in the Anosy region, is only the latest of an array of previous socio-environmental interventions already layered into society and landscape near the mining zone (cf. Li 2003: 5126).

This chapter thereby analyses the historical sources of underlying tensions over resource access with a view to explaining current conflicts about land use in the mining perimeter which resulted in acts of corporate reinventions of local tradition such as the anecdote of the corporation's ritual cattle killing. It illustrates the corporation's ongoing efforts to create interfaces for dialogue with elusive local people which did not easily turn into the stakeholders eager to grasp corporate benefits mentioned in corporate community policies. In spite of the mining corporations'

public statement, the ceremony did not end local conflicts over resource access. However, the corporate strategy of reinventing local customs represents a long history of externally led attempts at enrolling and mobilizing local people behind resource extraction ventures. In order to fully understand local people's responses and strategies, I here account for the region's historical patterns of unequal land access, and colonial attempts at controlling and mobilising the local population into performing as a "legible", docile and available workforce (cf. Foucault 1979).

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first traces a brief history of land and resource struggles in the Anosy region generally and near the mining site in particular. The second illustrates how such struggles have been characterized by strategies of rule over local people and resources, and how these projects of government have shaped current resource conflicts. The third section in a return to the above encounter analyses it as both a historical continuity and a particular event interpreted very differently by the various actors who attended the ceremony. This illustrates the importance of local "brokers and translators" in both bringing about and subverting such events to their advantage, whether to build prestige among fellow villagers or to sustain a corporate image of successful community relations.

A history of resource struggles in the Anosy Region

The cattle sacrifice on the mining road depicted in the opening of this thesis represents the continuation of a long history in south eastern Madagascar of interactions with outsiders in struggles over land and resources. The region hosted the very first French settlement, establishing the Anosy capital of Fort Dauphin in the early 17th century. Funded by the French Oriental Company, the first boat was sent from France in 1642 to export ebony from the region (de Flacourt 2007 [1661]: 265). The main resources extracted from Anosy during the first French colonial effort included ebony, leather, wax, aloe, benzoin resin, wild pepper, and slaves, illustrating the importance of both natural resource extraction and disruptive social effects from the onset of the French colonial endeavor in the region (Larson 2007: 360).

These first French *colons* encountered a highly hierarchical society of Arab-origin rulers, middle classes and slaves (Flacourt 1995 [1661]; Larson 2007; Rakotoarisoa 1998). The *andevo* (slaves) in Anosy were considered *olona very* ("lost people", c.f. Graeber 2007), since having no *tanindraza* (ancestral lands), they were considered to have neither tombs nor ancestors (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 101). Land access was thereby not just an economic resource, but an important sign of prestige. After the arrival of the French colons, conflicts over land and resources rapidly ensued. One of the first French Governors (de Flacourt 2007 [1661]): 198, my translation) noted that

“there is no land in all the island that has no owner, and it is wrong to think that you can simply choose the land you want to cultivate. The masters and lords of the provinces [...] will not permit you to appropriate the smallest corner of their land”.

Consequently, the first French installment brought violent conflict and abruptly ended in 1674 with a massacre of most of the French settlers (Larson 2007; Parker Pearson 1997). This utter failure was partly due to a mishandling of local social relations, and will be further analysed in section two of this chapter.

Subsequent interactions with outsiders included traders seeking cattle, beeswax, sisal, mica and slaves (Campbell 2008; Larson 2007; Parker Pearson 1997; Wanquet & Jullien 1996). Slavery was officially abolished by the French in 1896, but continued in another guise for several decades under the name of *engagisme*, or plantation work contracts, with people departing from Anosy to work on the sugar plantations on nearby Réunion island (Somda 2009: 41). The region was also targeted in the early phase of colonization by missionaries who aimed to convert and educate the population. The region became a centre for the American-Norwegian Lutheran church with competition from various Catholic denominations (Campbell 1988a; Rakotoarisoa 1998; Somda 2009).

The rising Merina empire of the 19th century also influenced local society and resource governance (Campbell 2005). The Merina invasion and garrison at Fort Dauphin in 1825 and resulting local resistance to the ensuing appropriation of rice

fields, forced labour and enslavement led to distress outward migration from the region and ongoing resentment against the Merina (Rakotoarisoa 1998). With the French colonization in 1896 replacing the Merina administration, revolts against the new regime culminated in a 1904 uprising on the south east coast which spread to Fort Dauphin, caused by the imposition of new resource management regimes such as land confiscation and the suppression of *tavy* (shifting agriculture), as well as forced labour conscription and extreme measures of taxation (Somda 2009: 34). Colonial land and social management schemes thereby led to local conflict, with people forced to abandon their villages and fields and hide in the forest, leading to starvation and a general resistance to colonial schemes of social management (Larson 2007).

French colonization of the “Mascarene Islands” (Reunion and Mauritius) created regular commercial links between these islands and Madagascar. Fort Dauphin was one of four strategic points for this trade, which concerned resources such as timber, rice, cattle and slaves (Deschamps 1976 [2001]: 398-399). Subsequently, ongoing cycles of famine in the neighbouring Androy region as well as the need for finding salary-based work in order to pay taxes led to heavy flows of immigration (Campbell 2008; Middleton 1995). This again upset local land and resource access.

According to local oral history collected during fieldwork, people settled near the Mandena mining zone during the French colonial period. During this time, all men over 18 had to pay taxes and participate in *corvée* (forced) labor (Campbell 1988a). Local men and boys were sent to clear the forest to make way for the main road going north from Fort Dauphin town and to plant eucalyptus trees for the *colon* timber plantations. Local oral recollections thereby testify about the local realities of French Governor-General Galliéni’s policy of building roads into the dense forests of Madagascar’s eastern coast in order to facilitate the exporting of precious hardwoods such as rosewood and ebony (Gallieni 1908: 181-182). People also sought paid employment with colonial enterprises such as the nearby sisal processing plant and sawmill in order to pay taxes. After independence, these people stayed on to cultivate rice in the fertile, wet areas west of the present mining zone (see map in Annex 2).

After Malagasy independence in 1960, the Anosy region became politically and economically marginalised. The region suffered spectacular economic decline over the 1970s and 1980s (Rakotoarisoa 1998). Due to the chaotic social changes of colonial days, including the imposition of land regulations benefiting large scale cultivation and resource extraction ventures of foreigners, conflicts over land use and land rights play an important part in present day rural and urban tensions (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 148).

The region's land use and social dynamics have thereby been marked by conflicts over natural resources and land access between foreign colonisers and Malagasy and Malagasy people themselves. This has fuelled ongoing flows of migration. Moreover, a history of strict social hierarchy based on local social divisions between royalty, commoners and slaves has generated inequitable patterns of local land and resource distribution, which still persist (Somda 2009).

Present day: Mining and conservation

Fort Dauphin has recently experienced a radical shift from isolated and impoverished backwater to showcasing Rio Tinto's corporate socio-environmental responsibility policies (Harbinson 2007; Sarrasin 2006; World World Bank 2005). After initial exploration started in the late 1980s, Tinto subsidiary QIT Madagascar Minerals (QMM) secured an environmental permit to extract ilmenite from the littoral sands in Mandena in 2001. The first shipment in May 2009 marked the beginning of mining in Mandena, projected to last for 25 years (QMM 2008b: 3). During the 20 year preparatory period, multiple socio-environmental studies, impact assessments and consultations were undertaken in response to political and environmental concerns. A special law introduced in the Malagasy parliament officially established the first mining surface area of 2,100 hectares in the Mandena zone, the first of a projected total of 6,000 hectares, with the sites of St Luce and Petriky still to be mined (QMM 2008b).

During colonization, most of the land in and near the mining zone had been used for colonial timber and mining concessions, in addition to a large agricultural station and substantial Catholic Church grounds. Mandena forest has itself been the subject of botanical interest since the 1950s, when a forestry station was established. Botanists began collecting specimens as part of an effort to document the island's woody plants, with approximately 500 described taxa made over the following three decades, several of which were species new to science (Lowry II et al. 2008). The current Mandena mining site was originally established as a nature reserve (*station de reboisement*, the least strict of three colonial forest reserve classifications) as two separate parcels of land in 1943 and 1955 during the French colonial government (Parcel 1 under the *Arrêté de mise en réserve* N°485 of 19/05/43 and Parcel 2 under the *Arrêté* N° 160-F3/BOM of 23/12/55). The Malagasy state maintained these classifications (Ministère de l'intérieur et de la réforme administrative & Province autonome de Toliara: 11).

The colonial and Malagasy state had thereby managed forest regulation and introduced permit-based logging access in the Mandena zone nearly half a century before the mining project began. Natural resources had thereby not been a "common" good which local people freely accessed and destroyed, as argued in the mining project's environmental impact assessment, which is discussed in the next chapter. However, according to local government officials, as state financial capacity dwindled during the economic austerity measures of the 1980s, enforcement of the government's natural resource management regimes became non-existent. Local people accessed the forest for private use, in the context of a lack of clarity of both state and traditional management rules. The mining company's access to the Mandena forest for prospecting in the 1980s, including for building access roads, entailed the further disruption of local resource access rules (Ingram & Dawson 2006; Rakotoarisoa 1998: 33).

As we have seen, local land access and resource management have been shaped by a history of changes in user rights and regulations from pre-colonial times to the present. This included a lack of both state capacity and local community power in local resource management. Conservation and development challenges resulting from

the mining corporation's land access must therefore be understood in the context of this complex history.

Strategies of rule in the Anosy Region

This section illustrates earlier attempts at reinventing local traditions, showing that attempts of “government through community” (Li 2007b), as further discussed in chapters 4 and 5, are not a uniquely modern strategy of neoliberal rule. I highlight the role of people who came to assume the role of brokers, and how this category of local actors sometimes determines the outcome of resource struggles – whether they end in violence and failure of extractive ventures or in local collaboration. This shows the importance of an actor oriented approach when seeking to understand global capitalist ventures and their outcomes, and ultimately how such global forces are shaped by the encounter with local actors.

The task of colonial officials in Madagascar was more complex than simply acquiring territory or extracting resources. As other colonial administrations, they had to exercise a “governmental” rationality that balanced multiple objectives, often in tension with one another and sometimes contradictory, exercising what Li (2007b) terms “the will to improve”. The officials had to make colonies profitable, find revenue to support the costs of administration, and ensure order and stability, issues that pervade Flacourt's (2007 [1661]) descriptions of his time as governor of the first, disastrous French colonial attempt in Fort Dauphin. Later colonial governors also had to be perceived to improve the condition of the colonized population, including providing education and health services, making them worthy “children of the French Republic”, as detailed in Governor-General Gallieni's publications (e.g. Gallieni 1908). This later approach arguably represented an early attempt of the “conduct of conduct” (Rose & Miller 1992) which characterizes neoliberal projects of rule, with Gallieni striving to enroll and mobilize local people as colonial subjects through local notions of “community”, as detailed below.

The history of colonial settlements in Fort Dauphin show the importance of local “brokers” to global projects of rule. Relations with local people were from the onset dependent on building locally acceptable proof of a shared humanity by establishing shared ancestry. The success of the first colonial attempts in Anosy depended on intermarriage with local women, thereby integrating into local descent groups and kinship systems (Larson 2007; Parker Pearson 1997). First, the Arab conquerors through such intermarriage had been accepted as local rulers, establishing the Zafiraminia dynasty in the 15th century, whose dominance still persists in current customary hierarchies in Anosy (Rakotoarisoa 1998; Somda 2009). The first French colony of 1642 had initially followed the same pattern, with French administrators and officers marrying the daughters of locally dominant families, thereby ensuring collaboration through acceptable avenues of accessing land and the establishment of shared descendancy (Parker Pearson 1997). The French settlers, struggling with chronic hunger due to lack of available land for cultivation and hostile relations with local people, were dependent for survival on such local alliances, culminating in the marriage between the first French Governor Pronis and “Dian Ravellom Manor”, the daughter of the “great lord of this region” and niece of Drian-Ramaka, a local *roandria* (Tanosy king) (de Flacourt 2007 [1661]; Larson 2007). The establishment of such kinship relations, even if frowned upon by the missionaries, brought “great influence over the colony” to some women of Anosy as well as ensuring the survival of the French colony for more than three decades (Larson 2007: 361).

The importance of these female cultural “brokers and translators” (c.f. Lewis & Mosse 2006) is shown by the failure of this first French colony. The accidental arrival of a shipment of French women intended as wives of colons in nearby French island of Reunion, and the resulting rejection of local wives in favour of more acceptable brides, with Malagasy wives being sent back home, led to a sudden rupture in local kinship ties. The subsequent massacre of most of the French settlers marked a disastrous end to the first French colonial attempt in Madagascar (Larson 2007; Parker Pearson 1997). This failure illustrates the precarious situation of the colonial attempt in spite of dominance through superior weaponry and ongoing violent efforts at controlling the local population through massacres, burning of villages, theft of cattle

and enslavement. French colonists had not fully understood the central position of women within trading networks and political alliances. The failed conquest thereby shows the importance identifying local “brokers and translators”, in this case through the establishment and, crucially, the ongoing enactment of local kinship ties, thereby justifying local land and resource access.

Other historical studies of the region have shown the importance of local middle men and women who were able to straddle both cultures and negotiate resource access. It was a risky career path, and the need for constant diplomatic negotiation required ongoing efforts, and favourable outcomes were never certain (Larson 2011).

With the French colonial takeover of Madagascar in 1895, Fort Dauphin was annexed two years later, in 1897 (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 139). In 1900, the French general Gallieni completed the French conquest of Madagascar, invading the south as the last stage of military takeover (Pearson 1998: 404). The French presented themselves as liberators from the Merina among the coastal population, but forced labour, seizure of land, and the imposition of resource extraction through centralised institutions soon showed a different aspect to their domination (Covell 1987: 18). The need for colonial profits required stabilizing a peasant population that could be taxed and from which labour could be extracted. However, displacing populations or subjecting them to excessive taxes threatened order and stability. In Madagascar, the colonial strategy became one of pitting Merina against coastal groups, based on anthropological categories of race (Bloch 2001). The French colonial government made use of the conquered Merina elite both as a broker and administrator of other, more elusive groups. According to one of his contemporaries, Governor Gallieni encouraged this educated Merina elite to migrate to the coastal areas of the island due to their "natural colonising tendencies" (Delhorbe 1902: 345). The French colonial administration considered the Merina people as "excellent intermediaries, capable of haggling, of debating, of discussing during hours the smallest of transactions. By using them as agents to French traders, they improved their profits" (ibid, my translation).

Politically, the French colonial government followed Gallieni's "politique des races": Governing a territory through the "traditional institutions" of each group (Covell 1987: 19; Gallieni 1908: 37). However, this was met with resistance, as many local rules refused to be turned into subordinates. Most of these were removed and replaced by new rulers, often Merina officials (ibid; Gallieni ibid: 37-38). The "politique des races" exacerbated existing social divisions across Madagascar, with coastal groups deemed less worthy of education and promotion. Only after significant social unrest and anti-French rebellion in the late 1940s did the French colonisers invest significant resources into development of regional, non-Merina elites (Covell 1987).

In Anosy, too, the French strategy of rule was to gain the support of local elites and "local chiefs" and thereby control the population as a whole (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 141). The French therefore left the Merina rulers, who they were replacing as occupying power, in place. The Merina in turn were able to establish social control through certain Tanosy chiefs, with whom they had become allied. Several Tanosy chiefs who were initially allies of the French against the Merina were therefore replaced by more "suitable" people to act as middle men within colonial governance structures (ibid: 142).

The French colonial system depended on the ability of the colonial administration to get labour out of an unwilling population (Covell 1987: 20). More ordinances regulating labour were passed in Madagascar than any other French colony, including forced labour and taxes imposed to "liberate" a workforce by creating a need for money (Campbell 1988b; Covell 1987). The French economic policy not only created a classic, dominated and dependent colonial economy but also variety of economic regions: The east and north were developed for cash crop production, resulting in food deficits, and the south became increasingly impoverished as it served as pool of unskilled labour that migrated all over the island in search for the cash now needed for tax purposes. By the 1950s, 25% of the population in the south, and 50% of the active male workforce was outside the region, depending on time of year and local circumstance (Covell 1987: ibid).

The method of “pacification” is described by General Gallieni in one of his reports:

“[...] combiner l’action politique et militaire pour prendre possession du pays ; en même temps, entrer en contact intime avec les populations, chercher à connaître leurs tendances, leur état d’esprit, et s’efforcer de satisfaire à leur besoins pour les attacher par la persuasion aux institutions nouvelles” (Gallieni 1908 : 47).

It is possible to draw parallels between Gallieni’s policy of land conquest for economic profit and current efforts led by the mining corporation to “enroll” local people into local socio-environmental development programmes, as further discussed in chapter 5. Governor General Gallieni stressed the use of “persuasion” rather than violence in the encounter with local people, and his rule, in contrast with the earlier French settlement, aimed for "No more pillages, no more massacres, but the constant concern of conserving, with a view towards future action, local resources and rendering the local population favorable towards us" (Delhorbe 1902: 353).

This entailed the active study of the conquered country, including local customs (Delhorbe 1902: 355). An available and participative local population was necessary in order to produce willing labourers in a colony which needed an active workforce in order to be fully exploited (ibid: 394). The participation of local people was important both as intermediaries and as laborers, again illustrating the importance of "brokers and translators" between the colonial administration and local communities, similarly to the mining corporation’s dependency on such intermediaries, as I discuss in chapters 3 and 6. Again pointing out the advantage of using the "Hova" (Merina) to this end, the French colonial regime implemented a legal code regulating labour which would render local people available as workforce for the colonial state (Campbell 1988b; Delhorbe 1902: 358-359). Evidently, even in colonial times, strategies of rule were in need of local collaboration and “enrollment”.

Building on the Merina system of controlling their expanding empire, which was based on local mobilisation via *fokonolona* (local community councils) and *kabary* (speeches), Gallieni explicitly made use of local elders and local legal customs when establishing the French colonial judiciary system in Madagascar, including local power structures of *fokonolona* (Gallieni 1908: 50). He made numerous visits to

provincial towns to make *kabary* detailing the benefits of French rule, such as the end of slavery and Merina mismanagement (ibid: 103), although slavery continued in other forms under the term of “engagisme” (Somda 2009). Further, Gallieni supported initiatives of reclassifying plants and the main “races” of the island, with the Chefs de Province ordered to gather local traditions and customs, as well as geography, flora, fauna and customs (ibid: 119). Such mapping of local nature and culture have interesting parallels to current, corporate forms of expert-based knowledge creation of culture and nature, as further discussed in chapters 2 and 4.

A key arena for the working out of the contradictory colonial mandates of resource extraction and social improvement was the management of relations between rural populations and agricultural land (c.f. Li 2010). The need for profit required that segments of the colonized population be displaced from the land they occupied to make room for plantation agriculture or colon settlement. In Madagascar, French colonial land regulations stressed the notion of *mise en valeur* (adding value by clearing land for profit based uses), which is important to bear in mind when analyzing present day land access changes in Anosy. The idea was to organise the new colony in order to maximise profits, including encouraging individual efforts.

Colonial land access rules gave French settlers 100 hectares of land for free, after which they obtained a land title once the *mise en valeur* of this land had started (Delhorbe 1902: 367-368). Governor General Gallieni ensured that the “situation foncier” (land ownership situation) was regulated, ensuring property rights to Europeans by a law of 1896 which established “registres fonciers,” later replaced by the Torrens Act system, which gave “absolute security” of land rights, rapid transmissions to new owners, and the facilitation of credit operations for land (Gallieni 1908). Mining legislation was also passed, in particular to secure the considerable gold reserves for French extraction, which the “difficult attitude” of the last Merina queen’s administration had prevented (Gallieni 1908: 66). Local land and resource access was thereby heavily skewed towards foreign, extraction based ownership.

Traditionally, land was measured through the resources it yielded, with the primary focus not on delimiting plots of land, but the production yielded or cultural meaning attached to it. The new French law had severe implications for the Tanosy conceptions of legitimate land use, which included funerary forests and ancestral standing stones (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 145). Until today, local people have a difficulty in accessing land because of the ownership system created in colonial times – indeed, the large majority of subsistence farmers have no land titles and therefore only customary rights to their land (Andrianirina-Ratsialonana et al. 2011).

The colonial administration thereby created one of the most important social problems in Anosy: a permanent uncertainty concerning land possession, as the majority of land used by local peasants does not belong to them legally (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 145). Further, in order to turn an elusive local population into willing labourers, an administrative apparatus based on “legibility” (Scott 1998) included the introduction of an identity “booklet” to be carried at all times, with identity information and a monthly checked salary amount. This was considered a way of attaching the “indigene” to the colon (Delhorbe 1902: 360), or in other words, of rendering the population “legible” and thereby controllable (cf. Scott 1998). As I explore in the next three chapters, the mining corporation’s social engagement programmes continued such efforts of legibility, and providing one’s identity card, a document the most marginalized people near the mining site, such as distress migrants, did not possess, was an important way of showing local belonging and of defining land rights and compensation payments.

Land use and social differentiation

In the context of the complex history of land and resource struggles near the new mining and conservation site of Mandena, this section will show how access to land and resources was an essential aspect of local social differentiation. A study by Ingram et al. (2005) has demonstrated the important ecological services that the Mandena forest provides to local communities, with 84% of the standing trees in the

littoral forests estimated to be used by local people. The primary usages of tree species identified were for cooking and fuel, construction materials, medicine, food, handicrafts, oil and “spiritual purposes”, showing the importance of this biodiversity to local livelihoods. However, the study fails to provide a nuanced analysis of local people in terms of their differentiated dependence on the forest resources, and the value of land and forest as part of social identity and meaning creation.

The rural municipality of Ampasi-Nahampoana, one of two host municipalities to the mining project, covers 87 square kilometers (see map in Annex 2, which also highlights the numerous colonial era land claims in this small area). The municipality has an important population of migrants who have arrived over the last 20 years, and the exact population is therefore probably much higher than the official figure of 4,000 as most migrants do not register with the local government representative (Province autonome de Toliary 2003: 16). The area is characterised by an acute lack of arable land compared to its population number, with only 7% of its land cover used for food production, a very modest part of the municipality’s potential cultivable surface area (Primature & SIRSA 2006: 41; Province autonome de Toliary 2003: 18). This is because large areas of productive land are still titled to colonial-era foreign settlers, including colon timber and mining concessions, the Catholic Church, and an agricultural station established by the colonial state which was turned into a private nature reserve in the 1980s as part of the dismantling of state agricultural extension services (Province autonome de Toliary 2003: 18).

Additionally, as we have seen in chapter 1, most of the 2,100 hectare new mining concession and 230 hectare conservation zone had been established by the colonial and Malagasy government as a *réserve forestière* [forest reserve] and *périmètre de reboisement* [reforesting zone], making the land off limits to local farmers.

Locally recognised landowners, called *tompontany*, often hired immigrants to work their land, either in semi-permanent arrangement of sharecropping, or as day labourers. The latter were therefore usually landless and depended on working other people’s land as well as accessing and selling forest resources. Overall, the settled

lineage members employed a discourse of separating *tompontany*, with connotations of established ancestors and ties to the land through tombs and *tsangam-bato* [memorial stones], and *mpiavy* [immigrants, with connotations of dubious origins]. The landowners referred to usage of forests mainly for men grazing their cattle, women gathering reeds for mats, and occasional house-building for private use. Cutting timber for commercial sales was considered a low status activity; an indication that one did not own rice fields and was poor.

Irrigated rice fields, known as *horaky*, were a source of prestige and indication of wealth and social status of long term ties to the land. Conversely, the practice of swidden agriculture was a sign of being a poor, recently arrived migrant who did not have access to rice fields, reduced to the hard work of cutting and burning vegetation in the Western mountains further inland to plant *vary tomboky* [swidden rice] and cassava. The littoral forest near Mandena, the mining site, as it was considered to have infertile, sandy grounds near the eastern coast, was generally not used for agricultural production.

Therefore, the people who depended on the forest resources most intensely for their livelihoods had arrived over the last two decades. They struggled to make ends meet by working the land of existing land-owners and extracting forest produce for selling along the roads and in the town of Fort Dauphin. The most recently arrived migrants were mainly from the north of the Anosy Region, and had come in waves of distress migration due to food insecurity, as well as hopes for jobs with the mining corporation. For migrant women, vital income was obtained from gathering *mahampy* [a type of reed] from forest marshlands for weaving handicrafts, and gathering fuel wood, both for selling. For men, the main usages of harvested produce from living trees was cutting *raty* [palm leaves for traditional roofing], *falafa* [ravinala palm stems used for walls of houses], *golety* [smaller eucalyptus⁵ branches for walls] and *bois*

⁵ Although a second choice due to poor durability, many local people told me that in addition to the *ravinala* palm tree, eucalyptus trees had become an important resource for local house building due to the lack of access to indigenous hardwood trees because of both conservation measures and diminishing forest resources outside conservation zones.

carey [thicker eucalyptus planks for supportive corners], carried to the bustling lumber market in nearby Fort Dauphin town, where mining-related development and immigration had led to strong demands for housing materials.

In the context of ongoing migration, the new mining and conservation zone, although historically off limits to local cultivators due to its status as a forest reserve, had started attracting local town-based migrants in search of cultivable land and forest for charcoal making. This was leading to problems for the corporation's socio-environmental team. As Jeanne, QMM's Director of Social and Environmental Affairs told me, people had started to cultivate inside the Mandena mining zone perimeter in 2005. Her analysis of the problem was based the notion of land and user rights linked to residency: "they are not *occupants traditionnels* [traditional land users] like the people in Mandromodromotra and Ampasy-Nahampoana [the two mining site municipalities]. We [the corporate team] even received a letter from people in Ampasy [municipality] complaining that those people had established themselves in 2005. So they are really illegal, but we tell them, well, you can still continue [...], we gave them the possibility to continue to cultivate, you know, but well, their *revendications* [claims], it's for something else. It's for compensations [for the land] [...] But these are people with no rights, none! [...] Because you know, this land is a *Station Forestière* [government forest station with limited access] it was never open for cultivation!"

The socio-environmental team member's analysis of the situation highlights the corporate need for a static local population of rights-bearing "stakeholders" based on official residency in local host municipalities. Marginalised local people's coping strategies of social ascension through mobility and the claiming new land for cultivation are not accounted for, and neither is the challenge of lack of available arable land. This is further discussed in the next chapter.

The social field of the mining project continues to evolve. In early 2009, a violent change in government resulted in an unelected transitional body led by populist politician Andry Rajoelina taking over power. This was partly due to perceptions that

President Ravalomanana had been facilitating and benefiting from foreign large-scale land acquisitions in Madagascar, in particular the infamous Daewoo agribusiness project, but also the Rio Tinto mining project (Andrianirina-Ratsialonana et al. 2011). In this context, critiques of the mining project which linked the central government and local land appropriation for mining became more vocal.

In April 2009, due to rumours about recently toppled President Ravalomanana and his alleged foreign mercenaries hiding in the mining site, the Malagasy army undertook an armed search of corporate mining facilities in Fort Dauphin (Stefaans 2009). Protests against the project became more vocal, and a British legal cabinet initiated a pro bono case against Rio Tinto in the UK over inadequate compensation for loss of farmland by local people at the Madagascar subsidiary. In response, the corporation negotiated further compensation payments directly with local people, thus avoiding a high profile legal case that might have entailed much larger corporate payouts as well as negative international publicity, as further discussed in chapter 6. This illustrates both the influence and the instability of multinational corporate power. The mining corporation was continuously engaged in efforts to avoid politicising local struggles over land and resources. The power of multinational capital is thereby not automatically given, but requires ongoing efforts to mobilize support through strategic representations of the world. The thesis discusses this in more detail in chapters 5 and 6.

Back on the road: from violence to blessing

The cattle sacrifice on the mining road had come about after farmers based in Amparihy quarter of Fort Dauphin town, who had lost rice fields, and fishermen from the Andrakaraka hamlets who had both lost land and opposed the new water access regimes introduced by the mining corporation. These issues will be further explored in chapter 3. Their roadblocks had been dismantled with the help of the army, in the context of the political trouble in early 2009.

Conflicting accounts of the cattle sacrifice illustrate the importance of accounting for whose representations of the truth becomes authoritative in a context of resource struggles. According to the company social staff, and in their public statement, the encounter was a *taha*, where no wrongdoing had been committed by the company. The company's local anthropologist, on my questioning the ceremony insisted that it marked the union of a married couple: *taha, tsisy hadisoa* [with a "taha", there is no wrongdoing], an agreement for settlement between family members. The company had offered two bulls, one for each of the two communities that had been protesting, as a symbol, I was told, of the money or gifts a man intending to get married would bring to the future bride's parents. According to the corporate anthropologist, the *taha* also involved the resolution of an argument between husband and wife, a *fototeny*, reconciliation, with the wife returning after a *mihaity* [having returned to her parents], and the husband paying her some amends, such as some gold jewelry. The corporate team members' explanations thereby focused on discourses of reinforcing family relations rather than addressing specific wrongdoings by the corporation.

Another QMM social team member of local origins similarly explained to me that the *taha* represented a marriage. This was because you had to cut the throat of a bull to make a marriage valid. He explained that for QMM and "the communities", there were several challenges: first, to create *mifampatoky* [mutual trust] after the problem over the *barrage* [road blocks] by the villagers of Andrakaraka, to show that the fight was over. "*Nofokena mitana fihavanana* [sharing meat leads to kinship]", he maintained. "Whatever the problem, if there is meat or shared meal, then there is kinship created". The social team member told me that QMM had done other *taha*: for instance, for the *vakitany* [breaking of the land], to create the new road to Mandena, and to displace tombs at the beginning when the quarry zone was set up for the new, mining-related port. In those cases, there had been no conflict, but it was a way of starting the work by respecting the ancestral customs, *fankahapitahina*, through a *tsodrano* [ancestral blessing].

However, the villagers who attended the event had a different take on it. As we walked towards the area for sharing the meat, Fredy and his son, my town based

informants who had lost land in what they claimed was severe flooding caused by the Mandena mining site, explained the ceremony to me as follows: “it is a *fifonana* [an official apology], to resolve a *hadisoa* [wrongdoing] which needs to be arranged.” The event caused much local speculation. One woman theorised that the wrong committed was the fact that the company had, via the government, sent in the army to dismantle the roadblocks, thereby using guns and violence, but another person protested, “no, we Tanosy have used guns in the past, guns are not a problem!”. I asked them if it was not a *taha*, but the people who had attended the ceremony representing aggrieved local landowners disagreed: “a *taha* is like a family authorisation for a marriage, an agreement that the man can be with the woman, and this is nothing like that!” Fredy’s son maintained. One cultivator from Fort Dauphin town whose rice fields had been flooded due to the weir felt that the cattle sacrifice represented an admittance of guilt by the authorities: “the Chef de Region told us, now all the disagreements are over, you can come to us anytime if you have any problems! They admitted that they had done wrong!”

Local people thereby conceived of the event in other terms than the corporation’s social team members. Refusing any notion of kinship relations with the corporation, they focused on the event as one of mobilization by aggrieved land owners around issues of local rights and corporate obligations, and of the corporation accepting responsibility for wrongdoings.

Adding to the local sense of the event as a public interpellation of the corporation over socio-environmental impacts rather than of imaginary kinship ties, I was told by local elders that the meat should have been divided later, by the *fokonolona* (traditional community council), but as the people were from many different villages, bits of meat were handed out as ancestral ceremonies were flexibly applied and reinvented. The bulls had been purchased by QMM, and there was one for Amaroamalona, and one for Andrakaraka, two hamlets with local protesters against mining-related impacts on land and water. We went together to Amparihy, a poor immigrant neighborhood to the northern side of Fort Dauphin town, and the home of many of the cultivators whose land had been flooded. In an open space, the bull’s blood was boiled and eaten with

rice, a small celebration by the protesters of their perceived success through joint protests.

Through this simple meal of rice and blood, imaginary kinship links were enacted between people newly united behind a common sense of grievance against corporate impacts on their land and livelihoods. Rather than having built a sense of kinship with the corporation, as the corporate anthropologist had claimed, the cattle sacrifice on the road had thereby built a sense of unity between local people who had jointly mobilized during the protests and enjoyed the bull's blood together as a small taste of victory against a powerful multinational corporation.

When analysed in a historical context, the cattle sacrifice on the road to the mining site can be understood as a strategic use by the mining corporation of specifically Malagasy articulations of legitimate power such as cattle sacrifice rituals. Historically, such rituals have been strategically used by intruders in Madagascar to claim the right to rule over people and land. A historical analysis of such strategies to consolidate rule helps to explain local reactions to and experiences of the mining project.

In general, people affected by loss of land and resource access near the mining site conflated the mining project with the state. They referred to both corporation and government as the *fanjaka* (from the verb *manjaka*, to rule), but frequently also as the *vazaha* [foreigner], indicating how the state is considered a foreign intruder with arbitrary monopoly of power and land access (c.f. Cole 1997; Cole & Middleton 2001; Keller 2009b). In this context, it is helpful to refer to Bloch's study of the Merina kingdom's historical strategies of rule in Madagascar, which relied on the reinvention of kinship rituals of cattle sacrifice in order to consolidate power through discourses of imaginary kinship with Merina intruders.

Bloch's (1986b) analysis of the Malagasy circumcision ritual argues that the expanding Merina state transformed the ritual from a private to a public ceremony as a strategy to justify the royal monopoly of power, by representing the whole kingdom as one large descent group. A symbol of ancestral reproduction was thereby transformed

into a symbol of subordination to Merina state rule. The ritual became part of the legitimization of the domination of one group of people, and also a celebration of the conquest of non-Merina groups. In a later commentary on the book, Bloch (1986a) argues that the element of violence that is found in Malagasy rituals of blessing, such as cattle sacrifice and the requirement that participants spiritually surrender to the will of the ancestors, can be transformed into a legitimation of certain forms of political rule. This analysis of the political uses of ritual in Malagasy history is important to bear in mind when analyzing the mining corporation's use of cattle sacrifice.

In addition to Bloch's analysis of traditional sacrifice as an avenue for legitimizing and consolidating power, the ritual on the mining road can be read as a corporate strategy for managing the "unruly peasantry" (Scott 1998) near the mining site by rendering it "legible" (Foucault 1979; Scott 1998). By referring to the event as a *taha*, and thereby reinventing an ancestral marriage ritual, the corporation's social team was justifying corporate rights to land and resource based on links of imaginary kinship between local people and corporation. Development interventions, including those led by corporations, thereby continually recreate tradition, locality and community in new ways and in the context of global processes (cf. Appadurai 1997). The cattle sacrifice became an occasion for the mining companies to construct unpredictable local people as official stakeholders with whom agreements could be reached, as seen in the official corporate press release cited at the outset of this chapter. Local people's conduct was to be controlled through the corporate enactment of local traditions of rule, thereby rendering them both "legible" as local, tradition-bound villagers and "docile" by asserting a hold over their conduct to avoid further contestations of corporate access to land and resource access (cf. Foucault 1979).

However, beyond an act of reinventing culture in a context of global processes of corporate resource access, the cattle sacrifice on the road also illustrates of the role of particular actors in both implementing and changing corporate community relations. It is here relevant to refer to the more actor-oriented analysis by Cole (1997) of cattle sacrifice in Madagascar. They play an important role in mediating individual and collective experience of, and relationship to, the ancestral homeland and the outside

world, and are a way to negotiate the economic and political forces of post-colonial Madagascar (Cole 1997). Narratives produced in Malagasy cattle sacrifice extend well beyond the ritual context, as people who attend the sacrifice return to their homes and continue to discuss and reflect on the negotiations that took place (ibid). Stories produced both within and beyond the practice of sacrifice shape human action, by linking actions of the past and intentions of the future.

Traditional cattle sacrifices thereby provide a narrative of ancestry, community and connection, and as the cow's flesh is eaten, people's link to the ancestors and to one another is both enacted and reestablished. As Cole (1997: 403) points out, in Madagascar "talk about cows is always talk about social relations, whether proper or improper, and practices associated with sacrifice are how the imagined community gets played out and manipulated in the process of daily life." Cattle sacrifices thereby transform disruptive experiences, such as the establishment of a multinational mining project involving land and resource loss, and translate them to a familiar setting, thus allowing people to negotiate between otherwise contending models of how the world works. In addition, the cattle sacrifice thereby created space for new social groups, including alliances contesting new forms of domination.

The mining corporation's use and reinvention of such local customs as a strategy of rule over people and place can thereby be understood in the context of Malagasy ancestral rituals of cattle sacrifice. First, applying Bloch's analysis, it helps us to understand the corporation's use of local customs as an attempt at justifying its land and natural resource access through the creation of an imagined kinship with local people who had protested against the impacts of corporate resource extraction. Having successfully mobilized local people around what official corporate narrative termed a *taha*, or marriage ritual, the corporate cattle sacrifice, a ritual involving violence, death and shared meals, was an attempt at evoking an imagined shared ancestry. However, applying an actor-oriented approach and focusing on project participants and local discussions after the event, it is clear that the sacrifice failed to achieve the official corporate intentions. Importantly, after the bulls had been killed, all the ritual participants did not sit down and have a shared meal, with the

corporation's personnel instead leaving the area. This negated the corporate invocation of shared kinship and unity. As I will further discuss in the following chapters, corporate efforts at mobilizing local people into behaving as appropriate stakeholders ready and able to partake in corporate community programmes were ongoing but also constantly failing. With issues of dispossession from land and resources characterizing local experiences, corporate efforts to enroll local people into alternative income generation ventures generated new forms of exclusion which entailed ongoing protests against the corporation's presence.

Conclusion

Through the prism of a cattle sacrifice on a mining road, this chapter has introduced a field of various actor groups struggling over land and natural resources. Focusing on the historical background to the field-site, I have shown how such externally led resource struggles are nothing new to the region, tracing a history of encounters and schemes for resource extraction and social improvement, beginning with the 16th century first French settlement. However, I have also discussed the importance of local actors, in particular local "brokers and translators" in ensuring the failure or success of such ventures.

The chapter has thereby shown the importance of an ethnographic approach to fields of resource struggles in order to understand local experiences of the new alliances between multinational extractive corporations and weak states which ensure private sector captures of land and resources in the name of development and nature conservation. Such an ethnographic approach captures the micro political contestations which are possible within the apparent hegemony of state-backed corporate resource access. These contestations were apparent in protesters' alternative understanding of the cattle sacrifice on the road as representing a vindication of their ongoing grievances, which disproved official corporate narratives of kinship and the establishment of harmonious relations with local communities. Corporate attempts at deploying ancestral rituals of sacrifice to consolidate their rule over people and nature

thereby also opened up for the consolidation of local contestations to apparently hegemonic global trends of corporate land and resource access.

Chapter 4: *Extraction for conservation* - Mining and natural resource management in Madagascar

Introduction

This chapter explores how global development ideologies linking multinational resource extraction and nature conservation have led to private sector capture of land, resources and people through the QMM mining project in Madagascar. I make use of Foucault's analytical notion of neoliberal power in order to understand such new alliances between corporate and state actors. This analytical approach supports my argument that corporate socio-environmental impact assessments and mitigation programmes strategically deploy narratives about local culture and nature which justify corporate access to natural resources. I show how such narratives strategically "enframe" local people as culture-bound, environmentally destructive homogenous "communities" and local nature as static biodiversity replicable through corporate environmental programmes. This definition of socio-environmental problems permitted solutions to be linked to corporate interventions based on the creation of market-based community programmes and environmental "offset" schemes ensuring a "net positive impact" of mining on biodiversity. Such linking of problems and solutions to corporate resource extraction both served to justify private sector land and resource capture and also concealed the negative socio-environmental impacts of multinational mineral extraction and land capture.

The chapter also discusses the unintended effects of dominant ideologies linking corporate resource extraction with poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation. I show how this led to the exclusion of people and nature which fell outside of official socio-environmental categorizations of problems and solutions. This facilitated the entrenchment of the social status of existing elites near sites of extraction, by solidifying their claims to land and through their ability to participate as deserving "stakeholders" in corporate social programmes. This led to the "double exclusion" of already marginalised groups, such as migrants and landless sharecroppers, who both lost access to natural resources, and who did not have the capacity to qualify as

stakeholders in corporate alternative income-generating programmes near the new mining and conservation zone.

In the first part of the chapter, I set out the political context which has led to the current nexus of mining and conservation in Madagascar. I focus on how such global alliances are based on neoliberal techniques of government which rely on certain forms of knowledge generation of people and nature by extending market-based rationalities into domains previously considered “non-economic”. I then analyse how expert-defined categories of local “culture” and “nature” are created and reflected in corporate socio-environmental impact assessments and subsequent mitigation programmes. In the final part of the chapter, I analyse how such knowledge regimes have specific and unintended socio-environmental effects. These include new forms of socio-environmental exclusion as land and natural resources on which local people depended were commodified both as conservation capital and as minerals for fuelling global economic growth.

***‘A dream into a reality’*: mining and nature conservation in Madagascar**

In this section I explore how new global alliances of resource extraction and conservation based on neoliberal techniques of government rely on certain forms of knowledge generation about people and nature. The right to govern people and places is here justified through claims to scientific rationality where the exercise of government is linked with the production of scientific truth. Such neoliberal technologies of “rule” over people and places presume that people are ruled by universal mechanics of interest, and that they can therefore be regulated by scientifically based policies of general public good (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 351-352). The mandate to govern people and places is thereby given through ensure that regulations considered “natural”, whether people’s market-oriented behavior or general economic processes, lead to state intervention aimed at ensuring the optimal and safe functioning of such “natural” economic or social processes. The exercise of

neoliberal power thereby does not automatically imply a deregulation of the state, but rather a mandate to prevent or repress any “disorder, irregularity, illegality and delinquency” as defined against a scientifically proven social and natural order (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 353).

Government over people and places based on such premises entails the need for a whole series of institutions, apparatuses and mechanisms aiming to ensure incentive-regulations to manage the economy and the population, as well as the natural world conceived of in terms of biodiversity as “service provider” (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 354; Luke 1999). Importantly, the population came to be considered not as a collection of rights-bearing subjects, but as a system of living beings to be optimally managed by neutral and expert-based scientific knowledge. The government of society considered according to these terms is based on “biopolitics” aimed at treating the population as manageable through knowledge-based techniques aiming at expert-defined biological and pathological deficiencies (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 366-367), with “population” expanded over the last two decades to include “all of life’s biodiversity” (Luke 1999: 122).

In this context, with governmental neoliberalism is considered as leading to a plethora of governing structures, multinational corporations have gained a new, proactive role of governing people and places, a shift considered to simultaneously benefit corporate profit-making, local poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation. Following Foucault, this represents a new phase of governmental reason where the state or those who represent it, in this case a multinational mining corporation, possess a truth concerning the population and a given territory. However, as the thesis further discusses in the next chapter, this also leads to counter-conducts, as the hegemony of truth will be contested by alternative representations of reality.

In June 2007, Malagasy President Marc Ravalomanana, in an inaugural speech of the construction of a new port related to a large scale mining project, described the project’s inception and implications in the following words:

‘Twenty years ago many people thought that the QMM ilmenite [mining] project would never succeed. [...] The success of what we see today is a result of Public Private Partnership. It is an

example of the government, business, donors and NGOs working together to turn a dream into a reality. [...] Large mining companies should reach out to the local community to help them with their problems and challenges. [...] They must involve NGOs, the Government, and local communities in monitoring progress on protecting the environment. [...] I would like to encourage the local people to take advantage of the opportunities. To succeed, you must change some of your thinking, behaviour, and habits.’⁶

In order to understand why a mining project was presented as a dream come true and the harbinger of development, it needs to be contextualised. In 2005, the Anglo-Australian mining corporation Rio Tinto officially announced an investment in a \$775 million titanium dioxide (ilmenite) mining project in Tolagnaro,⁷ south east Madagascar (Rio Tinto 2005b). The mining project, managed by Rio Tinto subsidiary QIT Madagascar Minerals (QMM), included a 20% purchase option for the Malagasy government, which however the government has not yet been able to finance (Harbinson 2007, oral communication former Minister of Mines, 2009). Benefiting from a special limited taxation regime, the mining project’s profit share is extremely beneficial to the mining corporation, with limited benefits to the Malagasy government even if the boom in global mineral markets continues (Harbinson 2007, oral communication by Madagascar Presidency anti-corruption expert, 2008). A World Bank loan to the Malagasy government contributed \$35 million for the construction of a deep sea port necessary for QMM to export the mineral for refinement in Canada. This loan was part of a major World Bank funded ‘Integrated Growth Poles Project’, with Tolagnaro qualifying as one of three national investment poles due mainly to the mining project (World Bank 2005).

It took almost 20 years from the 1986 signature of a joint mining venture between Rio Tinto and the Malagasy state until the project was confirmed in 2005. This period was filled with multiple studies, negotiations and media campaigns related to the role of the mining project, considered either as an irreversible degradation of the already endangered local bio-diversity, or the ‘motor’ of development which would alleviate

⁶ Speech by President Marc Ravalomanana 12 June 2007 given primarily in English. <http://www.madagascar-presidency.gov.mg/index.php/item/672> (accessed 09.08.2008).

⁷ Better known under the colonial name of Fort Dauphin.

the region's poverty (Revéret 2007: 213). With 70% of Madagascar's 18 million inhabitants characterized by donors as living in 'extreme poverty', coupled with a biodiversity estimated at 80% endemic, poverty and biodiversity have become the two major moral concepts mobilizing international donors and NGOs around Madagascar (Goedefroit & Revéret 2007: 16). In 1984, Madagascar was one of the first African nations to develop a national strategy for conservation and development. This strategy entailed a close alignment of conservation and development policies, based on structural adjustment conditionalities such as privatization of conservation service delivery and land being set aside for tourist-oriented biodiversity conservation and private sector projects (Duffy 2008; Gezon 2005: 139-140).

A development ideology linking mineral extraction and environmental conservation has thereby become increasingly influential in Madagascar, closely linked with a World Bank-led focus on economic growth and market integration (Gezon 2005: 140; Goedefroit & Revéret 2007: 15). As the Malagasy government has become increasingly dependent on World Bank funding over the past 30 years, the initial 1986 granting of rights to the corporation to explore for minerals in the area was almost inevitable (Sarrasin 2004: 64-65). The World Bank has played a key role in promoting the new Malagasy mining code of 1999, which has a comprehensive theoretical framework linking liberalization of mining and anti-poverty measures, based on the notion of entrepreneurial opportunity and "trickle-down" economic effects (ibid.: 63-64).⁸

After more than 20 years of structural adjustment having reduced the state's human and financial resources, the Malagasy government, according to the World Bank's own analysis, is hardly able to implement its own liberal legislation, including the new mining code (Sarrasin 2004). This legal framework has explicit environmental and

⁸ This illustrates how neoliberal development institutions function through "template mechanisms", or representations of the world based on mobilising concepts such as "growth-based development", which create pre-constructed frameworks to control complex realities, ignoring how real cases of poverty alleviation have been accompanied by measures such as state intervention and redistribution (Cooper & Packard 1997: 24).

social safeguards meant to mitigate the adverse impact of projects such as the QMM mining venture (Sarrasin 2004: 66). The World Bank's role in the creation of dominant representations of development and environment problems and solutions is therefore an important structuring feature setting the scope for dominant perceptions of how to attain the objectives of poverty and bio-diversity conservation in Madagascar.

As international environmental activism has led to World Bank and corporate investments in contested, large scale land and infrastructure projects needing a strong sense of ecological and social need, a growing network of scientists, technocrats and NGOs are employed to generate the appropriate data for the discursive practices of "sustainability," in a shift which has been termed "green neoliberalism" (Goldman 2005: 156). Since the 1990s, an increasing number of international mining companies have adopted proactive CSR policies to deal with the social, environmental and ethical issues being pushed by vocal transnational advocacy networks and NGOs (Szablowski 2002: 249). This has entailed establishing new policies and programmes emphasising global corporate legitimacy, drawing on the symbolic capital of social science experts drawing up new social categories such as "stakeholders" requiring identification and engagement (Sharp 2006).

Part of the new CSR strategies has thereby entailed the establishment of in-house environmental and socio-economic development programmes which include the hiring of experts such as conservationists and development workers (Kapelus 2002: 279). Along these lines, in Madagascar the mining company has adopted a proactive social engagement strategy for the ilmenite project. The corporation has presented the project as a flagship example of their CSR policies, with the Chief Executive of Rio Tinto describing the project as "a model of the contribution mining can make through the successful integration of financial, environmental and community objectives" (Rio Tinto 2005b). The corporation's ambitious socio-environmental team in Madagascar is further discussed in chapter 5.

Additionally, the company has established partnerships with a number of prominent international conservation bodies, including Birdlife International, Conservation International, Earthwatch Institute, Flora and Fauna International, and the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew. As a point in case, Rio Tinto, together with the International Union for Conservation of Nature, one of the largest international environmental NGOs, entered into a “collaborative agreement” in July 2010 in order to “build a business focused collaboration that enables Rio Tinto to improve its delivery of conservation outcomes, strengthen IUCN and Rio Tinto capacities for market-based approaches to conservation, and contribute to industry-wide improvements in the mining and associated sectors”.⁹

As is pointed out in a recent study of the Rio Tinto mine in Madagascar, the strategic deployment of sustainability tropes in corporate partnerships with international conservation NGOs facilitate corporate land access through a neoliberal project of based on the commodifying of nature as both capitalist resource and “offset” biodiversity (Seagle 2012). This global trend of appropriation of land and resources for environmentalist ends has been termed “green grabbing” and is an emerging process of deep and growing significance (Fairhead et al. 2012).

As in other parts of the world, “green grabbing” in Madagascar builds on histories of colonial and neocolonial resource alienation in the name of the environment, as analysed in Chapter 1. This form of corporate resource capture is justified through new forms of valuation, commodification and the creation of new markets for certain parts of “nature” (Fairhead et al. 2012). It also entails a complex plethora of new actors and alliances, such as the case discussed in this thesis of mining corporations and biodiversity conservation bodies and socio-environmental experts. This shift explains the World Bank, Malagasy government and mining corporation’s active production of socio-environmental research used in both socio-environmental impact

⁹ http://www.iucn.org/about/work/programmes/business/bbp_our_work/rio_tinto/ (accessed 12.11.2010). It should be noted that this agreement did cause controversy among IUCN’s constituency, as shown by the heated debate in the comments section of their website once the agreement had been posted there.

assessments and as a basis for establishing corporate development and nature conservation programmes. The new role of multinational corporations as new agents for certain types of socio-environmental knowledge production thereby contribute to their new role of optimal stewards of society and nature, and justifying corporate access to land and natural resources.

As Mulligan's (1999: 55) study of the inception of Rio Tinto's Madagascar mining project shows, the mining corporation's use of "expert knowledge" in Madagascar via consultants such as biologists and social scientists makes it able to claim intellectual monopoly in the debates over the mining project, by establishing certain forms of knowledge as valid and marginalizing in the debate those incapable of participating in these forms of discourse. As major World Bank-financed development and conservation projects are increasingly administered by those considered as experts, target beneficiaries are intrinsically defined as lacking, irrational, destructive to the environment, and needing development (Goldman 2005: 170).¹⁰

In this context, it is important to consider the social implications when the power to manage natural resources and define access rights becomes fragmented into new and complex alliances between extractive corporations, NGOs and postcolonial governments in places like Madagascar. Specifically, we must consider the new types of land and resource rights and new forms of accountability and responsibility for risks and failure. This entails analyzing impacts on specific ecologies, landscapes and livelihoods in terms of how agrarian social relations, rights and authorities are being restructured, and in whose interests (Fairhead et al. 2012).

Comparative analyses of corporate-led development schemes in Africa show how they entail new forms of resource rights and responsibilities, based on the redefinition of local people from rights-bearing citizens into corporate "stakeholders" (Sharp 2006).

¹⁰ Goldman's lack of ethnographic evidence of local people's perspectives on the dam project he analyses, essentialized and romanticized as "subaltern knowledge", must here be pointed out. A study of dam-related displacement in Chile illustrates how what for some people constituted state-led oppression, to others represented "a new day", through opportunities for accessing state service provision and new forms of employment (Fletcher 2001: 42)

Rights to land, resources and development services are thereby based the classification of people according to their proximity to sites of corporate extraction. Expert-led definitions of “stakeholders” are therefore a crucial political exercise of defining rights to land and resources. However, the power entailed in this exercise is camouflaged by the technical language of CSR experts. As we have seen, this is characteristic of neoliberal forms of governmentality where the power to rule over people and places depends on supposedly neutral, scientifically based policies of general public good (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 351-352).

As such, the ilmenite mining project in Madagascar can be analysed as a new site of expert-led knowledge production which has led to a unified discourse of corporate-led development and conservation programmes as the best solution to a natural resource rich region’s poverty and environmental degradation. This conceals the negative political consequences of this in terms of limiting public rights to resources and service delivery to their ability to qualify as corporate “stakeholders”, and of fragmenting responsibility and accountability for development services and resource management in a complicated nexus of public and private partnerships.

The next section of the chapter analyses the two socio-environmental impact assessments which were conducted of the mining project as examples of expert-led knowledge creation about local nature and culture.

Corporate socio-environmental impact assessments: representations of people and nature

The many agents and phases involved in generating the socio-environmental impact assessments for the mining project illustrate the complex shift between public and private spheres. The following outline of a “genealogy” of the mining project’s impact assessments serves to illustrate the fragmentation of accountability in terms of social development and environmental stewardship which the mining project represents.

An initial Social and Environmental Impact Assessment (SEIA) of the mining project was commissioned by the Malagasy government and carried out by the corporation itself via local and international socio-environmental experts it commissioned for this purpose. The corporation submitted this first SEIA to the Malagasy National Environment Office (ONE) in 2001. This SEIA formed the basis for the project being granted the obligatory environmental permit and also established the corporation's legal obligations, such as submitting regular socio-environmental reports to the ONE (see Burnod et al. 2011).

However, a second socio-environmental impact assessment was commissioned in 2005 by the World Bank. This was due to legal requirements of having independent SEIAs performed of large scale World Bank infrastructure investments, including the Integrated Growth Pole mechanism through which the World Bank had contributed its loan to mining-related infrastructure development in Fort Dauphin to the Malagasy government. This second SEIA was carried out by a Canadian consultancy firm, but importantly, most of the socio-environmental information was simply copied from the 2001 impact assessment which had been commissioned directly by the mining corporation.

The SEIA exercise can be analysed as representing a Western form of knowledge production which since the early 20th century has been based on social scientific knowledge creation attempting to resolve social complexity into simple dualities of the real and its representation. These dualities include the categories of “nature” and “science”, and “land” and the abstraction of “law (Mitchell 2002). Such expert-based knowledge production serves to reduce a complex society into an object amenable to technical governmental interventions (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]: 352). Through such techniques of knowledge production, assisted by scientific information such as statistics and maps, the contested, political and representational nature of the world as portrayed by social scientists was erased (Mitchell 2002: 301).

Exercises such as SEIAs are thereby based on the presumption that technical, expert-based knowledge about social and environmental issues would ensure control over most project impacts and identify the necessary mitigation measures. This is a feature characteristic of neoliberal development that Li (2007b) terms “rendering technical”, where what would otherwise be contested social and political issues, such as land and resource access, shift from a political to a technical, no contestable arena of expert-led solutions. The analysis of SEIA documents can therefore help reveal and question the situated assumptions behind expert-based representations of local people and nature.

In the case of the mining project’s SEIAs, the representation of nature and responsibility for environmental degradation plays a key part in struggles over representation of the world, with direct effects on dominating conceptions of legal rights to land and natural resources. The representation of people living near the intended mining sites was key to the justification of the mining project as not only providing local development, but also, crucially, as safeguarding the unique local ecosystem of the region from destructive local livelihoods practices.

Under the rubric of “human environment”, the SEIA gives detailed ethnographic details of local people, simply termed “villagers.” The analysis stresses people’s loyalty to ancient hierarchical traditions, and how “religion, through belief and rituals, mark all stages of the existence of individuals and groups”(QMM 2001a Chapter 3: 33, translation mine). Such notions of a generic “village” with a generic “villager” consciousness justifies pre-designed interventions by development specialists, rather than allowing for political debates over values and meanings (Pigg 1992: 505). In Madagascar, the notion of the “village” as a key unit of analysis keeps complex tensions within and between specific groups of people out of sight, and helps construct local people as docile populations subject to development and conservation project goals (Hanson 2007: 265). In contrast with these SEIA representations, the region which hosts the mining project has a history strongly influenced by conflicts over land and resources, migration and strict social hierarchies based on access to land and natural resources, as set out in Chapter 1.

The representation of tradition-bound local people in the SEIA analysis was strategically used by the corporation to justify land and resource access. By employing the power of scientific knowledge generation, the mining subsidiary QMM's community relations team in a multi-authored publication on biodiversity conservation in southeastern Madagascar published by the Smithsonian, a US-based scientific institute, claims that the company has gained local acceptance of its appropriation of land through a traditional legal agreement, a so-called *dina* (Vincelette et al. 2007a).¹¹ In the publication, the company explains that the *dina*, a management agreement co-signed by the two local municipalities, the central government's Water and Forestry Department and the mining corporation, aims to implicate the population near Mandena, the first mining site, in the sustainable management of renewable natural resources.

The reinvention of the *dina* in Madagascar represents a trend within the global conservation community to achieve both improved conservation results and human equity through local participation in protected areas management (Razanabahiny 1995). However, effects of such neoliberal policies entail a shift in responsibility for resource management and degradation towards impoverished local people under the guise of "empowerment" (Agrawal 2005a; Gezon 2005). Along these lines, Madagascar's 1996 GELOSE (Gestion Locale Securisé) legislation (Law 96-025) opened up for the management transfer of natural resources from central government to local people via contracts between rural communities and the central and local government, giving "exclusive rights" to the resources to the community that signs the contract, including "relative" land ownership (Bertrand & Ratsimbarison 2004: 85-86; Kull 2004). This law was based on the drawing up *dina*, understood as "local common law regulations", on access to and use of natural resources (ibid.).

Such neoliberal legislative features were thereby strategically employed by the corporation to justify land access. The mining corporation describes the *dina* as "a

¹¹ See Rarivoson (2007) for an account from the perspective of the corporate environmental team of the establishment of the Mandena forest Management Committee (COGE) and *dina*.

uniquely Malagasy construct”, being a social contract based on “traditional practices” in order to manage a potential source of conflict. The *dina* “identifies the respective commitments of the various parties, and determines the sanctions to be applied in case of non-compliance” (Vincelette et al. 2007a). Crucially, the corporate socio-environmental team claims that the *dina* “are anchored in custom and tradition, they render legal agreements culturally acceptable at the villagers’ level, and in many cases more tangible than national laws and regulations.” The use of a “traditional” conflict management arrangement such as a *dina*, based on the analysis of socio-cultural experts, helps QMM appear as a sensitive and culturally correct in managing relations with local people, building on the notion of these people as homogenous, tradition-bound “villagers.”¹²

However, an institution such as the *dina* is not without its history, and neither are local traditions. The *dina* itself is based on supposedly egalitarian rural decision-making structures, but ill adapted to actual social differentiation at village level, including high-status kinship groups which dominate those considered as descendants of slaves, with the *dina* originally imposed on subjugated groups by the dominant socio-political group linked to the central regime in Antananarivo (Kohnert 2004: 13).¹³ Indeed, the *dina*, constructed by the mining corporation as a normative code freely elaborated local villagers, depends on the *fizokiana* (birthright) and authority of certain groups of male elders, and has since colonial days functioned as a simple relay mechanism of order from the central state rather than as a “bottom-up” expression of local aspirations (Rajaona 1980).¹⁴ Additionally, the new *dina* contracts, contrary to stated intentions, generally do not result from explicit negotiations between government and

¹² Keller (2009a: 83) points out that whereas conservationists in Madagascar tend to equate “culture” with *fady* (prohibitions), a deeper understanding of what “culture” is necessary if it is not to be used merely as a means to an end.

¹³ For a detailed discussion about social hierarchy, the continued influence of slavery and ongoing social exclusion in the Anosy region, see Somda (2009).

¹⁴ Similarly, in a discussion of the Mandena *dina* by a member of QMM’s environmental team (Rarivoson 2007), it is pointed out that historically the *dina* was linked with the notion of *fokonolona* (local community) as an expression of village community life, with the village elders and other prominent individuals could decree the regulations (*dina*) and exercise a measure of local control over matters such as specific community projects and security. However, this is not problematized in terms of how it might therefore solidify local hierarchy and mechanisms of social exclusion.

community, but are established simply as pre-packaged deals with rules pre-defined for acceptance by local people, who risk losing access to land if they do not accept (Antonia & al. 2004: 841; Goedefroit 2007: 49-50; Kull 2002: 64).

As Li (2001: 670) points out, land and resource rights made contingent upon specific notions of stewardship are only a pale version of the rights most citizens effectively enjoy. Corporate land and resource access through the establishment of *dina* thereby represented a new regime of rights and responsibilities linked to the ability of local people to perform as a deserving “community” of environmental stewards (cf. Agrawal 2005a). Complex local issues of lack of access to land, social hierarchies and exclusions were thereby bracketed as the corporate definitions of problems and solutions focused on local people’s unsustainable resource use and their need to become responsible, participative “green” citizens.

Representations of community stakeholders

As we have seen, mining project justifications are based on a new corporate social responsibility agenda which focuses on engaging with “stakeholders”, including “local communities”. In terms of consulting with local people, the 2001 SEIA goes to great pains to explain the “participative” and “consultative” processes the company has followed to ensure the ownership and agreement from the people they term “villagers”, including over 75 consultation sessions, and regular meetings with both elected and “traditional leaders who represent villagers” (QMM 2001a: 12). Such public consultation can be analysed in the context of a corporation dependent on an “active consumer-participant” knowledge production which requires keeping stable what counts as “society”, and a society which needs to be kept visible through public forums (Strathern 2005). Communication becomes both an end and a means, as any dissenting opinions are recorded as a “respectful difference of opinion” (ibid: 471).

In these type of consultations, where the degree and type of “participation” required by local people is set by the mining company, there is thereby limited respect for local

agency, although the stakes are extremely high for local people. The results of this process of public opinion making will determine the dispossession of livelihoods and any compensation given (Szablowski 2002: 253).¹⁵ What is supposed to ensure the integrity of such a process is the expertise and integrity of the professionals hired as consultants by the mining company, with interpretation of loss and benefit becoming a technical activity rather than a political, contestable act (ibid.: 253; c.f. Li 2007).

In an independent study of the QMM mining project, it is pointed out that the local populations' heterogeneity and lack of resources does not allow these people to have a clear and unified position on the project, reducing their possibility for influence, in spite of QMM's stakeholder engagement procedures, which are extensive on paper (Sarrasin 2006: 11). Similarly, Mulligan (1999: 54), having interviewed local people in the mining project area, points out that the meaningfulness of the company's stakeholder "participation" efforts was questionable, with people ill-informed about most aspects of the mining venture, including its direct impact on their lives.

Images of community are therefore central to resource access at local level, not in terms of rights and rules, but as culturally available points of leverage in the ongoing process of negotiation over access to land and resources (Li 1996: 509). In the new corporate responsibility language, the concept of "community" figures prominently, with the "local community" representing those most adversely affected and having the most credible claims (Kapelus 2002: 279-280). However, it is therefore in the company's interests to portray its definition of community as uncontested, so that the mining project can proceed smoothly, rather than questioning traditional authority, acknowledging internal disagreements in the "community", or investigate how

¹⁵ An ethnographic analysis of an evaluation of a national park in eastern Madagascar illuminates basic obstacles to such "participatory" approaches. For the USAID evaluation team, the encounter with local people near the park was as an open, participatory interview to gauge local needs and their perceptions of the park, but to the residents, the encounter was a *fivoriana* – a formal meeting with an official discourse style primarily reserved for older men, not a space for the airing differing opinions (Hanson 2007: 254). This, coupled with the meeting's translators seeking to please the USAID team and ensure future jobs, led to local frustrations at land appropriation being expressed as satisfaction with the park (ibid.).

mining-related benefits are internally distributed (ibid: 281-282).¹⁶ This helps explain how the good intentions of corporate responsibility discourses are effective as mobilizing metaphor, with the gap between universalising ideals and their implementation in specific contexts obscured (c.f. Tsing 2004).

Representations of nature and its “offsetting”

A central message in the 2001 SEIA (QMM 2001b: 9) is that “the littoral forest remnants are under heavy pressure from villagers who depend on the forest for firewood, charcoal and construction wood”. This representation of local people’s responsibility for deforestation is followed by the claim that 74% of the littoral forest in Mandena, the first of three mining sites, has disappeared since 1950 (ibid). This also allows the corporation to claim that their “offset” strategies, or environmental compensation programmes of re-planting trees and establishing on and off-site conservation zones, entails that the project has a “net positive impact on the environment, with the active participation of the communities” (QMM 2009a).¹⁷

The World Bank-funded 2005 SEIA, in a more directly neo-Malthusian tradition, argues that the region’s high population growth combined with overwhelming poverty has contributed to serious environmental degradation, in particular through the practice of swidden agriculture, as “the abusive use of natural resources by the populations, due to chronic conditions of poverty, has created huge pressures on the ecosystems” (Tecsult International 2005a: 16). Such claims about local people’s environmental destruction shows how representations of responsibility for deforestation in Madagascar function as political constructions by groups seeking to

¹⁶ As Apthorpe (1997: 53) points out, the vocabulary of aid is virtuous, with terms like ‘participation’ and ‘community’ being moral references that most people would agree with, and with persuasive power in public text strongest where descriptive power is weakest.

¹⁷ Rio Tinto mining corporation’s press kit available on http://www.riotintomadagascar.com/english/pdfs/media/01.03.09_Press%20kit.%20A%20mine%20at%20the%20rescue%20of%20the%20unique%20biodiversity%20of%20the%20littoral%20zone%20of%20Fort-Dauphin.pdf (accessed 14.06.2010)

establish the “reality” most conducive to their interests (Jarosz 1993: 367-368). These representations of nature and deforestation serve to negate the complex historical, socio-economic and political processes which underpin present day deforestation, as discussed in Chapter 3.¹⁸

The fact that local land management practices such as swidden agriculture are demonized draws attention away from the negative socio-environmental impact of the mine. The SEIA could represent such mining-related environmental destruction as “forest fragments to be removed for mining [...] sooner than they would otherwise have been cut down by villagers under the no-mining scenario” (QMM 2001b: 20-21). This representation in turn makes the mining projects’ appropriation of land and extraction of resources appear justified in a social field where environmental crisis narratives blaming local practices have become dominant (cf. Sullivan 2009: 18).

In order to strengthen its environmental conservation programme, through partnerships with a plethora of international conservation bodies, the corporation has established an ambitious environmental “offset” programme. This involves, first, the restoration of the mining site, primarily through the introduction of fast-growing, exotic species, and second, off-site forest conservation claiming thousands of hectares of land in order to achieve a “net positive impact” on local biodiversity (Vincelette et al. 2007a). Meticulous calculations are used by the company’s environmental experts illustrate the net losses and gains of forest coverage (see Figure 1).

¹⁸ An interesting parallel can be found in an analysis by Metha (2001) of narratives of water scarcity in western India, where representations of water scarcity served to manufacture dominant perceptions which legitimized the controversial Narmada dam, benefiting powerful actors such as politicians, industrialists and large farmers, with the needs of the poorest, who faced displacement and loss of land, neglected, and the industrial causes of water scarcity obscured.

Table 01: Principal offset sites for intrinsic values impacted by the QMM project

Biodiversity components	Management intervention	Projected net impact in terms of forest area and quality at mine closure (+60 years)
Mandena, Petriky and St Luce ilmenite deposits		
Littoral forest, swamp forest, constituent threatened and locally endemic species.	Avoidance and rehabilitation programmes.	Loss of: -1217 quality hectares
Tsitongambarika		
Humid forest, littoral forest tree species, littoral forest mammal and reptile species, and many other locally endemic, threatened and new to science species. In addition, important catchment protection and carbon sequestration/storage services.	Avoided deforestation through: 1. Designation as a national protected area. 2. Community based ecological monitoring direct payments projects.	Gain of: +5760 quality hectares (note this is humid forest)
Mahabo		
Littoral forest and constituent priority species such as <i>Croton louvelii</i> and <i>Leptolaena pauciflora</i> , two priority plants also found in QMM forests.	Avoided deforestation through: 1. Designation as a national protected area. 2. Avoided deforestation and promoted reforestation through community based sustainable resource use projects.	Gain of: +211 quality hectares
St Luce forests		
Littoral forest and constituent priority species – particularly those locally endemic to the St Luce ilmenite deposit.	Avoided deforestation and degradation through community based sustainable resource use projects. A reforestation programme is also planned.	Gain of: +171 quality hectares
Ambatotsirongoro		
Transitional littoral forest. Some key species such as <i>Phelsuma antanosy</i> , a rare gecko.	Avoided deforestation plus a reforestation programme, managed through community based sustainable resource use projects.	Gain of: +169.5 quality hectares
Total quality hectares of forest		+5095 quality hectares ⁶

⁶ Note some of these are humid forest so this calculation includes both "like-for-like" and "out-of-kind" offsets.

Figure 1: QMM land access via “loss” and “gain” of “forest area”

(from "Rio Tinto and Biodiversity: Biodiversity offset design" p. 8-9)

As the corporation points out, it has invested in a large team of environmental and biodiversity specialists in order to analyse the biodiversity within and around the mining site, which has resulted in the identification of a large number of species and habitats, making the littoral forests in Anosy some of the best known ecosystems in Madagascar (Vincelette et al. 2007a). Scientific knowledge creation about local nature is thereby directly linked to corporate resource extraction. This is further strengthening the corporation's claim to land and resources through the enrolment and mutual support between biodiversity experts and corporate extractive ventures.

Ironically, as nature is mapped and thereby made globally "visible," as endemic biodiversity, it is also extracted for an expanding global, resource dependent economy, as argued by Seagle (2012). Her study shows how this paradox is exemplified through the corporation's partnership with Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew in the UK, and the establishment of a "seed bank" project which ensures that endemic seed species are sent from the mining project's conservation zone to the UK for conservation as a global resource heritage. Local nature is thereby turned into a global commodity to be quantified by biodiversity experts and traded in complex calculations of extraction and conservation. This represents a market-based rationality which conceives of people and nature as a system of living beings which through technical interventions designed by scientific, economic calculations can be rationally managed in an optimal manner (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 366). Such conceptions of people and nature both justify expert-led corporate calculative regimes of resource extraction and conservation and represents a shift from considering the population as a collection of right-bearing subjects towards objects to be targeted for campaigns of improvement in attitude and ways of living (ibid.).

Incorporating the local state: new politics of entitlement

The central and local state played a key role as providing a legal and democratic framework for corporate capture of land and resources. As illustrated in the previous section, local experiences of this situation show how projects based on a neoliberal

arguments of market-based development such as the Madagascar mine do not automatically entail a reduction of the state. This section discusses how the mining corporation's land and resource access, which required an enabling state framework for corporate socio-environmental service delivery, resulted in a fractioning of state responsibility and accountability where "the market" came to be constructed as site of optimal management of people and nature (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]).

The corporation, under the heading of "shared responsibilities", in its 2010 Sustainable Development Report sets out ambitious local development and nature conservation objectives, arguing that mining companies must "ensure that their businesses bring to the host region sustainable progress on an economic, social and environmental level" (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 26). Importantly, the corporation stresses that in order to avoid taking on the role of a local state, a decade before the Madagascar investment decision, it had begun to "work actively with the authorities and the regional and local development leaders" to establish the groundwork for its development plans for the region where it was to operate. The corporation's stated intention with such engagements with the local state was to establish a "social, economic, professional and legal environment that will maximize the profitability of the project, as well as the positive repercussions for the region" (ibid.). Crucially, responsibility for success is assigned by the corporation to the responsible behavior of four parties: the authorities, the community, the donors and QMM (ibid: 10). This represents both a fragmentation of responsibilities on the part of rulers and a notion of public rights based on the correct behavior of people in terms of constituting a local "community" which as we have seen in chapter 1 is typical of neoliberal strategies of government.

The corporation's strategy of creating a "responsible" local state manifested itself in a plethora of new state-"community" interfaces: A "Regional Development Committee" (CRD) representing the state, community and donors was established in order to produce a "Regional Development Schema" (SRD) and a regional development plan, with financial contributions from the state and donors such as the World Bank, as well as the mining corporation itself (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 10). In addition, a new

“Regional development Coordination Structure” (SCDR) was being established as a “multi-stakeholder body” to include the President of the CRD, the Region’s Director of Regional Development and others. Governmental central and local land use planning was to be strengthened through a new “National Plan for Land Management” (*Schéma National d’Aménagement du Territoire - SNAT*), which was translated at the regional level into a “Regional Plan for Land Management”, and which was to be followed by inter-municipality and municipality level land management plans (Bezanson et al. 2012). Such mapping and planning exercises make local land, resources and people “legible” and amenable to governmental policies (Scott 1998), and thereby facilitate land and resource access for multinational corporations in countries oriented towards receiving foreign direct investments, such as Madagascar.

Finally, the corporation had encouraged the creation of a Regional Environmental Monitoring Committee (CSER) composed of experts of various disciplines responsible for verifying issues brought to the regional office of the ONE, the governmental environmental directorate, for verifying the conformance of the mining corporation to its legal obligations. The lack of financial resources of the ONE rendered this Committee dependent on the mining corporation for its logistics including, for example, basic water quality measuring instruments (Bezanson et al. 2012). Due to lack of state funds, the verification of contested facts such as the flooding of fields and pollution of local water bodies was thereby done by experts financed by the mining corporation, as state-community interfaces were expanded without strengthening the governmental capacity for establishing alternative scientific evidence.

The corporation in its needs to expand interfaces with local people and make them “legible” subjects (Foucault 2009 [2004]; Scott 1998) amenable to corporate development plans in this way actively contributed to expanding local and regional state structures which focused on mapping local “communities”, their needs and the natural resources on which they depended. The corporation as part of its biodiversity conservation agenda thereby contributed to expanding state-run nature conservation zones, experienced locally as land and resource capture, by establishing “New Protected Areas” in mining-held concessions outside the official mineral deposits.

In addition to expanding the state's territorial control, the corporation also contributed to establishing a plethora of new state interfaces with local people, or as the corporation states, "liaison structures with stakeholders" to "ensure the fulfillment" of the legal role of the Anosy Region (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 26-27). These interfaces included a steering committee for each corporate-funded community development project, a "participative budget"-structure for ensuring transparency of mining revenue at municipality level, and a "Mining Foundation" to better manage the mining project's income in the Region (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 26-27). The local government was thereby expanded towards both mapping local needs and showcasing how the mining project was meeting these needs.

However, the strengthening of such governmental interfaces also reduced its capacity for independently monitoring mining project impacts. Instead, the plethora of new public structures led to a fragmentation in responsibility for development and resource management objectives, as local citizens were taken into account as autonomous "community" responsible for participating in corporate projects and thereby work themselves out of poverty. The corporation's conflating of local people with "community" represents a key notion within neoliberal ideology where "lower transaction costs" of "decentralized service delivery" via multiple market actors and local juridical mechanisms promises poverty relief to those who respect the rule of law and property rights of the powerful (Craig & Porter 2006: 6-7).

As we have seen through local people's experiences, when they are reduced to claiming rights as "community" rather than as individuals with equal rights to governmental services, local forms of social differentiation such as land access, gender and age, are exacerbated. "Brokers" such as Guy are able to navigate and benefit from the many new state-community interfaces and enjoy the new forms of land and resource access bestowed those able to perform as community representatives "stakeholders". This fragmentation in responsibility for potential negative socio-environmental effects of the mining project is aptly illustrated in the corporation's own figure for the various state interfaces to be consulted when

receiving local complaints (illustrated in Figure 2). Here, the politics of defining “facts” and “responsibility” behind unintended corporate socio-environmental impacts are represented as simple and technical flows which conceal the complex struggles of local people near the mining site, such as Guy, Fredy and Repela. Crucially, the corporation is depended on as a supplier of scientific fact.

Community Relations

The establishment of a permanent and effective dialogue mechanism with communities remains a challenge for QMM. It is within this context that the 2010 achievement in validating the effectiveness of the management mechanism for handling complaints should be viewed. This legal and participative tool allows the collection of complaints from the population for efficient forwarding to the party responsible for handling the grievance.

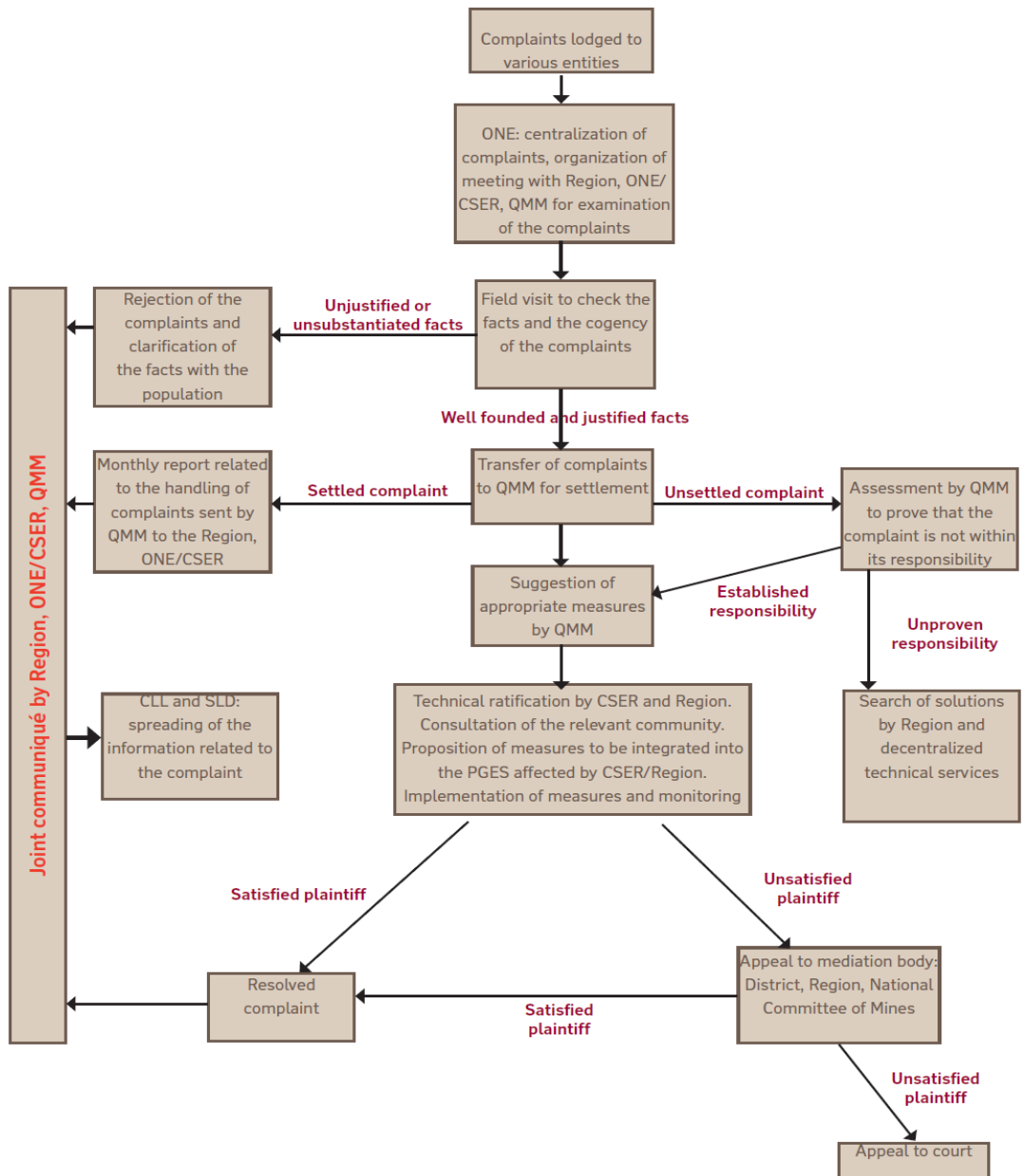


Figure 2: QMM's complaint handling mechanism

(Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 22)

However, neoliberal strategies for capturing land, resources and people are not infallible. In Madagascar, political events led to the thwarting of corporate strategies for local state building which would ensure the mining project simultaneously being credited with lofty development and conservation impacts and avoiding being held responsible for their actual delivery. The Malagasy political crisis of 2009 led to the suspension of international development funding to the Anosy Region, including by the World Bank, leaving the corporation solely responsible for funding the new governmental structures. As the corporation itself laments in its sustainable development report, it found itself as “the only source of investment” in the Anosy Region, and experienced “public criticism, relating not only to our own challenges, but also to unmet expectations beyond our control” in terms of socio-economic development (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 10). This situation reveals the uncertain outcomes of neoliberal encounters, as corporate strategies of state building to avoid accountability were thwarted and the corporation experienced local discontent and criticism about its failure to deliver on these promises, including violent demonstrations which were covered in the UK Telegraph newspaper.¹⁹

As explored in the previous chapter, the corporation was initially supported by the central and local Malagasy state as part of the Ravalomanana government’s focus on market-based development through foreign direct investment. Ravalomanana’s donor-oriented political reforms during his two presidential periods from 2002 to 2008 resulted in investment-friendly changes in the Malagasy mining code which included the facilitation of land and resource access by multinational mining corporations (Sarrasin 2006). We must here bear in mind that such corporate land access is part of a particular legal framework which allows corporations to hold property rights as if they were individuals, a historical particularity of the Western liberal state and its notion of incorporated profit-making (Craig & Porter 2006).

¹⁹ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/industry/mining/9797182/Rio-Tinto-threatens-to-exit-Madagascar-after-CEO-is-trapped-by-protesters.html> (accessed 12.01.2013).

However, as we have seen in local discourses about the mining project, the corporation was not considered by local people near the mining site to have justified rights to land and resources. This illustrates the gap between the legal framework as set by the postcolonial state, and local conceptions of legality and justice. Such distance between central state power to define the legal domain and local understandings of legality means that the local state in Madagascar, as elsewhere in postcolonial Africa (Moore 2005), constantly has to negotiate and justify its role and power in the face of localized and contested cultural politics of entitlement. The mining corporation thereby had to engage in ongoing local micro-political negotiations despite the official state sanctioning of its land and resource access. This also explains corporate efforts to strengthen and expand local state interfaces with people near the mining site.

Having originally been closely associated with the central state during Ravalomanana's presidency, the 2009 violent change in government changed the state's perspective on the mining project. The new *Chef de Region* (regional head) appointed by the new central government was known for his vocal opposition to the mining project. He was active in previous President Ratsiraka's AREMA party, and had according to local people vocally criticized the Ravalomanana government for appropriating land for the President's business interests. Configurations of power had thereby changed, and what had previously been considered as illegal demonstrations by the Andrakaraka fishers and farmers were now reconsidered by local government officials.

As an indication of this change, an official letter from the local branch of the ONE, the government directorate for environmental management and monitoring, in mid-2009 stated that water levels near the corporate weir had indeed risen, contrary to what the government, based on the mining corporation's environmental experts, had claimed until then. The grievances of local migrant farmers had thereby been officially acknowledged by the state. However, this was never acknowledged in official corporate statements or literature, which continued to draw on in-house scientific evidence. Moreover, the acknowledgement had little impact on local people's land

access, as it was accompanied by no further governmental support in a context where development initiatives were driven by the mining corporation.

Several members of the Anosy Region office explained to me that the problem with implementing state resolutions was partly their capacity: The office only had nine members of staff, many of them consultants, and mostly newly hired after the 2009 coup d'état. Previous files on the mining project, such as lists of compensation payments, had disappeared with the previous *Chef de Region*, and had been placed in a restricted archive in the capital. This made investigations into complaints about lack of compensation for loss of land and involuntary displacement during the previous administration, perceived to have been corrupt in its handling of mining-related grievances, difficult. New, corporate-funded state structures were geared towards creating consensus through “community participation” such as through corporate-led development committees and “stakeholder platforms” rather than providing public services such as independently monitoring corporate socio-environmental impacts or establishing socio-economic buffers to abrupt changes in local livelihoods among landless subsistence farmers and fishers.

As an illustration of the limits in local public services, the local branch of ONE, which was the central state's watchdog and monitoring office of socio-environmental impacts by the extractive industries, in 2010 only had one permanent member of staff. This person on several occasions told me that she felt under resourced and had difficulties with accessing information and being heard both by the corporation and the local population who were supposed to address their grievances to the ONE. As we have seen, with little faith in state structures, local people preferred to negotiate directly with the corporation.

In comparison, the corporation's direct employees in 2010 numbered 557, with a socio-environmental team which in itself had a staff of some 90 international and national “experts” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010). The corporation's socio-environmental team members often complained about the inefficiency and lack of capacity of the local state, on which the corporation depended to handle complaints, issue

compensation payments and showcase efficient and transparent use of corporate taxation and profits. Part of the corporation's community engagement strategy therefore included, as we have seen, expanding state interfaces with local people in order to help demonstrate corporate accountability and good usage of mining profits. This represented local people's rights to land and resources shifting from precarious but ostensibly public rights to conditional on behaving as a deserving "local community" responsible for its own development as long as it respected corporate land access, as set out in the corporation's literature.

Rather than referring to public rights and compensation for lost land and resources, local people could only benefit from the new land and resource management regimes by behaving as official corporate stakeholders, forming associations and participating in corporate development projects, and accepting corporate land and resource capture. Such local strategies illustrate how "extractive governmentality" brings new forms of citizenship as one of its local effects. Local people, in order to gain benefits, could not for long position themselves as demonstrators claiming public rights to redress for loss of access to land and natural resources. Rather, people instead gained benefits by positioning themselves as community members available for association projects and local resource management committees. Less powerful actors were thereby forced to speak the language of the more powerful in order to be heard and gain benefits during land resource struggles (cf. Bending & Rosendo 2006).

Fragments or islands? Points of resistance through alternative knowledge construction

Although appearing hegemonic in corporate and NGO discourses, knowledge creation about nature and local communities which aims to enroll actors behind particular representations of reality also generates particular, historical points of counter-mobilization and alternative knowledge creation (Foucault 1998 [1976]). Alternative scientific research has been published arguing that the appropriateness of corporate biodiversity "offsetting" and "restoration" in the mining zone cannot be substantiated.

A 2006 study of forest coverage in the mining area produced by researchers at the University of Oxford and published simultaneously to the corporate impact assessments shows that the basis for QMM's claim rests on the interpretations of just a few aerial photographs of the region (Ingram & Dawson 2006: 216).²⁰ The authors also point out that the analysis used by the mining corporation's SEIA to classify forest condition is difficult to replicate, i.e. to verify scientifically, due to "biases associated with the observer's judgments," and that it fails to capture the full range of structural heterogeneity and variability in human impact across each forest fragment (Ingram et al. 2005: 781). Further, Ingram et al. (ibid: 2005) argue that exogenous aspects to deforestation from that of local people, such as climate change, cyclones, population mobility and capitalist extraction, have not been accounted for and yet have played an important role in shaping the present day landscape.

In direct opposition to the mining corporation's deforestation assessment as mainly caused by "slash-and-burn agriculture and charcoal production" (Vincelette et al. 2007b: 54), the Oxford study found two main factors behind the surge in rapid deforestation in the area set aside for mining which commenced in the late 1990s: First, the construction by the mining company of a major access road bisecting the area, and second, the arrival of migrant charcoal makers in the context of the establishment by QMM of pre-mining research field stations which upset customary land rights (Ingram & Dawson 2006: 216-217). This second reason for forest loss in the mining area is validated in another study of the Anosy region which points to deforestation being caused by increasing land tenure insecurity in the areas set aside for mining, a direct result of the company gaining access to these areas which were supposed to be off limits to local people due to their status as forest reserves (Rakotoarisoa 1998: 33).

²⁰ Feeley-Harnik (cited in Harper 2002: 66-67), similarly to Fairhead and Leach (1996), emphasizes the importance of historical research in understanding processes of landscape change, finding that the forest coverage in eastern Madagascar has been analyzed by remote-sensing analyses that did not address problems related to a lack of baseline data.

Concurrently, a study of longer term change in the littoral forests to be mined found evidence that the mosaic vegetation characterizing the littoral forest in and around the mining sites represented a natural distribution of forest “islands”, with littoral forest spatially constrained by soil moisture, rather than fragmented by human activity (Virah-Sawmy 2009). As Virah-Sawmy (ibid: 165) points out in her study, “whether the eastern coast of Madagascar was entirely forested by littoral forests is not merely of interest for environmental historians, it also has real implications in the way we perceive and manage landscapes, for instance the decision to allow for mining of most of this forest”.

The alternative research explicitly contradict the corporate SEIA estimates of 90% littoral forest loss, with locally endemic littoral forest plants pointed out to grow more slowly in de-mineralized and bare soils in comparison with normal soils amid standing forest (Watson et al. 2010). The company’s “offset” activities in the humid forest farther inland is also criticized as representing “out-of-kind” offsets which do not compensate for the loss of littoral forest in the mining site (Virah-Sawmy & Ebeling 2010).

These alternative findings illustrate the importance of particular actors, including scientists, and their chosen positions in situations where the link between knowledge creation and power become apparent. In a response to Virah-Sawmy’s findings of alternative landscape history set out above, her researcher colleagues (Watson et al. 2010 : 1-2) point out that it is surprising that her recommendations do not call for an end to mining activity, and that “it is imperative that conservation policy recommendations do not unintentionally condone proposed habitat destruction by treating it as a *fait accompli*.” Virah-Sawmy and Ebeling’s (2010) response to the criticism by their peers is a call for what might be termed conservation pragmatism: They argue that whereas mining activities in forests at two future mining sites where mining permits have not yet been gained need to be reassessed in the light on alternative findings on deforestation and the role of forest fragments, conservation scientists also need to engage with “real-world development processes”, lending their

expertise towards managing “unavoidable” impacts of economic development in order to be heard.

The scientific contestations of the knowledge generated in corporate SEIAs show how global policy communities such as those related to corporate responsibility as not just rhetorical, but contested political spaces. It is therefore important to identify whose voices prevail, and how discourses are made authoritative (Shore & Wright 1997: 15). Policy documents such as SEIAs thereby represent “cultural texts”, in the form of narratives that serve to justify the present, and rhetorical devices and discursive formations that seek to empower some and silence others. This might be a way of explaining why dominant narratives of locally caused deforestation and of nature as static, quantifiable forest coverage in spite of alternative research findings are proving powerful enough to generate the seemingly unlikely but increasingly numerous new global coalitions of conservation bodies and mining corporations.

The corporation’s notion of environmental “offsetting” thereby relates to a utopian win-win scenario of both mitigating environmental degradation and facilitating economic growth through pricing the ecological services provided by nature (cf. Sullivan 2009: 20-21). This assumes that environments, emissions and effects in very different locations are somehow equivalent and therefore substitutable, allowing negative impacts in one location to be offset against environmental investments in another site (ibid: 22). The transformation of local biodiversity into commodified and quantifiable resource separate from its local socio-historical context thereby plays an increasingly important role in the assessment of environmental impacts of large scale extractive industries. This shift is justified through powerful “technologies of knowledge creation” by teams of corporate biodiversity experts (cf. Rose & Miller 1992). This also represents new forms of global land grabbing, as multinational capitalist ventures claim land not only for their sites of operation, but also for their nature offsetting in complex new manifestations of “green grabbing” (Fairhead et al. 2012).

From political to technical: struggles over local voices

Current day events of mining and conservation can be analysed in terms of strategic representations by mining project staff of local people and nature. This is illustrated by conflicting accounts of local people's protests related to displacement or loss of land. On 13 December 2006, a group of people who had been displaced or had lost their land raised barriers on a road to the deep sea port for the mining project, stopping the construction works (Alphonse 2007; Rasamimanana & R. 2007). According to several francophone Malagasy dailies, the blockades were erected after protesters failed to be heard in demonstrations regarding lack of adequate compensation for land, and a general lack of adequate information and compensation of people affected (Alphonse 2006a; Alphonse 2006b; Alphonse 2007; Rasamimanana & R. 2007). One of these newspapers concluded with the statement that 'foreign NGOs and the international community have already been called upon regarding the current situation in Fort-Dauphin [Tolagnaro]. At this pace, the case of the landowners in Fort-Dauphin might get internationalized' (Alphonse 2007, translation mine).

In contrast, the Regional Director of QMM, in an interview on a Malagasy language news website, dismissed the road blockades as unjustified, and pointed out that QMM had followed the World Bank's standards for involuntary resettlement (Ratsimbazafy 2007). The QMM Regional Director further emphasised that 'there has been a consultation over several years, and this kind of blockade is unacceptable. The regional authorities confirmed that this kind of act is illegal' (Ratsimbazafy 2007, translation mine). The corporation's director claimed that the protesters were being greedy and impatient for monetary compensation. Instead the director emphasized the need for dialogue rather than confrontation, and the fact that QMM was a catalyst for the development of the region.

Representations of the mining project depended on the differentiated voice of various actors, with locally produced images and counter-images receiving little attention on the global stage (cf. Li 2000: 172). The claimants must fit into the space of recognition assigned them by powerful agencies. NGOs and the media use dominant

languages and demand to be heard in bureaucratic and other power-saturated encounters even as they seek to influence the meanings that are generated. Those who lose access to land therefore tend to be the people who fail to fit a clear-cut ethnic or territorial niche, such as the displaced and landless, with international support easier for people nearer the capital, educated and making use of a clear discourse in idioms relevant to foreign NGOs and the media (Li 2000: 170-171).

Applying Li's criteria to the mining project, the reason why local protests initially did not reach the 'international community' are made obvious. First, due to ongoing migration, people most affected by involuntary displacement or loss of land represented a mixture of Malagasy ethnic labels. Second, Tolagnaro is remote from the capital and most local people do not speak French, let alone English, the language used by international NGOs criticizing the mining project as well as international media. In the final chapter, I discuss how the struggles of local protesters finally reached the international community, but always through the filtering of the representations of dominant parties, such as campaigning organizations.

Identifying corporate stakeholders: new forms of citizenship

The new corporate responsibility regime entailed new forms of public rights and responsibilities, rather than a mere rolling back of state services. As part of the mining corporation's environmental programmes, based on the SEIA assessments of impacts and necessary mitigation measures, 230 hectares, or about 10% of the mining zone, has been set aside for conservation. This entailed a community conservation model through a co-management agreement established between the corporation, central state and local municipalities, and implemented via a community-based Management Committee, or "COGE." The COGE, as a representative body of the local community, organised forest brigades and received financing from resource user fees as well as the mining corporation and the two participating municipalities, although the idea was for

it to become self-sufficient.²¹ The activities therefore involved claiming forest user fees, and new forms of revenue-generation from the conservation zone via projects such as eco-tourism, a plant nursery, research, honey production, and vegetable gardening, with the COGE members receiving “training on upgrading the conservation site in order to maximize revenues” (Rarivoson 2007: 312-313). We here see the corporation’s need for reshaping local people’s needs and subjectivities into those of becoming “green custodians”, or what has been termed “environmentality” (Agrawal 2005a).

The COGE model was based on its members representing the local “community.” Although this term is usually deployed without further explanation in development programmes, such universal categories need translation when applied to specific places in order for groups of people to be identified and mobilised as participants (c.f. Li 2007). Along these lines, an analysis of the term “community” in nature conservation programmes in Madagascar warns that images or discourses of “community” can be mobilized by different actors to achieve certain goals, such as to defend access to resources (Kull 2002: 69). Further, defining the bounds of “community” can be troublesome, with the most frequent definition used in conservation projects being limited to a certain geographical location, thereby negating the potentially mobile existence of resource user (Kull 2002). The Malagasy “GELOSE” legislation for decentralized resource management deployed for the conservation zone management never commits to a precise definition, calling for community institutions to represent people unified by interest but also for membership by all territorial residents (ibid).

The mining corporation’s management model was based on the notion of “community” as official inhabitants of one of the two local municipalities hosting the mining project. Becoming a corporate “stakeholder” thereby involves a crucial moment of being recognized as a rights bearing person, which both gives access to

²¹ The establishment of the COGE and Mandena *dina* is explained from the corporate point of view by Rarivoson (2007).

new resources and entails an assuming of new responsibilities as worthy development object (cf. Sharp 2006). This represents a governmental reason where the population does not represent a collection of rights-bearing subjects, but a “set of natural phenomena” to be managed through assumed natural laws of economics (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 352). It such governmental regimes depend on an assumed fundamental order of both people and nature, making both manageable through the “rule of experts” (Fairhead et al. 2012; Mitchell 2002) such as that manifested in corporate SEIAs.

In this context, it is important to account for the ability of local people to understand the new regime and what is expected of their behavior in order to qualify as worthy stakeholders and beneficiaries of corporate socio-environmental programmes rather than as unruly and worthy of police sanctioning. What was at stake for local people was both the right to new, market-based forms of income generated by the commodification of natural resources, as well as a consolidation of rights to increasingly scarce cultivable land and natural resources.

The establishment of corporate community engagement mechanisms thereby entailed the creation of new types of citizenship, including new rights and responsibilities. The corporation lists challenges when setting up the community-managed conservation zone near the mining site, which included the difficulty of engaging with, informing and instructing local communities about their new rights and obligations (Rarivoson 2007: 310). This included the identification of local stakeholder groups, in particular local forest users, in the context of forest resource conflicts which during the years just before the co-management agreement was signed in 2002, had led to problems of forest access by “people who reside[d] outside” the two mining and conservation zone municipalities (c.f. QMM 2008b: 9; Rarivoson 2007: 311). The process of establishing the conservation zone therefore involved distinguishing “the groups with pre-existing rights from those who seek access to rights, and [for them] to know what these rights are” (Rarivoson 2007: 311).

The corporation was thereby openly engaged in the creation of new regimes of resource access rights, using legislation based on local participation and the development of responsible, “green” citizens (cf. Agrawal 2005a). The people considered as having pre-existing resource rights by extension qualified as members of the conservation zone management team. These people were identified by the corporation’s socio-environmental team via “the user groups, formal village associations (e.g., associations of women, loggers, producers of different forest products and crafts), the communal development boards in charge of preparing the development plans, and the representatives of the elders and the lineage chiefs” (Rarivoson 2007: 311). As such, the model favoured established lineages and people with enough social prestige to establish and participate in associations. In a context of social hierarchy based on land scarcity and marginalized migrants, this mechanism entailed the exclusion of a number of already struggling groups, who now became formally considered as illegal resource users.

One of the unintended effects of the new conservation programme design was thereby that of an entrenchment of landowners’ rights both to remaining natural resources and to be worthy participants in the new community income-generating programmes, excluding marginalized migrants. As one of the corporation’s biodiversity experts points out regarding the *dina*, for the “villagers,” participation in the new community environmental management committee was perceived as advantageous because “being in constant contact with QMM, and participating in common activities is the best way to be up to date on information, to avoid being cast aside, to express concerns, and to seize opportunities for income, jobs, or other advantages resulting from the company’s presence at Mandena” (Rarivoson 2007: 314). However, the ability to participate and be enrolled in such programmes depends on having established social status and the economic advantage of enough free time to attend meetings and be accounted for – in comparison, the poor, such as recent migrants forced to work other people’s land and with little time or social prestige to participate in community meetings, are often too “hard work” to include in participatory community schemes (c.f. Mosse 2005).

The social and environmental specialists working for the mining company thereby contributed to the construction of legitimate needs and entitlements (cf. Szablowski 2002: 253). The focus on designing solutions for local “communities” both implicitly assumes a stable, bounded and homogenous local population, and presumes that the social scientists and developers are not themselves part of a bounded “community”, of specific values and rituals, but rather represent a universally valid perspective (Gupta 1998: 175). In opposition to this “expert” perspective, local people are portrayed as a passive, tradition-bound and homogenous group of “people without history”.²² Crucially, in the context of resource extraction and nature conservation, the land appropriation and natural resource dependency of the corporation which commissions this knowledge is bracketed.

The aim of corporate government was thereby to create “regulations that enable natural regulations to work” (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 352-353). In the context of the mining project, this involved the prevention or repression of disorder, irregularity, illegality and delinquency, defined as deviations from the natural order as described by corporate experts, including through police regulation and control. Growth of order and positive outcomes was to be assured by a whole series of institutions, apparatuses and mechanisms (cf. Foucault *ibid*: 354). Corporate socio-environmental departments devised a multitude of stakeholder interventions around an assumed naturally ordered local “community” to be optimally managed through expert-based corporate social engagement programmes.

In this context, CSR-based extractive industries can be analysed as “extractive neoliberalism” where Africa is turned into a patchwork of private enclaves near mineral-rich areas (Ferguson 2006: 207). In such places, “sovereignty” has become equivalent to the ability to provide contractual legal authority that can “legitimate” the extractive work of transnational corporations. In this vision, state sovereignty hinges not on social contracts within a rights-based social body, but rather on binding

²² Coined by Wolf (1982 [1997]), this notion emphasises how the colonial perception of non-Europeans as “people without history”, i.e. outside global socio-political processes, has influenced social scientific analyses of these people.

juridical contracts with corporations backed by privatized violence (Moore 2008: 256). This combination establishes property relations in ways that help enable “extractive neoliberalism” (Ferguson 2006: 210). As this chapter has discussed, such new government of people and places entails new forms of “double exclusion” as the most marginalised people both lose access to land and resources and are unable to perform as worthy corporate stakeholders participating in community-based income-generating programmes.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the new regimes of governmental reason based on multinational resource extraction and conservation. I have discussed the construction of legitimate needs and entitlements through expert-based knowledge construction about local people and nature. I have argued that it is important to assess the effects such knowledge creation and how it is strategically used in corporate socio-environmental impact assessments and mitigation programmes. I have illustrated how expert-led diagnoses of poverty and environmental degradation were based on an opposition of local culture as situated and unchanging and a fixed nature of diminishing biodiversity which was separated from local socio-economic history. Concurrently, expert-led knowledge production was represented as universally valid and neutral, rather than situated within global regimes of capitalist resource extraction. This has served to justify new landscapes of corporate resource extraction and environmental conservation. This in turn fails to take into account the culture and natural resource dependence of socio-economic “offset” programme designers and the corporate managers and shareholders who fund them.

As both nature, in terms of commodified, static “biodiversity”, and people, considered as unchanging, traditional and unitary “communities” were deployed as fixed and stable categories rather than mobile, changing and interrelated, political issues of land and resource access were concealed behind technical discourses of nature “offset” and socio-economic development. This led to new forms of “double” exclusion and

environmental degradation as land was increasingly set aside for new extraction and conservation ventures, reducing local livelihoods options and channeling rights through new categories of citizenship based on the capacity to perform as corporate stakeholder.

Chapter 5: *Seeing the corporation* - Brokering and translating socio-environmental impact

Prologue: *flooding and the power to speak the truth* - The history of lake Lanirano

This is the story of Lanirano lake, a big freshwater body next to the Mandena mining perimeter, which via a lagoon system eventually spills into the Indian Ocean, to the east of the mining perimeter. The drinking water reserve of Fort Dauphin town, on its way to the ocean the lagoon system provides numerous resources to the fisher hamlets of Andrakaraka. The story was told by the *lonaky* [lineage head] of Betaligny hamlet, where inhabitants were considered to be the traditional owners of the lake and the forest in the mining perimeter:

“I did not witness this, but it is a lovan-tsofy (inheritance of the ears; oral history): Our ancestors, seven brothers, came from the north east, looking for a place to settle. The oldest found this area, and settled here to cultivate. One day, while people were working their horaky (wet rice fields), there was a tsimeto (sorcerer whose every spoken word comes true) who asked an old blind woman living here for some water, but she refused to give him any. He passed to the other side of the village, and asked the same service from a woman who had just given birth. She gave him what he wanted. Angry about the initial refusal, he told the second woman to leave the village before nightfall, because, said he, “the place does not have enough water, and so there will be a flooding this night, so I tell you to leave this village”. Many people did not think this would happen. Therefore, many people drowned. Those who escaped installed themselves here, in this village.”

Lôlô, my field assistant, and I are sitting on the floor of the modest hut of the *lonaky*. As younger women, we are sitting by the westward entrance, with the old man sitting elevated on his bed by the eastern wall, a sign of his superior social status. I have asked him to tell us the history of his village. It turns out to be the history of human induced changes in nature, and their unpredictable consequences.

I am told in discreet whispers by Lôlô, who has family in the area, that the people of Betaligny have a particular link with the lake and the nearby Mandena forest: They are never eaten by the fearsome crocodiles living in the lake, and they are even rumored to be able to turn themselves into crocodiles. Pregnant women are carried into the lake

by their male kinsmen on one particular night to receive blessings for their future descendants from their fearsome reptile cousins. In other words, their social position of having ancestral ties with local land and nature is enacted and displayed through ceremonies of mutual belonging.

I ask the old *lonaky* about current life in the village, and he responds:

“Foreigners are taking our land. New bornazy [bornage; French terminology for governmental delimitations of plots of land] have appeared. Our tombs have been moved [from inside the mining perimeter], and the new ones have been flooded as the water has risen. Our ancestors’ remains have floated up. [...] Our ancestral traditions should not change. But now, the person with money, even if wrong, will be the one who gets justice. If this does not change, people will end up killing each other.”

The man’s words, although spoken quietly, resonate in the small room. His wife and daughters, sitting nearby, have turned very silent. People do not talk easily of desecrated bodies and killings – such words belong to *mpamosavy* [sorcerers or witches]. However, his words exemplify local understandings of corporate capture of land, resources and people, as this chapter discusses.

Introduction

The *lonaky*’s second story of flooding, and conflicting experiences of it, forms the entry point to this chapter. The waters of lake Lanirano had risen again. This time, the flooding was not caused by an angered *tsimeto*, but was considered locally as being caused by a multinational mining company. Two years earlier the corporation had constructed a weir on the river mouth by the ocean in order to protect the artificial lake on which it would dredge the mineral sands.

Yet parallels can be drawn to the *lonaky*’s first tale, with the mining corporation representing a powerful force whose statements, similarly to the words of the *tsimeto*, became “truth”: according to local people, the weir had caused permanent flooding of rice fields around the edges of lake Lanirano, as well as a reduction in fish stocks. The

corporation denied any such environmental impacts, stating in its multiple, expert-based assessments that the weir simply prevented sea water from entering the lakes, and had no influence on water levels. According to the company, the flooding was a natural occurrence, and fish stocks were diminishing due to over fishing by local people.

However, in order to mitigate potential environmental impacts of the weir, the corporation started an aquatic conservation programme of the freshwater body. This had started with a 6 month moratorium on fishing activities, in order to restore fish stocks (Hai-Tsinjo Consulting et al. 2008). In this period, local fishers were paid a monthly compensation fee. The company's socio-environmental team had also established a local freshwater resources management association called FIMIRA (*Fikambana Miaro Rano* – Association for protecting the water), managed by a steering committee of local fishers and based on a newly established *dina* (community legal agreement setting out user rules) for the lagoon system. People had to pay a monthly membership fee of 200 *ariary* (ca. 0,05 USD), which although a modest amount still made a difference in a context of sudden resource loss and starvation. Resources which had previously been freely available to local fishers suddenly came at a cost, and required adherence to a new regime of regulations implemented by a group of specific people. Although these fisher "brigadiers" frequently complained about the lack of pay, their roles still gave them local prestige and primary resource access (cf. Sodikoff 2009).

This illustrates the need to understand the micro-politics of becoming a mining project stakeholder and beneficiary in the context of disputes over the environmental impacts of mining. The chapter here follows the methodology of analyzing social history by focusing on "men's actual practice", in order to show the linkages between "micro-power" and more abstracted levels of power, such as government and the state (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 358). In this context, I analyse development "brokers", i.e. actors who specialize in the acquisition, control and redistribution of various new forms of development-related revenue, and the social spaces that develop between funders and recipients (Bierschenk et al. 2000). These actors are supposed to represent

the local populations, by expressing local “needs” to the new structures in charge of aid, such as corporate socio-environmental departments.

However, as I demonstrate, the role of “broker” required ongoing efforts of enrolment of a heterogeneous group of fishers and farmers who were not always in agreement about the strategies to adopt. I show how the brokers struggled with the maintenance of coherent representations of social realities as they were simultaneously shaping their own social identities (cf. Mosse & Lewis 2006). I analyse the reactions and strategies of particular people who became intermediaries between local communities and the mining corporation in the context of unforeseen environmental changes. I show how some actors, based on literacy, gender and personal skills such as the ability to interact with outsiders and the time and physical ability to participate in numerous meetings, were able to position themselves as spokespeople and representatives of local communities. These actors thereby mediated exchanges with the corporate community relations team, actively influencing definitions of local beneficiaries, or people who became “visible” to the corporation. Such visibility entailed entry on official beneficiary lists, and entitlements to economic and social benefits, such as compensation payments and alternative livelihood projects managed by the corporation. As discussed in chapter XX, visibility by the corporation was thereby linked to new regimes of rights and responsibilities.

The chapter shows how these new governmental regimes, based on the ability to qualify as corporate stakeholders, led to new forms of exclusion. I discuss how certain people, in particular marginalized, illiterate migrant women who did not fit clear categories of “fisher” or “farmer” or geographical belonging were unable to position themselves as corporate stakeholders. Concurrently, these people were in higher need of compensation payments and income alternatives, having few livelihoods options and immediate starvation. However, they had no choice but to continue livelihoods which had now become both insufficient and illegal: breaking new conservation laws by fishing with small-eyed nets, and, having little to lose, participating in demonstrations in the context of political unrest and army presence.

The chapter also points to the downsides of adapting to new, corporate governmental regimes and becoming official stakeholders. I demonstrate how the positions of brokers were precarious and entailed the loss of alternative positioning in the social field of the mining project. From struggling to get seen, these people started receiving constant visitors by corporate outreach staff, and were monitored and photographed for corporate responsibility literature. This made acts of contestations such as claiming rights and compensation money through demonstrations less viable as people's identities became linked with the performance of corporate intermediary and beneficiary. Such positions also engendered jealousy and endangered the *fihavana* (kinship relations), as people who depended on the corporate intermediaries in order to channel resources to the villages, did not trust their ultimate objectives.

The power of labeling: becoming an official corporate stakeholder

This section argues that the new modes of citizenship engendered by corporate rule over land and people were based on new social categories created by corporate experts as part of the corporate will to improve and manage local people and nature. The officially displaced people and those who had lost land, who qualified for compensation and new homes, had as part of the World Bank-commissioned SEIA been identified and labeled as "People Affected by the Project" (PAPs). This process had been contested, and compensation mechanisms which appeared simple and scientific on paper were disputed when translated into actual definitions of losses and the establishment of lists of specific beneficiaries, as is further discussed in the final chapter of the thesis.

The Andrakaraka fishers and farmers were not officially recognized as PAPs, and their initial experience of resource loss without any compensation made their resistance to corporate land and resource capture the most vocal and confrontational. However, their resistance to corporate resource capture was framed by a setting where local aspirations were entwined with local cultural politics and material struggles, gender and wealth differences in complex ways. In addition to the opportunities for

certain local actors to gain profit through participation in corporate stakeholder programmes, this negated any analysis based on a “local community” in noble opposition to monolithic forces of “green business” (cf. Fairhead et al. 2012: 253).

The Andrakaraka fishers and farmers were thereby engaged in a twofold struggle of contesting official corporate claims about environmental impacts, but also of struggling to position themselves as official landowners and owners of the lake resources, in order to qualify for compensation money and other stakeholder benefits. I will here illustrate how this situation influenced local people’s strategies and generated new forms of market-based inclusion with associated rights and responsibilities, and exclusion, with loss both of livelihoods and of rights to participate in community projects.

Forms of resistance to corporate land capture

Although multinational extractive corporations are financially extremely powerful, they are also vulnerable due to their ties to particular, often remote sites of operation, such as the Fort Dauphin mining project (cf. Ferguson 2005). During the local protests which led to roadblocks of the Fort Dauphin mine, the mining dredge supposed to run 24/7 was halted and production stalled. A few days of road blocks in late 2009 resulted in the corporation’s attempted reconciliation via the cattle sacrifice ceremony on the road analysed in Chapter 1.

Among local people, QMM was rumoured to have agreed to provide the sum of 10 million ariary (60 million FMG, or 6,000 USD) to the Anosy Region to pay the farmers and fishers on the lists of those affected by the weir. This amount was supposed to cover the price of land and two years’ of lost produce. I was explained that the state, as *tompontany* (landowner), was the one which distributed the money. However, instead of giving cash, it was decided that the money would be used to buy cattle, harrows and fertiliser to each affected farmer. The demonstrators were upset. They had not asked for farming equipment, and since they lost their farmland, and the

“gift” therefore seemed an insult, felt that they were being treated as ignorant children. The Region, meanwhile, claimed that QMM had given no money as the affected land was not within the mining zone. Rumours of “hungry”, corrupt state officials circulated as no compensation money was forthcoming.

Local protests against the mining project thereby centered on issues of loss of land and natural resource access, and of lack of adequate compensation measures. This contrasted with corporate discourses of economic poverty due to local mismanagement of land and resources, as discussed in the previous chapter. As official discourses of the benefits corporate land and resource capture which reinforce certain power constellations, they are also undermined and exposed by the very claims they are making about particular causes and effects, such as those of the unequivocal benefits of multinational mineral extraction. Their ambitious claims render them fragile and open up for resistance, as people can make use of the same vocabulary and categories which classify them as “deviant” in order to claim their legitimacy and make their grievances into publicly accepted versions of reality (Foucault 1998 [1976]: 101).

Further, the issue of flooded fields, which had not been accounted for in official socio-environmental impacts of the mining project, also shows how ecological dynamics also limit the march of green capitalism, as unruly ecologies thwart the well-laid plans of green schemes (Scoones 1999). In such situations, it becomes evident that that complex, non-equilibrium ecologies do not obey the rules of equilibrium economics (Fairhead et al. 2012).

During my fieldwork in 2009-2010, overt local resistance which took the form of road blocks and demonstrations were primarily initiated by migrants who had settled Fort Dauphin town, which as the nearest centre with opportunities for paid employment and secondary schooling attracted migrants from nearby regions. Upon my arrival in Fort Dauphin in late 2009, I rented a room with a *Tesaka* family originally from Vangaindrano, 300 km north of Fort Dauphin. Fredy, in his early 70s, lived with his wife and four of his 10 children in a compound in a central area of town. He was a

retired clerk from Fort Dauphin town municipality, a position he had been granted as one of the few literate people of his generation originating from south east, having received primary schooling by the Lutheran missionaries who had built several schools in his home town of Vangaindrano. Fredy had arrived in Fort Dauphin in 1964, and in order to supplement his modest administrative salary, in the 1970s he had cleared about 20 hectares of land by lake Lanirano to grow *vary tomboky* (swidden rice). This had ensured his family's food security during the 1980s and 90s, when governmental salaries had not increased despite severe inflation and resulting hikes in food prices. The flooding of Fredy's rice fields had started in 2007, which coincided with the construction of the mining company's weir on the estuary leading into the ocean. Fredy was therefore convinced that the loss of his fields was due to the mining project's installation.

Fredy had become one of the leaders in the protests over the flooded fields. He had the social status of a well-spoken, literate and elderly man who knew governmental procedures, and he was therefore not afraid to speak out during public gatherings. However, Fredy was frustrated about his lack of ability to be heard and be compensated for his losses. *Mangetaheta hiteny amy olo zaho!* [I am thirsting to speak to people [about the situation]! the old man exclaimed when, a few weeks' after my arrival, I first began asking him questions about local experiences of the mining corporation, "They say the water level has not changed since QMM's arrival and their construction of the *barrage* [weir]. They have sent a number of people to assess the situation. Well, it doesn't require a *Bacc* [secondary exam] to see that the fields are flooded!" Frustrated at having his version of events being ignored, Fredy asked me rhetorically: "The corporation's ancestors didn't clear this land, so why do they think they own it?"

Fredy's words illustrated how local perceptions of legal land access were based on ancestral traditions of making land productive by laboring it and passing it on to one's descendants, a notion of morally rightful land access which is common in all of Madagascar (Evers et al. 2011; Keller 2008). Such local notions of legal land access are important to account for in the context of corporate land access facilitated by state

legislation such as a mining law intending to facilitate large scale foreign investments. With the latter having gained the status of official state law which was backed up by governmental law enforcement, local notions of just land and resource access were marginalized. Local land and resource users who resisted corporate capture of land and resources turned into deviant groups who could be categorized as illegal and in need of training in order to be able to benefit from the mining project in terms of becoming able market-led producers through the corporation's alternative income-generating projects.

In this context, any contesting of the corporation's claims of legal land capture, in order to be considered as more than mere unruly and uneducated protesters, had to make use of the same language and instruments of power. Having worked at the municipality office of Fort Dauphin town prior to his retirement, and therefore being familiar with state procedures in addition to being literate, Fredy strategically deployed the knowledge and status he had gained from working for the government. As a highly considered *lonaky* (lineage head) of the Tesaka people in town, Fredy also had considerable customary authority. This had made the elderly man the natural leader of the town-based protesters once they decided to unite against the mining project's impacts on their land and livelihoods.

When narrating his experiences of the arrival of the mining project construction and how his rice fields had been lost, Fredy frequently referred to his *Tesaka* ancestors and their resistance against the brutal French repression of the 1947 anti-colonial insurrection on the east coast of Madagascar (see e.g. Magdelaine-Andrianjafitrimo 2011). Older people's experiences of the mining project's capture of land and resources were thereby linked to colonial experiences of exploitation and violent repression, with memories being triggered by a similarity in events denied by official discourses about the mining project's positive impacts.²³ Such local experiences must

²³ An ethnographic study of memory from another Malagasy town on the east coast also found that present day political unrest and marginalization from the central state similarly triggered painful memories of the 1947 colonial repression which people had actively sought to forget (Cole 2001).

therefore be accounted for in order to question dominant socio-economic theories which equate multinational corporate land and resource access with poverty alleviation, development and optimal natural resource management.

As part of his efforts at being heard and gaining compensation for lost land by using the language and tools of powerful agencies rather than resorting to open protests, Fredy had several notebooks where he had carefully written down all interactions with the corporation and government. He also had a file with several meticulously hand written letters of complaint to the corporation and various governmental offices. The old lineage head explained to me that “the problem is the barrier [weir] at Andrakaraka estuary. Our rice fields are flooded. It’s been three years now. QMM said that the water will go down, because there are times when they open up the *seuil deversoir* (weir). We have already spoken to QMM, and there is a *dossier* (file) about it at their offices. We started complaining on 10 December 2007, and that’s when the dossier was established. We went by the *fokontany* (lowest local government unit), and to the municipality’s agricultural services. We got 53 signatures from farmers who were impacted. We did a *constat* (report) with the government.”

With his social status of lineage head and literate, retired governmental clerk, Fredy had thereby attempted to follow official complaints procedures, and thereby make local grievances be heard using the language and procedures of the powerful. Having painstakingly noted every date in his old notebook, Fredy, eager to be heard, read out to me: “on 22 December the Director of Social Affairs, Mr. Yvon, and Pierrot [local corporate anthropologist] and Guy [the village leader from the Andrakaraka fishers and farmers] went to observe the flooding. On 25 December we returned there again. And they all saw it clearly. 17 April 2008 we also returned. But we never got a reply [from the corporation]. There was a meeting with QMM on 3 March 2008, and they were going to decide. But we don’t know the decision. There were no solutions. They did not *mandray andraikitsy* [take responsibility]. They told us to go to the Region [highest level decentralized government unit]. We did another complaint, to the Secretary General of the Region, on 5 March. On 2 June 2008 we also did sent a letter directly to the Chef de Region, but there was no reply. The Chef de Region has

already been to the flooded fields. The Service des Mines [government directorate for mining] also came to observe on 7, 9, 23 May 2008, but on 30 May we stopped because they [the government officials] didn't show up. We also had a meeting at the Chamber of Commerce. But there was no decision. So at the end we wrote a letter and letter sent it to Tana [Antananarivo] about the lost land, but there was no reply [from the central government]. So then some people erected the road blocks, and the *grevy* [demonstrations] started.”

As we see from Fredy's words, local people's attempts at claiming rights by using the language and tools of the powerful, based on official letters and the organization of official delegations to visit the inundated fields, and addressing both corporation and various levels of government, were not effective. Rather than any official recognition of their losses and the payment of compensation for loss of land and harvests, the mining corporation offered small scale development projects which, ironically, required available land as well as ongoing participation and uncertain economic returns. Local people's version of reality, which countered the mining corporation and government's representations of local problems and solutions, did not gain official recognition, showing the difficulty of achieving resistance and change for people classified as “deviant” and “unruly” (cf. Foucault 1998 [1976]).

However, the possibility for resistance and compensation radically changed in 2010, when a British legal cabinet agreed to take up the case of local land loss and inadequate compensation based on information from international campaigners focusing on injustice by UK based international corporations. In a renewed case of list making and of making local people legible, but for the purpose of inverting corporate impacts, Fredy and many other local demonstrators enlisted as claimants in a legal case to be tried in the UK. This illustrates how official discourses and instruments of power aiming to demonstrate the benefits corporate land and resource capture, such as corporate responsibility reports and impact assessments, are also undermined and exposed by the very claims they are making about particular places and people. Resistance was made possible by exposing the limits of ambitious corporate claims about reality, with a court case against the corporation pushed by foreign anti-mining

campaigners using the same vocabulary and categories about local people, such as “stakeholders”, “villagers” and “socio-environmental impacts”. Using dominant discourses and categories of knowledge, the new types of public rights available to worthy corporate beneficiaries were thereby deployed in order to broaden the lists of local beneficiaries, rather than to criticize the hegemonic rule of corporate capture of land and resources per se (cf. Foucault 1998 [1976]: 101). Such strategic counter-representations of local voices as tools in global advocacy campaigns are further discussed in the final chapter.

However, international exposure of local grievances did not take place. In the context of immediate risk of international exposure and criticism, the mining corporation suddenly agreed to pay compensation money to the aggrieved fishers and farmers led by Guy and Fredy. The meticulous preparation of accurate lists of individuals and losses prior to the court case took too long for local people, unsure about what to expect in the context of numerous previous list making exercises linked to corporate impact assessments and ongoing struggles for recognition of their losses. When given the choice between immediate corporate payments based on unclear calculations and long term negotiations in a foreign setting and country, Fredy and most of his colleagues accepted immediate financial settlements offered by the corporation. Fredy’s money was invested in a new house, but according to him, it did not make up for the lost land which might have fed his children and grandchildren in the context of ongoing rises in food prices and lack of employment opportunities.

In connection with the compensation claims, QMM had agreed to estimate the size of local plots. I walk towards the flooded fields just south of Lanirano lake with Fredy, as we are joined by other cultivators, both from town and from the Andrakaraka hamlets. Viviane, a female fisher and cultivator from Andrakaraka, joins us with her mother, two of a handful of women who have joined as landowners in their own right. Viviane’s mother tells me that she got the land from her husband when he left her, and another woman tells me that she got land from her father as her brother had moved north, yet another woman got her land as her husband had died. None of the farmers

have titles on their land, but they all agree whose land is where, and where the border is, marked by short shrubs and small eucalyptus trees.

The QMM team arrived, with Director of social affairs leading the way into the soggy fields. The corporate staff asked the farmers to stand on their plots of land, as they walked from person to person collecting their identity cards for list making purposes. Some people who were not present had their identity cards given by others, as people desperately clamored around the corporate team to make sure that their papers have been received.

Expressing distrust in the state rather than the corporation, Fredy told me that QMM's Finance Director, a foreigner, had promised to pay a total of 180.000 USD to settle the issues. However, according to Fredy, the corporation's Malagasy staff was blocking the money, as "QMM's social team members are *mpamadiky* [traitors; a word commonly used to describe Malagasy people who joined outsider forces during colonialism]". Such language again reflected how the mining project was referenced within colonial memories of local people who had been used strategically to promote foreign interests, as discussed in chapter 3, and belied the corporate discourses of homogenous village communities.

However, the local situation was not merely the story of local communities fighting a multinational corporation which had replaced the state. Local people frequently referred to the real enemy as the central and regional state, showing how neoliberal constellations of power do not automatically imply a reduction of the state, but rather a fractioning of state responsibility and accountability into new institutions such as mining corporations (Foucault 2009 [2004]). This helps us understand how corporate capture of land, resources and people was facilitated by dominant discourses of "the market" as site of optimal management of people and nature in a context where the state played a key role as facilitator for corporate access within a legal framework enforceable by military force if necessary. The proactive role of the state infrastructure and democratic procedures must therefore be accounted for in situations of corporate capture of land and resources.

The role of the state in corporate resource capture was accentuated by the ongoing political crisis which deeply influenced the local situation. In January 2009, QMM's CEO, based in the capital, arrived to find a solution to the ongoing demonstrations and roadblocks. A compensation of 10.000 USD for the flooded fields was rumored to have been announced, and the money was supposedly transferred to the municipality of Fort Dauphin. However, the municipality claimed that no money had been received. Several local people told me that President Ravalomanana, the Chef de la Région and the Mayor of Fort Dauphin had "eaten" all the money.

Noelline, an elderly anti-mining demonstrator, told me that "QMM didn't steal the [compensation] money, but [President] Ravalomanana and the PDS [Mayor of Fort Dauphin] did." She added, "it's the same with the land: QMM bought the land, but it was President Ravalomanana who sold it to them in the first place. So he is the real *mpamadiky* [traitor; colonial-era name for turncoat]". Such local perceptions of corporate land and resource capture illustrate how neoliberal projects do not entail a reduction of the state. Rather, to local people the mining project represented an example of state-facilitated corporate land access where governmental employees were both complicit and gained economic advantage in a handing over of responsibility and accountability to powerful foreigners.

As an example of such local perceptions of global corporate land and resource capture, when President Ravalomanana was deposed by a coup d'état in February 2009, it was partly because of accusations of him selling off Malagasy land to a Korean agro-alimentary corporation (Andrianirina-Ratsialonana et al. 2011; Burnod et al. 2011). What from an outsider perspective might be considered a classic conflict between aggrieved community and destructive corporation was therefore not locally understood in such terms. To many local people, the real enemy was the state, which did not protect people's interests but rather furthered the interests of powerful outsiders such as the mining corporation.

From activist to beneficiary: becoming a corporate-community broker

This section discusses the important role of corporate-community “brokers” and their ability to channel mining project benefits to themselves and their families, in contrast to the experiences of people such as Fredy. During my fieldwork, I spent several months in the family hamlet of “Guy”, vice-president of the new fisher association set up by the mining corporation to both conserve local biodiversity and alleviate poverty. Guy was an unofficial *chef fokontany* (the fokontany being the smallest local government unit). This family and their hamlet had become one of my three main host families, after a chance encounter with Guy during a visit to St Luce, a future mining site 100 km to the north. I had been there during some initial fieldwork scoping visits, and Guy had been in a meeting with the local fishermen’s association, which collaborated with a fishermen’s association closer to Fort Dauphin. A small, thin and rapidly moving man in his late 30s, with perpetually tired looking eyes, Guy was clad in Chinese import trendy jeans and a baseball cap. He had taken notes for the local fisher association, and had barely glanced up when I entered the room, introduced as a student of local culture, my usual presentation in a place where foreigners being associated with mining or environmental conservation would often generate suspicion either of working for the mining company or of being an activist seeking to stir trouble.

However, although seemingly preoccupied with his meeting, Guy had immediately invited me to stay with his family. I had been taken aback by his prompt invitation. Most of the rural people I had met so far, even literate association leaders, were reserved when meeting foreigners. Guy, without having been told more than a sentence about my presence, invited me to visit his hamlet and stay with his family without so much as a second glance, and without missing a beat in his writing. I thanked him and noted his mobile telephone number without planning to take him up on his invitation immediately. Guy’s village was based on the road towards the Andrakaraka fishing hamlets east of Fort Dauphin town, somewhat removed from the

mining zone, and a place of migrant fishers, rather than forest users. My initial research plan was to stay with forest dependent villagers next to the new mining and conservation site, as I had imagined that such places would be the most relevant to understanding local experiences of mining-related extraction and conservation programmes. However, it would turn out that mining-related socio-environmental impacts were not merely related to the mining site itself. The fisher hamlets in and near Andrakaraka would be where the most vocal resistance originated (see map in Annex 2).

The role of the fisher hamlets of Andrakaraka in mobilizing protesters became clear to me when I met Guy's mother Noelline only a few days after I had met Guy. A *grevy* (demonstration) against the mining corporation had been going on for three days in December, with villagers blockading the main road from the Mandena mining site to the new, deep sea port from where the mineral sands were being shipped out. I had been struggling to find someone to accompany me to the demonstration, as most of my existing contacts in town were very reluctant to go there. Armed forces were monitoring the situation, and even my London based language teacher, a stout Tandroy origin man married to a European who was in town on holidays, refused to do more than drive by and get a glimpse of a group of tired looking people by the roadside before quickly heading back to town. He was afraid being associated with the protesters would blacklist him as "anti-mining", and that his family would be punished. Finally, I decided to walk the few kilometers by myself in order to talk to people.

As soon as I arrived, trudging along the road and feeling very naive as I greeted the group sitting by the roadside, an elderly woman dressed in a simple *lamba hoany* (cotton cloth wrap) and t-shirt stood up to greet me. "Salama *vazaha!*" Noelline greeted me as comfortably as her son had, and proceeded to tell me that she hoped I was a foreign journalist coming to cover the event and ensure that their suffering would gain a lot of attention. As we chatted and I excused myself and explained that I was merely a student, Noelline explained that they had been doing the *grevy* for three days, and they were exhausted, but they would continue. They were taking turns, and

staying there all night, but they were very disappointed that the army had arrived. After four days of strike, the army was called in by the Chef de Region. The people who had been blocking the road with branches and their own bodies left the main road. However, they did not give up, installing them instead on a side road. They could no longer block the road, since they themselves had no guns, and were merely trying to get someone to listen. The *grevy* only lasted a few more days.

When asked about the reason for doing the demonstration, Noelline told me that Andrakaraka lake had become dirty on 9 December, with a blackening of the water, dead fish and people becoming ill from drinking it. Their manioc fields had been flooded. This is why they were doing the *grevy* (demonstration) by putting up road blocks, and they were waiting for a reply from the *fanjakana* (state).

Officially, the army had been called in due to the political unrest in the capital, where President Ravalomanana was about to be toppled. However, to local people, this was an excuse for the government to end the road block and thereby serve the mining company. It was rumoured that QMM paid the soldiers' food and water, so they were encouraged to stay and guard the road. Noelline complained, "Why are there soldiers, when we don't have a single gun?" As argued in the previous chapter, to local people, the state and the corporation were experienced as powerful outside forces colluding in capturing land and resources.

Andrakaraka and the surrounding hamlets near the mining-related weir turned out to be the centre for ongoing protests against the mining corporation during my stay in the area and beyond. A previously unknown area of migrant fishers and farmers struggled to attract the attention of corporate social relations staff, and during my stay in the field, their struggles started to succeed. Visits by corporate staff, local government officials, Malagasy journalists, independent researchers such as myself, and, on one occasion, a French documentary film team, were becoming frequent in the modest hamlets which had previously been unknown.

The story of Guy and his family illustrates the new powers and possibilities for social advancement which appeared to certain local people who were able to place themselves as “brokers” between corporation and local people. I would end up staying many days with Guy and his family, and I came to understand why he had been so quick at inviting me to stay. Although too young to qualify as a lineage elder, Guy, in addition to the crucial skill of literacy, had a particular knack at interacting with outsiders, “translating” their agendas and that of local people into mutually compatible agendas, and brokering results favourable to himself and his extended family. He was extremely hard working, seeming to never sleep, and combining three or four jobs. Every night at midnight he would go out fishing to secure the next day’s *loaky* (food to go with the rice or manioc) and some produce for his wife to sell in town. During the day, he was acting “Chef fokontany”, or Head of Village, an elected post for representing the lowest administrative unit, with a seemingly endless stream of visitors and meetings. Guy was also one of the executive officers of FIMIRA, the freshwater fishermen’s association set up by the mining corporation to monitor and implement the *dina* (environmental community agreement) for the local freshwater lagoon system.

Guy explained to me that in the context of the current protests against the mining project, he had managed to position himself as acting village head for Andrakaraka and the surrounding hamlets because official post holder was considered lazy and distant, based in town, and suspected of having kept QMM’s money for himself. This man, according to Guy, had also lost a list of people claiming compensation for flooded land, which was given to the acting Mayor of Fort Dauphin. This had led to in-fighting in the community. Therefore, Guy, according to himself, has taken over responsibility for the road blocks, as the community considered him better at protecting their interests.

Guy’s words were confirmed when during one of my stays with Guy and his family, two of the QMM social team members, arrived in a white, Rio Tinto-branded 4x4 Toyota. We exchanged pleasantries, and they turned to Guy to tell him the company’s needs: as acting village head, they needed him to mobilise the villagers from the

nearby villages for participating in alternative income-generating projects and to receive compensation gifts regarding flooded land. QMM needed to measure the land affected by the flooding caused by the weir, and to get a definitive list for the compensation payments. “We need you to tell people here that QMM knows they are suffering, and want to help,” one of the corporation’s social team members insisted. Guy responded softly, “People are sad because their fields are flooded.” As always, Guy agreed to help the corporation with mobilizing villagers. That night, after an evening meal of cassava, Guy took out a flimsy school notebook, and by the light of a smoky, homemade petrol lamp, started writing down off of the top of his head around 200 names of local people to be put on the list required by the mining corporation’s social team.

As we see, corporate power depended on local collaboration and local brokers who could “translate” CSR programmes into locally relevant language and mobilize local people as participants and stakeholders. To Guy, the role of corporate broker represented an opportunity to gain both social status and the immediate financial benefits of positioning himself and his family as beneficiaries in new corporate income-generating programmes. Guy and his family were of migrant origins, with his mother Noelline originating from Manantenina, an impoverished rural municipality 200 km north of Forth Dauphin. His deceased father originated from Fianarantsoa, in the middle of the country, which entailed a lack of status in a context where lineage, tombs and land ownership were based on patrilineal affiliation (cf. Evers 2002). One of Guy’s stated wishes, which he told me repeatedly, was to establish a new ancestral tomb in the Andrakaraka area. This would consolidate his family’s land ownership rights and confirm the status of himself, his siblings and their children as a locally established lineage rather than as migrants with dubious origins and therefore with only tenuous claims to land and natural resources.

Guy was always charming, and due to his oratory and mobilising skills, he had taken the role of *lonaky* (male lineage head), the person who would represent the family and give speeches during official occasions, in spite of being the second son. The wife of his older brother explained to me that it was because “*Guy tsy mety resê*” (Guy cannot

be defeated in an argument). Guy's role of "broker" between community, corporation and state was thereby facilitated by his personality. Guy was a charming man who liked to laugh and make jokes, making everybody around him at ease. He was constantly receiving visitors who sought him out to resolve local community issues. Frequently, they would turn back on unfinished business, as Guy would more often than not be away at a fisher association meeting, a *fokontany* (community) meeting, or participating in meetings at the QMM offices.

Guy told me that his two *adidy* (familial/ancestral duties) were to finish his father's tomb, and to construct a new and bigger house for his family. Being a community representative and thereby gaining monetary compensation and new income generating projects were therefore not his primary goals, but ways for him of obtaining these two ultimate objectives. They would simultaneously mean the blessings of his ancestors and obtaining the social status of a genuine local landowner of respective lineage (cf. Evers 2002)

The role of corporate broker required patience and did not offer immediate financial rewards, with corporate community engagement models being based on "voluntary" associations by local resource users. Guy's wife often complained about his husband's absences to partake in meetings with the mining corporation and with other community leaders. One day, as she had once again been left to care for the house and four children, she moaned to me "these meetings, every day, every day! There is no money or even compensation for the costs of attending, or food. I don't know what makes them [the corporations' social team] act like that. So I have to come to bring him food every day [to the FIMIRA association office]. I still can't see what benefit his work is bringing after these three years! As for HIMO [QMM cash for work project], people are not motivated. Our bellies are starving, and yet there is no money until after several months of such work".

Guy's wife's complaints reflect a common issue in neoliberal conservation model in Madagascar. Its reliance on local participation and enforcement of conservation rules, resulting in conservation based on an impoverished local workforce in Madagascar

forced to compromise official conservation goals for their survival (Sodikoff 2009). Instead of adherence to official project goals or direct financial benefits, local people participate in these schemes in order to gain benefits such as visibility by powerful institutions which provide resources such as development projects and equipment as well as enhanced social status.

Guy's patience and ability to perform his role of corporate broker eventually paid off economically. His family's hamlet had become a site of reference for mining company staff, and used as an example of best practice in the corporation's CSR literature about the Madagascar mining project. Guy's family had received the necessary infrastructure and tools to manage corporate-funded "alternative income generating" project in the form of an eel farm situated on their land, as well as poultry farming facilities, vegetable gardening tools and two pumps. These resources helped the family to achieve some economic prosperity, and at the end of my year's stay in the field, both of Guy's objectives of creating a family tomb and building a new house were in preparation.

As an ultimate sign of his successful ascension from "deviant" local demonstrator to deserving corporate stakeholder, Guy was selected as a representative of the corporate income generation projects to go to the capital of Antananarivo, his first trip there, to participate in a much publicized exhibition on the mining project, entitled "Fort Dauphin 2050". The exhibition was attended by the prime minister and prestigious international donor representatives. During the event, Guy told me discreetly, clearly afraid for people to overhear for fear of invoking jealousy, that the company was going to send him to South Africa to share his experiences with mining stakeholders of the Rio Tinto ilmenite mine of Richard's Bay.

Community brokerage: dimensions of exclusion

As corporate programmes intended to compensate for the loss of natural resources and land were not equally accessible to local people, existing forms of social

differentiation, often articulated according to social status and land access as well as gender and age, were increased. I will illustrate this with examples from Guy's family hamlet, which as we have seen had gone from loss of land and resources resulting in open protests against the corporation to gaining relative economic advantage from the mining company's presence. I will demonstrate how the ability to benefit from becoming a corporate broker was not equally shared even within Guy's own family, due to gendered differentiations in both social status and natural resource dependency.

Noelline, Guy's mother, was both resentful and hopeful about the mining corporation's presence. She told me how she and other women would strive to participate in QMM's projects. It was never clear what they would receive, and usually the projects were not well adapted to their circumstances. She gave me an example of a vegetable gardening income-generating project which she and other women in the Andrakaraka fisher hamlets had agreed to do. However, it was unclear whose land was going to be used, and where to access the necessary water. Proud of her literacy skills, Noelline explained: "I wrote two letters of complaint. One I gave to Mme Odile [QMM social department staff member] and one I kept for myself. At first Mme Odile acted upset, and said they would not give us the equipment we needed for the irrigation! So in the end we refused to do the project. If we had grown the vegetables further down, the rising water would ruin them. If they were higher up, I would get too tired going so far up to water them. I told QMM, "we are motivated and ready to grow vegetables, but carrying out this work is difficult for us. We need a better water pump." But until now they haven't answered. I know they have three pedal pumps. If they gave us those, we would be motivated to grow the vegetables." Noelline and other local people who were able to negotiate with corporate staff due to certain skills, such as education, were thereby not easily "enrolled" as stakeholders, but constantly engaging with corporate staff in negotiations over projects and other benefits.

In spite of her education, outspokenness and ease at interacting with foreigners such as me, Noelline was not able to place herself as a community spokesperson, although she had wished to do so. She told me that "I was not elected to represent the community.

My problem is, when there are things to be done, whether good or bad, then I will speak. In the past I didn't speak out, but nowadays I really speak out! People actually wanted me to be *Chef Fokontany* (village leader), but I said that I cannot do *raha maloto* ["dirty things", dishonesty]. And someone like me [she indicates her old, fragile body], how would I ever be able to walk around to attend meetings all the time like Guy is doing?"

In terms of corporate-related resource restriction, fisher women such as Noelline were also experiencing different challenges from the men, and these were exacerbated by the corporation's channeling most of the fish compensation to male fishers. Noelline told me that "before, women with no husband such as myself would use the *haratobe* (large net) to fish small fish, 6 women would share a *haratobe* and share the money from the fish they would sell afterwards. Also, men caught enough fish to give it to women to sell, so we women had two income streams: both from our own net based fishing and from carrying men's fish catches to town and selling them there. Now, with the fishing moratorium and QMM's compensation money, which is less for women than men, and much less than we used to make in a day, we women have to buy all the fish from the men to sell, and we are suffering! I am tired of all these studies of the water, and no resolution! They [the corporation] talk of setting up projects, but we would prefer to be able to fish and make our own income. Also, with the company, life is a lot more expensive, and money has no value anymore." Another female resource, that of *mahampy*, a type of reed which women would pick and weave into handicrafts for household use and for selling, had also become scarce due to the mining project. This loss of natural resources will be further explored in the next chapter.

Women such as Noelline thereby experienced gendered exclusions from corporate community programmes based on the assumption of men's role of income bringer and shared household resources. As fish resources diminished, women's independent income sources of net fishing had also become illegal, and they became more dependent on male fishers both for supplying fish and for representing their situation

during official village meetings, where men such as Guy were better able to place themselves as “community” representatives.

Noelline’s older sister, Alfonsine, was 85 years old, and lived in Noelline and Guy’s hamlet with her children. Originally from Manantenina, a rural municipality 150 km to the north, they had received the land from their brother, who had been in the military, and had been given their plot of land by the state as part of his remuneration.

As we will see through her own words, in Alfonsine recollection of the installation of the mining project she conflated it with the generic category of “vazaha”, or powerful foreigners with unknown agendas (cf. Keller 2009b). Alfonsine’s description of the changes brought by the mine show how, contrary to the mining projects SEIA documents analysed in the previous chapter, she did not conceive of local people and nature as two separate, opposing categories, but emphasizes mutually dependent human-nature interactions, which highlights the systematic and holistic dynamics of ecosystems, and the “socialecological relationships” which ordinary people in Madagascar have with their natural surroundings (Fairhead et al. 2012: 253; Seagle 2012).

While cradling one of her grandchildren, Alfonsine narrated the mining project’s inception to me in the following words: “since the *vazaha* arrived here, the day burns. We are dying of hunger. The *vazaha*, the people in Mandena [the mining zone] have taken all the *tsiron’gn tany* [taste of the earth/land], and they have destroyed the water. But our *velotegna* (“what keeps the body alive”, livelihoods) was based on the water. Now we have no livelihoods anymore. Life is getting harder all the time! There is not much salaried work. In the past, you could always find something to sell. But now, even if you are married, you cannot keep your body alive. And people from further inland no longer come here to exchange their manioc for fish. We didn’t have to buy food because of that exchange. But now there are no more fish, so we have nothing to exchange. Instead we have to buy food. And now our rice fields are destroyed [in the flooding], so my grandchildren will not inherit them.” The inherent value of land and nature for future generations in terms of securing both livelihoods and identities, as

expressed by Alphonsine, can be contrasted with mining project impact assessments, where as we have seen in the previous chapter, the focus was on the value of nature as exportable minerals and protected “biodiversity”.

Another woman’s experience of mining project impacts of changes in natural resource access illustrates the importance of gendered experiences of exclusion. Repela was one of the women based in between Andrakaraka and Fort Dauphin town. She lived in a small hut in an impoverished quarter of town. Every day she would walk seven kilometers to the fisher hamlets by Andrakaraka, either to fish *patsa* (small shrimp living in shallow waters) with a small, hand held net, or to buy fish from male fishers to sell at the market in town. She had no husband and lived with her daughter, who was raising four children on her own.

Repela told me that fish stocks had gone down after the weir had been constructed. She might now catch two *kapoaky* [empty nestle condensed milk cups] of *patsa* in a day, which she would sell for 800 *ariary* [ca. 0,2 dollars], which was not enough to cover their expenses for food. In the past, she might have caught one bucket of *patsa*, covering both their own food needs and leaving her some to sell at the market. Repela would therefore collect small branches on the way, to sell as firewood by the roadside, although these resources were also getting fewer. The new rules of weighing fish made her afraid. She did not understand why they had to weigh the fish, and in the beginning had taken a different path, to avoid being observed and registered. However, as she told me, “those who understood, they weighed their fish. They got on the list for compensation payments.” Now, she had given in her identity card to be registered as a fisher six months earlier, but nothing had happened since.

Repela could not read, and this made it a struggle for her to get on the lists of compensation payments. Her family and she had therefore given their names to the sister of the Chef de Region, who originated from another fisher village to the north of the mining site. Since Repela and her family came from the same area, they trusted this woman to promote their interests through her brother. Repela told me that she did not trust Guy, who was considered a *Temananteny* (from Manantenina municipality

150 km to the north), and therefore seen as promoting only the interest of people from that area.

Repela explained to me that there were three different compensation lists, one for the Andrakaraka fisher villages and two for people living nearer Fort Dauphin town, by lake Lanirano. Repela told me that as she lived in a quarter of town near lake Lanirano, she was certain that Guy and the fishers in Andrakaraka had excluded her and her daughter from the compensation list. This, she felt, was the case with many people living nearer town and not originating from Manantenina, Guy's mother's home municipality.

Repela insisted that she and her family were *tena zanatany*, or "children of the land", as opposed to Guy and his family, considered to be migrants. She explained: "We have proof: our ancestors lived near the [mining project's] weir, and there as a tree called "Rakonandro". Our ancestors came from the north and planted the tree; it is now so big that ten people holding hands cannot reach around it. We used to go there with our grandfather bringing money and asking for ancestral blessings. We would put the money in a hole by the tree. And then we would ask for the things we wanted, for example to get pregnant. The tree was in a deep forest, and it was scary to go there!" As we see, trees are central to meaning making in Madagascar (Feeley-Harnik 2001), and also indicate land ownership rights. However, such local justifications to land claims did not count in the new, mining-related land management regimes.

"We are family of Noelline [Guy's mother] via her mother, but we are no longer considering her family, because she is *miavonavona* [acting superior – perhaps because she is literate and her son Guy is acting as a community leader with the mining corporation]. The people from Magnantegny, where Noelline's father is from, make sure they do not put other people on the lists of people for compensation, but only help each other. I gave Guy 20.000 *ariary* [ca. 5 USD] to be put onto the list, but he took our money but didn't put us on the list. Only the people from Magnanteny will receive something! I can't read, so I just try to attend the meetings. It's their decision to make [about the lists]."

Repela's words illustrated the experiences of exclusion due to new land and resource management regimes where people became dependent on brokers such as Guy, as land and aquatic resources were becoming more difficult to access. As we have seen, local experiences of inclusion and exclusion were based on gender, education and age differences. Certain people, such as Guy, were able to gain profit and power through the mining project, whereas elderly and single women, whose livelihoods had been illegalized and increasingly precarious, were less able to place themselves as community representatives and worthy beneficiaries. Such locally specific patterns of social differentiation complicate the analysis of corporate capture of land, nature and people in the name of nature conservation (Fairhead et al. 2012).

Strategies of enrolment in practice: extracts from a community meeting

During one of my first stays with his family, Guy invited me to accompany him to a *fokonolo* (community) meeting in the new, Rio Tinto-branded Andrakaraka public school building. It was the fishing village's first primary school, and an example of the mining corporation's recent efforts at placating the Andrakaraka fishermen and farmers. Members of the parent association from nearby hamlets were discussing both problems linked with the teacher, accused of being a drunkard. I was introduced as a student of Malagasy culture, and was seated next to Guy, my voice recorder switched on. Guy soon steered the discussion towards the flooding of Lanirano lake. I realised that as with most things Guy did, his apparently casual invite has been carefully calculated to promote his role as a "broker" with the mining corporation: one who interacted regularly with foreigners and who thereby had privileged access to what is locally experienced to a mystifying global order where *vazaha* (white foreigners) have the power to redefine local resource and land access (c.f. Keller 2009b).

Waving a letter which he claimed was from the Director of social affairs of the mining corporation, Guy started the discussion with a clear sign of his literacy as well as his exclusive knowledge of new rules introduced by the mining corporation: “I have to inform you that the letter some of you sent the other day asking to be put on the compensation list is not at all legal [*tsy magnara-dalana*]. The Director [of Social Relations] told me this. It is better that they inform us that we have to act legally. Things do not happen the way we think. They asked why you in FIMIRA [fisher association] sent a letter, and here is another one from the Lanirano fishers. Next time, you who live by Lanirano, when you do a letter, do not list us as part of your group, we who are from Emanaka and Andranokana [fisher hamlets by Andrakaraka].” A person angrily responded: “They are no longer young children. If they did the letter and it was not returned to them, then it was well done. An adult did it, not a small child. So Guy, don’t meddle into this.” We here see how beneficiary lists were contested and represented political tools as local people, mostly illiterate fishers and farmers, struggled to position themselves as deserving of mining corporation compensation payments.

Guy responded in a conciliatory tone: “our problems which we wrote down, they did not take them into account. The compensation to which we have a right after the adversity of this problem of water. So they will know that our number certainly has not increased, and also that the fish stocks have not increased. They state our number directly. Next time, when there is a meeting with such information, we must note it. Because it is them who set the law. Where ever we go, we will always have to wait for the law that they establish.” Local experiences of corporate land and resource capture here clearly referred to a lack of accountability and transparency in a legal framework which was felt to be dictated by powerful outsiders, whether corporation or state.

In this context, the struggle and politics of being accounted for as rightful beneficiary of corporate compensation payments and community programmes was resulting in local disputes as some people were better able to position themselves as beneficiaries, while others felt excluded. In this context, becoming a corporate beneficiary was based on the ability to perform as appropriate community member through active

participation in corporate programmes. This is illustrated by Guy's attempts to mobilize support for the corporate fisher association which he was part of, emphasizing its role as a vehicle for qualifying as worthy stakeholder and beneficiary. In this context, the corporation is represented as the authority for determining compensation payments which the corporation itself claimed were determined by governmental regulations, with accountability and responsibility fragmented between corporation and state.

Guy claimed that "It is only because of the Chef de Region [head of the Anosy regional government, who had family near Lanirano lake] that they were able to *mahita* [find/see] our village in the beginning. But now, he knows nothing. He awaits our report. He has no responsibility. He is constantly awaiting this law that the corporation will establish. We haven't forbidden anyone to weigh their fish [a new rule introduced by the mining corporation's fish experts, who required the local association to keep a list of official fishers who "weighed in" the catch every morning]. However, whoever is aware that he hasn't had his fish weighed; he has excluded himself off the list. So nobody can say that they were not put on the list." Such fragmentation of responsibility between state and corporation in terms of accounting for local losses and compensations were not part of official discourses of corporate responsibility, but were deployed strategically by the local state officials in order to both evade accountability and be able to capture corporate-led resources intended for local beneficiaries.

A response from one of the fishers from Lanirano, the group questioning Guy's authority, shows that Guy's long speech is having its desired effects of mobilizing local people to participate in the fisher association and using him as corporate intermediary: "you are not wrong, but you are not the sole owner of the [fishers'] association. However, if there are letters that you would like to send to the *birao* [offices, i.e. corporation], you have to see them before we give them to the people at the highest level. So we can't do it like this again [i.e. they should not bypass Guy again]." Guy's response illustrates his agenda of ensuring that more people participate in the new, corporate-led water management regimes by deploying both official

discourses of community resource management and local needs for monetary income: “before we can sing [i.e. before celebrating a positive event], we must present them [the corporation] with our problems. The weir that they have installed. The co-management of the water. We were saying that FIMIRA [the fishers’ association] has money. We managed to set it up. That’s when the fish became more abundant. So we can get a lot of profit from FIMIRA. The organization can help us gain money. We have an interest in participating in it.”

Attempting to reduce the divisions between Andrakaraka fishers and the town-based fishers and farmers near Lanirano lake, Guy continues: “for you from Lanirano, when you create an association, please do not fool us. Never say that you are from Andrakaraka. So if you send a letter in your name, fishers from Lanirano, it’s your business. You can also join our association.” However, illustrating Guy’s tenuous position as local representative due to the local legitimacy in land ownership being established via ancestral links with land and natural resources, which excluded immigrant groups, a person from Lanirano responded: “in the Lanirano association, we are only 12 people. However, [people from] Andrakaraka are not true land owners. It is us, the people from Lanirano, who *nagnary-potsy* [have thrown our umbilical cords] in the lake. Even you who live here [in Andrakaraka hamlet], you don’t throw your umbilical cords there.” In the south and south east of Madagascar, newborn children’s umbilical cords are thrown in the ancestral rice fields or a river by the ancestral lands, indicating local origins, land and resource ownership (Middleton 1995; Thomas 1997). This exchange illustrates the ongoing moral superiority of those who could show such primordial, ancestral ties during struggles over land and resources generated by the mining project.

With Guy’s his father coming from the faraway highland city of Fianarantsoa, and his mother from Manantenina municipality 150 km to the north, Guy could not directly counter this reference. However, he responded diplomatically: “there are those who cultivate, those who fish, those who have chicken. But first of fall, we are fishers. However, as there are no more fish, we have started cultivating. Because people’s lives depend on QMM.” A Lanirano farmer responded: “but we have cultivated for a

long time, not just because of QMM!” Guy counters his interjection, insisting on keeping to a label which did not disqualify his authority as local community leader: “we are really fishers. But we don’t need to follow them [the corporation]. We will ask for a meeting after we have sent a new letter. The best solution is if they join us here, us who are really fishers. We don’t have to go there. They will come here and follow our decision, because we are not going to merely keep following theirs. Today I took a picture of a dead fish which we will bring them to show [Guy had spotted a dead fish in the lake on our way to the meeting, and had me take a picture of it]. We’ve seen the people with wounds [locally presumed to be caused by the mining project], and the discolored water”. These were local environmental impacts never acknowledged by the corporation, although an accidental oil spill was mentioned in a 2010 assessment.

Guy continued, demonstrating his knowledge of corporate staff: “so now the Director (of social affairs), and Doctor Eric [local GP employed by the corporation] might come here. On Wednesday they are coming to Emanaka [hamlet by Andrakaraka]. On Sunday we will get good news. When they arrive then we must speak directly about our problems: ‘here are those who have stomach pains.’ The Director [of social affairs] said he didn’t see any dirty water at lake Lanirano, but here at Andrakaraka [further up the lagoon system, closer to the mining site] you could really see it. So if there is a meeting we must no longer have one person saying ‘at Lanirano there are sick people, but Andrakaraka there are none’”. Guy was here drawing up a joint strategy and ensuring that local people would be “on message” rather than having multiple view points and rumours, which would weaken their position vis à vis the corporation.

Guy ended by promising good results if his strategy was followed, but also emphasising that he was not merely following the corporation’s agenda: “the letter we wrote, we hope that we will get good news. But if there is no good news, then it is our *anjara* [destiny/duty], us the fishers, to *mihetsiky* [move/shake, i.e. to protest]. But the Director [of social affairs] said that if we do a letter today, then there will be an answer today. But this is the situation: if there is a *grevy* [demonstration/road blocks]

there are no advantages for him. I tell you, we cannot fool ourselves. Because *politika* [politics], it has always made us small. If we do like this, the Director will immediately understand. But if we threaten with not weighing our fish, then he will accept. If they still don't give us what we want, then we will keep protesting. But the outcome depends on the Director [of social affairs]." As we see, as Guy attempted to mobilize people around a particular strategy with him as a central interlocutor on both sides, he was actively translating the corporation's perspectives to local idioms, and playing on local feelings of helplessness and alienation from political processes led by powerful outsiders.

Making the unruly children legible: from fisher to corporate representative

I met Martin frequently during my many walks from Amparihy quarter of Fort Dauphin towards the Andrakaraka fisher hamlets. He worked in the FIMIRA association office, a simple wooden hut by the shores of Lanirano lake, where a small path led from the lagoon systems towards Fort Dauphin town. Martin had been hired by the corporation to account for the lists of local fishers, and to ensure the daily fish weighing which happened at the FIMIRA office. Every woman who came by carrying a basketful of fish to be sold on the market in town had to show their catch, have it photographed and weighed, and indicate which fisher's catch she was selling, based on the official list of fishers, before continuing on to the market.

Martin had a list of 334 fishers from the Lanirano lagoon system who had officially received compensation from the mining corporation during the six month fishing moratorium, and might get further compensation in case of low fish stocks and problems with starvation. However these figures were never stable. He complained that there was another list with 676 people, which included fishermen who also fished on the other side of the Fort Dauphin peninsula, near the new port. Showing the ongoing difficulty of keeping the Andrakaraka list of fishermen fixed and thereby useful to the corporation, Martin complained: "the compensation list for Andrakaraka

has gone from 100 to 300! They are lazy, and just want money!” Working closely with Guy, the Andrakaraka villagers’ spokesperson towards the corporation, Martin was thereby engaged in acts of “translation” to the corporation’s social team of a community of people constantly moving and resettling, based on the availability of natural resources, into a fixed, “legible” list of official stakeholders and beneficiaries.

Martin was one of the few Andrakaraka fishers with a secondary school diploma. He had grown up in town, and only started fishing by Andrakaraka in the mid-80s as a supplementary income, as he could not find a stable job in town. His parents had worked for the sisal processing factory near Fort Dauphin, showing how local people pursuing apparently timeless livelihoods activities such as fishing from a dugout canoe were part of a history of integration in the boom and bust of global trade long before the mining corporation’s arrival.

Martin had settled by Andrakaraka hamlets, and had married a woman who originated from the local hamlets, although they had since separated. His education and local links had helped him get a job with QMM in 2001 to help with social relations and the issues of fish stocks and setting up the FIMIRA fisher association. Martin had also been given the duty of writing a “monography” of Andrakaraka. Such “ethnographic” exercises were usually done by the corporation’s two in-house anthropologists, and covered villages near the current and future mining sites. The Andrakaraka monography was a much smaller exercise than other such documents, consisting of 10 pages of local history and basic statistics on the local hamlets. However, it still represented a previously anonymous fishing hamlet being made “legible” to the corporation through an act of knowledge-creation about local people and places as a strategy of scientifically legitimizing corporate rule of land, people and resources (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]: 350; Scott 1998).

Again showing how local land ownership was justified via ancestral links, Martin explained that “in Andrakaraka there are no *tompontany* [landowners], but they are all *mpiavy* [immigrants]. But the first comers have stayed so long that they are becoming like owners. In the beginning there was lots of forest and animals, but when people

here started cultivating, then they started *mahamadio tany* [“cleaning up the land”, i.e. clearing the forest (c.f. Bloch 1995)]. So now they are like landowners, because if you live in a place for a long time, and it has not been sold off by *Domaine* [the state land registry], then it becomes yours. When I arrived here from town in 1987 and started to work as a fisher, the land was not yet officially owned by anyone. But after a while we were so many who started settling here, that we asked the *Prefet de Region* ([former government structure] to be part of the *commune urbaine* [Fort Dauphin urban municipality]. Because according to ancestral tradition, former customs, this was the place where people from Ampasy [municipality to the north, hosting the mining zone] let their cattle graze. They would leave them for months with nobody to watch them. But when the farmers arrived then the cattle had to leave, because they ruined people’s fields. So the people from Ampasy complained to the state. But around 15 people asked the state to be allowed to settle here. And when they got permission they brought their wives and settled. Most people have reconnaissance [confirmation by the government, based on local witnesses, about land limits], but no land titles. But now that people are getting compensation money, perhaps they are starting to title their land.” This history illustrates how land ownership was conceived of locally as a dynamic process based on migration, settlement and the clearing of new land for cultivation, with legal ownership based on official governmental papers rare and expensive (cf. Burnod et al. 2011).

Martin explained how the corporation’s proposition of having the fishers and farmers touched by the flooding participate in HIMO (high intensive unskilled work for cash) projects instead of giving out compensation money was not popular among the intended targets. This difficulty made him characterize the fishers as *maditra* (naughty, usually a word used about children), lazy and lying, only waiting for monetary compensation.

Although considered by the mining corporation as a local community member as well as local QMM *technician* implementing projects, Martin was thereby positioning himself as a broker of the corporation’s perspective, and he did not directly identify with local people’s interests. However, he told me that there would be compensation

money paid due to the water changes, although it was still not proven that it was QMM's fault. "However", he sighed, "the problem is that the number of people on the official compensation claim list keeps changing. Even the ONE (Office National de l'Environnement, governmental body responsible for monitoring socio-environmental impacts) has asked the villagers to finalise number and agree between themselves to sort it out. "Without a proper list, we can't do anything!" As we see, rendering local people "legible" by establishing compensation lists was a key concern of the corporation. Although seemingly a statistical exercise, it was experienced locally as a deeply political maneuver where some people benefited and others were excluded.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the politics of becoming a mining project stakeholder and beneficiary in the context of disputes over the socio-environmental impacts of mining. I have analysed how certain actors were able to benefit from the new land and resource management regimes by becoming community representatives and thereby considered as worthy corporate beneficiaries. These actors thereby mediated exchanges with the corporate community relations team, actively influencing definitions of local beneficiaries, or people who became "visible" to the corporation, thereby gaining entry on official beneficiary lists, and entitlements to economic and social benefits.

The chapter has also shown how certain people, in particular marginalized, illiterate women whose livelihood strategies had gone from marginal to illegal due to new land and resource management regimes were unable to position themselves as worthy corporate beneficiaries. Concurrently, these people were in higher need of corporate compensation payments and income-generating alternatives, having no other livelihoods options and facing immediate starvation. However, these people had no choice but to continue livelihoods which had now become both insufficient and illegal as they struggled to negotiate themselves onto local beneficiary lists. This represented

a form of “double exclusion”: first, from land and resources, and secondly, from their commodified and market-based forms.

The chapter has discussed how local experiences of the new multitude of state interfaces set up by the corporation in order to make local people and places “legible” and manageable. This also resulted in the fragmentation of responsibility for socio-environmental responsibilities and accountability between corporation, government and “communities”. This also entails new regimes of rights and responsibilities based on “stakeholderism”, where people who manage to perform as corporate intermediaries and thereby place themselves as “the deserving poor”, such as Guy, become eligible for assistance and new forms of resource access. Concurrently, those who failed to perform and fit prescribed labels of livelihood and belonging, such as Repela and her family, both found their livelihoods illegal and were unable to benefit from new resource access schemes.

The chapter has concluded that new discourses of control and public entitlement are worked out as localized and contested cultural politics of entitlement, with neoliberal development encounters being shaped and occasionally thwarted by local contexts and politics (Moore 2005). For the Andrakaraka fishers and farmers, such local politics included that of demonstrating ancestral ties to the land, which countered the mining corporation’s claims. This also represented points of leverage for local resistance which turned more salient when political events made the mining project contestable and made it possible to claim rights through avenues which directly countered corporate rule of land and resources.

Chapter 6: Corporate Social Responsibility: inclusive neoliberalism as technology of rule

The QMM project has an extremely high profile, and Rio Tinto has emphasised that aspects of environmental and social management there represent their current best practice, and a potential model for their future approach to such management. As such, Rio Tinto's growing reputation as a company taking progressive steps towards a more sustainable model depends on the success of its strategy here in particular.

(Olegario et al. 2012: 8, citing ClientEarth)

Introduction

This chapter analyses CSR as a global “project of rule” over distant people and place. It demonstrates how global neoliberal ideologies such as CSR, which appear dominant and inevitable, need to be ethnographically accounted for as shaped by actor-led strategies and contingent encounters. I analyse how interventions labeled as “CSR” through the shift from global discourse to local socio-environmental programmes are based on “practices of assemblage”. The chapter investigates these practices through contingent encounters at a shareholder meeting in London and during the implementation of socio-environmental programmes designed by corporate social experts in Madagascar.

The chapter thereby argues that CSR is best understood both on the ideological level as a strategy of corporate rule over distant people and places and as a contingent and situated practice where outcomes are never certain. This follows the methodology of analyzing social history by focusing on “men's actual practice”, in order to show the linkages between “micro-power” and more abstracted levels of power, such as government and the state (Foucault 2009 [2004]: 358). Such an approach helps illustrate the relational and dynamic character of power in processes of corporate capture of land, resources and people, where dominant forms of knowledge creation when transformed into particular encounters sometimes succeed in generating “deserving” stakeholders and occasionally fail, leading to conflict and enforced changes in corporate behavior.

The chapter's first gives an account of the rise of CSR and relates it to theories about governmentality and "extractive neoliberalism". This is followed by an ethnographic account of the 2009 Annual General Meeting of Rio Tinto Mining Corporation's board of directors and shareholders. I investigate how such high profile corporate events are used to enact and reconfirm global corporate narratives such as CSR. I account for official CSR discourses and the strategic knowledge production behind such global ideologies. Next, I analyse how CSR as ideological project is represented in corporate literature in order to "enroll" powerful actors behind a certain agenda and mobilize economic support. I account for corporate knowledge creation as based on the enrolment of social and environmental experts into corporate teams. I then investigate how these global CSR discourses, though stable in text, when deployed as part of ongoing efforts to mobilize and enroll supporters and resources are also contested and at risk of being exposed and thwarted.

The chapter ultimately serves to examine the relationship between the mobilizing and simplifying rhetoric of CSR and the world as understood and experienced by actors who deploy and are impacted by such rhetoric. This helps account for social change and resistance in the context of seemingly dominant global neoliberal ideologies of capitalist land and resource capture. However, when accounting for change and resistance, I emphasize the need to pay attention to the importance of unequal power to strategically represent the world and thereby claim legal rights to land and resources. Such discrepancy in voice and power is strategically concealed through CSR discourses which emphasize universalising and technical concepts such as "community", "economic growth" and "participation", making alternative options and resistance difficult and easily dismissed as reactionary and

Beyond neoliberalism? CSR as technology of corporate rule

The concept of CSR generates multiple events, publications, interventions and encounters, and can thereby be analysed as a particular “discourse of power”. Such a discourse is understood as the power to define the world which excludes alternative realities, and which thereby establishes certain forms of dominant knowledge (cf. Foucault 1979). This approach helps to focus on the social effects of CSR-labeled encounters and initiatives rather than on the veracity of corporate rhetoric (cf. Sharp 2006). In particular, this chapter argues that CSR policies with their emphasis on voluntary codes of conduct and standards represent a corporate voluntarism “from above” rather than public rights from below (Garvey and Newell 2005).

The official intentions of CSR in terms of public rights and responsibilities thereby involve an increase in “stakeholder” mapping as increasing numbers of firms feel obliged to validate their actions to wide circles of those affected by their activities. Concurrently, mechanisms of meaningful legal means to enforce corporate responsibility for the impacts of their actions are often weak and underdeveloped, and sometimes actively undermined by CSR-branded initiatives, as I argued in the previous chapter. While the mining corporation contributed to building state interfaces for stakeholder mapping and needs assessments, the possibility for accountability and claiming public rights “from below” meanwhile became fragmented and obscure, in what this chapter analyses as “rule through CSR”.

My analysis of CSR thereby follows the trend in the anthropology of development of shifting from a normative deconstruction of neoliberal policy narratives to a focus on “development’s routines, practices and subjectivities” (Mosse & Lewis 2006: 6). The shift has entailed considering power in development projects as situated between the extremes of coercion and consensus, acting subtly, thorough the production of subjectivity within individuals, or the process of making subjects “governable” (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]: 352-353). However, I also demonstrate how the actual accomplishment of corporate rule through CSR owes as much to the practices and agreements worked out in contingent and compromised spaces of cultural intimacy as

it does to the unilateral imposition of corporate-led development schemes (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]: 358; Li 1999). The importance of accounting for social practice and particular encounters and strategies is further investigated the next chapter.

The very unwieldiness of CSR and the contradictions on which it rests illustrates how it is a product of active efforts of social “assemblage” by actors in particular contexts, rather than a self-contained ideology instantly deployable in social projects (cf. Li 2007a). This makes the analysis of such “assemblages” important, and the chapter therefore focuses on the label of CSR as mobilizing category for describing multiple activities, including CSR publications, programmes, corporate departments and professional identities. I thereby emphasize the concept’s temporality and spatiality: At particular times, such as during corporate shareholder meetings, on websites and in company literature, the concept is invoked, only to disperse or get reemployed in new ways, according to place and objectives. We therefore need to account for the contingent practices and encounters that fill the gap between the “will to improve” (Li 2007b) society and nature through CSR and the unpredictable outcomes of such strategies of rule.

A brief history of CSR

I will here give a brief account of the rise of CSR as influential concept. A historical account of the rise of multinational corporations and of the notion of corporate responsibility defines three corporate “eras” with distinct geo-political climates (Litvin 2004 [2003]). The first one is the era of empires and colonial profit-making incorporated companies such as the British East India Company or the British South Africa Company, which were not the first, or only, multinationals of the imperial era, but whose scale of power and influence stands out in their ability to extract profits from the colonies. The second era is one of “Backlash” against colonisation, with the campaign against slave trade as one of the earliest significant ethical movement to call for the regulation of private enterprise. The third era is one of “Resurgence”, with the renewed rush of investment into developing countries of recent decades, but which

also carries within itself the scope for a new backlash due to the adverse social and environmental impacts of these investments (Litvin 2004 [2003]: xv). From a historical perspective, then, CSR is simply the latest manifestation of earlier debates on the role of business in society. What is new is that today's debates are conducted at the intersection of "development", environment and human rights, and are more global in outlook (Blowfield and Frynas 2005: 500).

CSR as it is currently in use originated partly in the corporate scandals of the 1990s, such as Shell's "Brent Spar" oil storage dumping scandal and the company's role in the execution the social justice campaigners in the Niger Delta, as well as the increasingly audible "anti-globalization" movements (Cheney *et al.* 2007: 7). Further, Litvin (2004: 222) argues that CSR came about in the 1990s not only due to global NGO "anti-globalization" protests targeting multinationals, but also targeting the global inequities resulting from the neo-liberal policy regime of the World Bank and the IMF which as we see matches the rise of "inclusive neoliberalism" discussed in chapter 1. In the face of the increasing critique of the social effects neo-liberal measures such as structural adjustment policies and global market integration, there seems to be a parallel shift in the stated objectives of international financial institutions and of international corporations.

The international financial institutions shifted to a new "institutionalist" framework for development. This shift has involved retaining core neoliberal macroeconomic and pro-market policy settings, but adding a "positive liberal" approach emphasizing "empowerment" to enable "participation" of countries and people in global and local markets, with Craig and Porter (2006: 12) arguing that the new development regime is still underpinned by neoliberal ideology. The new focus is on institution building and an "enabling" state ensuring global market integration, building "human capital" through health and education services, "empowering" and protecting the rights of vulnerable people through "participatory" mechanisms, and engendering moral obligations to community and work (*ibid.*). This also involves a new focus on "partnerships" with private actors for service delivery which aims to develop educated and engaged citizens able to partake in market opportunities, and a focus on the

decentralised governance through “community” as the site where these citizens interact and hold the government to account (ibid: 6). These new “development” objectives I consider to be strikingly similar to the new CSR discourse that also developed in the 1990s.

Meanwhile, Western multinationals responded to the “anti-globalisation” critique through adopting corporate responsibility strategies covering a range of activities, and by 2004 almost all of the largest companies in the UK had some sort of CSR strategy in place (Litvin 2004: xix). This has included both glossy “sustainability” reports about “stakeholder” relations, and new “partnerships” between companies, NGOs, governments, developing agencies and “local communities”, with explicit development objectives replacing the traditional notion of ad hoc corporate philanthropy gestures (ibid.; Rajak 2005: 196).

Over the last two decades, a new field of expertise in CSR has thereby developed, with CSR itself becoming big business through multiple outlets such as consultancies, business school chairs and executive programmes, corporate training seminars and networking websites such as *CSRwire* with global CSR news and events, CSR ratings of specific companies, and the latest in CSR research (Stohl et al. 2007: 37). In the face of global NGO activism and consumer boycotts, extractive industries multinationals in particular became early advocates of corporate responsibility (Litvin 2004: 7-8). The type of companies that are proactive in CSR are thereby typically those which have become protest targets, such as mining companies, which are developing sophisticated and well financed “stakeholder engagement” strategies, and have become a key part of the new, ongoing global dialogue about voluntary and regulatory CSR initiatives (McIntosh 2007: 48). As we shall see in the next sections, this observation closely matches Rio Tinto’s CSR policies and discourses about being a leader in the field.

Rule at a distance: the Rio Tinto Corporation's Annual General Meeting

In April 2010, in a large, modern conference hall across from the Houses of Parliament in London, the multinational mining corporation Rio Tinto is conducting its Annual General Meeting (AGM). I am attending as a guest of a minimal, strategic shareholder, an NGO which is involved in socio-environmental advocacy in southern Madagascar. Buying a share in a particular multinational corporation is a favoured strategy by advocacy groups in order to gain access to exclusive shareholder forums such as AGMs and thereby challenge corporate discourses of sustainability. Such events represent an occasion for being heard by the corporation's board of directors, shareholders, the media and other activists.

My NGO friends and I are waved through heavy security procedures reminiscent of an international airport, including a body scan. Other campaigners present include members of the London Mining Network, a UK-based anti-mining campaigning group, as well as community groups from various sites of Rio Tinto mining operations. Participants from US First Nations groups and a Papua New Guinea national have donned indigenous effects such as feathers and bead collars. The large conference hall which caters for around 400 people is filling up, as 11 members of Rio Tinto's board of directors take their places on the podium. Two large screens feature three more directors, the Australian board members, attending by video link, as the chairman of the board explains in his opening remarks, to ensure "better use of time and to reduce the carbon footprint", with discourses of sustainability already being deployed.

The corporation's chairman, exquisitely suited and speaking with in a polished South African English, presents the years' results. He points to an "exceptionally challenging" year due to the global financial crisis, but with annual profits from 2009 still close to 20 billion USD. Future expansions in the iron ore industry in Australia and Papua New Guinea are linked with the expanding Chinese needs for steel for their construction market. Distant sites are represented as unimaginable possibilities of

wealth in a self-conscious making of a spectacle intended to mobilize shareholders and investors around corporate investment strategies (cf. Tsing 2000). The overall corporate strategy is reiterated: “to invest in large, long life and low cost mines.” However, the chairman also emphasizes that the board “remains fully committed to our sustainable development policy”, an area that is “essential in maintaining and extending our license to operate.” Elaborating on this point, the chairman declares: “whilst I’m sure there will always be room for improvement in this area, I think we can all be justifiably proud of Rio Tinto’s contribution to social and environmental stewardship wherever we operate.”

This ethnographic vignette illustrates the financial and symbolic power of global corporations such as Rio Tinto, and their ambition of accessing and governing distant sites of natural resources. Despite the setting of stern corporate efficiency, the Rio Tinto chairman’s performance can be considered an act of “conjuring” (Tsing 2000) similar to that of the *tsimeto* who pronounced the flooding described in chapter 4. If we focus on the intentionality of the performance of the chairman, his aim of moving and enrolling the audience beyond the limits of rational calculation becomes visible. Corporate shareholder encounters represent dramatic shows of potential as Rio Tinto seeks to mobilise ever growing investments for acquiring new extractive sites through imagery of distant frontiers of limitless profit making (cf. Tsing 2000).

The first part of the AGM can thereby be read as an example of corporate “government at a distance” (Rose 1996: 41): the crafting of governable spaces for corporate resource extraction across vast spaces, where social and environmental benefits are assumed to simultaneously arise from the corporation’s active socio-environmental stewardship. This demonstrates how CSR represents a “project of rule” justifying corporate access to distant places and people. This project of rule is established and enacted during moments of mobilisation and enrolment such as AGMs. However, the second part of the meeting, where the floor is opened for shareholder interventions, shows a different side to corporate “rule”: the need by corporate management for ongoing justification, enrolment and mediation when confronted with critical shareholders and activists and NGOs.

Following what the chairman describes as the “formal part” of the meeting, which has lasted about 30 minutes, the floor is open for interventions from shareholders. Both the chairman and the chief executive, an American man, first take several critical questions from shareholders about corporate financial performance and investment choices. They are forced to justify investment choices and potential risks to corporate financial performance. Then, gradually, campaigning groups who have “infiltrated” the floor also manage to ask questions. A young woman from a US first nation group stands up and criticizes the company for destroying her tribe’s “sacred rock” and the “sacredness of mother earth” in a Michigan based mining venture. The corporation’s chief executive responds that the company “takes seriously not only environmental obligations”, but also “respect local culture and facilities”, as well as state mining regulations. He claims that the original plan of mining the particular mountain mentioned had been amended. Further critical inquiries relate to protests about reduced employee-benefits at another US-based mine, an issue which had mobilized vocal protests outside the AGM, and also led to negative media coverage about the corporation.

Amid much raising of hands, a trustee of the Madagascar NGO is invited to ask her question. After congratulation the company for a recent environmental prize for the Fort Dauphin ilmenite mine, the Malagasy woman refers to the NGO’s publication of oral testimonies about local experiences of the mine, and asks about a litigation case related to land compensation for people displaced by mining-related infrastructure. The corporate chairman responds by thanking her for the mention of the environmental prize, and refers on to the chief executive officer to clarify the situation regarding the other questions. The latter reiterates the environmental prize and refers to the mining project as part of a World Bank strategy of “three growth nodes for Mada, one being Fort Dauphin and the Fort Dauphin community”. The chief executive adds that the questions about “land transfers” refers to a “dispute resolution process on those land purchases that would have taken place during the course of the project development”, emphasizing that “my understanding is that there is a dispute resolution process, there have been some questions, ‘was that land properly priced’, but it is a

normal process that we go through on a normal commercial basis, but it certainly has an oversight from a community perspective, and if I am correct [...] there is a mechanism in which USAID is also involved in that Fort Dauphin community and the overall support of these transitions”. The chief executive then rapidly goes on to talk about the titanium dioxide (ilmenite) market, and how it is a profitable part of the paint and building construction market, with the Madagascar mine an important part of this market for Rio Tinto.

The chief executive’s tentative admission of corporate failure in terms of locally acceptable land access and compensation, and his efforts to shift the topic onto corporate productivity in Madagascar is not left uncontested. The campaigning NGO’s UK director stands up and grabs the microphone, breaching protocol, and asks in an exasperated tone for a more constructive response in order to clarify issues about outstanding land compensation. Pointing again to the oral testimonies published by the NGO, she states that “we’ve had no response from the company about this document. We’ve sent it to the company both locally and here in London, it would be very nice to know that you care enough to maybe respond and listen to what the local people are trying to tell you, and to actually respond constructively. Thank you.” The NGO director sits down, and the attention shifts to the Rio Tinto chairman. The latter calmly suggests meeting up with the chief executive during the lunch break to discuss the issues.

At this point, a representative of the London Mining Network, an international mining “watchdog” NGO, stands up and shouts, “no, no, you must respond now, just answer the question!” The chairman sighs and passes the issue on to the chief executive. Clearing his throat tentatively, the latter responds that “I’ve been visiting Madagascar a number of times since 2000, and during that whole period there’s been quite a bit of oral testimony and oral consultations going on. A lot of it as you know is videotaped. I can’t go into the specifics of that but I know we’ve gotten opinions from everyone in every one of the communities in the area. You know, in any democratic situation you may have some people that are disagreeing. I can’t answer the individual ones but I’d be happy to have the more specific comments and see [how

we can] talk about those.” With a more assertive voice, the chief executive continues, “Again, the poverty that was in the Fort Dauphin area, the deforestation going on in the Fort Dauphin area, before there was any activity going on was quite extreme. It was extreme in the context of Madagascar compared to other Indian islands and Africa. And I would say that there has been a considerable uplift in the economy in Fort Dauphin, and those communities on balance are better off.” The Chief Executive thereby gets the last word on the Madagascar situation, as AGM exchanges move onto other issues.

The exchange between corporate management and social activists can be analysed as a struggle over the representation of reality, with the corporate response an attempt at “rendering technical” (Li 2007a), i.e. solvable through technical expertise such as economic governance, political struggles over land and natural resource access. The NGO director who had invited me along later pointed out to me that such high profile encounters with corporate executives were a “circus” and corporate listening ritual rather than representing any substantial influence over corporate behavior. Yet it can be argued that such corporate meetings do provide some space for campaigning groups to be heard by corporate executives, shareholders, other activists and the media, and demand a response. To illustrate the growing importance and voice of such campaigning groups, some of the exchanges between the board of directors and plenary members were filmed by activists and posted on the social media website YouTube under the heading “Rio Tinto Tries Dodging Questions on Madagascar Mine.”²⁴

Corporate management was thereby forced to justify and reiterate their commitment to social and environmental standards. However, during these struggles over the representation of reality, the most directly affected people were used as key points of reference, yet only in terms of their status as corporate “stakeholders” and “community” participants in campaigning efforts such as the NGO’s oral testimony

²⁴ Available on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HHyoc6OI6uI> (accessed 04.02.2011).

booklet. The NGO campaigning project and its representation of local people as aggrieved “indigenous” community is further discussed in chapter 9.

What is striking in the exchanges during the AGM is the corporate management’s repeated reference to “communities” as a justification for the presence of corporate operations. An analysis of Rio Tinto mining venture in South Africa points out that CSR policies frequently focus on the category of “community” (Kapelus 2002: 280). In CSR discourse, the “community” is considered to be a label for the people most adversely affected by corporate activities, and their compensation claims are therefore the most credible. Therefore, if the company can claim that the “community” is benefiting, for instance through increased development, it entails legitimacy for their operations and impacts (ibid). This therefore makes the act of identifying and monitoring the “community” a key corporate activity which is given to corporate social “experts”, as analysed in the chapter’s next section.

Seeing like a mining corporation: CSR literature

The success of CSR as a global neoliberal agenda arises from its ability to continue recruiting support and so impose a growing coherence even on those who denounce it (cf. Latour 1996: 78). CSR projects need “interpretive communities” in order to enroll a range of supporting actors who want to participate in the established order (cf. Li 1999:374). The development policy model of CSR thereby becomes increasingly stable as more interests are tied up with its particular interpretations (cf. Mosse 2004). In this context, the narrative of the mining corporation’s CSR policies in Madagascar was supported by many interests, including a central and local Malagasy government increasingly dependent on an expanding extractive industries sector in the context of the political crisis and coup d’état of 2009 (Randrianja 2012), a mining industry with investor confidence shaken by increasing violence near sites of extraction characterized by increasing social inequity (Chibber 2012), donor agencies seeking successful new development models in the context of increasing criticism of traditional aid efficiency (Craig & Porter 2006), and international NGOs increasingly

relying on multinational capital to finance nature conservation activities (cf. Sullivan 2011).

Rio Tinto's CSR policies in Madagascar thereby represent a good example of a "will to improve" society and nature (cf. Li 2007b). Such efforts are nothing new in a region characterized by programmes of social improvement and nature management since early colonial days, as demonstrated in chapter 3. However, the new aspect is the increasing explicit dependency by multinational extractive industries on cooperative and mutually beneficial relations with local people and on being considered environmentally friendly by a global and vocal public of advocacy groups (Garvey & Newell 2005). An analysis of a selection Rio Tinto's vast body of CSR literature helps illustrate this point.

A 2005 Rio Tinto presentation at a UN conference on community engagement by the private sector sets out a history of the CSR movement from the corporation's perspective, under the title of "the business case for community engagement". The report states that "in times past, mining companies, particularly those operating in frontier situations, tended to function as closed systems, largely insulated from the influence of public opinion" (Harvey & Brereton 2005: 2-3). This era was characterized by "the purpose-built mining town, where the company was the dominant employer, owned and provided most of the services (including housing), and managed the town as an essential element of the mine's production system." In this period, "companies were able to control and predict most variables affecting their operation, right down to issues of community administration." In contrast, today, "mines must increasingly operate as open systems", due to factors such as "heightened stakeholder and community expectations, the glare of global scrutiny, the demise of the traditional mining town, and the growing influence of concepts such as 'corporate social responsibility'" (Harvey & Brereton 2005).

Corporate attempts of actively governing society and generating deserving "stakeholders" are therefore nothing new, as illustrated by references to colonial era mining towns in Africa (see Ferguson 1999; Ferguson 2005; Mitchell 1968).

However, among multinational mining corporations, there has been a shift from such corporate philanthropy, representing corporate “gifts” to local communities, towards ambitious stakeholder engagement strategies under the heading of “Corporate Social Responsibility” (see Rajak 2012). Specifically to Rio Tinto, violent reactions to the corporation’s mining projects in places such as Papua New Guinea have led to the corporation’s developing ambitious CSR policies as a response to criticisms by activist groups and the media (Kapelus 2002). This includes proactive social knowledge production through hiring social experts such as anthropologists and the generation of a vast body of literature on the subject.

What the shift to CSR strategies illustrates is the need for nuance and for paying attention to differences between corporations and local extraction sites. Rio Tinto’s CSR policies have themselves evolved in the encounter with local people in Madagascar. An analysis of the corporation’s CSR literature from 2005 to 2012 serves to illustrate this point. Such literature, can be analysed within the genre of “corporate apologia”, which represents a form of social drama via public apology and discursive strategies of enrolment of critics behind the corporate version of reality (see Coombs et al. 2010; Hearit 2005). These written corporate representations of reality represent an “enframing” of socio-environmental realities based on a “rule of experts” (Mitchell 2002). Such literature is interesting in terms of their strategic representations of reality which seek to conceal underlying struggles over the social and natural world (cf. Bourdieu 1985).

Rio Tinto’s 2005 community engagement strategy illustrates the corporate strategic use of social expertise. The report refers to a social scientific approach set out by Glynn Cochrane, the corporation’s Oxford-educated anthropologist (Harvey & Brereton 2005). The corporation’s approach is set out as follows: mining corporations are facing a situation where “communities now frequently represent themselves when dealing with business, whether through public forums, delegate bodies or the agency of Non Government Organisations (NGOs)” (ibid: 3). Rio Tinto’s response has been to develop “direct relationships with local community and local government, and are

increasingly pushed to do so by communities with access to the communication and transactional enablers that are driving globalisation.”

The policy document defines “community” as “the inhabitants of immediate and surrounding areas who are affected in some way by a company’s activities”, with impacts that may be economic and social as well as environmental (Harvey & Brereton 2005: 1). “Stakeholders”, on the other hand, are “those who have an interest in a particular decision, either as individuals or representatives of a group, including people who influence a decision, or can influence it, as well as those affected by it” (ibid.). Such key CSR categories which come to define public rights to corporate socio-environmental compensation schemes are thereby made sufficiently fluid to be applied differently according to location and situation.

The community engagement policy points out that the new business environment creates a need for corporate social staff to articulate a persuasive business rationale for enhancing corporate “community capabilities” (Harvey & Brereton 2005). This is because corporations as “profit making entities” must show that the activities in which they are engaged add economic value. Corporate managers must thereby show that there will be a profitable return from investing time and resources in voluntarily improving social development near extractive sites. The report therefore goes to great lengths to set out a “business case for community engagement” where initial “substantial” costs will be made up by acquiring a social “license to operate”, as better community engagement processes will deliver “real financial returns for a company” (ibid.)

This is a particular challenge for mining companies, where mineral resources may become targets for attempted “misappropriation” (ibid.). In contexts where the state is weak, where there is social instability and there are “traditional owners” whose agreement is required, it is particularly important to maintain the “social license to operate” as a way of ensuring access to land and resources (ibid.). Such social endorsement requires the capability to manage “stakeholder relationships”, by working “proactively” with communities and “convince them that it is in everybody’s

best interest for the company to develop the resource” (ibid.). The categories of “community” and “stakeholders” are here seen as key to the corporate discourses of justifying its land and resource access.

Illustrating the specific challenges and socio-environmental “will to improve” (Li 2007) linked to the Madagascar mining project, Rio Tinto’s 2005 “Sustainable Development Review” presents the Madagascar mining project, which had just been confirmed as a major new investment project, as key to its corporate responsibility strategy. Stressing the initial predominant focus on the project’s environmental impact, under the heading “improving land use before mining”, Rio Tinto (Rio Tinto 2005a: 32-33) states that “[a]fter several years of assessing the project area in the context of its mineral potential and the impacts that mining operations could have on the region, QMM decided to pursue a fully staffed social and environmental programme”. The report then lists related achievements, including the establishment of an Ecological Research Centre, extensive social and environmental research, ongoing consultation of local people conceived of as “villagers”, the establishment of conservation zones, restoration plans for mining areas, the building of schools, clinics and wells near the mining site and an international biodiversity advisory committee with renowned experts.

The report concludes that “the Madagascar programme represents one of the most far reaching engagement efforts that Rio Tinto has pursued, from the point of view of the complex inter-connections between mining operations, environmental conditions, and the social and economic situation. Along the way, Rio Tinto is learning many new ways of working with partners in the region and learning how mining can facilitate a more sustainable environment” (ibid). The language represents the mining project as flexible and adaptive to the local situation in a strategy of “enrolment” of socio-environmental critics.

The strategy of such “enrolment” of people living near the mining zone is described by QMM’s Canadian Director of Social and Environmental Affairs as resting on “the principle of active and reciprocal partnership, mutual respect, and long-term

commitment”, expressed through “the Mandena [mining zone] Co-Management Agreement” (Vincelette et al. 2007a: 6-7). The Director describes the agreement as having been developed “after an exhaustive consultation process involving interested parties, including project opponents, in both Madagascar and abroad.” The aim was to establish a “co-management structure” where QMM, the local *communes* [local municipalities], and the Ministry of Environment, Water and Forest authorities participate in a management committee known as the COGE (Comité de Gestion)” (ibid).

Crucially, as we have seen in chapter 2, as part of this effort of mobilization through partnerships, the mining project’s land access is presented by the Director of Social and Environmental Affairs as based on a *dina*, or traditional community legal agreement. She describes the *dina* as “a uniquely Malagasy construct”, being a social contract based on “traditional practices” in order to manage a potential source of conflict. The *dina* “identifies the respective commitments of the various parties, and determines the sanctions to be applied in case of non-compliance” (Vincelette et al. 2007a). Crucially, as the *dina* “are anchored in custom and tradition, they render legal agreements culturally acceptable at the villagers’ level, and in many cases more tangible than national laws and regulations.” In this context, “the *dina* can be extended to include a wider range of community development issues and responses”, by way of a “participatory approach to monitoring and evaluation of those programs will become the primary means of maintaining dialogue with the communities.” Having established a local tradition which the corporation can use to mobilize their “local communities”, the plan is for the *dina* to “provide a framework but also the basis for the development of the [socio-environmental] program through mutual consultation and participation” (ibid).

However, although stable on paper, the corporate strategy of community-based conservation and development programmes did not automatically generate stable relations with local people. Following ongoing protests and roadblocks as described in chapter 2, and with mining commencing in 2008 making the corporation’s profits dependent on keeping mining infrastructure going, the Rio Tinto 2009 Sustainable

Development Report has become more specific in its description of “community relations”. Rather than being an addition to environmental issues under the *dina* conservation agreement managed by the environmental Management Committee (COGE), community relations now warrant their own report sections. The issue of how to find “alternative means of subsistence” for people who depend on their “natural environment” has now emerged. A “Mandena Integrated Development Programme” (IDP) is introduced as a “logical continuation of the process of Mandena’s Dina”, aiming for communities to “take part in the sustainable management of the natural resources of the zone and take in charge of their own development.” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2009: 29). The corporation states that in 2009, in collaboration with six partner NGOs, the IDP’s seven types of income generation projects have reached 1,500 households near the Mandena mining zone.

The representation of local voices is important in such CSR literature in order to illustrate success and participation. Guy, who we met in chapter 5 as a key corporate-community “broker”, is here represented as a satisfied participant in the corporate community programme, being part of a new eel raising income-generating project established on his land. Guy is cited as saying that his life was improving due to the mining corporation’s support because, “in addition to the technical trainings and the material supports provided by the company, we also benefit from various trainings required with a view to ensure the project sustainability: association management, financial management, commercial techniques. We are aware that these supports will not be of any use to us if we do not own the basic essentials: our will to succeed and to fly on our own wings” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2009: 31).

Expressing himself as an able neoliberal subject, Guy is here making use of discourses that mirror the corporation’s ideological project of “government” through the making of responsible stakeholders. However, having encountered Guy as a complex person able to strategically represent his aspirations according to context, whether he had indeed become a “neoliberal subject” according to the corporate strategy of rule through community is open to questioning, as local protests did not end in spite of corporate payments to certain people.

In their 2010 sustainable development report, QMM states that “2,600 households have benefitted” from their integrated development programme, and that they have implemented “a rigorous mechanism for handling complaints” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 2). This mechanism is described as having enabled the corporation to settle several complaints from communities. The company here admits that “a permanent and effective dialogue mechanism with communities remains a challenge for QMM” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 22). The corporation’s solution is the improvement of the management mechanism for handling complaints, described as “a legal and participative tool” which allows the “collection of complaints from the population for efficient forwarding to the party responsible for handling the grievance” (ibid). This tool is supposed to complement official corporate-community dialogue structures known as “SDD” which were set up in 1998, which had a mandate to “collect the complaints and wishes of the population and to introduce them into the complaints handling mechanism”. However, the corporation concedes that, “for various reasons, the SDDs have yet to maximise on their interfacing role”, with efforts by QMM in 2010 to “encourage the SDD members to fulfill this role and to make these structures fully operational” (ibid). Finally, there is a local liaison committee (CLL), which gathers “representatives of economic operators, religious associations, community leaders and journalists” (ibid).

Interestingly, in the 2010 report, stakeholder relations have now seeped into other headings, dealing with core corporate profit-making operations such as “Production”. Under this heading, in addition to the need for “processes to sustain increased [mining] production”, points listed as “community relations” include the need to “[r]estructure permanent dialogues to reinforce stakeholder commitments”, and “Prevent and resolve any complaints from the community” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 3). This illustrates ongoing needs by the corporation to represent local tensions as amenable to technical fixes of new community relations structures. However, it also indirectly shows the ongoing failures of corporate enrolment of local “community” members despite elaborate CSR frameworks.

The corporation was thereby engaged in ongoing efforts to mobilize a range of actors in the face of local contestations. Throughout the corporate literature, such issues are presented as caused by lack of ample communications, and solvable via technical and expert-based interventions such as new “community engagement” and complaints handling mechanisms. Underlying political issues of struggles over unequal land and natural resource access are never officially mentioned as causing problems or needing rectification. Rather, problems are blamed on local people in need of improved dialogue mechanisms and other technical interventions in order to function optimally as “population” (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]).

The corporate technique of “enframing” local complaints in terms of local people’s deficiencies is illustrated in the analysis in the socio-environmental impact assessment of the mining project’s establishment phase. This monitoring report validates the mining project’s legal compliance with Malagasy legislation on large investment projects.²⁵ The report lists as the first obstacle to effective project socio-environmental impact monitoring the “refusal of villagers to collaborate in certain activities”, giving however no explanation for this refusal (QMM 2010: Partie 12, p. 7-8, my translation). The corporation’s frustration with the behavior of local people is here revealed on paper, in a rare official acknowledgement of the difficulty of obtaining compliant local stakeholders despite the ambitious and widely advertised corporate CSR programmes.

The challenges with mobilizing and enrolling local people however only led to changes in the corporate socio-environmental team structure rather than in a change in the diagnosis about local needs and problems. In 2010, QMM set up a “Department of Social Engineering [sic] and Sustainable Development”, intending to consolidate “community investments to create synergies between them and to capitalise on the impacts of these investments” (Rio Tinto/QMM 2010: 28). Challenges were thereby

²⁵ A Malagasy environmental law of 2004 known as the MECIE Decree, enforced by the National Agency for Environment (ONE), specifies that all investment projects using more than 1,000 hectares of land must obtain an environmental permit. This license is delivered only after the validation of an impact assessment including environmental and socio-economic criteria (Burnod et al. 2011).

met with renewed technical fixes and the reinvention of CSR strategies rather than in any changes in the analysis of local problems.

However, tensions over land access, which as we have seen were the key issues over which local people were protesting, were finally mentioned in the 2011 sustainability report for the Madagascar mining project. Here, QMM states that the complaints they have received included the case of individuals who were cultivating in inundated zones by the weir (Rio Tinto/QMM 2011: 16). Rather than addressing these issues as fundamental challenges, however, the corporation insists that, following verification by “independent experts”, and by mediation institutions, the complaints were “resolved” (ibid). The corporation here specifies that such corporate community resolutions “privilege sustainable development projects” such as income-generating activities, and only make use of financial compensation as a last resort (ibid). Claims to financial compensation, which entailed corporate liability for land or resource loss, were important to avoid in a context where a discursive emphasis on “partnerships” and “negotiation” implied that all agendas could be included. This downplays issues of power discrepancy and the agenda-setting power and greater capacity for framing issues of the more powerful players (Garvey & Newell 2005: 392; cf. Mosse 2007).

The omission of accounting for power discrepancies in voice and in the mobilization of actors and resources are precisely why CSR literature provides insights into how “inclusive” neoliberal discourses functions both to depoliticize and to enroll actors and resources. In particular, CSR publications strategically deploy vague, yet positive labels such as “community”, “development”, “nature conservation” (Szablowski 2002). Such “universals” cannot be merely brushed aside as corporate whitewashing, but must be analysed both as a form of “local knowledge”, or historically specific assumptions, and as “knowledge that moves”, mobilizing actors and resources across localities and cultures (Tsing 2005: 7-8).

There was a strong reliance on expert-based knowledge generation in the representation of the Madagascar mining site as a CSR model and success despite protests and road blocks analysed in chapter 2. The following analysis featured in a

2012 journal of corporate reputation management published by Oxford University, based on a study by Oxford reputation management experts commissioned by Rio Tinto. It describes the increasing importance of managing social relations, but always with the corporation as the instigator of solutions and local people as representing unreasonable “expectations”:

The initial criticisms of QMM’s [Rio Tinto Madagascar subsidiary] proposed activities concerned the potential damage to Madagascar’s rich collection of indigenous species. But while biodiversity was clearly a vital issue, the effects of the mine on the local community proved equally sensitive. QMM responded to a fluid and dynamic situation, where local residents’ expectations about what, and how much, the company should provide in terms of jobs, infrastructure, and resettlement compensation continued to escalate. Although the process was far from smooth, even critics within Madagascar conceded that solutions very often originated from within QMM rather than the government. The company set a strong example of how mining companies can cooperate with local stakeholders in developing countries to achieve outcomes that benefit all parties. According to Rio Tinto CEO Tom Albanese, QMM has set a standard that other companies within Rio Tinto can strive to emulate (Olegario 2012: 7).

The company’s failure to resolve local problems is here translated into success by a cadre of global social experts linked to powerful global institutions whose brand names are a hallmark of valid knowledge production. This illustrates how “truths” about the world stemming from scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it is produced and transmitted by a few great political or economic apparatuses including universities and the media (Foucault 1980: 131-132). Such authoritative representations of reality are commissioned and strategically deployed by corporations as part of CSR-based knowledge production.

CSR from discourse to practice: Corporate Social Expertise

Governing society and nature through CSR requires a rationale that identifies problems, and links problems to solutions in a systematic manner. This is a practice of “rendering technical” (Li 1996): a set of practices concerned with representing the domain to be governed, such as the social and natural world near the mining site, as an intelligible field with specifiable limits and particular characteristics. These practices work to define boundaries and render people and places within them visible by

assembling particular types of information about them, and devising techniques to mobilize support for particular schemes of government (cf. Rose 1993: 33).

Illustrating the importance of expert-based knowledge-creation to CSR policies is the account by the first anthropologist who joined Rio Tinto, an Oxford-educated anthropologist turned social advisor with the World Bank. In 1995, Glynn Cochrane was hired by Rio Tinto as advisor on social issues, and his work primarily focused on developing community relations policies (Cochrane 2009). Cochrane found that the corporation's employees were "concerned that the risks of mining to the environment and to local people be understood and managed" (ibid: 138), and he praises the strong and consistent support from "the very top of the company". He considers the corporate structure as having considerably less bureaucracy than the World Bank, where Cochrane had become disillusioned about obtaining any genuine, locally tailored development results (ibid: 143).

The role of the corporate anthropologist was one of generating knowledge about local people, as well as contributing to their mobilization into corporate programmes, with a focus on establishing a process of maintaining "mutual understanding and respect" with local people (Cochrane 2009: 143). The Rio Tinto eventually hired five social scientists (three anthropologists, an archaeologist and a small business expert) to work as "social experts" at corporate headquarters in London and Melbourne, and to provide advice and support at local mining sites. These experts were also charged with keeping abreast of events at mining sites, and pass along information to the corporation.

Rio Tinto's community policy can be considered as based on making local communities "legible": the corporate anthropologist was responsible for developing knowledge about local communities, including land use and ownership, ethnicity, social organisation, including extensive mapping of local resources and extensive ethnographic studies (Cochrane 2009: 146). This knowledge would form the basis for informing local people about the mining project and initiate regular personal contact between communities and mining staff (ibid: 147). In this context, mining staff were

advised to be prepared for critiques by campaigners in a situation where Cochrane found that "mountains in any land occupied by any indigenous people that miners might have an interest in were sacred", indicating a pre-emptive corporate strategy of strategic enrolment of socio-environmental activists (ibid: 159).

CSR-based discourses thereby both foster and rely on forms of knowledge and expertise which formulate reality in terms of particular problems, and propose solutions to them that correspond to the expert's own repertoire (cf. Inda 2005 8). This involves everyday and mundane technologies of government through "material inscriptions", including surveys, reports, graphs and other ways of representing events as information and data, making objects "visible" and thereby rendering them calculable (Latour 1996; Rose & Miller 1992). Research outputs published by members of corporations environmental team such as a monography on local biodiversity and conservation issues, which also featured analyses of local people in terms of their "chronic" poverty and destructive dependency on local natural resources (Ganzhorn et al. 2007) can be conceived of in terms of such CSR-related "expert" knowledge production of local people and places.

In terms of establishing development plans, Cochrane (2009: 154) emphasises the need to limit the number of beneficiaries rather than presuming the ability to help "thousands of people". This is because mining corporations are better able to target their aid "efficiently" if they carry out their development programmes near their extraction sites (ibid.). However, another effect of this strategy is to limit number of beneficiaries of corporate service delivery, which entail a particular limitation of rights to services such as development projects, schools and clinics as linked to residency near multinational extractive sites. This may engender differentiated spatialities of inclusion and exclusion, what Ferguson (2005) terms "islands of development" in otherwise failed states.

In producing needs, neoliberal initiatives such conservation-led market-based solutions in Madagascar also aim to produce subjects who need what neoliberalism is able to promise if not always provide (Hanson 2007: 274). The process is complex,

involving differing and dominating language ideologies; conceptions and practices of translation; conceptions of space; processes of entexualization and summation such as what is found in CSR discourses. Such projects thereby benefit “hybrid actors” such as Guy, who are able to cross between the different worlds, as they both literally and indirectly translate between the local, national, and transnational levels of CSR programmes (cf. Hanson 2007). However, people who failed to qualify as worthy corporate beneficiaries are doubly excluded, both from land and resources and from the CSR-labeled compensation programmes.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on how CSR works as a project of neoliberal rule aiming to establish governable spaces amenable to both mineral extraction and socio-environmental improvement programmes for deserving “stakeholders”. The emphasis has not been on whether the project of government through CSR succeeds, but how success is produced. This entails a focus on the efforts of enrolment of people and resources during corporate meetings and through socio-environmental knowledge generation by corporate socio-environmental “experts” (cf. Mosse 2004).

I have argued that although CSR ideology may be “disciplining” in intent, the actual control which corporations have over events and practices in development is always constrained. However, what is therefore urgent from the corporation’s point of view is control over the interpretation of events (cf. Mosse 2004). This is demonstrated in the ever-growing body of CSR literature being produced by controversial companies such as Rio Tinto. Success in CSR thereby depends upon the stabilisation of particular interpretations of local socio-environmental problems and how they are to be solved. Such expert based, scientific descriptions conceal the way in which CSR policy ideas are produced socially and within certain configurations of power underpinned by multinational capitalist agendas.

CSR thereby represents an attempt by global corporation to control unruly and distant sites of extraction through the rule of experts, but this rule is not secure. Each actor and place represents a point of potential resistance to a prescribed way of thinking and acting, or a point of mobilizing around different programmes. People may refuse to be enrolled, and budget holders may refuse to release funds. As such, government through CSR is a potentially failing operation, where the ideal of a perfect regulatory machine, such as a successful 5-year CSR strategy, exists only in the mind of the programmers (cf. Rose & Miller 1992: 190).

The corporate socio-environmental experts are therefore engaged in ongoing struggles to establish the legitimacy of their strategies by ensuring that fundamental problems such as struggles over land and resources are removed from the disputed terrain of politics, and presented as the “tranquil yet seductive territory of truth” (Rose and Miller 1992: 188-189). In expert-led programmes such as CSR, self-regulatory techniques of “community” engagement are used to align the choices of development targets with the ends of the corporation. This is illustrated by Guy’s statements as reproduced in the CSR report, where he describes his wish to participate in the market and adopt the mentality of a worthy corporate community stakeholder.

When studying CSR, the ethnographic question is therefore not whether, but how projects work; not whether a project succeeds, but how success is produced (cf. Mosse 2004). This chapter has illustrated that governance over land, resources and people based on CSR-related claims to legitimacy cannot be imposed, as successful “rule” requires collaboration and compromise. As such, the reputation and legitimacy which a multinational corporation needs to justify its operations are scarce resources in contexts of increasing global media and advocacy group scrutiny. Corporate claims to success are thereby fragile, and counter-claims about development outcomes can be used as points of political leverage against corporate projects. There is always a risk of exposure and disgrace, and an ongoing, uneasy sub-text of jokes or cynical reflections on “the pomposity of a speech, the tedium of a spectacle or the stupidity of a plan” (Li 1999: 299). This illustrates the inherent vulnerability of policy models and

bureaucratic schemes for ordering and classifying populations, which may be secure on paper, but risks being thwarted in practice.

Due to the fragility of success and ongoing potential for failure, corporate hegemony thereby has to be negotiated rather than imposed. In this ongoing struggle, the accomplishment of corporate rule over land, resources and people is a game fraught with feigned compliance, compromises and contingencies. These processes are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 7: *CSR in practice* - Negotiating governable spaces

Introduction

This chapter provides an ethnographic exploration of the ongoing efforts by actors working for global extractive industries of negotiating governable spaces for resource extraction, community development and nature conservation. The chapter thereby represents a transition from the previous chapter's analysis of corporate project of rule over land, resources and people through global CSR discourses to how such rule is accomplished near particular sites of resource extraction. This entails accounting for the central role of contingent and context-specific practices of translation between global ideologies and local CSR-programmes. The focus thereby shifts to the ongoing performances by the individual actors to mobilize support and collaboration. Such efforts include the "assemblage" of vague and numerous CSR intentions formulated in global policies into specific, locally viable programmes which would ensure both the identification of deserving stakeholders and their participation. This entailed the enrolment of various disparate groups of people as project implementers, brokers and participants, as well as the separation of local land and resources into areas for extraction and for conservation.

The chapter is structured as follows: I first account for the genesis of the mining corporation Rio Tinto's socio-environmental programme in Madagascar as presented by locally based staff. This illustrates how the official CSR ideology from headquarters was creatively translated into locally viable social and environmental programmes. I thereby show the influence of the local context, including the contingent socio-environmental complexity of local hierarchy, struggles over access to land and unpredictable natural effects such as flooding. As shown in the previous chapters, in the process of translating global ideology into a set of tangible programmes, local programmers confront but situated cultural practices and particular histories of people and places. Outcomes are therefore never given. "Micro-political" struggles must be accounted for in order to understand local processes and their scope

for influencing the effects of global corporate policy, and even global policies themselves.

I conclude that new forms of government are generated through CSR-programmes. This involves new public and private spaces appearing but also being contested and constantly re-made through specific alliances, agents and programmes. I demonstrate how this is not a unilinear process of neoliberalisation, but rather represents new and hybrid forms of public and private sector partnerships, with the corporation in certain cases actively constructing and funding the local governmental structures on which it depends for the implementation of community relations and conservation programmes. The new forms of inclusion and exclusion related to these hybrid projects of governance are accounted for in the next chapter.

From discourse to practice: translating global CSR strategies to south eastern Madagascar

As discussed in the previous chapter, global CSR discourses are based on discourses of harmony of interests between company and an imagined local “community”. This rests on the assumption of a simple transfer of global commitments to the local level (cf. Kapelus 2002: 282-283). In contrast, at the local level, faced with the need to make specific obligations towards particular communities, local CSR personnel face the tension between the global and the local. This section argues that their response is often a restriction of the definition of “community”, which entails a redefinition of land and resource access rights based on specific links to corporate programmes. The corporation thereby sought to “govern through community”(Li 2007b), based on notions of a “socially responsible” corporation able to “document, care for and regulate the participating population” through a plethora of health, education and agricultural development initiatives, similarly to neoliberal resource access schemes near national parks elsewhere in Madagascar (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]; Hanson 2009: 10).

The establishment and implementation of CSR strategies depend on a new professional group in corporations: in-house environmental and social experts such as conservationists and development workers (Kapelus 2002: 279). In Madagascar the mining company had set up a socio-environmental team of over 80 environmental and social experts, with a Biodiversity team of 70 “engineers, botanists, biologists, technicians and agents”²⁶, and a Community Relations team with 13 “anthropologists, sociologists, doctors and rural outreach officers”. As a critical report on the mining project points out, “where other mining companies hire environmental and social consultants, QMM has created whole departments, often staffed with people from an NGO background” (Harbinson 2007: 56). Additionally, the company had established partnerships with a number of prominent international conservation bodies, including Birdlife International, Conservation International, Earthwatch Institute, Flora and Fauna International, and the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew. These efforts show Tio Tinto’s explicit policy of making the Madagascar project a socio-environmental success by investing substantial resources into its CSR programmes. As discussed in the previous chapter, the corporation has presented the project as a flagship example of their CSR policies.

In this context, an account for perspectives from the corporation’s CSR-experts illustrates their personal and professional enrolment in corporate responsibility discourses, and their role in furthering corporate versions of reality. Jeanne, the Director of Environmental and Social Affairs at QMM in Fort Dauphin, was hard to pin down. A Francophone Canadian, she spent time travelling between the capital of Antananarivo and Fort Dauphin town, as well as corporate headquarters in London and the Canadian mineral refinery in Quebec. When Jeanne finally received me for an interview, she was smiling, but somewhat guarded, perhaps bearing in mind the extensive media, researcher and NGO focus on the corporation’s socio-environmental impacts and high profile CSR “mitigation” programmes. Jeanne was clearly used to receiving researchers and giving interviews. I had read about her both in magazine

²⁶ <http://www.riotintomadagascar.com/english/bioOrganization.asp> (accessed 10.11.2010).

coverage of the project and seen her in documentaries and corporate promotional films.

Jeanne's career trajectory of shifting from the biodiversity conservation to the corporate sector was usually mentioned in media coverage of the mining project's environmental efforts (for example, Carroll 2003). Such a move, as characterised by other corporate socio-environmental staff, is not only becoming increasingly typical, but is contributing to the shaping of CSR policies and programmes (Luning 2011). As a forest engineer, a job with Conservation International brought Jeanne to Madagascar, where she arrived in the early 1990s to establish ecological management plans. However, as conservation policies in Madagascar shifted towards including local human resource use and participative approaches, Conservation International according to Jeanne became "less comfortable" with project implementation and terminated the project.

As her project came to an end, Jeanne had been approached by Qit Fer mining corporation (later QMM), which had just begun setting up an environmental programme. Jeanne explained that she was initially skeptical about working for a mining corporation, and asked critical questions about the purpose of the programme and whether it was just about improving the corporate image. She became "persuaded that there was a genuine will" to do something positive. "I decided take the job for a year, a "mutual testing" period, in 1996. It has now been 13 years!" The corporation evidently passed the test, and as Jeanne explained, "when it comes to working for NGOs, the projects are always short term, too short to have any real impacts. Two, three years or five years maximum, and with donors who all have different visions of things. This really frustrates the local people, they become sick and tired of the projects, and have no faith in them anymore."

In contrast, the work with QMM has been, as Jeanne put it, "extremely long term". Even before the construction of the mining infrastructure, she experienced 10 years "of luxury" of developing a "really responsible" biodiversity project, including working with and training local people. "I feel that there has been an evolution that

you cannot feel in the 3 years of an NGO project, in terms of people and the evolution of their mentalities.” Jeanne’s statement corresponds to the CSR ideology of changing local people’s conduct through changing subjectivities, thereby obtaining the “conduct of conduct” which facilitates neoliberal governing at a distance (cf. Rose 1993).

Jeanne’s words also show the corporate dependency on project participants and local self-disciplining as willing participants in corporate market-related projects: “when we work with people on income-generating activities, we have been implementing improved beekeeping techniques, vegetable gardening, things that are very new to people, and it’s not so easy for them, in particular due to high levels of illiteracy. So at least I was given the time to follow up and monitor people’s progressions, based on a solid engagement, since we’ve been there for 13 years already!”

Jeanne describes the corporate approach to local socio-environmental affairs as having undergone several, changing phases: “before the construction phase even started we had 10 years of preparation, where we worked a bit like an NGO. Then, during the construction phase, we had some important *enjeux* (challenges/aspects) to address, and now, as we are just starting the actual operational mining phase, we have an important budget to address these challenges.” Illustrating the need for ongoing corporate reinvention of their CSR strategy, Jeanne explains that the corporation’s programmes had to be “clarified with time”: when we were like a *projet*, we did a lot of different things, a bit like an NGO, but now that we are a mining company, all that we do are based on our responsibilities, and our impacts on certain groups more than on others. So we really have to focus on those communities, and respect the agreements we have made with the government. And our budgets shouldn’t be too spread all over the place. We have to focus our actions so there is sustainable development, and that’s what we are trying to do now, because before, we were maybe a bit too spread out into different things, we tried to work in all the communities, but now we really have to return to *where we have our responsibilities*, with very specific programmes.”

Jeanne’s words illustrate the flexible application of CSR categories such as “community” and the practical work by particular people such as herself in defining who are accounted for as rights-bearing subjects who qualify for the benefits related to

such labels. There was here a difference in the definitions of “stakeholders” between global Rio Tinto’s global CSR discourses which considered all “local people” as “communities” and local CSR managers who had to directly engage with particular groups of people. By limiting this category, Jeanne’s words illustrate how messages get “translated” through political acts of “composition” by heterogenous actors within the same corporation (Kapelus 2002; Latour 1996). Presenting the activity of classification as a technical activity by experts such as herself, Jeanne also conceals the micro politics behind such work, and how it generates new spatialities of inclusion and exclusion near sites of corporate extraction (cf. Ferguson 2005).

Jeanne’s focus on engendering a sense of individual responsibility and creating participants in a market based economy also draws the focus away from the socio-environmental impacts of mineral extraction. She stated that the conservation and development programmes were “very linked”, as “we can’t do biodiversity conservation without having well founded social and development programmes. Personally, I think that if we want to preserve “*les bouts de foret*” [forest patches – a highly loaded description of local nature, as discussed in chapter 2], you have to give people alternatives, people have to get engaged, people have to work, to build small enterprises, so we do all those things in the communities touched by the project, those who are our neighbors.”

However, illustrating how underlying struggles over land and resource access influenced events in spite of corporate strategies, Jeanne admits that there have been challenges around issues of negotiating land access: “as soon as we build something we touch land which belongs to people, there are financial stakes, issues of compensation [...] We have new challenges, illegal [land] occupations, all that, so there is a series of measures which are being put into place which have nothing to do with biodiversity, but we have done this work within the biodiversity department for a long time, we have established conservation zones, so I’ve never really had a problem working with the company.” Jeanne her admits local challenges to corporate “rule” and land access, but they are brushed aside as “illegal” as part of corporate definitions of appropriate local beneficiaries (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]). Instead, she focuses on

biodiversity conservation as the main objective, thereby de-linking social issues from the corporate land and resource access.

Jeanne takes the opportunity to link her representation of CSR programme success as a justification for her own career trajectory and her personal achievements: “that’s why I’ve remained for so long with [the company] at the end of the day, because at QMM the leaders, the decision makers, always believed in the importance, and maybe I’ve also managed to convince them! There is also that issue, that you always have to work well, and then I think they’ve trusted me, they gave me a bit of a *carte blanche* in terms of the [socio-environmental] programme to put into place, that I’m sure I had to argue for, but I think I persuaded them during all these years. About the importance of putting money into biodiversity and conservation. The last forest remnants, that they shouldn’t be exploited, that they had to be conserved” I say “me”, but it’s my team, you know, and the whole team works together.”

Jeanne’s career trajectory has evidently demanded ongoing justification and “enrolment” not just in terms of her work within CSR, but also among her professional peers. She frankly states that “people criticized me a lot, people in conservation. ‘How can you work with industrials,’ and so on. But I think that if you really want to change things in a mining company, to change mentalities, and change the ways projects are designed, it’s not about being at the outside and shouting, you have to be on the inside, and there, if you are able to convince people, and you can’t be an extremist either, I think that you can make them do many things. And that’s when it gets very interesting, because it’s true that they have a lot of [financial] resources [...] And [the professional transition] is becoming more accepted. When I started 13 years ago, people looked at me strangely, but I don’t feel that anymore, and I see more and more of my colleagues which find themselves working for companies, so mentalities have changed. And people in conservation should be happy that there are people such as myself working in companies.”

We here see how working within the CSR department entailed a project of changing “mentalities”, or subjectivities, not only among project beneficiaries, but also among

corporate staff. Such “enrolment” into the corporate discourses of conservation and development thereby also happened on an individual level by the people who were translating the global discourses into local programmes. As indicated by Jeanne, career trajectories such as hers, shifting between traditional development and conservation agencies and corporate CSR teams appear to be on the rise (see Coumans 2011; Dashwood 2012; Hilson 2012; Luning 2011). Further, Jeanne was not alone in justifying her controversial career trajectory through accounts of having improved corporate policies. Such discourses were shared with other people in her department, including the CSR team’s Malagasy staff, as illustrated in the chapter’s next section.

Someone convinced about what he speaks: the local corporate anthropologist

The mining corporation’s in-house anthropologists illustrate the active role of “social experts” in creating local community engagement strategies. Theo, in his late 60s, was a professor of history and anthropology who originated from a rural family in the Anosy Region. He first worked for QMM from 1998 to 2003 as a corporate anthropologist, responsible for organising the social aspects of a public consultation related to the mining project. In 2010 Theo was again hired by the corporation as a consultant in order to help with ongoing challenges of community tensions discussed in chapter 2. Originally trained with the Lazarist priests, a Catholic denomination, Theo told me that his interest in anthropology arose when he accompanied foreign missionaries into the *brousse* to explain local social dynamics.²⁷ His story highlights how the need for social experts to make local people “legible” and thereby facilitate their enrolment into particular social improvement schemes was not new to the region.

²⁷ The Catholic Church was historically more popular among the lower class Tanosy people, since the protestant missionaries in the Anosy Region had been favoured by the dominant Merina colonizers (Somda 2009).

Theo and his team of social experts had many mandates. He recalled how his team had explained to people what the mining project would entail, using drawings and models, and answered their questions, as part of the “public consultation” exercise on the mining project. Theo had also been commissioned to write reports on people’s expectations of the mining project and on their socio-economic needs, so that, as he recalled, the corporation could respond to people’s “real expectations”, as opposed to what they would say “on the surface”. In other words, Theo had been engaged in a dual form of translation: first, from global mining and CSR objectives to local language and forms of understanding, and second, from complex local realities into forms of knowledge amenable to planning and improvement by CSR programmes.

Theo was aware that his role as facilitator between local people and the mining corporation was controversial. He stressed how his position had made him able to defend Tanosy interests better than any outsider could have done. In order to illustrate this, Theo recollected how he had convinced local people that they must accept the mining project: “I told them that we cannot fight against the *fanjakana* [state]. QMM came via the central power in Antananarivo, so we must seek our advantages, as we cannot resist this”.

As elsewhere in Madagascar (Hanson 2007; Keller 2009b), the central state was associated locally with a history of foreign intrusion and exploitation discussed in chapter 3. The Rio Tinto mining project was strongly identified with the Ravalomanana presidency and its focus on increasing foreign investments (Sarrasin 2006). It had been promoted locally by Ravalomanana’s supporters and in 2005 the former president himself had given a speech in Fort Dauphin pronouncing the project’s arrival. QMM was therefore frequently conflated with the state, considered as a project of foreign intrusion, land and resource dispossession in local discourse. As we have seen, President Ravalomanana’s association with foreign investment projects involving large scale land access contributed to his violent toppling and subsequent exile in early 2009 (Andrianirina-Ratsialonana et al. 2011; White et al. 2012).

Crucial to Theo's justification of his role was his work as an insider advocate for local people, by explaining local society to his colleagues in the corporation. He felt that his knowledge production about local people had ensured that "a social aspect" had been added to the corporate conservation plans for the mining zone. Theo recalled people's fear when the model of the exploitation equipment had been shown to them during village informational meetings. Seeing the models of the planned infrastructure had led to local people responding that "*we better just cut our forest down immediately!*"²⁸ Theo tells me how he therefore had to make the villagers understand the benefit of the mining project, which was the zone in the Mandena mining zone set aside for nature conservation and limited use by villagers.

In order to convince his colleagues in the environmental department about local people's need for local forest resources Theo had classified the livelihoods of people living near the Mandena mining zone. Theo and other members of the QMM social team had gone into the forest together. The anthropologist had himself been surprised to find that the hamlets surrounding Mandena forest were very well organised around usage of their resources. Places were named after environmental characteristics. Land access rights were clearly defined, with forest use for livelihoods including men collecting tree materials for housing, women collecting reeds for weaving, cattle being let loose for grazing, and medicine collected by midwives and *ombiasy* (traditional healers). The parts of the forest that had been burnt were due to recently arrived impoverished, town-based migrants coming to make charcoal, according to Theo.

Theo had found that to local people, the forest represented many things, both economic and spiritual: a bank, with housing materials and handicrafts sold in Fort Dauphin ensuring an income base, a pharmacy with medicinal plants, and for divinatory usage, a "nourishing mother", expressed through the proverb of *mandeha*

²⁸ This response can be explained by considering the conflicting ideologies of land management in Madagascar, and is paralleled by the burning of 20 hectares of forest immediately after an inventory by WWF research biologists of forest resources in highland rainforest remnants near the Anjozorobe reserve. When inquiries were made by astonished WWF officials as to the reason for this act, local people explained how they equated the presence of foreign researchers (like colonialists before them) with the loss of natural resource access, so they cut and burned the forest to show land occupation, and as a consequence, appropriation through *mise en valeur* (Simsik 2002: 238).

an-ala tsy maty (“if you go into the forest you will not die” - as there is food), and also the domain of the spirits and the dead – areas to be avoided, explained by the proverb for someone who had almost died: *fa t’agn-ala gn’eritseritsy* (“the thoughts were already in the forest”). The dead were buried in tombs within forest groves, and trees near tombs were considered as hosting spirits and malevolent ghosts, and therefore not cut, and rarely approached.

Having analysed the local dependency on forest resources, Theo then sought to explain to local people how QMM would re-plant the forest once the mining was over, so that their resources would not disappear. His efforts here represented a “translation” of global goals of biodiversity conservation to locally understandable terms, with the explicit purpose of gaining local acceptance and participation in community conservation programmes. Theo pointed out that this was a challenge, as local people had negative experiences of nature conservation. To them, it represented exclusion from land and resources. As explored in chapter 1, in addition to conservation as a form of land confiscation, the colonial replanting of eucalyptus trees was part of the colonial schemes of forced labour, and current eucalyptus reserves in the area were owned by foreigners.

Confirming the ongoing influence of this history, Theo recalled how local people had felt that the corporation’s planned re-planting in the mining zone once the dredge had passed would signify the continued loss of resources and land to foreigners. However, Theo had according to himself though oratory skills managed to convince people that the conservation zone was the better option that remained in the face of the inevitability of the mining project’s go-ahead. When people had discredited corporate conservation plans by stating that “trees planted by human hand will not be the same as *hazo-ala* (natural forest), there will be no sacredness left in them as they are not created by the *Zagnahary* (creator spirit)”, Theo had responded that precisely because they were right about this, “instead of having the whole forest cut down, we must set aside a space for conservation in Mandena!”. “*Akory dra sinoa zahay!*” (“You got us! You are right!”), people had responded, and they had agreed to the establishment of the conservation zone. Theo laughed, pleased at the memory. “An accord was

established between QMM, the local municipality and the Ministry of Water and Forests. Cattle were killed in honour of the agreement, and a *dina* [community legal agreement] set up to manage the forest. Without me, the social aspect would not have been integrated into the conservation plans. As *anthropologue d'entreprise* [corporate anthropologist], I am proud of myself!”

Stressing his role as one of defending local people, Theo concludes: “as I felt convinced that this would be the best option for [local people], I could convince them in turn to accept the changes”. Theo looks at me sharply, and adds, “anthropology is there to bring positive change, and to bring development. Anthropology must help people break with their old traditions, in a soft manner. Development must happen, but without a brutal severing with traditions. The anthropologist is there not just as a technician who transfers knowledge, but *en tant qu'homme vivant qui est convaincu de ce dont il parle* (“as a living man who is convinced by that of which he speaks”). Theo’s words can be understood within the context of a culture where powerful men are expected to speak with authority, and to speak the truth. As we have seen in Chapter 2, a *tsimeto*’s words would literally come true. If they pronounced a flooding, it would happen. In Tanosy society the spoken word carries weight, and the *olom-be*, the powerful elders, are expected to speak with authority (Rakotoarisoa 1998).

In this context, the seeming paradox of a local anthropologist facilitating land access by a mining corporation and being proud of this fact can be understood as a continuation of a particularly Malagasy view of power and authority: the powerful must act in the public interest, because their power springs from ancestral blessings (Bloch 1986b). If they act poorly or selfishly, they will lose these blessings, and thereby lose their power. Having gained a position of power from his higher education and the capacity to interact with powerful outsiders, Theo was thereby not just a “broker”, but also an elder with the responsibility of promoting social wellbeing. Having come to the conclusion that the mining project would go ahead regardless of local protests, Theo’s main objectives were thereby to “enroll” local people through his oratory craft and social prestige, which increased through his association with

powerful foreigners. This strengthening of Theo's social position turned his words into a self-fulfilling prophecy, equivalent to the powers of a modern day *tsimeto*.

As Theo once reflected during one of our conversations, as part of his job with the corporation, he had climbed a hilltop which would be turned into a quarry for supplying mining related infrastructure development. When the blasting of the hill had taken place five years later, Theo had been deeply struck by the fact that the immense physical changes of which he had informed local residents had indeed taken place. It was a powerful change to the local landscape which he had predicted, and even indirectly facilitated, but the visual and physical impact of the change had taken even him aback.

However, illustrating the role of individual actor perspectives in project implementation, the "in-house" anthropologist which was permanently based in the corporation's CSR department was not quite so upbeat about the influence of social expertise. Pierrot, who originated from the neighbouring Tandroy Region, on the frontier of Anosy, had studied ethnology in Antananarivo. When I met him for interviews, he would bring me into an empty office where we could talk in private. Pierrot professed to me that he experienced it as a struggle to promote social values over economic calculations within the corporation. As he was responsible for settling land disputes, his work was the most directly contested by local people, who would refer disparagingly to "that Tandroy" in the QMM social team.²⁹

Pierrot told me how one village in particular, near the future mining zone of Petriky, was proving difficult to mobilise. The new road brought by the company, which was supposed to bring local development, was not appreciated, since people worried that outsiders would find their cattle. Pierrot lamented that "*les techniciens ne veulent rien savoir!* (the "technicians", i.e. mining staff developing the new site, do not want to know anything about this"). Part of the problem was that rumours of events near the

²⁹ Persons from the Androy region are often discriminated by other groups due to stereotypes of being uneducated and impoverished cattle thieves (Middleton 1995; Middleton 1997).

first mining zone of Mandena had spread to the future mining areas. As Pierrot saw it, people were afraid of “modern” conservation, led by forest brigadiers, as it might lead to charcoal-makers coming in as existing forest access rules were lost. Illustrating the difficulty of finding local brokers, Pierrot also explained that the *toteny*³⁰ (“speaker of truth”, community elders and spokespeople) who had been engaged by QMM were no longer trusted.

In a poignant confirmation of the efforts involved in “translating” global CSR discourses to complex local sites of unwilling people, Pierrot pointed out to me that there was “a big difference between Madagascar and London”. He felt that the corporation’s development programmes did not come from the “base”. Rather, programme models were coming from the capital and other places, as a *clé passepartout* (universal key) which was not locally adapted. This made the “real” problems remain, as *non-dits* (unspoken words) which the corporation failed to detect. This created problems for the corporate anthropologist expected to negotiate solutions with local people .

Pierrot’s perspective shows how development-related knowledge production such as CSR policies and programmes need to be analysed as ongoing process of “negotiated translation” (Pottier et al. 2003: 17), in contested processes where the outcome is not given. CSR-related “universals”; concepts such as “community” and “stakeholders”, are used differently depending on context, entail shifts and creativity rather than stable discourse (cf. Gardner 1997: 145). In this context, the community affairs department within a mining corporation is not always the most powerful institutions, and there may be internal divisions and subtle contestations over the nature of “development.”

Yvon, the corporation’s Director of Social Relations, similarly to Theo saw his role as one of promoting social issues in a CSR team mostly focused on environmental conservation. Yvon was originally from Manantenina, a rural municipality 150 km to the north of Fort Dauphin. As we have seen in chapter 2, this was the same area from

³⁰ The role of *toteny* is further discussed in the next chapter.

which certain Andrakaraka fishers and farmers, such as Guy and his mother Noelline, originated. Before joining QMM, Yvon had worked for the development NGO CARE International. With a degree in sociology, Yvon was one of the corporation's "social experts", and as we have seen in chapter 2, his work entailed ongoing efforts to enroll "unruly" local people whose strategies included making use of their personal links with Yvon in order to be heard by the corporation. In 2010, Theo, who was officially retired from his academic role at the University of Tulear, was again hired by the corporation in the face of ongoing struggles with local people, and took over the post of Director of Social Affairs. Other CSR team members told me that this was considered a sign of professional failure by Yvon, who had been unable to prevent the ongoing demonstrations and roadblocks.

Yvon told me that he was worried about the risks of increasing migration and changing behavior due to the mining project. Yvon had introduced the "HIMO" (cash for unskilled work, such as road clearing) model to the corporate team, which he had learned during his work with development NGOs. He felt that this approach would help people to get short term benefits from the project. Yvon told me how the corporation's socio-environmental programme had been designed for environmental conservation, whereas to him, the focus should be on "man" – and, he added, reiterating the corporation's neoliberal ideology, rendering local people "responsible".

In addition to working with local people near the mining site, Yvon also worked on the "sensibilisation" of the authorities, which according to him displayed a "lack of leadership" when it came to managing mining project benefits. The corporation had therefore initiated training of government officials in management, taxation procedures and governance. The Anosy Region government and local mayors of the mining zone had received this training. One of the Mayors from the mining zone municipalities municipality had been sent to South Africa to visit a Rio Tinto mining project and learn about "transparent budgeting". The corporation's social staff thereby both reinvented and developed local government structures, and ensured continued enrollment of powerful players behind the notion of the mining corporation as the safeguard of local development and environment.

Governing through the state? CSR and state structures

The mining project staff had ambivalent relations with their government counterparts. They depended on the state as a guarantor of the legal framework for corporate land and resource access. The state was also necessary as ultimately responsible body for local development, as in the context of a political crisis where other funding sources had disappeared as donors were boycotting the new Malagasy transition government, the corporation did not want to appear accountable for “all” local development, but just play the role of “contributor”. The need to mitigate this risk was highlighted in by the corporation’s International Advisory Panel (Bezanson et al. 2010).

The corporation’s CSR team was thereby constantly engaged in demonstrating the fact that QMM was not replacing the state. The corporate anthropologist based at Rio Tinto headquarters points out that mining companies struggle not to become a substitute for government. This could be difficult when operating in countries such as Madagascar, where the state lacked the necessary resources and local service delivery was poor or nonexistent. In such places, there was often an expectation on the part of local people and local government that the corporation would pay for such services, and where they would begin to regard them as an “enduring entitlement” (Cochrane 2009: 158-159). In such cases, the anthropologist emphasises that Rio Tinto had to try to avoid making the host country dependent on its funds for services that the country's government should provide.

In particular, Cochrane (2009: 161) warns about the “mega-project” in Madagascar raising “mega-expectations” and a risk of becoming a surrogate government by creating open-ended financing of numerous social development programmes which the corporation was neither competent nor had the remit for implementing. Instead, the corporation was supposed to rely on the Malagasy government and global aid institutions and local civil society to “form coalitions”, and exploit “synergies” between aid and business (ibid: 161-162). As discussed in previous chapters, corporate attempts at redefining state and corporate responsibilities by blurring

boundaries and roles were locally experienced as a multiplication in surveillance mechanisms and a loss of clarity about accountability about socio-environmental impacts and related public rights.

At the level of the CSR team in Fort Dauphin, it was deemed crucial to keep the corporation's responsibility for local development to a minimum and a "voluntary" commitment which as they frequently stressed, went beyond any legal requirement. However, the political crisis of 2009 entailed both a sudden change in state personnel at the Regional office level and an abrupt cut in state led programmes funds due to donors such as the World Bank, an important funder of mining-related infrastructure, withdrawing. Similarly, in the Mandena Integrated Development Programme document, challenges mentioned include the differing perceptions between stakeholders, equitable distribution of benefits, and the fact that QMM is "a motor of development" for the Anosy region, but "not an entire vehicle".

Success is here deemed dependent on collaboration with all stakeholders, and a well distributed planning for the region, in collaboration with other partners, such as the local and central government, and strengthening police capacities. In particular, the corporation stresses the need for a more engaged Regional authority, as the actor responsible for development. The corporation here states a case for a more effective government, which it needs both in order to demonstrate the benefits of its presence and reduce local dependency on corporate development projects and compensation claims.

The "proper" functioning of the local and national government was thereby an ongoing worry to the corporation. As Jeanne stated, "We are trying to make the government hurry up [to reform the mining law], because soon we have to start paying, as soon as mining operations start. We can't control this, we pay and then it's up to them to distribute the money. But do the municipalities have the capacity to manage the money? How the money will be managed is a worry for QMM." This worry was keenly felt because local unrest and protests such as roadblocks had already proved a threat to mining operations, as discussed previously. In this sense,

the corporation was more sensitive to local people's opinions than a Regional administration which was not elected and desperately needed the corporate income.

In terms of economic benefits, the mining project would bring around 22 million USD per year to the central government in returns and royalties as part of the joint venture structure, depending on mineral prices (Harbinson 2007). Of this income, 2 million USD per year would go to the regional and local government, of which 60% would go to the two rural municipalities hosting the mining zone, 30% would go to the Anosy Region, and 10% to the central government, according to the Malagasy Mining Code.

This distribution was creating problems of jealousy as the two municipalities hosting the mining zone were due to receive a much higher income than its neighboring municipalities, including Fort Dauphin urban municipality. Although the mining code was supposed to be changed in Parliament to reflect such discrepancies, these reforms were blocked in the context of the political crisis which started in 2009. However, the corporation could not wait for official procedures to happen, as local complaints and conflicts were always threatening the project's viability and public perceptions. Local solutions were brokered, with both Fort Dauphin commune and the Anosy region receiving mining royalties. Further, the World Bank suspension of funding in the context of the 2009 coup d'état was renegotiated by corporate staff, who travelled to Washington to lobby for renewed support of Anosy infrastructure financing in order to reduce social unrest near the mining site.

The seeming paradox of a global mining corporation demanding more state intervention demonstrates how the shift to "inclusive neoliberalism", as Peck and Tickell (2002: 391) argue, has involved complex extensions of national state power, for instance managing programmes of localization and handing over of resources, responsibilities and risks to local administrations and extra state agencies. As such, in Madagascar, it was the national state, by channeling World Bank funding, which set the legal framework for the mining corporation's responsibilities and channeled revenue flows from taxes and royalties, including handing over responsibility for infrastructure, health, safety and education to mining-led "public private

partnerships”, enforcing the roles of the local municipalities near the mining site for local development and service delivery. The latter in particular led to local tensions as certain municipalities, due to the Mining Code, received the bulk of local mining income, whereas others, nearby, were due to receive nothing.

The mining project also involved increased public expenditure, including as we have seen a World Bank loan for a new deep sea port and related road infrastructure. Although the goals of such expenditure might have been based on neoliberal ideologies of corporate profit-making and “public private partnerships”, the effects of increased public investments were also arguably that of enlarging state investments, rather than “rolling back” the state. As Peck and Tickell (2002: 391) argue, novel forms of neoliberalism entail changes in scalar constitution involving complex, and often indirect, extensions of state power, including programmes of devolution and localization. It is therefore a manifestation of state policy steering when resources, responsibilities and risks are handed over to local administration and non-state agencies, such as a multinational mining corporation. This, Peck and Tickell (2002: 392) argue, also involves a “deep neoliberalization of spatial relations” as a foundation of the project.

In terms of local views of the state, when I interviewed people living near the mining and conservation sites about the changes they were experiencing, they frequently referred to both state and corporation as *fanjaka* (“state” in Malagasy, noun form of the verb “manjaka”, to rule). State and corporation, separate bodies legally, a separation which official CSR discourses strived to maintain, were perceived as conflated, which illustrates how people experienced the exercise of power as similar and inseparable. The state was similarly equated with foreign land grabbing in the form of conservation projects by people living near the Masoala national park in north eastern Madagascar (Keller 2009b). This shows how we must account for how neoliberal rule is experienced and interpreted locally in order to understand how official discourses conceal the way in which power operates, with new forms of dispossession through corporate land and resource capture rationalised in the guise of development and conservation.

In the context of new forms of spatialities generated by corporate resource management schemes, an analysis of the new CSR discourse in Africa shows how it is founded on a refraction of one of the central tenets of capitalism, which is the connection between effort and reward (Sharp 2006: 221). This capitalist foundation is contrasted with CSR notions of “stakeholderism”, which imply a turn towards “casino capitalism” (Sharp 2006). This new form of capitalism is based on a based a disconnect between effort and reward, especially for the poor, where success becomes a matter of luck rather than effort, i.e. of being based near a site of corporate operations: as the mining corporation in Fort Dauphin had decided, the people officially settled in the two municipalities near the mining site were the ones who qualified as members of the new resource management schemes for the Mandena mining and conservation zone.

The complex, fragmented organisation of the CSR apparatus thereby contributes both to the “casino capitalism” discourse and to its acceptance (Sharp (2004: 221). This is because a myriad of business corporations, development agencies and governments who apply CSR related benefit schemes leading to a bewildering variety of benefits in unpredictable ways, including varied community projects, based on differing categories of stakeholder according to corporate need. The situation in Fort Dauphin in some ways appeared to match this prediction, with CSR programmes representing a bundle of various services, and focused on shifting groups of stakeholders according to who managed to be “seen” and accounted for, or to protest loud enough for the corporation to attempt to engage with local stakeholders.

Based on this argument, if a particular village is not considered a “host community” today, it may nevertheless turn out to be the custodian of future resources desired by business (Sharp 2006). Following on this, if some people are not construed as stakeholders immediately, they may aspire to this condition of resource beneficiary at some point in the future, “when the wheel of fortune has turned in their favour” (Sharp 2006: 221). In this context, the convoluted CSR apparatus represents a situation of

public rights and corporate responsibilities based on “a continual possibility that the poor may – one day – get lucky” (ibid).

However, the above analysis seems to imply a passivity of the people who are either inside the “host community” or outside. In contrast, near the mining site in Fort Dauphin the definition of corporate beneficiaries represented ongoing efforts of enrolment, participation, struggles for recognition of being adversely impacted and overt protests, where groups of people shifted and the responses by the corporate team were also manifold. There were demands for jobs as well as for ending the mining project altogether, sometimes made by the same people, with corporate programmes changing and adapting, incorporating new “stakeholders” and ending certain benefit programmes. However, as we have seen in chapter 3, local struggles focused more on being incorporated into these new forms of “casino capitalism” than on challenging the profound forms of dispossession which the mining corporation represented.

As Rajak (2008) argues in her ethnography of CSR programmes of South African mining corporations, through corporate narratives of “empowerment” and “community partnerships”, market capitalism emerges as the vehicle for economic empowerment and ultimately, legitimate citizenship, as the market ends up regulating itself.³¹ CSR “trustees” thereby use a population’s failure to improve by for example “rationally” using or conserving their natural resources, as reasons for these people’s dispossession of land and resources, and as the justification to assign resources to people who will make better use of them, such as international mining corporations (cf. Li 2007b).

³¹ Recent violence in this area shows the failure of such CSR strategies and the impact on corporate strategies (Chibber 2012). The extensive local CSR programmes had evidently not resolve local conflicts which centered on local working conditions, in spite of their claims to success in corporate discourses analysed by Rajak (2005).

Managing failure: the court case and the NGO liaison group

An important part of the CSR department's work was dedicated to what can be termed "managing failure". This involved representing failure, such as local protests and lack of participation in CSR programmes, as the outcome of rectifiable deficiencies. Such work entailed smoothing out contradictions so that they seemed superficial rather than fundamental; and devising compromises between various actors (cf. Li 2007a). In particular, the corporate model of interaction with local communities had to be constantly reinvented in the face of local "unstable" populations. As previously discussed, local people were highly mobile, with migration one of the main coping strategies in the face of economic hardship. In addition to the flooding of lands near the Lanirano lake, an additional problem to the corporate team was the fact that people from Fort Dauphin town had started to cultivate inside the Mandena mining zone perimeter, land which according to official impact assessment mapping local "villages" had "no residents" (Tecsult International 2005a).

People's mobile lives and strategies of claiming land through *mise en valeur*, which had previously been a legally acceptable and even encouraged by colonial authorities thereby proved an ongoing challenge to the company's CSR efforts. The corporate CSR strategies needed local people to be immobile and thereby "legible" (Scott 1998) and subject to project planning, improvement and discipline, through technical interfaces such as the Mandena mining zone community management structure. Local claims to land were thereby represented by Jeanne and her team as illegal, through recourse to the corporation's official legal basis for land access and even references to colonial-day land local appropriation regimes such as the Mandena zone *Station Forestière*.

As for the problem of the flooding of land near Lanirano lake, Jeanne, the corporation's director of socio-environmental affairs, was clear: "it's a *probleme naturel* [a problem of nature]. The weir doesn't prevent the water to flow out into the sea. It doesn't change anything [...] But it's a *revendication* [claim], it was proved by the government commission and the National Environment Office that it had nothing

to do with the weir.” I asked her, “So it’s just people’s perceptions that the flooding are due to the weir?” Jeanne responded forcefully, “it’s not perceptions, they understand it well! It’s just another reason to claim compensations!” Jeanne’s perception of local people as stable “stakeholders” accounted for in official corporate impact assessments made her able to dismiss local claims to monetary compensation as both “illegal” and unfounded. This representation of local contestations to corporate land and resource claims can be considered as ongoing corporate attempts at enrolment behind particular versions of reality of influential players such as the government, international activist groups and the media, and international researchers such as myself.

However, corporate efforts of enrolment of powerful actors did not always succeed. In 2009, the UK-based legal firm Leigh Day, based on ongoing efforts by the advocacy group who had invited me to the Rio Tinto AGM, accepted to take on a case against Rio Tinto claiming compensation for local people’s loss of land and inadequate compensation for loss of land due to the QMM subsidiary. The legal case obtained over 1,000 local claimants in a list-making exercise which detailed each person’s estimated land surface and loss of income or harvest in a list. Similarly to the corporation’s CSR programmes, local people were classified and made legible in order to provide a basis for further interventions in a knowledge-making effort that paralleled the corporation’s, but with the aim of discrediting corporate discourses. However, faced with the risk of negative international media coverage in addition to a high profile legal case, the corporation’s local team settled the issue by finally paying money to the Andrakaraka farmers and fishers who had been most vocal in their complaints. With half the claimants receiving money, the legal case was deemed too risky to defend, and was therefore dropped by the UK legal firm.

Although the corporate payments had prevented the legal case from going ahead and ending up in the public domain, the non-event still made it onto paper, and thereby into official history. The London-based Rio Tinto “NGO liaison group” set up in 2011 to improve community relations in the wake of the threat of such high profile litigation made the following analysis in an internal report:

Weir affected residents were refused compensation when their lands flooded until they started to protest. After various interventions, including the threat of a legal case involving 1000 claimants from directly affected and indirectly affected groups, QMM paid out summary sums of money (though not all accepted as legal case was still pending). Four to five hundred claimants remain unsatisfied regarding their claims. Yet to be explained is how and why QMM chose to neutralise the civil group legal action on compensation by paying off half the claimants, thereby aggravating grievances and depriving them of a formal public judiciary process to resolve their disputes in a fair and transparent manner (Freeman et al. 2012: 8).

Such ongoing contestations of corporate discursive and programmatic action illustrates the ongoing efforts by the CSR team to enroll both local people and the international public sphere. CSR in practice thereby represented not a stable neoliberal technology of rule, but an ongoing project of mobilising and convincing an array of audiences, with the outcome never given. In this context, local people's role as objects of information between powerful agencies, whether mining corporation or legal firm, illustrates the importance of accounting for the acts of translation from complex and contested reality to particular lists which justify compensation and ultimately legal rights to land and resources.

Translating failure into success: the Mandena Integrated Development Programme

The corporation's environment permit was based on a 2005 socio-environmental assessment impact exercise which had mapped the environmental and social situation and expected project impacts, along with ways of mitigating these impacts. Official land compensation programmes had been established for the areas to the immediate south west of Fort Dauphin town, where around 90 houses had been moved, farmland land confiscated and fishers' landing sites had become off limits due to mining-related road and port development (see TecSult International 2005b). These officially impacted areas had been targeted from the onset by socio-economic compensation and development programmes led by two local NGOs who had been commissioned by the World Bank "Integrated Growth Poles" programme which channeled mining-related

project investments to the Anosy Region (see World Bank 2005). People in these areas been officially classified as “PAPs” (People Affected by the Project), based on World Bank compensation mechanisms and terminology (cf. Cernea 2000).

Although contestations over compensation payments and the rights of fishermen affected by the new port were also ongoing, the mechanisms for engaging with these people meant that the corporate socio-environmental team was not too preoccupied with their situation. The two NGOs engaged via the World Bank’s investment programme managed the compensation and livelihoods programmes for the “PAPs”. Local government agents were officially charged with organizing the compensation payments, as people’s land had been confiscated through a *Déclaration d’Utilité Publique* (public declaration of utility which sets the legal framework for government land annexation). The situation of the “PAPs” and the representation of their voices by campaigning groups is further discussed in the final chapter.

In comparison, the Mandena mining zone, which had been classified as government land with no local owners had been leased to the company through a 1998 *Convention d’Etablissement* (agreement setting out the project’s legal and fiscal framework, ratified in the Malagasy parliament)³² between the Malagasy government and QMM. This shows the Malagasy state’s central role in ensuring corporate land and resource access, with land considered as having no users being made available for foreign corporations due to the lack of visibility, voice and legally recognized land rights of marginal local people who depend on the land for their livelihoods. The legal framework for land access thereby favoured powerful interests, but the corporation still faced ongoing disputes over land use and compensation claims, and asserting corporate land rights was an ongoing process.

³² The legal and fiscal framework agreement between QMM and the Government of Madagascar was concluded in 1998, ratified by the Malagasy National Assembly and promulgated into law by the then President Ravalomanana, showing the political importance of this first major foreign investment in the Malagasy mining sector. See <http://www.riotintomadagascar.com/english/aboutQMM.asp> (accessed 03.05.2012).

In the context of international environmental groups campaigning against the mining project's biodiversity impacts, the socio-environmental initiatives that had been set up for the Mandena zone had focused on nature conservation, including the establishment of a 230 hectare conservation zone with a seed bank and ongoing research on post-mining reforestation. The conservation zone and surrounding land had been set up as a "user zone" so people in theory could still access forest and marshland resources not being mined, based on community co-management via a *dina* (community legal agreement) implemented by a "management committee (COGE)" (Rarivoson 2007). The local effects of this new resource management regime is further discussed in the next chapter.

In the context of ongoing local demonstrations previously discussed, this resource management structure could have been perceived as a failure. However, when a new community engagement structure was set up to remedy for this situation, it was reinvented as a success. The new structure was modeled on the approach used for the official "PAPs," in particular by focusing on alternative income-generating activities, training and equipment rather than cash hand-outs. The corporation was always striving to avoid paying compensation money, which implied wrongdoing by the corporation and an inadequate socio-environmental impact assessment mechanism. The credibility of the latter was a key to the corporation's claim to adhering to the legal framework for their operations, which included an environmental permit demanding regular progress reporting on socio-environmental issues.

The development and adaptations in the corporation's CSR programmes focusing on economic development for people impacted by the mining operations is a good illustration of how the corporation's local CSR strategies and programmes were influenced and changed when they were implemented by particular actors and adapted to the local context. The person responsible for implementing the CSR programmes entitled "alterative income-generating activities", Odile, was from the capital of Antananarivo. She had joined the corporation from a position with the World Bank managing income-generating projects. As the other CSR team members, she brought her experiences with her to her new job, rather than inventing something new from

within the corporation for CSR purposes. Odile's post was first based at the "sustainable development" corporate department, which was a sub-department of the Biodiversity team within the overall CSR team. Initially, the "alternative income-generating activities" were thereby not deemed a major priority, and were a sub-section to the community conservation structure for managing relations with people near the Mandena mining zone.

However, the corporate social strategy was altered in the encounter with local realities. When existing community engagement programmes did not manage to end ongoing roadblocks and protests, Odile's position was moved to the "community relations" department. This department had a separate budget for social issues larger than what was available within the biodiversity team. Odile told me how this movement was related to her developing a more ambitious community development programme which was to become the "Mandena Integrated Development Programme" (IDP), an initiative which grew into a large profile programme encompassing newly identified "stakeholders" which had been left out of previous compensation and income-generating programmes. The IDP programme is here analysed in two ways: both as a discursive attempt at representing shifts in corporate strategy as a retroactive "translation" from failure into success of community relations near the mining site, and a practical activity of "enrolment" of "unruly" local people.

The Mandena IDP's programme document, written by Odile, sets out the overall objectives as changing local "mentalities" and provide alternative income mechanisms due to a local situation of "poverty". However, the underlying causes of this poverty, which according to people protesting against the corporation were due to lack of arable land and access to natural resources, are not explored. Rather, poverty is considered highly localised and in need of community participation, with the most marginalized people rendered responsible for overcoming the often structural problems thrown up by uneven development (cf. Li 2007).

The objectives are listed as a continuation of the Mandena dina (community legal agreement for natural resource management), and to "prepare the local community in

the Mandena zone to take responsibility for the management of the zone's resources and be able to manage their social and economic development" (QMM 2009a). Firstly, the project aims to improve "community and individual empowerment" in order to achieve a "change of behavior". Other objectives include improving household income and the quality of local governance, education and health services. The IDP's expected results are to "redynamise" local economic production and improve capacity, with activities including small scale income activities and HIMO (cash for unskilled jobs) work, intended to "stimulate behavior and willingness to work". The document mentions the risk of lack of participation by way of a rhetorical question and answer: "could one imagine people who do not want progress? Evidently this could be the case if they lack *sensibilisation* [sensitizing/awareness raising], information and education".

As can be seen from the intentions with the PDI, as part of a broader commitment to market liberalization, inclusive neoliberalism depends on strategies of government which aim to prepare individuals to cope with unintended effects such as those of marginalization of the poorest from land and natural resources. These solutions are based on community-based responses that aimed to both include local people in new, market based resource flows and improve their capacities and inclinations to act as members of a rational economic population (Foucault 2009 [2004]; Golooba-Mutebi & Hickey 2010). As we see, the stated objectives of the corporation's CSR programmes easily fit into such strategies of inclusive neoliberalism,

The IDP also represented an example of the corporation's CSR team's "translation" from failure into success of the corporation's previous community relations efforts (cf. Latour 1996; Mosse 2005). According to the programme document, the IDP is based on "negotiations with the local community for temporary occupation of the Mandena deposit". This diplomatic wording translates the contestations that led to the IDP into a technical process of "negotiation" based on adherence to community traditions, thereby concealing the political struggles over land and resource access which had led to the programme. According to official corporate history on their website, the IDP "brings together the environmental and social objectives of the [Mandena zone]

Environmental Management Plan [based on] “negotiations with the community [...] underpinned by a DINA, a traditional Malagasy social contract designed to manage potential sources of social conflict.” Again, the *dina* is referred to as proof of local adherence through traditions and “community” conflict regulations. The corporation points out that “elements of the IDP have been operational since 2002, in various forms. The shopping list of activities includes: “eco-tourism and other income generating activities; improved agriculture; community based natural resource management activities; plantations; improved fishing practices; restoration and conservation zone management; improved education and community health services; adult literacy programmes; sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS prevention programmes.”

The multiplicity of programmes which represent various types of service provision are not based on local people as rights bearing subjects. The exact number and social origin of the corporation’s local beneficiaries were kept to vague numbers in their thousands, rounded up and down according to CSR publication. Local people were invariably referred to as “villagers”, which sidelined internal hierarchies and division according to origins and land access (cf. Hanson 2007; Pigg 1992). This reliance on people as part of a uniform social body to be governed by providing the right legal framework and incentives rather than as rights-bearing citizens is characteristic of the inclusive neoliberal strategies of “government through community” (Li 2007b; Rose 1993).

Jeanne, the Malagasy corporate subsidiary’s CSR Director, explained the IDP to me in the following words: “the work with local communities is now increasing as the mining operations in Mandena [the first of three projected mining zones] are starting. We will be working much more directly with people in Mandena, so we’ve now established an “Integrated Development Plan”. We have a good budget, to put into place all sorts of programmes with these people.” Acknowledging that this was a new aspect to the corporation’s CSR programmes, it was however represented as a well-planned corporate strategy rather than a change due to the failure of previous efforts of community engagement.

The budget increase for social issues, an indication that the corporation was facing challenges in this area, was also translated into an indicator of success, with Jeanne insisting that “it’s not so much that the programmes are changing, but more that we are reorienting our programmes like I said before to focus our actions more. And the budgets are increasing every year. Of course there was the world economic conjuncture which means that we are tightening our belts a bit in 2009, but we in our team, we’ve had no budget cuts! Even though the mining production budget has been reduced. We have a President who is very, very, very, sensitive about all these questions, very sensitive, and aware of their importance, and that’s extraordinary.”

The Mandena IDP, which could be considered a response to local refusals to be “enrolled”, was here reinvented as a proof of the CSR team’s success and improved focus, and of a caring corporate management. According to Jeanne, before the IDP, “we had various programmes, but we didn’t have a well-defined plan, we went every year to check needs, there were always all sorts of community projects, wells, schools, now we are trying to structure it better. Also as mining is starting up, we are focusing more on entrepreneurship in order to achieve sustainable development, so we will work more with the sustainable development team.” The renewed focus on supporting local income generation indicated the urgent need to improve people’s livelihoods due to protests over loss of land, aquatic and forest resources which had not been predicted in official impact assessments. However, the director’s discourse, based on the typical tenets of inclusive neoliberalism, represented such negative effects of a supposed flagship project for corporate socio-environmental responsibility as due to the need to create worthy local entrepreneurs.

The corporate discourses around the IDP show how success in development depends upon the stabilisation of a particular interpretation or policy model, concealing the way in which policy ideas are produced socially (cf. Mosse 2004). Corporate staff such as in-house anthropologists, ecologists, partner NGO staff, and even local community interlocutors such as Guy of the Andrakaraka fishers, came to see their interests as tied up with the ruling models of the corporation’s conservation and

development programmes. This sidelined the new forms of exclusion created by corporate capture of land and resources as experienced by those less well placed to function as corporate stakeholders, such as landless migrants.

The reinvention of corporate socio-economic programmes into the IDP also illustrates the ongoing need by the corporation's CSR team to "enroll" supporters and participants in their programmes in the face of the threat of renewed demonstrations and roadblocks. Such enrolment was done through the constant work of "translation" of policy goals into practical interests, and practical interests back into policy goals (cf. Mosse 2004). This work required skilled brokers able to read the meaning of a project into the different languages of their constituencies, with ongoing work of creating interest and making real "through long chains of translation" (Latour 1996: 86) between global discourses and locally meaningful language and back again.

As we have seen previously, local farmers who had started cultivating in the Mandena zone were not interested in participating in the existing resource management regimes, as they saw no benefits from them. If they could not access the land in the mining zone, they wanted to qualify for monetary compensation rather than CSR related projects. However, as we have seen, any payments would have represented an acknowledgement of wrongdoing on behalf of the corporation, and risked leading to further compensation payments as local people shifted to other parts of the mining zone. The corporation was therefore striving to avoid such payments and instead mobilize people as participants in their alternative income-generating projects.

Translation and enrollment: recruiting local stakeholders

Examples of the ongoing corporate efforts of translating global CSR policies into locally meaningful initiatives which would succeed in recruiting local participants are provided by the experiences of the corporation's local community relations staff. Martin, a local fisher who had been hired as QMM community relations staff, was charged with organizing the rebellious Andrakaraka fishers and farmers into

participating in the FIMIRA community water management association intended to monitor the Lanirano lake and lagoon system near the corporation's unpopular weir.

Martin told me that it was difficult to mobilize people to do volunteering in a context of food shortages and resource deprivation. Therefore, when Martin justified the model of "community co-management" of water resources based on voluntary associations to the local participants, he highlighted aspects not part of the official discourses of self-organising communities: "FIMIRA [water brigade work] is *asa antsitrapo* (voluntary work). QMM is resolving the small problems. But QMM is just there to help, as a "facilitateur". For example, if the FIMIRA *brigadiers* have problems, such as not having rain jackets, then QMM will provide them. If it rains, and there is a meeting, such as last Saturday, then QMM will send a car to pick them up". Such small, unofficial gestures and gifts which did not match official corporate ideologies of self-organising communities were needed to keep people mobilized and able to participate in the association.

For local people who participated in this community resource management system, getting paid for their time which was officially "voluntary" was an ongoing struggle. As in other parts of Madagascar, the model of community management relied on a combination of volunteers and minimally paid resource monitors to carry out work which was supposed to be participatory and based on a pre-existing local civil society which merely needed to be mobilized (cf. Sodikoff 2009). Illustrating the difficulty with getting local participants in the association despite its role as interface for channeling corporate-financed community income-generating projects, Martin tells me that "we gave our community action plan to Mme Odile [corporate social team staff member], and she might have given it to *sosialy* (the social affairs department). We are doing a new action plan every year. And with the problems of Andrakaraka [fisher hamlets], we did a plan to improve the land and make rice fields. There were ten people who were going to be paid by QMM to do it, but they [the Andrakaraka fishers and farmers] didn't agree because they were waiting for compensation money before they would accept [...] Because even if there is a project then they will just *mipetraky avao* (simply sit still – i.e. not collaborate) until there is compensation

money.³³ Because they are basing themselves on compensation. But that's their *toet-saina* [mindset]. *Andrakaraka zany maditra* [Andrakaraka, they are naughty – i.e. behave like naughty children].”

It is here worth recalling the old town-based farmer Fredy's perspective. The elderly leader of the group of farmers with flooded fields wanted monetary compensation for his land, and complained that the corporation only offered development projects that he was not interested in. However, from the corporation's point of view, as he refused to behave like an appropriate corporate stakeholder by participating in such projects, he was *maditra*: A naughty, unruly child.

This classification aided corporate staff to present themselves as making rational, mature arguments against irrational and deviant behavior rather than acknowledging that unforeseen impacts on land might entitle other users to rights to compensation (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]). As part of its strategy of rule through CSR, the corporation's identified problems and solutions related to the inherent character of the local population as needing to become market-based micro entrepreneurs was thereby translated by local corporate staff into justifications for dismissing local failure to participate in corporate projects as irrational and childish.

Martin continued to explain his efforts of enrolment: “There was HIMO (unskilled manual work for cash, such as clearing land) [offered by QMM], but they didn't accept it. We also offered vegetable gardening projects, but many didn't want to do it. Only 10 people accepted to meet and do the vegetable project. There were people who said ‘if you accept do grow vegetables with QMM, then they will take advantage of you, and won't give you compensation’. But they don't know that while waiting for the compensation, then at least the projects will give them some money. Because the compensation, I don't know when it might come, because I still haven't heard anything about it.”

³³ This took place before the threat of litigation made the corporation paid compensation money to the Andrakaraka and Lanirano farmers

Martin's position of brokerage was here made clear: he was struggling to mobilize participants in corporate projects and deflect the local claims for land compensation. He was clearly not in a position to impose the corporation's projects, but relied on local cooperation, time and perceived benefits of participating. In a context of immediate food deprivation, combined with anger at not having their land loss recognized, he was in a difficult position. Therefore, as we shall now see, his manager Odile, in urgent need of enrolling the "unruly" Andrakaraka fishers and farmers, had to negotiate directly with local people to get the IDP projects established.

Enrolling naughty children: the creation of worthy beneficiaries

A meeting of the FIMIRA, the Lanirano lake fisher's association, illustrates the corporate staff's efforts at "enrolling" local participants. We are sitting on the small terrace outside the FIMIRA meeting house, a simple, traditional hut by Lanirano lake where fish are also weighed every morning. Prior to the meeting, Odile and I are chatting with Eduard, a FIMIRA water brigade member and fisher who also has land in a hamlet near Andrakaraka. It turns out that he is also eager to capture new project resources for his hamlet. He is talking to Odile, and as I have been permitted to record the meeting, their exchanges are also recorded.

Odile is looking for place in the Andrakaraka area to set up a QMM-funded rice growing project, part of the new Mandena IDP, in order to find a solution to the food insecurity and complaints of the fishers and farmers there. She asks Eduard where there might be available land. Eduard responds that it is difficult to find. "Half already has houses, and the rest has already been sold to Stephane, the son of Patrick [French hotel operator in Fort Dauphin]". Fundamental problems of lack available land for cultivation in the context of land grabs by the most powerful operators are made visible, but this issue does not interest Odile, who had an urgent agenda of project implementation. She insists, "but I heard there might still be three hectares of land for growing rice at Emanaka [hamlet near Andrakaraka]"

The fisher hesitates: “that might be true, but I haven’t seen it. But the people who sold land there might know [...] I have some land, but it’s not a lot. But people [from the area] said that I should offer my land, because they already sold theirs”. Eduard’s modest words may conceal a wish to position himself as project beneficiary. Odile immediately asks: “and how is it [your land]?” Eduard responds, “I grow some *traka* [vegetables; vegetable gardening was one of the first corporate-funded alternative-income projects], I ordered some”. Eduard appears to be aware of Odile’s like of vegetable gardening. Odile asks, “is the land good?”, and Eduard responds, “It’s good if you add some fertilizer”. Odile continues her questioning: “are you many in the association there?”, and Eduard responds, “Yes, many. 97 of us did the HIMO project [QMM funded cash for work project, e.g. road clearing]. But now people are spreading out, so the number is becoming less. Some people went to the mountains, some people went to look for work in town [due to current lack of fishing and farming options]”. Encouraged, Odile responds, “We need people who are available to work. We need them to do the *plate bande* [vegetable beds]... We will do it as HIMO [cash for work project]. So we will give money to the people who will work your land. [...] But are you many people doing HIMO? Are people happy with it?”

Here, Odile shows how she strives to achieve local participation and good will in order to ensure the success of her projects. She is not confident about the outcome in spite of the resources at her disposal for such projects. Eduard quickly responds, “yes, happy, isn’t it always better when there is some small amounts of money coming in! People like that. So they are doing the project”.

Odile continues to seek confirmation about project success and popularity, this time about the conservation aspect: “ao now you are leaving the fish to grow up [according to the conservation agreement]? Is anyone still using *haratobe* [large, fine-eyed nets now forbidden]? What is making people *mamipmenimeny* [complain, grumble]? Maybe it’s the fact that there is no work which is making people *malemey* [soft; here: unwilling, lazy], but not the fact that there are no fish?”

Here, Odile is trying to make Eduard agree with the corporation's version of the truth: if people adhere to the new conservation agreements and are integrated in a market economy of income-generating projects, based on their participation and disciplined efforts, issues of poverty and starvation will be resolved. The issue of loss of access to natural resources is brushed aside. Her final phrase echoes colonial days of blaming lazy local people for poverty and marginalization rather than structural inequity. As Odile originates from Antananarivo, the fact that person from the *merina* social group who had colonized the region was accusing local people of being lazy also corresponded to colonial ethnic discourses. The fisher responds, emphasizing how he is carrying out his job of monitoring the Lanirano lake fishers, but also indirectly disagreeing with Odile's final phrase: "there are no longer people using *haratobe*. They are not allowed to anymore. And so there is no food. There is no other income. People here don't really know any other way to make money. Only from the water."

The conversation shifts to the issues of migrants and the problem of accounting for local resource users, with the establishment of beneficiary lists still a struggle for the corporation. Odile asks, "what about the many *vahiny* (guests/foreigners; here: migrants). All the *vahiny* who have arrived?" Eduard responds, "There were some, but many already left. So the people who are here now have lived here for a long time. The people who arrived to pick straw, to pick *vendra* (grass to weave mats). Because people here didn't use those straws." Odile ignores this indication of people's mobile livelihoods and persists, "But what of the fishers? The fishers from the south [the other side of the peninsula, where fishers had lost access to their landing site due to the new, mining-related port, and had therefore gone to fish in Lanirano lake], are they no longer here?"

Eduard's response again shows people's mobility in the face of shifting resource access regimes. His response also illustrates local efforts at demonstrating resource claims through long term residency. "Some are here, but some already left. So now only people who were here for a long time are living here. The people who went to the Region [government office] for compensation [during the 6 month fishing moratorium for the lake] were people who had lived here for at least a year. The ones who had

stayed here shorter than that were not allowed to get the compensation.” Odile cuts to the chase of obtaining the official number of people who needed compensation: “but really, how many are you living in Emanaka [hamlet near Andrakaraka]?” Eduard responds, “the number has gone down because some people have left. They went elsewhere to rejoin their family. Some people went to Fort Dauphin town. It depends on where they can find other work”. Odile persists: “but how many are you really? Because all the inhabitants of Emanaka [hamlet] are doing HIMO [corporate cash for work project]!” Eduard responds, “we are 90 who are doing the HIMO. All of us are doing it. Women and men. Except for the children!”

Satisfied with finally having an exact number, Odile continues, “and what about the people of Andrakaraka village?” Eduard hesitates: “they are also doing it [HIMO], but I don’t know their situation”. Odile persists, hoping for a clearer answer: “but why did some of the people not take up [the project]?” Eduard’s lengthy explanation to Odile’s inquiry, indicates that he is striving to position himself as a trustworthy “corporate broker” and participant, and perhaps to sideline the established QMM broker and project recipient, Guy.

“It depends on how the HIMO work was first presented. There were 11 people who did it first. Then lots more people arrived. People started complaining at being excluded. In the end the new people felt [the project] was *kiantragnoaantragno* (“remaining in the house”; nepotism). And that is what I wanted to inform you about. The sefy [“chef”/boss], Guy [the leader of the Andrakaraka fishers], with Phidolphe [QMM social outreach staff] were there. Guy said it was better to call people to join them [the Andrakaraka list]. So the people present all joined their project. But the people who weren’t there and weren’t included on Guy’s list were promised a new list. So they will send a new list. So that is what I wanted to let you know. So it’s better to inform them that it’s not possible [to do a new list]”. Odile responds with a mere “Thanks, Eduard!” She does not ask for further details about his seemingly obtuse story, perhaps wanting to avoid being dragged into local “micro-politics” of the rivalry between Eduard and Guy, on whom she depends to mobilize the Andrakaraka hamlets of fishers and farmers, and mitigate local protests against the corporation.

Turning to Jean-Pierre, another fisher association meeting participant who has also arrived early, Odile again asks “How about you from Andrakaraka? How many of you are doing the HIMO work?” The man responds reassuringly “It’s *milamindamy* [arranged/all right]. We are about 53 doing it”. Odile asks him, “and are you yourself still working?” He responds “no, it’s my day of *repo* [rest] today!”. Odile tries a joke: “so you can’t work anymore if you are already tired of doing HIMO! But where are there more people, Andrakaraka or Emanaka?” The newly arrived fisher responds, “Emanaka. But if they are mixed with us from Andrakaraka, then we may be quite a lot altogether. But they don’t want to be mixed with us!”

Again ignoring the reference to local schisms, Odile pursues her agenda of mobilizing participants for her new project of rice growing. She asks Jean-Pierre, “how about rice, are there no *horaky* [rice fields]?” The Andrakaraka fisher responds, “I already told Martin [QMM local outreach staff], why not do it on my land? I have about two hectares. But Martin asked me where there is land with no owner.” Odile protests, showing her preoccupation with immediate results, “we can’t wait for land with no owner, as long as there is an association. Then the association members will share the harvest. Because if there is no association, the owner will claim the harvest. But with the association, we can grow rice which will last all year”.

Eduard responds, clearly interested in getting resources channeled towards his land: “so we need to mobilize people to work on the rice field?” “It should be HIMO work”, Odile explains. “Then QMM will pay their salary. People will share the rice afterwards. If you are 20 people in the association, then you can share it between yourselves from your 2 hectares of land. Are my words not clear? This is a big *tombotsoa* [benefit/advantage]! We will use your land and do HIMO, do HIMO and do HIMO!” Odile’s words are insistent, as she appears disappointed at the lack of enthusiasm on behalf of the fisher. The latter responds in a hesitant and doubtful voice, “But what if for example there will be *fifamaliana* [fighting, arguments]?” Odile is becoming exasperated: “that’s no good! We will have a big harvest of rice! For example, we will use the *charrue* [manual plows] first, and then we will do

motoculteur [motorized plowing] for three years. What is the problem with that? Maybe that will work? We will divide up the land! But is the association no good? People don't want to work together?"

The fisher responds by carefully avoiding Odile's too-direct question in a region where conflict and hierarchy are not easily spoken of (see Somda 2009), "It's better if I work with Martin, because he *mba mahay miresaky* ["he is able to speak"; he is from the region and speaks the local dialect; perhaps also an indication that Martin knows how to avoid verbal faux-pas]". Odile responds in a surprised and slightly hurt tone, "But I don't know how to speak?" She has been striving to use the *Tanosy* dialect, but she still mixes it with her native Antananarivo dialect. However, Odile goes on, encouraged by this possible collaboration with the elusive Andrakaraka people, "the association needs at least 15 people. And you will have to do the work. But you are already working!" Eduard responds, "who doesn't eat rice, Madame? We will arrange this." Odile quickly adds: "and remember to arrange things with the *fokontany* [lowest local government level, i.e. to register the association] and everything, so the project won't go to someone else. Talk to Martin." The man responds, "I will call him on Monday". Odile replies in an urgent tone, "there is no call, but just make up your list [of association members] immediately". Eduard protests, "But the grass on the land is very long [i.e. requires time to be made into a rice field]". Odile reflects on this: "really? Does it have water? Is it possible to irrigate it? We have fertilizer and tools. I'm telling you already that you need to start this work next week."

Other people have arrived, and the official association meeting starts. However, Odile might have achieved more during these private exchanges than she does during the association meeting, which concerns practicalities around the organizational structure, and accusations of theft of membership fees on the part of Guy, who is not present – in fact, nobody seems to know his whereabouts, not even his mother Noelline, who is participating in the meeting. The money is never recovered. It may or may not be coincidence that Guy, tired of working for free for the association, is soon able to get started with one of his principal goals: the construction of a new house in the family compound.

The above exchanges can be analysed as part of Odile's efforts at "forging alignments" (Li 2007a): the work of linking together the objectives of the various parties to an assemblage, both those who aspire to govern conduct and those whose behaviour is to be regulated. This reveals how corporate constructions of places and problems through CSR programmes such as the IDP, rather than representing the discursive determinism of smoothly implemented schemes of "governmentality", instead need to "interpreted backwards" to reveal the social relations that produce them, the future contests they anticipate and the wider "discourse coalitions" they call for (Mosse 2005: 15). This approach reveals the role of individuals and groups of actors who participate in making their contexts, and the unacknowledged but proactive role of social networks, relationships and "key brokers" such as Odile, Martin, Eduard and Guy.

Conclusion

After the previous chapter's analysis of CSR as "inclusive" neoliberal technology of rule, this chapter has analysed how such rule is accomplished in practice. The chapter has first demonstrated how the depoliticised discourse of CSR, with its emphasis on "partnerships" and "negotiation", conceals issues of power discrepancy and the agenda-setting power and greater capacity for framing issues of the more powerful players (Garvey & Newell 2005: 392; c.f. Mosse 2010). In this context, expertise such as that of conservationists and corporate anthropologists entails turning the political into technical problems and solutions. CSR experts thereby enter into a double alliance (Rose & Miller 1992: 188): on the one hand, they ally themselves with powerful players such as mining corporations, translating concerns about community and environmental relations into the vocabulary of technical reports and programmes. On the other hand, they strive to form alliances with the target individuals of these programmes, translating their needs into technical language and offering them hopes of better futures through specific interventions, as Theo was consciously engaged in. However, as Pierrot's experiences show, such translation was not always successful.

The chapter's second part therefore complements the discursive analysis of "inclusive" neoliberal project of rule of CSR team experts with an ethnographic account of the contingent practice of such rule. This reveals how corporate power is never secure, as each actor and place represents a point of potential resistance to any one way of thinking and acting, or a point of mobilizing around different programmes, such as choosing to appear on the client lists for the litigation case. People may refuse to be enrolled, and budget holders may refuse to release funds. As such, the chapter argues that corporate government through CSR is a potentially failing operation. The CSR team was therefore engaged in ongoing efforts to establish the legitimacy of their strategies by ensuring that problems such as struggles over land and resources were removed from the disputed terrain of politics and presented as unproblematic, expert-based truth in glossy CSR reports. The mining corporation's CSR efforts thereby represented ongoing local translations of a complex system of various CSR statements and policies functioning as a transnational and fragmented project of global assemblage (cf. Ong & Collier 2005; Welker et al. 2011).

The chapter has analysed Mandena Integrated Development Programme (PDI) as one such corporate legitimizing strategy. The intended stakeholders were supposed to change their "mentalities" into appropriate project participants eager to take up the new, market-based livelihoods projects on offer. We must therefore account for the micro-politics of language which underpin the way schemes of government are implemented in Madagascar. In aiming to produce needs, neoliberal initiatives such conservation-led market-based solutions also aim to produce subjects who need what neoliberalism is able to promise, if not always provide (Hanson 2007: 274). The process is complex, involving differing and dominating language ideologies; conceptions and practices of translation. This generates "hybrid actors" (ibid.) able to cross between the different worlds, both literally and indirectly translating between the local, national, and transnational. Concurrently, new mechanisms of exclusion and marginalization are also produced as the most marginalized local people both lose access to land and resources, and also fail to qualify as deserving stakeholders able to participate in CSR programmes.

Neoliberal “rule” through CSR is thereby not an a priori accomplishment. Through ethnographic analysis I have accounted for how the hegemonic potential of CSR projects is always limited by the autonomy of practice from policy. The ethnographic task is thereby to show how, in contexts of fragmentation and dissent, actors in development are constantly engaged in creating order and unity through political “acts of composition” (cf. Latour 1996; Mosse 2004). Rather than considering power as the explanation of the success of CSR teams in composing a network of forces, corporate power can therefore be considered an effect of such a composition (cf. Rose & Miller 1992: 183-184). This view of power entails that a powerful institution in particular circumstances is able to successfully enroll and mobilise persons, procedures and resources in the pursuit of its goals. However, such power is stabilised in lasting, heterogeneous networks only to the extent that the mechanisms of enrolment succeed. This requires ongoing efforts by certain corporate actors, such as those working for community affairs departments. These corporate CSR efforts also had unacknowledged social effects, including new categorizations of local people, generating new forms of land and resource access rights. The next chapter examines these new forms of inclusion and exclusion in more detail, focusing on the people living near the Mandena mining and conservation zone.

Chapter 8: *The Capacity to Participate* - Inclusion and exclusion through commodification and dispossession

Introduction

This chapter discusses the social effects of development and conservation programmes implemented in the context of corporate resource extraction and nature conservation. I argue that new spatialities generated by the commodification of nature as “biodiversity offset”, entailed the dispossession of marginal, landless migrants who failed to qualify as local “community” members entitled to new, mining-related economic and natural resources. I account for the new forms of citizenship, land and resource access rights that were generated by this new nexus of natural resource extraction and conservation near the mining site.

The chapter shows how existing elites of landowners and lineage heads benefited from the new resource access regimes due to their ability to participate in the new, community-based management structures based on local associations. Concurrently, marginal groups of landless migrants who depended more on local natural resources experienced new forms of exclusion as their livelihoods were criminalised and they were unable to participate in the new resource management structures and income generating projects.

The chapter first assesses how new forms of public entitlements were tied to the capacity to perform as appropriate “community” members. I here illustrate the gap between official CSR ideologies of improving “stakeholder” lives through socio-environmental development programmes and the micro-political realities of both identifying and qualifying to become such rights-bearing individuals. The chapter also shows how the channeling of resources from corporate land capture through CSR programmes obscured essential power relations and their mechanisms of marginalization, including by linking public rights to the acceptance and active participation in CSR programmes based on corporate resource extraction.

In the first section of this chapter, I analyse the experiences of those who were able to participate, negotiate and benefit from the new income generating activities and the participatory natural resource management scheme. I analyse the reflections of Vincent, *lonaky* (lineage head) of Agnalambendra hamlet, and Purfait, *lonaky* of Mangaiky hamlet, both living near the new mining and conservation zones. They both qualified for the category of “traditional authority” to be consulted by the mining company, with this role being invested with new authority by the CSR programmes, since the corporation needed recognized community interlocutors. I assess how Purfait and his family became the favoured participants in corporate community programmes due to their capacity to participate in multiple associations, interact with outsiders, draw on kinship and land resources, and strategically recast their subjectivities as risk-taking micro-entrepreneurs open to engaging in new income-generating ventures.

In the second section, I discuss the experiences of those less able to participate and benefit from the new resource access regimes. I present the perspectives of Rakoto and Rasoa, marginalized and landless migrants excluded from the new corporate development schemes. Instead of experiencing the socio-economic development promised in corporate CSR publications, these people experienced new forms of dispossession from nearby land and nature on which they had depended for their livelihoods and for potential social ascendancy as land-owners. However, with the new mining and conservation nexus, complex local spatialities had been turned into static, commodified “biodiversity” sites which were guarded and off-limits to local people, with new conservation and mining zones making the livelihood strategies of landless migrants, the most marginalized local group, both illegal and increasingly difficult.

The capacity to become a corporate stakeholder

This section discusses local experiences of the corporate encounter. In order to illustrate the entrenched forms of socio-economic differentiation among local people living near the new mining and conservation zone, I first account for the perspectives of people who as local land owners and longtime settlers were relatively better off economically than the most marginalized people in the area.

During my fieldwork period, Lôlô, my field assistant and I, stayed several months with two families in Ampasi-Nahampoa (abbreviated as Ampasy), one of two rural municipalities near the mining and conservation zones. As Lôlô's maternal family was living in one of the municipality's hamlets, that of Agnalambendra, we were invited to stay there. Based on initial visits through my contacts with local development agencies, we were also introduced to a family in Mangaiky hamlet whose members similarly to Guy and his family in the Andrakaraka fisher hamlet immediately invited us to stay with them.

As we have seen in chapter 3, issues of land and natural resource access represent important elements in the daily life, livelihoods strategies and patterns of social differentiation among rural people living near the mining site. In this context, the importance of an entrenched and unspoken social hierarchy, as described in Somda (2009), is confirmed in a 2008 impact assessment of the Mandena mining project. The report identified as a primary obstacle to local development the low consideration of the opinions and rights of "certain categories of the population" (Hai-Tsinjo Consulting et al. 2008). The poorest households are shown to be landless people dependent on forest resources for their daily survival (ibid.).

As we have seen previously, local land use and dependency on forest products differed according to existing access to cultivable land. Importantly, people who most depended on forest resources were among the poorest of the local population. These people were often migrants who arrived over the last two decades due to poverty and hunger in their regions of origin. They were less able to qualify as participating members of the 'local community' invited to be involved in the corporation's socio-environmental mitigation programs.

The reasons for this were twofold. Firstly, poorer migrants had less time available to participate in community programs as most days were spent gathering forest products or toiling others' land. Secondly, they lacked local social networks and prestige, which were linked to traditional land ownership or permanent tombs in the municipality. A major and ongoing problem was that of determining land rights of recently installed occupants. For instance, the mining corporation's environmental team experienced local land access disputes when establishing the administrative body of the new mining and conservation zone (QMM 2008a). Some occupants, who represented a combination of recently arrived migrants and extra-local land users based in Fort Dauphin town, were considered as illegitimate both by existing, 'traditional' users and by the administrative body. The corporation's environmental program thereby inadvertently participated in formalizing land and resource access rights to some groups of resource users to the exclusion of others. This further fueled local conflict over land and resources. A brief analysis of the socio-economic situation near the mining and conservation zone serves to illustrate this point.

The Mandena mining zone, the first of three intended locations for ilmenite extraction, is situated within the two rural municipalities of Ampasy Nahampoa and Mandromodromotsy (all place names are in the local dialect. See map in Annex 2). This section focuses on the inhabitants of Ampasy Nahampoa municipality living on the periphery of the Mandena mining site (see map in Annex 2). Near the Mandena mining zone, a 2008 social impact baseline study done in the context of the mining project identified chronic food insecurity, lack of arable land to improve food production, and dependency on local forest resources as key concerns for the 80% of local households which were considered to be very poor (Hai-Tsinjo Consulting et al. 2008). The municipality's average plot of arable land is a modest 1.5 hectares per family, of which cassava was the most common crop, followed by *horaky* (irrigated field) rice (Province autonome de Toliary 2003). In the less productive season (October–March), the staple food is cassava and rice becomes a purchased luxury commodity. There is constant risk of starvation in this region and occasionally, people are forced to eat *via* (*Tiphonodorum lendleanum*, a water-based plant with semi-

edible seeds and roots) and *ovy ala* (wild yam, *Dioscorea alata*). Less than 5% of inhabitants have certified land ownerships and less than half the population own a single cow, considered a buffer of household savings (Primature & SIRSA 2006).

As previously discussed, the lack of legally recognized rights to land and natural resources on which local people depend is a fundamental social problem generating insecurity, poverty and food shortages. In addition to the Mandena forest reserve converted to a mining and conservation zone, much of the land consists of eucalyptus forest plantations owned by the descendants of colonial landlords, private tourist reserves, and Catholic church land, rendering it unavailable to local farmers (oral communications with local residents). The map provided in Annex 2 to this thesis illustrates the problem of available land and colonial era titling.

The municipality's population originates from many different parts of Madagascar, resulting in unequal land access and resource use rights. Most of the locally acknowledged land owners who were interviewed for this thesis considered themselves *Tanosy* ('of Anosy') – people originating from the 18th century royal capital of Fanjahira in Ifarantsa municipality to the west of the mining zone (cf. Rakotoarisoa 1998). Rural Tanosy men's ideal livelihoods and the basis for his social status involved owning rice fields for practicing wet rice cultivation and raising cattle. Rural Tanosy women typically generated independent income by gathering reeds and other weaving materials in the Mandena forest marshlands in order to make handicrafts such as mats, containers, baskets and hats. Household monetary income was generally not pooled, and land and cattle belonged to the men, making women an economically vulnerable group regardless of social status.

Most local migrants considered themselves as *Tavaratsy* (from the northern part of the Anosy Region) or *Tesaka* (people originating from the Vangaindrano area to the north of Anosy). They reported that they had migrated from areas affected by hunger and economic uncertainty and settled near Fort Dauphin town in order to improve their economic prospects. Another important social group accessing natural resources in the municipality are Tandroy, people from the Androy Region to the southwest of Anosy.

Older Tandroy settlers reported how their parents had fled from the *kere* (hunger) in the 1930s (see Middleton 1999) and found employment with French sawmilling and sisal industries established in and near Fort Dauphin town.

There was a division in land and resource use between long-established residents and more recently arrived migrants, with important consequences for divergent local experiences of the mining and conservation site. People considering themselves to be ‘true’ Tanosy reported that they did not access the forest to harvest wood for commercial gain such as for timber or making charcoal. Such activities were considered to be associated with low social status: an indication that one did not own rice fields nor live near one’s ancestral tombs. These are key elements of identity in most parts of Madagascar (cf. Bloch 1971). Land ownership and ancestral tombs also convey social status in a hierarchical society where unclear familial origins and a lack of land ownership may raise suspicion as to criminal intentions, slave origins, witchcraft or bad luck (cf. Evers 2002).

In contrast to the Tanosy, the Tavaratsy and Tesaka migrants living near the mining zone generally had little access to cultivable land, as this land already had owners or was set aside in colonial era origin tourist reserves and timber reserves (see map of local land use in Annex 2). Instead, men and women frequently worked as *dabok’andro* [salaried day workers or sometimes sharecroppers] on the landowners’ rice and manioc-fields to the west of the mining zone. Migrant men who had settled near the littoral forest of Mandena generally relied on gathering and selling forest products for timber construction and charcoal making. These products had become increasingly profitable due to the growing construction market in the booming mining town of Fort Dauphin. Migrant women such as Ravao relied on picking forest products such as reeds in the Mandena forest zone for making woven handicrafts, as well as gathering firewood, fruit and other products they could sell along the roadside.

As demonstrated here, the people most dependent on forest resources were thereby among the municipality’s poorest. These people were often migrants who have arrived over the last two decades and thereby less able to qualify as members of the ‘local

community' entitled to participate in the corporation's socio-environmental impact mitigation programs.

The Mandena dina: intentions and realities of community resource management

The socio-environmental programs near the mining zone favored landowning residents over forest-dependent migrants. This resulted in the corporation's intentions of mitigating negative mining impacts through participative nature conservation and poverty reduction programmes less effective than they could have been had their scope been more inclusive. Furthermore, local conflicts over land and resource access increased as the corporation's political and economic power was deployed in favour of one group.

The GELOSE (*GEstion LOcale SEcurisée*) legislation passed in 1996 (law 96-025) facilitated the transfer of natural resource management from national government to local communities. This was achieved through contracts between rural communities, the central government and local *communes* [municipalities], giving 'exclusive rights' – although not ownership – to resources to the community that signed the contract (Bertrand & Ratsimbarison 2004: 85-86; Kull 2002; Kull 2004; Pollini & Lassoie 2011). Such contracts also included drawing up *dina*, 'local common law regulations' (Bertrand and Ratsimbarison 2004) regulating access to, and use of, the natural resources.

Such a *dina* has been used by QMM to justify corporate land access. In various publications, QMM states that local acceptance of the mining project had been ensured through a 'traditional legal agreement', and that as *dina* 'are anchored in custom and tradition, they render legal agreements culturally acceptable' (QMM Accessed 01.07.2007; QMM Accessed 03.05.2012). The Mandena *dina* follows this legal basis and specifies the boundaries of the mining and conservation zone, as well as user fee regulations for those parts of the area still accessible to local people

It is worthwhile to briefly recall the recent reinvention of *dina* in Madagascar. These legal agreements have taken on particular significance in Madagascar since the 1990s, when they were first used by conservation and development actors as an expression of local culture. This was in response to demand for more participatory approaches in conservation programs, which had previously been managed in a top-down manner that had proven ineffective and inequitable (Kull 2002: 64). However, as Pollini and Lassoie (2011) and Corson (2011) contend, the GELOSE approach, which sets the legal framework for such *dina*, has largely failed to fulfil its assurances of genuine local participation and of transferring land ownership rights. Rather, it has entailed a top-down creation of new local institutions imposing an external conservation agenda. This has resulted in appropriation of resources by local elites who tend to dominate in the new institutions. Primarily, these are the literate elite familiar with the language of conservation, who understand and match the objectives and rationale of conservation agencies. Similarly, Bérard (2009) demonstrates how the deployment of *dina* as an expression of local culture has been more discourse than a representation of reality, and has often failed to gain legitimacy among local farmers.

The Mandena conservation zone *dina* was implemented via a management committee, or *Comité de Gestion* (COGE). The COGE was intended to be the representative body of the local community residing within the two rural municipalities that hosted the mining project, in partnership with local government and the mining corporation (Rarivoson 2007). The *dina* stipulated that the local community consists of residents in the two municipalities

However, many migrant users were not considered to be part of the local community listed in the COGE. Most were based outside the two mining host municipalities, where, as we have seen and as shown in the map in Annex 2, little land was available for settlement. Some migrants were also living in poorer areas of Fort Dauphin town itself, walking the few kilometres to the Mandena forest on a daily basis.

As the mining corporation's environmental team admitted in their description of the rationale behind it, the process of establishing the *dina* involves distinguishing 'the groups with pre-existing rights from those who seek access to rights, and to know what these rights are' (Rarivoson 2007). Those considered as having pre-existing rights, who therefore also qualified as members of the COGE management team, were represented by members of 'the user groups, formal village associations (e.g., associations of women, loggers, producers of different forest products and crafts), the municipal development boards in charge of preparing the development plans, and the representatives of the elders and the lineage chiefs' (Rarivoson 2007). This process reflects Pollini's (2007) critique of the community-led resource management law of Madagascar, where 'community' is reduced to 'association' and traditional hierarchies, usually local male landowners, thereby excluding the most marginalised resource users.

The establishment of the Mandena *dina* thereby involved a formalization of user rights to access natural resources based on residency in one of the two host municipalities. These rights were also based on membership in existing 'community associations' and a high standing position within the existing social hierarchy, which depended on the authority of local *lonkay* (lineage heads) and *toteny* (community spokespeople). The two latter groups usually consist of older men from dominant, land-owning lineages (Rakotoarisoa 1998; Rarivoson 2007; Somda 2009). As such, the corporate socio-environmental team's criteria for identifying rightful resource users favored existing landowners and elites who were less dependent on forest resources than other users.

The COGE (management committee) was the forum for establishing resource use rules and implementing these rules through community-run forest brigades. The committee was financed by the mining corporation and the two participating municipalities as well as through resource user fees. Ultimately, this management system was to become financially self-sufficient, based on revenue-generation from forest user fees and via projects such as eco-tourism, a plant nursery, research, honey production, and vegetable gardening (Rarivoson 2007). In order to achieve this, COGE members received training on 'upgrading' the conservation site in order to

‘maximize revenues’ (Rarivoson 2007: 312-313). A key aspect of the corporation’s socio-environmental programs included establishing alternative income generation channels based on local entrepreneurship via the ‘Mandena Integrated Development Programme’ (“PDI” - presented and discussed in the previous chapter). This program was intended to compensate for loss of land and natural resource access. However, as previously outlined, those most negatively impacted by restricted access to natural resources, the migrant population, were less able to participate in these programs as they were not members of the recognised, official ‘community’. Public rights to compensation were thereby restricted to people who were able to perform as worthy corporate stakeholders and thereby behaving as worthy local population as defined by corporate socio-environmental experts, with people who deviated from this new norm branded as illegal resource users (cf. Foucault 2009 [2004]).

In theory, the Mandena *dina* envisaged that the mining corporation would transfer land access rights and establish compensation programs and management responsibilities for parts of its land concession to local communities. In reality, however, the transfer of access rights was limited. The relevant law requires that GELOSE contracts and resource management *dina* conform with existing legislation and rules (Kull 2002) including the Malagasy state’s legal ownership of all land not individually titled (Sandron 2008). This ownership in practice ensures the state’s ongoing ability to grant exclusive land and resource rights to international extractive industries in spite of the GELOSE legislation’s intention of securing local traditional land ownership and resource use.

As such, in spite of the corporation’s stated community co-management policy via the Mandena *dina*, the mining corporation ultimately still retained official rights to the 2,100 hectares of land in the Mandena mining and conservation zone as set out in the 2001 mining permit. Indeed, in most GELOSE-based resource management transfers, the potential ‘relative land tenure securization’ in favour of local people is not implemented because it is costly, can reveal difficult land tenure conflicts and is not perceived as important by the implementers of management transfers, such as local state officials and conservation NGO personnel (Pollini & Lassoie 2011: 9).

This was similarly the case for the Mandena mining zone, where land disputes between local land and resource users and the mining corporation were ongoing despite the *dina*. Such conflicts, which included roadblocks and local demonstrations, led to the corporation having to acknowledge the usufruct rights of nonresident land users, thereby questioning the legal basis for the community management structure. In an explanatory note issued on 9 February 2009 after ongoing roadblocks by local land and resource users had ended due to interventions by the army, the corporation stated that the mining zone's land when not being mined would be available for use by migrant users (QMM 2009b). These people would also be included in the Mandena *dina*.

This represents a key change in corporate strategies of rule over local land and people and again shows how such strategies can be thwarted in the encounter with local resistance. However, according to regional government officials, these new resource users had no right to build houses or register as theirs the land they were cultivating. Therefore, the Mandena *dina* shifted resource management responsibilities onto local people without a corresponding shift in land ownership rights. This new land and resource governance model thereby represented a narrowing of public rights to those who qualified as corporate stakeholders, which the thesis analyses as part of inclusive neoliberalism. Local stakeholder experiences of the new forms of socio-environmental exclusion generated by this corporate government of people and places are discussed next.

Land and resource privatization: inclusions and exclusions

As we have seen, participatory conservation schemes engender a formalization of who is included in the “community” and who deserves to represent it. This can entrench certain people's dominant social position by solidifying their primordial rights to previously relatively open access land and natural resources. Typically, locally dominant actors in rural Madagascar are better placed to benefit as environmental

program participants than already marginalized groups (Kull 2002, Pollini 2007, Corson 2011).

The following are brief descriptions of the people who came to represent the local community through membership of the Mandena conservation zone's COGE (forest management committee). Paoly, a prominent member of the COGE, was a young and dynamic man. He was literate and at ease speaking with the many *vazaha* (foreigners) who had arrived in connection with the mining, conservation and development projects near the Mandena zone. I was told by other COGE members that Paoly had been selected to have an important position because he was of the dominant lineage of the hamlet considered traditional owners of Mandena forest. As such, efforts had been made to respect local traditions when setting up the conservation zone.

Paoly's father was a *lonaky* (head of lineage) who allegedly owned 50 cattle, making him a considerably wealthy man within the region. He lived however in a simple, small traditional leaf-roofed house similar to other huts in the area. Flaunting wealth and ownership is poorly regarded and would engender jealousy and presumed ill fortune. As a result, an apparently homogenous hamlet of huts with a population subjected to the same conditions of poverty may in fact contain major disparities in wealth between households.

Paoly was an ideal project participant. He was educated and owned cattle and rice fields which were tended by salaried day-workers. Paoly therefore had enough free time to participate in the many COGE-related meetings. He explained that the new resource management system was a positive initiative for the local community. According to him, there were problems with the illicit cutting of timber to be sold in Fort Dauphin town, with people not paying the user fees in the limited access zone, and with charcoal making. Landowners such as Paoly did not have to do such work, which in addition to being physically hard was considered socially degrading work of people with no cultivable land. As recognised "community representatives" with the mining corporation's logo on their COGE uniforms, people such as Paoly were instead able to consolidate their position as rightful land and resource owners.

As part of my field research in the region, I accompanied some of the forest patrols near the Mandena forest's user zone. This was the area outside of the Mandena conservation zone, but within the mining zone, where according to the *dina*, people were able to harvest certain forest products. User fees were gathered almost exclusively from migrants who accessed the forest daily either from nearby hamlets or from the poorer quarters of Fort Dauphin town.

Two COGE forest brigade members explained that they were hired because they were considered *tena tompontany* (real land-owners) of nearby Mangaiky village. One woman of the forest brigade declared, "now that the *vazaha* [foreigners] are here, we must follow their rules, we are forced to, as they are *vazaha*. We therefore set up a *fikamba* [community association] to fight against charcoal makers, especially people from Maroamalo [nearby hamlet of recently arrived migrants], who came to burn the trees here. There were at least 42 people who came here to make charcoal and burn the forest. They even burnt the trees by the tombs, and they also chopped down trees for selling timber. In contrast, people's livelihoods here, the real landowners, is cultivating rice and picking *mahampy* [reeds for weaving]. However, in the end *kitefer* [the mining company] listened to our complaints, and helped us get rid of them, by asking for help from the gendarmes."

The above statements demonstrate the struggles that were developing over increasingly scarce land and natural resources between existing landowners and migrants seeking immediate financial rewards. Such tensions made local conflict resolution based on *dina* difficult to achieve, with landowners instead getting assistance from government law enforcement, via the mining corporation. Issues of insufficient land and resource access could not be addressed through a community-based mechanism such as the Mandena *dina*, which was based on a presumed unitary group of self-organizing local users with unchanging land and resource needs. The *dina* thereby failed to successfully address the tensions generated by expanding local land and resource needs by impoverished migrants, but was still used by the corporation as a success story of its CSR programmes.

Forest brigade members' statements also illustrate how to local people, the mining corporation represented powerful outsiders, conceived of simply as *vazaha*, and was frequently conflated with the state, similarly to people near a conservation project in north eastern Madagascar (Keller 2009b). This perception appeared to be confirmed by the provision of local police in support of the corporation's conservation program. As a result, while in theory the *dina* was an instrument of community-based management, in practice it was not so. Conservation rules were implemented with the support of state law enforcement rather than community sanctions. Indeed, many forest brigade members reported that the *dina* itself was unenforceable due to the social tension such official community sanctioning would create. This included fear of retaliation through witchcraft and poisoning targeted at forest brigade members if they publicly accused individuals of contravening the *dina*.

Environmental issues were not at the forefront of Mandena conservation program at a local level. Rather, it was conceived in terms of relationships between local people and outside powers, whether foreign or the Malagasy state, similarly to the situation encountered by Keller (2009b) near the Masoala National Park. Groups strategically sought to align themselves with these powers in order to gain benefits and power, including by becoming members of the COGE and forest brigade.

Local social categories are, however, not fixed, and some migrants did manage to become landowners. Angeline was one of the COGE's female members of Tandroy origin who had grown up next to the Mandena mining and conservation zone. Her family had migrated there in the 1940s due to the *kere* (hunger) in the Androy. The family established themselves by the main road on unclaimed land and planted lychee trees as a cash crop which also served to indicate their land ownership. Angeline set up a women's association for needlework and other income-generating projects in the 1980s, supported by the local order of nuns. As an association president, she qualified for COGE membership, as the mining corporation had made use of existing community associations in order to facilitate the establishment of the Mandena *dina* (as discussed in Rarivoson 2007: 311). Individuals like Angeline, who managed to

establish themselves as local residents with prestige and networks, were thus empowered by the *dina*.

In spite of immigrant origins, Angeline's family ascended to becoming *tompon-tany* and recognised community members by claiming land. This reflects the conflict between paper-based, legal notions of stable communities of 'users' with fixed rights and the fluid realities of coping with rural poverty through migration in Madagascar (Evers 2002; Ferguson 1999; Keller 2008), as elsewhere in Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff 1987; Kopytoff 1987). Given its history, these dynamics were particularly pertinent to the Anosy region, where ongoing land privatization was causing further social differentiation between existing landowners and the many recently arrived migrants. As the latter were not able to access new land to clear for farming, they instead depended on accessing forest and other natural resources for their survival, an already marginal activity which had become illegal under corporate rule.

The capacity to represent the community

This section explores the experiences of locally dominant groups when encountering the corporation and its CSR programmes. Local landowners did make use of the forest and therefore had to abide by *dina* regulations, including paying user fees. The forest which had become a conservation zone was deemed particularly valuable for keeping cattle hidden from thieves, a use that was no longer permitted due to the new conservation rules. Landowners further made use of the forest for private housing materials, reeds and medicinal plants. When seeking forest access, these groups of people, usually interrelated, were able to negotiate the *dina* to their advantage, although many lamented the loss of forest access for grazing cattle.

In Agnalambendra hamlet, where we visited my research assistant Lôlô's family, we were by way of introduction to the hamlet's origins told that they were considered *tena tompon-tany* ("real" landowners) in Ampasi-Nahampoa municipalit. As we have seen, the village of Ampasi-Nahampoa itself, where the Mayor's office was, and after

which the municipality was named, consisted mostly of immigrants. We were told by those with more prestigious origins that these immigrants had originally arrived to be treated at the Catholic leprosy centre that used to be there, a stigmatizing association of being “*maloto*” (dirty, with connotations of slavery origins) (c.f. Graeber 1995; Somda 2009).

Our host family in Agnalambendra, who were Lôlô’s maternal family, indicated to prove their mark of being “*tompon-tany*” that their *ranon-draza* (ancestral water) was a river just before the private tourist park of Nahampoa, to the south of the family hamlet. This was the water used for burial and circumcision ceremonies. Additionally, the family told us that their newborns’ umbilical cords were left in their ancestral ricefields further west, another sign of being “firstcomers” and landowners, as opposed to being migrants and possible descendants of slaves (cf. Middleton 1995; Thomas 1997).

Unlike other parts of Madagascar (Bloch 1980; Evers 2002), tombs were not referred to as marks of landownership – people considering themselves as Tanosy buried their dead in *ala fady* (sacred forest groves), far away from places of the living, in stark opposition to the visibility of tombs among e.g. Merina, Betsileo and Tandory. Instead, the Tanosy erect *tsangam-bato* (standing stones), near the main roads, in memory of the dead, often with their names carved on the stones (c.f. Somda 2009). In contrast, the *mpiavy* (immigrants), who had mostly arrived from the north of the region where flooding and locusts had led to several years of failed harvests, had established temporary tombs, from where the bones would be taken back to the ancestral lands after a couple of years, once they were dry.

Vincent, one of Lôlô’s *renilahy* [maternal uncles], was the oldest of four brothers, and thereby the *lonaky* [lineage head] of Agnalambendra (“at the forest of Vendra reeds”) hamlet. All four brothers had inherited parts of the surrounding land. Vincent’s wife Madeleine was from Betaligny village, the *tompontany* (landowners/original settlers) further south, and the marriage was “*an-troky*” [cross-cousin marriage]. We were told that this was the Tanosy ideal because it kept the ancestral *horaky* [wet ricefields] in

the family. Lôlô and I often walked by Vincent's family compound as we cut across from the main road going north from Fort Dauphin to reach the family house where we were staying. We sometimes joined Vincent's wife Madeleine on her terrace, helping her to prepare food and converse with her. The couple had seven children, and their oldest son, who was 26 years old, had built his own house in the family compound which he shared with his wife as he helped his father tend their land, parts of which he would one day inherit. In the past, a man of Vincent's status would have had second wife (*valy masay*), as he had enough means to support them both, I was told, but due to the influence of Christianity such customs were longer accepted. Gender rules and other customs were ever changing in the encounter with new ideologies, the newest one being the community based CSR projects.

Local perceptions of the new CSR regimes revealed that local people had not been taken in by the official discourses of corporate land access being "socially acceptable" due the usage of "traditional" legal agreements such as the *dina*. When asking Vincent about his perception of the *dina*, he responded that, "The COGE [Comite de Gestion, or corporate-led Management Committee] has created the Mandena *dina*, not us *fokonolo* [local people]. They had a *fagnentana* [awareness raising event] for us in the surrounding villages near Mandena forest. I took the opportunity to ask someone in QMM why they think animals, such as fish, are more important than people: '*magnino ain'olo atakalonareo fia?*' [why are you exchanging people for fish?]. Because for instance the *via* plants that grow in the rivers in the forest, we are no longer allowed to collect them [for food], but if we do not, then the fish can eat them instead. But the QMM worker just laughed at me". Vincent shrugs. From his perspective, the community "stakeholder consultations" had not allowed for any fundamental questioning of the rationality of the new resource management rules.

Vincent continued to explain his perspectives on corporate land and resource capture: "in the past, there were many *harena* [natural riches] in Mandena: there were fish, *voro* [water plants] and trees. Now, due to the *harena ankibon'tana* [natural riches in the earth's belly; i.e. mineral sands], there is the *ala tahiry* [sacred forest; word used by NGOs to denote conservation area]. And it is not clear if it's the state or QMM

which is responsible for the Mandena forest *dina*. Many people are mixed into it. In the past, the *Foret* [Ministry of Water and Forest] set the rules, and was responsible, and as long as we followed the rules, we could take what we needed with the *permis de coupe* [timber permit]. Now, the *ala tahiry* [conservation forest] has become *ala via halan'olo* [the forest for the via plants that detests people]. Also, cattle are not counted into the *dina*. This is a problem, as we used to be able to let the cattle graze in the forest, but now we are not allowed to, yet it is not clear from the *Dina*, it is just what the QMM security guards tell us”.

As can be seen from Vincent’s analysis, the new land and resource management regimes represented new forms of resource access rights. To local users, the new regime was not clear in terms of responsibilities and rights, and the days when the government managed resources were referred to as a clearer model. The conservation rationale was perceived as one of exclusion of local people from nature despite the “community” based model presented in the corporation’s CSR policies.

Vincent, however, was not opposed to the idea of natural resource conservation, illustrating how local conservation rationalities existed alongside the dominant ones (cf. Walsh 2005). Vincent’s conservation perspective was based on people’s wellbeing and future resource needs. He told us, “it is good to conserve the forest, because if there is no forest, there will be no water, the day will be dry, and there will be famine here. But people only think of their needs from day to day, because they are poor. However, with the Mandena forest *dina*, the people in the *COGE* (Mandena zone community management committee) are the only ones who benefit directly, not the *fokonolo* (local people). It is, as the saying goes, *tsy atao tantely afa-drakotsy* (“do not keep beehives without the cover on top”, i.e. if you remove the cover, everybody will benefit in the short term, but the bees will disappear). As the population of Fort Dauphin has augmented so much, all the trees are going to serve their needs, and there is not enough land available now”. Vincent here expresses fundamental issues linked to the mining corporation’s presence of lack of land and natural resources for local users. However, the *dina* model, based on fixed local communities of

unchanging numbers of local users, with corporate land access not a negotiable issue, was not set up to address these issues.

However, to Vincent, *lonaky* and landowner, the *dina* and COGE structures were also advantageous. “In the COGE”, Vincent continued, with a proverb, *tsy misy sindry hazo lena* [there is nobody carrying the damp wood, i.e, nobody is weighing heavily on someone else; nobody profits from people with less power]. Because *mifampitsinjo avao zahay* (we are watching each other), so that nobody can take advantage of anyone else. This is because we all depend on the forest for our livelihoods, both us living from the forest produce, and people earning money in the COGE, such as the forest brigade”. For the landowners with the capacity to negotiate, such as Vincent, a male lineage head, the *dina* was an imposition, but it was carried out by his peers, and often people he had kinship ties to. From his perspective, the resource access could be considered as jointly managed, as of CSR discourses.

Vincent continues to explain: “with the Dina, you cannot cut the *hazo-ala* [original forest] in the Mandena zone. This was the same in the past, it was the Ministry’s decision, they managed everything, and Mandena was a *foret classé*. Two people from *Eaux et Forêts* [Environment Ministry], Raluis and Renambo, who lived in the stone house built by the French in Mandena forest, monitored us, and it was forbidden to simply cut trees. We needed a permit from the Ministry to get our housing produce, and it had a limited validity in time and said how many trees we could cut. If we cut without a permit, the Ministry’s people in Mandena would intervene. Now, with the *COGE*, you pay 200 *ariary* per day, and are only allowed to cut *kininy mavo* [big eucalyptus trees] in the user zone, not the *hazo ala* (original forest), though you can cut the *fontsy* [ravinala palm]. During the time of the *vazaha*, the *kininy mavo* was planted as to show limits of their land concessions”. These statements show how in order to understand current land and resource struggles, colonial day regulations of land and resource capture were also layered into local landscapes and memories. Local interpretations of present day corporate land management regimes were thereby framed by these historical experiences, as was the local landscape, in spite of the

corporation's representation of people and nature as static local categories manageable through expert-based knowledge creation.

Vincent's tale shows how the corporate environmental management regime, based on user fees, was not a new concept to the area. However, the community monitoring model was a novel aspect to such externally led resource access schemes. This generated new forms of inclusion and exclusion from resource access, as Vincent's next words help illustrate: "the COGE's management now, it is nothing compared to the Ministry's management! It is *tena meva* (much lighter), at least that is what I think. In the past, if you were caught by the Ministry, they took your wood that you had cut, and forced you to reforestation, if not they took you to the police and to jail. Now, with the *COGE*, we can *mifagnanatsy* (arrange things between ourselves), because we are all from the same area". For established local landowners, the *Dina* was something which could be negotiated to one's advantage, based on kinship and status links with the people carrying out the new forest monitoring. However, for those without such status, the new regime entailed new forms of exclusion, as this chapter's last section demonstrates.

Reinventing community as corporate strategy

This section demonstrates how corporate reinvention of traditional authority structures strengthened local patriarchal hierarchy and reinforced the status of dominant lineages and landowners. In addition to the *dina*, a particular category of male elders among Tanosy communities, that of "*toteny*", came to be reinvented by corporate in-house anthropologists. This invested new power in such roles, which had previously had little political authority, as they had primarily been ritual advisory roles. As people were categorized as "traditional authorities", their new roles as community representatives and relays of information by the mining corporation's CSR team gave these people new forms of social status.

During one of Lôlô's and my visit to her *renilahy*'s (maternal uncle) house, Vincent told us that, in addition to being *lonaky* (lineage head) of Agnalambendra hamlet, he had also been nominated as *toteny communal* (traditional spokesperson of Ampasy municipality) by the mining company. Vincent explained that the local anthropologist in the QMM social team had nominated him, which fits in with Pierrot's mentioning how he had sought to mobilize *toteny* in order to pass on corporate messages, and how it had been difficult to make it an effective community interface.

This failure in corporate attempt at community mobilization through traditional authorities can be further understood when considering Vincent's version of these initiatives. According to the *lonaky*, the process of *toteny* nomination had revealed that their new role was based on corporate needs for community interlocutors. "They simply nominated those people based on the *fazotoan'olo* [people's willingness/eagerness to act; i.e. willing to participate] during a QMM community meeting at the *tranompokonolona* [community house] by the Maire's office", Vincent recalled.

Vincent explained that the *toteny* used to be someone who would speak during sacrificial ceremonies for the family, for instance making a *kabary* [official speech] during a sacrificial ceremony for the ancestors by the *hazomanga* [sacred wooden pole for ancestral blessings]. The *toteny* had no special role or benefits apart from during these ceremonies. But now, QMM had nominated more *toteny*, as Vincent explained: "now, there are the *toteny QMM*, people which the municipality helped select, rather than being nominated by the community.³⁴ I was surprised to receive the letter of invitation, and wondered, 'oh, so I am *toteny* now?'" Vincent's version of his nomination reveals the corporate efforts at identifying and mobilizing credible local

³⁴ Similarly, the anthropologist working at the Ambatovy nickel mining project in the north of Madagascar told me, the *tangalamena* (ceremonial leader for people near Andasibe, where this mining project takes place), used to simply be an older man called to do the *joro* (blessing) and indicate the physical placement of people, the timing for opening the bottle of rum, etc., with no political power. However, as the mining company arrived, the company's social department and their associated NGOs all sought out the *tangalamena* as a "traditional authority" to engage with. It had thereby become a position with real political power, speaking for the "community", defining stakeholders and thereby channeling resources.

community interlocutors based on pre-conceived categories of local “traditional” leaders which did not fit with local realities.

Vincent continued: “however, as the company never paid us anything, not even *tambin-bola* [expenses for time/travel], I gave up the job – it was like being a “*toteny vary masaky*” [*toteny* of the cooked rice].³⁵ QMM used us to help resolve their problems, and pass on all their messages to the population here, such as how they are bringing schools and hospitals, so people would think they are not bad. Afterwards, they would bring us to a hotel or restaurant to eat, and then it was over. So the only salary was the cooked rice, which was not worth the trouble of what they asked us to do for them, all the meetings and passing on their messages! I am busy with many other things to gain my livelihood, and cannot waste my time on something that does not earn me money”. This illustrates how corporate schemes of mobilizing local spokespeople were reinventing local traditions and thereby entrenching existing hierarchies, but also failed to mobilize locally influential people they were aiming for due to the corporation’s need for local participants to be considered as willing stakeholders rather than paid corporate agents.

We are project polygamists: the capacity to aspire and participate

People near the mining site also experienced new forms of inclusion into new market-based resource flows even as they were excluded from their local forest resources. Purfait, Alphonsine and their five children lived in a family compound in Mangaiky village on the western edge of the Mandena mining zone. Both in their 40s, they lived next to Purfait’s older brother Marvin, who was the *lonaky* (lineage head) and village primary school teacher. I first met them when visiting their vegetable gardening project. This project was part of the “Revenue-Generating Activities” (AGR) funded by QMM to improve local livelihoods which would later turn into the “PDI”.

³⁵ The local conservation agents interviewed by Sodikoff (2009) similarly used the similar expression *karama vary masaka*; “cooked rice salary” to complain about their low salaries for carrying out onerous and unpopular monitoring and sanctioning work for international conservation bodies.

Although supposedly the project was intended for women's groups, it turned out that many of the Mangaiky association members, eager to access the new resources, were men. Purfait had given some of his land for the project, and he and his wife were both involved, together with the *Chef Fokontany* [local government unit head] and his wife. In fact, not many other people appeared to be actively involved, but the QMM technician assured me that this was one of the most successful of the local "women's associations." This, the technician explained, was because the members showed up for meetings, accepted his advice on vegetable gardening, had given an appropriate plot of "communal" land (in fact, Purfait's family land) and did the appropriate work for creating the vegetable patches, such as watering and weeding, with some promising first harvests of carrots and tomatoes.

One of the better off families, Purfait and Alphonsine had several rice and cassava fields, and even spare fertile land near their house for the new women's association's vegetable gardening. Over the next months I learned weaving using the local *mahampy* reeds from Alphonsine, and observed how Purfait's time was spent going from meeting to meeting, for various associations and initiatives related to local development and nature conservation. The family had a sizeable house, of the biggest of Mangaiky village. They had a TV which, when there was a special occasion, would be hooked up to a generator, and we would occasionally watch films on their DVD-player purchased at a *karana* [indo-pakistani] store in Fort Dauphin. The family appeared to be doing well in spite of loss of the nearby Mandena zone forest resources. Both Purfait and Alphonsine were busy participating in the new CSR related projects, and they were benefiting economically from the projects.

One evening, when I asked about local changes, Purfait told me: "there have been many changes here over the last decade, and I can see the benefits. For example, nobody used to plant *vetiver* [a plant grown to prevent erosion due to its long roots]. In the past, my wife would collect *mahampy* [local reeds] in the marshlands near Mandena forest to weave mats for selling, and I would work my land, both ricefields and manioc fields, and leave my cattle in Mandena forest, where we would let it go

freely, safe from thieves, and only check on them every few days. Now, there are no more *mahampy* reeds to collect, and we have to herd our cattle elsewhere, as the forest is forbidden.”

Clearly, the family was experiencing some disadvantages because of the mining project’s land and resource access. However, they had managed to turn this situation to their advantage. Purfait told me how, “one day a few years ago, when *kitefer* (local translation of “Qit Fer”, the first name of the mining subsidiary) was arriving, *Monsieur Rabemazaka*, the agent from the *Foret* [Ministry of Water and Forests], came by our municipality. In a meeting with the *fokonolona* [local people], he asked us to join a community project for planting *vetiver* [long-rooted grass-like plant] near Lankandava [a dam from where the drinking water of Fort Dauphin town is piped], to prevent erosion and damage of the drinking water supply, which the PIC (World Bank mining-related growth pole project) was funding”. From Purfait’s story we see how participative community projects had increased as mining project-related investments had arrived. In patterns of complex shifts in public and private roles, it was a state agent which mobilized people to participate in government investments related to the mining project’s arrival, showing how neoliberalism does not lead to a unidimensional reduction in state services, but rather new and complex forms of deregulation and reregulation (cf. Castree 2008).

Purfait continued, “At my sister’s house, near Fort Dauphin, I noticed that they had helped plant some *vetiver* near QMM’s new road, and I asked her to bring me some plants. I started growing them in small pots. All my family here was mocking me, as this plant is not edible and not something we Tanosy grow. But I was stubborn and kept at it. A contractor of QMM which was driving by the road saw my *vetiver* plants and asked me to supply them with some. They offered me 10 ariary per pot. My children helped me take care of the plants, as I didn’t have much time. They ended up gaining 500 ariary per day by selling them to the QMM collector. Other people noticed this and got interested – if you make an effort, the *vetiver* can bring you 10.000 ariary (around 5 USD) per day! One person near town, a man who really focused on planting the *vetiver*, has bought 6 bulls for the money he made! He is still

planting it now!” Purfait laughs and shakes his head, and Lôlô and I join in, grasping the absurdity to local farmers of growing an inedible and seemingly useless plant, and even making money off of it.

“As for the vegetable gardening, when we started planting vegetables with FAFIFI (Lutheran church NGO), everybody in the village were mocking us, just like when we started with the vetiver plants. They told us, ‘if you plant *traka* (vegetables), you are a *Betsileo* (person originating from the highlands south of the capital), and if you plant tomatoes, you are a *Tatsimo* (person from the south of the Anosy region)! You are not a true *Tanosy*!” Purfait smiles at the memory. “But I didn’t care what people call me. Because of these projects, I have made a lot of money. The vetiver gave me some cash, and so did the vegetables, which we are selling to one of the biggest hotels in Fort Dauphin when QMM and Sodexo (the mining company’s corporate catering supplier) do not come by to purchase them. We used to only pick *mahampy* reeds and grow rice, just getting by. Now, we have many advantages!”

Purfait next words showed his personal aptitude at seeing externally led opportunities and recasting his aspirations to fit these occasions for resource channeling: “you have to see the advantages that are coming in. I have worked with projects for a long time. First there was the NGO CARE, and FAFIFI [Lutheran church association which had become official QMM project implementing partners], which both came to help us farmers with improved agriculture at the time of [President] Ratsiraka’s second term [i.e. in the early 1990s]. FAFIFI’s first project was here in Mangaiky hamlet, an apiculture project. I have shown you my beehives, have I not?” I nodded. “Well, FAFIFI gave me those beehives. FAFIFI are no longer working here [the NGO now worked with the official “PAPs” by the new harbor, with QMM’s socio-environmental team working directly with people in Mandena], and the community association set up for the project doesn’t really exist anymore. But I still have the beehives, and I make some money from the honey they produce.”

As Purfait’s recollections about the arrival of community based projects continue, his words illustrate donor competition over “deserving” and successful participants such

as himself. The fact that Purfait was a landowner with several heads of cattle made him able to participate in the new resource schemes in the way required by the community model, which in spite of official ideology of poverty reduction favoured the local elite (cf. Pollini & Lassoie 2011): “then the NGO CARE came in, working together with FAFIFI, and now QMM, which works separately. In fact, the CARE and QMM technicians were fighting as they both wanted me to work with them!” Purfait laughs again, slightly embarrassed this time. “QMM [the mining company] asked me to do an apiculture project with them, as they saw that I was “*mazoto*” (motivated/brave and able to work), and so they asked me to stop working with CARE, and instead join their project. But I said no, because I started working with CARE and FAFIFI before QMM came along”. Purfait’s story here made me recall how the French Director of the NGO CARE had complained to me that QMM was “stealing” the NGO’s farmers and making them into *Paysans QMM* – QMM farmers. Clearly, the struggle to mobilize able community participants was the same whether for a mining corporation or a development NGO.

I ask Purfait what the difference is between the projects offered by these different donors, and his answer illustrates how the ideology of “local participation” conceals a local context where only the few, such as Purfait, are able to perform as appropriate community members. He appeared to be involved in most of the local associations: “well, they all do similar projects, and they all follow the same method, requiring us to set up *fikambana* (of the verb “working together”, usually translated as the French “association”). For example, I am part of the following associations”, Purfait pauses and closes his eyes as he starts listing organisations, “Let’s see... I am President of the COBA (“Comité de Base”, local forest management association of the forest outside the COGE-managed Mandena conservation zone), Vice-president of the women’s vegetable gardening association, Representative of the the MAFA (“Masoivohony Fampanandrosoana”/”development embassy”; the person in the village nominated to represent it to development projects), Member of the COGE (Comite de Gestion, the management structure for the *dina* community conservation framework for the Mandena zone), and I am *toteny* for QMM. Well, as for the latter, QMM only calls us, the community spokespeople they nominated as their *toteny* when there is a problem,

and they have made us promises that they have not kept, so we who they invited to act as *toteny* for them are no longer happy with this. For instance, Pierrot [QMM's anthropologist in the community relations team] promised us that we would be invited along when the first earth was broken for the mining, but it did not happen!"

Similarly to Vincent, Purfait had clearly decided that the role of QMM *toteny* did not bring any benefits, illustrating why Pierrot was struggling with making this community interface work. "Then," Purfait continued, just as I thought he had finished his list, "I am a delegate in the *Budget Participatif* committee, set up in the municipality to *magnara-maso* (monitor) how money is spent. For instance, the enterprise that was responsible for the new primary school in our municipality didn't finish his work properly; the roof was set with bad quality materials. So our Maire asked 5 delegates from each *fokontany* (quartier) in our municipality to meet and discuss this, and I was one of the delegates. We have decided not to pay the contractor his final installment until they fix the roof". It turned out that Purfait was also a leading member of eight associations in Mangaiky and the nearby village of Ampasi-Nahampoa. He could not himself remember all the names.

I asked Purfait why there were so many associations in such a small area and he explained: "they [the donors] need these associations because it is difficult to work with the individual people, we are too many and have different ideas, so it helps them to get their projects done. Every time there is a new project, they ask us to set up a new association, although it is for the same purpose. There are several associations which do the same things, such as vegetable gardening, but the different donors will compete with each other – and they don't like that I work for other donors. So for example, the QMM technicians tell us to work with them, as they can give us more money, so they ask us to leave the other projects and join the QMM projects".

In an ironic turn of events, it appeared that the wish to establish local entrepreneurs had led to a free market-like competition between donors, including mining corporation and local NGOs, over local participants. Rather than "empowering" the poorest, this competition led to certain local elites benefiting, based on their ability to

participate. As we shall see in the next section of this chapter, this led to new forms of exclusion of the more marginalised groups in the municipality, such as migrants and single mothers.

Curious to understand how he could be involved in so many projects, I asked Purfait why he participated in so many initiatives which are all based on voluntarism. “I don’t get much direct cash for all these memberships, apart from sometimes some *per diem* compensation for travel. But I get training in agricultural methods, which gives me knowledge/skills (*fahaizo*), and I get sent on trips to meet other farmers. CARE once sent us all the way to Antsirabe, to learn from farmers there. However, it takes a lot of my time. Sometimes, in one month, I am only going to various meetings with all these associations! People have asked me to stand for *chef fokontany* (lowest local government unit), but I don’t want to be elected – I don’t have time, with all the association meetings I attend.”

Purfait’s words illustrate how local elite individuals such as himself engaging in a plethora of “voluntary” mechanisms for market-based income generation represented new forms of resource channeling which led people away from state structures intended to promote local development. Instead, Purfait had understood that real benefits came from being engaged with non-state actors such as QMM, with new resource governance structures functioning in parallel to official governmental structures. Similarly, in the Andrakaraka hamlet, although Guy had been nominated as an acting *Chef Fokontany*, benefits to the area were channeled via the FIMIRA association rather than through local state structures.

However, Purfait and his wife Alphonsine had also experienced negative aspects of the mining and conservation zone in Mandena. Purfait could no longer let his cattle go into the forest, and had to find other areas to graze them. Alphonsine, who used to weave baskets and mats for sale in town as a separate income stream could no longer easily access the reeds, which were mostly within the mining zone. She still picked the reeds north of Mandena forest, where there were still some left, but complained that it took her a whole day to walk there, which prevented her from doing other work.

Therefore, Alphonsine no longer made mats for other than household use, as due to the mining project, the mahampy reeds had gotten too difficult to find and too expensive to buy. However, Alphonsine felt that that this lack of income basis had been made up for by her participation in the new corporate income-generating activities. Further, QMM had been experimenting with new *mahampy* plantations in the conservation zone, and as a member of a women's group recognized by QMM, Alphonsine would soon be able to access this area.

"There are so many projects here lately!" Alphonsine mused as she was teaching Lôlô and I how to weave with the long, flexible mahampy strips. "Now I think we should think about raising geese, and making *foi gras*, because nobody else is doing such things yet in Fort Dauphin. I hear it brings a lot of money! I'm sure Mme Odile at QMM will help us if we propose it!" Alphonsine was clearly on good terms with the manager of QMM's income-generating activities programme. "Now, with the political problems, many projects, have gone, and only QMM remains," Purfait added.

Showing her family's capacity to participate as corporate stakeholders, Alphonsine explained their attitude in the following words: "when someone wants to cooperate with us, we always accept, because we need the income and the input given by the projects, such as fertiliser, pesticides, wheel barrows and other things. The FAFIFI project which started around 10 years ago has ended, but QMM has now taken over. As QMM used the same technicians to run the projects, they already knew about Monsieur Purfait and Madame Alphonsine, that we are always *mazoto* [willing and eager] to work, and so they preferred to work with us! Since QMM was installed and started to develop the mining zone four years ago, there have been so many new projects, and new *fidiram-bola* [income]." Alphonsine smiled and added, perhaps to the benefit of the European researcher asking her questions, "we are happy to work with every project that comes by us. The projects all arrive in the village and ask 'who can work with us?'. And everybody tells them, 'work with Purfait!'" Her husband laughed and adds, jokingly, "*mampirafy avay zahay!*" [we're just (project) polygamists!]"

Purfait and Alphonsine's attitude can be analysed as stemming from their status of landowners with the social and economic status, as well as personal capacity, to take the risk of investing their time and efforts into new ventures such as the corporation's income generating activities. This can be compared to what Appadurai (2004: 69) terms the "capacity to aspire": being able to harvest diverse experiences based on exploration and trial, and thereby to link material goods and immediate opportunities to more general and generic possibilities and options. For instance, Alphonsine's proposing a geese raising project for *foi gras* production to the corporate social team was within the desired entrepreneurial model, and would probably be favourably received by Odile. People with the capacity to aspire are "more able to produce justifications, narratives, metaphors, and pathways through which bundles of goods and services are actually tied to wider social sciences and contexts and to still more abstract norms and beliefs" (ibid.). Purfait and Alphonsine were thereby able to adapt to the new, neo-liberal values of being micro-entrepreneurs, voluntary participants, and "local stakeholders" to a corporation in need of participants for its CSR projects, making them able to benefit from the new land and resource management regimes. Ultimately, this is tied up with new forms of citizenship, as certain people are better able to qualify for new forms of benefits linked with being appropriate corporate stakeholders.

Opposition to participation

Local understandings of corporate intentions inevitably shaped their responses to CSR programmes. In the context of risk taking, Purfait explained to me that the problem with the corporation's new income-generating programmes such as vegetable gardening was that many of his rural neighbours were afraid of this "gift" – they are worried that they could only supply to QMM, and would become completely dependent on QMM collecting their produce and selling it on. Therefore, when QMM's *mpagnenta* ["sensitizers"] came by Mangaiky village, people would direct them onwards to Purfait and his family.

Alphonsine added: “people here are *mali* [distrustful] about QMM: they have given us many things, chicken projects, clinics and schools, but they may ask for it all back, otherwise why would they give these things? That is what people here say”. This illustrates the gap between the corporation’s assumptions of local people merely awaiting its CSR programmes in order to live up to their supposed “natural” traits of micro entrepreneurs able and willing to embrace the market (cf. Rajak 2008) and local understanding of the corporation as foreign intruder to be avoided.

Similarly, the President of the COGE [community forest management committee], had told me that the reasons for the lack of participation in the corporation’s social programmes was as follows: “in the corporation’s new programmes, there are various revenue-generating activities, such as pig farming, but people are wary of the corporation’s gifts, such as pig houses. We think that perhaps QMM will put us into debt if the project goes badly. As for the Integrated Development Plan of QMM, they have given out pigs for raising and selling, but you need to have a place to put these pigs. QMM does give pig house-materials, but people are afraid and weary of these gifts. You have to be on the list of people adhering to QMM’s revenue-generating projects (AGR), but not too many people have signed up. They are hesitating and afraid. There is a list to be signed up for those who want to participate in the new projects, but we prefer paid employment, such as becoming a forest brigadier with the COGE!”. This explains why getting people to participate seemed an ongoing challenge for the corporation’s socio-environmental department, as the presumptions about local people’s characteristic as “population” manageable via market-based incentives did not reflect the complex local motivations and personhoods.

This situation created fierce competition over the local people who were capable and willing to act as worthy beneficiaries of “inclusive neoliberal” projects. As Purfait, who had proved a particularly competent and willing participant, told me, the “technicians” of a company social project and of an NGO project were arguing between themselves about who he should work with. Purfait had enough land, kinship networks and a personal “capacity to aspire” and try out new farming methods, as well

as a charismatic personality and awareness of the importance of attending the many meetings for the associations of which he was a member.

This situation was also reflected in the words of Martin, a literate local fisherman now working for the mining corporation's local community relations team: "local people are afraid to try something new, and do not trust the company even if they are offered things for free. One village we are afraid of even entering – one old guy there told me he would kill me!" Martin described this place as remote village with many *fady* [taboo], and with family links to Ambignanibe and Ilafitsignana, where people had been displaced and lost land to mining-related infrastructure development, a situation further described in the next chapter.

"However", Martin added, perhaps justifying to me his role of promoting the corporate programmes, "these people will lose twice – they will lose their land in any case"- Martin clearly expected that the mining project to happen in this third prospective mining site, although the environmental permit has not yet been obtained - "and they will also lose the benefits of QMM's projects. At least they have accepted to have a school built there. Imagine, they didn't even want a school, that's how stuck they are in the ancestral traditions! But we convinced them, and in the end, they accepted". In the transition from generic global intentions to particular local programmes concerning specific people, CSR discourses were thereby translated by corporate staff into local language which revealed the micro-political struggles and resistance generated by people who did not automatically behave as "worthy stakeholders".

Some people also chose to opt out of the new CSR resource regimes for overtly ideological reasons. Marvin, Purfait's older brother, lived next to Purfait in their family compound, in a house he shared with his wife and unmarried daughters. Marvin was a member of "LuSud", or *lutte pour le Sud* [struggle for the South], an NGO which had been established in the 1990s to protest against the QMM project when it was still being debated. When asked about the corporate presence, Marvin was however ambivalent, telling me that "The conservation zone is a good thing, as it will

keep forest resources and medicinal plants for future generations, but the COGE is not a good way of managing it. People who know the COGE members benefit, others now cut trees elsewhere, so the western hills are becoming deforested. But in Mandena [mining zone], we would not cultivate in any case – the soil is sandy and not good for farming, so we would just get housing materials and put our cattle there”. Marvin’s explanations thereby directly countered corporate expert-based analyses of local deforestation being caused by swidden agriculture.

“The mahampy reeds in particular are important for the “*lova sarobidy*” [precious inheritance] of us Malagasy: as mats, hats, traditional clothing and for covering the dead. I think that by 2020, all our *harena* [natural wealth] will be dead. As soon as QMM started coming, all the *vahiny* [immigrants] started coming, making charcoal and cutting down our forest, and burning the hillside. There were many riches [*be harena*] in the forest, such as medicinal plants. In the past, the *ombiasy* [traditional healer] would go into the forest to collect *volihazo*, medical products from the trees of many types, to create cures. Now, we only have the *fanafody vazaha* [foreign medicine], which does not cure all types of illnesses. And the COGE only looks after plants and animals, not people!” Marvin’s words can be analysed as a situated expression of political ecology (cf. Walsh 2005) which questions global resource regimes and puts into the locally specific context the new forms of dispossession through new natural resource access regimes.

Marvin and Purfait were brothers and lived next to one another, yet one had chosen to participate and channel resources from QMM, whereas the other had taken a position against the company, and openly criticised it. Marvin however, who had a local government position, had an income independently of his land, and was more educated than most of their neighbours. He therefore had less of an interest in participating in the new CSR-based regime of community forest management and related income-generating activities, and openly expressed the paradox of QMM’s aspirations of both extracting and conserving nearby natural resources.

As we see, near sites of neoliberal land and resource capture in Madagascar, some people more readily internalize their new responsibilities as “local communities” expected to participate in new management regimes than others (Hanson 2009). We therefore need further investigations of how such “partnering arrangements” with local communities lead to the exclusion of some social groups (ibid.). The CSR programmes I have investigated in this chapter, which focused on community-led approaches can thereby be analysed as “productive” corporate power based on generating new “techniques of the self” in order to fashion neoliberal subjects responsible for their communities (cf. Foucault 1998 [1976]; Hanson 2009). However, whereas some people, such as Purfait and Alphonsine, seemed able and willing to strategically recast their identities in terms of neoliberal resource governance schemes, others did not, making the outcome of CSR-led encounters uncertain.

Double dimensions of exclusion: landlessness and migration

In this section, I demonstrate how the forms of citizenship stemming from CSR-based regimes of land and resource access led to “double” forms of socio-environmental exclusion. In contrast to the people analysed in the previous section, those less able to perform as “community” members and participate in the plethora of new associations came to be increasingly marginalised and dispossessed in the context of the new resource extraction and conservation regimes. In particular, local migrants who were excluded from traditional avenues for land access were further marginalised by loss of land and of access to natural resources on which they depended more than others due to their lack of access to cultivable land. In addition, they were doubly excluded as they were also less able to participate in corporate-led community-based compensation programmes.

In the house where Lôlô and I were staying with Vincent’s family in Alagnambendra hamlet, on the edge of the Mandena forest conservation zone, Rakoto worked as a guardian of the house and land. The family that owned the house was one of the original land-owning families, and could trace their family history to the original

settlement of the hamlet. Rakoto was originally from the municipality of Manantenina 150 km to the north, where failed harvests and starvation had made him migrate to the area near Fort Dauphin. Married and with three young children, he and his wife worked many jobs to make ends meet. They were allowed to cultivate some of the land which they guarded, and in return could harvest some of the cassava they cultivated for their own consumption.

Although Rakoto and his wife and three children lived in a small hut next to where Lôlô and I were staying, it was difficult to have long conversations with them. They were wary of talking to a *vazaha* (white foreigner), and they found it hard to fathom why I would be interested in talking to them. Only after several months of staying in the house did Rakoto become comfortable with being interviewed in the main house, with their own house being too small for more people to sit in. His wife steadfastly refused to be interviewed, although through small everyday exchanges we could confirm Rakoto's story about their lives.

Rakoto was in his 60s and has been in Ampasi-Nahampoa for around 20 years. He had arrived in the municipality to rejoin his uncle, and he had found his wife here, separating from the wife he had at home in Manantenina. His first wife, he explained to us, was *hasifo* [bad luck], as all her children died, so he did not want to stay with her. Rakoto and his wife earned around 20,000 *ariary* (ca. 10 USD) per month for guarding the area. The couple had also been given a small, one room hut and were allowed to cultivate cassava and sweet potato on the land which Vincent and his family were not using, and keep what they could harvest. Rakoto told us that when he had arrived, he had been able to clear a small piece of land in the municipality to claim as his own. However, he had had to sell this plot to buy a cow as bride price of his new wife, so their children would be considered his, and not taken by her family.

Rakoto complained that his income was too low, but he did not want to return to his village in Manantenina: his children might be poisoned there, he told me, as they were too young to know how to refuse food they would be given by strangers. Only when the children were grown up would he take them home to their ancestral land. Rakoto

told us that their temporary family tomb was in Mandena forest, from where it had been displaced by QMM, who had paid some money and sacrificed cattle to mitigate for their transgression. However, according to Rakoto, as it was a temporary tomb, this was not a big problem to his family, in contrast to the words of the old *lonaky* introducing chapter 4. Rakoto's permanent family tomb was in his ancestral village, to where the family bones would eventually be taken, when enough money had been saved, and the bones were dry (cf. Bloch 1971).

Rakoto's recollection of the the arrival of the mining company was narrated as follows: "some people here got work with QMM and Kentz (QMM engineering sub-contractor), and earned 400.000 *ariary* (ca. 200 USD) per month. But few of us immigrants from Manantenina got this work. Well, one guy got work with COLAS (french construction firm building the mining road), but he went went crazy: He left his wife and children for a woman in Andrakaraka village, and then when his contract was over, this woman left him... now he doesn't even have enough money to feed his children!" Rakoto's tale is tinged with wistfulness over the amounts of money which people gaining mining related jobs had earned, but also illustrates a cautionary angle of the risks associated with such sudden access to cash brought by the mining project.³⁶

In contrast to the people who had gained employment with the mine, Rakoto told us that his wife and he depended heavily on the forest resources of the Mandena mining and conservation zone. Rakoto explained that the new user fees to be paid when entering the forest to fetch construction wood, which he carried to Fort Daupihn town to sell, made it difficult for him to make any money on this activity. The forest guards sometimes took pity on him, he explained, and simply told him not to do it again. However, this was not always the case, and Rakoto was afraid of the guards. His wife was angry with him for this, Rakoto lamented, because she would like to eat

³⁶ Such sudden access to money, known as *vola mafana* (hot money) for its tendency to rapidly leave the hand due to needs for consumption that it generates, is a characteristic of other mining sites in Madagascar, and has been analysed as leading to daring consumption as new forms of masculinities develop in the heavily gendered socio-economic field of mining (Walsh 2003).

something else than cassava leaves, but when he could not fetch any construction wood, he was not making any money to buy food. All they had were the meager crops of cassava they were able to cultivate on Jean Pierre's land. However, Rakoto added, sometimes people in town might order construction wood from him, and then he would run into the forest and steal some. The couple often argued, and Rakoto's wife frequently threatened to leave him because he was failing to provide for the family. The fact that their second child had a fatal stomach swelling conditions for which they depend on regular treatment by the Catholic sisters was not helping the little family. This situation would according to paper-based rationalities for the new income-generating projects have made the family the most qualified for receiving such development assistance. However, their marginal situation made them unable to participate in the regime of associations established in the area, and they therefore depended on church charity rather than the new mining-related CSR schemes intended to alleviate local poverty.

Rakoto's experience of the new community conservation regime was also very different from that of Vincent, the *lonaky* who lived in the same hamlet as Rakoto. Rakoto explained that before the corporation's new *dina* regulations, the government forest guard would simply check the road entering Fort Dauphin, which was where you would have to pay for the wood, so the guard could be bypassed by taking forest paths or going on the river. Rakoto's strategy of bypassing state regulations can be compared to a "hidden transcript" of resistance to central governance regimes of controlling the "elusive" peasants (Scott 1998; Scott 1985). During state managed forest user regulations, Rakoto would therefore, according to himself, never pay for entering the forest. However, with the new self-monitoring schemes, the forest guards would actively monitor the whole conservation zone, and as they lived in the area, Rakoto felt that would know if he had paid for the resources he was carrying out.

Another survival strategy of Rakoto used to be fishing in the rivers inside the Mandena protected area, which provided a vital food source for his family. However, Rakoto did not dare to enter the forest to fish anymore. This was because, according to Rakoto, the forest guards did not believe him when he told them that he was entering

the forest simply to fish, suspecting him of wanting to cut the trees. Another resource which had become off limits due to the new community forest monitoring was firewood, vital as cooking fuel to Rakoto and his family, who could not afford to buy charcoal. However, Rakoto explained that he could no longer collect firewood for cooking in the forest, because the brigadiers suspected him of wanting to take more than just the firewood which was already dead, and allowed to take. So now, Rakoto was forced to go up into the mountains to find firewood, many kilometres away. However, Rakoto added that he would go into the forest early in the morning, before the guards were in place, and take what he could, “stealing like a thief”, when he was feeling brave. Again we see how with the arrival of the corporation, precarious livelihoods had become illegal because they did not fit with expert-based corporate analyses of local needs as based on inclusion in market-led activities of people who were presumed to be able to be freely available to participate in such schemes.

The arrival of the new resource management rules linked with the mining corporation thereby had led to new forms of exclusion from nature and land for people such as Rakoto and his family. As a landless migrant, Rakoto did not have the high status kinship links which enabled some people in the area to negotiate with the “community” representatives managing the conservation zone. Lacking a “capacity to aspire” based on land ownership, the ability to negotiate with outsiders and understand market related project rationalities, or the time to participate in the associations which channeled these resources, Rakoto was excluded from the very resources on which he and his family depended more than local landowners such as Purfait and his family. The community-based development and conservation initiatives intended to make up for lost livelihood opportunities from Mandena forest thereby excluded the poorest people who on paper were supposed to be the first beneficiaries.

These new mechanisms of exclusion from resource access and from the new mining-related development projects were also experienced by other marginalized and landless migrants. On the road going from Fort Dauphin town to Ampasy village, Lôlô and I would sometimes take a break by a very modest hut on the eastern side of the road, next to the Mandena mining zone. We were sometimes invited in to talk to

Rasoa, the woman who lived there. Once, as she was taking a break from weaving “*vako*” leaves, a plant that grew wild in the forest, and could be woven into mats, but which were now illegal to pick due to the new conservation agreement, Rasoa agreed to be interviewed. She told us how she had migrated to the area 10 years earlier from Manantenina municipality 150 km to the north together with her mother. Rasoa told us that her life as a single mother had gotten harder since her mother died two years ago. In the past, her mother and Rasoa had a small shop by the road, selling lamp petrol, soap and sugar. However, as all Rasoa’s savings went for her mother’s funeral expenses, she had been struggling since then. Her mother was now buried in the temporary, migrant tomb near Mandena forest, and her bones would be carried back north when they were dry – “a dead body is much too expensive to bring, you have to pay for the bus”, Rasoa explained, “whereas bones can be taken back in a basket”. As we see, ancestral traditions were adapted to economic realities.

Rasoa told us that she preferred to remain in Ampasy village for the sake of her daughter, who was studying at the catholic girl’s school just south of the village. The catholic sisters had “taken pity” on her, Rasoa explained, and did not ask her to pay the school fees for her daughter, in addition to providing the girl with a free meal a day. Rasoa’s house had also been provided by the catholic sisters.

As she had lost the shop, Rasoa now made a living weaving *mahampy* reeds into products which she would sell by the roadside. She would also gather firewood and sell in small bundles. Rasoa explained that she might gain enough money from this to buy her one *kapoaky* (cup of rice) to eat in the evening. She supplemented the rice with *ravim-balahazo* (cassava leaves), which local landowners would sometimes let her collect on their land, which she pounded and used as a stew with rice or cassava, or sold if she had found enough. However, due to the new access rules linked to the mining project, the mahampy reeds were no longer available.”QMM is very strict about entering the mining zone”, Rasoa complained, “and most of the mahampy fields are within the new *orinasa* [factory; i.e. mining dredge area], and are lost”. With both QMM’s mining perimeter private security guards, as well as the community conservation guards guarding the area, Rasoa didn’t dare to enter the mining zone

anymore. New spatialities based on corporate land and resource capture justified through resource extraction and conservation left the most marginalized people “doubly excluded”: both from the resources on which they depended to survive and from the compensatory corporate income-generating programmes.

Rasoa’s understanding of the reason behind the new conservation rules was of the mining corporation’s ownership claims to local nature: “inside the *vakoa* plants [which she used for weaving, but was no longer allowed to pick]”, Rasoa told us, “there are many of QMM’s animals, such as frogs, snakes and mice... so we are no longer allowed to take the *vakoa* either, because the animals ‘grow up’ inside them, so they don’t like us to take them”. Similarly to Vincent, Rasoa thereby experienced the mining corporation’s conservation initiatives as one opposing people to nature, a foreign rationality. Unlike Vincent, however, Rasoa did not question this conservation rationality, but merely accepted as rules of the powerful foreigners which a marginal woman such as herself must adapt to.

Rasoa’s next words further illustrated how the new, community-based resource access regimes served to remove her from the resources on which she depended: “As for the mahampy reeds, QMM has been planting it [*magnesa* – word normally used for transplanting rice] in the Mandena zone, but only the family of people who got work in the Mandena conservation zone are allowed to access this. We hope that QMM will let us pick the mahampy next year, if it grows well for them. Because I believe that it is possible to cultivate it – why not?”, Rasoa exclaimed, less critical of this new *mahampy* than many other villagers we had spoken to. Confirming her words are the experiences Alphonsine, Purfait’s wife, who had told us how she, a prominent women’s association member, was already accessing these new *mahampy* reeds.

Rasoa told us she would have liked to cultivate if only she had some land. Illustrating her feelings of exclusion in an area which was officially a “growth pole” due to mining-related investments, Rasoa complained: “my life is not *mivohatsy* (developed), in spite of with all the changes happening here, but *mizetsy avao* (it is only becoming more degraded). So now I am only sitting still, looking at the road and all the new

people arriving”. Rasoa explained that some people had experienced positive changes in their lives with this QMM project, like those who got jobs, or who were able to run small shops which the QMM workers buy. However, she felt that her life had not changed for the better. If the *mahampy* was still plentiful, Rasoa felt that she would have had many handicrafts to sell. However, she felt that those who did not have the family connections to participate in the many new projects in the end up *mikohikohy etahoky avao* [like a chicken, kicking up dirt here and there, finding food little by little].

As we have also seen from the experiences of Rakoto and Rasoa, despite new forms of resource access based on mining-related CSR policies, the most marginalized people in the mining zone still relied on the minimal existing charitable structures, such as the church, to ensure access to basic services of health and education. The new resource regimes had proven inaccessible, as new forms of public rights to resources and benefits were dependent on existing land access and other socio-economic statuses which Rakoto and Rasoa did not possess.

Rakoto and Rasoa’s experiences of the new conservation rules also illustrated the negative consequences of neoliberal nature conservation which was based on the capture of local land and resources as new, neoliberal spatialities of a “pure” nature free of human presence. Through their experiences we understand the consequences as a new nexus of resource extraction and conservation was based on the transformation of complex nature into pure spaces of extraction and conservation to be managed for specific ends by local communities (cf. Castree 2003). This justified the separation of local people from their land and resources through new management regimes based on the presumed existence of local “community” structures. The resulting new regimes of rights and responsibilities for accessing mining related resource flows, based on the “managed dispossession” of inclusive neoliberalism (cf. Li 2010), thereby further excluded the most marginalized local people.

In an exploration of local experiences of neoliberal conservation, Keller (2008, 2009) has investigated local impacts of conservation near the Masoala National park in north eastern Madagascar, arguing that the loss of access to ancestral lands has led to new forms of socio-environmental exclusion of the most marginalised groups. They can no longer access land and thereby rid themselves of the stigma of suspected slave origins. Similarly to what this chapter has argued, Keller (2009) also emphasizes how conservationists who boast of incorporating “culture” in Madagascar do so in an instrumental and simplistic fashion, rather than accounting for complexity and hierarchy. By focusing on “win win” solutions, these initiatives fail to account for the incommensurability between local social aspirations of multiple descendants and the conservationist goal of limiting cultivable land and natural resource access.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the social effects of development and conservation programmes implemented in the context of corporate resource extraction and nature conservation. I have argued that the new nexus of mining and conservation resulted in new forms of citizenship, with new modes of natural and economic resource entitlements resulting from the performance of being a deserving community member near sites where capitalist extraction and conservation have become entwined. I have also discussed how the commodification of nature into industrial minerals and static biodiversity entailed the “double” dispossession of marginal people who failed to qualify as local community members to which new, mining-related resources were channeled via CSR-programmes.

The chapter has demonstrated how this represented a new regime of public rights and responsibilities, limiting resources and benefits to the people able to perform as neoliberal subjects partaking in new, market-based projects based on the commodification of local nature. This chapter shows how such new modes of citizen rights entailed new, neoliberal spatialities of extraction and conservation which excluded those less capable of acting as ideal community participants. This included

landless migrants who lacked the time and social status to participate as appropriate community members in the many new income generating projects funded by the mining corporation.

The chapter has also shown how it is necessary to account for this locally specific, micro-political context as part of larger tendencies of neo-liberal land grabbing in Africa. Through “inclusive” neoliberal schemes of “governance through community”, the mining company sought to transform potentially explosive political questions about rights, entitlements, and natural resource management into technical questions of community, participation and sustainability.

Demonstrating how this generated new forms of inclusion into new, market-based resource flows, Vincent, Purfait and their families, as a landowner and lineage heads, had the social status that made them able to negotiate and participate in the new resource management regimes. They managed to channel the new forms of resources and benefits flows to their advantage. Conversely, Rakoto, Rasoa and their families, due to their marginal status as landless, impoverished migrants, experienced new forms of exclusion from the new land and resource management regimes. They did not have the kinship links to negotiate resource access, or the time or capacity to participate in the new associations through which people accessed the profits of commodified nature.

The new spatialities linking extraction and conservation thereby generated new forms of inclusion and exclusion from resource flows and land through new regimes of rights and responsibilities, based on the ability to actively partake in the activities of commodification, extraction and conservation as worthy neoliberal subjects.

The chapter has also added to the existing ethnographic work on the subject of “green” neoliberal dispossession in Madagascar by adding a focus on locally differentiated experiences of such dispossession. As some people, such as Vincent, Purfait and their families found avenues for inclusion into the new neoliberal income streams from commodified local resources, others, such as Rakoto and Rasoa,

experienced new forms of exclusion as their already precarious livelihoods were criminalized and local resources on which they depended became fenced off. Further, I have added the perspective of the people who worked for the mining corporation and their ongoing efforts of enrolment and mobilization of local “stakeholders” in order to be able to represent successful programmes, with their efforts constantly at risk of failure. This has added nuance to analysis of “green”, “inclusive neoliberal” encounters, accounting for the contingency of multiple actors and strategies which design and implement neoliberal programmes, showing how they are engaged in constant strategies of enrolment, translation and contestations. This approach also helps to de-essentialize “local people”, who are neither passive communities amenable to externally-designed development interventions, as presumed in corporate CSR-programmes, nor uniform “subaltern heroes” waiting for the anthropologist to give them “voice”. The latter point is further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Hetahetam-po ambara: global representations of local voices

“There are many ways to benefit from the knowledge that belongs to the poor, to minorities, to the powerless: The anthropology student gains a PhD and academic advancement; the development consultant gains another tax-free contract [...] But what of those who freely share their views and experience?”

(Slim & Thompson 1993: ix).

Introduction

This chapter is an exploration of global strategies of resistance to the Rio Tinto Madagascar mining project by international campaigning organisations in the UK and Madagascar.³⁷ The chapter makes use of data from my involvement with an NGO-led oral testimony project based on life history interviews with local people who had been displaced or lost land near sites of mining-related infrastructure development. The chapter illustrates how campaigning organisations aiming to criticise the mining project paradoxically relied on similar “techniques of rule” over local people as the CSR-related descriptions of local “communities” analysed previously in the thesis. Both NGO and corporate groups thereby relied on using people as objects of information rather than subjects of representation. Even though the campaigning groups aimed to establish emancipatory local “ethnographies” in the form of participatory oral history, the result was inevitably framed in terms of the agendas of powerful players. Local people’s experience of the initiative was therefore, contrary to the stated objectives, less an emancipatory expression of their voices to a global audience, than as yet another initiative to extract information about their lives for the benefit of powerful external organisations, without receiving the direct answer to their stories that they had expected. This shows how marginalized groups are forced to use the language of more powerful actors in order to influence global agendas, thereby

³⁷ This chapter is an amended version of the article “Telling Us your Hopes: Ethnographic lessons from a communications for development project in Madagascar” written by myself which appeared in the journal *Anthropology Matters* Vol 12, no. 2, 2010.

reducing the scope for conveying alternative, complex local realities which do not fit global discourses, whether of capitalism or of its resistance.

The chapter first accounts for the history of the oral testimony project developed through an UK-Malagasy NGO partnership. I analyse the stated attempt by the NGO of turning informants into ethnographers and for the international campaigner's role to be one of scribe, translator and communicator of joint research findings to narrators themselves, the media and key decision makers. The aim was to allow for people to be able to tell their own stories by training them in open interview methods and voice registration, thereby capturing each other's voices, stories and hopes as ethnographers in their own right.

The second part of the chapter makes use of Anna Tsing's notion of "friction" in order to analyse how the different groups of actors were united through the oral testimony project, although motivated by differing understandings of the project and its objectives. I argue that this should be analysed as generating new social action based on "productive misunderstandings" rather than considering the project merely a meeting of incommensurable rationalities. In what is analysed as "zones of awkward engagement", words came to mean something different across a divide in understanding, even as people agreed to speak.

I identify several instances where the rationality and objectives of the villagers who participated in the project and the NGOs funding and executing it did not correspond. As joint interests were presupposed and misunderstandings overlooked, these productive misunderstandings ultimately allowed for new modes of knowledge production and social representations which challenged powerful groups of actors. However, local people ultimately experienced their role in the project as one of objects of information rather than subjects of representation, despite the oral testimony project's stated intentions of conveying local voices. In order for the project to gain a global, influential audience, the power differences thereby remained between international associations as producer of authoritative truth, and local, marginalised

people as objects from which such truth can be extracted and represented through externally led techniques.

Voices of Change: a case study of oral testimony and development

“I am glad to have this opportunity to express my ideas and concerns, as well as the problems in my life. I must let them out of my head so I that I won’t have a headache. If I keep all my concerns in my stomach, I may risk having a beer belly!” (ALT & Panos 2009: 51). This is a quote from Sambo, a subsistence fisher who took part in an oral history project in Madagascar, as reproduced in a book of oral testimonies produced by the NGO Panos. This organization specialises in media and “communications for development” projects. During my fieldwork, I became familiar with some of the NGO actors in the area. When I was asked to help one of them with finalising and evaluating a project called Hetahetam-po ambara (HEPA), or “telling us your hopes”, I accepted, as the project’s scope and methodology had many similarities to my own research project, and as I expected it to provide interesting insights into the social life of environmental campaigning groups. The project aimed to communicate the life histories of rural people impacted by the Rio Tinto mine, in areas where access to land and natural resources has been restricted due to a combination of mining, infrastructure development and new nature conservation initiatives.

The HEPA project methodology was one of rural people conducting interviews among their neighbours. A selection of people in four different villages were trained in conducting life history interviews. Training ranged from methodological issues of asking open ended, non-directive questions and of capturing life histories to technical issues such as the use of voice recorders.³⁸ The final interviews were edited and broadcast from the original recordings on local radios, as well as being published on the web and in a book produced in three languages. The book was distributed both nationally and internationally. As the project was close to my own research, yet

³⁸ The methodology is set out in Panos (2003).

focused on different field sites, it proved useful both in comparing people's experiences in other areas to those of my own main informants, and in terms of analyzing an NGO awareness-raising project. In particular the experience illustrated how other actors than researchers make use of ethnographic methods, how the villagers themselves interpreted this experience, and some of the impacts of the stories being published.

My work consisted of finalising translation and clarifying issues brought up in the testimonies which were unclear. I was also charged with re-confirming people's consent for publication, and evaluating local perceptions of the project by the narrators. Finally, I was also responsible for taking pictures for the publication.

The HEPA project was jointly funded and implemented by two NGO partners. The first was the international, London-based NGO called Panos and the second was the local NGO Andrew Lee's Trust (ALT). The methodology had been developed by Panos, which has been working on participatory oral testimonies since the late 1990s. This had happened as part of their Sahel Oral History Project, which had made use of purely locally-based interviewers simply because as national and international research organisations had proved to be too pricy (Slim & Thompson 1993: 128). However, the organization realized that the oral testimony component was an effective way of highlighting ambiguous and paradoxical issues in people's lives, as well as of making statistical facts and figures more meaningful and evocative. In the end, oral testimony came to be seen by the NGO as a process as much as a product. The approach represented an avenue for building local skills in documenting people's own experiences of socio-economic and environmental changes. The method also proved a way of acknowledging and amplifying the voices of non-literate, marginalised people (ibid: 138).

The project thereby represented an attempt to amplify the words of those who are too often ignored or spoken for by "experts", including, as discussed previously in my thesis, anthropologists. For instance, a key aim the participatory oral testimony project was to increase opportunities for people to speak out in their own words on

issues which concerned them rather than having their views defined or interpreted by others (Panos 2003). Oral testimony is here conceived of as a social transaction, with subsequent interpretations a complex issue process, as acknowledged by Panos (Slim and Thompson 1993: 138-139). The NGO highlights that there needs to be awareness of the complexities and responsibilities involved when conducting oral testimonies, such as the nature of memory and the importance of opinion, the impact of particular interviewers, the influence of transferring oral testimonies to secondary formats such as books, and a consideration of the extent to which individual testimony is “representative”. As Pottier (2007: 84) reminds us in an ethnography of false testimonies of cannibalism in the DRC and their political effects, separating truth from trope in testimonies entails appreciating that eyewitness accounts are both artistic productions and situated social practices.

Participatory testimony: the project methodology

After an NGO-led workshop training local interviewers, 45 oral testimonies were collected, were transcribed in Madagascar and translated into English. They were then sent to Panos in the UK for analysis. 12 of the testimonies were selected and edited for broadcast on the web and for publication in Madagascar. The selection was sent to the NGO team in Madagascar, and a translation process took place before publication in three languages. Editorial content was added in order to help the reader understand the background to the local sites, some of the main issues referred to in the testimonies were clarified to explain the history of the issues, as well as the overall interview process. It was also deemed necessary to reconfirm that the narrators consented to having their testimonies published, and were aware that their stories would be shared with government, private sector and the media, both nationally and internationally.

The testimonies bring out several themes that I here summarize.³⁹ In particular, people refer to feelings of powerlessness. A lack of political voice, and challenges related to gender and social hierarchy, are clearly expressed. Further, the stories illustrate a general lack of trust in the state and the political system. The history of colonial extraction of people and resources in the Anosy region are also referred to in several testimonies. Further, processes of community participation in relation to the mining project as experienced by local people are referred to. The testimonies here highlight issues that official CSR discourses and reports have avoided: Feelings of being consulted as a mere formality, with no access to follow up information and no influence on the outcome of the consultations are expressed.

One young woman stated that “people have expressed their views but could not prevent QMM’s [the mining company] plan to work in our area. The thing is we do not know what to do, where to go or who to talk to” (ALT & Panos 2009: 20). Another woman expresses her experience as follows: “It is as if it was a dream that I used to drink coffee and eat bread. These are luxury goods that we rarely consume now. It shows now how poor I am... QMM fooled people and now QMM is the landowner. QMM used the government as a tool to appropriate our land. I think their tactic worked perfectly because they knew people were afraid of the government, so they hit us where we did not expect it.”(ibid: 83). As we see, people experienced the mining project in terms of a corporate takeover of their land by making use of state interfaces, summarizing local experiences of neoliberalism in terms that belie official CSR-discourses.

The oral testimonies also serve to highlight local experiences of lack of voice and of insurmountable distance to government, which also results in a lack of means of obtaining official legal redress. A young man explains, “I came to the conclusion that only the government can work out a deal to claim back the local community’s rights... It is a huge challenge for people to draft a letter and send it to the respective authorities. Most of us are illiterate... The only opportunity for the people of St Luce

³⁹ The book can be downloaded on the website <http://andrewleestrust.org/hepa.htm>

to express their complaints is through interviews like this.” (ALT & Panos 2009: 86). This lack of voice is also directly expressed by an older woman: “I think lack of knowledge is a disadvantage, because my siblings and I could not argue to demonstrate the real value of my father’s land. So right now, we are sad about what happened” (ibid: 51).

The expression of social hierarchy through development projects also came through in some testimonies: “When there is distribution of food aid or other sorts of help in the village, people have a hard time finding the right person to be in charge. The reason for this is that nepotism takes place. Instead of helping the genuinely poor, food aid goes out to the family members of the person who is distributing it” (ALT & Panos 2009: 25). It is important to focus on what is unsaid here, the unspoken hierarchies: The narrator is an old, landless widow, who does not speak French, and is not in a position to become the “person in charge” of a development project. Her testimony illustrates how local hierarchies predetermine who has the capacity to become a “broker” for the communities, with the associated benefits, as discussed in the previous chapter (cf. Lewis and Mosse 2006).

Politicians and political processes are considered passing spectacles, and as opportunities for some charitable benefits, but with no perspectives for real change: As one narrator explains, “If the person in power is good, then some changes happen, but if the person in power is not so good, then nothing happens and people have a long list of complaints...” (ALT & Panos 2009: 24). What transpires through this statement is the notion the complete lack of any influence on the person in power or the process of changing that person.

The difficulty of accessing information about development processes that were supposedly participative, also linking the government with foreign land grabbing, were also clearly expressed: “you never know what the government and the foreigners are planning... At the beginning they started building a road; afterwards they built another road that led to Somatraha [the site of a new mining-related port funded by the World Bank]. We thought they came here for some agricultural activities, but we were

wrong. Once we signed the letter, our farmland became their property” (ALT & Panos 2009: 49).

The mining project’s impacts for which no compensation was possible, such as changing relations with landscape, nature and access to natural resources are also voiced in many ways in the testimonies. This illustrates how people’s identity and traditions were linked to access to land and natural resources: “COLAS (a French construction company) tears down our mountain where the forest grows... That is where they quarry the rocks to supply their construction works... It is amazing to see how they flatten the mountain. Our children will deny the very existence of this mountain some day... Now, people just ask a doctor to circumcise their children without a big ceremony. Not only do the resources [such as honey from the forest] needed for such a ceremony no longer exist, but [people] also lack the money to provide food and drinks [for their guests]” (ALT & Panos 2009: 85).

Many narratives also express the lack of correspondence between the notion of receiving monetary compensation for loss of land and the intrinsic value of land to local people in terms of heritage, identity and belonging, and food security. One woman stated that “in terms of the distribution of money in return for our land, maybe some people in my village would say it was positive, but I would not say so... When my family received the money, since the land was our ancestral land, every family member had to share it... Our land was also undervalued because the government said that we did not have crops on it when they took it. They claimed that our land was not productive and thus was not worth much. However our land was vast and fertile... We harvested a lot of crops such as rice, sweet potatoes and cassava, and these crops fed the family throughout the year” (ALT & Panos 2009: 40).

One man expressed this situation as follows: “This land is our tanindraza [land of the ancestors] and QMM [the mining company] are also going to take our harvests... Even if they give us money for our land, it will not be enough to last us for the rest of our lives, because we still have small children to raise, who also need to survive – and the land will no longer belong to them. It is for this reason that I said that they are going

to kill us by taking our land” (ALT & Panos 2009: 73). The loss of food security linked to loss of land is also poignantly expressed by one older fisherman in an area where people had received monetary compensation for lost farmland, some of which was used to build new houses: “it is funny to think that one lives in a nice house, but starves to death. Sometimes I see people in their improved homes, yawning all the time because they are undernourished” (ibid: 51).

Notions of loss of landscape as loss of history were also expressed in the testimonies, and also influenced perspectives on the future: “people did receive money from QMM in return for their land but the money was not enough for everyone. My grandparents have many children, and the land that was taken belonged to our ancestors, not to a single person, so anyone descended from that ancestor had to receive some of the money. Since we are Malagasy we have to respect the notion of having a large family...” (ALT & Panos 2009: 44). As a young man pointed out: “we inherited land from our ancestors... So this land should belong to our next generation but given the current situation, I don’t think my children and grandchildren will enjoy it.” (ibid: 48). An old woman pointed out that “If our children are illiterate, certainly their future will be dark, because they will not be able to find jobs and they don’t have anything else left because our ancestral land has been appropriated by QMM. The future generation will have...fewer opportunities in their lives” (ibid: 40).

In the context of the regional history of colonial resource extraction, confusion and fear about the intentions of powerful foreigners was also voiced: “lately, QMM [the mining company] came to the village... They said that they needed the forest to be protected... QMM collected signatures from each individual in the village to get approval for the transfer of forest management to them... The local community, along with the local NGO, registered their opposition to QMM’s plan to manage the forest. But this could not prevent QMM from appropriating the forest around St Luce... [They said] deforestation threatened St Luce Forest so it was time to take action... People in St Luce believed...they would still have access to the forest... So they did not oppose the plan vehemently enough” (ALT & Panos 2009: 30).

As an older woman expressed it, “Some of us were skeptical and did not want to trade their farmland for money... some were convinced that once *vazaha* [foreigners] were involved in taking our land, there was no way to oppose them, so it was better to accept their offer [of money]... Some of the people were happy with the money, and some others immediately regretted it, realising that the amount they had received would not last long enough to feed their grandchildren in the way their farmland would have done” (ALT & Panos 2009: 56). Another narrator expressed a similar feeling of fear and powerlessness in the face of foreign resource grabbing: “we are really going to suffer if we lose this forest because it is our life, and the river is also our life. However, we do not dare oppose *vazaha* [foreigners]. Instead, we accept them with fear... Each time they find something that they like, they can easily acquire it, and they will move us to a different location” (ibid: 72).

The risks of being dependent on corporate jobs and no longer being able to rely on local subsistence activities also came up in the testimonies. One man put it in the following words: “now I work for a foreigner... If we [do not have a job] our family suffers, because there is no money to bring home at the end of the month... Fishing activities give people more flexible time to work around their house [whereas] I must work every day, otherwise I won’t receive a full salary...” (ALT & Panos 2009: 43). A similar thing was expressed by another man: “even if we got work for foreign companies, this would not be a sustainable activity that would help us forever. You could get fired any time, if your manager wanted” (ibid: 47). Another male narrator, reflecting about the future, stated that “some people still have money from QMM’s payment and some others were hired to work for QMM. However, if QMM stops hiring some day, then our hardships will be exposed... Our children seem not to have a bright future” (ibid: 45). As we see, local expressions of dispossession of their land and of becoming labourers dependent on corporate employment highlight the negative consequences of corporate-led development in terms of risks of food insecurity and unemployment, especially due to the limited life span of mining projects. These observations thereby represent an opposition to official CSR-discourses which focus on the mining project leading to sustainable development and universal “win-win” situations.

Friction in the field

The application of ideas with universalising pretensions to local places, where they must be translated into locally relevant language and ideas, has been described by Tsing (2005) as socially productive “friction”. I will here account for the complexities of ongoing efforts of “translation” of the oral testimony project for which the notion of “friction” is a particularly apt metaphor. These processes of translation included “productive misunderstandings” (ibid.) between actor groups in sites of unequal struggles over resources. In these areas, various parties conceived of the same thing in different ways. However, they still manage to work together. As local NGO staff members explained to me, since the oral testimony narratives were supposed to focus on issues of poverty and environment, there were lengthy passages on local customs and rituals which were edited out by the NGO as they were deemed less relevant to the project’s purpose. As such, even though the project was focused on giving voice to local people, the power of strategically selecting the information which was to represent these people rested with the NGO.

In the bilingual version of the oral testimony booklet, the Tanosy and French versions differ in a seemingly small, but interesting way: the association’s objective of “giving a voice to the indigenous communities in Madagascar so they might express their needs”⁴⁰ became in the Antanosy translation “to make it possible for many Malagasy to reveal their needs”⁴¹. This was probably because the notion of “indigenous” does not exist in Malagasy in terms that are not offensive. This is because such terms might reveal unspoken, but ongoing hierarchies from the complex regional history of kings, commoners and slaves in a society which officially espouses social equality (Somda 2009). The closest term might be *tompontany*, landowner, which implies primordial rights of land ownership to certain groups, excluding groups such as recent immigrants and those considered descendants of slaves. However, for the purposes of the common aim of giving voice to local people and their experiences of socio-

⁴⁰ « donner une voix aux communautés indigènes de Madagascar afin qu’ils puissent exprimer leurs besoins » (my translation)

⁴¹ “mba hahavy gny Gasy maro afaky hagnambara gny hetahetam-pony” (my translation)

economic changes, this “misunderstanding”, rather than leading to inaction, became instead a productive engagement. The creative translation allowed for joint social action. The NGO’s strategic use of the notion of “indigenous” of a group not normally associated with this term might eventually open up for new benefits related to the reductionist, but productive notion of “indigenous people” under what Li (2000) terms “the tribal slot”.

As discussed previously in this thesis, images of community are central to resource access at local level, not in terms of rights and rules, but as culturally available points of leverage in the ongoing process of negotiation over access to land and resources (Li 1996: 509). Those who claim rights must therefore fill the places of recognition that powerful agencies such as NGOs and the media provide, using dominant languages and demanding a voice in bureaucratic and other power-saturated encounters, even as they seek to influence the meanings that are generated (Li 2001: 653-654). Such capacity for strategic agency for representation is less accessible to the most marginalized actors, who may not even be aware of what is at stake. Those who lose access to land therefore tend to be the people who fail to fit a clear cut ethnic or territorial niche, with international support easier if people make use of a clear discourse in idioms relevant to foreign NGOs and the media (Li 2000: 170-171).

In the end, the book’s notion of presenting the voices of “the Antanosy people” elides differences in perceptions about being “Antanosy” between NGO staff and village narrators. Many of the latter were in fact *Tandroy*, originating from the neighbouring Androy region. However, such differences in understanding led to possibilities for new social alignments of support. Ultimately, this might open up for claiming new rights in a highly politicized field where access to land and resources is at stake. Nine national press articles about the project were published during the week following the launch of the oral testimony booklet, and a number of UN and other international agencies upon receipt of the book stated they would make use of and further disseminate it. Finally, the UK-based legal company which mounted a case against the mining corporation referred to the booklet in their evidence.

“We gave you our story, what will we get in return?” Local understandings of the project

When discussing the notion of “friction”, the perceived benefits of oral testimony to the research participants must also be accounted for. As previously stated, these people were mostly illiterate, and also disillusioned with research and other forms of knowledge extraction after numerous extractive research initiatives from impact assessments and development planning by both NGOs and the mining corporation. In a review of a similar oral testimony project on the San people, Armstrong and Bennett (2002) found that some of the participants in the oral testimony workshop expected tangible benefits such as cash grants. It took time for them to shift their expectations - or indeed to see anything else as having value. This was also the case in the Madagascar project.

In one village, a group of women in one village when hearing that I was asking questions about the oral testimony project confronted me directly with their own question: *ino gn'valin ti raha tihô?* [what is the answer to this thing?]. Separately, an old woman complained to me that “until now there is no reply. We are simply hoping for something positive. We are tired of doing signatures, of “fiches de presence” [attendee lists], and focus groups. We are simply hoping in a void, without knowing what is happening.”

However, some of the participants did find a certain value of having their stories told. One narrator who participated in project stated as follows: “there have been many interviews and surveys of people here, but until now no reply. I hope that my story will be broadcast all over the world, so that we will get help [...]. Because if my story gets on the radio, the complaints that I told, for example: about the price of lobster, and the lack of buyers, and how the middle men dominate us, then maybe more operators will come and the prices will increase. Also, in terms of people’s livelihoods, we might get help, such as access to the forest, which at the moment is making life very difficult.”

The benefits of the participative approach of the oral testimony project and its focus on passing on stories to powerful actors was stressed by another research participant: “I hope there will be a positive reason for getting my story heard, because if you send it to the whole world, then maybe it will be good for us. For example, others who have done surveys and questions here, then when it is over, that is it, it stays in Fort Dauphin [the regional capital], so we never know what happens next, or if there were any responses to our information. It will not be passed on to the government or President!”

An older man explained that it was important to him that many people would hear about the worries of “villagers like myself”, because according to him, such complaints were only heard by people in the village, not by outsiders. He felt that it was important for people to hear his story and say “*it is true!*” In other words, it was important to him that his version of events was recognised by people elsewhere, perhaps with more power to influence events. Similarly, a woman stated that “many more people would like to be interviewed [...] It makes people happy as they feel really lost, so they are happy with this project.”

Illustrating the importance of broadcasting in a media accessible to the participants, a young man told me that “we in St Luce [his village] all have similar feelings/thoughts: we all like that the stories are broadcast by radio [...] Radio is better than newspaper – newspapers you have to buy, so not many people read them, and you can only find them in Fort Dauphin [the regional capital]. Many people here listen to the radio, it encourages people to go on.” Mirroring this statement, in one of the published testimonies, a woman explains that her dearest wish is to have her own radio, to encourage her and let her catch up on the news (ALT & Panos 2009). However, it was for her an unachievable luxury.

Finally, the reactions of two participants help illustrate the “productive friction” of the different understandings of the actors united in the supposedly common purpose of the oral testimony project. One young man argued that “the project is good as it may lead people to have better communications between themselves. One person’s thoughts

will not count and cannot be broadcast, but the thoughts of many people can be broadcast”. This was similar to the opinion of another older man, expressed as typically by older men in the region through a proverb: “it’s important to broadcast the thoughts of many people, and not just of one, as “one finger cannot crush a lice!” This notion of the need for common voices rather than individual testimonies defies the project’s official focus on the importance of individual stories, replacing it with local ideals of communal voice and action as expressed through the Malagasy moral norm of “*fihavàna*” [kinship/solidarity], which is deemed morally superior to individual ideas. Again the project can be considered as a site of productive “friction” – different actors had different perceptions of the purpose of the project, but they engaged productively in joint social action in spite of these differences.

As for perceptions of political actors, the new administrative head of the Anosy Region of Madagascar stated that the timing of this book was ideal, since the issues of land compensation and access to resources were under review and required immediate consideration. In fact, this issue had come up in relation to the change of government in Madagascar, when the mining project which was strongly supported by the previous president had become more open for criticism under the new regime. This arguably made the book a more viable publication for local government support, although possibly less as a tool for empowering local people who complained of the state’s collaboration in selling off their land than as a tool for pushing the mining corporation for more concessions in terms of taxation, which the new national regime had been asking for. Yet again, differing agendas were acted out as seemingly common objectives through productive encounters leading to new social action. However, the power to set the agenda and to strategically frame local stories still rested with outsider agencies.

As the NGO engaged in oral testimony points out in a presentation of their approach, whatever the outcome of oral testimony, it is important that the process of listening does eventually result in acknowledgement and action, and that those who have given up their time to talk, know that their words have been taken seriously (Slim and Thompson 1993: 1-2). The notion of “applied” oral testimony is what gives listening

process a particular relevance and differentiates it from becoming a “voyeuristic” and merely extractive exercise, or a purely academic study.

This was particularly relevant in the case of the oral testimony project near the Madagascar mining site, where people had experienced many instances of being treated as “objects of investigation” rather than subjects with the capacity for the creation of valid knowledge. As one of the local interviewers of the oral testimony project pointed out to me, “it’s tiresome to people here when people from universities and NGOs come to study us, count us and ask questions, but there is never a reply after the investigation. When their investigation is over, they leave, but there are never any benefits to people here.”

These statements indicate that people felt the need to have more power over the information generated about them, and to be able to generate their own information in order to have a voice in the ongoing struggles over access to resources, by gaining the status of legitimate authors of information. Regarding ethnographic authorship, Clifford (1988: 46) points out that there are many indigenous “authors” in any ethnographic description, and points to the bakhtinian “polyphonic novel” as a representation of speaking subjects in a field of multiple discourses, an enactment of “heteroglossia”, expressing the separate realities of people’s lives. The oral testimony book can be characterised as such an enactment, with the twelve testimonies referring to similar issues, with some common reflections but also differences in experiences and opinions. The oral testimony project can thereby be considered as actively courting “heteroglossia”, allowing for multiple voices and realities, and giving collaborators the status of writers and producers of authoritative knowledge, even if they were themselves illiterate. However, the power to frame and edit the stories and thereby set the premises for their readers in terms of familiar tropes of “indigenous” local people which would resonate with the audience of development agencies and NGOs.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the strategic use of local voices by an international NGO campaigning against the Rio Tinto mine, and how local people experienced this exercise. Although the NGO's intentions were to empower local people to speak out, using Tsing's notion of "friction" I have analysed how the project inevitably framed and distilling complex local voices into familiar stories of "indigenous", nature dependent people pitted against a multinational corporation. This was because the project had to fit in with global objectives of publishing "marginalized" voices, a goal which when translated into the local context inevitably framed the oral testimonies in tropes familiar to the intended audience of global environmental campaigners. However, although local project participants experienced frustration at the lack of direct "reply" to their stories, they also found the activity positive, although not in the same terms that the advocacy NGO had intended.

I have thereby shown how the use of local people as objects of information rather than subjects of representation, which the corporation did in its CSR reports, were also part of the techniques of campaigning organisations aiming to criticise the mining project. Even though the latter aimed to establish local "ethnographies" in the form of participatory oral history, the result was inevitably framed in terms of the languages of powerful players, whether mining corporations or international NGOs.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored struggles of natural resource access through an ethnographic investigation of a mineral mining project in south eastern Madagascar. I have shown how corporate land access for extraction has been legitimised by global discourses of “Corporate Social Responsibility” (CSR), justifying environmental and social impacts through new regimes of development and nature conservation programmes around extraction zones. The thesis has argued that the social effects of corporate responsibility has led to new modes of social and environmental governance linking multinational resource extraction, community development and participatory nature conservation. This also entailed new regimes of rights and responsibilities near zones of corporate extraction and conservation, based on the ability to perform as worthy corporate stakeholder.

The thesis has discussed how CSR-based regimes also lead to a “double exclusion” of the most marginalized people near the mining site, first from their land and natural resources, and secondly, due to their existing struggle for survival, from the participatory compensation mechanisms intended to make up for negative corporate impacts. I have thereby shown how struggles over natural resources are also struggles over meanings. I have accounted for the contested representations and experiences of the Rio Tinto mining project, and their impact on claims to land and natural resources. I have shown how an initially contested mining project came to be considered as the only guarantor of development and bio-diversity conservation in Tolagnaro. I have also demonstrated how powerful players came to be aligned in support of the mining project because of the scope for thought and action which framed the discourses about the project. This framing included the moral conception by both mining project proponents and anti-mining conservationists of local ‘nature’ threatened by destructive local ‘culture’, a new Malagasy central and regional government eager to attract foreign investments, the acquisition of World Bank funding for mining-related infrastructure, and a proactive mining company policy of stakeholder engagement and conservation efforts.

The thesis has demonstrated that the shift in the mining project's status is associated with a differentiated capacity for strategically representing the world among various actors linked to the mining project. Such capacity was linked to regimes of valid knowledge production related to socio-environmental expertise which represent nature and culture as separate and in need of improvement through "inclusive" neoliberal interventions of biodiversity conservation and mineral extraction. Nature and culture have thereby been rendered "technical" and manageable. A key aspect in this process is the corresponding shift in status from contestable to technical of the most detrimental social and environmental impacts of the project. This included the displacement or landlessness of around 1,000 local people, as well as the stripping of a total of 6,000 hectares of partly endemic vegetation in order to dredge the mineral sands beneath the soil.

This approach thereby calls for a more nuanced analysis of multinational capitalist ventures than that of an inevitable extension of global neoliberal power (cf. Ferguson 2010). The thesis demonstrates that corporate responsibility must be accounted for not merely as an inevitable neoliberal project of rule, but also as a rich social arena where officially stated ideologies are constantly being reinvented and altered as they encounter specific actors in particular places. The thesis thereby contributes to debates about neoliberalism and its local effects, arguing that we must critically account for both the historical continuity of official global ideologies which justify new corporate land and resource access in Africa, and how these global projects are changed, thwarted and reworked in the encounter with "thick" local socio-environmental situations. The thesis thereby highlights how the social field of the mining project is defined by a historical, social and political context which ensures the mining corporation's initial access to land and resources, but that this context also changes as struggles over rightful land access are played out. The mining project's social field is therefore both constituted by and constitutive of these struggles. This analytical approach highlights the need to account for people's differentiated capacity for strategically representing the world during struggles over land and natural resources.

Through multi-sited ethnography, the thesis has investigated the new social fields generated by these new technologies of rule over people and nature, focusing on new subjectivities and new types of social differentiation resulting from changes in land and resource access. Tracing a complex field from Madagascar to London, I have demonstrated how in south eastern Madagascar, CSR programmes are also changed through the encounter with a complex local history of struggles over control of the region's natural resources.

Main findings

The thesis has shown the importance of accounting for particular histories of resource management regimes in order to understand current day resource conflicts. I have explored how externally led resource struggles are nothing new to the Anosy region, tracing a history of encounters and schemes for resource extraction and social improvement, beginning with the 16th century first French settlement. However, in this context, I have also shown the importance of local actors, in particular local “brokers and translators” in ensuring the failure or success of such ventures. This illustrates the importance of an ethnographic approach to fields of resource struggles, with a focus on contingent local encounters and the importance of individual strategies and experiences when analysing fields of global power regimes. An awareness of the history of sites of resource extraction and conservation will thereby make us better understand current events and conflicts over resources, and how local people and nature have been shaped by this history. This also helps to analyse current social and environmental exclusions and local experiences of them. As such, I have situated the current processes of dispossession and commodification through resource extraction and conservation in the context of the unintended effects of an array of government programmes and interventions already layered into this local landscape and society (cf. Li 2003).

The thesis has also analysed expert-led knowledge construction about local communities and nature in the context of a new nexus of multinational mining and

nature conservation programmes in south eastern Madagascar. I have argued that it is important to assess the effects such knowledge creation and how it is strategically used in corporate socio-environmental impact assessments and mitigation programmes. I have illustrated how expert-led diagnoses of poverty and environmental degradation were based on an opposition of local culture as situated and unchanging and a fixed biodiversity separated from local socio-economic history. Further, I have shown how expert-led knowledge production was represented as universally valid and neutral, rather than situated within global regimes of capitalist resource extraction. I have demonstrated how this has served to justify new landscapes of corporate resource extraction and environmental conservation, negating alternative forms of resource management based on conceptions of culture and nature as dynamic and interdependent. This in turn has failed to account for the culture and natural resource dependence of socio-economic “offset” programme designers and the corporate managers and shareholders who fund them.

As both nature and people were considered as unchanging and unitary categories rather than mobile, changing and interrelated, political issues of land and resource access were concealed behind technical discourses of nature “offset” and socio-economic development. This led to new forms of social exclusion and environmental degradation as land was increasingly set aside for new extraction and conservation ventures, reducing local livelihoods options and social ascendancy through clearing new land and establishing oneself as landowner. I have demonstrated how this concealed the environmental impacts of mineral extraction.

The thesis has also discussed the politics of becoming a mining project stakeholder and beneficiary in the context of disputes over the environmental impacts of mining. I have analysed actors who specialize in the acquisition, control and redistribution of development “revenue”, and the social spaces that develop between funders and recipients. In global neoliberal resource management regimes, these actors are supposed to represent the local populations, express its “needs” to the structures in charge of aid and to the external financiers.

However, as I have demonstrated, the role of “broker” requires ongoing efforts of enrolment of heterogeneous groups of local people with divergent lives, who were not always in agreement about the strategies to adopt. I have shown how the brokers struggled with the maintenance of coherent representations of social realities as they were simultaneously shaping their own social identities. I have also accounted for the reactions and strategies of particular people who became intermediaries between local communities and the mining corporation in the context of unforeseen environmental changes. I have argued that some actors, based on certain socio-economic capitals related to the ability to interact with outsiders and the time and physical ability to participate in numerous meetings, were able to position themselves as spokespeople and representatives of local communities. These actors thereby mediated exchanges with the corporate community relations team, actively influencing definitions of local beneficiaries, or people who became “visible” to the corporation. Such visibility entailed entry on official beneficiary lists, and entitlements to economic and social benefits, such as compensation payments and alternative livelihood projects managed by the corporation.

I have also demonstrated how certain people, in particular marginalized migrants who did not fit clear categories of employment or geographical belonging, were unable to position themselves as corporate stakeholders. I have shown how these people were in higher need of compensation payments and income alternatives, having few livelihoods options and a higher reliance on local natural resources impacted by mining and conservation regimes. I have thereby argued that these people had no choice but to continue livelihoods which had now become both insufficient and illegal: breaking new conservation laws and, having little to lose, participating in demonstrations in the context of political unrest and army presence.

The thesis has also demonstrated the downsides of becoming corporate stakeholders. I have shown how their positions were precarious and entailed the loss of alternative positioning in the social field of the mining project. From struggling to get seen, these people started receiving constant visitors by corporate outreach staff, and were monitored and photographed for corporate responsibility literature. Alternative

identities such as claiming rights and compensation money through demonstrations, or becoming clients of an international legal firm establishing a case against the corporation, became more difficult. Further, their positions engendered jealousy and rendered difficult relations with their neighbors, who whilst dependent on their roles of corporate intermediaries in order to channel resources to the villages, did not trust their ultimate objectives.

I have thereby illustrated how CSR-led community development programmes depend on people to perform as “the deserving poor”, such as Guy and Noelline. However, those who fail to perform, and to fit prescribed labels of livelihood and belonging become ineligible for assistance. This has shown how discourses of control and entitlement are thereby worked out as localized and contested cultural politics of entitlement, with CSR-led development projects which on the discursive level may appear stable and uncontested, in reality are embedded in local politics.

The thesis has also demonstrated how CSR works as a project of establishing governable, neoliberal spaces amenable to both mineral extraction and socio-environmental betterment programmes. The emphasis has been on how the success of CSR projects is produced. I have argued that although CSR ideology may be disciplining in intent, the actual control which corporations have over events and practices in development is always constrained. However, what is more urgent and more practical from the corporation’s point of view is control over the interpretation of events. I have shown how the success in CSR depends upon the stabilisation of particular interpretations of local socio-environmental problems and how they were to be solved. I have argued that such expert-based, scientific descriptions conceal the way in which CSR policy ideas are produced socially and within certain configurations of power underpinned by multinational capitalist agendas.

This has demonstrated how CSR represents an attempt by global corporations to control unruly and distant sites of extraction, but that their rule not secure. I have shown how each actor and place represents a point of potential resistance to a prescribed way of thinking and acting, or a point of mobilizing around different

programmes. As such, I have argued that government through CSR is a potentially failing operation, where the ideal of a perfect CSR programme, such as the Mandena Integrated Development Programme, existed only in the mind of the programmers. The corporate socio-environmental experts are therefore engaged in ongoing struggles to establish the legitimacy of their strategies by ensuring that fundamental problems such as struggles over land and resources are removed from the disputed terrain of politics, and presented as uncontested truth. In expert-led programmes such as CSR, self-regulatory techniques of “community” engagement are thereby used to align the choices of development targets with the ends of the corporation.

When studying CSR, I have shown how the ethnographic question is how projects work, and how success is produced. An ethnographic study of CSR-related encounters shows that governance brought by development schemes cannot be imposed; it requires collaboration and compromise. As such, the reputation and legitimacy on which a corporation depends are scarce resources for agencies operating in competitive environments. I have demonstrated how claims to success can be fragile, and counter-claims about development outcomes can be used as points of political leverage against corporate projects. This illustrates the inherent vulnerability of policy models and bureaucratic schemes for ordering and classifying populations, which may be secure on paper, but which are fragile in practice. I have demonstrated how corporate hegemony has to be negotiated rather than imposed.

At the ideological level, I have thereby analysed CSR as a manifestation of a neoliberal “will to improve” local nature and social life. This “will” represents the corporation’s calculated intervention in social processes in order to produce desired outcomes and avert undesired ones. Specifically this entailed gaining legitimacy for corporate extraction in distant sites of poverty and biodiversity by being considered as contributing to development and nature conservation, as expressed in Rio Tinto’s community relations literature. This analytical approach illustrates how CSR involves the “conduct of conduct” of distant populations and interventions to secure public welfare (Foucault 1991).

However, I have supplemented the ideological analysis with a processual, actor-oriented focus, following Li's (2007) analysis of processes of "assemblage." This brings to the fore aspects of agency, in terms of the ongoing work required to draw together heterogeneous elements, forge connections between them and sustain these connections. As such this approach allows for a more nuanced conception of agency, recognizing the situated subjects who do the work of pulling together disparate elements (Li 2007; cf. Latour 1996). This leaves room for agency, rather than attributing events to a totalizing plan of "neoliberal rule".

The thesis has additionally shown how the depoliticised discourse of CSR, with its emphasis on "partnerships" and "negotiation", conceals issues of power discrepancy and the agenda-setting power and greater capacity for framing issues of the more powerful players. I have discussed how the expertise such as that of conservationists and corporate anthropologists entails turning political issues into technical problems and solutions. I have argued that CSR experts thereby on one hand, ally themselves with powerful players such as mining corporations, translating concerns about community and environmental relations into the vocabulary of technical reports and programmes. On the other hand, they strive to form alliances with the target individuals of these programmes, translating their needs into technical language and offering hopes of better futures through specific interventions.

The thesis has also demonstrated how corporate power is never secure. I have shown how particular actors and places represent potential resistance to any one way of thinking and acting. I have demonstrated how certain people refused to be enrolled. This has led to the conclusion that corporate government through CSR is a potentially failing operation. I have thereby shown how the mining corporation therefore represented a complex system functioning as a transnational, fragmented project of global "assemblage" rather than a uni-dimensional project of "inclusive" neoliberalism.

I have thereby shown how neoliberal "rule" through CSR is not an a priori accomplishment. Through ethnographic analysis I have accounted for how the

hegemonic potential of CSR projects is always limited by the autonomy of practice from policy. Rather than considering power as the explanation of the success of CSR teams in composing a network of forces, corporate power can therefore be considered an effect of such a composition (cf. Rose & Miller 1992: 183-184). This view of power entails that a powerful institution in particular circumstances is able to successfully enrol and mobilise persons, procedures and resources in the pursuit of its goals. However, such power is stabilised in lasting, heterogeneous networks only to the extent that the mechanisms of enrolment succeed. This requires ongoing efforts by certain corporate actors, such as those working for community affairs departments.

The turn towards “inclusive neoliberalism” has thereby involved new forms of institution-building and governmental intervention within a broadly defined neoliberal project. As such, I have situated the thesis within the turn towards the management of market imperfections, focused on getting institutions and incentives such as CSR-led development right, to achieve the reshaping of individual behaviour and increase the efficiency of a self-organising society via “community”. In this global order, the market retains its inherent powers of organisation. This has made neoliberalism into more than a deregulatory political mindset or ideology, as it has increasingly concerned itself with spreading new forms of institutional structures, based on technocratic economic management and increasingly invasive social policies, including order and surveillance, as well as “community development” involving new modes of service delivery, and generating new social subjectivities. Neoliberalism has thereby shifted towards the political foregrounding of new modes of “social”, concerned specifically with the “aggressive reregulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalized or dispossessed by the neoliberalization of the 1980s” (Peck & Tickell 2002: 389).

The thesis has demonstrated the social effects of such neoliberal development and conservation programmes implemented in the context of corporate resource extraction and nature conservation. I have shown how new, neoliberal spatialities generated by the commodification of nature as static “biodiversity” separate from local culture and history entailed the dispossession of marginal people who failed to qualify as local

“community” members to which new, mining-related resources were channeled. I have argued that the new nexus of mining and conservation resulted in new forms of citizenship, with new modes of natural and economic resource entitlements resulting from the performance of being a community member near sites of capitalist commodification.

This represents a shift in public rights, away from general entitlements to limiting resources and benefits to the people in some way involved in the commodification activities of extractive industries of transforming nature into off-set “biodiversity” or economic resources. Such new modes of citizen rights were based on neoliberal spatialities of extraction and conservation which excluded those less capable of acting as ideal community participants, as they were too “hard work” to mobilise and depend on for successful project outcomes (cf. Mosse 2005). Such people included landless migrants who lacked the capacity to aspire and participate as appropriate community members for the many new income generating projects funded by the mining corporation.

I have also shown how it is necessary to account for this locally specific, micro-political context as part of larger tendencies of neo-liberal land grabbing in Africa. Through “inclusive” neoliberal schemes of “governance through community”, the mining company was seeking to transform potentially explosive political questions about rights, entitlements, and natural resource management into technical questions of community, participation and sustainability.

Demonstrating the new forms of inclusion into the landscapes of commodified nature, I have by way of the stories of Vincent, Purfait and their families shown how, as a landowner and lineage heads, they had the social status that made them able to negotiate with the new “community” structure. In this way, they benefited from their capacity to negotiate and participate in the new resource management regimes. They managed to channel the new forms of resources and benefits flows to their advantage. I have compared their stories to those of Rakoto and Rasoa, who due to their marginal status as landless, impoverished migrants, experienced new forms of exclusion from

the new land and resource management regimes. They did not have the kinship links to negotiate resource access, or the time or capacity to participate in the new associations for income generation from commodified nature. I have thereby shown how the new spatialities linking extraction and conservation thereby generated new forms of inclusion and exclusion from resource flows and land as new forms of citizen rights were generated, based on the ability to partake in the activities of commodification, extraction and conservation.

In the final chapter, I have changed gears somewhat. From an “engaged anthropology” perspective, I have discussed ambiguities and ethical issues surrounding the representation of local voices in fields of struggle over resources. I have analysed the strategic use of local voices by an international NGO campaigning against the Rio Tinto mine, and how local people experienced this exercise. The argument I have put forth, using Tsing’s notion of “friction,” was that the NGO’s intentions were to empower local people to speak out. However, I have shown how the project inevitably framed and distilled complex local voices into familiar stories of “indigenous”, nature dependent people pitted against a multinational corporation. I have argued that this was because the project had to fit in with global objectives of publishing “marginalized” voices, a global universalist goal which when translated into the local context inevitably framed the oral testimonies in tropes familiar to the intended audience of global environmental campaigners. However, I have also shown that although local project participants experienced frustration at the lack of direct “reply” to their stories, they also found parts of the activity of community expressions meaningful, although not in the same terms that the advocacy NGO had intended.

The thesis has thereby demonstrated how the use of local people as objects of information rather than subjects of representation, which both the mining corporation and anti-mining campaigners were engaged with, were an inevitable part of the translation between global and local sites of resource struggle. The poor were forced to speak the languages of the more powerful players, such as the mining corporation and global advocacy groups.

Closing remarks

The case of the Rio Tinto ilmenite mine in south eastern Madagascar represents the first of the two up to date biggest multinational mining ventures in Madagascar's history. It thereby sets a precedent for natural resource management in the context of an increasing national reliance on export-oriented extraction of non renewable resources (cf. Randrianja 2012). With socio-environmental impacts justified through ambitious mitigation programmes, the effects of these interventions require close independent monitoring and analysis. This is in line with recent calls by social analysts (White et al. 2012) to account for the new mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that are generated by the rapidly growing phenomenon of large scale corporate land and resource access in Africa.

With attention to personal histories and contingent encounters and contexts shaping the implementation of global ideologies, this thesis has discussed how the analysis of corporate "technologies of rule" of society and nature must be complemented by ethnographic accounts of how such "rule" is implemented in specific, compromised sites of society and nature. I argue that this is a two-fold process. First, the account of the rule of expert-led discourses which portray target sites in terms of what they lack, and simultaneously prescribe solutions by the same experts, justifying corporate socio-environmental resource access and de-politicising the effects of this access: the commodification of nature, whether for extraction or conservation, and the creation of new forms of social differentiation, through a "double exclusion": the dispossession of livelihoods resources and the inability to benefit from the new regional income flows which were accessed by "deserving" corporate stakeholders.

Second, I have argued for the usefulness of ethnographic analysis of encounters framed by such discourses, focusing on an actor-oriented approach as well as reflecting back on how specific encounters were framed by the "technologies of corporate rule", in particular expert-led development projects based on notions of "participation," "building capacity" and nature conservation aiming to "offset" the environmental effects of surface mining. This allows us observe the "friction" (Tsing

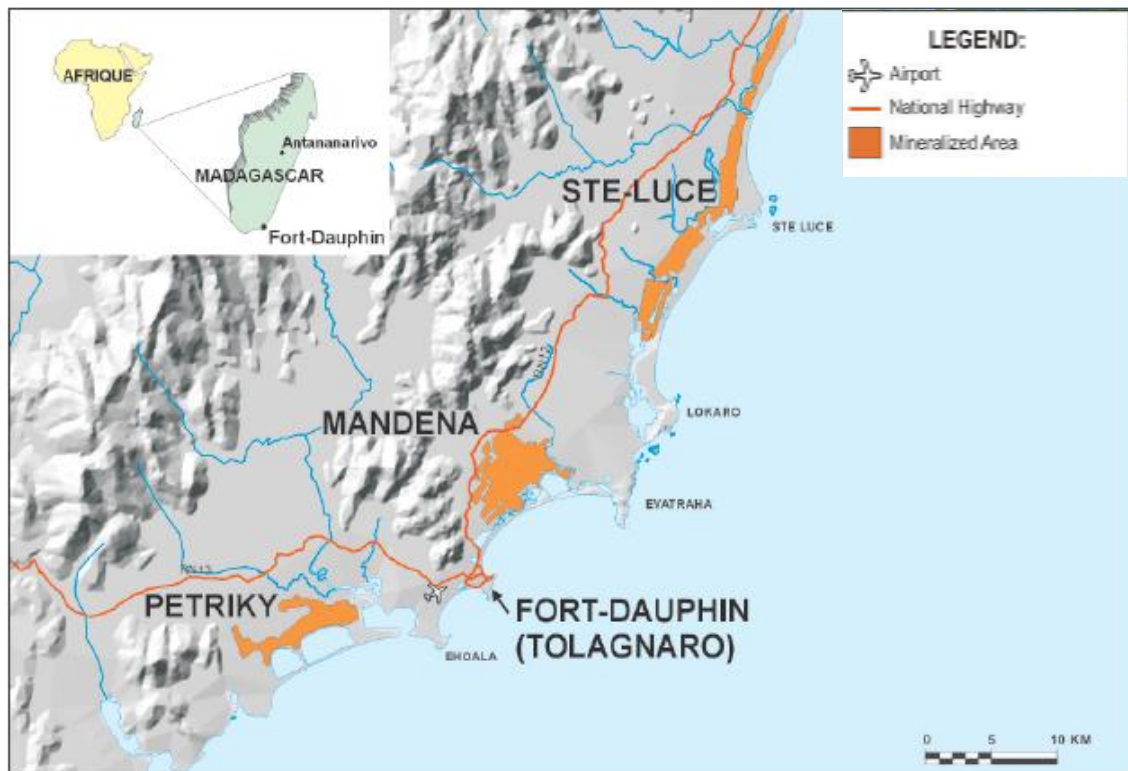
2005) when ideologies such as capitalist regimes of profit making, development and conservation are confronted with actual people and sites with particular histories and linguistic categories, and how in turn the ideologies are inevitably translated, adjusted, and thereby also changed. I conclude that this helps account for both the “rule” of neoliberal development and conservation ideologies in distant sites through expert-led knowledge translated into technical programmes, and the adaptations and transformation in these ideologies. This requires ongoing ethnographic investigation rather than a priori conclusions about the outcomes of neoliberal resource management in developing countries.

Annex 1: maps of the Anosy Region and mining sites

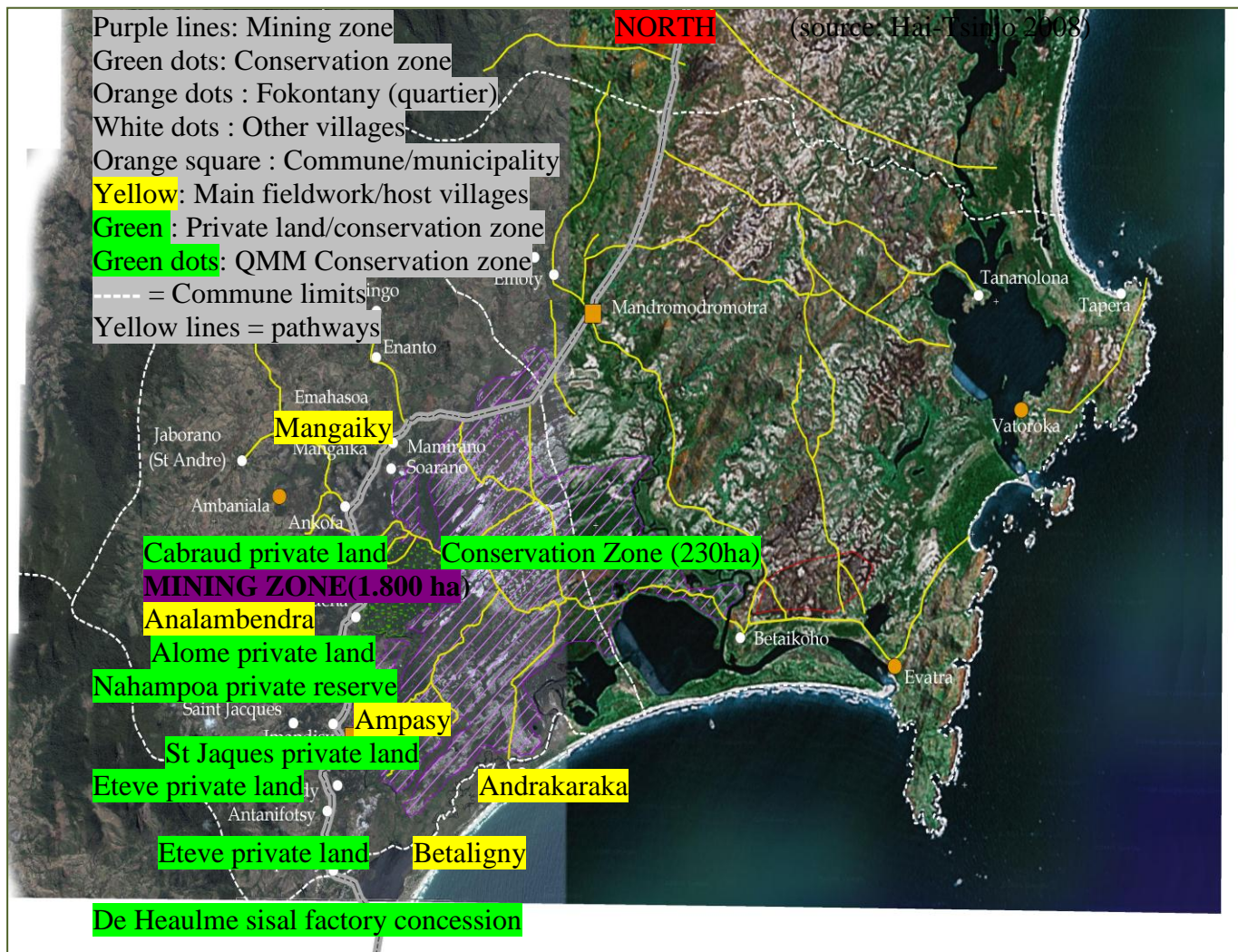
Map 1: Madagascar, the Anosy Region and QMM mining site (O'Brien 2006)



Map 2: Fort Dauphin and the surrounding mineralized areas (O'Brien 2006)



Annex 2: map of the Mandena mining and conservation zone



ROAD TO FORT DAUPHIN TOWN AND NEW PORT OF EHOALA FOR EXPORTING MINERALS

SCALE: 1:1 = 1km

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