Responsibility for What, to Whom? A Critical Assessment of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of Kinross and Newmont in Ghana

By

Nathan Andrews

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Science

University of Alberta

© Nathan Andrews, 2015

ABSTRACT

Once transnational companies take over concessions of land or sea for their business, they are usually expected to provide certain socio-economic mechanisms aimed at cushioning the affected people and communities. This popular expectation or phenomenon is captured as corporate social responsibility (CSR). Yet despite the plethora of books, journal articles, blogs, newsletters, and even corporations' own CSR offices, the concept remains underdeveloped, particularly within the context of Africa. This study specifically delves into this issue by assessing the CSR of two foreign gold mining companies in Ghana, Newmont and Kinross. Although these two companies have received awards in recognition of their CSR agendas, there is little scholarly literature that details the scope, nature and outcome of their programs. And since there is no identifiably rigorous institutional framework for CSR in Ghana, the rationale for companies' programs and initiatives is undefined. The overarching objective of this study is to assess the diverse meanings CSR has for its different stakeholders, that is, companies, government and communities. Employing critical discourse analysis as the analytical framework, I argue that CSR is a discourse that "responsibilizes" corporations by making them accountable for their own actions and alienated from tangible external oversight although it is contested in specific sites on the ground. To advance this stance, I supplement existing literature with qualitative data collected through fieldwork in Ghana involving over 40 mining stakeholders including community leaders, youth leaders, community-based organizations, government ministry officials, and company officers. I also draw upon two focus group discussions held with women to ascertain the gender-specific ramifications of mining and CSR. My findings suggest that the current state of CSR is not suited to incorporating the needs and concerns of affected communities in an effective manner, much less pursuing a developmental agenda. I, therefore, offer suggestions on ways forward to help "re-responsibilize" mining corporations in a manner that could make them truly accountable to all stakeholders. These suggestions are based on self-identified recommendations from research participants.

PREFACE

This dissertation is an original work by Nathan Andrews. The project, which was previously titled "The Dialectics of Mining, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Poverty: An Assessment of Newmont, Kinross, and China Gold Investments in Ghana" received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project ID: Pro00034167, October 16, 2012. A moderately revised version of the second part of chapter 5, which focuses on the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), has recently been accepted for publication in *Business and Society Review*. I solely authored this forthcoming publication.

DEDICATION

To my God, my wife Vera, and my son Jaden.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people who in one way or another contributed to the successful completion of this dissertation. First of all, I want to thank God Almighty for His providence, grace and favour in accomplishing this multi-year task. I get my strength from His abounding mercies over my life because essentially it is in Him I live, move and have my being. Secondly, I will forever be grateful for the support my beloved partner has given me throughout my years in the PhD program. We got married and had a son along the way, but she was still patient with me even when I was not always available for family time. I have really found a treasure in such a caring and thoughtful woman! I also acknowledge the support that came in from my mother (Cynthia Ofosu) in Germany and the entire family in terms of prayers and encouragement, as they have made me persevere even more.

One thing I have learned is that the process of writing a dissertation can be likened to a soul-searching process with many ups and downs. Yet, with dedication and sound advice one can make it. My supervisor, Dr. Rob Aitken, has been fully dedicated to this project from the outset and was always ready to meet and discuss draft chapters and general ideas. I really could not have completed this work without his direction and ongoing support, as he continually insisted on re-evaluation what I thought was already critical. I am very grateful, Rob. The other two members on my supervisory committee, Dr. Janine Brodie and Dr. John Parkins, have been equally invaluable. Their constructive feedback and attention to detail spurred me on to the finish line. Thank you, Janine and John! Additionally, I greatly appreciate the help of Dr. Joanna Harrington. While not on my supervisory committee, she spent a substantial amount of time in reading and providing detailed feedback on two chapters in this dissertation. I am also grateful for the ongoing professional advice and support Dr. Hevina Dashwood and Dr. Malinda Smith give me.

Since most of the primary evidence presented is from the fieldwork data collected through interviews and focus group discussions, I am particularly indebted to the people who agreed to participate in the research without whom I could not present any meaningful findings. Acknowledgements are therefore in order for company staff, community members, leaders, NGO representatives (i.e. WACAM, TWN, ISODEC/PYWP, AMOD, etc.) and government officials who availed themselves to be part of this study. Special thanks goes to Richard Boamah, a resident of Kenyasi No. 1, who gave me primary information on key players in the Ahafo community and to the taxi driver in Sefwi-Wiaso (Kwasi) who connected me with some community leaders in both Akoti and Etwebo. I am equally grateful to Richard Opoku-Sekyere (Youth Outreach Network) and Serwaa Afrifa (University of Ghana) for the help in transcribing the fieldwork data.

Both the Trudeau and Vanier doctoral scholarships funded this research, and I am therefore extremely thankful to the Trudeau Foundation and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council respectively. The generous support offered by these two scholarships gave me the financial freedom to travel for fieldwork, conferences and other related activities. I also appreciate the advice of my Trudeau mentor, Avrim Lazar, and other members of the Trudeau Foundation community. Earlier versions of chapters four, five and six were presented at the following conferences: the 55th annual International Studies Association convention in Toronto (March 26-29, 2014), the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development annual conference at Brock University (May 28-30, 2014), the Canadian Political Science Association annual conference at Brock University (May 27-29, 2014), and the 56th annual International Studies Association convention in New Orleans (February 21, 2015). My gratitude goes to the discussants and other panel participants for their thoughtful feedback. These acknowledgements notwithstanding, any errors or omissions in this dissertation are mine.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
AMV	African Mining Vision
AU	African Union
AGI	Association of Ghana Industries
AILAP	Agricultural Improvement and Land Access Program
AMOD	Ahafo Movement for Development
ASM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining
ASRF	Ahafo Social Responsibility Forum
CBSR	Canadian Business for Social Responsibility
CC	Corporate Citizenship
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDT	Community Development Toolkit
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CEPA	Canadian Environmental Protection Act
CEPIL	Centre for Public Interest Law
CGML	Chirano Gold Mines Limited
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CO	Community Ombudsperson
CRD	Community Relations and Development
CSA	Canadian Standards Association
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations

CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSu	Corporate Sustainability
Das	District Assemblies
DCE	District Chief Executive
DFATD	Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (Canada)
DJSI	Dow Jones Sustainability Index
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EHSG	Environmental, Health and Safety Guidelines
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EIR	Extractive Industries Review
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EITI++	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Plus Plus
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EPCRA	Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act
EPFIs	Equator Principles Financial Institutions
ESG	Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance
EU	European Union
E4D	Extractives for Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FPIC	Free, Prior, and Informed Consent
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GEA	Ghana Employers Association
GHBC	Ghana Business Code
GHEITI	Ghana Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GNCCI	Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
GNPC	Ghana National Petroleum Corporation
GRI	Global Reporting Initiative
ICCBFO	International Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Nationals
ICMM	International Council on Mining and Metals
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IIAG	Ibrahim Index of African Governance
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Centre
KGC	Kinross Gold Corporation
LEG	Livelihood and Environment Ghana
LEEP	Livelihood Enhancement and Community Empowerment Program
MAC	Mining Association of Canada
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MDF	Minerals Development Fund
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MOFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MLNR	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources
MNE	Multinational Enterprise
NADeF	Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation
NCP	National Contact Point
NGGL	Newmont Ghana Gold Limited
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NMA	National Mining Association
NMC	Newmont Mining Corporation
NSMD	Non-State Market-Driven
NYSE	New York Stock Exchange
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OO	Organizational Ombuds
OPIDD	Open, Prior and Independent Deliberate Discussion
PACI	Partnering Against Corruption Initiative
PCDP	Public Communications and Disclosure Plan
PMMC	Precious Minerals Marketing Corporation
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council

PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PR	Public Relations
PWYP	Publish What You Pay
SLTO	Social License to Operate
SOX	Sarbanes-Oxley Act
SPI	Summary of Project Information
SSE	Sustainable Stock Exchanges
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TANs	Transnational Advocacy Networks
TMCs	Transnational Mining Companies
TNCs	Transnational Companies
TSM	Towards Sustainable Mining
TSX	Toronto Stock Exchange
U. K.	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNGC	United Nations Global Compact
UN-REDD	UN Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries
U. S.	United States

WACAM	Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining
WAD	Women and Development
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WBG	World Bank Group
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WUSC	World University Service of Canada
YMCA	Young Men’s Christian Association

CHAPTER 1
Responsibility for What, to Whom? An Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This dissertation is a tale of two foreign mining companies operating in Ghana. These companies, namely Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. (NGGL) and Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. (CGML), as part of their quest to attain a so-called "social licence to operate" (see Hilson 2007) have embarked on different projects and initiatives in addition to their legal requirements to pay taxes and royalties. Such beyond-law actions are broadly captured in company reports, websites, magazines, and the scholarly literature as corporate social responsibility (CSR). One of the reasons these two companies adopt this notion of CSR is due to the many ramifications of their work on host communities including the appropriation of land on which people maintained subsistence living, alteration of social relations, human rights concerns, socio-economic marginalization, and the general absence of alternative livelihood options, among others. Additionally, companies often meet an ethical challenge in cases where their practices and policies actually undermine poverty reduction efforts already in place in local communities (Bird 2004; Culpeper 2005).[1]

To resolve these concerns, NGGL, for instance, has put in place a development foundation that benefits from one dollar of every ounce of gold and one percent of the company's pre-tax profit. On the other hand, CGML has also invested about seven

[1] Collier's (2007) "bottom billion" continually reminds us of the "*Matthew Effect*" of foreign investments in so many places around the world. This phenomenon simply means the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. See The Holy Bible, Matthew 25:29. In the context of mining, the companies are often able to establish an enclave in which the expatriate and domestic workers live with great amenities and opportunities while the larger communities that may be living just next door are marginalized. For the case of uneven development and perpetual poverty in Peru's mining industry, for instance, see Bury (2005).

million dollars in a malaria control program that is meant to safeguard both workers and non-workers in its catchment areas from the deadly disease. The fact that these and many other activities are done in the name of CSR is not in question. What is questionable is that the reported prominence of these endeavours does not measure up to its real utility on the ground for its purported beneficiaries or "audience"[2] even though CSR advocates generally believe that "good corporations are good for society" (Merino and Valor 2011, 159).

As a result, the dissertation characterizes CSR as a discourse. Even though aspects of the existing scholarship see it as elusive, rhetorical or even oxymoronic (see de Bakker et al. 2005; Ihlen 2011; McMillan 2007; Sahlin-Andersson 2006; Topal and Öngen 2008; Utting and Marques 2010; van Oosterhout and Heugens 2008), I argue on the contrary that CSR is in fact a powerful discourse that has won the battle of ideas[3] and is very much alive on the World Wide Web. As anecdotal evidence, a simple Google search of the term "corporate social responsibility" on June 10, 2015 found about 66.3 million hits, including a combination of government and company websites, civil society campaigns, wiki sites, and images, among others. Out of this, 1.8 million hits were recorded under Google scholar representing several journal articles, working papers, conference papers, book chapters, and over 900,000 books that have been dedicated to the topic. In addition

[2] In securitization studies, "audience" refers to the recipients of a security speech-act. In this regard, the success of securitization greatly depends on the ability of the actor to identify with the feelings, needs and interests of the audience—particularly, "the speaker has to tune his/her language to the audience's experience" (Balzacq 2005, 184). The dominance of the CSR discourse is equally facilitated by how corporations tend to tune in to their audience's needs and expectations, yet without actually living up to their promises. Although "audience" implies "stakeholders" in the context of CSR, for this study the latter shall be more frequently used.

[3] For why CSR has "won the battle of ideas," why it fails to serve the needs advocates expect of it, and why it does not deal with the systemic problems of capitalism, see *The Economist*, "The Good Company," January 20, 2005 http://www.economist.com/node/3555212 (accessed March 13, 2015).

to the impressive presence online and in scholarly material, the discourse is particularly alive in corporate practices, corporate publicity efforts, and the monetary and human resource allocations given to the idea in many corporations. All of these indicate that the idea, at the very least, is of interest to many people and it is indeed "real" to a certain extent (Dahlsrud 2008; White 2008).

But I also argue that it is a contested discourse because what is captured as CSR in practice is often a deviation from what it is supposed to be in principle (see Raman 2010). In other words, the audiences of the discourse (in this case stakeholders in host mining communities) have contrasting perceptions of what it has achieved. The contested nature of the CSR discourse is almost akin to looking into one mirror but seeing different images of the same object. Corporations in their minds are possibly doing all the "good" and "virtuous" deeds (see Bowen 1953; Tavis 1982; Vogel 2005) but the communities I engaged with during field research in Ghana have different perceptions and meanings of these "good deeds," and what they have actually accomplished. This difference or the disparity between the CSR discourse and its audience (i.e. the people) is the main crux of this study.

The material aspects of the CSR discourse involves policies and practices corporations have embraced as evidence of their "responsibilized" selves. But being a contested discourse, these sets of policies and practices are equally contested due to the sharp contrast that exists between aspiration and effectiveness. As a discourse, "CSR also takes the form of new means of corporate governmentality,[4] an object of intervention,

[4] Governmentality has deep roots in the thinking and projects advanced by Michel Foucault decades ago (see Elden 2007; Walters 2012; Walters and Haahr 2005). But as used here, it may refer to "an approach that explores how governing always involves particular representations, knowledges, and expertise regarding that which is to be governed" (Larner and Walters 2004, 496). In this particular discussion, it

with the idea of legitimizing the way in which corporate capital does business" (Raman 2010, 6). The CSR discourse, as described in this study, manifests itself mainly by "responsibilizing" the corporation, which entails rendering it immune from government regulation and making it mainly accountable to itself (i. e. primarily its shareholders). In material terms, it also creates an impression of a "responsible" corporation through projects and activities that are regarded as "best practice." This implies a double meaning of responsibility involving a public staging of the corporation as an ethical entity on the one hand and its constitution as "responsibilized" in a neo-liberal self-governing sense on the other hand. Through these discursive manifestations, the corporation is given some real meaning, which is yet contested in many ways (see Blowfield 2005; Fox 2004; Hopkins 2007; Jenkins 2005). The contestation of the discourse is exhibited within the Ghanaian or African context, particularly in the context of its purported contribution to the "development" or wellbeing of host communities (Frynas 2005, 2008; Idemudia 2010; Hilson 2007; Pegg 2006).

In short, it is not enough to just say companies will be responsible for anything; we should be able to adequately come up with discernible positive outcomes that are more in tune with the identified needs of affected communities and peoples—not a bottled-on approach that leaves social responsibility to the discretion of companies to pick and choose what kinds of projects and initiatives they will undertake. The main focus here is on how the CSR discourse constitutes its object (the corporation) in certain specific ways, but an underlying intent is also how the discourse has become a powerful governing device that reproduces or facilitates forms of abuse, social exclusion, gender

---

reveals the complex relationship between both the object (the corporation) and subject (primarily host communities) of the CSR discourse, and it does highlight the contestation that results from the difference in perception of what 'responsibility' means.

inequality, and subjugation. Nonetheless, the emphasis shall be on the former goal. The terms "corporation," "company," and "firm" will be used interchangeably, as they have often been used synonymously in the existing literature on CSR.[5]

1.2 Research Rationale, Goal & Question

A point worth noting at this juncture is that discussions around natural resources and the impact of mining in the context of Africa cover a whole range of issues, CSR being one of them. But many scholars remain divided on the overall essence of mining investments in Africa.[6] The 2006 World Bank report that asked the question, "*Where is the Wealth of Nations*?" really drives home the crux of the ongoing discussions, often cemented by the notion that countries that are richer in natural resources are in fact among the poorest in the world. This phenomenon is generally referred to as "resource curse" or "paradox of plenty" in scholarly debates (Auty 1993; Stevens 2003). The factors identified for this "curse" include institutional or political incentives (Atkinson and Hamilton 2003; Mehlum et al. 2006; Robinson et al. 2006), the types of resources the country in question has (Boschini et al. 2007), the nature of rent seeking (Sarraf and Jiwanji 2001), and the collusion between corporations and government officials (Humphreys et al. 2007), among others. We also know that there is tremendous variation in how natural resources have been used for development in different contexts (see Rosser 2006; Snyder 2006; Snyder and Bhavnani 2005). It is not far-fetched to argue that

[5] I attempted to avoid using 'business' since it often denotes a set of different economic activities – small- to large-scale. Yet, a number of the literatures to be discussed used it interchangeably with 'corporation', 'company' and 'firm'. Thus, it is unavoidable in some of the quotes I employ.

[6] See a discussion of both 'mining is good' and 'mining is bad' hypotheses in World Bank and International Financial Corporation, *Treasure or Trouble? Mining in Developing Countries*, Washington D.C., 2002, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTOGMC/Resources/treasureortrouble.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

the CSR discourse is an outcome of company response to some of the attributes of the "resource curse."

Having said that, the overall objective of the study is to examine the ways in which the CSR discourse constitutes its object (i. e. the corporation) through mechanisms of "responsibilization," alienation from real accountability, and insulation or immunity from effective regulation (whether governmental or global). In other words, I seek to assess how the discourse "speaks" the corporation into being in specific ways. Based on this stated objective, the main research question is to what extent do CSR discourses mean something different for diverse stakeholders, and in what ways are these meanings contested on the ground? Some emphasis is placed on what a small sample of women in mining communities perceive to be the characteristics of a responsible corporation, including how their understandings of CSR contradict what the mainstream literature capture. Community perceptions have already been characterized as vital in understanding corporate behaviour (see Andrews 2013a; Idemudia 2007; Ojo 2012). But particularly in this context, the difference in what the CSR discourse means to mining stakeholders (i. e. host communities, companies, government and civil society) helps to accentuate the contested nature of the discourse.

1.3 Hypothesis/Proposition

My main premise is that CSR is a discourse that constitutes its object (i. e. the corporation) in ways that make it primarily governed by and accountable to itself. Yet, it is a contested discourse because what is often manifested in material terms through CSR practice and policies fail to live up to its purported utility on the ground for people living in host mining communities. This assertion implies that even though the discourse constitutes the corporation and gives meaning to how and why it is a “responsible” self-regulating entity—and in some cases even a “citizen”—there is limited evidence to substantiate this characterization of responsibility. As noted above, this portrayal implies a double meaning of responsibility involving a public staging of the corporation as an “ethical” entity on the one hand and its constitution as “responsibilized” in a neo-liberal self-governing sense on the other hand.

Critical discourse analysis helps to carefully elucidate the ways in which the constitution of the corporation occurs through the CSR discourse. As subsequent chapters show, it enables me to deconstruct notions of “corporate citizenship,” “multi-level suasions of CSR,” “global best practices,” and “social licence to operate” among others to showcase how they contribute to the persuasive “responsibilization” of the corporation. My overall assessment is that even though the actions that are done in the name of CSR are often ineffective, the concept as a discourse remains a powerful device that companies use to brand themselves as “responsible corporate citizens” operating under the principle of self-regulation. As discussed in parts of Chapter 4 and primarily in Chapter 5, this idea of self-regulation further puts into question the validity of global norms of best practice. I have already noted that there is a double meaning implied when CSR discourses use “responsibility” both in describing an “ethical” corporation in terms of conduct and a “responsibilized” corporation that is liable for its own conduct. These two meanings are quite intertwined, but for analytical clarity, the focus in this dissertation is on the latter. Nonetheless, I must admit that the assessment of the practices generated as part of the discourse, particularly the local contestation of such practices, speaks to what local communities may perceive as “ethical” behaviour or not.

1.4 Research Background

The research focuses on Ghana within which two mining companies, CGML and NGGL, are examined. The study is considered to be a *typical* case of the North-South extractive industry investment trend[7] in the sense that these two companies hail from the global North, Canada and the United States, respectively. They were selected specifically to illuminate the differences and/or similarities that exist in the language, policy and practice of CSR in Ghana. The logic for selecting this case study is that Ghana is an example of a country that has received a substantial amount of mining and other foreign investments over the years.[8] Another rationale for choosing Ghana is the fact that although mining has been ongoing for over a century, there has not been ample cost-benefit analysis in terms of how this sector benefits neighbouring communities. Additionally, the country has come under the global spotlight recently after the discovery of a projected 600 million-barrel oil deposit at Cape Three Points in its Western Region.[9] Both foreign and local investors have begun investigating how to turn this oil find into a fortune. Besides this new discovery, the government of Ghana had in the past declared a "Golden Age of Business," which was meant to make the country a one-stop-shop for foreign business investment. Projections within the government indicate that Ghana is the leader within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) group in

[7] See a discussion of different case study techniques in Seawright and Gerring (2008).
[8] New reports indicate that mining investments have increased from US$6 million in 1983 to US$427 million in 2007. This represents 26% of the country's total tax payment, 12% of government revenue, and about 5% of Ghana's GDP. See http://business.peacefmonline.com/industry/201008/71306.php (accessed March 13, 2015). These statistics could change due to recent dip in global gold prices.
[9] See an analysis of this new development in Okpanachi & Andrews 2012.

terms of proclaiming the "Ease of Doing Business" (MOFEP Newsletter 2006, 4).[10] These points buttress the burgeoning of mining investments in the country, and provide justification for interrogating how the discourse of CSR manifests itself in host communities.

1.4.1 Brief Background of CGML[11]

Kinross Gold Corporation (KGC) is a Canadian-based gold mining company with mining projects in Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, Ghana, Mauritania, Russia and the United States, employing approximately 8,000 people worldwide. Founded in 1993 (entering the global gold mining business on May 31), KGC has grown to become one of the world's leading gold mining companies becoming the seventh largest gold producer in the world in 2003, and North America's fourth largest primary gold producer in 2001. In 2009, the company reported record revenue of $2.4 billion, which was a 49 percent increase over 2008.[12] Revenue for the fourth quarter of 2011 was reported as $949.3 million, a 3 percent increase over the same period in 2010 with full-year revenue standing at $3,943.3 billion, a 31 percent increase over full-year 2010. KGC maintains listings on the Toronto and New York Stock Exchanges. In 2010, KGC was listed on the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI)—the North American Index—as a testament to the company's commitment to outstanding corporate citizenship.[13]

---

[10] The celebration of this status led the previous administration (under President J.A. Kufour) to be more relaxed about putting in place solid legal and regulatory framework for the extractive sector, and acting on exiting ones.

[11] Information on this section, unless otherwise indicated, is from Kinross Gold Corporation official website (http://www.kinross.com/) accessed different times during the writing process.

[12] This is perhaps due to the reported surge in gold prices in 2009, among other factors. See http://www.iie.com/publications/pb/pb09-19.pdf (accessed March 2, 2015).

[13] Launched in 1999, the Dow Jones Sustainability Indexes (DJSI) are the first global indexes tracking the financial performance of the leading sustainability-driven companies worldwide. Generally the indexes are used to assess the sustainability performance of the 2,500 companies listed on the Dow Jones global stock

KGC acquired its ownership in the Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. on September 17, 2010 upon completing its acquisition of Red Back Mining Inc.[14] Red Back operated as an African-focused mid-tier[15] gold producer with extensive exploration portfolio in West Africa. Its major operations were in Ghana (Chirano) and Mauritania (Tasiast Gold Mine). Both assets have been taken over by KGC. Prior to this acquisition KGC had invested $600 million in Red Back in the first quarter of 2010.[16] KGC holds 90 percent ownership while the Government of Ghana holds a 10 percent carried interest. CGML is located in the Western Region of Ghana, approximately 100 kilometres southwest of Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city. The mine is within the Bibiani gold belt, and the mining plan at the time of Kinross' acquisition of Red Back called for the exploitation of 11 gold deposits spread along a strike length of approximately 10 kilometres by both open pit and underground mining methods. CGML achieved its first gold pour in October 2005 and consists of 11 deposits, namely, Akwaaba, Suraw, Akoti South, Akoti North, Akoti Extended, Paboase, Tano, Obra South, Obra, Sariehu and Mamnao with one

market. DJSI entails an evaluation of corporate economic, environmental and social performance with the goal of ensuring companies operate in sustainable and ethical manner. Based on the cooperation of Dow Jones Indexes and Sustainable Asset Management (SAM), they provide asset managers with reliable and objective benchmarks to manage sustainability portfolios. See http://www.sustainability-index.com/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

[14]See Marketwire, "Red Back Mining Inc.: Mid-Year Update," July 20, 2010, http://www.marketwire.com/press-release/red-back-mining-inc-mid-year-update-tsx-rbi-1293485.htm (accessed March 13, 2015).

[15] A junior company is one engaged primarily in exploration, a mid-tier company is one with annual revenues of at least US$50 million, and a major company is one with annual revenues of more than US$500 million. This description follows the Metals Economics Group's classification of junior, mid-tier, and major mining companies (as cited in Dashwood and Puplampu 2010, 176). Based on this definition, both Newmont and Kinross are major companies.

[16] Proactiveinvestors.com, "Kinross Invests $600 million in Red Back," May 5, 2010, http://www.proactiveinvestors.com/companies/news/5754/kinross-gold-invests-600-million-in-red-back-mining-5754.html (accessed March 13, 2015).

underground operation. From its 2010 Regional data tables, CGML has a total number of 425 employees with an Attributable[17] Gold Production of 80,298 ounces.[18]

1.4.2 Brief Background of NGGL[19]

Newmont Mining Corporation (NMC) is primarily a gold producer, with significant assets or operations in the United States, Australia, Peru, Indonesia, Ghana, Canada, New Zealand and Mexico. Founded in 1921 and publicly traded since 1925, Newmont is one of the world's largest (often cited as the second largest) gold producers and is the only gold company included in the S&P 500 Index and Fortune 500 (Morris 2010). Publicly traded on the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) since 1940, NMC has spent nearly 90 years primarily in the natural resources industry—mining gold, copper, silver, lead, zinc, lithium, uranium, coal, nickel and aggregates, even dabbling in oil and gas. Headquartered near Denver, Colorado, the company has approximately 43,000 employees and contractors worldwide. In 2011, it recorded a revenue base of $10.4 billion (a 9 percent increase from 2010) with an operating cash flow of $3.6 billion (a 13 percent increase from 2010). In 2007, Newmont became the first gold company selected to be part of the Dow Jones Sustainability World Index. The company has also been listed on the DJSI North American Index since 2008.

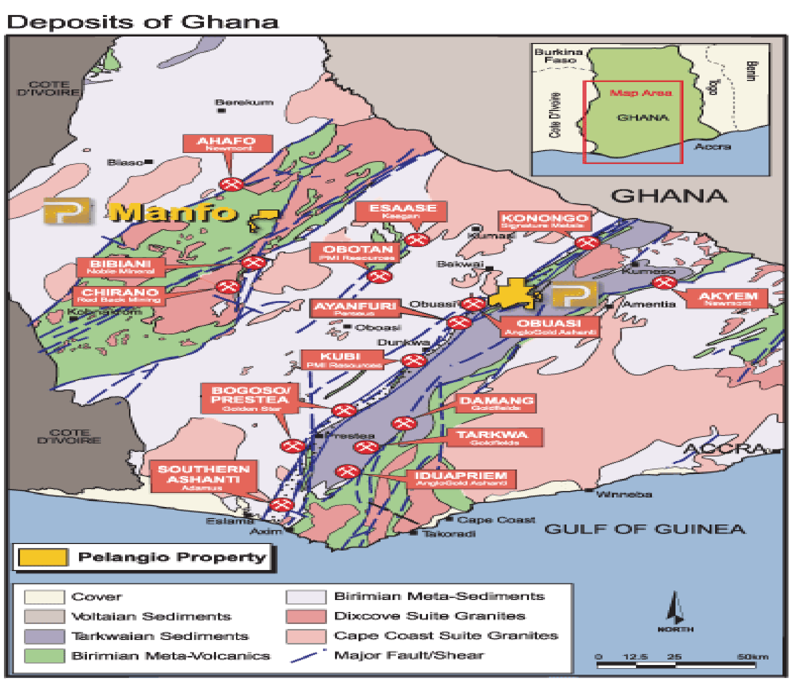
NMC acquired Normandy Mining Ltd. in February 2002 (Cox et al. 2006). Normandy's holdings included two mining projects in Ghana, West Africa. Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. signed a foreign investment agreement with the Government of Ghana

[17] 'Attributable' here implies Kinross's 90% share of production at Chirano.
[18] See Kinross, "2010 Data Tables," http://www.kinross.com/media/221247/2010%20regional_data%20tables_final.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).
[19] Information on this section, unless otherwise indicated, is from Newmont's official website (http://www.newmont.com) accessed different times during the writing process.

in December 2003, which guaranteed them certain financial rights over a thirty-year period for development of the Ahafo and Akyem projects. According to the investment agreement between Newmont and the Government of Ghana, the latter shall not expropriate, confiscate, destroy, disrupt or wrongly take possession of the company (see Article 9.7), and the company also undertook to limit the adverse effects of the project on the environment and to comply with Ghana's laws. The Ahafo project has since been developed and is in production, starting in January 2006 with the pouring of the first gold on July 18, 2006 (Kapstein and Kim 2011). NGGL currently operates four open pits at Ahafo with total reserves contained in 15 pits across the mining lease, and an evaluation of underground mining potential is underway. NGGL is considered important to NMC because both the Ahafo and Akyem projects constitute about 20 percent of the company's core global assets. In 2009, NGGL produced 531,470 ounces of gold (about 15 tonnes). This is equivalent to 17 percent of Ghana's total production with corresponding revenues of $528 million or 20.7 percent of Ghana's gold exports (Ibid.). The company had (as of 2009) 1,731 direct employees on its payroll, 619 (36 percent) of this number is verified to be local, with women occupying 196 (11.2 percent) of all jobs at NGGL (Ibid., 36).

The International Finance Corporation (IFC), a private arm of the World Bank funds the Ahafo Project. In January 2006, the IFC approved an initial $75 million to support NGGL's Ahafo Project (Kotey and Adusei 2009). The implication of this financial assistance is that NGGL will be committed to the various IFC evaluation processes and international standards for best mining practice so as to mitigate the social and environmental impacts of the project. The Ahafo Mine is located about 300 km northwest of the capital city of Accra, in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. The Ahafo mining lease area covers both the currently developed Ahafo South area and the yet-to-be developed Ahafo North area. The total mining lease area contains 10 primary communities (Kenyasi No.1, Kenyasi No.2, Ntotroso, Gyedu and Wamahinso in the Asutifi District as well as Yamfo, Susuanso, Afrisipakrom, Terchire and Adrobaa in the Tano North District*)* with a total of approximately 208,000 inhabitants, most of whom are supported by subsistence farming. The Ahafo Project currently involves 774 square km of land covered by mining and prospecting licenses and 834 square km of land covered by reconnaissance licenses, together with an approximate 48 km strike length.

Figure 1.1: Main Mineral Deposits in Ghana[20]



Source: Pelangio Exploration Inc.[21]

[20] From this figure, the Chirano mine is at the middle left and NGGL's Ahafo is located at upper left section.

[21] See http://www.pelangio.com/cmsAssets/images/news/Image1_Aug3.gif (accessed April 24, 2012).

1.5 Theoretical/Methodological Framework

As noted above, this research examines how CSR discourse (i. e. CSR talk, text and practice) constitutes its object (the corporation) in ways that make it "responsible" for its own conduct, while alienating it from true accountability and government regulation. I adopt critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the framework with which to undertake this examination. Critical thinkers and theorists have drawn attention to the extent to which discourse can reproduce dominance and inequality. The variant of discourse analysis that is focused on this relationship (i. e. CDA) emerged in the 1980s as a new development in European discourse studies (Blommaert and Bolcaen 2000). But the approach has gone beyond its European origins. It is worth noting that CDA "does not primarily aim to contribute to a specific discipline, paradigm, school or discourse theory. It is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis" (van Dijk 1993, 252). Although there are different variants of CDA, the framework basically helps one understand "the way [in which] specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts" (van Dijk 2001, 353-4). Therefore, the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will include such concepts as "power," "dominance," "gender," "hegemony," "institutions," and "social structures."

CDA in simple terms can be perceived as a critique of social practice and social relationships. Specifically, "CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society" (van Dijk 2001, 353 emphasis in original). According to van Dijk (1993), dominance in the context of CDA implies "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality" (249-50). Using CDA as an analytical framework reveals how there is power in language and how, as a social practice, language (in this case CSR talk, text and practice) can reproduce forms of socio-political domination. But some delineation is necessary here. Even though an undeniable aspect of this research entails the extent to which the dominance of the corporation facilitated by CSR discourse results in different forms of marginalization, subjugation and dispossession in host mining communities, the main focus is rather on how the discourse constitutes the corporation as a "responsibilized" object. These two interpretations are intertwined but for the sake of analytical clarity, primary emphasis is given to the latter manifestation of CSR discourse except in the case of Chapter 6 where I also explore the specific ramifications of the discourse on women in mining communities. Here, I enunciate how these women are challenging the corporate mechanisms of intervention.

Discourse may be regarded as "a form of power that circulates in the social field and can attach to strategies of domination as well as those of resistance" (Sawicki 1988, 185). Discourse is also socially constitutive and socially conditioned, being "something that is produced, circulated, distributed and consumed in society" (Blommaert and Bolcaen 2000, 448). With this understanding in mind, I see discourse to be dynamic in that it can be changed or reshaped from time to time. Even though some discourse may precede agency, from a praxealogical standpoint, agency can challenge and possibly change established discourses through new and alternative ideas.[22] Thus, although the CSR discourse is powerful, I am not dealing with it as though it is something that one can only critique without a path for how the discourse can be contested by its audience. With

[22] For a constructivist stance on the power of agency, see Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 2001; Wiener and Puetter 2009; Epstein 2011. On the power of ideas, see Schmidt 2008, 2010; Béland 2005, 2009.

agency, the power contained in CSR discourses can be subverted. One reason I have adopted CDA here is its purposive goal towards social change, particularly its goal of transforming lives through critical thinking (see Fairclough et al. 2011; Hammersly 1997; van Dijk 1993). Seeing CSR as a socially constructed discourse leaves it open to both question and change as part of its potential reconstruction. To advance the goal of reconstruction, the concluding chapter of this dissertation outlines different ways of "re-responsibilizing" the corporation to become subject to effective scrutiny and monitoring by external factors and actors.

I have already argued above that CSR discourse and its affiliated practices "speak" corporations into being or make them up as "responsible" entities answerable to themselves. But to show the contested nature of this discourse, I have purposively selected aspects of the primary data gathered through interviews and focus group discussions that specifically contravene the language contained in the official CSR discourse. In line with the overall ambitions of discourse analysis, the various chapters in this dissertation have sought to juxtapose official and mainstream accounts of CSR with host communities' perceptions in the form of voices from the grassroots/bottom. This undertaking requires an extension of discourse as mainly the study of language (see Fairclough 2010) to entail corporate practices, policies and interactions—all of which represent the material ways in which CSR discourse manifests itself on the ground. For instance, Chapter 3 highlights a particular construction of "corporate citizenship" manifested materially in specific CSR projects. Chapter 5 also covers a unique construction of a "responsibilized" corporation that has adopted international best practices meant to transform their conduct in different sites of operation. Chapters four and six as well showcase how particular meanings of CSR are linked to specific devices of intervention (i. e. policies and practices), albeit contested.

1.6 Data and Methods

Relevant data for this study were collected from a variety of sources including books, journal articles, and other publications (both scholarly and non-scholarly), internal government documents, company reports, information on company websites, and fieldwork. The companies work with several communities within their catchment areas. NGGL, for instance, has at least 10 main communities that it considers key stakeholders or beneficiaries. CGML also has communities that amount to a similar number. Nonetheless, the fieldwork sought to mainly involve the town/villages that are in the immediate vicinity of the companies. This led to the selection of three neighbouring towns/villages for each company. For NGGL, these communities were Kenyasi No. 1, Kenyasi No. 2 and Ntotroso. The communities considered for the CGML case study were Akoti, Etwebo and Paboase. The fieldwork used two methods of data collection, namely, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGD). This was preceded by an exploratory study, which utilized a rapid street-level survey to understand what the general issues are and other possible ways of approaching the in-depth field research. These methods were chosen in order to ensure a conscious engagement with people from the grassroots whose daily lives intersect in one way or another with the work of mining companies.

1.6.1 Street-level Rapid Survey ("vox pop")

Surveys have been useful for collecting data on phenomena that cannot be directly or sufficiently observed—or even for research that requires a multi-dimensional input (see Babbie 1973). I adopted a simple but purposeful type of survey for this research, which is street-level rapid survey, known in journalistic parlance as "vox pop." Vox pop is a short form of the Latin word *Vox Populi* meaning "voice of the people." While not popular in social science research perhaps due to its journalistic origins, this survey type is used by journalists to capture quick public opinion on certain topical issues mostly due to its "lively and entertaining nature" (Daschmann 2000, 117). Video-taped vox-pop interviews can be used to expose language learners to authentic discourse as there is a more direct and straightforward audio-visual encounter with native speakers (see Denton 2004). In my case, it was used as a tool to assess the general perceptions of the communities about the two companies, including a perception of what is wrong/right and what can be changed. This was the only source of data for the pilot study that took place in January 2013. As argued by van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001), pilot or feasibility studies have the potential to "give advance warning about where the main research project could fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated" (1). The vox pop, therefore, was a great learning experience and aspects of that data have been used in subsequent chapters.

Vox pops were conducted at Kenyasi No. 1, Kenyasi No. 2, Akoti, and Etwebo. Apart from one informant[23] in Kenyasi No. 2, all respondents (22 in total) were

[23] He was identified through a relative but was deemed a credible informant because he had lived in Kenyasi prior to the coming of NGGL and had actually been contracted by the company on some

handpicked on site and asked simple questions that broadly covered any or all of these issues.[24] As a pilot study, these questions and the brief answers that were recorded gave direction to the more in-depth fieldwork that occurred between May and August 2013. The "vox pop" revealed both benefits and demerits. One major benefit was the ability to gather quick community-generated data about a matter of interest. No single respondent was spoken to for more than five minutes, apart from the key informant in Kenyasi No. 2 who gave a lot more detail. In essence, no in-depth discussion can ensue from using this method, but it is an interesting way of invoking the voice of the average person on the street. It does help in revealing a general sense of conditions. In some cases, insights do reveal things the researcher would not have factored into the study prior. The demerit is that no specific statistical or methodological calculation was made to ensure representativeness. Anyone who was on the street or had a shop/house near a street had the potential of being included. Informed consent, in the manner described and required by the ethics board of the university, was hard to obtain when the chat itself was targeted to be about five minutes. Thus, what I did was to explain the objectives of the survey and ask respondents to verbally agree to participate.[25]

Even though the general reaction of the people at Kenyasi to the vox pop was good, the reception at Akoti and Etwebo was quite hostile in the first few hours of entry. Just a gutter separates these two villages and one can easily cross from one end to the

---

community initiatives in the past. Being part of an existing community-based organization called "Social Impact," he also helped me to connect with other local NGOs for the fieldwork. For the CGML location, the taxi driver that took me there the first time became my informant, as he has been living in the area for over two decades and is fully aware of the common issues. I did not interview him in particular but his connections and knowledge of the area helped me to identify five specific community leaders to interview, which led to others.

[24] See Appendix A for the list of questions.

[25] The University of Alberta Research Ethics Board hitherto approved this approach, including the other methods used, on October 16, 2012 (project ID: Pro00034167).

other within a matter of minutes. The first person I wanted to speak with did not mince words in saying “no,” with no specific reason other than the point that he did not trust me. It was later on that another man intimated that the lack of trust is due to the two communities’ prevailing grievances against the resident mining company, CGML. The people’s reluctance in being part of the study is a result of the history of arrests that have been commissioned by the company to target community critics. In fact, some people thought I had been sent as a “spy.” The case, however, is that many of the problems for which the communities are displeased occurred under the management of Red Back Inc., the company that Kinross took over from a few years ago. CGML, although yet to roll out advanced CSR initiatives like those by Newmont, has inherited this shortcoming from the outset. After providing little incentive (particularly calling cards), I was able to find a handful of people who further went and called some others to be interviewed. This was an unintended snowball effect but useful in obtaining the information needed. I followed up with some of these contacts who led me to other people I could speak with during the fieldwork.

1.6.2 Interviews—Elite & Community

Elite and community interviews constituted a major aspect of my data gathering techniques. Both traditional leaders and civil/public leaders are elites in their own rights but for analytical purposes, the use of “elite” in this study refers to the latter. The elite respondents are generally considered experts on an issue at hand, where the balance of power and knowledge shifts to the respondent who is considered in high repute due to their intellectual and communicative aptitude (see Burnham et al. 2008). The interview questions[26] were semi-structured and therefore varied slightly from respondent to respondent in order to allow for new and unexpected information (Daugbjerg 1998 cited in Burnham et al. 2008). This implies that the interview schedule listed in the appendix was not used verbatim in all instances.

Overall, 45 interviews were conducted involving a variety of stakeholders such as community members and leaders, mining company officials, government officials, community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who work in the area of social and environmental responsibility and accountability. Community interviewees were selected through a snowball dynamic. My last question, "is there anyone else in this community that you think I can speak to regarding this issue," led me to identify a long list of potential participants. Due to both availability issues and purposive selection, not all the people identified were contacted. The interviews generally lasted between 10 and 60 minutes each.[27]

Out of the total number, five interviews were with government officials (specifically, the Minerals Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency Ghana, the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, the Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation, and the Ghana Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, which is under the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning); four were with identified NGOs in Accra (specifically, Third World Network-Africa, Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining, ISODEC/PWYP-Ghana, and Associates for Development Partnerships); one with a Mining Watch Canada official and six with

[26] See appendix A for the preliminary schedule of questions for each category of respondents.
[27] Please note that of the 45 interviews, three of them can be considered as discussions although they are not technically focus group discussions because there were only two people involved in each case. This was not part of the original plan but due to availability constraints, having such an impromptu arrangement was tactical.

company officials—three from each company. Two of the CGML officials were interviewed in Cape Town in early May, as they were part of a CSR workshop I attended there. The remaining 29 interviews were split between the two companies covering the six towns/villages listed above, and including ordinary community members, community consultative committee members, opinion/youth leaders, and leaders of community-based organizations. An interesting finding was that the catchment areas of CGML the research covered, unlike NGGL's areas, did not have any identifiable NGOs or community-based action-oriented groups.

The interviews generated some rich data that span the terrain of what existing literature generally considers as "corporate social responsibility." Company officials were quick to refer to school buildings, roads, hospitals/clinics, recreational centres, sources of drinking water, training workshops and educational scholarships as their contribution to the wellbeing of the people in their areas of operation. Some community members did confirm these benefits. One issue that the companies did not mention was unemployment. The CSR literature is quite silent on this topic and the broader issues of labour more generally as it remains unclear whether the provision of employment constitute a part of a company's social responsibility or it is the responsibility of the domestic government to provide such avenues for its people. I can say with certainty that the community members I interviewed mentioned the rising rate of unemployment as their major source of concern. To them, once the land on which they used to farm has been taken away without adequate compensation, the best thing the company could do is to employ them even if to do menial work that does not require formal certification. One thing about employment was the fact that the local chiefs who get contracts from the companies do not often hire locals to fill available positions. Some people argued that the chiefs connive with the companies to disenfranchise the communities while others see this episode as a replica of the colonial era, where through indirect rule, the colonial powers were able to "buy" the chiefs and use them to exploit the locals.

Besides the issue of unemployment, other concerns covered social (unsustainable livelihood, high living standards, rising rate of crime and *galamsey*,[28] diminishing returns for foodstuff, and commercial goods, etc.), and environmental issues (i. e. dust, depletion of forest reserve, cyanide spillages into drinking water, etc.). The answer to the question of how they see their lives 5-10 years after the company leaves showed that overall the company's presence has not lived up to its current constitution as a "responsible" entity. It does show how a powerful tool such as CSR can, in practice, remain dubious. Let me note here that this was one of the most interesting findings of the field research because even for those who saw the companies as doing some good, they still did not find any viable "inheritance" they could point to when the companies leave.

1.6.3 Gendered Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Although it has become widely used in fields such as sociology, business marketing, and advertising, focus group discussions (FDGs) has been an underexploited

[28] This is a group of artisanal small-scale miners who are generally considered to be operating illegally. There is a perception among some community members that the lack of sustainable livelihood options and employment opportunities has resulted in the rise of this kind of mining, which tends to have a more negative impact on the environment than large-scale mining, since it uses less sophisticated methods to extract minerals. It is nonetheless lucrative for those who engage in them. In recent times, several foreign nationals, especially Chinese, have become part of this operation. The issue came up during the time I was in Ghana when the government commissioned a task force to examine the situation, which led to the deportation of several hundreds of Chinese who were both working in that sector illegally and also staying in the country without proper documentation. See sample news article: http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Ghana-deports-100-Chinese-illegal-mining-20130607 (accessed March 13, 2015).

method in political science research.[29] This is possibly due to the historical focus of political science research—particularly large-N cross-national studies—on generalizations about complex causal relationships instead of "thick" and multi-dimensional description of specific cases and concepts (Coppedge 1999; Ebbinghaus 2005). Focus groups have their limits but are a useful way of involving people in one's research and ensuring a focused discussion on a particular topic (Krueger and Casey 2009). Two FGDs were organized, one in each identified community comprising women respondents, with the goal of understanding the various perceptions of CSR within the community. One rationale for choosing only women for the discussion is based on the likelihood that the community elders and opinion leaders to be interviewed would mainly be men. Another rationale is that traditionally women in Ghana are normatively expected to be, and are, primary caregivers and domestic labourers in households (see Bukh 1979; Lloyd and Gage-Brandon 1993). Thus, if there are any particular effects of mining on households, they are worth being interviewed. The ultimate goal was to get the participants to appreciate their current realities, and identify alternative livelihood solutions (or possible *home-grown* ways of making mining more beneficial to them).

Two FGDs were conducted involving six females in the three CGML focus areas and five in NGGL's areas. The plan was to have five people in each group, but the second one ended up with six because there was an open announcement done by a "town crier" to invite any woman in either Akoti or Etwebo interested in the focus group. I could not turn away the sixth person. The other group was put together with the help of an informant (a community member I had previously interviewed) who helped in identifying

[29] In some instances, it is used as a strategy by political advisors, advertisers, and pollsters.

women from primarily Kenyasi No. 1 and Kenyasi No. 2. The groups included a wide range of age groups, from 18 to over 50 years. Conscious effort was made to ensure every participant felt comfortable contributing to the discussion.[30]

1.6.4 Ethics and Data Verification

This research was approved by the University of Alberta's Research Ethics and Management office and as such followed established guidelines and principles of ethical conduct (i. e. informed consent and confidentiality). While all respondents (except a few cases during the vox pops) signed a permission form, extra effort was made to send interview transcripts back to them—particularly those whose names and titles I intended to use in my dissertation and those who provided e-mail correspondence that work. On 10 September 2013, data verification e-mails were sent to 16 respondents including company, NGO, and government officials. This was meant to ensure their double confirmation and consent that I could directly quote any portion of the interview as I deem necessary for my research. The university ethics office, per my specific proposal, did not necessarily require this, but I thought it was the appropriate thing to do. Upon the successful defense of this dissertation, a soft copy will be emailed to them for their information.

1.7 Limitations/Challenges of Study

The research did face four main obstacles. The first had to do with elite interviews and the availability of these officials, from the government, company, and even civil

[30] Yet in each case, there were some participants who were more vocal than others. Although the issues being discussed were serious, the discussion ensued amidst a great deal of laughter and giggles. This does not belittle the outcome since it is quite normal for a group of women in Ghana to lighten their plights by making jokes out of them or by being sarcastic.

society. The target group consisted of top officials whose busy itineraries became a setback to finding suitable times for interviews. The surprising thing was the fact that civil society leaders could be placed in this category. Even some company officials appeared to be more readily available and alert to emails than civil society leaders were. The second major challenge I had was data availability and translation. Although the two companies were somewhat willing to appoint officials I could interview, none of them actually gave me any specific document or information other than what is already publicized on their websites and in their publicized reports.[31] With the community interviews, there was the challenge of translating certain key terms or concepts (such as CSR or bottom-up approach) into local language in a sensible manner.[32] This certainly influenced the questions and how to ask them.

The third challenge is that the semi-structured nature of community interviews (especially FGDs) seems to have revealed a challenge in terms of analysis, particularly with regard to the ability to synthesize a series of disjointed perceptions. The challenge of arriving at effective synthesis is a common feature of qualitative studies, nonetheless (Denyer and Tranfield 2006). But in my case, a careful manual coding of specific and general themes helped to work around this challenge. Fourthly, based on a single country case study the research is limited in terms of "generalizability" to other cases or countries. This, however, was not the goal of the study from the outset since it sought to adopt a more in-depth account using critical discourse analysis.

[31] Even though I received a few documents from the government officials interviewed, a number of the mining acts, principles, and procedures were only available at a cost. I had to buy a couple of these.

[32] Mining companies have ways of reaching host communities in the local vernacular, as they have hired a number of locals to spearhead such community relations efforts. The difficulty for me was mainly in how to translate CSR in exact terms. I had to adopt a language synonymous to "benefits," which translates as "asede3" in the local parlance.

1.8 Structure of Dissertation

This study is divided into seven chapters. The first and current chapter offers a general introduction and background to the study, including a discussion of theory and methods. In Chapter 2, critical discourse analysis allows me to explore the lineage of CSR through a critical literature review. This discussion helps us to identify the forces and ideas that have shaped the current dominance of the concept and highlights its many debilitating flaws both conceptually and practically. Chapter 3 critically assesses the dominantly positive image corporations have created for themselves through the CSR discourse they choose to use, particularly how they are represented as "responsibilized" corporate citizens. This is reflected in information on their websites, in their sustainability reports, and through interviews I conducted as part of my fieldwork. Here too, the quest is to contrast the official and often ineffectual CSR claims with the experiences of other stakeholders within the host communities.

Chapter 4 explores the multi-level factors that are expected to shape corporations. Employing CDA in this chapter helps to highlight the rhetorical nature of these so-called levels of influence. The goal is to show that CSR has become a kind of governing device that is still expected to succumb to some external forces even though the discourse constructs a corporation that is responsible for its own conduct. Framed in a language of voluntary governance, it has become almost impossible to expect any positive impact of existing global governance regimes—especially since corporations are constituted in ways that make them impervious to true accountability and governmental regulation. Chapter 5 follows closely with an emphasis on one particular level of analysis—the global—to shed light on how CSR is hardly shaped by two well-established global regulatory frameworks (i.e. United Nations Global Compact and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative). The voices from the grassroots are used to counterpoise the official expectations of these frameworks. This chapter elucidates how "responsibilization" occurs at the global level through the construction of a corporation that abides by voluntary international "best practice," and how such manifestation of the CSR discourse remains contested.

Chapter 6 delves deeper into the grassroots voices by examining the gender-specific insights around CSR and mining ramifications. Through critical discourse analysis, I use the voices of the women who formed part of the focus group discussions to show how CSR has, instead of making people's lives better, reproduced different forms of abuse, dispossession, and subjugation. This is one instance where I not only show how CSR constitutes its "responsibilized" object (i. e. the corporation), but also how this constitution has a direct impact on the lives of people in mining communities. For those who may be interested in reconstituting CSR, this chapter provides a modest direction in terms of what characteristics a gendered understanding of the concept might embrace. This is primarily based on the respondents' own self-identified notions of how to make things better. The concluding section (Chapter 7) mainly summarizes the entire dissertation and provides some suggestions to potentially improve the state of livelihoods in mining communities in Ghana in terms of "re-responsibilizing" the corporation to actually become accountable. These are derived from suggestions each community interviewee provided in their respective contributions. At the end of the day, it is the voice of the research participants that count towards feasible recommendations for social change.

CHAPTER 2

Origin, Nature, Scope & Rationale of CSR: A Literature Survey

2.0 Review of Literature: Introduction

This section provides a detailed review of the CSR concept. Four questions are pertinent at this juncture, namely: 1) What is CSR and where does it come from? 2) What are some of the key trends and debates within the broader literature? 3) What is the relationship between CSR, development and poverty eradication? 4) What is the current state of CSR in the Ghanaian and broader African context? These questions underlie the essence of the CSR discourse covering a range of both theoretical and practical issues. The questions are crucial because despite its long history and popularity, there remains a great deal of ambiguity around the concept's history, scope, rationale, and utility (Ihlen 2011; McMillan 2007; Sahlin-Andersson 2006; van Oosterhout and Heugens 2008; White 2008; Utting and Marques 2010), including its touted developmental significance in resource-rich countries (see Frynas 2005, 2008; Idemudia 2007, 2010; Agbonifo 2011). More weight is placed on delineating the concept as a discourse in general terms while the rest of the dissertation focuses on how the discourse operates in Ghana in a contested form. It is worth noting here that CSR is also a practice that entails the inscription[33] of a certain form of knowledge in practice captured in sustainability reports, actual investments and projects that is framed in certain specific ways to advance the legitimization of the "responsibilized" corporate self.

Another note from the discussion to ensue below is that although the notion of "social responsibility" (whether of the businessman, business enterprise, or the general

[33] For more on the power of inscription in the European Union context, particularly how Europe is constituted as a 'knowable space of rule,' see Walters 2002.

public) has a long history, the idea of CSR has a more recent history (Carroll 2008). The dictionary definition of a corporation denotes that it is "treated by the law as having a legal individuality or entity other than that of a natural person" (The Webster's 1976, 510). By definition, "a modern, large corporation is the means of coordinating production from one centre of strategic decision-making" (Cowling and Sugden 1998, 67), and this is regarded as the essence of the modern corporation. Yet, such definitions do not provide any indication of why and how corporations may be interested in social responsibility, perhaps except if it has any specific implications for corporate strategic decision-making, as suggested by Cowling and Sugden (1998).

The notion of a multinational corporation is a twentieth century phenomenon, and it is a quintessential part of the American free-market society (Wolfson 1984). But its spread in the post-World War II era has resulted in the scrutiny of its operations (Williamson 1981). The considerable attention to the corporation was due to abuses of power recorded in the early 1900s (Smith and Walter 2006). Part of this scrutiny involved what Wolfson (1984) calls "radical reformers" who sought to reconstitute corporate boards to include "outside" interest groups and "to impose 'shareholder democracy', and corporate 'social responsibility', and to alter corporate law so as to impose additional legal constraints upon management" (26). Yet, writing in the 1980s, his view was that CSR is dangerous and that "top corporate management should limit themselves to the purely economic role of maximizing profits within the confines of the law and generally accepted ethical behaviour" (Wolfson 1984, 150). It is not clear what defines a "generally accepted ethical behaviour" but this evidence goes to show that the idea of CSR has not always been popular (see Friedman 1970; Henderson 2004; Karnani 2011). I argue that it is part of this scrutiny advanced by the "reformers" particularly in the public sphere that has led many corporations to embrace the CSR discourse although it is a mechanism of alienation from any effective external regulatory oversight.

In other words, it is unpopular or even "unsexy" for any corporation to be unresponsive to CSR. Yet, the discussion below underscores the argument that CSR is a discourse that legitimizes the talk, text, and practices of a "responsibilized" corporation while cushioning it from true accountability and government regulation. Part of what corporations are touted to be responsible for is the "development" of host communities, which is covered under the third question above. It is one objective that is crucial to the Ghanaian context but the idea of development need not be taken for granted. In this context, development implies "discourses and sets of practices that guide and structure social change processes geared towards improving the living conditions of people in a particular geopolitical locale" (Andrews and Bawa 2014, 923). With regard to mining, CSR then becomes one of those discourses and devices of intervention that promise to make the lives of host communities better. But existing literature highlights many prevailing shortcomings of this endeavour although the discourse in general achieves something specific, that is, the construction of the corporation as responsible to itself. A cautionary note, however, is that judging from the volume of work that has been done on CSR from different literatures—including management and organizational studies, accounting, business ethics, development studies, and political science—primary focus is given to aspects of the literature that help to address the four questions noted above.

2.1 Origin & History of CSR

There is no specific consensus on where the term CSR came from or when exactly it was first used; in general, business' concern for society has a long history dating back to the late 1800s (Carroll 2008). Schwartz (2011) posits that it dates back to the Code of Hammurabi almost 4,000 years ago that sought to prevent the cause of death to others through the negligence of builders, innkeepers, and farmers. It is also believed that a sense of ethical behaviour or practice is embedded in the doctrines of the world's religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which date back to thousands of years. Others say that before CSR became a buzzword, notions of social responsibility had already existed in Confucian teachings such as the philosophy that "in the presence of profit, think about social interest" (Jin 1990 cited in Kao and Kao 2010, 11). At the same time, its origin has been linked to the 19th century boycotts of foodstuffs produced with slave labour or the moral vision spearheaded by entrepreneurs such as Cadbury and Marks (Frynas 2008). All of these antecedents provide some legacy for the concept but CSR, as we know it today, is not quite the same as what social responsibility meant a century or two ago. Recent iterations of social responsibility, captured as CSR, is essentially regarded as an American idea evident in the characteristics of the U. S. business system such as individual freedom and responsibility (Crane et al. 2008). However, as an academic discipline, it is mostly a product of the twentieth century particularly the early 1950s onwards. Carroll (2008) argues that the "modern" era of CSR began in the 1950s with Bowen's (1953) book entitled "*Social Responsibilities of the Businessman*." Based on this seminal work, Howard Bowen is acclaimed as the father of CSR. Here too, it is worth clarifying that the social responsibilities of the businessman is more individual (i. e. the level of the economic actor) than CSR, which encompasses the purported uptake of responsibility by the corporation at large.

In terms of phases, Murphy (1978) sees four main periods. The first of these was the "philanthropic era" starting from the 1800s up to the 1950s where companies mainly donated to charities. The main CSR concern during the Industrial Revolution (mid to late 1800s) was regarding employees and how to make them more productive. The social problems of the emerging factory system were mainly labour unrest, poverty, slums, and child and female labour. Welfare mechanisms sought to address these problems with the provision of hospitals, washrooms, lunchrooms, and recreational facilities, among others (Crane et al. 2008). Beyond the concern with employees, philanthropy also emerged in the late 1800s although this gesture initially targeted employees. In 1887, for instance, evidence shows that company gifts to charities were listed under "Miscellaneous Expenses" in the company's records (Heald 1970 cited in Carroll 2008, 22).

The case of YMCAs (Young Men's Christian Associations), which began in London in 1844, is cited as a good example of early social responsibility initiatives due to the substantial support they received from companies for their community-related programs. Yet this period is usually referred to as the "profit maximizing management" phase of social responsibility by Hay and Gray 1974 (cited in Carroll 2008, 23). Muirhead (1999) calls the 1870 to 1930 era the "prelegalization period" of corporate contributions. In general, corporate contributions prior to the 1900s were perceived negatively as it was seen as distributing stockholders' assets without their consent. That is why these contributions were legally restricted to causes/initiatives that brought benefits to the company (Carroll 2008). As already hinted above, the multinational corporation became widespread mainly in the post-World War II era and as such any public or social expectations of these entities could not have preceded its popularity (see Williamson 1981; Wolfson 1984).

The second period was the "awareness era" between 1953 and 1967 where more recognition was given to and emphasis placed on the overall responsibility of business and its involvement in social issues. Despite Bowen's book and others by several pioneers of CSR, the 1950s "was one of more 'talk' than 'action'" as very few non-philanthropic corporate initiatives were recorded (Carroll 2008, 26). This trend continued through the 1960s as well, although several definitions and scholarly work on the subject emerged around this time. During the "issue era" of 1968 to 1973, companies began focusing on specific issues such as urban decay, racial discrimination and pollution. This was followed by a "responsiveness era" (1974-1978), which saw companies beginning to take concerted management actions to address social responsibility issues. This periodization appears arbitrary for several reasons. One is that even in these present times some companies are yet to move from an "awareness" period to a place where they are actually making serious decisions and taking action on their responsibility to society at large.

On a different note, Carroll (2008), for instance, sums up the whole 1930s to the present day era as what he calls "the corporate period." In this period, corporations began to be seen as having social obligations and there was growing support for this idea among business leaders. Additionally, what is considered as the "responsiveness era" can be extended to the early 1990s followed by what we can call the "measurement and legalization" era where several market-oriented and internationally based codes of best practice became popular. The period witnessed the origin of several global codes including the Global Sullivan Principles (launched in 1999 by Rev. Sullivan and the United Nations), United Nations Global Compact (unveiled in 2000), the Ruggie Principles, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) Sustainable Development Framework, among others.

Additional measures that are somewhat market-based include the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI) and the Partnering Against Corruption Initiative (PACI).[34] The International Organization for Standardization (ISO)[35] also has a series of environmental management standards (e.g., ISO 14000,[36] ISO 14001, ISO 9000) meant to help organizations minimize the negative impacts of their operations on the environment, and ensure that they comply with the laws, rules and regulations that relate to the environment. The concluding note on the origin of CSR is that the vast field of study defies a simple periodization. In fact, some of the eras appear contradictory since similar time periods are given different names depending on who is writing. Yet, the periodic categorizations outlined above help us to delineate how the general idea of "social

[34] The World Economic Forum Partnering Against Corruption Initiative (PACI) is a global anti-corruption initiative, developed by companies for companies. PACI offers a risk mitigation platform to help companies to design and implement effective policies and systems to prevent, detect and address corruption. It also helps to level the playing field through collective action with other companies, governments and civil society. See http://www.weforum.org/community/partnering-against-corruption-initiative-0 (accessed March 13, 2015).

[35] For more details, see http://www.iso14000-iso14001-environmental-management.com/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

[36] In her study, Clapp (1998) argues that ISO 14000 will not be beneficial to developing countries mainly due to lack of representation and the fact that promotion of clean technologies is not required by these standards. Overall, these standards are spearheaded by the private industry itself for its own governance.

responsibility" has evolved over time, particularly how it continues to solidify its presence through dominant academic and non-academic discourses and practices.

2.2 Definition, Nature & Scope of CSR

According to Schwartz (2011), CSR is associated with seven moral standards: the universal ethical values of trustworthiness, responsibility, caring and citizenship; relativism; egoism; utilitarianism; Kantianism; moral rights; and justice or fairness, with different variations such as distributive justice, compensatory justice, retributive justice, procedural justice, and societal justice. It is a result of these many elements that CSR continually tends to maintain a "pluralist" character, populated by ideas such as corporate ethics, corporate citizenship (McIntosh 2003), corporate accountability, corporate social investment (Warhurst 2001), corporate social performance (Waddock and Graves 1997), corporate community relations (Burke 1999), business ethics (Crane and Matten 2007), corporate environmental management (Berry and Rondinelli 1998), and even corporate developmental responsibility (Tavis 1982), among others. Even though these concepts are often used interchangeably in the business-society literature, they convey different meanings and should not be confused. The next chapter critically examines the notion of "corporation citizenship."

In terms of definition, it is probably expedient to start with the "father of CSR" himself. According to Bowen (1953), the social responsibilities of businessmen "refer to the obligations of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of actions which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society" (6). Having said that, he notes that businessmen have the responsibility to question or criticize widely accepted societal values, but that does not mean they can neglect these values or place their own values above those of society. This still raises the question of whose society and whose values? His book begins with the assertion that although the decisions of business affect the quality of life of everyone else, the businessman fails to appreciate the relationship between private business decisions and the welfare of the general public. But due to the strategic position of the businessmen in capitalist economies, it is right to expect them to be mindful of the social consequences of their decisions, as well as have social responsibilities that transcend their obligations to shareholders.

To further shed light on this definition, Bowen (1953) implies that like government, business is basically "of the people, by the people, and for the people" (5). For him, social responsibility is synonymous with "public responsibility," "social obligations," and "business morality." It is worthy of note that Bowen was writing about corporate America at that time, and he focuses on social responsibility at the individualized level as opposed to the corporate level even though the specific actors he refers to operate within the bigger corporation. Nonetheless, he fails to give a clear justification as to why he uses the supposedly generic term "businessman" without being gender-sensitive. The only speculation here is that "there apparently were no businesswomen during this period, or at least they were not acknowledged in formal writings" (Carroll 1999, 269). And it is possible socio-cultural, legal and other restrictions prevented women from being independent in matters of finance (see, for instance, Brush 1992; Loscocco and Robinson 1991).

Bowden's definition, even though it operates at the individualized level, provides an undertone for the discourse we know as "corporate social responsibility," which is generally seen as the responsibility of the corporation to pursue goals that benefit society. For instance, Frederick (1960) opines that "social responsibility in the final analysis implies a public posture toward society's economic and human resources and a willingness to see that those resources are utilised for broad social ends and not simply for the narrowly circumscribed interests of private persons and firms" (cited in Carroll 2008, 27). Note that William C. Frederick is considered one of the earliest and influential contributors to the discussion of social responsibility. His idea of a public posture/stance fits with Bowen's notion of public responsibility or the point that businessmen should address issues of public welfare. One may venture to say that later definitions built upon the ideas expressed in Bowen's book and expanded it to include the corporation at large. For example, Carroll (1979) posits that while there have been various approaches and understandings of the term CSR, any definition that seeks to capture the entirety of the wide range of obligations business has toward society must embrace the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary categories of business performance. In terms of specific definition, he argues "the social responsibility of business encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time" (Carroll 1979, 500). The utility of this definition is that it offers more specific sets of responsibilities instead of just a mere desire for business to live up to broad societal objectives and values. The reference to "time" also reveals the dynamism CSR is expected to embrace.

Later, Carroll (1991) developed his four-dimensional definition into what he calls "the pyramid of CSR," with the dimensions covering economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities. In his pyramid, he considers economic responsibilities (i. e.

being profitable) as the bedrock of all the others; followed by legal responsibilities (obeying the law and playing by the rules of the game); ethical responsibilities (doing what is right, just, fair, and avoiding harm); and philanthropic responsibility (being a good corporate citizen by contributing resources to improve quality of life) at the top of the pyramid. Yet, he further on suggests that these responsibilities are not mutually exclusive or meant to juxtapose a firm's financial performance with other responsibilities. The distinguishing feature between the last two is that although communities expect firms to contribute money, facilities and other resources to deal with specific societal needs, they do not necessarily consider them to be unethical if they do not live up to such philanthropic or discretionary expectations. This implies that CSR includes such philanthropic contribution but is not limited to them. Carroll (1991) adds that while philanthropy is desired and highly prized, it is "actually less important than the other three categories of social responsibility" (42). But based on this last characterization, it appears that profit maximization (as opposed to societal well-being) is the core of CSR at least according to Carroll's pyramid.

While there is no universally accepted definition of CSR, most conceptualizations are based on principles of accountability, responsiveness, proactive corporate behaviour and voluntarism. Accountability in particular receives immense attention in a definition that sees CSR as "the basis on which business renegotiates and aligns the boundaries of its accountability" (Hohnen and Potts 2007, 6). Yet, this construction tells the reader basically nothing about the scope, nature, or rationale of CSR per se. Watts et al. (1998) note that "corporate social responsibility is the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well of the local community and society at large" (Yakovleva 2005, 12). And Vogel (2005) defines CSR as "firms' efforts to do more to address a wide variety of social problems than they would have done in the course of their normal pursuit of profits" (6).

Compared to Watts et al. (1998), Vogel's definition seems rather vague. Although he refers to companies addressing a wide array of social problems, it is unclear what these problems could entail and the potential beneficiaries of these efforts. Also, social responsibility is left at the discretion of the corporation, which places it within a limited and contested frame of accountability—a scenario that forms part of the discourse towards corporate self-regulation. The discourse facilitates "the argument that good corporate citizenship is also good business" (Vogel 2005, 11). And there are several of such narrow definitions in the literature. An example is the OECD's (2001) consideration of CSR as "business's contribution to sustainable development" (13). This definition recognizes the role corporations play beyond job and wealth creation, but it says nothing about the functions and output of CSR, particularly judging from the fact that a singular understanding of "sustainable development" itself is non-existent.

Many definitions that came after the OECD definition showed some conceptual growth by including notions of the "environment" and "sustainability." The Canadian Business for Social Responsibility (CBSR), for instance, defines CSR as "a company's commitment to operating in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner, while recognizing the interests of its stakeholders, including investors, customers, employees, business partners, local communities, the environment and society at large" (Gawel 2006, 11). Hirschland (2006) also defines it as "the expectations of businesses by nonstate stakeholder groups, and the strategic management of these demands by businesses that help to assure profits and enterprise sustainability" (7). These definitions imply a shift from just "stockholders." However, while the term "sustainability" is used in this second definition it does not refer to the environment. What Hirschland (2006) is basically saying is that CSR entails the strategic steps corporate managers take to manage the demands and expectations of various stakeholders with the ultimate goal of maximizing profits and ensuring the longevity of the corporation. This is yet another iteration of the business case for social responsibility.

Instead of CSR, PricewaterhouseCoopers prefer to call it corporate sustainability (CSu), which to them means, "meeting society's expectation that companies add social, environmental and economic value from their operations, products and services (Hopkins 2006, 20). It is unclear why they seek to disengage with the "social" in CSR and yet mention "social value" as one of the things a company should add to its day-to-day activities. Additionally, "adding value" is different from social responsibility since the idea of "value" is market-centred, mainly covering how certain activities can in the end profit a corporation even when these activities are deemed to be "benevolent."

As an umbrella term, CSR remains imprecise because it has housed many objects and actors across time and space. For instance, an analysis of 37 definitions over the period of 1980 to 2003 revealed five main dimensions of CSR: environmental, social, economic, stakeholder, and voluntariness (Dahlsrud 2008). A definition that is quite open enough is the one that considered CSR as "the beyond-law obligations which companies must adhere to because their economic activities affect the social and ecological systems in which they are embedded" (Dashwood 2012, 9). It speaks to the obvious fact that CSR is voluntary, but also reflects on the socio-ecological milieu corporations find themselves in. One can push this definition even further to place better emphasis on host communities whose daily lives intersect with the discourses and practices of corporations. Despite the different meanings, the motive of the discourse as a whole is to show that social responsibility is indeed a "good thing" although we are often left with no clear specifics about how the "good" materializes on the ground. In general, CSR is derived from several concepts and management/organizational theories including legitimacy theory, notions of social contract and public responsibility, stakeholder theory, business ethics and corporate citizenship—all of which speak to principles and responsibilities bigger than those that a corporation would naturally have towards its shareholders.

2.3 Major Debates in the Field of CSR

Major fields of study are often fraught with the notion of "great debates." The debates often represent issues and ideas that have taken centre-stage for a long time and, as a result, formed the basis around which most new contributions to the field evolve. The broader debates within the field of CSR are many but they can largely be categorized into three main concerns; the definitional and conceptual weaknesses, the dichotomy between notions of shareholders and stakeholders, and CSR's material or tangible impacts on the ground. As this study attempts to understand the CSR discourse and its contested nature within the Ghanaian context, it is useful to engage in the ensuing discussion as these three identified debates form a bedrock for this research.

2.3.1 Definitional/Conceptual Fuzziness

A major debate about CSR has to do with the fuzziness or lack of consensus surrounding its definition, as alluded to above. In the first place, the idea of the "ethical corporation" is an oxymoron in itself, especially when only human beings are expected to have a sense of ethics (Topal and Öngen 2008). In this regard, one cannot expect a legal entity or a firm obligated formally only to its shareholders with a quest to avoid "diminishing returns" (see Coase 1937) to adopt practices and policies that take cognizance of the social environment within which it thrives, at least within the context of short-term share price. Yet, the notion of the "responsibilized" corporation constitutes the CSR discourse. On the flip side of the coin, Klonoski (1991) argues that once it is established that corporations are capable of "actions," then they "can be morally culpable in a way either identical with or very similar to natural persons" (10). He further notes that "whether according to the stakeholder or the constituency approach, CSR arises out of the corporation's relationship to and potential or actual effects on diverse groups in society" (Ibid., 13). Therefore, CSR is grounded in the social nature of business, and it is even in the best interest of the corporation itself to be socially responsible. This point, nonetheless, does not resolve the debate over the CSR definition.

In a content analysis of 37 definitions, Dahlsrud (2008) finds that they are incongruent to a large extent. The issue is, therefore, not about the lack of definition or even how CSR is defined but rather about how it is socially constructed within a specific context. Here, the kind of language used in constructing this identity is crucial. Being a social construction, the author opines that it is impossible to develop an "unbiased definition." He insists that despite the definitional confusion, the definitions he analyzed show that CSR is not conceptually new because corporations have always had socio-environmental and economic impacts and have been concerned with several stakeholders. But the story is entirely different at the operational level mainly because while the CSR definitions are describing a particular phenomenon, they "fail to present any guidance on how to manage the challenges within this phenomenon" (Ibid., 6). Prior to Dahlsrud's analysis, a 30-year bibliometric analysis of the concept revealed "strikingly little unanimity concerning the actual evolution of this field" (de Bakker et al. 2005, 284). Yet still, these authors believe that the fact that new constructs are being introduced into a thriving concept represents a sign of growth of CSR.

Others insist that the relevance of CSR to the social sciences and humanities as a theoretical concept is weak. This is because "it is not clear what CSR is, that we do not understand its causes and consequences, and that the notion is not very helpful in understanding what is desirable or required at the business-society interface" (van Oosterhout and Heugens 2008, 198). The concept is considered to be resting on false/dubious assumptions (Henderson 2004). Some scholars see an "intellectual crisis" based on "the fact that CSR thinking is largely ahistorical, empirically weak, theoretically thin and politically naïve" (Utting and Marques 2010, 3). This is due to several shortfalls of the mainstream literature such as the tendency to ignore historical lessons that can point to why and how business contributed to development at different times in a variety of countries; the focus on anecdotal evidence instead of a systemic account of corporate responses and development impacts; disregard for theoretical perspectives that help shed light on the potential and limits of CSR; and failure to embrace the complexity of institutional settings and the power relations that drive CSR reform. This challenge cements the fact that CSR remains at a crossroads where "the pathway forward defies easy prognosis" (White 2008, 267). According to White (2008), salvaging CSR will require a transformation that could lead to a reflection on the incremental progress achieved in several areas of social and environmental performance and a re-thinking of the fundamental social purpose of the corporation.

Some other writers, have begun to speak about a "new" corporate social responsibility, which shifts the debate from one of whether CSR makes a difference in particular cases "to whether, and what types of, CSR hold promise as alternative forms of environmental and social regulation" (Auld et al. 2008, 415). This new CSR is subject to a taxonomy of seven different categories of initiatives with an underlying logic of change: individual firm efforts; individual firm and individual NGO agreements; public-private partnerships; information based approaches; environmental management systems (EMSs); industry association corporation codes of conduct; and private sector hard law known as non-state market-driven (NSMD) governance. In light of the fact that it remains "far from clear what CSR stands for, what the trend really is, where it comes from, where it is heading and who the leading actors are" (Sahlin-Andersson 2006, 596), it has been suggested that a functional CSR should contain more complexity by incorporating cross-sectoral relationships from a multi-level perspective. I should point out that this notion of "new corporate social responsibility" is mentioned in phase four of Warhurst's (2011) four-phased evolution of CSR, and is somewhat in line with the *Vision 2050* Report of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) released in 2010 that promotes a new agenda for business, emphasizing cross-sectoral collaboration and other new ways of doing things.[37]

McMillan (2007) says that the weakening of the social ties that naturally bound citizens and informal groups to care for each other has created a vacuum that the modern

[37] For full report, see World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), http://www.wbcsd.org/pages/edocument/edocumentdetails.aspx?id=219&nosearchcontextkey=true (accessed March 13, 2015).

business organization thinks it can fill. Yet, the corporation is ill-suited to perform this role in an altruistic manner because in the first place, the inherent traits of the corporate managerial discourse does not allow it to promote CSR no matter how hard it tries to live up to this good. If I should end this discussion here, it would be appropriate to expect that the debate or perhaps anxiety over what CSR is, where it comes from, and what it seeks to achieve is something we would have to live with for many years to come. This is simply because the powerful language used to facilitate the CSR discourse falls apart when one considers exactly what corporations are doing in real terms. It is a rather gloomy picture for a concept that dates back to many decades, but it does give strength to the specificity of the Ghanaian example—particularly its potential to clarify what CSR is or what it is not.

2.3.2 Shareholderism vs. Stakeholderism

The second major debate to cover here is shareholderism versus stakeholderism—the issue of who is responsible, and to whom. Although stakeholder theory is grounded in the essence of CSR practice, there are some critics who think otherwise. The opposing faction can be called "CSR naysayers," and according to them, corporations do not have any responsibility to society per se other than the responsibility to increase their profit margins and please their shareholders by ensuring value for their money (Leviitt 1958; Friedman 1970; Henderson 2004; Sternberg 2011). Simply put, "shareholder primacy" or shareholderism represents the view that business managers have the fiduciary duty to mainly maximize shareholder value (Lee 2006). The term is also "built on the premise that shareholding entitles shareholders to be dominant recipients of surplus generated by corporate wealth creation" (White 2008, 271). This is a popular belief in the field of corporate law, particularly among American corporate law academics who actually "believe not only that the law endorses shareholder primacy as a descriptive matter, but also that shareholder primacy is normatively desirable" (Lee 2006, 12). Due to the inconsistency or conflict between ethics and the behavioural assumptions that underlie shareholder primacy, corporate law theorists generally find the concept of "ethical investing" awkward. Stakeholder theorists think otherwise.

According to Post et al. (2002a), "stakeholders of a corporation are individuals and constituencies that contribute, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to its wealth-creating capacity and activities and that are therefore its potential beneficiaries and/or risk bearers" (19). The basic understanding is that these groups of people have a stake in the way the company is run to the extent that ineffective management of stakeholder issues can in effect thwart the ultimate goal of wealth creation, including other non-monetary goals such as reputation. They unveil a tall list of stakeholders including governments, employees, investors (shareowners and lenders), unions, regulatory authorities, customers or users, joint venture partners, local communities and citizens, supply chain associates, and private organizations. These authors who propagate the "new" stakeholder view basically see the modern firm as being an "extended enterprise" with far-reaching internal and external obligations (Post et al. 2002b). Not everyone agrees to this idea of a wide range of stakeholders. To be sure, those who espouse shareholderism will simply say firms are responsible for and accountable to one stakeholder: their shareowners. Before Post et al (2002a), the idea of stakeholders was limited to five main constituents: shareholders, employees, customers, local communities, and the society-at-large based on the belief that moral/ethical management provides the best exemplar towards the realization of a “good society” (Carroll 1991, 48).

The CSR naysayers believe otherwise. At a conceptual level, Roberts (2003) opines that “the corporation is an idea, an imaginary entity, without substance or sensibility and therefore incapable of anything like responsibility” (cited in McMillan 2007, 16). Henderson (2004) minces no words in arguing that “it is neither necessary nor wise for corporations to endorse dubious notions of ‘sustainable development’ and…to make questionable assumptions as to ‘society’s expectations’, and to treat these supposed expectations as unchallengeable” (198). He goes on further to call CSR advocates adherents of “global Salvationism,” the belief that progressive business-related activities can save the world and its poorest people and places. Milton Friedman (2008[1970]) also finds social responsibility to be a “fundamentally subversive doctrine” in a free society since “there is one and only one social responsibility of business—to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition without deception or fraud” (32). This explicit assertion is based on the premise that a corporation is an artificial person; it is vague to say it has responsibilities. Basically, only “people” can have such responsibilities.

Although Milton Friedman could probably be considered the father of CSR naysayers, earlier writings warned of “the dangers of social responsibility” (Levitt 1958). For Theodore Levitt, the concern was that heralding CSR would blemish the lines between the private and public sectors, reduce the role of government, and increase corporate power eventually. It seems the process of globalization has made this bucket list come true, and that is the more reason why stakeholder theorists believe the modern corporation should embrace more responsibilities other than what it is traditionally known to do. Other recent naysayers like Sternberg (2011) posit that CSR is not serious as a substantive doctrine because in the conventional sense “it is conceptually incoherent, practically unworkable, and wholly unjustified. But as a problem, CSR is indeed serious” (29).

Sternberg finds conventional CSR perspectives uneconomic and oxymoronic. The main problem is that conventional understandings of CSR and the values associated with them are “profoundly counterproductive” in the sense that they can impede business profitability and the existence of business itself while at the same time undermining individual liberty and ethical conduct, if imposed as public policy (Sternberg 2011, 30). A fundamental confusion, according to her, is the failure to differentiate “business” from “corporation” or company and the consequent failure to recognize the specific purpose of business and the varied definitive purposes of corporations. She believes that a corporation denotes an organizational structure that can have any objective achieved through the consensus of its shareholders, and it need not be a business; whereas a business denotes the particular objective of maximizing shareholder value over the long term through the sale of goods and services.[38]

Freeman (2010) argues that “no longer can management assume that the primary concern of those who own shares of stock is return on investment” (9), suggesting that the terrain has changed and firms should wake up to this new reality of several externalities that influence a firm’s overall output. One can say that stakeholderism has

[38] This explanation perhaps differentiates between “business” as a noun (a corporate structure) and “business” as a verb (an economic activity).

won this particular debate since the volume of writings on different aspects of stakeholder theory far outweigh those that counter it. Particularly, it greatly informs CSR discourses, but it does not imply "shareholder primacy" as a belief is dead. The shareholder discourse seems to have evolved into what has become known as the "business case" (Henderson 2004), a "realist business ethics approach"[39] (Sternberg 2011), or even a "better business case" for CSR (Kurucz et al. 2008). Regardless of the new direction of that discourse, the core of shareholderism remains the same.

2.3.3 Rhetoric vs. Reality: CSR & Development[40]

The debate that is beginning to develop into a field of its own is the contention between CSR and international development. Ihlen (2011) argues that CSR is merely rhetorical because the ambiguity surrounding the concept allows corporations to employ a definition that serves their own strategic interests. The point is that "as long as corporations can argue that they pay attention to the environment and society, they can also lay claim to the CSR label" (Ihlen 2011, 155). The use of rhetoric by the corporation is in order to convince its important stakeholders that social responsibility efforts are more than merely window dressing. The fact is that these assertions can be made without necessarily doing anything in particular. What is more, the more one hears something the likelier it is to become the "truth" even when it is otherwise. The CSR discourse, as a social construction, takes a life of its own and constructs the corporation in a very limited sense that makes it mainly answerable to itself.

[39] Like the usual business case, this so-called "new" notion is premised on the philosophy that "good ethics is good business" (Sternberg 2011).
[40] As explained in the introduction to this chapter, I consider "development" to entail a set of practices, policies and discourses that target improvement, social change and the general welfare of society. This definition is broad enough to embrace any activity that is meant to *enhance* the living conditions of any of group of people.

The other case in the discussion around CSR and development is the point that “voluntarism as an approach to inclusive development” showcases profound limits (Utting and Marques 2010, 19). Another critique is one that considers CSR as a new form of corporate governmentality and as a quintessential bedfellow of capitalism. Raman (2010) argues that although some companies have adopted charters to govern their social responsibility and behaviour, these principles on paper uphold a false sense of practicality. He further notes that this new power of corporate capitalism born of ideological shifts such as “sustainable development,” “transparency,” “participation,” and “social capital” among others tends to justify and legitimate the discursive domain of CSR or accountability. These critiques mainly capture the ongoing dialectic between CSR and development. The underlying question is: if truly the business of business is business, why should corporations be involved in development? (Hopkins 2007). According to Merino and Valor (2011), perhaps they should not be involved because CSR tends to be a bandage solution to a much bigger problem. In other words, even what CSR purports to accomplish in “real” or material terms will likely not have an overarching effect on the big problem. One clarification that is imperative here is that although CSR does not accomplish something that may be termed as “development” (as highlighted by the development literature being discussed here), in the context of this paper, the idea accomplishes something specific. Particularly, it legitimizes certain forms of intervention, kinds of allocations and particular reporting practices all of which go to constitute a “responsibilized” self-regulated corporation. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is how CSR discourse manifests itself in material terms.

There is a general expectation that because mining causes damage to the environment and people's livelihood, companies will admit responsibility and undertake some actions that could possibly remedy the negative ramifications. It is argued, "once responsibility is accepted, the anticipation is that companies will move to *Corporate Social Development*" (Hopkins 2007, 10 emphasis in original). While several companies in many African countries celebrate their ability to live up to this expectation, there is little in terms of demonstrable evidence to show for it (Agbonifo 2011; Blowfield 2005; Frynas 2008; Idemudia 2007, 2010; Jenkins 2005). Bendell (2005), for instance, argues that mainstream concepts such as stakeholder dialogue, participation, and partnership have littered the discussion around CSR without necessarily leading to more accountable outcomes. In particular, she suggests that consultants, accountants, large companies, and NGOs in the Western world have usurped the agenda leaving the fate of the intended or presumed beneficiaries to the discretion of these actors. One evidence of limited accountability Bendell points to is that although activities such as child labour and deforestation have been with us since time immemorial, they were only brought into CSR discussions in the early 1990s after people woke up to the power of corporate power. Also, one of the major ways business contributes to society in the global South is through job creation. This means that in the case where unemployment is still high in these localities or when abysmal numbers of locals are employed by the firms, CSR can seriously be questioned (Jenkins 2005).

We know that poverty reduction is really not the focus of CSR because its plans and polices are often not in alignment with priorities in Southern countries (see Jenkins 2005; Fox 2004; Merino and Valor 2011). But the general "preference for measurement, quantitative data-processing and particular means of communication" also does not auger well for "development" (Blowfield 2005, 522). One can argue that this trend disallows researchers and consultants to ask questions that place grassroots concerns at the centre since an in-depth understanding of community benefits will require qualitative assessments as well. While it is a political issue, "[CSR] is given the appearance of a "technical issue" by the government, firms and NGOs advocating it in order to allow "experts"…sole domain over decisions taken about CSR" (Michael 2003, 124). Thus, although the actors advocating CSR (discourse entrepreneurs such as corporations, governments and NGOs) may be "winning," the society at large remains at a disadvantage. The four key drivers of CSR in the oil industries of developing countries are captured to include obtaining competitive advantage, maintaining a stable working environment, managing external perceptions, and keeping employees happy (Frynas 2005). The simple fact is that none of these drivers specifically has anything to do with development and/or poverty alleviation, broadly defined.

2.4 CSR in Africa/Ghana

Although the general literature points to a progressive evolution of CSR, a phenomenon that means corporate activities and practices no longer just target philanthropic contributions to societal welfare, there is evidence that CSR in low income countries such as Ghana are still predominantly limited to charitable donations (see Visser 2007). Recent evidence shows that the common approach to CSR among corporations in Africa is through philanthropic support in terms of education, health, and environment (Forstarter et al. 2010). This nature of CSR, for instance, building schools and hospitals meant to improve living standards in contemporary Africa, tends to reinforce the continuity of the colonial civilizing/humanizing experience (Vertigans 2011; Adanhounme 2011).

In their assessment of the CSR focus areas of corporations in six African countries—namely, South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Malawi, Kenya, and Ghana—Forstarter et al. (2010) find that out of 12 areas, labour rights, downstream enterprise development, and human rights are the areas less focused on. The authors conclude that while responsible business practices across Africa are making good contribution towards development, there is room for more work to be done to ensure resources provide a solid basis for sustainable development. It is fascinating how this conclusion is reached without a more nuanced analysis of the research findings. The case of human rights not being key on the radar of most corporations in Africa is particularly problematic, especially when one examines land rights or the rights to a safe and sound environment as a basic human right.

On the conceptual side of the coin, CSR within the African context faces similar problems, as does CSR practised elsewhere. One may even venture to say that the problems of clarity, validity, and rationale are more prevalent in Ghana. The essence of the problem is that "historically, the concept of CSR is alien in many developing countries and remains so in some countries even today. Many a times, donations are made en passant in the name of CSR without understanding what it means" (Amponsah-Tawiah and Dartey-Baah 2011, 108). To solidify this case, the authors demonstrate that even a ten-year review of CSR research on Africa from 1995-2005 reveal low levels of published work, with a majority of these few papers focusing on South Africa (see also Muthuri 2013). One must know, however, that the literature on CSR in Nigeria (mainly

Niger Delta) has proliferated in recent years (see Agbonifo 2011; Frynas 2005; Idemudia 2007, 2009, 2010; Vertigans 2011). In the case of Ghana, a report by Atuguba and Dowuona-Hammond (2006) shows that while a variety of policies, laws, practices and initiatives exist to provide a framework for CSR, there is no existing comprehensive document on the subject. In addition to the problem with its voluntary nature, the lack of a specific document or framework means that several stakeholders who seek to hold corporations accountable for their socio-environmental responsibilities face countless challenges. The report also shows that although CSR seems to be embracing the concept of accountability, the lack or ineffectiveness of regulation makes it lean more towards conventional profitability.

In addition to the absence of a formidable regulatory framework, the specific literature on the nature, scope, rationale, and impact of CSR initiatives in Ghana is somewhat underdeveloped although it is no doubt growing (see Andrews 2013b; Ofori 2007a, b; Ofori and Hinson 2007; Hilson 2007, 2011; Dashwood and Puplampu 2010). In the context of this research, the imprecision surrounding and the lack of literature on CSR in Ghana contributes to the poor connection between mining and sustainable livelihood outcomes—one normative justification that makes this topic worth examining. Both Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. and Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. have advertised several CSR-type activities and initiatives they are doing in many local communities in Ghana but there is little scholarly assessment of the purpose and short- and long-term outcome of these activities.[41] This issue is not restricted to these two companies alone. Even though a lot has been written about the general dynamics of mining in the country (Akabzaa et al.

[41] A Google scholar search I did on 8 May 2015 with the companies' names in the search phrases revealed scanty results beyond what the companies themselves are propagating about themselves.

2007; Akpalu and Parks 2007; Hilson 2002), there is minimal specific focus on the subject of CSR and its contested nature in host communities.

Moreover, the essence of CSR in the context of Ghana can be questioned because "companies have tended to set their own rules and generally make their own decisions, financing community development programs of their choice and engaging in barbaric activities such as military sweeps" (Hilson 2007, 46). Peter Bradford, CEO of Golden Star Resources Ltd (a Canadian mining company operating in Ghana), is reported to have said that "projects sometimes lacked full consultation with and ownership from the community" (Hilson 2007, 51). This means that regardless of how much money is pledged and actually used, demonstrable "development" outcomes will still be lacking. We know that "the communities around mining operations not only tend to be poor and vulnerable, but also lack government protection, regulation and oversight" (Gifford et al. 2010, 304). It is therefore expected that a radical restructuring of CSR should be focused "around the core principles of sustainable and equitable development" (Fox 2004, 35). At least for now, the limited frame of "accountability" and "responsibility" within which the corporation is constituted is not going to result in this goal. Evidence in subsequent chapters will corroborate this claim.

2.5 Summary/Conclusion

This chapter has focused on a critical review of CSR, exploring its origin, some of the current debates and where its future lies both as a concept and practice. Particularly, the discussion showcased the forces and ideas that have shaped the current dominance of the concept amidst its many shortcomings. One major conclusion here is that the ambivalence surrounding CSR is probably going to be one of the main setbacks to the idea being useful to scholars and practitioners, particularly those who seek to engage with it in a more radical manner. In general terms, some scholars believe that a degree of ambiguity might be "strategic" in the sense of encouraging dialogue instead of the determined expression of opposition or support (see John 2011; Piderit 2000; Walker and Shove 2007). However, in the context of this research, it does no specific good for the concept of CSR since it permits different interpretations of the idea resulting in often-superficial practices that corporations undertake as they see fit. Is CSR going to be better without ambiguity? I cannot decidedly say, but the absence of ambiguity could make it much easier to understand the animal CSR really is, allowing for much clarity around its scope and essence. Having said that, it is quite surprising that a concept that faces many struggles in defining itself has managed to maintain dominance as a discourse. There seems to be a formidable group of what I will call "discourse entrepreneurs" (i. e. powerful corporations and other actors) who have facilitated the constituted the corporation in a specific way. But as the literature survey above indicates, this has not gone without challenge. Subsequent chapters in this dissertation provide sufficient grounds to continually challenge the claims around CSR.

Even though concepts generally tend to be abstract, McGuire (1989) argues that they are still valuable because they are well organized, for instance, compared to the everyday knowledge on the street. The divide between theory and practice is an age-old classic in almost all disciplines (Carr 1980; George 1993; Kessels and Korthagen 1996; Kristensen 2012; Severinsson 1998; Van de Ven and Johnson 2006; Wallace 1996). Despite the inherent vagueness of CSR, its apparent popularity among practitioners and scholars means that one cannot simply take it for granted; neither can one decide to entirely disengage with it. Rather, there is the need to forcefully engage with the discourse to ascertain its specific origins, ambitions, and ideological inclinations. The cases examined in Ghana attempt to shed light on some of these elements, exploring the different dimensions of the CSR discourse including ways in which it is contested. To do this, ideas such as corporate citizenship, multi-level CSR factors, and global CSR regimes are discussed in subsequent chapters, including the topic of gender and CSR, which is yet to receive sufficient attention in the literature.

Such a literature survey is hardly straightforward, especially when one considers the many ways CSR is described and discussed. In some contexts, it appears the object of the discourse is the corporation, in which case it entails top managers' responsibility to its employees whereas in others it does cover society at large—particularly in relation to its broadly described developmental promise. Earlier iterations of this idea referred narrowly to the responsibilities of the businessman (or perhaps woman), even though the writer of one of these books (Bowen) is considered as the "father of CSR." In general, it can be concluded that the term is vague and differently understood in relation to diverse goals and objects. This imprecision seems to give corporations some flexibility to voluntarily engage in different discourses and practices as they deem fit, having been constituted in a particular way that make them responsible for their own conduct. But the lack of consensus implies that the discourse can and is in fact being contested to incorporate ideals of social inclusion, sustainable livelihoods and general societal well-being. The next chapter discusses ways in which the CSR discourse constitutes mining corporations as "corporate citizens," while it also showcases how locals challenge this discourse and its associated mechanisms of intervention (or practices).

Chapter 3

Corporate Citizenship: Meaning and Dilemmas of CSR in Ghana

3.0 Introduction

The fact that Transnational Mining Companies (TMCs) operate in a social environment suggests that the success of their operations is somewhat incumbent on certain perceptions individuals in these locales have of them. By virtue of working in specific locations, there is an unwritten social expectation between members of the host communities and corporate officers that is mainly meant to shape up the latter to be mindful of the multiple externalities of their activities. Many TMCs have embraced this expectation and coined their corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives to encapsulate a social license to operate (SLTO). The SLTO idea has become another dominant language that forms part of the CSR discourse, premised on the argument that "organizations cannot run their operations unless the communities in which they operate accept their presence" (Corvellec 20007, 139). Yet, as an unwritten social contract, there is no surety that this would be upheld since the notion is continually negotiable and acquiescent to a company's own interests (Gunningham et al. 2004; Owen and Kemp 2013). Although the literature on this topic is still developing, we know it does encompass issues of legitimacy, credibility and trust—all fitting into broad stakeholder demands and expectations (Parsons et al. 2014).

Since the coinage of the term by the Stanford Research Institute in 1963, the idea of "stakeholders" itself has also become part of the CSR discourse, as discussed in the previous chapter. Understood to be "those groups without whose support the organization will cease to exist" (Freeman and Reed 1993, 89), TMCs have identified their stakeholders to include shareholders, employers, employees, government, pressure or public-interest groups, host communities, consumers, among others. In theory, any of these stakeholders can lay claims to a firm (Freeman 2010), but not many of the identified groups actually feel they can adequately do so in practice. Some writers have, therefore, separated "primary" stakeholders from "secondary" stakeholders. The former are those whose continuous participation is crucial for a firm's survival while the latter are those who "influence or affect, or are influenced or affected by the corporation but are not engaged in transactions with the corporation and are not essential for its survival" (Clarkson 1995, 106).

Freeman and Reed (1993) also argue that a narrow stakeholder perspective mainly involves employees, certain suppliers, customer segments, shareowners, key government agencies and some financial institutions. These writings are quite dated but they reveal the broader concern that unless a corporation enhances its perspective to include host communities and the wider spectrum of society, its quest to attain a SLTO remains a fantasy. This is not to endorse the view that CSR can necessarily help TMCs arrive at this goal because there is evidence that CSR is a relationship management strategy between a firm and its employees (Dhanesh 2014). It is easy to assume that managing this relationship takes precedence over any social externalities that may exist, especially since the actions of corporations do not justify a shift to embracing a broader orientation that can positively transform project-impacted populations. Even in the European context where rules seem to be robust due to OECD principles and guidelines, commentators in the communication and marketing fields argue CSR is essentially a green-washing tool (Gallego-Álvarez et al. 2010; Jahdi and Acikdilli 2009; Maignan and Ferrell 2001). This solidifies the quest to understand what TMCs in Ghana are really doing, and why such practices are labeled as CSR.

This chapter attempts to explore the meaning companies attach to what they do and the attendant contestation or dilemmas associated with their actions and inactions. Critical discourse analysis allows for the breaking apart of the discourse that supports such policies and practices—a discourse that makes up the corporation into an entity that is mainly responsible for its own conduct. The overall quest is to contrast the official and often ineffectual CSR claims with the experiences of other stakeholders within the host communities in order to ascertain what the discourse is made of. The first part of the chapter delves into the notion of corporate citizenship to understand the rationale behind the quest for TMCs to behave responsibly in the society in which they operate, particularly since the concept is believed to be a "new" managerial language (see Matten et al. 2003; Matten and Crane 2005).

The second part of the chapter explores the prevailing contention between "individual citizenship" and "corporate citizenship," a contention that is fuelled by the dominant language that surrounds the latter. Part three investigates the meaning of CSR as provided by the two companies in their various documents and through fieldwork interviews. Part four provides details on the prevailing challenges despite the specific and material interventions companies are undertaking in the name of CSR. The last section examines another major concern with CSR, that is, the companies' exit strategies and the perception among host community members around what they expect to see after mine closure. This section further sheds light on how the dominant corporate discourse is contested in local sites of implementation. The concluding part sums up the entire discussion. Being the first empirical chapter, it serves as an instrumental bedrock for the discussion to ensue in the next chapters by engaging with how the "responsibilization" of the corporation is further fortified by popular notions such as corporate citizenship—a term that seems to suggest that corporations can be responsible for their own conduct and also for the overall well-being of society and its members. Chapters four and five, for instance, contend with this notion by showing how the idea is contestable even when placed under different levels of analysis. And Chapter 6 presents further evidence to show that CSR and its affiliated discourses such as corporate citizenship cannot be taken for granted in local contexts.

3.1 Corporate Citizenship: The Literature in Brief

Following waves of anti-globalization protests, critiques of corporate outsourcing, array of ethical scandals and frauds, fears of climate change, and other environmental concerns, corporate leaders began paying some attention to corporate citizenship (CC) in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and several initiatives have been launched to showcase this interest (Waddock 2012). The concept became popular in academic discussions by some key industry players and practitioners, spearheaded with publications in journals such as *The Academy of Management Review*, *Business and Society Review* and *Business Ethics Quarterly* (see Carroll 1998; Marsden 2000; Matten et al. 2003; Matten and Crane 2005, Mirvis and Googins 2006). There is specifically the *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, which is devoted to integrating the CC theory with management practice. Proponents argue that corporations have the potential of taking on citizenship responsibilities, in which case they have to perform all the responsibilities of an average citizen and also benefit from the rights accorded to such a citizen. They insist this form of citizenship reflects the current state of global governance where states alone cannot guarantee social, political, and civil rights, hence creating room for corporate leadership to act as agents of positive social change (Benn and Bolton 2011).

Corporate citizenship may be defined as “the ways in which a company’s strategies and operating practices affect its stakeholders, the natural environment, and the societies where the business operates” (Waddock 2012, 23). Others also think of it as “a company’s management of its influences on and relationships with the rest of society” (Marsden 2000, 11). One of the earlier commentators, Carroll (1998), posits that “the exemplary corporate citizen strives to magnify its profits (responsibility to self), while fulfilling its citizenship obligations to others (law, ethics, and philanthropy)” (7). Based on his many years of business-society research, Carroll claims it is easy to attest that corporate citizenship is “real,” particularly as something the public expects of business and as something being manifested by many responsible companies. He identifies four faces of corporate citizenship, namely economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic, in line with his earlier multidimensional conception of CSR (Carroll 1979; 1991). Overall, he asserts that “just as private citizens are expected to fulfill these responsibilities, companies are as well” (Carroll 1998, 1) expected to be profitable, obey the laws of the land, embrace high ethical standards, and give back to society through philanthropy. Despite the contributions noted so far, the discussion around CC lacks clarity, similar to CSR (Garriga and Melé 2004).

Yet, Matten and Crane (2005) consider CC as a new and robust concept distinct from other existing concepts in the literature on business and society. They extend the discussion of CC to imply “the role of the corporation in administering citizenship rights[42] for individuals" where administering means playing provider, enabling and channelling roles (173). This begins with a three-way classification of how CC is currently viewed in the literature—the limited view, which reduces CC to strategic philanthropy and enlightened self-interest; the equivalent view, which equates CC with CSR; and the extended view, which presents a concrete theoretical conceptualization of the term based on the political theory of liberal citizenship. Even though this idea is supposedly "robust," it was easy for proponents (e. g., Andrew and Matten 2005) to suggest the concept is not fully fleshed out when van Oosterhout (2005) questioned its theoretical and empirical cogency. Andrew and Matten (2008) have insisted that corporations are political actors, and "theories of citizenship enable us to explore corporate practices within an extant body of knowledge about political relations of authority, power, and responsibility. Citizenship thinking also enables us to examine the communities of obligation and entitlement that corporations might find themselves in" (30).

The apparent popularity of both CC and CSR is quite baffling, as these terms are not well grounded in classical notions of the firm. There is enormous literature on the firm (see Foss 1993; Garrouste and Saussier 2005; Gibbons 2005; Seth and Thomas 1994; Williamson 1981). Classical writers such as Coase (1937) believe that a viable firm is the one that has the ability to minimize costs and maximize profits, and the ability of a firm to do this is incumbent on the bounded rationality of the entrepreneur. Coase (1937) adds that a firm becomes stagnant once its external transaction costs become equal to the internal costs. The quest to reduce transactional costs has led to the upsurge of

[42] These include the wide spectrum of rights captured as social, civil, and political. They believe that a trend such as globalization is putting the administration of these rights beyond the reach of the nation-state government, and corporations can be regarded as a "default option."

outsourcing by many firms (Holcomb and Hitt 2007; McIvor 2009). This is also possibly why firms who are conscious about keeping external costs to the barest minimum might not bother about CSR in the way its advocates anticipate, being that self-interest remains a powerful motive in human behaviour and essentially forms the basis of the structure of capitalism.[43]

The idea of the firm's "objective function" (i. e. value maximization) is well reflected in the contributions of CSR naysayers, Milton Friedman (1970) being one of the champions. Some recent writers, instead discounting corporate social welfare activities as futile, believe that once a company does well in maximizing its total market value, social welfare is inherently maximized (Karnani 2010, 2011; Jensen 2001). But judging from the fact the CC concept originated from the work of corporate insiders (Matten et al. 2003; Matten and Crane 2005, Mirvis and Googins 2006), one is made to think corporations are evolving from the classical viewpoint. Corporate citizenship seems to represent a shift from Coase's (1937) idea of a bounded firm that is mainly concerned about transactional costs and diminishing returns to one that is interested in its constitutive relationship with the outside, including networks and fluidities. Another possibility is that a few industry leaders are imposing a powerful discourse on many others who may not really care about changing their behaviour. Most importantly, the argument here is that the specific features of CC do not substantially differ from what is already captured as CSR except its quest to complicate the notion of "citizenship" and further "responsibilize" corporations.

[43] See an assessment of Adam Smith's view of man in Coase (1976). See also Wolfson (1984) for why the firm should rather stick to its profit maximization goals.

The primary concern is that CC merely represents a public relations (PR) effort rather than targeting meaningful change within the corporation (Waddock 2012). This is mainly because CC, like CSR, is associated with discretionary or voluntary activities. The concept also limits corporate accountability since the "managerial capture" it faces only permits an instrumental rationale as grounds to embrace CC (Valor 2005). This lack of normative orientation has been possible because the concept of CC has watered down the idea behind CSR, and even neoclassical advocates who previously critiqued CSR are now embracing CC. As a result of this limitation, it is believed that perhaps "CSR presents more advantages to advancing the social control of companies and should be considered a superior theory vis-à-vis achieving social control of companies" (Valor 2005, 205). Another critique is that some rights and responsibilities that an individual has as a member in a political entity (i. e. nation-state) cannot be accorded a corporation because companies are not people (Néron and Norman 2008). This leads to a brief discussion of individual and corporate citizenship, with some fieldwork insights.

3.2 Individual vs. Corporate Citizenship

While proponents claim CC is an extended view of citizenship[44] and actually better than notions of business ethics and stakeholder management (Matten et al. 2003), it is not convincing that it is any different from what has already been established as CSR or corporate philanthropy (Smith 1994). It is the idea of "citizenship" that has become the bone of contention, particularly whether or not it is useful to broaden the concept to include corporations—and whether such actors are the appropriate bearers of *human*

[44] It is seen as "extended" because the notion of citizenship as broadly defined originally applied to individual human beings. In order to consider a corporation to have this status requires a reorganization of the characteristics of a corporation and a subsequent expansion of the concept.

citizenship rights (van Oosterhout 2005). If one were to think of citizenship as implying "membership in a bounded political (normally national) community" (Hettne 2000, 35), it becomes almost impossible to think of TMCs as "citizens" of their host countries even though TMCs are known to have legal homes. Liberal citizenship itself consists of civil, social and political rights all of which are granted and guaranteed by the nation-state (see Marshall 1965). But globalization is also playing its role in decomposing the monolithic notions of citizenship that existed in the Westphalian period into more universalized conceptions (Falk 2000; Joppke 2007). In the Ghanaian context, some would argue that by virtue of being contributors to community advancement or development, corporations might be said to be "citizens" (albeit non-human) in the areas in which they operate. Also, a company's right to sue and be sued underpins this characterization.

> The corporation is a legal entity; it's a legal person…so if the company does something legally untoward it could be sued as a person. It makes it very easy to see them as actors even though from my background I will not say they are corporate personalities but I will say they are actors within the area where they operate. Because we have state actors, we have non-state actors, we have institutions, we have individuals; they are all development actors and the link between all of us is what generates resources for the benefit of people. (Interview with Akwasi Addae-Boahene, Associates for Development Partnerships & former Country Director of WUSC-Ghana, 4 June 2013, Aburi)

Despite this statement above, research has shown that it is difficult to implement strict sanctions against a corporation. To be sure, "many of the legal sanctions, such as prison, that constrain a flesh and blood person cannot be applied to a company….The only legal sanctions a corporate 'person' can face are fines, or the 'death penalty', closure" (Shaw 2010, 193). On another note, Matten et al. (2003) argue that due to the inability of many states in the global South to provide basic goods and services for its populace, corporations have become important players to the extent of being equated with government. They insist that globalization has resulted in the decline of liberal citizenship, which makes the state the sole guarantor of its associated rights and freedoms. But it is also globalization, namely the spread of multinational corporations, which has heightened a focus on CC. Thus, corporations enter the arena where governments are no longer able to guarantee the protection of citizenship. In this perspective, they see corporations as compensating for or correcting the failure of government. I do insist that this idea is a particularly Western perspective based on the notion that states within which corporations operate (especially in the global South) are weak and incapable of providing basic services for its people even though it is not the case in all instances.

Also, information gathered on the ground reveals that CC cannot mean corporations could usurp the powers of government, whether local or national, because some governmental authority is needed to certify what projects are feasible, necessary and suitable. As argued by Steve Manteaw, Campaign Coordinator, ISODEC & Publish What You Pay—Ghana

> A lot of times when they build…because you have done it independent of the local government, you would have not made plans for the supply of teachers, textbooks and [the rest]. So you have buildings that are buried in the bushes, nobody is using them because the local government is not involved in the process and has not made provisions for them. The same way with the clinics; once you build the clinic, the clinic will need nurses and doctors to be posted there so you [should] do it in consultation with the local government or decentralized structures of the Ministry of Health. For now, that is not happening. (Interview by author, 17 July 2013, Accra)

The lack of ongoing consultation with local authorities and expected beneficiaries of CSR, and the fact that corporations have become used to doing things their way, is possibly one of the reasons why CC advocates believe they can go around nation-state governments to provide or administer rights. A programs officer of the Third World

Network—Africa, Alhassan Atta-Quayson, notes that although CC is gaining dominance as an idea corporations themselves are not behaving in ways that will make them worthy of being classified as "good citizens," if that is even possible. One of his justifications, for instance, is that a good citizen will ensure that people in the surrounding communities feel the wealth being created. And a way of doing this is localizing its content (e. g., services) especially when they are abundant in their areas of operation or host country.

> If I should award a company for being a good corporate citizen, these are some of the things that I would look out for: To what extent are they sourcing their input locally? Even [things that] should be produced locally are imported so it's worrying. It's worrying and on that basis I hardly find any of our mining companies to be that good. (Interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra)

Matten et al. (2003) insist that CC "can be said to highlight the fact that the corporation sees—or recaptures—its rightful place in society, next to other 'citizens', with whom the corporation forms a community" (111). For them, this makes CC "an unavoidable occurrence." Other proponents have posited that "business citizenship cannot be deemed equivalent to individual citizenship—instead it derives from and is secondary to individual citizenship" (Wood and Logsdon 2002, 86). Based on the much conceptual confusion inherent in the idea of CC already noted above, critics propose it is "an idea whose time has not yet come" (van Oosterhout 2005). Others believe the concept is not a merely neutral description, as its proponents want us to accept. Rather, underpinning the idea is "a tacit support for the emancipatory promises of neoliberalism" (Jones and Haigh 2007, 66). The issue is that evidence of these promises is nonexistent. In general, it is believed "the concept of citizenship clearly carries deeply rooted ethical connotations that are potentially misleading and will tend to obscure rather than clarify our thinking about corporate responsibilities" (Néron and Norman 2008, 12). The fieldwork transcript below reflects the thinking in the critical NGO community in Ghana around whether or not CC is a useful idea:

> [Me: would you consider Newmont or any other company to be a good corporate citizen?]. Respondent: Corporate citizen? As I said, they came not because they want to be corporate citizens; they came all because of profits. And any method that they will use to maximize profits is what they are doing. [Me: but they win awards for being good citizens?]. Respondent: it is because the people who are awarding them make them believe that when you are exploited it's in your interest. It's a whole scheme to exploit countries like Ghana and nothing is coming out of it. (Interview with Hannah Owusu-Koranteng, WACAM, 23 July 2013, Tema)

Matten and his affiliates (2003, 2005), in their quest to make CC somewhat different from CSR (albeit to no avail), go too far in postulating the ability of corporations to act as pseudo-governments wherever they operate in terms of making up for domestic institutional failures. I believe they go this far due to the dominance that corporations have maintained through the neo-liberal mechanisms of globalization and perhaps based on notions of "failed" or "fragile" states. But it is unclear what kind or model of citizenship CC advocates are espousing because the rights or privileges of individual citizens by definition need to be handed out by a nation-state, and here we are dealing with a self-regulated corporation. And if indeed they believe the state has lost its power as the guarantor of citizenship, who then gives corporations the right to step in? If we should even contemplate their stepping in as viable actors, then they are no longer citizens per se but rather corporate rulers (or perhaps dictators) who are the determinants of what constitutes the "good life" for the average person. It is problematic to envisage this system as feasible, but for what it is worth CC continues to reinforce the CSR discourse.

3.3 Meaning of CSR: Newmont[45] & Kinross

As already established, the CSR concept is seen to be at a crossroads after decades of evolution (White 2008; de Bakker et al. 2005). As a concept, some scholars posit that CSR is indeed "much ado about nothing" (van Oosterhout and Heugens 2008). But there seems to be some consensus around the fact that corporations, by virtue of operating in a social environment, should be mindful of its externalities—economically, socially, and environmentally (Carroll 2008). Despite this compromise around what corporations could be responsible for fuelled by a dominant managerial discourse, evidence of corporate irresponsibility and lack of positive project-related outcomes around the world leads one to be doubtful of the essence and utility of such endeavours (Raman 2010). This, nonetheless, does not prevent companies from continuing to herald several initiatives in the name of CSR—and that makes it something useful to interrogate.

The standards with which Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. (NGGL) operate in Ghana are in compliance with the company's core values which commit it to be obligated to the needs of the host communities within which they operate. Developing the Ahafo mine was challenging for NGGL, as the ore deposit was located beneath an area inhabited by about 1,700 households from two primary traditional areas, Ntotroso and Kenyasi no. 2, both of which are near the mine. As a result, the company created a range of policies and procedures to resettle and compensate people for losses suffered from development and has won some awards for the work in the Ahafo area. This includes the Best Community Procurement Award and the Best Supplier Diversity Project Award at the 2010 Chartered Institute of Purchasing and Supply Procurement Awards (UK) (Kapstein and Kim 2011).

[45] Unless otherwise noted, most of the information in this section is deduced from the company's website, http://www.newmont.com/ accessed at different times during the writing process.

Newmont's arrival in Ghana was preceded by the company's three-way merger with Normandy and Franco-Nevada, and the worldwide roll-out of Newmont's new corporate social responsibility vision, which included the SLTO concept (Cox et al. 2006). A corporate-level decision was then made to fully embrace social responsibility as a key management objective for Newmont's Ghana operations.

The company also set out as its commitment to hire a predominantly Ghanaian workforce in order to maximize local employment. For instance, over 700 people were hired out of the unskilled labour pool during the construction phase, and over 1,300 of the 3,200 construction phase workers were local, including 470 unskilled and 830 semi-skilled and skilled labourers (Cox et al. 2006). Also, NGGL's commitment to effective communication and public disclosure led to the development of a Public Communications and Disclosure Plan (PCDP) meant "to manage and document communications between Newmont and project stakeholders on critical initiatives, including the development of Environmental Impact Statements and related mitigation plans, resettlement and compensation processes, and other issues and activities which may arise throughout the life of the project" (Cox et al. 2006, 10). This further led to the appointment of a Ghanaian Communications Manager who ensured a professional, culturally sensitive approach to communicating with Ghanaian and other stakeholders about the mining project.

For specific CSR projects, NGGL designed the Livelihood Enhancement and Community Empowerment Program (LEEP) to help address the needs of the people directly impacted by project activities, including those who lost houses or farmland to the project. This involved training programs, micro credit provision and community infrastructure projects. According to NGGL, "international best practice does require a company to manage and be directly responsible for people and households in the transitional hardship vulnerability because it is the company's project that ultimately changed their status" (Newmont 2006, 3). This led them to design the Vulnerable Program with the goal to provide a safety net for those households directly impacted by the mining project. The company also introduced the Agricultural Improvement and Land Access Program (AILAP) to assist farmers who had previously received monetary compensation for lost lands to restart farming, particularly supporting them with such incentives as farming inputs and access to alternative land (Kapstein and Kim 2011).

Newmont and International Finance Corporation (IFC) signed an agreement in February 2007 to jointly establish and implement the Ahafo Linkages Program, with the objective to improve the economic situation of local communities impacted by the mine operations by increasing income and employment opportunities (Newmont and IFC 2009). The Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation (NADeF)[46] was also established in May 2008 between NGGL and the Ahafo Social Responsibility Forum (ASRF) to support community development programs. The foundation is currently funded by Newmont Ahafo Mine based on contributions from $1 of every ounce of gold sold and one percent of net pre-tax profit. Based on this calculation, the NADeF had received about $7 million from the Ahafo Mine by the end of 2010.[47]

A philosophy that guides the CSR activities of the Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. (CGML) is split into four interconnected values touted as "The Kinross Way" (Kinross 2010). Regarding corporate citizenship the company states: "We are committed to the

[46] For further details, see Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation, http://www.nadef.org/pages/index.php?siteid=nadef (accessed April 19, 2012).
[47] See NADeF Factsheet, http://www.nadef.org/downloads/6/6078.pdf (accessed April 19, 2012).

highest ethical and governance standards in the industry; We value integrity and transparency in everything that we do; We are vigilant in protecting the environment, and strive to minimize our environmental footprint wherever we operate; We support sustainable initiatives to provide lasting benefits to the communities where we work."[48] The company's 10 Guiding Principles for Corporate Responsibility support these commitments, which define their idea of "doing the right thing."[49] Primary to these principles are notions of "putting people first," maintaining high ethical standards and active engagement in the discussion around CSR best practices worldwide, promoting ongoing dialogue with stakeholders in the communities where they work, and providing lasting benefits to these communities. It is worth noting here that Kinross' first CSR report, "Taking Responsibility," was published in 2008 at the same time it received recognition for being one of the Top 75 Employers in Toronto.

Unlike Newmont's somewhat advanced developmental projects in Ghana (see Table 3.1 below for summary), Kinross is still in the process of "learning" and thus yet to initiate programs that will gain widespread publicity at least based on readily available data on the two companies' websites. The most recent news report indicates that the CGML has launched a community youth skills training program to fight poverty and assist unemployed young people in its area of operation to become economically self-reliant. Fifty beneficiaries have been selected from 24 nearby communities each of whom will be given a monthly allowance of GH¢450.00 (approx. $120) out of the total budget of $300,000 for the entire program (Ghanaweb 2012). In this same news item, the

[48] See Kinross, "The Kinross Way," http://www.kinross.com/about-kinross/the-kinross-way.aspx (accessed March 13, 2015).
[49] Kinross, "Ten Guiding Principles," http://www.kinross.com/corporate-responsibility/guiding-principles/view-all-principles.aspx (accessed March 13, 2015).

General Manager of CGML (Mr. John Seaward) intimated that the company is currently sponsoring six young men for a three-year course at the AngloGold Ashanti Engineering School valued at $200,000—claiming that 40 others have been trained in this school since November 2005.

The company also launched a malaria control program in 2009 aimed at reducing the risk of the disease in the communities where it operates, and among its workforce. Their 2013 Corporate Responsibility Report indicates that this program has contributed to 20 percent reduction of malaria in 13 beneficiary communities, and 82 percent reduction of malaria in its workforce (Kinross 2014). In early 2012, they also donated two motorised tricycles to the Sefwi Wiawso Municipal office and the Bibiani Anhwiaso Bekwai District Offices of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) in celebration of the farmers' day event for that year (Naykene 2012). The tricycles went to the two best farmers in the area. Also, CGML organized a breast cancer screening in January 2013 for women in Akoti-Etwebo and Paboase catchment areas (Naykene 2013).[50] Every now and then the company makes philanthropic donations with the objective of benefitting from the positive PR that comes with such charitable endeavours.

It was difficult to obtain a complete list of all the philanthropic donations given out by the company, but based on news reports, these gifts (such as the tricycles) are given out a few times each year. From my conversation with company officials, these can include donations of books to schools, sporting equipment, promoting sporting activities, inter-school gala, among others. Based on their description, these are not really "tangible" in the sense that they are short-term or sometimes impromptu donations that may not

[50] This activity was confirmed by many of the women who participated in the fieldwork but none of them really highlighted its specific utility to them even though breast cancer is a worldwide issue.

necessarily make a difference in the lives of host communities as a whole. Additionally, some of these donations are given to people who may not be residing in the impacted communities. Yet, the CSR discourse captured above in both language and practice basically constitutes corporations as "responsibilized" citizens, and several corporate awards legitimize this make-up. Nonetheless, the discussion below exposes how the discourse is contested on the ground.

Table 3.1: **Summary of Company CSR Projects***

Company	CSR Project	Purpose
Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. (started in 2006)	Livelihood Enhancement and Community Empowerment Program (LEEP)	To address livelihood needs of impacted people through training programs, micro credit provision and community infrastructure projects
	Agricultural Improvement and Land Access Program (AILAP)	To assist compensated farmers directly affected by mine development to restart farming
	Ahafo Linkages Program	To improve the economic situation impacted communities by increasing income and employment opportunities
	Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation (NADeF)	To support community development programs. Funded based on $1 of every ounce of gold sold and one percent of net pre-tax profit
Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. (started in 2005)**	Chirano Malaria Control Program	To reduce the risk of malaria in the communities where it operates and among its workforce with an investment of about $7 million at the end of 2013

* The list is not exhaustive. For instance, the table does not capture charitable donations and infrastructure projects such as schools, clinics, community centres, tarring of roads, etc. mainly due to lack of concise data on these.

**Kinross Gold Corp. took over in 2010 from Red Back Mining Inc.

3.4 Prevailing CSR Shortfalls: NGGL

Despite the somewhat positive perception[51] that sometimes surrounds the work of NGGL in its catchment communities (see Antwi 2010), there are several community concerns that underscore the contested nature of these practices.[52] One of them has to do with the depreciation of local farming for both subsistence and large-scale income-generating purposes. The Brong Ahafo Region, where the mine is situated, is often considered to be the country's "food basket"[53] since much of the food produced such as plantain, cassava, cocoyam, yams, and palm nut, among others, come from the area. It is also a major cocoa-producing region of Ghana. With the introduction of surface mining (as opposed to underground mining), a lot of farm area space is utilized, rendering farmers unable to go back to their farms. For instance, NGGL has been criticized for paying a meagre amount of about $7 for destroying a cocoa tree, a tree that could yield cocoa beans to the value of about $20 per year for over 30 years (Kotey and Adusei 2009). Once the tree is cut, this long-term value is totally lost, and no amount will be good enough to compensate the farmer—not even the AILAP program will suffice. A statement by Professor Kasim Kasanga, a renowned land economist, captures the value of a tree in Ghana:

---

[51] The company's strategic media and public relations tactics have facilitated this perception. For instance, from the outset in 2006, NGGL donated money to a youth-focused weekly newspaper, "Junior Graphic" to publicize positive information about gold mining to children in Ghana. While this was condemned, NGGL seems to maintain some of these kinds of company-media collaboration and manages to even create positive discourses around negative behaviour. See MAC: Mines and Communities, "Ghana Journalist Condemns Newmont Gold Mining Campaign Aimed at Children," January 23, 2006, http://www.minesandcommunities.org/article.php?a=1357&l=1 (accessed March 13, 2015).

[52] Note that Newmont Gold Corporation is ranked as second on the list of 10 Most Controversial Mining Companies of 2011 due to the devastating impact of its mining operations in various countries. See Putting Environmental and Social Risk on the Radar (PepRisk), "Most Controversial Mining Companies of 2011," March 2012, http://www.reprisk.com/downloads/mccreports/23/150312%20Top%2010%20Most%20Controversial%20Mining%20Companies_RepRisk.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

[53] The Brong Ahafo Region is estimated to supply about 30 percent of country's food.

> Surface mining now poses the greatest threat to both commercial and subsistence farming in Ghana. Cocoa is as important as gold, if not more important. Cocoa is a long yielding investment between 40 and 50 years. Cocoa farms are inter-planted with food crops, to feed farmers. Even though there is some slash and burning involved in the initial land clearing, the environmental damage is negligible in comparison with surface mining. Some cocoa farmers who are victims of surface mining operations in the Dunkwa-On-Offin area are being offered 9,000 Cedis [$1] per tree. A mature cocoa tree is capable of yielding half a bag of cocoa beans and farmers are currently being paid 112,500 Cedis per bag of cocoa (i. e. 62.5 kg). In effect a farmer, who is offered 9000 Cedis for a lost cocoa tree, could obtain 55,250 Cedis [$6] from that tree for just one season and the returns to this cocoa tree could last for between 40 and 50 years. The gross injustice to these helpless village farmers is clear. If a free society cannot help the majority who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich (cited in Kotey and Adusei 2009, 12).

Another issue is that Newmont is taking advantage of the weak legal framework of Ghana's mining sector. For instance, NGGL has taken the position that there is no legal mechanism in the Ghanaian law that requires compensation to be given towards the loss of unused land, and has thus not compensated many of the owners of fallow lands affected by their mining project. Research has shown that while the legal-institutional framework is weak, this interpretation of the law is in violation of Article 20 of Ghana's 1992 Constitution and Section 74 of Mining Act 703, both of which deal primarily with compensation principles (Kotey and Adusei 2009). Even for those who have been compensated and resettled, there are complaints about the sizes of rooms in the new houses built by NGGL. Although the company is reported to have paid a total of $14,309,050 in crop compensation to some 3,000 individuals from approximately 1,700 households, many of these farmers report that the compensation was inadequate (Ayitey et al. 2011).

The environmental effects of Newmont's operations, and for that matter most mining operations, remain evident. For instance in 2009, NGGL was accused by the community of spilling cyanide into the Subri River causing harm to human and marine life, for which the company had to pay a government-imposed penalty of approximately $4.9 million which was to be distributed to affected parties. Although NGGL described the incidence as the result of a "minor overflow" due to a pond-level instrument malfunction, the spillage was seen to symbolize the company's negligence over its role in cyanide management (Odoi-Larbi 2009). On January 2, 2012, another Newmont spillage was recorded—with communities suspecting that it is the same toxic chemical that led to the death of many fishes in the Subri River in October 2009. This spillage led to the death of fish and livestock that use the river as their main source of drinking water. The stench emanating from toxic chemicals, dead fishes, and other dead animals has been a source of great health risk to communities in that location; therefore, they have asked that NGGL resettle them (see Boateng 2012).

Beyond the spillage, NGGL has also been criticized for human rights violations and its overall negative impacts on the lives of people. A joint press statement by representatives of affected farmers of Newmont cyanide spillage and Livelihood and Environment Ghana (LEG), an NGO, revealed that NGGL's mining activities in the Ahafo area has led to the death of six people; the company also used the police and military personnel to harass demonstrators in Ntotroso in 2006. In addition, the company has recently clashed with some community members over data on validated locals working with the company. Newmont announced that it has an agreement with the Government of Ghana and not the chiefs of the local area, and thus its legal responsibility to provide such data is to the former and not the latter (Boateng 2011).

These human rights and environmental concerns have raised questions about the role of the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the private arm of the World Bank that has supported the company up to $125 million in loan and social and environmental guidance for the Ahafo Mine (Bretton Woods Project 2010). In fact, concerns have been raised over the adequacy of IFC's social and environmental standards as its lending rate has increased despite reports of abuses and environmental degradation. In the case of NGGL, the argument is that cases of the company's adverse effects were presented to IFC but the loan was still granted to NGGL for the Ahafo project. IFC's role in extractive industries appears to undermine sustainable development as controversy continues to reign over its dual role as investor and advisor to governments on taxes, regulations and laws. Despite the World Bank's new Extractives for Development (E4D)[54] initiative launched in 2012, IFC continues to be implicated in several controversies around the world—Democratic Republic of Congo, Peru (Newmont's Minera Yanacocha), Philippines, among others.

3.5 Prevailing CSR Shortfalls: CGML

Kinross is yet to establish a strong presence in Ghana after acquiring Red Back Mining Inc. Thus, there have been only a few news articles on some of its encounters with the mining communities—unlike NGGL, which has company-community stories all over the web. As part of establishing their presence, the company joined Ghanaians in raising the flag of the country on its Independence Day March 6, 2012 (see Modern Ghana 2012). In the early stages of its operation, news reports indicated that CGML is destroying the Tanosro forestry reserve in the Babiani-Ahweaso-Bekwai District of the Western Region to embark on surface mining (Africa Conservation Foundation 2007).

[54] E4D is said to be a "knowledge sharing platform" aimed at transforming extractives into a force for development. See Bretton Woods Project, "The World Bank and Extractives: A Rich Stream of Controversy," February 7, 2012, http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-569560 (accessed March 13, 2015).

Such impacts on the environment and the unattractiveness of farming have led many farmers into illegal mining—an occupation referred to as *galamsey* in the local Ghanaian parlance (see Kokutse 2008). It is worthy to mention here that an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) was completed and submitted to the Environmental Protection Agency of Ghana before the mining permit was granted on April 5, 2004. An increase in dust and noise levels as well as deterioration in water quality were seen as the potential environmental impacts of the project. Destruction to forest reserves was not recorded, however.

One peculiarity is that CGML is one of the few mining companies operating in a forest reserve. In Ghana, any mining company working in the forest reserves is governed by a different set of guidelines and is required to pay an extra 0.6 percent of royalty that goes to a Liaison Group to be used for the development of the area (Interview with Ransford Sekyi, EPA-Ghana Director/Head of Mining, 17 July 2013, Accra). The Liaison Group comprises the ministry of land and natural resources, the environmental protection agency, the minerals commission, the inspectorate division of the minerals commission, water resources commission, and two divisions of the forestry commission. My interview with the head of mining at the MLNR, Simon Atebiya, did confirm that the money accrued so far is yet to reach the beneficiaries. But despite this extra royalty payment, he believes "the dust [issue] should be the responsibility of the company because when you are granted an environmental operation permit or when you submit your environmental issues for the granting of an environmental permit, there are certain environmental issues that will be identified coming from your operations and then you put in place mitigation measures" (Interview by author, 16 July 2013, Accra).

On other issues, it came to light in 2010 that CGML had never declared dividends to the Ghanaian state since it started its operation in November 2005. Although much of this can be blamed on Red Back Mining Inc., the CGML General Manager who made the revelation indicated that the decision not to pay the bonus was a result of the company's commitment to re-invest its profit into mining operations (Ghanaweb 2010). In 2011, CGML was reported to have "fired" some of its workers for an illegal demonstration against a decision taken by the company's leadership. The dismissed workers accused company officials of gross disrespect, abuse of human rights, and racism against the workforce (Modern Ghana 2011). Four of the workers were illegally transferred to Golden Star Resources at Bogoso, another Canadian company in the Western Region of Ghana not necessarily associated with good practices either. The Centre for Public Interest Law reports point to CGML's culpability in some human rights violations.

The Mark Ampem and ORS vs. Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. and Attorney-General case involves members of five communities at Chirano in the Eastern Region and the Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. The case against CGML is that without prior notice to the farmers and with the help of the police service, the company entered the farms and destroyed their cocoa trees and food crops claiming that the company's concession covers an area that includes these farms. The company's initial response and estimated compensation was not satisfactory. Thus, CEPIL upon the advice of the community members filed a suit at the High Court of Sefwi Wiawso in September 2007 where the Plaintiffs demanded a fair and adequate compensation for the farms and crops destroyed as well as damages for the violation of the community's right to a clean and healthy environment.[55] This case has still not been fully resolved. Efforts to contact Mark Ampem during my stay in the village proved futile as I was hinted that he is staying outside of the public radar these days due to the fear of being victimized by the company. But several community leaders interviewed referred to this case as one of the major setbacks to congenial company-community relations. This contention over a relatively small amount of money solidifies what really is the true classical interest of the firm, which is to make profits and avoid diminishing returns (Coase 1937; Friedman 1970).

In early 2012, members of the Etwebo community led by their chief and some other elders demonstrated against CGML for unfulfilled promises of employment (see Ghanaweb 2012). Regardless of the amount of money put into skills training for the youth in this community, as the company reports, the demonstrators were not pleased with overall employment outcomes. At a resolution meeting with the community and company officials, the then Minister of Lands and Natural Resources Mr. Mike Hammah revealed the Government's intention to establish a National Resettlement Management Planning Committee to ensure that mining activities yield needed socio-economic impacts. He also added that a Mineral Development Fund would be instituted to mobilize additional financial resources besides the royalties, which will target development projects aimed at improving the living standards of the people in mining communities (see VibeGhana 2012). In line with the minister's promise, there exists a Resettlement Policy Framework meant to provide project stakeholders with information on how to address compensation issues related to affected properties and livelihoods, but we are yet to see how the framework is making the lives of people better in host mining

[55] See Centre for Public Interest Law, http://www.cepil.org.gh/cases/mining-communities-human-rights-cases/mark-ampem-ors-v-chirano-gold-mines-ltd-attorney-general/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

communities, particularly those who may not be able to read and understand the full importance of this document.[56]

The concern over inadequate compensation since 2004 remains one around which over 20 farmers are continually frustrated in the CGML areas of operation (see Mining Watch Canada 2012). In general, the issue of "inherited CSR commitments" greatly influences the perception people have of CGML in its surrounding communities, as Kinross took over that mine from Red Back. It is argued that due to the general political volatility in sub-Saharan Africa doubled by poor and/or nonexistent regulation, "new ownership is by no means obliged to honour the pledges made by previous management to communities. With very little to gain financially from doing so, companies can implement their own agendas, with little interference from regulators" (Hilson 2011, 10931). Particularly in the case of Ghana, Hilson (2011) insists that there is no requirement for TMCs to commit to pledges made by their predecessors. But because communities are often unaware of key changes to management (i. e. acquisitions and mergers), they often continue to blame the new owners for incidents caused by previous owners. This is precisely the case of CGML where issues of land compensation and human rights violations caused by Red Back are attributed to Kinross. For the community members, it does not really matter who is in charge because once a merger or acquisition occurs it is expected that the parties would have assessed both their risks and benefits. Yet the fact is that institutional lapses have allowed the company to perpetuate a powerful CSR discourse that sidelines the needs of host communities, being that the company is made responsible for its own conduct.

[56] See Ministry of Food and Agriculture, http://mofa.gov.gh/site/?page_id=8784 (accessed March 13, 2015).

3.6 Post-Project: Any Exit Strategy?

Sustainable development is generally considered to be development that secures the needs of both the current and future generations (Stigson 1999). And since the work of the private sector is often linked with the topic of sustainability (Berggren 1999; Steurer et al. 2005), a fundamental gauge of CSR effectiveness could potentially involve an assessment of what mining companies are doing to safeguard the present and future of host communities. For NGGL, the establishment of NADeF is part of their exit strategy as the work being done by the foundation only uses about 10 percent of its overall income. The hope is that after the closure of the mine (in about 20 years), the foundation would still be able to support community development. According to them, it is their concern for the future of the host communities "that is why we involve the communities; that is also why we don't just sit in the office and decide to build a school; that is why we are looking at community members coming up with their own developmental needs and we support them to actually implement those needs at that level" (Elizabeth Opoku-Darko, NGGL Community Relations Superintendent, 19 June 2013). Officials of CGML also gave the indication that everything they are doing in the area of CSR forms part of their exit strategy.

> We have said that we're looking beyond mine closure for all that we're doing. If you're developing the manpower base, if you're putting up educational infrastructure, if you're giving them healthcare facilities, if you're giving them good roads, if they're on constant electricity, if they have portable water [that means we're building them for the future]. By engaging them to appreciate all that we have given so that they can share in the ownership and management of all these facilities, we're looking beyond mine closure. Empowering them financially, culturally, socially means we're looking beyond mine closure. (Interview with Stephen Mensah, CGML Community & Public Relations Superintendent, 9 May 2013, Cape Town)

On the environmental side of things, companies are required by law to plan towards land reclamation. For NGGL, this is part of their day-to-day mining processes since they are not waiting until the last minute to pay attention to this issue. From my conversions with CGML officers, it appears the company intends to be operating until 2020 or even later. As part of the exit strategy, the Health, Safety and Environment General Manager, Kodua Dapaah, noted that the company is championing what he calls "community sustainability," which focuses on livelihoods beyond the 2020 stipulated exit. Since previous farmers have now been turned into businessmen (some in the small-scale mining sector), they want to rehabilitate portions of the company's concessions for usage by those interested in continuing mining on a small-scale basis. Kodua Dapaah was, nevertheless, blunt about how perceptions of the adverse environmental ramifications of mining has been an issue.

> The community has, first and foremost, a strong perception against mining in total. They think that once the land has been used for a mine, they can never use it again. The second [concern] is about the cyanide. People see cyanide as once they get into contact with it they are dead men. They think that once a tailings ground has cyanide, it means the land cannot be re-used again but that's not true. (Interview by author, 19 June 2013, Kumasi)

He goes on to emphatically state that even without the application of top soil, tailings grounds have been proven to grow vegetables and other crops: "we tested it with humus soil and we tested it to find all the fertility you find in good soil; nitrogen, potassium and calcium were all present…so who says you cannot use a tailings [dump] for whatever purpose you want to use it for?" This point was made to showcase how the company, in an ongoing manner, is making sure every part of the land used is being resuscitated for use beyond mine closure. Even though the popular knowledge is that reclamation can restore scarred land to its former state (Cao 2007), there is evidence elsewhere to show that post-mining rehabilitation can only lead to a partial restoration of biodiversity even after several years (see Gould 2011). The nitrogen, potassium and calcium could all be present in the soil post-mining, but there could also be other elements in the soil (for instance, mercury and cyanide) that hinder proper and complete restoration. Although the two companies clearly confirmed that they are putting in place sustainable exit strategies, the interviews and focus groups with community members revealed illuminating issues of concern.

The fieldwork reflected on a few of what some respondents consider the "good things" these companies are doing. But even those who praised the companies' efforts had a negative perception of what the future holds since they cannot find any viable "inheritance" they could point to when the companies leave. This is underpinned by the fact that mining has taken away their main traditional occupation (i. e. farming) or at least made it unattractive to the younger generation who are expected to sustain the communities in the future. The answer to the question of how they see their lives five to ten years after the company leaves demonstrates the emptiness that resides in the CSR discourse. A community leader in Ntotroso (one of NGGL's areas) gave a response that seems to represent the majority community perception regarding their survival after mining:

> We are all going to die in this community. Because they have possessed all our lands, how can we then live? Had it not been the government that brought up that small water project, from where can we get drinking water? The water that we drink from is being polluted by the mining activities. So with regard to the long-term effect, the future generation would suffer a lot. (Interview by author, 23 May 2013)

The usage of "die" is possibly not in the literal sense, but it sharply contravenes the official claims of CSR. Someone like Vogel (2005) speaks of a *market for virtue* where corporations are expected to be conscious of the social and environmental impacts of their operations and react to them in a responsible manner with appropriate programs, projects and initiatives. Community members are yet to see the so-called "virtue" in the work of the companies under study. Especially for a company such as NGGL that has obviously put in place a number of CSR initiatives to address the concerns noted above, one is compelled to accept the point that "CSR in practice deviates from that in principle" (Raman 2010, 6). A youth leader interviewed also expressed similar concerns. He particularly foresees a great danger for the future even though the company is putting up physical structures such as a school, clinic, and community centre. In addition to the absence of a sustainable plan, lack of employment opportunities, the loss of lands, and high cost of living is going to make life difficult—as reflected in one of the interviews:

> At the moment cost of living is high here. A room is rented at GHC30 [rising from GHC10 or GHC5 hitherto]; a single room at some places where we have all the facilities is GHC40 a month…Right now people's lands have [been] collected from them, monies paid to them as compensation has (sic) been used up so I see the future as a doom in that direction. (Interview by author, 21 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1)

To some others, "all they would leave us with are the pits they've dug which are death traps for someone who does not know the area well. There has been inadequate compensation for the lands that were taken so it would just bring more hardship" (Interview by author, 18 June 2013, Kenyasi no. 1). In the communities surrounding CGML, the perceptions were no better. One community leader noted that "when the company is not here again what would bring the hardship is that as I sit here my farm has been destroyed. Instead of employing me to work, you do not take me" (12 June 2013, Akoti). A young woman added that "it would be difficult. Let us take it that a person has planted his cocoa. If you do not destroy it at once, the cocoa tree can yield fruits that can be harvested seasonally" (12 June 2013, Etwebo).

For someone like Howard Bowen, who is known as the "father of CSR," business is essentially "of the people, by the people, and for the people" (1953, 5). Of course, this claim is questionable when one considers the primary interest of business to make profits. Later writers have developed this perspective to include a wide variety of things corporations do, beyond what is required by law, to address myriad social problems and position themselves in the long-term sustainability of society at large (see Vogel 2005; Carroll 2008; Dashwood 2012). But judging that the concept itself lacks clarity and soundness (Sahlin-Andersson 2006; White 2008; Utting and Marques 2010), it is not surprising that the concerns raised by community members contradict what CSR claims to do. Perhaps, a response from a past unit committee leader who currently owns a pharmacy shop sums up the general perception in these areas:

> If the company were not here for even just one year, my work would not progress. It would slow down business and our way of living would also change. It would become different because at that time you would have no land to farm on and you won't be working with the mines any longer.

I could run through the list of over 30 responses for this particular question and they will simply reinforce the general issues raised in the sentiments expressed above. The high-level point is that if CSR indeed is concerned about social and environmental sustainability, as proponents would have us believe (see Elkington 1994, 1998, 2006; Slapper and Hall 2011; Willard 2012), then based on these perceptions one can resolve that these two companies have not succeeded in their quest. This is because the telling concerns appear to outweigh any existing project or program meant to appease host communities. Besides the already established challenge encountered in measuring the non-financial aspects of a company (Robins 2006), negative community perceptions of what holds for them upon mine closure underline another fundamental flaw of CSR and its affiliated notion of corporate citizenship. Yet, the powerful CSR discourse (both language and practice) that surrounds such an idea has inhibited us from understanding the many ways it misleads and rather legitimizes a corporation that is answerable to itself and therefore alienated from true accountability and external scrutiny.

3.7 Conclusion

Latter-day CSR naysayers such as Karnani (2010) insist that the case for social responsibility is flawed since it leads to a neglect of real solutions for societal problems. For him, "companies that simply do everything they can to boost profits will end up increasing social welfare. In circumstances in which profits and social welfare are in direct opposition, an appeal to corporate social responsibility will almost always be ineffective, because executives are unlikely to act voluntarily in the public interest and against shareholder interests." He claims in another publication that the "doing well by doing good" assumption is an illusion because "companies acting in their own self-interest will lead to a socially optimal outcome" (Karnani 2011, 70). This is typical Milton Friedman doctrine and the business case for CSR (see Carroll and Shabana 2010). While contentious, the argument may even sound convincing when one explores the weaknesses of CSR but it does not seem that companies are maintaining such neoclassical stance amidst the pressure to be more socially responsible. At least in the case of Ghana, both CGML and NGGL are doing things to showcase themselves as "good" corporate citizens. Nonetheless, the challenge remains how to actually translate the desire for good citizenship and the grand corporate responsibility discourse into something more meaningful for host communities.

It is already established that in the political landscape of Africa where governments have little incentive to hold corporations accountable, "the argument that a gold mining company must secure a 'social license to operate' is, at least in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, anecdotal at best" (Hilson 2011, 10928). There is also evidence that the tensions between companies and different stakeholders around the world are escalating due to unresolved disputes over the real benefits or beneficiaries of extraction (see Stevens et al. 2013). These tensions and disputes, which are also highlighted in the discussion above, go to buttress the contested nature of the CSR discourse. The persuasive nature of CSR is based on the fact that "it is not possible to separate rhetoric and reality, as the former is an integral part of the social construction of the latter" (Ihlen 2011, 157-158). In simple terms, it can be asserted that the more one hears something the more likely it is to become powerful and acceptable as a result of how it is constructed. It is easy to conclude that the CSR discourse in the context of the two companies examined in Ghana has facilitated a portrayal that leaves social responsibility acquiescent to the discretion and interests of the companies.

It is useful at this juncture to briefly reflect on the theoretical implication of the discussion in this chapter so far. In sum, CC cannot be taken for granted because as a concept, its advocates need to do more to show that it is different from CSR. It seems the discourse functions to constitute corporations as citizens just like anyone else with rights and responsibilities, thereby deflecting from the idea of social responsibility itself. Additionally, one can question if corporations themselves would necessarily be willing to embrace this extended or rather overstretched view of Matten and his colleagues. It is even uncertain whether corporations can and should take up governmental functions even in situations where basic goods and services do not reach the populace, as advocates of CC want us to believe.

In general, the conceptual confusion surrounding CC possibly means that business managers should be content with CSR and should be rather concerned about showing in more clear terms what they are doing in that arena. Even if they were to use CC due to its "newness" as an idea, it in fact, means little more than what has generally become accepted as CSR. The proliferation of hegemonic (albeit conceptually elusive) terms such as CC only goes to fortify the counter-discourse of CSR as western imperialism (see Khan and Lund-Thomsen 2011). This is mainly because the proponents, all of whom are from the West, are not only asserting their dominance over what social responsibility means but also they are delegitimizing local peoples' perceptions of what responsibility (or even citizenship) entails in their specific contexts. It is this phenomenon that has perpetuated the corporate discourse often at the expense of peoples' livelihoods and human rights, even though a depiction of an "empowered" population is created through CSR language and practices.

Chapter 4

Interrogating the Multi-Level Factors of CSR Adoption & Practice

4.0 Introduction

There are different ideas around the factors that persuade corporations to embrace corporate social responsibility (CSR). It is argued that key societal changes such as increased interests in business as a result of globalization, the shrinking role of government, an increasingly competitive labour market, increased interest in business-specific social and environmental issues, supply chain responsibility, growing investor pressure, and pressure from NGOs and peers have resulted in the popularity of the idea (Yakovleva 2005; Worthington 2010). There is also the belief that although the corporation is ill suited to perform this role in an altruistic manner, it is the weakening of the social ties that naturally bound citizens and informal groups to care for each other that has created a vacuum that business thinks it can fill (McMillan 2007). On the ground, local pressure, negative press and the need to maintain a cordial relationship with the community are considered to play an important role in shaping what CSR strategies companies adopt—as was the case of Newmont"s Yanacocha mine in Peru (Gifford et al. 2010; Gifford and Kestler 2008). Despite all these factors, the bottom line or market consideration is definitely one of the crucial persuasions (Brønn and Vidaver-Cohen 2009). This financial imperative or what Brooks (2010) refers to as "economic rationality" of CSR leads some scholars to see it "as a true bedfellow of capitalism" (Raman 2010, 17). All these elements and more can be grouped into internal, organizational and external factors—all of which are expected to be interdependent considerations (Dashwood 2012).

The increasing attention being paid to business as a solution is benched on "the belief that business can consciously invest in ways that are simultaneously commercially viable and beneficial to the poor" (Blowfield 2010, 134). But the other thing, as presented in preceding chapters, is that there is a growing concern regarding the inability of CSR to live up to its professed significance, particularly its role in improving the living conditions of impacted host communities (Bendell 2005; Campbell 2005; Frynas 2008; Hilson 2007; Merino and Valor 20011). This evidence makes one wonder if all the CSR "push and pull" factors identified above have anything to do with the discourse itself. But apparently some scholars believe there is a connection between these factors and perhaps "ethical" corporate behaviour (see Dashwood 2012; Worthington 2010; Yakovleva 2005).

Those of an institutionalist persuasion such as Webb (2012) have identified three main levels—home, host, and global—that interact to influence the adoption of CSR by transnational mining companies (TMCs). In his study of Goldcorp, a Canadian mining company that operates in Guatemala, he opines that the company's CSR approach is continually adjusted to reflect local (host), home country and global normative arrangements, conditions, issues and actors, including the work of transnational advocacy networks (TANs). Although Webb (2012) as well as Dashwood (2012) show that these factors influence company behaviour, they are yet to be studied adequately in the context of the mining companies in Ghana—a gap that this chapter intends to fill. Another gap is that these three factors take CSR for granted and do not adequately account for agency in local contexts. I therefore propose two more levels, namely, regional (continental) and sub-host (i.e. host communities and community-based organizations). The sub-host level particularly helps to showcase how the CSR discourse is contested on the ground, which helps to advance the overarching argument explicated throughout the dissertation.

The five factors are mainly used here as levels of analysis, and they are examined in the context of *expectation* instead of *practice*. This approach means that even though the persuasion exists in theory (in this case institutionalist approaches), companies are not significantly shaped on the ground as subsequent sections of the chapter demonstrate. Rather, these multi-levels reinforce the discourse that makes up the corporation as an entity that is open to external influence by its home and host country, global forces, the region within which it operates, and local communities and advocates. The implication is that it makes us think of such a corporation as amenable, responsible and accountable even though it dwells within a self-regulated regime that makes it mainly governable by and responsible to itself (i.e. primarily shareholders).

The chapter is divided into two broad sections, preceded by a brief discussion of the institutionalist approaches that advance the notion of multi-level CSR factors. One of the sections cover the five identified factors that are expected to influence the CSR adoption and practice of TMCs while the other focuses on the contestation surrounding these professed factors. Specifically, the first section is more descriptive in terms of explaining why and how these different levels of influence purportedly exist. But the second section engages in a discursive assessment of how the notion of "external influence" per se is flawed being that we are dealing with a corporation that is governed by itself as a result of its constitution as a "responsibilized" entity. This undertaking helps to advance the case that no matter how many influential levels or factors one identifies, so far as they are external to the corporation, they will have limited or no weight on corporate behaviour. Rather, such purported levels of influence and the scholarship that promote them perpetuate a CSR discourse that constitutes the corporation in a particularly limited frame of responsibility. The inclusion of a sub-host level, nonetheless, helps to show that the discourse is not taken for granted but actually contested in local contexts. The next chapter further expands on this endeavour to illuminate ways in which two popular global frameworks are contested in their various sites of implementation in Ghana.

In general, critical discourse analysis is employed to illuminate the argument that while CSR as a powerful governing tool is expected to succumb to some external pressures, the voluntary language in which it is framed makes it difficult to expect meaningful influence by a corporation's external environment. Evidence presented below suggests that CSR has become a strategic device meant to pacify disgruntled host populations. This is not meant to imply that none of the multi-level factors matter, because it is in fact the subject for discussion here.[57] Rather, the argument is that in the context of a self-governing corporation it is not forceful to claim that external factors adequately influence the way it behaves or approaches CSR in particular. In light of the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 1, the argument here is primarily advanced by juxtaposing mainstream notions of these levels of influence with both scholarly and fieldwork evidence that suggest otherwise.

[57] In fact, research suggests that private self-regulation goes through a number of stages and cannot be de-coupled from public authority because there are criss-crossing mechanisms that lead public authority to reinforce self-regulating arrangements during the different stages of the policy process, which include agenda-setting, problem identification, decision, implementation and evaluation (Porter and Ronit 2006).

4.1 Institutionalist Discourses on Multi-level factors for CSR Adoption

There are a number of institutionalist discourses that advance how the corporation is made governable by CSR as a "responsibilized" entity/object. A prevailing debate within the CSR field is the question of "why and under what conditions [do] companies behave in socially responsible ways?" (Dashwood 2012, 3). The discussion around why companies adopt CSR has proliferated with many institutional analyses examining both the external and internal factors that shape decision and actions at the corporate level (Dashwood 2007). This discussion is underscored by the belief that corporations dwell in a social environment and therefore should be responsible for, or adhere to, certain social norms—based on the logics of appropriateness and consequence (Campbell 2006). Based on the understanding of institutions as "a relatively stable collection of practices and rules defining appropriate behaviour for specific groups of actors in specific situations" (March and Olsen 1999, 208), these discourses seem to suggest that "corporations are more likely to act in socially responsible ways [as] they encounter strong state regulation, collective industrial self-regulation, NGOs and other independent organizations that monitor them, and a normative institutional environment that encourages socially responsible behaviour" (Campbell 2006, 935). This idea presents to us a corporation that is unbounded and yet embedded in the socio-political milieu within which it operates but as already highlighted in this dissertation so far, CSR constitutes the corporation in a limited way.

Generally, what is expected to become "best behaviour" for corporations involves contestations, negotiation, exercise of power, and change (Campbell 2006). It is within this context that one is expected to understand CSR as an institution of wider societal governance, particularly as "the idea that corporations should engage in some form of responsible behaviour has become a legitimate expectation" (Brammer et al. 2012, 10). More importantly, such an effort is expected to legitimize the work of a company. Even general poor perceptions about a company's legitimacy can force it to adopt and/or mirror the practices of its counterparts—a phenomenon captured as *institutional isomorphism* (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Other organizational theorists argue that this isomorphism extends beyond just their peers to include alignment with the local institutional environment and other prevalent pressures (see Rosenzweig and Singh 1991). This denotes that ideas and perceptions do influence institutions.

There is definitely a theoretical and normative logic that makes such institutionalist discourses prevalent, especially when norms are seen as "intersubjective understandings that constitute actors' interests and identities, and create expectations as well as prescribe what appropriate behaviour ought to be" (Björkdahl 2002, 21). Corporations in this perspective are considered to be "social actors" acting based on some logic of appropriateness (Pouilot 2004). This logic is supposedly deduced primarily based on the sensitivity shown towards social expectations through corporate speeches (Hofferberth et al. 2011). While this may not be a sufficient basis to say corporations are doing anything specific, constructivists could argue that such speeches could spread through a norm cycle to the stage where it can change the existing way of doing things (see Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 2001). Thus, multi-level CSR factors can be seen as maintaining an inherent logic that causes TMCs to behave in certain ways. And this particular discourse forms part of ongoing discussions around transnational governance mechanisms and the proliferation of multi-sectoral networks of influence (see Benner et al. 2004; Bowman and Hodge 2009; Dingwerth 2008; Jessop 1998; Overdevest and Zeitlin 2014; Pattberg and Stripple 2009; Bartley 2011).

It is obvious from the overview above that many scholars have weighed in on the topic of CSR factors, particularly the push and pull considerations that motivate or even require such endeavours. But for the purpose of this chapter, the focus is on Webb's (2012) multi-level configuration with the addition of two extra levels. The additional levels of analysis help us to stretch the institutionalist discourses even thinner to ascertain the ways in which they advance a CSR discourse that constitutes the corporation in a limited frame of responsibility and accountability. As already noted at the outset, institutional approaches following ideas such as "logic of appropriateness" or "isomorphism" present to us a corporation that is consciously amenable to change by its external environment. Yet, the CSR discourse itself has constituted its object (the corporation) as a "responsibilized" entity that is mainly answerable to itself and thereby insulated from external influences. The sections below, therefore, explore the contestation that results from the gap between the institutional logics discussed under this sub-heading and how the corporation is actually constituted via the CSR discourse.

4.1.1 Global Factors

It has been posited that "not only are mining companies responsive to global normative developments, they actively seek to disseminate global CSR norms within the global mining industry" (Dashwood 2012, 253). This suggests that such companies can be both receptors and entrepreneurs of global norms. Starting with the 1977 Sullivan Principles, later endorsed by the UN in 1999 as the Global Sullivan Principles, global CSR arrangements have become popular since the late 1990s. Before then, other regimes existed such as the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations in 1974, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises in 1976, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy in 1977 (see Lim and Tsutsui 2012).

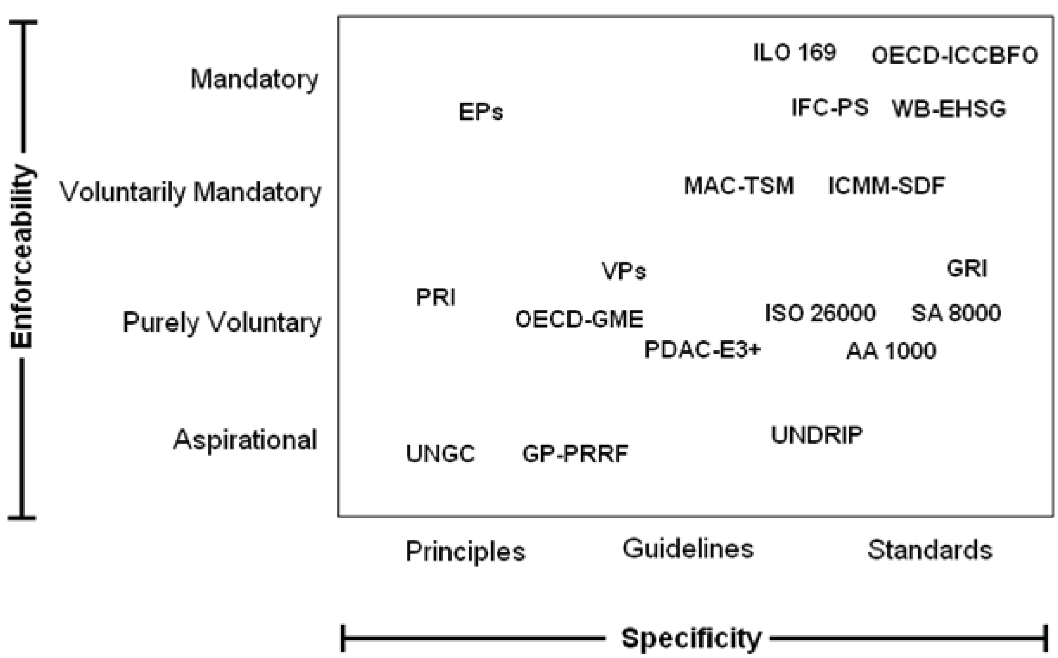
There is also the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI), the Partnering Against Corruption Initiative (PACI), and the World Bank's Extractive Industries Review. Investment banks such as the International Finance Corporation (IFC) have adopted the Equator Principles as a framework to determine, assess, and manage the social and environmental risks associated with the projects they fund. In the area under study, the IFC regulation is expected to be more forceful since the NGGL Ahafo project is partly funded by the IFC. One other relatively influential[58] regime is the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) series of environmental management standards (e.g., ISO 14000, ISO 14001, ISO 9000) that help organizations to minimize the negative impacts of their operations on the environment.

Other factors include the UN Global Compact and the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) both of which were considered to be global CSR pacesetters in the past decade (Mühle 2010). The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), initiated in 2002, is regarded as a leading global norm in the area of proper resource management and transparency (Short 2014). The UN also has its "Protect, Respect and Remedy" Framework, a document endorsed by the Human Rights Council in resolution 17/4 of 16 June 2011. This framework has been developed further into the Guiding Principle on

[58] I use "influential" to reflect the reference made to ISO standards by company officials interviewed, not based on its actual impact on the ground.

Business and Human Rights.[59] It is difficult to provide an exhaustive list of all the global factors that are intended to shape CSR in terms of encouraging "best practices," with a mixture of "soft" and relatively "hard" norms (see Figure 4.1 below). But the underlying point is that a variety of them are often referred to in the sustainability reports of companies, which for some people may be enough justification for actual influence. By virtue of CGML and NGGL being Canadian and American, respectively, it is expected that at a minimum all the OECD Guidelines would provide some parameters around what is doable or not.

Figure 4.1: Soft and Hard Global CSR Norms



Source: O'Callaghan and Drost 2013

[59] See Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights," http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuidingPrinciplesBusinessHR_EN.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

4.1.2 Regional (continental) Factors

Regional entities are also expected to have some weight on CSR. Whereas there is a dearth of literature on such impact in Africa, the European region is reportedly making progress in promoting and shaping CSR (Steurer et al. 2012). To be sure, the European Union has its own CSR Green Paper (EU 2001). But judging from the point that there is a mixture of hindering and promoting factors for CSR particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (Nyuur et al. 2014), it is appropriate that the African Union (AU) has begun thinking about these issues via fourth-generation mining initiatives such as the African Mining Vision (AMV). This Vision was developed by Africa's Ministers responsible for mineral resources at a conference in Addis Ababa in October 2008, with the goal of harnessing the continent's mineral resources to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), eradicate poverty, and facilitate the achievement of rapid and broad-based socio-economic development (African Union 2009).

The AMV is touted as a bold model for natural resource governance in Africa, with the EU recognizing it as the basis for AU-EU cooperation (Besada and Martin 2013). It is significant, first of all, in the sense that it represents the first self-conscious effort and "common voice" around transparent, equitable and optimal natural resource exploitation and access. Secondly, it denotes a departure from the neoclassical economic development model underpinning the continent's previous three generations of mining codes as a result of its focus on holistic and broad-based sustainable growth and socio-economic development (Besada and Martin 2013). These two points are solidified in the AMV's description as a reaction to the failure of Structural Adjustment Programs in the 1980s, a focus on the role of host governments as viable regulators of the private sector, and a renaissance of a "capacitated developmental state" in Africa (Pedro 2012).

The AMV is part of the continent-wide harmonization efforts aimed at ensuring overall benefits of mineral resources and a win-win situation for governments, companies and communities. Thus, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is taking steps to ensure that practices in its member countries align with each other. The Technical Director for Mining at the MLNR, Simon Atebiya, provided the following comments as the rationale behind the quest to establish some equilibrium in extractives sector regulation:

> The flow of investment in the mining sector goes to the countries that have 'loose laws' or good incentives. Because of that other African countries think that they must also go low so that they can benefit…we are saying [we should] come to the same level, with the same conditions [and] policies so that we are not simply inviting people to come and invest but we also want our people to benefit. (Interview by author, 16 July 2013, Accra)

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) struck a Working Group on Extractive Industries, Environment and Human Rights Violations in November 2009 mainly to examine the impact of extractive industries in Africa with respect to their compliance with the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. As a collaborative effort involving donor organizations and civil society, the working group aims to, among other things, "undertake research on the violations of human and peoples' rights by non-state actors in Africa."[60] Following this endeavour would be proposals on how to prevent and compensate for such violations. Thus, the concluding premise is that this working group and the AMV, being the main mining-related arrangements, are expected to affect both the behaviour and performance of TMCs in Africa.

[60] For a full description, see ACHPR Working Group on Extractive Industries, Environment and Human Rights Violations, http://www.achpr.org/mechanisms/extractive-industries/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

4.1.3 Home Factors: US & Canada

Corporate social responsibility is seen as an American idea evident in the characteristics of the U.S. business system such as “fairly unregulated markets for labor and capital, low levels of welfare state provision, and a high appreciation of individual freedom and responsibility” (Crane et al. 2008, 13). American President Calvin Coolidge is said to have stated in the 1920s that “the chief business of the American people is business.”[61] The U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of International Information Programs notes that Coolidge’s statement was made in a time of economic prosperity when climate and energy concerns did not exist. For them, CSR has recently gathered a lot of force, and it is actually a good investment for companies that have such programs in place. Nevertheless, it has been established that U.S. companies are not as nearly regulated as their counterparts in other industrialized countries (Triplepundit 2011).

In general, the U.S. has a great deal of legislation that governs the mining industry starting with the Mining Law of 1872.[62] But some of the specific CSR disclosure arrangements include the 1986 Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act (EPCRA), which is meant to (1) allow state and local planning for chemical emergencies, (2) provide for notification of emergency releases of chemicals, and (3) address communities’ right-to-know about toxic and hazardous chemicals.[63] Another strict

[61] See U. S. Department of State's Bureau of International Information Programs, http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/audio/2011/04/20110412150705enilorac1.085407e-02.html?distid=ucs#ixzz2z59AKkMG (accessed March 13, 2015).
[62] It should be added here that the Alien Tort Statute, which dates back to 1789 allows foreign nationals (described as “alien” by the statute) to seek redress around human rights violations committed outside of the U. S. This could include actions by multinational companies that violate people’s rights. According to a Cornell University Law School page, “A lawsuit under the ATS can proceed for any harm resulting from a violation of international law, no matter where the harm occurred, or who inflicted the harm, as long as the plaintiff serves process in U. S. Territory.” See http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/alien_tort_statute (accessed March 13, 2015).
[63] EPA-U. S., http://www.epa.gov/agriculture/lcra.html (accessed March 13, 2015).

requirement is the 2002 Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX), which requires CEOs and Chief Finance Officers of public companies to carefully endorse annual and quarterly reports as reasonable presentations of companies' finances in order to ensure some sort of corporate responsibility for financial reports.[64] The Environmental Protection Agency also adopted the Mandatory Reporting of Greenhouse Gases (GHG) Rule in 2009 to require high emitters (with annual emissions of 25,000 metric tons) of greenhouse gases to report on their emissions.[65] On July 21, 2010 President Obama signed into federal law the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act,[66] which covers areas of transparency (section 1504) and conflict minerals (section 1502). Informally referred to as the "Publish-What-You-Pay" law, section 1504 of the Dodd-Frank Act requires all American and foreign companies registered with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission to publicly report how much they pay governments for access to their oil, gas, and minerals.

In 2003, the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) launched a set of Corporate Governance Rules that entreated its listed companies to embrace some code of business conduct and ethics.[67] The NYSE launched a Governance Services in the first quarter of 2013, providing an integrated set of resources for its companies who seek to advance in areas of corporate governance, risk, ethics and compliance practices.[68] In the same year NYSE Euronext joined the United Nations' Sustainable Stock Exchanges (SSE) Initiative to improve transparency on Environmental, Social and Corporate Governance (ESG)

---

[64] For detailed content of the Act, see http://www.soxlaw.com/ (accessed March 13, 2015).
[65] For more information, see http://www.epa.gov/ghgreporting/index.html (accessed March 13, 2015).
[66] For detailed law, see https://www.sec.gov/about/laws/wallstreetreform-cpa.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).
[67] NYSE – Corporate Governance Rules, http://www.nyse.com/pdfs/section303A_final_rules.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).
[68] For news release, see NYSE, http://www.nyse.com/press/1366710545655.html (accessed March 13, 2015).

issues and inspire responsible long-term approaches to investment.[69] Newmont is listed on the NYSE so it is expected to comply with these initiatives. At the non-governmental level, the National Mining Association (NMA) is an NGO committed to ensuring that all mining policies reflect the country's environmental priorities in balance with economic, societal and security needs.[70] The NMA includes more than 300 corporations involved in all aspects of the mining industry. Newmont is a member of NMA.

In the Canadian context, the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA) of 1999 provides for an important CSR disclosure arrangement. Coming into force on March 31, 2000, CEPA is regarded by the government as "an Act respecting pollution prevention and the protection of the environment and human health in order to contribute to sustainable development" as it requires companies to disclose information on the emission of pollutants.[71] Related to CEPA, the Canadian Standards Association (CSA) began to create its GHG Registries in 2007 to assist companies in monitoring and reporting their emissions.[72] The Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (DFATD) list of "Canada's comprehensive approach to supporting CSR" includes the 1998 Corruption of Foreign Public Officials Act, which makes it a criminal offence to bribe a foreign public official in the course of business.[73] To help with company-community dialogue facilitation and conflict management, an OECD National Contact Point (NCP) and an Office of the Extractive Sector CSR Counsellor were established in 2000 and 2010 respectively.

---

[69] For news release, see NYSE, http://www.nyse.com/press/1374575491991.html (accessed March 13, 2015).
[70] See National Mining Association for more information, http://www.nma.org/ (accessed March 13, 2015).
[71] See Environment Canada, http://www.ec.gc.ca/lcpe-cepa/default.asp?lang=En&n=26A03BFA-1 (accessed March 13, 2015).
[72] For details, see CSA Group, http://www.csaregistries.ca/ghghome_e.cfm (accessed March 13, 2015).
[73] For more details, see http://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/topics-domaines/other-autre/csr-rse.aspx?lang=eng (accessed March 13, 2015).

As part of Canada's efforts to help foster and promote sustainable economic development and responsible business practices in host countries of Canadian extractive companies, the government unveiled a framework in 2009 called *Building the Canadian Advantage: A Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Strategy for the Canadian International Extractive Sector* (considered to be "the CSR strategy"). The framework appears to be a one-stop policy document with pointers to capacity-building, transparency and disclosure initiatives, including CSR performance guidelines and principles. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)[74] launched a $6.7 million public-private partnership arrangement in 2011. The beneficiary organizations include World University Service of Canada and Rio Tinto Alcan in Ghana, Plan Canada and IAMGOLD in Burkina Faso, and World Vision Canada and Barrick Gold in Peru (Carin 2012). This forms part of the Canadian government's quest to promote CSR by subsidizing projects and initiatives aimed at alleviating poverty in these select countries. Since Kinross is not a part of the initial pilot for this arrangement, it is not relevant to this discussion per se but it does point to the home support for Canadian TMCs. On December 17, 2014 the Government of Canada also passed into law the Extractive Sector Transparency Measures Act, which forms part of the omnibus Bill C-43. Similar to provisions in the Dodd-Frank Act in the U.S., this Act (also informally known as a "Publish-What-You-Pay" law) requires publicly and large private oil, gas and mining

[74] Note that CIDA is no more. It existed from 1960 to 2013, but some of its functions have now been absorbed into the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development.

companies to openly disclose payments made to governments both in Canada and abroad.[75]

At the non-governmental level, the Mining Association of Canada (MAC) has developed their *Towards Sustainable Mining* (TSM) framework[76] with specific guiding principles and performance elements governing the CSR activities of its members. Kinross Gold Corporation is listed as a full member of MAC. Just like the U. S., several NGOs in Canada are taking up the issue of CSR as a core part of their work. Since its establishment in 2005, the Canadian Network on Corporate Accountability has brought together several environmental and human rights NGOs, religious organizations, labour unions, and research and solidarity groups from across Canada (such as MiningWatch Canada, the United Church of Canada, Publish What You Pay Canada, and Amnesty International Canada) "who are advocating for federal legislation to establish mandatory corporate accountability standards for Canadian extractive companies operating abroad, especially in developing countries" (Canadian Network on Corporate Accountability 2010). Several of these affiliated NGOs have their own advocacy initiatives to bring attention to the proper behaviour of Canadian TMCs abroad.

4.1.4 Host Factors

There are a number of factors within the context of Ghana that are expected to influence how TMCs adopt and practise CSR. These are mainly domestic regulation that tends to span over three or four generations (Besada and Martin 2013; Campbell 2003,

[75] For the complete Act, see http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&DocId=6737565&File=464#27 (accessed 8 June 2015).
[76] See http://mining.ca/towards-sustainable-mining (accessed March 13, 2015).

2010).[77] The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (NLNR) oversees all aspects of Ghana's mineral sector and is responsible for granting mining and exploration licences whereas the Minerals Commission is the main promotional and regulatory body responsible for the management of utilization of the country's mineral resources through the coordination and implementation of policies relating to the sector. It is worth noting that until the 1980s, there was no comprehensive legal document governing gold mining. Several pieces of legislation existed to govern the mining industry as a whole, including the Diamond Mining Industry Protection Regulations, 1927; Minerals Regulations, 1937; Transactions in Gold Regulations, 1947; Prospecting and Digging Licence Regulations, 1950; Minerals (Offshore) Regulations, 1963 (L.I. 257); Minerals Regulations, 1962 (L.I. 231); Minerals Regulations, 1963 (L.I. 253); and Mining Regulations, 1970 (L.I. 665).

The post-1980 mining legislation includes the Minerals Commission Law of 1986 (PNDCL 154); the Small-Scale Gold Mining Law of 1989; the Minerals (Royalties) Regulations, 1987 (LI 1349); the Small-Scale Gold Mining Law, 1989 (PNDCL 218); The Precious Minerals Marketing Corporation Law 1989 (PNDCL 219); the Environmental Protection Agency Act, 1994 (Act 490); and the Environmental Assessment Regulations, 1999, and as amended, 2002. The main regulatory framework for the mining sector in Ghana is provided by the Minerals and Mining Law of 1986 (PNDCL 153), as amended in 1994 and 2005. This was further consolidated into the Minerals and Mining Act of 2006 (Act 703), which provides the overarching framework for the mining industry. Other arrangements such as Regulations, 2012 (L.I. 2173) exist to provide specificity around issues of local employment and procurement of local goods

[77] It is worth noting here that gold mining in Ghana has a long history, hence the many generations of practices, codes and ordinances (see Daaku 1970; Wickins 1980; Addy 1998; Hilson 2002a; Aryee 2003).

and services. There is also a National Mining Policy in the making, which is meant to consolidate all the policies and principles for the mining sector and provide government with a framework for the management of the sector.

A report by Atuguba and Dowuona-Hammond (2006) did insist that the country begins to assess the possibility of having some comprehensive legal framework around the issue of CSR. Six years on, the Minerals Commission unveiled its 12-page CSR guidelines meant to set broad directions (instead of prescriptions) for the mining industry. The guidelines were developed with reference to existing domestic codes and international instruments such as the UN Global Compact and the ICMM Sustainable Development Framework. Thus, they are purely discretionary. Yet, this is the major thing Ghana has done so far in terms of giving attention to CSR especially since existing legislation—the main one being Act 703—is not explicit on what TMCs should or should not do in the area of social responsibility. A subsequent section below challenges this limited attention to CSR in domestic legislation.

4.1.5 Sub-host Factors

The literature on multi-level CSR factors does not necessarily identity a sub-host level of analysis (see Dashwood 2012; Webb 2012). But in the context of mineral extraction, a sub-host level is inevitable since the notion of "community" is quite predominant in the description of the community relations or community development departments that most companies have. The community to a large extent can be seen as the lifeline or "blood" of the corporation as the quest to obtain a social licence to operate (SLTO) is unlikely if a good relationship is not fostered (see Idemudia 2007). There is also evidence that local pressure, negative press, and the need to maintain a cordial relationship with the community does have some impact on CSR strategies and initiatives (see Gifford et al. 2010).

Community is used in different ways in the existing literature but the two major uses depict "territory-free" and "territory-bound" social groupings and networks. The former could include networks such as "the academic community," "the business community," "the black community," and "the farm community," among others (see Theodori 2005). My usage here refers more to territory-based settlements and it considers community to imply "a place-oriented process of interrelated actions through which members of a local population express a shared sense of identity while engaging in the common concerns of life" (Theodori 2005, 662-663). In line with Kaufman's (1957) interactional theory, I see social interaction to be the basic element of community. From this perspective, community "is the local society in all its inclusiveness" (Kaufman 1957, 9). Even though a community is usually geography or place-specific, the place is not a community since it only serves as the setting for the occurrence of social interaction (Theodori 2005). My usage of "community" here specifically refers to individual members and opinion leaders within the mining towns or villages, community-based associations, and NGOs working in these localities—particularly the social interactions and interrelationships that occur among these groups of people.[78]

Companies themselves are buying into the notion of sub-host influence as the reference to host communities popped up several times in my interviews with officials. A community relations superintendent at NGGL, Elizabeth Opoku-Darko, insists the surrounding communities are important stakeholders in their operations because

[78] The practices of the mining companies reflect this broad understanding of "community," although some of their CSR initiatives specifically target impacted people living in closer proximity to their operations.

"government gives us the permit and all that at the governmental level but we need that social licence to actually mine, and we believe our communities are part of what we do and without them we can't mine." As part of building an ongoing cordial relationship, she adds that "we can't mine here after 10 to 15 years and the communities don't see change in their lives. We see that our being here should [make] communities better off than we came to meet [them]" (Interview by author, 19 June 2013, Ntotroso). Almost every single answer provided to my questions had the word "community" in it. Suffice it to say that because she is in charge of community relations she is invested in the idea, or that it is part of the agenda to perpetuate the powerful CSR discourse that legitimizes the things the company does as responsible. When asked what sets the company apart from others operating in Ghana and elsewhere, a senior communications officer, Selorm Attipoe, also made reference to community participation:

> I will say it's the level of participation we allow when it comes to our external stakeholders. In this case, I'm talking about the most communities around us. And then secondly, the kind of best practices we try to implement in the areas of environment operations and even community relations. We try to make it as involving and participatory as possible and that's what sets us apart. (Interview by authors, 19 June 2013, Ntotroso)

At least from these accounts, one can say that these mining companies are increasingly becoming aware of "the power of community" (see Brennan and Israel 2008), particularly the potential of organized community action to subvert their operations. My discussion with two community or public relations officers of CGML also proved that the company considers sub-host factors, particularly community perceptions and interests. They even have a Community Constitutive Committee made up of local leaders, government officials and company staff that meets every three months to assess the company's engagement efforts, interactions, programing, and development options.

One of them noted that "we are looking at the needs of our people, we are looking at our strengths and weaknesses and engaging them on constant basis, we want to bring them up to appreciate the collaboration that exist between us the company and the communities" (Interview by author, 9 May 2013, Cape Town). This approach cements the existing notion that a better management of the company-community relationship is a catalyst for the achievement of the status of "corporate citizenship" (Altman 1999). As playing a "core competence" function, others even insist that improved community relations and development increases a firm's overall competitive advantage (Humphreys 2000). The corporation, in essence, becomes constituted as both "responsible" and "accountable" through such CSR community relations practices. These points so far go to support why I included a "sub-host level" in the multi-level discussion, and they also explain why local communities are expected to influence CSR adoption and practice.

4.2 Rhetorical Nature of CSR's Multi-level Factors

> The ambiguous nature of the CSR concept allows companies to define CSR in a way that fits their strategic interests. No commonly agreed CSR definition exists, and as long as corporations can argue that they pay attention to the environment and society, they can also lay claim to the CSR label. (Ihlen 2011, 155)

It is one thing expecting a company to be influenced by a plethora of factors in its adoption of CSR, and it is quite another to actually see these factors shaping a company's behaviour for the better. While the factors that may possibly direct companies towards responsible citizenship are outlined above, this section discusses the perception of community members and non-governmental organizations around some of these factors to highlight how they are challenged when placed in specific contexts. The quest is to show that while several factors may appear to influence CSR on face value, the situation on the ground can be quite different. Moreover, this finding suggests that if one were to consider the external factors outlined above as norms, it would be easy to argue that they are being upheld based on a misguided sense of their scope, depth and influence (see Legro 1997). Below is an assessment of how the CSR rhetoric is highlighted within the five levels of analysis outlined above. To clarify, the term "rhetoric" is used here not to suggest that CSR itself lacks real substance because in fact specific things are being done in its name every day, as already highlighted in the previous chapter. Rather, I seek to highlight how institutional discourses that have facilitated the view of *external* influential CSR factors fail to elucidate the many ways existing institutional logics are flawed in practice—even within the same "levels of influence" they espouse.

4.2.1 The global hullabaloo

Even proponents of global CSR efforts still argue that "the influence of global norms is not sufficient to explain the policies and intentions of these companies" (Dashwood 2012, 48). Although both companies under study made reference to the UN Global Compact, ISO standards, and other global arrangements, each global framework they cited has shortfalls that put to question their actual utility. For instance, ISO 14000 has issues with proper representation and engagement (Clapp 1998) and the UN Global Compact, as a self-regulated code, does not restrain "bad" corporate behaviour (Cavanagh 2004; Deva 2006), nor does it address social issues such as gender equality (Kilgour 2013). Even the GRI fails to explain anything specific about sustainability, which is a key component of the framework (Isaksson and Steimle 2009). In fact, the Compact and GRI have the same weaknesses (see Rasche and Gilbert 2012). These examples go to support the assertion that "soft" international norms are not as useful as proponents expect us to believe (Nwete 2007), and they reinforce the argument that reference to them in company reports and websites is still rhetorical at best.

Even though an arrangement like the EITI seems to have more influence than other voluntary global regimes, my research in the Ghanaian context shows that it is still fraught with challenges ranging from diverse stakeholder expectations and power relations, the availability and timeliness data for the reports, to the possibility of several companies opting out as the country moves towards stricter enforcement of the EITI principles. Despite the EITI's relatively robust compliance mechanisms in comparison with the UN Global Compact and many other existing global norms, extractive companies are facing major challenges in its implementation including interpreting and applying the rules to different business circumstances, putting in place the requisite systems and processes for accurate data collation, and managing the commercial, legal and political implications of public disclosure (Hughes and Pendred 2014). Besides, others have established that the public-private partnership expected out of the EITI implementation is limited because governments do not often recognize civil society advocates and the general public as full participants (Aaronson 2011; Aaronson and Brinkerhoff 2009; Smith et al. 2012). An official of CGML emphatically said during an interview that there is no global yardstick to measure their CSR performance, even despite the number of existing mechanisms. The next chapter examines the EITI and Global Compact in greater detail.

A global norm that may have some sway is one that is tied to project financing. Here, we can refer to the IFC principles, which require funded companies to uphold laid-out standards. The IFC adopted a Sustainability Framework in 2006 (updated in 2012), which seeks to help its clients do business in the most sustainable way possible by promoting good social and environmental practices, transparency, and accountability, as well as positive development impacts.[79] There are seven Performance Standards, which cover social and environmental risks, labour/working conditions, community safety/security, conservation of biodiversity, indigenous peoples, and cultural heritage. Notably, with respect to indigenous peoples, there is a requirement in Performance Standard 7 to seek the "Free, Prior, and Informed Consent" (FPIC) of the peoples affected by projects (IFC 2012).

The IFC does not fund CGML but since NGGL's Ahafo project is dependent on its funding, NGGL was required to follow certain laid-out standards. Existing evidence indicates that IFC has provided about $125 million in loans and social and environmental guidance for the Ahafo Mine (Bretton Woods Project 2010). In the Summary of Project Information (SPI) document presented to IFC in 2005, the Ahafo project was intended

> to become a demonstration case for how to handle environmental, social, and community development issues in Ghana. Ghana has a long history of mining and unfortunately in some cases mining operations have resulted in negative environmental and social impacts on local communities. It is expected that this project would become a model for other mining companies to follow; for example, the level of multi-stakeholder involvement in the resettlement process is expected to become the benchmark for the future (IFC website).[80]

The IFC Performance Standards are thought to be influential in ensuring sustainable practices by corporations, at least those IFC-funded projects (Morgera 2007; Vives 2004). Overall, it does speak to the sway financiers, including shareholders, have

---

[79] See IFC, http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/Topics_Ext_Content/IFC_External_Corporate_site/IFC+Sustainability/Sustainability+Framework (accessed March 13, 2015).
[80] See full document on IFC website, https://ifcndd.ifc.org/ifcext/spiwebsite1.nsf/78e3b305216fcdba85257a8b0075079d/5390bdcc433cef85852576ba000e2796?opendocument (accessed March 13, 2015).

when it comes to corporate behaviour.[81] Nonetheless, this type of global CSR instrument does not go without critique. The IFC Performance Standards are probably among the most enforceable of all existing CSR frameworks since they are tied to loans, but the challenge remains in how these standards play out on the ground. For one, the requirement for projects to receive the FPIC of indigenous peoples likely to be affected is flawed due to a narrow definition of "consent" (Baker 2012). A narrow interpretation of one of the primary requirements does not help to meaningfully mitigate the social and environmental risks of large projects. The same guideline further states that "FPIC does not necessarily require unanimity and may be achieved even when individuals or groups within the community explicitly disagree," although the process of arriving at this is expected to be the result of a "mutually accepted process between the client and Affected Communities of Indigenous Peoples" (IFC 2012, 3). No wonder FPIC is known to have a limited impact on social equity (Mahanty and McDermott 2013). The usage of FPIC by IFC and its inherent elements or intent can be duly questioned although the company officials interviewed made several references to following the Performance Standards. For example, according to Hannah Owusu-Koranteng:

> Newmont has signed on to many IFC regulations and what have you. The first thing is that they say they will seek the free consent of the people and inform the communities before they even come with the registration or what they have in mind. This has never been done (Interview with author, 23 July 2013, Tema).

This assessment above is besides the general argument that while FPIC is being heralded as a social performance requirement, many companies are having difficulty defining the full scope and nature of their CSR in addition to lacking effectiveness on the ground (Owen and Kemp 2014). A Community Superintendent interviewed did indicate

[81] For "shareholder activism" or "responsible investment" see O'Rurke (2003); Sjöström (2008); Barnea and Rubin (2010).

that although "I can say that for community development we are looking at IFC [standards]…we could have decided not to do all these [things] because nothing really binds us" (Elizabeth Opoku-Darko, 19 June 2013). This statement was meant to speak to the benevolence of the company, but the language contains a deeper meaning about the ineffectiveness of the external environment when it comes to CSR decisions and practices.

A document prepared for IFC by the company itself signed by 1, 254 members of the affected communities in NGGL project areas raised several complaints that should have potentially caused the IFC to rethink funding the project, but it did not (NGGL 2005). An email communication on December 27, 2007 between IFC and representatives of concerned organizations such as Oxfam America, EARTHWORKS, FIAN and WACAM, the director of the oil, gas, mining and chemicals department insisted that independent external monitors are satisfied with NGGL's compliance mechanisms (Personal communication with directors of WACAM). It is no surprise that the Deputy Director of WACAM insists IFC, being profit-oriented, mainly has its standards as a green washing mechanism with no real teeth to change corporate practices. It is based on its profit imperative and other weaknesses that critics have characterized IFC's efforts as dubious (Friends of the Earth 2000; Cray 2001). The conclusion here is that global CSR norms create an illusion of influence, what Coombs and Holladay (2013) refer to as "pseudo-panopticon," without really being effective.

4.2.2 The regional non-effect

Although African stakeholders are noted to have been involved in several CSR-related global governance arrangements (Cornelissen 2013), there is lack of evidence regarding the demonstrable utility of such engagements. To be able to have any influence on corporate practices in its extractive sector, Africa needs to establish a formidable agency in international relations and move from being an acted-upon agent to a principal actor. This suggestion is because as of now Africa's agency in international affairs is questionable (Brown 2012). Though there is evidence of some sort of "renaissance" occurring on the continent (Shaw 2012), other scholars are pessimistic about an African agency. Andreasson (2013) insists that the internal weaknesses (i.e. weak state, rickety leadership, and delicate institutions) in many African countries are symptomatic of the continent's external weakness, reinforcing its overall lack of capacity in influencing global discussions. Whether one subscribes to this pessimism or not, it is not an exaggeration to say that this lack of agency has materialized in the continent's inability to inspire recognizable change in the area of mining in general, and CSR in particular. Being "an exemplar of minor powers or 'small states' in international relations" (Brown and Harman 2013, 3), it remains uncertain if Africa would be able to shape the practice of giant corporations, some of whom have capital that far exceeds the GDPs of several countries on the continent.[82]

Despite its indigenous roots, it has been posited that the AMV alone cannot be a strong force unless it is reinforced by instruments such as the EITI and Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) (see Shaw 2014). While the Vision is lauded by many stakeholders in the mining industry, there remains a problem with operationalization, as

[82] In 2000, only South Africa, Egypt, and Algeria surfaced in the list of the world's 100 economic entities, 51 of which included corporations such as Wal-Mart, Exxon and Nestle. See http://www.corporations.org/system/top100.html (accessed March 13, 2015). The 2011 list of Top 175 Global Economic Entities also recorded Morocco, Angola, Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, and South Africa as the only African countries rubbing shoulders with a broad variety of multinationals, including those operating in the extractive sector. See http://dstevenwhite.com/2012/08/11/the-top-175-global-economic-entities-2011/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

described by a program officer at Third World Network—Africa, Alhassan Atta-Quayson in an interview. He said:

> The unfortunate thing about this document is that the governments that are supposed to be changing their regimes, both the policy framework and the regulatory framework, to align with this vision are not doing so as we expected. That is something that we are working on (sic) over the past few years to make sure that something that is emanating from Africa is receiving that attention and is being utilized for addressing our own challenges. (Interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra)

Atta-Quayson's remarks reduce the AMV to an aspirational document at best. Beyond this issue of implementation or enforcement, it is worth noting that the AU did not even have any framework to guide the mining industry until late 2008. This in itself is worrying for a continent on which mining has been taking place for over a century. The AMV and its Action Plan now exist but there is still a limited reference to CSR in both documents.[83] The AMV covers key pillars of mining such as human rights, environment, community engagement, labour, and governance all of which may be considered pillars of CSR, but there is not enough explicit indication to the term itself. "Corporate social responsibility" is mentioned only three times in the entire document on pages 16, 22, and 47. Each reference is mainly superficially connected to established arrangements such as the World Bank's EITI ++, which was launched in 2008 to support select countries to formulate and implement policies on transparency in the extractive sector. There is currently no single forceful statement or measure in the AMV to suggest that African ministers responsible for mineral resource development are serious about CSR per se.

Suffice it to say that perhaps the draft action plan titled *Building a Sustainable Future for Africa's Extractive Industry: From Vision to Action* might have a more robust

[83] An anecdote to be added here is that a search for the term "corporate social responsibility" on the AU website on March 13, 2015 yielded no results. See http://www.au.int/en/search/node/Corporate%20Social%20Responsibility

agenda. Still, there are only two mentions of "corporate social responsibility" in the entire plan—one in the list of acronyms and the other under the program cluster on "environment and social issues." Here, the action plan states that "it is important therefore to embed CSR in a framework whose responsibilities are clear and is part of a broader social development agenda that has been consultatively developed between Government, mining companies and communities. This would strengthen the social licence for mining projects" (AMV 2011, 28). It is appropriate to expect the 41-page action plan to detail something concrete other than just the preceding statement. Since nothing like that currently exists, it is easy to conclude that although the AMV as a whole is laudable, it would not accomplish much specifically in the area of CSR. Unless, of course, the action plan is redrafted at some point to include it in a meaningful manner. By not effectively including such language in the AMV, the corporate discourse and established status quo continues to maintain dominance at the expense of vulnerable populations in host communities.

4.2.3 The home grandiloquence

Although the U.S. has a great deal of regulation on mining and the extractive sector in general, a majority of those readily accessible through government websites are focused on domestic issues. Even for those dealing with CSR-related concerns, the most enforceable ones are those focused on the environment dealing with GHG emissions, water quality, and disposal of waste, among others. There is not enough reason to believe that the country has taken the behaviour of their TMCs abroad seriously. Even a relatively robust name-and-shame instrument such as the Dodd-Frank Act faces implementation and legitimacy issues that cause critics to question its usefulness (see Besada and Martin 2013). To be sure, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, as part of a coalition of business and other interests, in October 2012 filed a suit to block the implementation of the rules set out under the Dodd-Frank Act (Taylor 2013). Although President Obama declared the intent to implement the EITI in September 2011, there is not enough proof that this promise is being fulfilled almost three years onward (Fineberg 2014). Additionally, the U.S. joining the EITI late and becoming a candidate only in March 2014 imply a double standard, which seem to suggest that transparency within the U.S. does not count as much as it does abroad. Being the center of neo-liberalism (Jenkins and Eckert 1989), one can wonder if the U. S. would ever be truly interested in the subject of CSR especially in cases where it does not significantly improve a company's bottom line.

Canada is considered to be a leader in the global mining and minerals industry, particularly since it hosts two of the most important global mining centres—Vancouver (being the centre for exploration, capital acquisition, and mining expertise) and Toronto (being the centre for mining finance and venture capital as well as the headquarters of most of the large Canadian firms) (Russell et al. 2010). Other data show that out of the 1, 980 companies in the global mining industry, 1116 are Canadian, 527 are Australian, 117 are headquartered in Europe, and 110 are based in the U.S. (Elizalde 2010). This confirms that up to 75 percent of the world's mining exploration and operating firms are based in Canada with about 60 percent of them registered on the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSX).[84] Yet, this global leadership does not translate into good practice since some of these companies have caused a great deal of devastation in places like South Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Deneault and Sacher 2012). There is particular evidence that Canada

[84] Some of these companies may have non-Canadian origins but being based here, and having listed on the TSX, it happens that they can call Canada "home."

is now “home to oil, gas, and mining companies that choose to register here in order to benefit from our permissive mining regulations and preferential tax structure” (Deneault and Sacher 2012, 1). Perhaps, this explains why Canada has yet to join the EITI and implement its disclosure principles and measures domestically.

Despite the several Canadian CSR arrangements noted above, the failure of Bill C-300 (a private member’s Bill) in the House of Commons in October 2010 only goes to support the perception that the perhaps lawmakers themselves are not interested in establishing strict ethical requirements for Canadian extractive companies abroad.[85] This Bill, if passed, would have instituted prescriptive CSR guidelines that would be binding on Canadian mining companies abroad (Dagenais 2010). The Bill had its pros and cons and some people consider the failure to be a win for Canada’s mining industry (Dagenais 2010). But it could have had a positive impact on corporate behaviour as even the official government document, “*Building the Canadian Advantage,”* failed to impose human rights obligations on Canadian TMCs (Deneault and Sacher 2012).[86] An interview I had with Jamie Kneen, Communications and Outreach Coordinator of MiningWatch Canada, revealed that the Canadian federal government actually plays a negative role by supporting extractive companies even when they have poor records of responsible behaviour. As Canada “actively participates in the global system of domination in which the wealth and resources of the Third World are systematically plundered by capital of the Global North” (Gordon 2010, 9), the country would need to pay more than a lip

[85] It is noteworthy that the Extractive Sector Transparency Measures Act, which was passed in December 2014, is quite a step in the right direction, but until there are results from actual implementation, one cannot make solid conclusions.
[86] This point recognizes that some firms may be registered at the provincial level and therefore subject to provincial regulations that may exist. Still, there is a leadership the federal government can play in setting overarching standards.

service to the idea of CSR. Even NGO instruments, like the MAC-TSM framework, remain discretionary for the most part.

4.2.4 The host magniloquence

The host rhetoric is also evident in the kind of limited attention CSR has maintained in domestic legislation.[87] Even though there exists a tall list of domestic regulation, principles, and acts governing the mining sector in general, there is almost nothing to be said about "corporate social responsibility" itself. A word search in the Act 703 document yielded zero results for terms such as "corporate social responsibility," "CSR," "social responsibility," "community relations," "social benefits" or "social licence." There is also no mention of "social impact," "community," "stakeholders," and "corporate citizen(ship)." There are several mentions of "citizens" throughout the document, which could also refer to "a public corporation that is established by or under an enactment" (Section 111; 1d). The word "society" appears only once in the document in reference to the duration of a licence under section 85(a). And there is one mention of "Environmental Impact" in section 46(d), particularly with reference to the stacking or dumping of mineral or waste product in accordance with terms approved in a company's Environmental Impact Statement. Given that Act 703 is the main legislative instrument for the mining sector, it is surprising that CSR receives no attention in that document. These words and phrases listed above are among the key terms that have littered the CSR

[87] Until 2006 when the Ghana Business Code (GHBC) came into existence, there was no specific domestic norm to guide companies in terms of social responsibility. According to their website, the code was unveiled through the collaborative efforts of the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI), Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GNCCI), and the Ghana Employers Association (GEA) under a Danida-funded project to improve business practice and generally support the business sector in its efforts towards reaching high international standards. Yet, Recent studies show that out "of the many Small & Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs) and large scale manufacturing industries that belong to the GNCCI and the AGI, less than 60 had signed up to the GHBC as at 01-04-2011" (Amponsah-Tawiah and Dartey-Baah 2011, 109). And the website is not up to date.

discourse so it is expected that a national regulatory document on mining and minerals should have at least mentioned a few, even if superficially. The inability of doing so means the country loses the opportunity of "re-responsibilizing" corporations in a manner that makes them truly accountable and amenable to external scrutiny.[88]

During the fieldwork period, I received a document from the Minerals Commission titled *Draft National Mining Policy of Ghana*. This draft policy is meant to consolidate all the policies and principles for the mining sector and provide government with a framework for the management of the sector. Through this consolidation, "Government wishes to secure the continued development of a thriving mining industry that will contribute to sustainable economic development" (Minerals Commission 2010, 8). In essence, the policy document is designed to establish a comprehensive way forward for sustainable and development-oriented mining. I did not get an indication of when this policy will be fully adopted. But in its draft form, it has one mention of the term "corporate social responsibility" on page 16, which was a reference to the Commission's CSR guidelines. There is also one mention of "corporate governance" on page 23, one mention of "community development" on page 29, and seven mentions of "stakeholders," but no mention of "corporate citizenship" or "social impact." Inasmuch as I have only read the draft policy and though there is a section on environmental regulation, it is unclear why a "mining policy" albeit draft or substantive fails to give ample cognizance to CSR even by just mentioning the term in any meaningful fashion. Again, this lack of

[88] Even though some scholars have called for a more "mandatory" CSR (see Albareda et al. 2007; Doane 2002, 2005; Steurer 2010), we also know the implementation challenges such a law in Indonesia (i. e. the 2007 Indonesian Law No. 40) is facing for example (see Waagstein 2011). Beyond strict CSR rule, which would be ideal, a government should be able to influence the discourse in a manner that makes corporations truly accountable. Yet, the challenge has always been how to maintain this influence with "soft" or no rules.

attention to CSR in domestic policies allows the discourse to be governed primarily by the language mining companies use.

It is possible that the recommendation for a detailed and enforceable CSR policy by Atuguba and Dowuona-Hammond (2006) resulted in the launch of the Minerals Commission's CSR guidelines that came into effect in 2012. According to the 12-page document, the guidelines basically set broad directions for the mining industry instead of prescriptions—meaning they are a purely voluntary benchmark for the implementation, monitoring and reporting of CSR activities by mining companies in the country. In this regard, "companies adopting the Guidelines commit themselves to provide transparency in their CSR activities by regular reporting of CSR planning, monitoring and assessment" (Minerals Commission 2012, 1). The companies are also expected to report to the Commission the effectiveness of the guidelines in order to help with the anticipated review in every five years. These guidelines were developed with reference to existing domestic codes and such international instruments as the UN Global Compact and ICMM Sustainable Development Framework. They contain ten themes, namely, corporate governance and ethics; human rights; workplace and labour standards; health and safety; environmental stewardship; and risk assessment and management. The other themes are material and supply chain stewardship; community and social development; stakeholder engagement; and compliance and reporting.

During my fieldwork in Ghana, some of the Commission officers intimated that companies are receiving the document well since "the crux of the guidelines is that all CSR projects of the companies must be in tandem with government's agenda" even though it is admitted that "for now it is voluntary and for them to buy their social license"

(Jerry Ahadjie, interview by author, 5 June 2013, Accra). After a careful reading of the guidelines, it appears no different from the existing global instruments to which it makes reference, such as the UN Global Compact. Specifically, the Commission did not do much to these global instruments other than to place the name "Ghana" in them, without a careful fine-tuning to suit the domestic context more properly. Thus, although the Commission's guidelines are laudable, there is nothing to show that it has a forceful sway in making TMCs do one CSR project or another. Moreover, none of the company officials I interviewed mentioned these guidelines as one of the things that guide what they do.

On another note, the country seems to have not taken a concerted stock of what mining in general contributes beyond annual taxes and royalties. Mining is being promoted based on the perception that it contributes about six percent of the annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) but besides this purported contribution, there is no real data to show if the over 100 years of mineral exploitation has really benefited the host communities who live with project-specific aftermaths. The Technical Director for Mining at the MLNR, Simon Atebiya, claims that "for now we will say [mining is] profitable" despite the inability to conduct a proper long- and short-term cost-benefit analysis. He also added that "unless we come to a certain stage where the cost-benefit analysis far exceeds what we are mentioning now, then we can say that Ghana without mining is better" (Interview by author, 16 July 2013, Accra). This claim is mainly based on the current contribution of mining to the GDP and the fact that mining in 2012 contributed to 27 percent of national revenue and 42 percent of total [merchandized] exports, as Atebiya explained. But it does speak to a bigger challenge, which reinforces the point that the current regulatory framework for mining in Ghana "is not necessarily compatible with the attainment of social and economic development, poverty reduction and the protection of the environment" (Akabzaa 2009, 61). It is unclear how host factors are supposed to influence CSR if the underpinning legislation, procedures, and agencies are weak or non-existent and have not transformed in a manner that breaks the insulation corporations receive via the CSR discourse.

4.2.5 The sub-host rhetoric

> With that social responsibility issue, if for instance, I have a cocoa farm of 10 acres and then you come and take it for social responsibility purposes and then give me just a token and probably a scholarship, what exactly have you given me in return? You have cheated me! This is because the trees that you have uprooted and destroyed [cannot be replaced] by the money given (Maxwell Atuahene, interview by author, 23 May 2013, Ntoroso).

As is discussed in the subsequent two chapters (particularly in greater detail in Chapter 6), dispossession or the notion of being cheated out of their livelihoods is one of the ways community discourses contest the CSR discourse on the ground in specific implementation sites. In the context of oil multinationals in the Niger Delta, for instance, the contention is that "issues of community perceptions, expectations and local cultures have yet to receive sufficient attention within analysis and therefore have had no influence in the design or implementation of CSR polices" (Idemudia 2007, 371-2). It simply means that although sub-host factors are expected to influence CSR adoption and practice, there is not enough proof that such influence is real. This is the outcome of a combination of unmet community development goals or "broken promises," inability of companies to address the negative environmental and social ramifications on the communities, the feeling of exclusion from decision-making often cemented by poor company-community relations, and poor corporate communication. Feedback received through interviews with community members in the select mining locations in Ghana does confirm this. A co-director of Social Impact (a community-based organization) I interviewed did rate the community relations of NGGL to be almost at 90 percent.[89] Yet, he believes this does not necessarily mean the company is treating people fairly. He also asserted that the positive rating he gave is due to the strong public relations efforts of the company:

> It's a public relations kind of thing. They have a very strong community relations department and they have cleverly used that very well….That is why they still are able to dress-up (sic) wounds that they create quickly because of the nature of their approach to community, and the professional nature of the guys working at the community relations department. (21 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1)

As a result of these community concerns, commentators insist that CSR "remains largely window dressing that serves a strategic purpose of mollifying public concerns about the inherently destructive nature of extractive industries operations" (Slack 2011, 179). The overemphasis on the business case for CSR also does not make matters any better as it sidelines core community social needs (see Idemudia 2010). Even though "community" appears to be a fetish for many companies, this so-called community does not necessarily feel they are influencing the nature, scope, or direction of CSR. Many concerns were raised by respondents in both mining locations under study regarding the lack of participation and ongoing engagement at the various levels of decision-making, as exemplified in the transcript below from an interview with a female participant.

> We are not part of those meetings. By the time we realize something is going to be built or done…when you meet them, they will tell you they have posted notices around for cleaners yet they are lying because they have already employed the people they want. It seems it's a trick they are using on those of us in this town. Because we do not meet with the elders to inform them of our needs and concerns, they cheat us day in and day out. [Me: I am surprised. So don't you

[89] I did not ask interviewees questions based on any specific scale, but this respondent made up a scale for himself as way of capturing NGGL's performance in the area of community relations.

> have anything like community meetings or forum where you go to share ideas?]. No, there is nothing like that. (Interview by author, 12 June 2013, Etwebo)

While the existing literature suggests that strategic company-community engagement could enhance CSR and community development outcomes through effective partnerships (see Hamann and Acutt 2003; Hamann 2003, 2004; Trebeck 2007; O'Faircheallaigh 2010), the general impression of community advocates in Ghana is not as positive. A program officer at Third World Network – Africa, Alhassan Atta-Quayson, noted that "there are instances where you find companies agreeing with some of the things you are saying…and there are instances where you would find them to be pushing us aside. But most of the times you find mining companies describing CSOs [civil society organizations] as people who are driving away investors" (Interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra). Discrediting the work of some NGOs tends to provide a tacit justification for not including most of such vocal groups in the core CSR activities and engagement efforts of mining companies. In fact, this endeavour rather alienates the corporation from being truly accountable to groups that may be regarded as "watchdogs."

At the local level, a couple of community-based organizations expressed similar concerns. With reference to NGGL, the public relations officer with the Omanbotantim Association noted that "while a meeting is meant for consensus building, the company would come with a ready-made decision. This implies that whatever ideas you have in mind will not work" (Interview by author, 18 June 2013, Kenyasi no. 1). A representative of the Ahafo Movement for Development (AMOD) also reiterated this lack of proper engagement: "It looks as if they have the economic might and sometimes they disregard some of the things we tell them" (Kwasi Gyamfi, 24 May 2013, Kumasi). Interestingly, the CGML locations did not have identifiable NGOs or community-based associations other than assembly and unit committees, which are sub-government entities every locality is expected to have.

The responses around company-community relations were quite mixed. The local leaders did confirm that CGML actually meets with and listens to them, but several ordinary members of the communities insisted they are not usually involved in such discussions. In terms of making requests, an older man said "when you say it they will not do it for you…They will not mind you" (12 June 2013, Akoti). The appraisal so far goes to entrench the perception within most mining communities in Ghana that TMCs are not living up to their communal responsibilities, and are actually not engaging with local communities in an effective manner (see Garvin et al. 2009). As already alluded to, there could be agential potential in local communities if companies were to take their quest for social license seriously. But at the level of practice, the community relations and development (CRD) rhetoric is not yet a core part of the business of many mining companies although it is purportedly "core to business" (Kemp and Owen 2013).

These challenges discussed so far led one respondent to say "the question we should be asking is whether or not corporate social responsibility is necessary at all and whether the beneficiaries are getting value for money" (Steve Manteaw, interview by author, 17 July 2013, Accra). One community leader I interviewed had a straightforward solution to this dilemma, arguing that mining should cease if indeed the problems it causes outweigh the benefits: "let's just stop the mining and allow the minerals to be in the ground so that when Jesus comes he would carry them away. Because *if mining would kill, why should we not just leave it in the ground in order to have peace*?" (Interview by author, 23 May 2013, Ntotroso). He is not convinced that in the current situation one can make a convincing case for mining, let alone CSR. It therefore remains problematic to consider sub-host factors as currently affecting CSR even though that level has a better potential of influence than the other four, at least as captured in the discourse companies themselves propagate such as "social licence to operate."

4.3 Conclusion

It is easy to say that there are several external factors that are expected to influence TMCs to adopt CSR. But it is quite another thing to explore how this supposed influence plays out on the ground, particularly in the local communities within which they work. A question worth asking at this juncture is whether or not anything at all can influence powerful corporations, especially if they indeed decide to pursue profits at the expense of human beings, society, and the environment. There are a few arrangements that have the potential to compel companies but even those are not firm enough to keep track of the changing terrain and growing discourse of CSR. In addition to being cosmetic, my discussions with some NGO officials in Accra revealed the fact that CSR initiatives often undermine the relationship between a government and its people in terms of making corporations appear as the ultimate providers in local communities,[90] as already captured in the previous chapter on corporate citizenship and also pointed out below:

> They are very cosmetic but they do that to secure the goodwill and support of the communities for their projects. Now, in doing that, they invariably and sometimes unknowingly undermine the social contract that exists between communities and their governments. (Steve Manteaw, interview by author, 17 July 2013, Accra)

[90] It is worth pointing out here that Vertigans (2011) goes steps further to explore this relationship as a replica of colonialism. Khan and Lund-Thomsen (2011) also see CSR to essentially be Western imperialism due to its ability to delegitimize and undermine grassroots voices.

Based on the discussion above, it is a plausible conclusion that none of the five levels of analysis influence a TMC to adopt CSR the same way internal dynamics do. Others have argued that "while all CSR codes remain voluntary, many incorporate accountability mechanisms and are, to an extent, compelling on corporations" (Besada and Martin 2013, 17). Still, this "compelling effect" is often downplayed by a company's own prerogative to do anything in the area of CSR. To be sure, Dashwood (2012) has made it clear that senior management and general organizational leadership have a definitive role to play in determining what companies do – an account which seems to suggest that influence of external factors do not carry equal weight to internal strategic decisions and commitments. As already mentioned above, this phenomenon indicates that even though the persuasion exists in theory (in this case institutionalist approaches), companies are not significantly shaped on the ground as this chapter has demonstrated. Rather, these multi-levels reinforce the discourse that makes up the corporation as an entity that is open to external influence by its home and host country, global forces, the region within which it operates, and local communities, and advocates. The implication is that it makes us think of such a corporation as amenable, responsible and accountable even though it dwells within a self-regulated regime that makes it mainly governable by and responsible to itself (i.e. primarily shareholders).

Finally, even though some agency is accounted for at the sub-host level and corporations actually believe these agents have some power, the degree of intersubjectivity required for the "CSR norm" to proliferate and reproduce any form of social change at that level is still minimal. Within this particular level, CSR is presented as though a corporation needs its audience (i.e. host communities) via notions such as "social licence to operate" discussed in Chapter 3, but the discourse encounters contestation in the face of evidence that the audience is really not pivotal. In the other four levels, effectiveness is even questionable perhaps except in the case of a few global norms that reside in the top-right corner of Figure 4.1 (i.e. ILO 169, OECD-ICCBFO and WB-EHSG).[91] The lack of evidence on usefulness impedes the potential of these touted multi-level factors to engender what can be called a "pluralist system of accountability" that would embrace multiple actors and standards outside of the corporation (see Benner et al. 2004). In sum, these findings make CSR increasingly more susceptible to the whims of the company (i.e. senior managers and shareholders) than the external environment within which it operates—as these levels fortify the "responsibilization" of the corporation. Overall the assessment here does not only put into question the idea of multi-level CSR factors, but it also brings our attention to the plethora of corporate self-regulated "best practices" that reinforce the CSR discourse, and yet fails to advance positive transformation on the ground for host communities. The next chapter further probes how CSR discourses are contested by examining one of the levels discussed above (i.e. the global) into greater detail.

[91] These are the ILO's legally binding Convention No. 169 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, the OECD International Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Nationals and the World Bank's Environmental, Health and Safety Guidelines. These norms were not the subject of this particular discussion so I cannot vouch for their effectiveness when placed in the context of implementation, except that based on the position they have on the figure presented, they appear more binding than many other global norms.

Chapter 5

Normative Spaces: Implementing the UN Global Compact & EITI in Ghana

5.0 Introduction

As an expansion of the discussion started in Chapter 4, this chapter deals specifically with one of the levels (the global) that institutional theorists believe should influence "proper" or "ethical" corporate behaviour. This level is particularly interesting because it is quite powerful due to the number of players or actors and the plethora of normative and institutional arrangements that support it. But it is also where one can clearly see the contested nature of the CSR discourse when placed in specific sites of implementation. The challenges the nation-state faces in these globalizing times has given further prominence to what can be called "private authority" manifested through a number of international arrangements (see Cutler et al. eds., 1999). These arrangements constitute what we know as "norms" and their popularity mainly accentuates the move to *global governance* resulting from the shifting centres of authority from the hands of governments (Rosenau 2009; Rosenau and Czempiel 1992; Whitman 2009). The United Nations is obviously one of the advocates of such mechanisms due to the human rights abuses and the disenfranchisement of indigenous populations from their lands and livelihoods caused by many multinational corporations worldwide (Amis et al. 2005).

Similar to the discussion in the previous chapter, one of the theoretical persuasions that advance the CSR discourse at the global level is normative in nature. Also in this context, norms may be defined as "intersubjective understandings that constitute actors' interests and identities, and create expectations as well as prescribe what appropriate behaviour ought to be" (Björkdahl 2002, 21). Apart from guiding behaviour, norms are generally considered to provide a motivation for collective action, hence the need for intersubjective consensus among various actors (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 2001; Ruggie 1998). Social constructivism as a theoretical framework enters this discussion because of its focus on both the ideational and material aspects of international relations (see Adler 1997; Ruggie 1998; Wendt 1999). They also show that norms are contextually determined by a plethora of factors and actors (Lang et al. 2006).

Although norms are undergirded by an inherent logic of appropriateness, they can be vague and elusive and may only represent what ought to be instead of what is practically or presently feasible. Yet still, actors adopt such norms because their vagueness allows the actors to use interpretation to achieve differing objectives (van Kersbergen and Verbeek 2007). Due to the imprecise nature of international norms, they are often subject to renewed battles over their meaning from time to time (Wiener 2007). However, as a discourse, the language and practices surrounding these global CSR norms remain powerful and widely endorsed despite their discretionary orientation. One thing to note from the outset is that while the concern for appropriate corporate behaviour exists, voluntary global norms do not necessarily deter multinational companies from perpetrating acts that violate human rights or inhibits local populations from viable livelihood options (see Cavanagh 2004; Deva 2006; Williams 2008).

As I have argued in previous chapters, the CSR discourse constitutes the corporation in a particularly limited frame of responsibility and accountability since what is being dealt with is a corporation that is mainly answerable to itself (i.e. shareholders). It is, therefore, imperative to critically evaluate the potential of corporations to regulate their own behaviour by subscribing to certain voluntary norms and standards (Scherer et al. 2006). I specifically investigate how the global norms both CGML and NGGL have adopted influence their social performance in Ghana. Particularly, emphasis is placed on whether or not local communities affected by the work of these two companies perceive the companies as abiding by what can be called international “best practices.” This trend is assessed by juxtaposing the companies’ own documented commitments with concerns from local inhabitants and NGOs working in these areas. The goal is to showcase that despite the dominance of the CSR discourse it is contested on the ground, which further buttresses the evidence provided in the previous two chapters and paves the way for the next chapter that focuses on gendered implications of the discourse.

In the global context, the CSR discourse constitutes its object (i.e. the corporation) as an entity that is shaped and influenced by established worldwide “best practices.” The discourse makes one perceive corporations as adherents of the principles and standards they adopt and thereby responsible or accountable to the organizations that espouse them through regular reporting and monitoring. I contest this perception in this chapter by showing the many ways it falls short. Utilizing critical discourse analysis, I am able to explore how existing policies and practices may actually conceal the biases and deficits of global CSR norms. This undertaking reveals how a discourse such as CSR can “enact, confirm, legitimate … relations of power and dominance in society” (van Dijk 2001, 353).

This chapter is organized into three sections followed by a conclusion. The first and current section offer an introduction to the discussion of global norms and the theoretical or perhaps practical persuasions that have made these arrangements dominant. Section two traces how CSR has evolved into a global phenomenon, with examples of the norms that appear to have become part of the ethos of many corporations operating around the world. The third section contextualizes the discussion by exploring the influence of such norms on the performance of both CGML and NGGL, placing emphasis on the two norms that may be considered to form part of a "fourth generation" of mining codes in Ghana (Besada and Martin 2013)—namely, the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). It is under this section that I juxtapose official notions of global CSR norms with prevailing concerns in different sites of implementation in Ghana to highlight the contested nature of these norms. Before proceeding, it is noteworthy that several other codes of conduct exist but these two are both widely endorsed and widely used, and in their application, they reinforce a majority of latter-day norms such as the Global Reporting Initiative's (GRI) Sustainability Reporting Framework, World Economic Forum's Partnering Against Corruption Initiative, ICMM Sustainable Development Framework, the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (Ruggie Principles),[92] among others.

5.1 CSR as a Global Norm: Evolution & Proliferation[93]

The role of private actors and norms in the current era of global governance reflects the growing socio-economic and political complexity whereby the provision of public goods is no longer the preserve of governments; private actors such as NGOs and TNCs have increasingly become part of this activity (Cutler et al. eds. 1999; Dashwood 2012; Green 2013). As it has already been established above, regimes are the norms,

[92] See Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights ," http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuidingPrinciplesBusinessHR_EN.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).
[93] Proliferation here involves a variety of normative arrangements by governments, international/regional organizations and corporations themselves in order to reflect the broad terrain of CSR norms ranging from transparency and labour rights to sustainable development.

principles, rules and decision-making procedures to which a given number of actors adhere. A regime can be formal or informal, with the former fostering established institutions through the process of normalization or socialization while the latter springs up around a particular issue-area in a more ad-hoc manner. CSR, since the late 1990s, has been becoming institutionalized as a global business norm (see Bartley 2007; Shanahan and Khagram 2006; Whitehouse 2003).

The evolution of CSR as a global norm takes the form of formal and informal regimes that have gradually grown to be accepted by a variety of actors and stakeholders as a useful way to commit TNCs to be mindful of general social issues as they go about their businesses. Although business and social concerns seem to be worlds apart, for over a hundred years there has been a long-standing tradition of businesses engaging with social issues "either on a paternalistic or voluntary basis" (Mühle 2010, 17). But today, this relationship has become global and it is usually associated with the protection and promotion of human rights—although it has been established that the UN has been interested in TNCs since the 1970s and 1980s (Sikkink 1986).

Davis et al. (2008) argue that global CSR norms are reflected in the principles and standards that "hold firms responsible for actions far beyond their boundaries, including the actions of suppliers, distributors, alliance partners, and even sovereign nations" (32). At the time they wrote, it was opined that these standards would continue to grow to become as global as corporations themselves. The question to ask is why is there a current global call for CSR? In her book, *The Rise of Global Corporate Social Responsibility: Mining and the Spread of Global Norms,* Dashwood (2012) asserts that considering the poor socio-environmental performance of companies in the past (including the early 1990s), global CSR norms played a major role in making companies more acclimatized to their social and environmental responsibilities by the end of the 1990s. But in addition to the existing normative structures, it is the plethora of events, such as publicized environmental disasters, restricted access to mine sites, tighter national regulation in the developed world, sustained NGO activism, increased loan conditionalities, and closing off of markets that offered a critical moment for mining companies in the late 1990s to encounter behavioural change.

In terms of proliferation, although the rise of global CSR is generally situated in the late 1990s, there is evidence of it being present since the 1970s, with reference to the 1977 Sullivan Principles and the subsequent Global Sullivan Principles that were jointly unveiled in 1999 by the then UN Secretary-General and Rev. Leon Sullivan as one of the keystones of global CSR norms. Other pre-1990 arrangements included the establishment of the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations in 1974, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises in 1976, and the International Labour Organization (ILO) Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy in 1977, also known as the MNE Declaration (Lim and Tsutsui 2012).

At the corporate level, one has to note that on 25 January 1984, Nestlé signed an agreement committing itself to implementing the WHO/UNICEF International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes, which was adopted by the World Health Assembly in 1981 (Sikkink 1986). These measures show the efforts of states, civil society groups, and companies themselves in shaping corporate social performance although often in ways that are amenable to the interests and concerns of business and employers themselves (Shamir 2004). This evidence highlights how the CSR discourse constitutes the corporation as a "responsibilized" entity. A dated inventory by the OECD (2001) reveal that out of the 233 codes of corporate conduct collected from OECD countries, 118 of them were issued or initiated by individual companies, 92 by trade associations, and 32 by NGOs and unions. This evidence also supports the fact that corporations are the initiators of most of these norms that are expected to govern their own behaviour. And, of course, the CSR discourse wants the public to believe that these self-sanctioned codes of conduct advance corporate responsibility and accountability.

Efforts at popularizing the CSR norm continued in the 1990s. One of the first government initiatives of the 1990s was the Fair Labour Association established in the U. S. in 1996 by the Clinton administration as a multi-stakeholder approach to fight sweatshops. In 1998, the UK government initiated the multi-stakeholder-based Ethical Trading Initiative followed by the appointment of a Minister for CSR in 2000 (see Segerlund 2005). Other European countries followed with several legislative measures to streamline CSR. The OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, which were adopted in 1976, were revised (in 1979, 1984, 1991, 2000 and 2011) to embrace civil society and some non-OECD countries. In recent times countries such as Romania, Colombia, Peru, Latvia, Costa Rica, among others, have subscribed to the OECD declaration,[94] including three African countries (Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia). International development institutions such as the International Finance Corporate (IFC) have adopted the Equator Principles as a framework to determine, assess and manage the

[94] For the detailed Declaration, see OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, http://mneguidelines.oecd.org/oecddeclarationanddecisions.htm (accessed March 13, 2015).

social and environmental risks associated with the projects they fund. There are currently 79 Equator Principles Financial Institutions (EPFIs).[95]

The Kimberly Process Certification Scheme was established in 2003 to stem the flow of conflict diamonds (that is, rough diamonds used by rebel movements to finance wars against legitimate governments) into the mainstream diamond market.[96] This is also a multi-stakeholder endeavour involving governments, industry, and civil society. The World Bank Group (WBG) also has an Extractive Industries Advisory Group that was formed to help the Bank identify and promote good practices in the extractive sector and to facilitate the implementation of the agreed recommendations of the Extractive Industries Review (EIR).[97] The EIR has been in existence since 2005 but at a recent seminar titled "Extractive Industries Review + 10," the Bank recognized that although progress has been made much more work needs to be done (World Bank 2012). Other norms that are market-based include the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI) and the Partnering Against Corruption Initiative (PACI).

On the continental level, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) struck a Working Group on Extractive Industries, Environment and Human Rights Violations in November 2009 mainly to examine the impact of extractive industries in Africa with respect to their compliance with the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. This effort also meant to be a collaborative endeavour

---

[95] For the full list, see http://www.equator-principles.com/index.php/members-reporting (accessed March 13, 2015).

[96] For detail, see The Kimberly Process, http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

[97] The EIR is the collective term given to a series of reviews of the WBG's approach to extractive industries, including an independent stakeholder consultation and evaluations done by the WBG's independent evaluation groups.

involving donor institutions and civil society.[98] In addition to the Global Compact and all other CSR efforts the UN is spearheading, the special procedures of the Human Rights Council, and ultimately the council members, came out with the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights with the goal to implementing the proposed "Protect, Respect and Remedy" framework, recommended by special representative John Ruggie. The development of the guiding principles was also facilitated by Ruggie and endorsed by states within the Human Rights Council by way of resolution 17/4 of 16 June 2011.[99]

The UNGC and GRI are examples of CSR initiatives that have become entrenched since 1999 and the early 2000s. These two initiatives, according to Mühle (2010), have been able to set the agenda for CSR in the last decade by building upon the idea of CSR popularized since the 1970s, and promoting its acceptance as a global norm during the early parts of the 21st century. The diffusion and normalization process did involve both organized businesses and individual firms in order to make this possible (Mühle 2010). The EITI was popularized as a global norm in the early 2000s but has become a strong campaign tool in the area of transparency and accountability of extractive companies. The focus for the analysis in this chapter is on the UNGC and EITI because even though the GRI was founded in 1997 as a non-profit organization, it was inaugurated in 2002 as a United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) collaborating organization. It is likely the two organizations have similar agendas. To solidify this, the UNGC and GRI signed an agreement in May 2010 to align their work in the area of CSR

[98] For a full description, see ACHPR Working Group on Extractive Industries, Environment and Human Rights Violations, http://www.achpr.org/mechanisms/extractive-industries/ (accessed March 13, 2015).
[99] See Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights," http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuidingPrinciplesBusinessHR_EN.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

and corporate accountability.[100] Also, companies that have signed on to the compact use the GRI reporting framework, which covers economic, environmental and social responsibility. The other reason for sticking with the UNGC is that research shows that the GRI guidelines possess the same weaknesses the global compact has (see Isaksson and Steimle 2009; Rasche and Gilbert 2012). Therefore, in this context, it will not be useful to individually examine two frameworks that share such similarities.

5.2 Influence of Global CSR Frameworks in Ghana

It is clear that as a result of a plethora of disincentives such as naming and shaming, investor activism,[101] and the unattractiveness of a company to potential highly qualified employees who uphold high ethical standards, global CSR codes of ethics may influence companies in one way or another. Yet, the influence of such norms alone is not adequate to explain what companies do and why they do what they do. This is because if one should ask company officials whether or not global CSR regimes are changing the way they operate, the answer is most likely to be in the affirmative. But the same cannot be said for demonstrable sustainable livelihood outcomes for the vulnerable populations in areas where they work. Dashwood (2012) agrees that "although emerging global CSR norms are necessary to the explanation of why mining companies adopted CSR policies and came to frame them in terms of sustainable development, the influence of global norms is not sufficient to explain the policies and intentions of these companies" (48). This suggests that if a company has not properly internalized a more proactive conception of CSR into its modus operandi, its influence might not mean much in terms of real

[100] For the communiqué about this alliance, see http://unglobalcompact.org/news/50-06-24-2010 (accessed March 13, 2015).
[101] For notions of "shareholder activism" or "responsible investment" see O'Rurke (2003); Sjöström (2008); Barnea and Rubin (2010).

substance. As the corporation is traditionally designed to maximize profits, we can question things that it reports as “genuine” CSR endeavours.

The argument has been made that “because norms vary over time and are often context dependent, their elusive nature poses serious analytical problems” (Björkdahl 2002, 13). It is, therefore, no surprise that even norms that seem to have gained international popularity such as the UNGC and the EITI still face fundamental problems when it comes to implementation. Under this section, the discussion is no longer about whether or not norms matter because it is evident that they do to some extent (see Cortell and Davis 1996). The issue is about how they matter, particularly their potential to influence positive change in specific localized contexts. And since it is also known that the quality of norms derives from what actors make of it (Wiener and Puetter 2009), it is appropriate to interrogate the meanings several stakeholders ascribe to CSR norms in order to appreciate their overall utility. The premise is that although norms do matter, they are often upheld based on a misguided sense of their scope, depth, and influence (see Legro 1997). Additionally, it is useful to counterpoise grassroots voices with the official expectations of these norms to appreciate ways in which they have perpetuated dominance. Let me now turn to some specifics within Ghana.

5.2.1 The UN Global Compact (UNGC)

Launched in July 2000, the UNGC is generally considered as one of the biggest CSR initiatives of our time, particularly due to the number of companies and organizations that have taken up the initiative (see Hemphill 2005; Kell 2005). As of December 2013, over 8,000 companies in 140 countries have joined the UNGC with a commitment to adopting a principles-based management and operations approach. There are also 4,000 civil society signatories and 40 other organizations that participated in the launch of the compact in 2000 (United Nations 2013). The compact entails ten "universally accepted" principles, two covering issues of human rights, four on labour concerns including child labour and discrimination (which are also inherently human rights issues), three on the environment, and the last one dealing with the quest for a kind of corporate governance that will resist all forms of corruption. Overall, the compact was established in order to "realise a more sustainable and inclusive global economy through responsible business practices" (United Nations 2007, 5). Ruggie (2002a) sums up the import of the compact as follows:

> The Global Compact seeks to weave universal principles into global corporate behaviour. And it brings together all the relevant social actors in doing so: governments, who defined the principles on which the initiative is based; companies, whose behaviour the GC seeks to shape; labour, in whose hands the concrete process of global production takes place; NGOs, representing the wider community of stakeholders; and the United Nations, the world's only truly global political entity. (35)

The compact is therefore part of what is considered as the "new global public domain" revealing how private authority including transnational corporations, civil society, and private individuals is subtracting from the traditional authority possessed by the nation-state (Ruggie 2004a). It has its roots in existing declaratory texts and conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), the International Labour Organization's Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work Declaration (1998), and the UN Convention against Corruption (2003).

Ruggie (2004b) believes that "the uptake of the Global Compact has exceeded the wildest expectations of any of its architects—suggesting that it does indeed respond to a critical need, at a critical time" (17). Yet, the UN itself realizes that there is still a long way to go when one considers that only 8, 000 of the estimated 70, 000 multinationals and millions of smaller enterprises in the world have signed on to the principles (United Nations 2013). The compact was meant to help resolve the troubles of the global governance system in order to better embrace its changing public sphere as well as showing how international commitments can play a role in governing business and human rights around the world (see Ruggie 2007; Ruggie 2002b). The two companies under study are participants in this compact; Newmont joined in 2004 while Kinross joined in the first quarter of 2010.

5.2.1.1 Getting real with the UNGC in host communities

The existing literature is divided on the real impact of the UNGC because as the prospects are big, the constraints are also visible (see Rasche et al. 2012). We know that the growing concerns around human rights and labour issues can be attributed to the origin of the UNGC (Hancock 2006). But even though the global compact attempted to tap into the evolving multi-stakeholder idea and bring companies, NGOs and labour unions together to form some consensus on the critical issue of business ethics, it still falls short on many levels (Thérien and Pouliot 2006). The very premise on which the compact was established is fuelled by a neo-liberal logic that private governance, including investments by TNCs, is good for "poor" countries (see World Bank 2002; Dollar 2005). It also reinforces the argument that CSR has become a way to "roll out" neo-liberalism (Sadler and Lloyd 2009; Kinderman 2012).[102] Essentially, "the 'rolling-

[102] According to Sadler and Lloyd (2009), this happens more in capitalist societies such as the U.K. and U. S. where there is explicit and direct government support in the expansion of CSR. These are two countries the authors believe are at the forefront of "rolling out" neo-liberalism. For instance, the U. K. was the first country in the world to appoint a Government minister in 2000 with specific responsibility for CSR.

out' of neoliberalism includes a tendency for corporations to take responsibility from states," for instance, using such notions as "corporate citizenship" (Sadler and Lloyd 2009, 615). And a new generation of "industry" consultancies has also emerged to enable the neo-liberalization of CSR, and as part of a bigger discourse, they reinforce a corporation that is constituted as "responsible." The discourse, although quite prevailing, has caused a great deal of havoc in many places where it was applied (see Brodie 2010; Bury 2005; Hertz 2010; Klein 2000, 2007; McMichael 2005; Mensah 2008; Sanyal 2007), and it becomes definitely flawed when one examines the prevailing concerns of people who are immediate and assumed beneficiaries of such investments. Community members in the area NGGL operates expressed several worries:

> The drinking water is not sufficient. The company should drill more water sources—at least five taps in each locality will be helpful. Where I live right now, there are only two taps. This causes difficulties in dry seasons because the tap can just stop running. And there's no alternative drinking water source anywhere. (Female respondent, interview by author, 7 January 2013)

One can argue that it is not a company's duty to provide drinkable water to the general public, as this is the primary function of the state. However, if the work of a company deprives the people of their natural sources of water it becomes imperative that alternative measures are put in place. Another female respondent noted that NGGL's presence has had some negative repercussions: "there have been some devastating social issues. The wealth that came with the presence of the company here resulted in many clashes that led to the death of some members of this town. And the blasting [of rocks] also destroys people's buildings" (Interview by author, 7 January 2013). There were some positive accounts too:

> Newmont has helped this town overall. People never used to come here but now they come from everywhere to see what's going on here. Actually, some of my siblings have been employed by the company, which helps in feeding our family.

> So I think Newmont's presence here has been of benefit. (Female respondent, interview by author, 7 January 2013)

Despite the few positive responses that were recorded (specifically four), the majority of the concerns can be summed up by this insight from a 63 year-old farmer in Kenyasi:

> Since they started, we've gone through a lot of hardship. Just one year ago, they polluted the water we drink with toxic chemicals, which resulted in the loss of marine life. People lost their previous places of residence [to the mining project] but then they faced problems with where they were resettled. Additionally, they haven't even helped with improving our roads. There are so many issues I can't mention them all.

The concerns raised by people living in the CGML areas are similar to those of the NGGL areas. A young man noted that one of the most devastating and visible effects of mining has to do with the environment: "if you cast your eyes around, you can see the dumped waste that surrounds this place. In this case, it is almost impossible to build anything on those portions of the land. And when they blast the rocks, it cracks our buildings" (Interview by author, 8 January 2013). Judging that three UNGC principles are devoted to the environment and Principle 8 entreats businesses to "undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility," one would expect CGML to address this issue. During my stay in the villages, I saw several notice boards that announced times blasting would occur. However, such announcements do not prevent the aftershock of blasting; it mainly cautions them to stay away from the blasting sites. For these areas too, although some interviewees said that CGML is doing some good things such as building schools and financing a community clinic, the overall perception is that "as of now we don't get food because they've claimed all our farmlands. Hunger is killing[103] us" (female respondent, interview by author, 8 January 2013). A male respondent in Akoti also claims

[103] "Killing" as used here is a Ghanaian expression that does not convey a literal meaning but speaks to the hardship the community is facing due to inadequate food.

that CGML has “destroyed our lands and farm produce. What to eat is hard to come by and when you go to farm in the forest they come to arrest you. So this is a problem that results in hunger” (Interview by author, 8 January 2013).

As already noted, Newmont joined the UNGC in 2004 and has since then purportedly put measures in place to address all areas of the compact’s 10 principles. With regard to the first principle on human rights, the company notes in its 2012 Sustainability Report “we believe that the dignity of every human being must be respected and protected in the safeguarding of human rights. This guides our approach to working with local communities” (Newmont Mining Corporation 2012). Kinross equally makes several commitments to the UNGC in its 2011 corporate responsibility report, entitled “*Taking Responsibility*,” which reflect their stated core values of putting people first, outstanding corporate citizenship, high performance culture and rigorous financial discipline (Kinross Gold Corporation 2011). It is clear now that both companies make explicit reference to the UNGC in their reports and on their websites. The compact is even popular within government circles, having greatly influenced the write-up of the Minerals Commission’s CSR Guidelines that were first unveiled in 2012. Also, every official I spoke to about global norms mentioned the UNGC as a major existing norm.

Speaking with company officials, it seemed that global CSR codes in general influence what they do although some argue that it is not necessarily a stringent benchmark to ascertain how they are doing: “For now, there is no yardstick to measure [our performance] with because if there were then we can say measuring up maybe we are at 30 percent or 70 percent. But we are looking at it from our angle. When the time comes for us to look at it using a certain standard then we’ll move on from there”

(George Naykene, Senior Community Relations Officer at CGML, interview by author, 9 May 2013, Cape Town). This point reflects a major weakness of global norms, particularly the lack of clear performance and accountability mechanisms. It is no wonder proper measurement and compliance have been cited key deficits of the UNGC (see Bremer 2008). For a company that is explicit about adhering to the global compact, it is expected that the principles of the compact will be a yardstick with which its CSR performance can be measured.

NGGL is particularly tied to abiding by some international standard because it received funding from the IFC to begin the Ahafo project. But the conversation below with Elizabeth Opoku-Darko, Community Relations Superintendent at NGGL, seems to suggest that apart from IFC Performance Standards, the company is not necessarily taking into cognizance any other global code:

> [Me: for CSR and all the community development program that you undertake, do international initiatives influence the things that you do locally as in the UN Global Compact, ISO, and the others?] R: Yes ISO also has its part in it and every year we go through re-certification. It's part of what we do and when you come to this UN global compact and all that, yes. [Me: but they are voluntary that is why I'm asking why you are tied to doing those things]. We here in Ahafo, IFC is part of what drove this [project]. So IFC has this monitoring group that comes in to actually see if our social investment is in line with the global issues when it comes to human rights, labour issues and all that. And then as a company have our social responsibility standards and that is in line with the IFC. *And the IFC standard and UN global compact is almost same*. As a company we also have 12 standards that look at our social responsibility. [Me: so by complying with IFC you are also looking at the UN Global Compact?]. Yes, because that looks at a baseline study, it looks at impact assessment, it looks at our stakeholder engagement, expectation commitment, complaint grievances, local investment, security and human rights, land acquisition and resettlement, [and] then management of culture and heritage sites. (Interview transcript, 19 June 2013, Ntotroso)

Although IFC standards are more of a requirement for NGGL than other international initiatives, there is still a perception among some NGOs that global regimes are voluntary guidelines that help companies to portray a good image of themselves without deviating from their bad practices. “It’s a green washing [mechanism] [Me: while voluntary, do they make companies better or worse? Does it really improve the way they do things, especially looking at Newmont in particular?] Respondent: It doesn’t because the IFC is also after profits so they are bedfellows” (Interview transcript, 23 July 2013, Tema). The discussion in the previous chapter already points to some weaknesses of IFC performance standards, including the ambiguous way “consent” is defined.

One identifiable demerit of the UNGC is that it fails to specifically say anything about social justice and poverty alleviation. Although it deals with several issues such human rights, environment, labour and anti-corruption, all of which are crucial to CSR, it does not mention social responsibility in explicit terms. This suggests that even if the compact were to have any impact on corporate behavior, corporations may not have to report on “social development” per se. The Health, Safety and Environment General Manager at CGML gave the impression that his company approaches CSR from a more comprehensive perspective: “Our corporate social responsibility programs go beyond community development. Health and safety is one, environment is one, and then community development. In fact, as far as my company is concerned, these four broad areas have been captured under one [umbrella] as corporate responsibility programs” (Kodua Dapaah, interview by author, 19 June 2013, Kumasi). While NGGL and CGML both have commitments to social development such promises are not upheld although at least some attention is paid to environmental concerns through the enforcement mechanisms of the Ghana-EPA. The Project Coordinator at NADEF highlighted in an interview that “when it comes to the environment you cannot run away from that [i. e. international standards].”

Accountability and Legitimacy

It has been already noted in the introduction that the CSR discourse at the global level constitutes its object (i. e. the corporation) as an entity that is shaped and influenced by established worldwide "best practices" even though self-regulation is a key principle that drives business. Essentially, the discourse makes up corporations to be seen as adherents of the global principles and standards they adopt and thereby responsible or accountable to the organizations that espouse them through regular reporting and monitoring. Yet although the UNGC is deemed to have become the largest voluntary global governance initiative, researchers have found that more work needs to be done to properly ascertain its legitimacy and effectiveness, among other things (Voegtlin and Pless 2014). And since legitimacy is regarded to be generally weak in contemporary global governance (Keohane 2011; Scholte 2011), it is useful to weigh the compact against it.

To be exact, accountability has been cited as a major weakness of the global compact, and with it comes the challenge of proper monitoring and evaluation (see Williams 2008). Company statements about their compliance with provisions in the compact "are often just vague words that mean nothing in reality" because it appears that "even companies with poor labour and human rights records can simply join the compact, pay their annual dues, and submit annual reports that highlight areas of corporate citizenship without necessarily changing their behaviour" (Andrews 2011, 220). Given that Newmont joined in 2004 (with Kinross coming on board in 2010), one would expect their level of compliance to be high but prevailing community perceptions prove otherwise. This has led many NGOs to place their hope in better domestic regimes, as my conversation with a Program Officer at Third World Network – Africa suggests:

> [Me: so do you see international regimes playing a big role?] Respondent: No, I'm not saying that [about] roles being played by these international regimes. But even those that the companies have signed on to, the companies are not being faithful to themselves in adhering to the principles in those regimes. We should be able to force them, within our own frameworks, to do what we require of them (Interview with Alhassan Atta-Quayson, 22 July 2013, Accra).

This insight comes from someone who believes that CSR is "a global phenomenon where over time corporate bodies, not just those in mining but those in other areas, have developed a sense to give something back to the communities where they operate and elsewhere" (Interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra). He insists that this CSR ideal is not being realized within the current framework. Inasmuch as it is difficult to envision a universal and mandatory code for TNCs, the current voluntary nature of the UNGC predisposes it to non-conformity by the companies it targets. Some companies even misuse the compact as a marketing tool (see Deva 2006). Others receive high CSR rankings even when they are doing almost nothing to address their malpractices (Scalet and Kelly 2010). For instance, Newmont was named among the top "100 Best Corporate Citizens" for the fourth consecutive time in 2012.[104] In 2013, it was listed on the Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI World) for the seventh consecutive year. The 2013 DJSI World—Dow Jones' premier sustainability index—includes 333 global companies considered to be "leaders" in sustainable economic, environmental, and social performance. Newmont became the first gold company to be included in the DJSI World in 2007 and has also been included on the DJSI North America Index every year since 2006. In 2010, Kinross was listed on the DJSI—the North American Index, which speaks

[104] This "Corporate Citizens List" uses "publically available information" to evaluate 1,000 leading U. S. companies in areas of performance such as environment, human rights, employee relations, corporate governance, among others. Newmont was one of the only two mining companies in the top-50. See Business & Financial Times, "Newmont named among top CR Companies," June 4, 2012, http://www.thebftonline.com/index.php/news/836-newmont-named-among-top-cr-companies (accessed 11 June 2012).

to the company's commitment to outstanding corporate citizenship. In June 2009, the company was named one of Canada's Top 50 Socially Responsible Corporations by Jantzi Research[105] and *Maclean's* Magazine;[106] it also received the same ranking for 2010, and for the third time in 2011. These rankings were preceded by the company's recognition in 2002 as one of Canada's most environmentally responsible companies by *Corporate Knights*, a Canadian magazine with a focus on CSR.

Although these two companies have been recognized for "best practices," it does not mean the general public in the host communities applaud such recognition. In fact, with respect to NGGL in particular, the Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM) argues that they do not deserve such awards. To the Deputy Executive Director, these industry-controlled awards aspire "to glorify the industry," and pretend as though companies are doing something substantial in the area of CSR. It is simply one of the mechanisms being used to perpetuate a discourse that "responsibilizes" corporations while making them impervious to true accountability and external regulation. In 2009, Newmont was listed in the "Hall of Shame" of the global Public Eye Awards.[107] Unlike other industry-based awards, this is an award sponsored by two non-

---

[105] KGC was selected as a constituent for the Jantzi Social Index in 2007. This is a leading index of socially responsible Canadian-based companies.

[106] *Maclean's* lists Kinross as part of the top 50 for three key things: 1) its Human Rights Adherence and Verification Program, including training on human rights issues for security personnel and key management, as well as systems for reporting and investigating alleged violations; 2) for conducting global employee surveys to gauge overall satisfaction and employees' perspectives on the company's safety and environmental performance to identify areas of improvement; and 3) for leading a $2.5-million initiative to rehabilitate Rico Creek in Brazil from the impact of previous artisanal mining activities. See Maclean's, "Top 50 Socially Responsible Corporations," June 9, 2011, http://www2.macleans.ca/2011/06/09/better-business/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

[107] The Public Eye sheds a critical light on irresponsible business practices and provides a platform to publicly criticize cases of human and labour rights violations, environmental destruction or corruption. The date and location of the Public Eye Awards are set deliberately to coincide with the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum. It consists of two "awards of shame," the People's Award (decided by an online public vote) and the Jury Award (decided by a jury of business ethicists, environmental and human rights

profit organizations (Berne Declaration and Greenpeace Switzerland) that is transparent and open to all individuals around the world. It is not persuasive that a company that was publicly voted as one of the notorious corporations in the world would also be recognized by the DJSI for being a good corporate citizen, in the same areas covered by both awards. It is no surprise existing research finds the role of corporate ratings and indexes in determining a company's commitment to business ethics is highly questionable, as most of them fail to use publicly available data (Chatterji et al. 2009; Koehn and Ueng 2005). This evidence puts awards received by both Kinross and Newmont into question as accurate accolades for best performance. They are merely an official illustration of the discourse that fuels corporate dominance.

In the end, it is expected that ethical business practice could transform how people perceive a company. But for these two companies, despite their CSR endeavours, the general perception (especially those not saturated by public relations propaganda) shows tremendous contestation of a powerful corporate discourse. Research suggests that CSR in Ghana tends to follow the whims of company officials who sometimes initiate programs of their choice without the proper involvement of expected beneficiaries (Hilson 2007). Certainly, in the areas of operation of these two companies some interviewees expressed concerns about not having a voice in such decisions. More of this discussion will ensue in the next chapter but to cite one example, the women in the focus group discussions I organized greatly lamented the lack of inclusion in decisions that affect their lives, as the conversation below highlights:

> [Respondent]: They should allow us the women to speak with them. They are humans in the same as we are humans. We should meet with them and speak so

---

experts), and they are awarded to corporations with a dismal record in terms of social and environmental responsibility. For more detail, see http://publiceye.ch/about-us/the-jury/ (accessed March 6, 2015).

> that we will let them know our thoughts so we can move forward….When the elders go with their cars to them we have no clue what they discuss. All we later see is that they are carrying bricks around in the name of building something. [Me]: You talked about this committee. Are there any women included? [Respondent]: No, there are no women. I have never seen any woman as a part of this committee. (Interview transcript, 12 June 2013, Etwebo)

Once people do not feel part of the design and implementation of a project, no matter how well developed the intervention is it might just remain insignificant to intended beneficiaries. It could even thwart or undermine existing poverty reduction and alternative livelihood efforts, thereby making lives worse for people in host communities (see Bird 2004; Culpeper 2005). As I have noted in a previously published article on Ghana's evolving oil industry (see Andrews 2013), "listening" is an instrumental part of a more grassroots approach to CSR—one that would be required for corporations to really begin having some positive influence on the ground—especially those interested in re-orienting the existing discourse in order to broaden notions of "responsibility" and "accountability."

In a foreword to the UN's 2013 Global Corporate Sustainability Report, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon said "we cannot achieve a more equitable, prosperous and sustainable future without business engagement and solutions. The United Nations is committed to deepening its collaboration with the private sector and advancing the corporate responsibility movement" (United Nations 2013, 2). This statement is quite profound when one considers the intent behind it. However, in mining communities in Ghana the positive potential of "business solutions" is yet to be felt. In the bigger scheme of things, as noted by a UNDP Programs Specialist at a CSR workshop in Cape Town, companies operating in Africa remain under-represented in the Compact. This in itself is a problem. We also know that some 1,200 companies have been delisted from the

Compact for not living up to expectations, but the debilitating challenges of the compact remain (Deva 2006; Kilgour 2013; Oshionebo 2007; Soederberg 2007). Until mechanisms for compliance are established, it will be difficult to expect the UNGC to be a force in setting a global standard for CSR (Bremer 2008). This conclusion means that the compact is currently far from being "a CSR milestone," as Post (2013) suggests in the title of his article. The crux of the matter is that corporations still predominantly remain answerable to themselves, and the CSR discourse facilitates this composition. More evidence below on the EITI implementation in Ghana further augments this argument.

5.2.2 The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)[108]

It is generally accepted that the EITI as a global initiative became popular in 2002 after its announcement in a statement by the then U. K. Prime Minister Tony Blair at the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. This official launch of the initiative was preceded by the growing literature on the "resource curse" in the 1990s and early 2000s (see Caspary 2012). According to these scholars, while revenues from oil, gas and mining companies in the form of taxes, royalties, signature bonuses, and other payments is expected to be an important engine for economic growth and social development in resource-rich countries, the lack of accountability and transparency in these revenues often aggravate poor governance and lead to corruption, conflict and poverty (Auty 1993; Humphreys et al. 2007; Karl 1997; Stevens 2003). Additionally, the work of civil society groups such as Global Witness, Human Rights Watch, and Oxfam America among others brought the scholarly debate around the "resource curse" to the

[108] Background information presented under this section, unless otherwise indicated, is from the EITI website, http://eiti.org/eiti/history (accessed March 13, 2015). Also, a slightly revised version of this second half of the chapter has been accepted for publication in *Business and Society Review.*

general public. Slogans such as "Publish What You Pay" have now become the mantra for a reputable conglomerate of civil society groups committed to transparency in the extractives sector.

The EITI is deemed to embody "the Swiss Army knife of policy tools" as a result of the enormous weight its advocates have given it, and due to the manner in which the norm diffusion process works (Haufler 2010, 56). It is propagated using the metaphor that sunlight is the best disinfectant (Sovacool and Andrews 2015). The overall objective is to increase transparency over payments by companies to governments and government agencies, as well as transparency over revenues by those host country governments, thereby removing any metaphorical curtains that hitherto blocked the sunlight. The EITI, by its nature and similar to the UNGC, forms part of global regimes that are controlled by compliance disclosure measures. According to Fasterling (2012), "regulation through compliance disclosure is an approach that presents a midway solution between substantive and informational, non-state and state regulation, and in a very broad sense could be categorized as 'soft law'" (74). The "soft" nature implies that there is no guarantee that actors will take it seriously, even when powerful actors have embraced the language around it.

The principles were agreed upon in 2003, and then endorsed in 2004 by the G8 leaders at a summit at Sea Island. And since that time, the initiative has been embraced by a variety of stakeholders including corporations, governments, international organizations, investors, and civil society groups. The EITI is one of those initiatives that is fuelled by the growing intersection between social movements and civil society on the one hand and the corporate sector on the other hand (see de Bakker et al. 2013).

Governments also play a key role in this dynamic. Yet, the new governance mechanisms and the involvement of all these sectors do not necessarily resolve the pre-existing conflicts between these often-disparate stakeholders, as "the very history of the corporate form (and its alternatives) is bound up with societal contention over the proper role of business interests in the public agenda, and with debates about the sorts of rights and responsibilities accorded to collective actors" (de Bakker et al. 2013, 586).

There is also evidence that NGO-centred international "soft" regulation is "too weak for the job" at hand (Wells 2007). An OECD Working Paper did indicate that while the EITI has gained global currency, it falls short of significantly curbing corruption per se (Ölcer 2009). Despite its weaknesses, the EITI has currently been embraced by a number of countries, including 39 countries that have produced EITI reports and published revenues, 31 compliant countries,[109] and 16 candidate countries.[110] The World Bank also unveiled the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Plus Plus (EITI++) in 2008 as an endeavour to support committed governments particularly in Africa to implement the EITI principles. The initial focus has been on enhancing natural resource development and utilization in sub-Saharan Africa.[111]

[109] A country is designated as EITI compliant when the EITI Board considers that it meets all of the EITI requirements. Compliant countries must undergo validation every three years or upon request from the EITI Board. To be EITI compliant does not necessarily mean a country's extractive sector is fully transparent, but that there are satisfactory levels of disclosure and openness in the management of the natural resources, as well as a functioning process to oversee and improve disclosure.

[110] A candidate is a country that has fully, and to the satisfaction of the EITI Board, completed the four sign-up steps set out in the EITI standard. EITI candidature is a temporary state intended to lead, in a timely fashion, to compliance with the EITI standard. When the EITI Board admits an EITI candidate, it establishes deadlines for publishing the first EITI report and undertakes validation. The first EITI report must be published within 18 months and validation must commence within two and a half years.

[111] For the press release that announced this initiative, see http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21727772~pagePK:64257043~piPK:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html (accessed March 13, 2015).

5.2.2.1 Ghana Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (GHEITI)

Ghana became an EITI compliant country on October 19, 2010 although it has been considered an implementing country since 2003. Until the recent discovery of oil, the implementation had taken place primarily in the mining sector. The commitment to join in 2003 was spearheaded by both ministries of Finance and Mines and two governing bodies were established to promote it: the National Steering Committee and the GHEITI Secretariat (Nguyen-Thanh and Schnell 2009). The Secretariat was initially placed in Ministry of Mines but was later moved to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP). One rationale for this shift is the fact that it is the MOFEP that manages the fiscal regime under which revenue from the extractive industry falls. But civil society groups have criticized its embeddedness in the Ministry due to perceptions that it reduces autonomy and makes EITI susceptible to government politics (Nguyen-Thanh and Schnell 2009). The GHEITI national coordinator, Franklin Ashiadey, notes the main reason for implementing the initiative in Ghana:

> They thought that by publishing what companies are paying and what government is receiving, there could be some form of accountability and transparency in the system so that eventually that kind of mutual suspicion between communities where the resources are extracted and government would be reduced. So Ghana signed on to that in 2003 and we started implementing [it].

The GHEITI is a multi-stakeholder arrangement that includes representation from government, civil society, and industry—all represented on the National Steering Committee. Key NGOs such as Publish What You Pay (PWYP) and the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) are expected to work at the grassroots level to educate the communities on the annual reports and what it means for them. Due to this work, the national coordinator argues that "some of the communities are now better empowered and informed as to what comes to government" (Interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). Other members of the steering committee are from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources, the Minerals Commission, the Ghana National Petroleum Company, the Ghana Chamber of Mines (representing the mining companies), the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands, , and the Internal Revenue Service. Both Kinross and Newmont are EITI supporting companies: Newmont joined in 2009 while Kinross joined in 2011. Since joining, their respective operations in Ghana have contributed to reports of the GHEITI to the EITI secretariat in Norway each fiscal year. These reports are supposed to reconcile payments received by the Government of Ghana from respective companies in the extractive industry.

5.2.2.2 Five Main Limitations of the GHEITI

Despite over a decade of implementation, the scholarly literature on the GHEITI is sparse.[112] Consequently, the answer one receives to the question of whether the EITI is effective in Ghana or not depends on who is being asked. While I interviewed over 40 people for the broader topic of CSR itself, only five interviews focused somewhat on the GHEITI specifically.[113] Yet, the variation in responses and the level of nuance each interview reached demonstrates that there is more work to be done. The GHEITI national coordinator insists that the nine reports that have been produced since 2004 have initiated several reforms in the mining sector. In his view, these changes include a redefinition of

[112] A search for "Ghana Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative" in the Political Science Complete database on July 17, 2015 revealed only James Van Alstine's (2014) article. And several Google Scholar searches as of June 9, 2105 for the term "The Ghana Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative" did not yield relevant hits in terms of specific focus on Ghana. However, there are several articles on the implementation of EITI in sub-Saharan Africa in general, and Nigeria in particular (see for example, Aaronson and Brinkerhoff 2009; Asgill 2012; Hilson and Maconachie 2008, 2010; Smith et al. 2012).

[113] This is because the majority of the people interviewed either did not have any official jurisdiction over EITI issues (e. g. government and company officials), or were not involved and therefore knew nothing about the initiative itself (e. g. members of host communities).

royalties and a revision of incentives such as capital allowances. Also, the mutual suspicion that pre-existed between communities and government regarding how much is being received is reduced. He argues that "you don't take it for granted that companies would do the right thing. They are profit-making companies; they are business people and if you don't take your things seriously as a country [and] as a government, they will get away with whatever they can get" (Franklin Ashiadey, interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). The Technical Director for Mining at the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources also believes that a global norm such as EITI has impacted reforms in the mining sector. His reference was to the June 2013 G8 meeting where world leaders issued a communiqué to reinforce their commitment towards the implementation of the EITI.[114] As he explained:

> So we have incorporated [the G8 communiqué on transparency] into the policy. Ghana is a dynamic country in mining and it takes reforms, good reforms anyway, in its mining operations [Me: So you are not operating as an island?]. No, we're not operating as an island. And Ghana has moved away from managing mines themselves. Right from 1983, Ghana has shifted from managing state mines and we don't intend to go back to that era (Simon Atebiya, interview by author, 16 July 2013, Accra).

There are other praises of the initiative. A past chairman of the EITI Steering Committee for Africa and the coordinator for Ghana's Steering Committee and ISODEC/PWYP-Ghana, Steve Manteaw, believes that "Ghana has made great strides in terms of advancing the frontiers of transparency and accountability using the EITI framework as a result of which at least there is some clarity and some openness about how much revenue project by project Newmont and Chirano are making" (Interview by author, 17 July 2013, Accra). To him, the fact that these two companies opted to be part

[114] For details on what occurred at this meeting, see http://eiti.org/news/eiti-focus-g8-summit-2013 (accessed March 13, 2015).

of the process voluntarily is a positive sign of their commitment towards overall openness although there are a number of prevailing issues. The analysis below highlights five main challenges that make the quest to answer the overall question of “openness” a complex endeavour. The issues include the separation of GHEITI from other CSR efforts, challenges with the provision of data for EITI reports, diverse stakeholder expectations and power relationships, general institutional disinterest in reforms, the lack of correlation between recorded revenues and royalties, and demonstrable positive developmental outcome(s) in host mining communities.

Dashwood (2012) admits “the term CSR connotes duties that, even if not legally required, entail obligations that resonate with societal norms and values” (9). Yet CSR seems to represent a narrower range of responsibilities than what the idea of sustainable development requires, as sustainable development requires the collaborative efforts of actors such as governments, civil society and companies. As a result of what may be regarded as narrower range of responsibilities, at least captured and espoused by the powerful CSR discourse, there is a general tendency to assume that transparency and accountability are not primary aspects of CSR. As noted by the GHEITI national coordinator: “we are not into actual direct social responsibility but our reports sometimes touch on what companies provide in the form of in-kind benefits to government and to communities and all that” (Franklin Ashiadey, interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). This point is interesting because the UNGC, which is regarded as the largest CSR initiative in the world, has anti-corruption as one of its ten principles and expressly cautions businesses to work against all forms of corruption including bribery and extortion. The CSR literature itself also tends to consider transparency and accountability as key aspects of a company's social responsibility performance (Quaak et al. 2007; Jones et al. 2012). In Carroll's (1991) pyramid of CSR, economic responsibility assumes the basis of all other kinds of responsibility although it also works in tandem with them (i. e. legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities). The argument can be made here that economic responsibility, which covers a firm's financial performance, cannot be reached without proper transparency and accountability. Thus, the inherent separation of GHEITI efforts from all other CSR efforts is the first thing that obstructs the effectiveness of the global initiative.

Secondly, a challenge that has been reflected in both Ghana's EITI report and my interview data with officials involved with GHEITI is the provision of relevant data. The reports depend heavily on companies' willingness to provide audited financial statements and other relevant data. Thus, any delay or reluctance from their end will mean that either the reports will be incomplete or there could be no reporting at all. As one official explained: "Also in terms of production of the reports, we have to rely on company data and corporation, you know, it takes a lot of time to get them to provide the data. They are always reluctant but we are trying to solve this by initiating a law to back the EITI that will compel them to provide the data within a certain time limit" (Franklin Ashiadey, interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). This challenge is further worsened by the high turnover of staff within the mining companies. Knowledgeable staff members may be moved to different departments and/or even transferred to other locations, thereby affecting the flow of information and the timely completion of reports. Overall, there is typically a three-year time-lag that exists in terms of documenting mining revenue flows in the country, the case where the 2008 audit report for example covers data for 2005

(Nguyen-Thanh and Schnell 2009). This lag impedes proper accountability. The literature shows that CSR and transparency that results from industry self-regulation through the adoption of principles and guidelines are not able to address the manifold problems of the extractive sector (Nwete 2007).

Compliance disclosure regimes as an alternative of substantive "command-and-control" regulation has proven to bear major weaknesses that prevent it from really disciplining a certain type of corporate behaviour, for instance, making corporations more transparent (Fasterling 2012). It was expected that this initiative would do better but since it relies on what companies themselves provide, it tends to exhibit the characteristics of other non-legal CSR measures such as the UNGC. Therefore, it reinforces the discourse that constitutes the firm as a "responsibilized" entity. Even when we want to assume that companies are operating in good faith and providing all the data needed for them to be considered compliant to EITI standards, the greater problem is that "compliance with a norm cannot always be assessed by mere observation of the facts. Applying norms often requires an interpretation of the norm and an evaluation of the company's practices and the circumstances of the individual case in light of this interpretation" (Fasterling 2012, 77). This assertion implies that reported facts do not always speak for themselves, especially when those reporting are governing their own behaviour to a large extent, thus the need to verify them.

The third drawback with the GHEITI is the diverse stakeholder expectations, power relationships, and the inability of reports to properly address all of them. In the case of Madagascar, for instance, the delicate power relationships between mining stakeholders have overridden the "good governance" motive of the EITI (Smith et al.

2012). In Ghana, “there is a challenge of expectations, stakeholders’ expectations…Civil society also expects more [and] Government also expects more…Sometimes the company also thinks that EITI is going a little bit too far” (Franklin Ashiadey, interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). This is because the GHEITI is perceived to be performing an audit function by requiring companies to report on not only what has been paid to government, but also on what is actually supposed to be paid. Therefore, while there are many stakeholders involved in this transparency framework, not everyone agrees on what needs to be done, where the power of a particular member ends or the extent of the watchdog role to be played. And there are instances where this “watchdog” is not fully capacitated to perform its role in the EITI process, making it difficult to harness the potential of transparency to stimulate accountability (see van Alstine 2014; Short 2014).

For the Third World Network – Africa, CSR is mainly about ensuring that a company pays what is due the government. An interview with one of their program coordinators, Alhassan Atta-Quayson, revealed that “as far as we are concerned, if you are paying fair and adequate taxes to the government [and] if you are not involved in any deals that that deny the state and communities resources [then] I think you are responsible” (Interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra). The argument is that if companies were really paying the taxes due the government, there would be no need for them to take up developmental projects in host communities. But the case is that since CSR activities are tax deductible, companies’ tax burdens are reduced by the number of activities they claim to do and the amount of dollars devoted to these activities.

This phenomenon in the long run goes to reduce government's revenue, which implies several millions in lost financial value for the country (see Atta-Quayson 2012a). "But on top of this if fat monies are shipped out of the country in the name of consultancy or management fees, there and then you [the company] are irresponsible, no matter what you build for the communities" (Alhassan Atta-Quayson, interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra). Underlying the diverse stakeholder expectations is the suspicion with which various constituents have embraced the GHEITI framework. As has already been noted, the multi-stakeholder nature of the framework itself defies easy diagnosis because the constituent sectors are not akin to idyllic neighbours (de Bakker et al. 2013). Research has shown that the partnership is a limited one since governments have not allowed civil society to participate fully in the process as expected, and in most cases, the general public is not aware of it (Aaronson 2011; Aaronson and Brinkerhoff 2009; Smith et al. 2012). Atta-Quayson notes that "most of the times you find mining companies describing CSOs as people who are driving away investors and in a very negative connotation" (Interview by author, 22 July 2013, Accra). Civil society groups are expected to speak for the communities, particularly the voiceless. Therefore, it is interesting that companies accuse them of being anti-mining when they are engaged in such advocacy. It is therefore an onerous task for the GHEITI secretariat to deal with this diverse range of issues at the Steering Committee level, including the suspicion that the government itself may be in bed with some companies.

Additionally, there is also a general disinterest to implement GHEITI reforms by the relevant government agencies. This is besides the "weak governance" and capacity problems that Ghana, as well as many African countries, are known to face (see

Campbell 2012). While there is evidence that the EITI has had some impact on aspects of the resource curse phenomenon such as regulation quality and governance effectiveness overall, there are still issues with corruption and political stability (see Corrigan 2014). According to Franklin Ashiadey: "implementing some of the recommendations from the EITI reports also brings about challenges because you have a lot of institutional inertia in the system…they don't want to do the reforms that are really necessary. You have to do a lot of pushing" (Interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). This goes to show that the EITI on its own cannot ensure good governance and proper accountability unless governments are willing and able to initiate significant institutional reforms (Hilson and Maconachie 2008; 2010). The fact is that transparency alone is not enough to address the multi-layered problems facing resource-rich countries (Kolstad and Wiig 2009; Sovacool and Andrews 2015; van Alstine 2014).[115]

The institutional inertia is not solely from the government sector. Some companies are not co-operating as they should. There is a general anxiety that as the GHEITI becomes more entrenched, even companies that currently contribute to the annual reconciliation reports will throw in the towel. As noted by Steve Manteaw, "our fear now is that as we proceed deeper and deeper into reforming the sector, there is the likelihood that some of the companies would bow out of the EITI because some of the reforms are not quite favorable to them" (Interview by author, 17 July 2013, Accra). To prevent this from happening, there are considerations to legislate the EITI framework by

[115] For instance, Ghana's ranking on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index remains low. In 2014, the country had a score of 48 (out of 100) up from 45 in 2012. The ranking places Ghana in eighth position in sub-Saharan Africa but 61st in the world (out of 175 countries and territories). For more details see, https://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results (accessed July 17, 2015).

making transparency and accountability disclosure mandatory. The goal would be to ensure that all mining stakeholders are receiving equitable returns from mining activities.

Despite the institutional inertia, the GHEITI office readily argues that the initiative has helped make the system less opaque. But some NGOs do not agree with this overview. Although some admit that companies may perhaps be more transparent than the government itself, there is still tremendous room for improvement since a great deal of issues are being swept under the carpet (Interview with Alhassan Atta-Quayson, 22 July 2013, Accra). Hannah Owusu-Koranteng of WACAM notes that due to weak regulation, transparency has not yet reached the level expected by all the people interested in the well-being of the mining sector:

> The sum of it is that [the] mining [sector] is very opaque in Ghana and we do not know much about it. We have to go through other NGOs outside the country for documentation that you may not be able to use in Ghana because they are confidential material. Only advocacy is exposing some of these things. You can come and arrest me if I say you are not paying tax and you say it is not true, prove that you are paying. So that is what we do. There are many things that the public does not know. (Interview by author, 23 July 2013, Tema)

Part of the reason for the opacity, for instance, is that not much is known about the flow of revenue or the usage of funds in the Minerals Development Fund (MDF) to which 10 percent of all mineral royalties are allocated to assist the development of the mining sector (Nguyen-Thanh and Schnell 2009).[116] Finally, there is the expectation that the more revenue government receives as a result of increased transparency, the better off host communities would be. However, the prevailing concerns in local mining communities imply that government agencies are not performing their developmental role

[116] Mineral royalties in Ghana are distributed as follows: 80 percent goes to the Consolidated Fund (the term that describes the general State account), 10 percent dedicated to the Minerals Development Fund, which will assist the development of the mining sector in Ghana, 1 percent goes to the Administrator of Stool Lands for administrative purposes, and the remaining 9 percent of royalties are allocated to the local districts that provide the minerals (see Nguyen-Thanh and Schnell 2009).

as expected.[117] Even some government officials agree that Ghana as a country has not fully benefitted from its natural resources, partly due to the kinds of agreements negotiated between the government and mining companies. Worse still, the host communities are at a greater disadvantage since appropriate institutional mechanisms are not in place to safeguard their needs amidst the presence of dominant corporations (Atta-Quayson 2012b).

It is easy to "realize that the lack of sustainable livelihoods in mining communities in the presence of large mining companies who have collected huge [portions] of land has really been a major factor in people resorting to all illegal activities" (Interview with Alhassan Atta-Quayson, 22 July 2013, Accra). Such activities, including illegal mining operations, have led to conflicts in several mining communities (Akpalu and Parks 2007; Okoh 2014). And certainly the case of Nigeria does show that EITI is not a useful tool for conflict resolution per se (Asgill 2012). With the introduction of the GHEITI over a decade ago, the hope was that "the resources that come in [shall] also be well used to ensure that the people really benefit from that. As companies pay more, government must also ensure that resources are used properly to benefit the people" (Franklin Ashiadey, interview by author, 9 June 2013, Accra). This hope, nonetheless, meets a stark experience of socio-economic deprivation in many mining areas.

A community member interviewed did speak to the disparity between the residence of mining officials and employees and the dilapidated conditions in which other community members live: "if you compare where they live and where we also live, in

[117] For the case of Ghana's emerging oil sector, see Andrews 2013. Also for a Nigerian example, see Frynas 2005.

fact, you would say we should drive the company away!" (Interview by author, 18 June 2013, Kenyasi no. 1). From the 2011 EITI report submitted by the MOFEP in February 2013, Ghana's revenue from the extractive sector has quadrupled. This is mainly due to the oil boom and the increase in corporate taxes for the mining sector (MOFEP 2013). Of course, without such a report the general public may not know exactly how much government is receiving. Nevertheless the issue is more than just knowing; it is also about how these royalty payments are being used to provide basic amenities for people in rural mining areas. When one examines the several complaints from people living in or perhaps near host communities, it might seem appropriate to postulate that even CSR transparency claims are elusive. And like Coombs and Holladay (2013) argue, CSR transparency and full disclosure claims can be regarded as "pseudo-panopticon" that only creates an illusion of proper corporate behaviour and outward responsibility without necessarily having much to show for it–except to present to us a "responsibilized" corporation that is answerable to itself.

5.3 Conclusion

The words of Stephen Mensah, a community and public relations officer at CGML, serve as a useful summary of the findings relevant to this chapter:

> Indeed, corporate social responsibility is not a legal framework. But you also don't want to make it an as-you-wish policy. So responding to the way to put the question, we cannot view the global situation now but for us that's the way we perceive it and that's the way we're doing it. Until such a time that there will be a global policy with legal backing for everybody to look up to, [then] we can check ourselves against [such] global legal requirement. (Stephen Mensah, interview by author, 9 May 2013, Cape Town)

This statement speaks volumes about the current state of global CSR in Ghana and a general perception in both government and industry. As already highlighted, framing CSR as an "as-you-wish" policy mainly goes to facilitate the constitution of the corporation as a "responsibilized" self-regulated object that is subject to its own rules. Although it is understood that formulating and implementing rules at the global level is a delicate matter, some people believe that "a world without rules would lack justice, peace and order" (Lang et al. 2006, 291). Others also argue that in the absence of a *global government*, "summative global governance," that is, the sum total of all governance processes and institutions becomes "our best hope for bringing stability, equity, justice and sustainability to our present new world disorder" (Knight 2009, 161). It almost appears sinister if one should argue against this discourse. Yet from what we know so far, setting voluntary and non-binding rules at the global level fails to serve its purpose—and in fact, rather perpetuate a discourse that serves the interests of corporations. Additionally, even though the idea of summative global governance seems convenient and instructive, one cannot be fully convinced about its association with sustainability, justice, equity, stability and so forth. This is because we know from this chapter that notions of proper corporate conduct, accountability and international "best practice" espoused through the CSR discourse can be duly challenged with data from the grassroots.

The gist of the matter is that global processes and norms remain weak when analyzed in specific local contexts. These regimes may have some potential as hegemonic discourses but are yet to embrace a demonstrable practicability that would make them more useful in host communities. Even a reputable international institutionalist, Robert Keohane (2002), admits that although institutions are pertinent to the attainment of a "good life," "they may also institutionalise bias in ways that make the good life impossible to attain for many people" (16). This is one of the paradoxical effects of institutions that advocates of global CSR should pay attention to, particularly in line with the more ceremonial adoption associated with international coercion (see Weber et al. 2009). Having said that, it is useful to point out that overall the GHEITI seems to be working slightly better than the UNGC as its multi-stakeholder approach entreats companies to properly report revenues as well as requires government to make these payments public.[118] One reason also is the verification process that annual reports undergo, which is a positive mechanism that needs to be mentioned. And it is probably appropriate to say that "while it is far from a strong global institution, the EITI has successfully embedded itself in other institutions which further reinforce its aims" (Haufler 2010, 68). Nonetheless, this merit really takes nothing away from all the weaknesses noted above.

In this chapter, I have highlighted the argument that CSR as a norm has gained multiple and yet ambiguous normative characteristics and it tends to mean what specific actors want it to mean, hence the phenomenon of corporate actors co-opting the term to refer to their "good works." I have also shown how the powerful language and associated practices or mechanisms of intervention that support the discourse mainly reinforce the constitution of the corporation as "responsibilized" and thereby governable by itself. Also, the fact that the expected beneficiaries of both UNGC and EITI do not adequately feel part (and are unaware) of these mechanisms suggests that the intersubjective character of norms is not necessarily inherent in these two frameworks when placed in

[118] This is probably why Ghana received a score of 63 (out of 100) in the Resource Governance Index, ranking 15th out of 58 countries. See http://www.resourcegovernance.org/countries/africa/ghana/overview (accessed July 17, 2015).

the local context.[119] Most of the community members do not know what global initiatives the respective companies under study have subscribed to, but the perceptions and meanings they attached to what these companies are doing or not doing solidify the argument that global frameworks have little influence on corporations—at least in the specific case of Ghana. If they had any specific weight and if the companies had systematically incorporated all the principles, standards and directives into their modus operandi, the community concerns and contestation raised above (and in other chapters of this dissertation) might not be so profound. The next chapter provides further evidence of how women in mining communities, who are particularly disenfranchised, are contesting the popular CSR discourse from their standpoint of on-the-ground experience.

One weakness of this discussion, which mainly juxtaposes "community perceptions" with companies' and government's commitment, is the inability to properly showcase how CSR reporting has improved since Kinross and Newmont subscribed to both the UNGC and EITI, and what specific proactive measures companies are putting in place to address their shortcomings. I believe it is a discussion for a different research project. In sum, the case has been made so far that understanding the effectiveness of global norms is more than just the reports and how much detail these reports contain. To properly critique an albeit powerful discourse, the focus has been on the eventual repercussions for people in the immediate surroundings of these companies who are often removed from the process of negotiating the norms that are meant to make their lives better. Indeed, more work needs to be done.

[119] For other critiques of the constructivists' notions of norms in general, see Hofferberth and Weber (2014); Jackson and Nexon (2004).

Chapter 6

Women's Concerns: En-Gendering the Concept of CSR

6.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to do three things. One, it explores the general effects of mining on women with some attention to the feminization of poverty. Two, it examines mining companies' awareness of gender in their corporate social responsibility (CSR) endeavours. And three, it discusses the place allotted to women in the design and implementation of CSR, leading to a conceptual assessment of what a gendered CSR could look like. As already noted in the introduction, although the primary focus of the dissertation has been on showing how the CSR discourse constitutes its "responsibilized" object (i.e. the corporation) in certain specific ways, this chapter is where I delve more into how this make-up intrinsically has a direct impact on the lives of people in mining communities with particular emphasis on women.

Although changes in the global political economy since the 1980s have had a tremendous impact on the lives of women worldwide (Afshar and Barrientos 1999), the role of women in the socio-political economy of Ghana is understudied. The few writings that exist tend to focus on women's role in the informal economy, domestic work and small-scale cooperatives (Clark 1994, 2010). The general non-involvement of women in the formal wage economy is due to the way development policy is done, particularly how the then Structural Adjustment Programs, globalization, and current neo-liberal development practice sidelines women in the development process and writes them out of the male-dominated economy, for instance, by not including them in deliberations (Afshar and Barrientos 1999). While in the context of Africa there is literature on women in the bigger economy, much emphasis is placed on how the nature of their involvement reproduces and reinforces gender stereotypes.

In the context of Nigeria, although women have the right to engage in wage-earning work outside of the home, priority is given to men who are considered breadwinners (Dennis 2010). Nonetheless, it is women who “looked after children, cooked, farmed, and processed and marketed food and other agricultural products” (Dennis 2010, 87). Even in cases where their qualifications and ambitions were similar, Dennis (2010) argues that they were incorporated into the industrial system on terms that were not necessarily equal. This occurrence goes to reinforce gender subordination, leading to what Bryceson (2010) refers to as the “proletarianization” of women in Tanzania. According to her, it is not that female proletarians have undergone a process of dispossession or separation from the means of production because women in the first place never had control over such means of production. Rather, “like their male counterparts, female proletarians are separated from ownership and control of the capitalist means of production, but they have arrived in this state through a different path from that of men” (Bryceson 2010, 53-54).

Tanzanian women who managed to find jobs did so under the conditions of both sexual and wage discrimination; many have to resort to sex work as a way to express their freedom and sexuality, but more importantly, to secure their subsistence (Bryceson 2010). At least in the context of this chapter, sex work is treated as a way to secure subsistence. Subsequent sections of this chapter explore how some women in Ghana’s mining communities have to undergo similar sexual subordination in order to gain employment at the mines and/or make a living in a town or village that is highly dependent on corporate developmental projects. Inasmuch as women are thwarted in the place of work, they also do not have adequate influence in politics in order to shape the policies that govern them (Turshen 2010). Yet, there are a few cases where women's organizations have been able to explicitly demand greater equality and even succeed in entrenching their rights and freedoms in the midst of pronounced opposition (Arnfred 2010; Connell 2010).

The field of gender and mining in general is seen to be an emerging research agenda (Jenkins 2014). As a result, it is hard to find academic literature that focuses on Ghanaian women and their role in CSR initiatives or how these initiatives shape their existence and that of other vulnerable groups. It is, therefore, somewhat novel to even explore a gendered understanding of CSR particularly in the context of Ghana. Nevertheless, if one were to accept a definition of CSR as "activity which recognizes the social imperatives of business success and which addresses its social externalities" (Grosser and Moon 2005, 328), then it is crucial that gender concerns are incorporated into the subject matter. This chapter is primarily based on the focus group discussions (FGDs) held with women in some mining communities, but it partially includes general concerns of women who were interviewed at different times in the course of the fieldwork.

Two FGDs were conducted involving six females in the Chirano Gold Mine Ltd (CGML) three focus areas and five in the Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd (NGGL) areas, with ages ranging from 18 to over 50. These discussions were held on May 23, 2013 in Kenyasi No. 1 and June 12, 2013 in Etwebo. Questions asked included the women's understanding of CSR, their perception of whether or not mining companies have a responsibility towards their communities' progress/wellbeing, whether or not they feel included in the design and implementation of CSR initiatives, their understanding of poverty, and what they think will hold for them between five to ten years after the companies close their operations. These questions helped me to assess the nuances of gender, mining, socio-political economy, and livelihoods. But also, it helped me understand how the CSR discourse is used to legitimize corporate behaviour even when such behaviour contravenes established "best practices."

Broadly engaging with critical discourse analysis, I use the voices of the women who formed part of the FGDs to show how CSR has, instead of making people's lives better, reproduced different forms of abuse, dispossession, and subjugation. Yet, this chapter emphasizes a radical or critical engagement with CSR instead of absolute disengagement. The chapter begins with a brief theoretical expose on gender analysis, followed by a discussion of how poverty is feminized in mining communities in Ghana. The third part delves deeper into the primary data to explore the various concerns raised by FGD participants, highlighting the many ways the corporate discourse is challenged. Part four entails an attempt at a gendered conceptualization (or re-constitution) of CSR based on the self-identified suggestions from respondents, followed by a conclusion.

It is noteworthy at this juncture that engendering CSR particularly helps to make visible the contested nature of the discourse by highlighting places where CSR talk, text, and practice are most congruent with meanings generated about corporate responsibility from the grassroots. The discussion below presents an interesting contrast. As discussed especially in the last two chapters, CSR at all levels of analysis, whether local or global, presents to us a corporation that is embedded in constitutive relationship between itself and external stakeholders or audience. The discourse places the firm within a social context to which the corporation is inextricably linked and answerable. Yet as is shown below, the audience in this case challenges the legitimacy of the corporation and the viability of the specific mechanisms of intervention that are done in the name of CSR.

6.1 Gender Analysis: A Theoretical Exploration

Gender analysis is defined as the "the systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequalities based on gender" (Reeves and Baden 2000, 6). It is, therefore, a vital diagnostic tool for development planners and for gender mainstreaming efforts (Cornwall 1997; Razavi and Miller 1995). Gender analysis also helps to identify the often taken-for-granted types of gender differences and inequalities such as "how men and women have different access to and control over resources, carry out different social roles, face different constraints, and receive different benefits" (Mishra and Reddy 2012, 6).

Before proceeding, a differentiation between "sex" and "gender" is imperative. Sex is the biologically determined differences between men and women whereas gender implies the learned, context-specific, and mutable socially constructed notions of what it means to be a man or woman within specific cultural and historic contexts (Reeves and Baden 2000). There are several frameworks that are used to assess the repercussions of mining on women, but the most commonly used ones include the Harvard Analytical Framework, the Moser Gender Planning Framework, the Gender Analysis Matrix, the Longwe Women's Empowerment Framework, and the Social Relations Approach (Mishra and Reddy 2012). The Harvard Analytical Framework also known as the Gender Analysis Framework or Gender Roles Framework remains one of the earliest frameworks for gender analysis and planning, primarily based on the Women in Development (WID) approach.

The WID approach emerged in the 1970s from a liberal feminist framework, emphasizing the need to integrate women into existing social, political, and economic practices (i. e. development policy and practice). But with its traditional acceptance of modernization, WID was less critical and progressive as it accepted existing structures and sought to focus on the productive aspects of women and minimized or ignored the reproductive part of women's lives (Rathgeber 1990; Rai 2011). The quest was to find a place for women in development, but not necessarily make them play a major role. The Women and Development (WAD) neo-Marxist feminist approach emerged in the second half of the 1970s as a response to both modernization and the WID perspectives. The focus was more on "the relationship between women and development processes rather than purely on strategies for the integration of women into development" as it is considered that women have always been part of development processes (Rathgeber 1990, 492). To simplify, WID was interested in putting women into existing market structures whereas WAD was interested in the specific role of women in development (i.e. productive and social reproduction) processes. In fact, discussions of social reproduction in the 1970s and 1980s focused on women's domestic labour within a capitalist system of production (Bakker 2007).

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged in the late 1980s due to the frustration with, and as an alternative to, the earlier WID perspective situated within the Harvard Analytical Framework. With theoretical roots in socialist feminism, GAD is more multidimensional as it considers the economic, political, and social processes that both men and women are part of (Rathgeber 1990). The focus is also on gender broadly, including men and women, and the quest is to challenge the inequities built into the structure of the international political economy. It has also managed to account for all aspects of women's lives by linking the relations of production to the relations of social reproduction (Rai 2011). It is a more holistic perspective that regards the economic, political, and social aspects of life, commodity and non-commodity aspects, and rejects the public/private dichotomy (Rathgeber 1990). Thus, while WID/WAD focused solely on the productive lives of women, GAD has a conception that encompassed both the productive and reproductive concerns—particularly showcasing the socially constructed differences between men and women and the need to challenge existing gender roles and relations (see Marchand 2009; Pearson and Jackson 1998; Reeves and Baden 2000).

In the first place, incorporating gender analysis into this study of mining and CSR will cause one to challenge established conceptions and status quo that perpetuate social, economic and political inequities. Because if there is any group of people that are negatively affected by mining projects, it is women (Mishra and Reddy 2012). This suggests that there is the need to critique existing structures and ways of doing things in order not to assume that everyone is on the same page. In particular, including gender analysis helps to inquire about the place of women in Ghana's mineral economy. This inquiry is vital because whereas women have been present in that economy, they are neither duly accounted for nor given an equal voice on the decision-making table.

The focus here is on the GAD approach as it does not just add on women, but critically examines both the productive, reproductive, and community-based roles of women in the processes of development. This is because GAD "sees women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance, and it stresses the need for women to organize themselves for a more effective political voice" (Rathgeber 1990, 494). This ambition for change ties in well with the theoretical inclination of critical discourse analysis. Overall, GAD is a more people-centered approach that stresses ways of empowering both women and men towards social transformation (Singhal 2003). Specific to the objective of critical discourse analysis, GAD helps to showcase the agency of women in host mining communities. Although part of the analysis highlights the subordination facilitated by corporate actions and inactions, there is sufficient evidence to explicate how these women challenge corporate discourses around responsibility and accountability, and the legitimacy of the corporation and CSR as a whole.

6.2 Women and Mining: The "Feminization of Poverty"

The presence of women in Africa's extractive sector in general is captured in the literature (see Amutabi and Lutta-Mukhebi 2001; Malpeli and Chirico 2013; Werthmann 2009). And the evidence of women's activism in the mining industry of the Gold Coast (now Ghana) dates back to the late-1800s (Akurang-Parry 2009). Ghana's extractive sector currently has an enormous participation from women, particularly in the artisanal and small-scale mining (ASM) sector (see Koomson 2011; Yakovleva 2007). The reasons women engage in this sector include the lack of other employment opportunities, the growing levels of poverty experienced by subsistence farmers, and the need to bring money home for the household. Women often engage in the loading and transportation of materials from one site to the other and do other menial tasks such as panning and washing. In the ASM sector, the main tasks, such as underground or surface digging and cracking of stones, is the preserve of men as well as the final separation of gold

(Yakovleva 2007). Although ownership of these ASM sites are in the hands of men, a few women own mining licences (Labonne 1996). This does not necessarily reduce the number of women impoverished in mining communities, albeit empowering a few to take advantage of the economic opportunity in small-scale mining.

There is not much written about women's participation in Ghana's large-scale mining sector. But since cross-country research has shown that women involved in mining face similar situations around the world (Mishra and Reddy 2012), it is insightful to briefly examine the literature on the feminization of poverty elsewhere. In India, for instance, displacement caused by large coal mining projects has led to devastating gender repercussions that are hardly incorporated into processes of rehabilitation and resettlement (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt 2006). The displacement and subsequent relocation of indigenous women in these areas inevitably change their status both within the family and in the community at large: "in most cases, they are meant to remain at home taking little part in income-generating activities. At the same time, their household chores, including the collection of water and fuel from the now-distant forests, have increased" (Ahmad and Lahiri-Dutt 2006, 333). This status and role depreciation women face reduces their ability to escape the poverty and social inequity facilitated by large-scale coal mining. In Mexico, gender constraints and opportunities have culminated in alternative and viable livelihood strategies in the Calakmul Biosphere Reserve (Radel 2012). This example shows both how livelihoods are gendered and how gender plays a role in changing livelihood options in rural Southern communities, particularly in the conservation sector. But evidence from Indonesia (Lahiri-Dutt 2006; Mahy 2011), Mongolia (Purevjav 2011), the Democratic Republic of Congo (Perks 2011), and even

North America (Mercier 2011) indicate that mining in itself still generally leaves gender concerns on the peripheries of its vision, leading to the marginalization of many women who are essential stakeholders in the enterprise.

Poverty has numerous definitions. To be sure, several scholars and international organizations have defined poverty to cover its expected range and scope—economic, social, political, and even emotional. The main approaches to poverty include the monetary approach, capability approach, social exclusion as a definition of poverty, and the participatory approach (Laderchi et al. 2003). Mainstream accounts see poverty as "the lack of income necessary to satisfy essential non-food needs, such as clothing, energy, and shelter" (Kacowicz 2007, 569). But from the 1980s, and due to the frustration and dissatisfaction with prevailing income-maximization approaches (see Frediani 2010), the Rights-Based Approach, Sustainable-Livelihoods Framework, Happiness Approach, and the Capability Approach all became predominant under the UNDP's human development framework. The capability approach, popularized by Amartya Sen (1992; 1999) defines human poverty as "deprivation in three essential elements of human life…longevity, knowledge and decent standard of living" (cited in Laderchi et al. 2003, 256). This reveals essential multidimensional non-monetary characteristics that later writers have considered to embody personal agency and intrinsic empowerment (Pick and Sirkin 2010).

The usage of "feminization of poverty" under this sub-heading does not only denote women's monetary or income deprivation, as my understanding of poverty is more than money, including gendered needs that cover a range of issues such as capability and human development, livelihoods, and social exclusion (Chant 2011). It is clear that “the definition of poverty does matter for poverty eradication strategies” (Laderchi et al. 2003, 243). Within the context of mining communities in Ghana, this research sought to understand the current state of women and whether they consider mining to have impoverished their lives or made them better. On the single question of whether they regard themselves as poor or not, the answers were quite varied in terms of their characterizations of poverty, but the general conclusion was in the affirmative. The focus group participants agreed that based on their current state of deprivation, they consider themselves to be poor, even though they did not appear in the stereotypical bare-footed African woman in tattered clothing (Pearson 2011). Most of them use cellphones and other personal accessories, and are well spoken. For the women in the communities this study captured, “poverty” covers a number of things including the lack of subsistence, lack of jobs, and overall displacement due to loss of land. The definition of “ohia” which is the Akan language for “poverty” or “hardship” was primarily benched on the fact that adequate compensation has not been paid for the lands the mining companies now possess, being that the lack of such lands reduces their access to traditional livelihood options. One woman lamented the outcome of the loss of farmlands as a cause of poverty:

> Previously when you pass through your backyard, you would find kontomire [similar taste to spinach] and other things. Now, there is no more kontomire because they have cleared the whole area. We do not get [food] to eat. So for now it is poverty, hunger and hardship that are killing us here. (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo)

A participant in the NGGL area also had a similar concern:

> I can describe [poverty] as this: before Newmont came here, I had my farm from which when I harvest I could get three to four bags of cocoa. By the end of the year, I could have had about six bags of cocoa from which I could deposit some money in the bank so that in hard times I could withdraw…I had a plantation. I

> used the proceeds from the farm to take care of my child to college. But since the possession of farm (sic), I could not sponsor the other two children (a boy and girl) to further their education. And now we could hardly put food on the table. (FGD participant, 23 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1)

In addition to issues of land dispossession and inadequate compensation, joblessness is part of their definition of poverty. The concern is that without jobs for both them and their family members to take their dependents to school and empower them, they are likely to perpetuate the “ohia” cycle. It is quite surprising that after several years of poverty eradication strategies that are based on notions of social inclusion, poverty remains treated as a problem of exclusion or marginalization (Procacci 2007). At least, it is easy to make such inferences from the discussion with women in Ghana’s mining communities. For some of these women, the outcome of poverty can be severe if nothing is done about it:

> Now, I’m just sitting here feeling useless. This is the reason why nowadays people tend to commit suicide by drinking substances. Had it not been for my children who feed me, what could have become of me? I believe I would have poisoned myself too. After all, what would have been the point in living? You have taken my land and I can’t cater for myself; all that I can do is to poison myself [speaking with great emotion]. (FGD participant, 23 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1)

With these concerns in mind, it should be noted that the World Bank’s $1 or $1.25 a day definition is simply limited. This is because fundamental aspects of poverty such as social exclusion, marginalization, inequality, and the lack of livelihood cannot be adequately quantified (Andrews 2013a). It is also because the woman quoted above had previously received monetary compensation from Newmont, which did little in transforming her life. It suggests that while money is important, income alone is not sufficient in raising people out of poverty (Akindola 2009). But sometimes too, poverty is more than just social exclusion since “adverse incorporation,” as du Toit (2005) calls it, can be a symptom. To reflect further on the quote above, du Toit (2008) makes a good point when he cautions against naïve assumptions about incorporating poor people into broader economic systems in which they lack ample influence. For him, marginalization (or marginality) is not necessarily unfavourable because "for people who would otherwise have little bargaining power or clout, some degree of externality to the system may decrease risk or buy them room to manoeuvre" (144). But reflecting on the woman's claims above and the potential of drinking poisonous substances to end her life, it is unclear if absolute disconnection is really the answer. Although du Toit's (2004, 2005, 2008) caution against adverse incorporation is important, his specific South African case study might not necessarily be relevant to women who dwell in mining communities in Ghana.

Poverty is no doubt more than just material or monetary poverty. It goes beyond the stereotypical representation of the bare-footed African woman in remote villages to include violence, denial of personhood, choice and other freedoms (Win 2007). Women in mining communities are looking for long-term livelihood options that are beyond what money can buy at this present time, not necessarily incorporation into the existing mining industry. Even if we were to just focus on money, mining has increased the cost of living to the extent that a great deal of money would be needed in an ongoing manner to make a decent living in these communities:

> Mining has transformed what used to be a village into a town of a sort and things have become so expensive because of the mine's presence [and immigrants]. Something previously sold for 1, 000 cedis cannot even be bought with 2, 000 cedis so it has brought about hardship in this town. Because of the high prices, one has to go to Bibiani to buy food. When you do not have money, how do you manage to get to Bibiani to buy foodstuffs? There are people here, yet all the lands have been destroyed so there is no place to farm or find food. Without

> money how do you go to the market during the weekend? This has caused us the women to suffer. (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo)

Engendering mines is imperative because despite the participation of women over the years and the profound effects mining activities have on their lives, the mining sector has been characteristically male-dominated (Mishra and Reddy 2012). In the "illegal" or unregulated ASM sector in Ghana called "galamsey," for instance, it is reported that women workers constitute about 50 percent with an estimated number of 100,000 workers countrywide (Yakovleva 2007). Yet, the wages they earn are often about 60 percent lower than their male counterparts (Dinye and Erdiaw-Kwasie 2012). And even in this small-scale sector, women face several forms of discrimination. An account from Kejetia, a mining community in the Upper East Region of Ghana, suggests that women are generally forbidden to enter mining pits because of the belief that a menstruating woman drives away good spirits that provide a good omen for the mining activity (Koomson 2011).

The "tabooization" of certain female attributes and the prevalence of masculinist socio-cultural beliefs have combined to marginalize several women in the ASM economy, but the formal economy has not done enough to integrate them either. As my fieldwork showed, women are not being adequately listened to, much less being fully incorporated into the mining economy at large. Asked if they consider their plight different from that of men, there was a consensus that although some men are also in hardship, the specifics differ when it comes to them. For instance, men have the strength to engage in manual labour on small-scale mining sites. Women, too, engage in these activities but their reproductive roles at home often hinder their profitable involvement:

> Both of us are in the same situation [i. e. poverty]; we don't get employed. But then we the women are not as strong as the men to work 'by-day'[120] so I can say that the women are more pathetic. At least, the men can do galamsey but someone like me cannot engage in galamsey because I have children with me. I cannot leave them and go elsewhere. So we are struggling more. (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo)

Sweetman (2002) confirms that "poverty is qualitatively different for women than men. Poor men face social and economic exclusion from government bodies and other institutions which shape their lives, on the grounds of their poverty. Women are excluded twice over from public institutions, on the grounds of sexual discrimination as well as poverty" (4). Gender mainstreaming, a strategy that brings a gender perspective to the fore of an organization or institution's policy and activities, is therefore justified in the mining sector for four reasons: "(i) women are often the weakest and poorest in the local community; (ii) women are often the most affected by the adverse impacts of mining; (iii) women in poor communities are often responsible for household survival; (iv) the basic right to be heard, enabled and empowered applies equally to women" (Lahiri-Dutt 2006 cited in Mishra and Reddy 2012, 5).

One point that needs to be clarified here is that feminization of poverty can occur with or without mining, as there are several existing socio-cultural constraints around issues of women's empowerment in Ghana. These involve decisions women can make regarding their own finances, reproductive health, education and livelihood enhancement, among others (see Anyidoho and Manuh 2010; Arku and Arku 2009; Ngom et al. 2003; Schindler 2010). These elements influence the current position of women in the mining economy. Thus the point here is not to blame companies for these pre-existing gender

[120] This refers to popular non-committal menial jobs that pay workers at the end of each working day, and recruits based on daily needs.

constraints, but to show how the CSR discourse perpetuates them in ways that contravene companies' own official claims of "responsibility."

6.3 Company Data on Gender Diversity/Inclusion

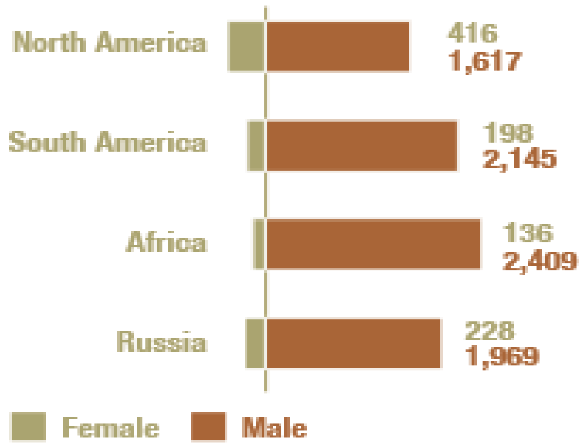
Some data from the two companies will help to properly situate the discussion to follow. About 10 percent of the Newmont Ahafo project is women, working mainly in clerical, technical and operation-related positions—including 33 female truck drivers (Newmont 2012). Kinross reports that 98 percent of its 807 employees as of 2011 were hired from the country without any clear indication of the gender of this workforce (Kinross 2011). Even where women's employment rates were mentioned, like the case of Newmont, there was a general lack of emphasis on gender concerns in the sustainability reports of these two companies until quite recently where Kinross has some detail on gender diversity as shown in Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Kinross Gender Diversity

	2012	2013
Female share of total workforce (%)	11	11
Females in management positions (% of total management workforce)	11	15
Females in junior management positions, i. e., first line management (% of total junior management positions)	9	16
Females in top management positions, i. e., maximum two levels away from the CEO (or comparable position) (% of total top management positions)	14	12

Source: 2013 Corporate Responsibility Report (Kinross 2014)

Figure 6.1: 2013 Kinross Employees by Gender



Source: 2013 Corporate Responsibility Report (Kinross 2014)

According to the company's 2013 Corporate Responsibility Report, Kinross's Board of Directors was composed of three women and nine men by the end of 2013. Overall, 35 women were employed at the Director level and above in 2012 increasing to 30 women in 2013, as captured in Table 6.1. Kinross also initiated a review of gender diversity in late 2013 and established a team in early 2014 to advance and enhance diversity efforts within the company (Kinross 2014). Newmont has made similar efforts as shown below in Tables 6.2 and 6.3.

Table 6.2: Newmont Gender Diversity

Gender	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Male (% of workforce)	89	89	88	88	89
Female (% of workforce)	11	11	12	12	11

Source: 2013 Sustainability Report (Newmont 2014)

Table 6.3: Female Representation in Management Roles

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Board of Directors	17%	17%	27%	27%	30%
Executive leadership team	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%
Senior management	13%	14%	13%	13%	10%
Management	13%	10%	11%	10%	9%

Source: 2013 Sustainability Report (Newmont 2014)

In 2013, Newmont set a goal to become an industry leader in global inclusion and diversity and therefore established targets to increase female and national representation in their leadership ranks. This led to the appointment of two women to the leadership team; the executive leadership team is now made up of three women and six men. Females (including one Ghanaian national) occupy three of the 10 Board positions, and as a result, the company is in the top 20 percent of Fortune 500 companies for representation of women directors. As shown in Table 6.2, 11 percent of the entire workforce was female as of 2013. Newmont's ranking in the Human Rights Campaign 2013 Best Places to Work Corporate Equality Index rose from 15 in 2012 to 60 out of a total score of 100 (Newmont 2014). The company believes that a range of factors including their equal opportunity policy, equivalency in spousal and partner benefits, and commitment to a global, sustained inclusion and diversity effort contributed to the higher score.

The tables and figure above may speak to a forward-looking corporation as existing literature establish some correlation between the diversity of corporate boards (i. e. the number of women) and increased CSR rating, increased philanthropy, and overall positive company reputation (see Bear et al. 2010; Fernandez-Faijoo et al. 2012; Soares et al. 2011; Williams 2003). It is worth noting here that the most fascinating statistic from the Newmont tables is the one on the executive leadership team that stood at zero percent for four years but suddenly rose to 33 percent in 2013. Everything else seems to have either increased or declined marginally. It is most interesting that the overall percentage of female employees reduced to 11 percent in 2013, even though it had been at 12 percent for two previous years. This overall number does not pair up with the efforts that made the company rise in the ranking noted above. Additionally, these numbers say little about specific efforts at the local level in Ghana, particularly how the idea of "inclusion" is broad enough to capture non-workers of the company.

In 2013, Kinross reported an overall number of 1,050 employees and 920 contractors (of whom 99% were from Ghana). The gender diversity of local employees was not specified in the report so it is difficult to make a firm deduction from the total numbers of African women employees (i.e. 136) as shown in Figure 6.1 above, specifically what percentage would constitute their female employee population in Ghana. Yet, the general statistics remain abysmal—especially since the incremental improvements in 2012 did not improve the overall female share of workforce beyond 11 percent. The discussion below is around women who are not officially employed by the companies. Even if the case of inadequate focus on inclusion and diversity can be made for their own workforce, evidence in subsequent pages further points to the lack of commitment to extend within-company gender efforts to purported beneficiaries of CSR. In fact, the commitment at the local level may vary from one company to another, but the general concerns raised by women are quite similar.

7.4 Politics of Survival—Sexual Subordination & Deceit

As already noted above, large-scale mining has effects on women that are disproportionate to men. In reality, "women are affected both from lack of access to assets and resources, as well as from increased cash flows into local economies and into the hands of men" (Lahiri-Dutt 2011b, 341). This reality suggests that women have to identify several ways of making a living within this already disadvantaged system. Using a gender lens helps to come to terms with the limits of a "responsibilized" corporation, particularly the way in which the corporate conception of responsibility, albeit self-regulated and autonomous, fails to account for the nature of gendered poverty and violence that seem prevalent, at least in the communities my study focused on.

Survival in mining communities for most women involves a plethora of strategies, some of which put their lives in danger and yet for the sake of their household and personal needs, they continue to embrace such tactics. The powerful governing device (i.e. CSR) has managed to perpetuate a dominant discourse of "corporate citizenship" without doing much to reverse the marginalization it creates. The main survival strategy revealed through the FGD with local women in Ghana was sexual subordination. Women's sex work as a gendered outcome of large-scale mining is a common theme in the feminist-activist literature (see Lahiri-Dutt 2011b). This is the case where "the "degradation of women" becomes equated with the degradation of the environment" often in an uncritical fashion, thereby depoliticizing environmental, community, and gender relations in mining localities (Lahiri-Dutt 2012). Women's sex work often receives devaluing connotations (Comte 2014). This phenomenon tends to solidify age-old discussions around women's subordination and inequality to men (see Bird and Sapp

2004; Bullough et al. 1988; Reskin 1988; Rubin 2006; Tomaskovic-Devey 2014).

In the Ghanaian context, particularly in the areas captured in this study, sex work is one of convenience. Being excluded from the formal mineral economy and also lacking traditional livelihood options, these women are forced to sell what they have (i.e. their bodies) to make a living. None of the women participants could readily accept the title of "sex worker" perhaps due to the moral connotations it carries in a highly religious and "moralized" culture. In fact, for the most part, they did shy away from being specific about whether or not they have engaged in such acts of sexual subordination to make ends meet, also perhaps for fear of being mocked by their co-participants in the focus group. Nonetheless, they vividly described how and why several other women they know engage in such acts: "for a woman if you are in hardship you tend to give in to any man out of desperation. They use the money they have to coerce the women because there are no jobs. You know, hunger is painful so you would give in to a man in order to get something to eat" (FGD participant, 23 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1).

Another woman proclaimed: "we don't have work to do so we allow the men [the managers] to have sex with us in order to make some money. Therefore, our prayer is that we would not be infected with any diseases." This point speaks to the gendered power differential that prevails between people in management positions and the average (usually uneducated) community woman. Inasmuch as there may be some pay-offs in terms of getting employed, there is significant stigma attached to giving sexual favours to mining officials, including the possibility of potential "genuine" wooers (or husbands) being driven away by rumours around such acts. For the men, having sex with vulnerable women gives them some bragging rights in the town. And since these communities are closely-knit, it is easy for rumours to spread far and wide. The worst-case scenario is that sometimes there is no pay-off at all since after being sexually exploited by a manager, there is no guarantee of employment. This is besides other concerns such as unplanned pregnancies and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) that generally result from their dependence on men (Awusabo-Asare et al. 1993). Apart from acquiring STDs, several of these unemployed women and girls get impregnated by the mine workers, most of whom deny responsibility and relocate to nearby cities. One participant noted that a woman could end up sleeping with five different men regarding a single job application. Despite the public shaming that comes with any of these consequences, some women consider this as a means of survival, except those who are acclaimed to be devout Christians and/or married:

> I am a married woman, and since seeking employment would require me to sleep with the officials, I can't do that. We do uphold high Christian values. For these women [referring to co-participants], if it had not been for their steadfastness in Christ, they would have been employed already. They would have slept with [the managers] and gotten jobs by now. (FGD participant, 23 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1)

One would have considered this claim to be just a rumour, but the fact that women in other locations mentioned it in their responses suggests that it forms a crucial part of how the CSR discourse in general is silent on gendered poverty and violence in host communities. As already noted, prostitution as an outcome of large-scale mining is established in the literature (Lahiri-Dutt 2011b). But sexual subordination by women in Ghana's mining communities goes to show how men are still predominant in the mining economy, mostly as the sole providers women look up to. The sector empowers a new class of male working "elites" who act with impunity, mainly in terms of exacting sexual favours from already disadvantaged women. It is appropriate at this point to mention that while the act of sexual subordination and exploitation is rampant in the communities covered, the women interviewed were quick to state that local managers (not expatriates) perpetrate such acts. Some of these men are associated with the company as a result of long- or short-term contracts. But there was one example cited where the man involved (a Ghanaian) is a top official at the company's human resource department and is actively involved in recruitment. In general, the issue of women having to give sexual favours in order to gain employment or make a living has been under-investigated in the literature on mining and CSR.

As though sexual exploitation is not bad enough, the socio-political economy of mining in the communities under study is encumbered with deceit and irresponsibility—with both company and local government officials as culpable actors. Deceit entails broken promises and irresponsible behaviour concerns the misuse of authority and the corruption that often accompanies the distribution of several resources. In most cases, the mining companies will coordinate with local leaders and chiefs as liaisons for some of the things they wish to do or provide for the communities. These leaders, primarily men, often have misplaced priorities and therefore siphon these resources (including allocated funds and huge contracts) to other needs—even sometimes collecting bribes before giving out any of the company "goodies." There are occasions when the company or local officials would meet with the entire community to identify their needs; they would even write names down. In general, people are deceived into thinking the company cares about them but nothing really comes out of such list-making activities.

Often what companies claim they have accomplished is contrary to what is on the ground, as one woman confirmed: "They do as they please. Once in a while they do some good so when you go to complain they would tell you they have built schools. But it's just a primary school, no JSS [junior high school] included. They do not do anything to these schools; there is nothing in these schools. No computers in them, nothing!" (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo). This comment reflects the rhetoric that surrounds CSR discussions and the fact that it is often based on terms that are negotiable and acquiescent to a company's own interest (Gunningham et al. 2004; Owen and Kemp 2013). In the CGML areas, it was added that several promises about building a hospital and providing potable water are yet to be realized.

The deceit is accompanied by irresponsible behaviour that often borders on human rights violations. This is the case where the CSR discourse not only dominates, but also contributes to inequities. The general voicelessness that women experience has resulted in some of them throwing in the towel, particularly in terms of being able to influence corporate behaviour:

> These miners, well, we have already allowed them into this town and they have taken possession of the land so everything you say is just a waste of time. As of now, it seems they have the upper hand and they are doing their work. As for us, all we can do is sit quietly with our mouths closed and watch them whether what they do is right or wrong. *When driving, they use other paths instead of the roads meant for cars and they sometimes knock our children down with their vehicles and kill them*. (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo)

A striking concern was the negligence with which accidents or deaths are treated, which is italicized in the quote above. The women in the CGML focus areas alleged that there were two occasions in 2013 alone where company vehicles killed two children. Yet, neither the company nor the Ghana Police Service had gone to properly investigate the issue or perhaps give some consolation. As for deaths, one woman revealed that "the money[121] that came with the presence of the company here resulted in many clashes which led to the death of some members of this town. And the blasting also destroys people's buildings" (Interview by author, 7 January 2013, Kenyasi no. 2). But whenever there is cause to demonstrate against the company for such violations, "they send soldiers[122] from Tarkwa to beat us up and tear our clothes—even stripping [us] naked and throwing us into the bush" (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo). Such countrywide military sweep of disgruntled community members is not uncommon in Ghana's mining industry since large-scale mining companies have tended to set their own rules, and engage in several barbaric activities, sometimes with the help of state security forces (see Hilson 2007).

6.4.1 Unemployment Concerns

Another issue that influences the survival and livelihood of women in the focus areas is unemployment. Among the many needs of the communities such as scholarships, hospitals, potable water, good roads, maternity clinics, and other infrastructure, employment came out of fieldwork interviews as a predominant community expectation. This is not surprising because existing research corroborates how and why both unemployment and poverty have become prevailing features of the gold mining boom in Ghana (Akabzaa and Darimani 2001; Yankson 2010). Unemployment data are hard to come by at the district and community levels, but for the fact that almost every interviewee who was part of the 29 community interviews including the FGDs mentioned

[121] Also can be translated as 'prosperity' or 'economic wellbeing'.
[122] The interviewees believe the company hired these 'soldiers'. It is interesting but equally possible in certain areas where some regular security personnel could wear army uniforms in order to coerce individuals, even when they are not enlisted in the security service. This assessment is based on my lived experience in Ghana.

the lack of jobs as a major concern, it can be postulated that this remains a major issue in the Ahafo and Sefwi areas as it is in other mining locations in the country. And since jobs are generally scarce, recruitment is fraught with issues of nepotism, protocol allocation, and sexual coercion. According to one participant in the discussion at Kenyasi no. 1, "they tend to employ the men more often. They just pick a hand-full of women. Even with the women they recruit, they are often relatives or friends of the employers….Also, before they recruit you they tend to first take bribe from you." Although this is the case, companies have not done enough.

Only one of the participants in both of my FGDs is currently on a contract with the company as a janitorial worker. But according to the women, there are so many similar positions that are often given out to non-locals as a result of the lack of proper certification. Formal certification is almost impossible for most of the women in the focus group who readily agreed that even without formal education, they are willing to learn whatever skills are required for gainful employment. It appears that the companies and their various contractors use formal certification as a means to exclude many women who either may not have the education needed or may have lost their old certificates as a result of relocation.[123]

Although Newmont now boasts of employing many women as Tables 6.2 and 6.3 capture, news reports in late 2007 alleged that the company was on a mission to phase out female staff from its Mine Department due to the rate at which they were becoming pregnant (Boateng 2007). This meant that pregnant female staff members were likely to undergo harassment once their condition became obvious. Of course, Newmont denied

[123] One FGD participant lamented having lost her vocational school certificate due to a fire outbreak; she faces the same deprivation as though she has not been to school at all.

such allegations via its media efforts and instituted a gender-mainstreaming program aimed at empowering women, both mine workers and community members. In a telephone interview with the human resource general manager of CGML, he insisted that unemployment is a general concern for all Ghanaians and not exclusive to their operations. He never really spoke of conscious efforts to find viable alternatives for men and women who are constantly depending on the mining company for work other than to reiterate the statistic that the company currently employs more than 50 percent of its workforce from the surrounding areas, considering the availability of the skills needed. Newmont also claims that 54 percent of its employees in Ghana as of 2012 were local residents (Newmont 2012).

While employment is being discussed here, it is useful to note that women have often been exploited by work without making real gains either in terms of capital accumulation or socio-economic advancement. Therefore, "it is not reasonable to assume that the improvements required for the genuine empowerment of poor women can come solely from selling their labour without resourcing collective provision of services and rewarding women's responsibilities in reproductive services" (Pearson 2007, 211). In any case, the statistics provided by the companies have not yet translated into people being adequately included in the mining economy.[124] As noted above, about 10 percent of the Newmont Ahafo project is women (Newmont 2012). In 2013, 99 percent of CGML workers were reportedly hired from the country (Kinross 2014). Yet, there is no clear indication of the gender of this workforce. Even where women's employment rates are

[124] In the domestic context, the 2003 Ghana Labour Act has a number of provisions for workers and employers but there is no specific affirmative action that leads to the conscious effort to hire more women, except a few provisions for pregnant women and those on maternity leave. For the complete Act, see http://www.nlcghana.org/nlc/privatecontent/document/LABOURACT2003.pdf (accessed June 9, 2015).

mentioned, like the case of Newmont, there is still a general lack of emphasis on gender concerns in the sustainability reports of these two companies, one which adequately broadens the perspective to include female project-impacted non-workers. Overall, the CSR discourse has failed to embrace gender in any meaningful way and by so doing has perpetuated subordination and injustice. With the objective of social change in mind, the remainder of this chapter provides a modest direction in terms of what characteristics a gendered understanding of the concept might embrace.

6.5 Exploring a gendered conceptualization of CSR

Prieto-Carrón et al. (2006) argue that "so long as [the] debate continues to emphasize the business case for CSR, focuses on 'win-win' situations, promotes multi-stakeholder dialogues with consensus outcomes and highlights the advantages of public-private partnerships where actors work towards achieving mutually agreed goals," the bar of critique should be raised (978-9). Thus, a new agenda for more critical research needs to be explored to properly come to terms with the CSR discourse. Work has been done on how a gender-inclusive leadership does increase the quality of a corporation's CSR efforts, with their philanthropic contributions increasing up to 28 times higher than their counterparts without gender diverse boardrooms (Soares et al. 2011). What such studies fail to highlight is whether having two or three women included in the board of a mining corporation necessarily improves the lives of women in its surrounding communities, especially where impact of the project is felt the most.

Furthermore, even though both Newmont and Kinross currently have three females each on their boards, the question worth asking is whether such inclusion at the managerial or executive level changes the situation for the project-impacted female nonworker. At least from the evidence presented here, the answer is not in the affirmative. These issues are vital because, in the first place, higher philanthropic donations do not imply improved lives for the poor. Although from both research and practice, CSR appears to be more than philanthropy (Pinkston and Carroll 1996; Vallentin and Murillo 2012), in some contexts it still remains grounded in philanthropic action (Jamali and Mirshak 2007).

It is believed that “human development, if not engendered, is fatally endangered” (Haq 2000 cited in Singhal 2003, 183). And since CSR has the tendency to want to contribute to development, albeit with little or no success, (Frynas 2005; Michael 2003), it is important to engender the concept. Nonetheless, the broader field of CSR has neglected the idea since the movers and shapers in corporate citizenship are mostly of the male gender (Coleman 2002). Even widely acclaimed global corporate citizenship initiatives such as the UN Global Compact have abandoned the gender equality requirement in its guiding principles (Kilgour 2007). For Kilgour (2013), this happens because of the lack of women’s participation in the Global Compact learning groups, the general absence of a gender discourse in CSR initiatives and the compact’s focus on a business case for social responsibility, which might be difficult to make when one focuses on gender inequality. Another example is that the 2005 International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) Community Development Toolkit (CDT) for mining companies can be considered as a “blunt tool” since it was not sensitive to gender in its definition of “community” (Lahiri-Dutt 2011b). Additionally, a popular CSR reporting system such as the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) has a limited reference to gender (Grosser and Moon 2005). It should be known that voluntary codes of conduct in general do little in transforming corporate behaviour, much more changing entrenched gender inequities (see Pearson 2007).

There are ways in which even participation can reinforce inequalities (see Chambers 2011), and inclusion/incorporation can also be disadvantageous if taken on a face value (du Toit 2004, 2008; Aitken 2010). But in the context of consciously gendered participation, it has been established that "the extent to which CSR can contribute to further GM [gender mainstreaming] will be a function in part of the extent to which the latter's relatively transformative agendas can be integrated into business practices" (Grosser and Moon 2005, 336). This also means that the manner (i. e. breadth and depth) in which the organizational culture changes to integrate diversity will determine how GM will be taken seriously. This is no doubt an onerous endeavour considering the power and dominance the CSR discourse possesses. A gendered conceptualization of CSR could involve three main elements: the de-feminization of poverty, participatory empowerment, and effective organizational learning and change in rural mining communities.

6.5.1 De-feminization of poverty

It is already established that poverty in mining communities is feminized for several reasons, including the fact that women generally do not have equal access to the "goodies" or benefits a mining project may promise (see Lahiri-Dutt 2012). As has been argued elsewhere, "gender inequality is often intricately linked with poverty, vulnerability and the mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion" (Bolwig et al. 2010, 181). De-feminizing poverty begins with a level playground for both women and men, involving proper inclusion and provision of equal employment opportunities. This requires a shift from the business case for CSR, that is, the idea that it is in the corporation's best interest to do good. This is mainly because employment is something that national governments are expected to oversee. Nonetheless, if the presence of a corporation reduces the opportunities of subsistence options such as farming, it should therefore be responsible to recreate such value whether it affects its overall profit margin or not.

To be sure, it is due to the absence of jobs in the bigger mines and subsequent socio-economic marginalization that many women and even children indulge in small-scale mining activities[125] as a "viable livelihood" (Tschakert 2009; see also Banchirigah 2008; Hilson 2012a; Hilson et al. 2013). And as it has already been shown that women engaged in these activities are not necessarily better off, it is necessary that alternative livelihood options are made accessible to them including education, proper skills training, and improvement of farming methods for those who seek to continue producing food for a bigger market other than their immediate families. One woman noted that "especially our children, we want a better future for them. We don't want them to end up like us, with no education and no jobs" (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo). To ensure that this long-term positive effect is realized for their children, more needs to be done than merely offering temporary handouts to women. Some evidence from Ghana suggests that alternative livelihood arrangements being undertaken by mining companies as part of their CSR are having a recognizable impact on poverty reduction, yet the challenge remains how to sustain the positive outcome for the people involved even after the specific program ends (Yankson 2010).

De-feminization of poverty also requires a re-politicization of poverty to include women's concerns. It has been argued that "politics shapes the life chances of poor and

[125] Already described in chapter 1 as "galamsey" operations.

marginal people in critical ways, and their encounters with both formal and informal types of politics frequently deepens their vulnerability and diminishes their sense of dignity" (Hickey 2008, 349). Re-politicization moves the agenda away from macro-economic concerns and reveals proper systemic and structural ways of dealing with marginalization and social injustice. Although many of the women interviewed expect a whole lot from mining companies, they also stress the role of government—particularly the fact that government has neglected its fiduciary duty of community development to multinational companies. A return to politics helps to place government at the centre of poverty eradication instead of foreign mining companies. This is critical because research has shown that women and their interests have often been sidelined in government decision-making (Zuckerman 2002).

As of now, women in mining communities have this general concern: "we did not go to school so our voices cannot by heard by the government in order for them to intervene. Thus, they do whatever they want and we can't do much about it" (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo). They have basically lost touch with decision-making because they have not been included in the first place, as a result of both their lack of formal education and the negligence of appropriate authorities. De-feminization of poverty requires that we do not only examine "impacts on women" as an uncritical endeavor that often regards women merely as victims of mining whose agency cannot be unearthed (Lahiri-Dutt 2012). Doing this could help address the socio-cultural constraints that inhibit the agency of women in local mining communities. This means that whether at the government or company level, de-feminization should entail the active involvement of women as legitimate actors in the day-to-day decisions and processes that affect their lives.

6.5.2 Participatory empowerment

> If they want to live [at peace] with us, they should come into town and speak with us. A woman can also speak out...They should allow us the women to speak with them. They are humans in the same as we are (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Sefwi-Etwebo).

Although companies tend to subscribe to notions of empowerment, it is hard to say that empowerment defined as "a process by which people acquire real powers and command real resources within their localities" (Boyd 1988 cited in Turshen 2010, 2) is what they advocate or practice. Despite all the efforts the companies seem to be putting into resolving the general concerns of the communities in their areas of operation, women's concerns are not fully recognized in a manner that makes them feel a part of the design and implementation of CSR projects and initiatives. Participatory empowerment entails participation in the discourses and actions that are meant to empower individuals, both women and men. This necessitates remaining active agents in the negotiation, design and implementation of projects and initiatives that are expected to benefit them—and it is a crucial endeavour because CSR has typically not factored the realization of rights, empowerment, and broadly social justice into its rhetoric (see Newell and Frynas 2007; Utting 2007).

According to Parpart et al. (2002), empowerment is more than just having power over people and resources; it "implies the ability to exert *power over*, to make things happen" (5, emphasis in original). The idea is that empowerment should lead one to challenge and possibly subvert established power relations. Participatory empowerment gives actors equal voices on the table right from the start and as such dismantles *power* *over* notions for *power with,* which denotes the act of many actors coexisting in and sharing a common socio-political space and could be a potential guard against the tendency of pluralism to turn into elitism (Andrews 2011). Building from the theory of deliberative democracy, the natural resources literature is beginning to establish a consensus on this logic: "*public participation is a procedure to improve decision making*" (Parkins and Mitchell 2005, 531, emphasis in original. See also Muro and Jeffrey 2008; Diduck et al. 2012). Nonetheless, there are several issues that constrain meaningful participation even in the North American context (Parkins and Sinclair 2014). But participatory empowerment goes beyond mere participation to ensure that the disadvantaged groups are not seen as powerless and passive recipients of goods and services, but rather active agents.

Gender inequalities are built into socio-cultural and material patterns and thus the quest to change gender hierarchies requires more than just giving women a voice at the table or including them in development projects (Parpart 2002). What mining companies in Ghana report that they are doing in this area is mainly "rhetorical empowerment" (see Darlington and Mulvaney 2002). This is because women that are expected to be empowered rather feel exploited. Even though NGGL has taken a few steps to establish a foundation that has women's empowerment as one of its core themes and also established a women's consultative committee to ensure their voice is on the table, CGML currently has no specific known initiatives in the local area except a recent commitment by Kinross itself to review gender diversity in the company. Yet, in terms of performance, the concerns expressed by women in the focus groups did not sufficiently vary in these two different locations.

As a result of the lack of consultation, some projects have become white elephants. There is an example of such in Akoti where a market square built for traders is not being used for its original purpose: “So the market they built has become a toilet facility. That’s where we all go to ease ourselves [i. e. defecate],” a female participant announced. For the most part, there are hardly any meetings where women or their concerns are adequately discussed: “they do not know what we think because whenever a letter comes from the company and the elders go to meet them, they do not tell them what we want. We are not part of those meetings. By the time we realize [it is too late and] something is going to be built or done” (FGD participant, 12 June 2013, Etwebo). The relations of power women are embedded in, amplified by pre-existing socio-cultural beliefs and practices that silence their voice, results in their marginalization from decision-making activities.

As argued by Chambers (1995), a method that prioritizes local knowledge enables poor people to analyze and articulate their own needs. This helps to turn the tables to bring the latter first and the bottom to the top because “Our views of the realities of the poor, and of what should be done, are constructed mainly from a distance, and can be seen to be constructed mainly for our convenience” (Chambers 1995, 179). For this research, asking women in the group discussions about what CSR (or even poverty) means to them allowed them to assess their own realities from a grassroots perspective with some forecast of the ways forward. That was how far I could go since the approach taken for this study was not Chambers’s acclaimed Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Nonetheless, the finding is that companies will have to do more to properly understand the diverse needs of disadvantaged groups, including women, only if they mean to engage in some useful form of empowerment.

It is worth noting here that there were a good number of women participants in this study who have given up the idea of mine employment, and are searching for loans and micro-credit to establish their own ventures: "for we the women who are unemployed we need loans to set-up [our business] because if you give a woman loan, she would not abscond with it. If they should give us the loans and schedule an amount to be paid on monthly basis, it would go a long way to help us" (FGD participant, 23 May 2013, Kenyasi no. 1). Here too, even though NGGL claims it has established a micro-loan scheme for women, at least these women in my study knew nothing about it. It is either the company has not rolled out such an initiative or the loans are not reaching deserving beneficiaries. The latter is characteristic of many of the projects being undertaken by both companies. The idea of micro- or fringe credit[126] comes with its own challenges and ambiguities (see Aitken 2006, 2010, 2013), but at least can potentially cushion people who are seeking to do something for themselves instead of depending on non-existent opportunities. My own assessment is that although some ask for support to engage in individual profitable ventures and a few are already self-employed, many others are solely dependent on the possibility of finding a placement at the mines since that is deemed more lucrative. This culture of dependency would have to be replaced with

[126] By definition, micro-credit "is a form of credit offered to the 'very poor' as a way to generate income from micro-enterprises and, by extension, to reduce poverty among those most disenfranchised in the global political economy" (Aitken 2013, 474). Also known as fringe credit, it covers a "diverse range of credit practices explicitly targeted towards populations on the margins of mainstream financial systems" (Aiken 2010, 223).

viable alternative livelihood options that both women and men in the communities themselves have identified.

Overall, participatory empowerment requires that we "pay more attention to the way national and global power structures constrain and define the possibilities for change at the local level" (Parpart 2002, 175). We also need to pay attention to local norms that govern gender relations and behaviour. Mining companies with enormous global power tend to lose sight of the role they play in this, but they are inevitably part of this dilemma. Until specific efforts are made to make development projects more "gender-aware," even the notion of participatory empowerment will be taken for granted and will not lead to any transformatory change in society (Cornwall 2003). There is evidence even in the U. K. that women's participation in and perspectives on business-society issues are often marginalized although many women are working in the area of CSR (Grosser and Moon 2005, 335). This implies that the discussion about "participatory empowerment" may be useless in a country like Ghana where domestic institutions and socio-cultural practices naturally inhibit the voice of women unless a critical mass of advocates remain interested in this goal.

6.5.3 Organizational learning & change

As the focus is still on CSR, none of what has been discussed above will work without effective learning and change within the mining companies themselves. Business, based on its narrow and conventional definition, is unlikely to incorporate gendered concerns. Large-scale mining, in particular, has historically been idealized and performed as a masculine field of work through several visual portrayals that make mining a natural thing for men and unfit for women (see Mercier and Gier 2009). According to Lahiri-Dutt

(2011b), "such mega mining projects are also characterized by a masculinity, not only an overt visibility of men but also a taken for granted conflation of men, with institutionalized authority expertise and prestige, institutions, laws and structures of governance that favour these entrenched hierarchies, and technologies that pose to be gender-neutral" (329). Thus, shifting the boundaries of this masculine field does not involve the focus on men or specific individuals, but rather the institutions and cultural practices that perpetuate gender inequality and other forms of discrimination.

Based on the current deprivations in the Ghanaian context, the women are willing to go to any length to have their voices heard, including civil disobedience. From the two FGDs, the women suggested that they have been part of previous demonstrations against the companies and would not hesitate to organize again if conditions continue to worsen. It is up to the company and government to appreciate the effects such acts could have on their quest for profits and royalties, respectively, and to work towards alleviating existing gender concerns. Even policy-focused institutions such as the International Finance Corporation (IFC), an agency that funds Newmont's Ahafo project in Ghana, insist that mining companies should be inclusive of both women and men in a manner that is cognizant of the contextual and cultural peculiarities of a particular people (cited in Lahiri-Dutt 2012, 195). But protective legislation by agencies such as the International Labour Organization has tended to circumscribe women's work in mining around discourses of "true womanhood," "decency" and "safety." The fundamental challenge with organizational adaptation of gender issues is best expressed in the following statement:

> Moving gender from the margin of vision to the centre is a major challenge and leads to strong resistance from within organizations. On the one hand, many

> corporate bodies have mandates that do not match the ideology of gender equity and have bureaucratic procedures that border on inflexibility; on the other hand, gender advocates must rely on bureaucrats who are either indifferent or hostile to perceived political interference across professional boundaries into their personal lives. (Razavi 1997, 1111 cited in Lahiri-Dutt 2011a, 6)

Meanwhile, the existing CSR literature tends to consider corporations as amenable to learning and change, based on what the particular socio-cultural milieu within which they operate demands. According to Crowther (2008), CSR just does not happen; it involves a developmental process whereby companies do mature to adopt more socially and environmentally responsible initiatives. The stages involved in maturity are somewhat spelled out—from window dressing to proper accountability—but as to what point stakeholders should expect companies to fully mature, it is not decidedly clear. As mining companies are left to "mature," social exclusion and injustice may be mounting up in host communities. But since it has been established that organizational leadership and learning play some role in how mining companies respond to their CSR obligations (Dashwood and Puplampu 2010), it can only be anticipated that one of the lessons to be learned by company officials is that the gender question can no longer be sidelined in their quest for a social license to operate. Kinross did a review of gender diversity in late 2013 and established a team to advance and enhance diversity efforts within the company 2014. Newmont has a future plan of "integrating inclusion and diversity principles and concepts into existing leadership development programs" (Newmont 2014). If these commitments mean anything in practice, one would expect the organizational culture of these companies to change within the next few years.

Although the women included in this research were mainly unemployed by the mining companies, gender equality still begins at home. Thus, a stronger leadership commitment is expected to cement the case for equality with action in recruitment, retention, maternity return rates, promotion, remuneration, and work/life balance (Grosser and Moon 2005). Outside of the firm, such commitments should look to addressing issues of human rights violations, sexual exploitation by officers in power positions, and other forms of irresponsible behaviour that go to solidify the predominant place of men while subjecting women to perpetual marginalization and subjugation. Nonetheless, there is the need to regulate to ensure that as companies change they do not become a de-facto government and determine the fate of everyone who resides in their project areas, as has been the case in some instances (Hilson 2012b; Vertigans 2011). Organizational change is something worth expecting but considering the dominance the CSR discourse has maintained including its poor record on the ground, no one should naively expect this change to occur automatically without contestation.

6.6 Conclusion: A Way Forward?

One may easily agree that "mining can only be an effective vehicle of economic development if gender concerns are built into every aspect of project development" (Mishra and Reddy 2012, 14). Nevertheless, it is hard to be optimistic about CSR, particularly its ability and willingness to properly incorporate the voices of the many women in mining communities in Ghana. Even though institutions such as the World Bank and IFC appear to have embraced the idea (Eftimie et al. 2009), there is little to show for it. Thus, the way forward is definitely not clear. The notion of a gendered conceptualization of CSR may work for companies who have forward-thinking and open-minded managers and employees. But if one were to face the facts, it does not appear that the two companies under study necessarily fit into this category. Despite the work done in the broader field of development itself, commentators conclude that "gendered inequality continues to be high and gender justice remains an aspiration" (Rai 2011, 35).

The account given so far, in addition to many others from different parts of the world (see Lahiri-Dutt ed. 2011a), indicate that the mining field is highly gendered. To be sure, "women [in Ghana] have often borne the brunt of negative impacts of mining activities" (Akabzaa 2009). It is therefore up to mining company officials to fully embrace this inevitable nature of the occupation they hold on to so dearly, if they really hope to influence people's lives positively. Beyond recognition of this reality and the de-neutralization of mining as a hyper-masculine field, proactive steps need to be taken to better engage and listen to the voices of the many women who are currently on the sidelines of the mining economy. Thus, the "add women and stir" tendencies of the WID approach needs to be replaced with a framework that considers women and men as equal participants in and beneficiaries of the mining economy (Lahiri-Dutt 2011a). The discussion here has primarily been on women outside of the mining workforce because of the belief that genuinely gendering CSR will have to extend from individual workers and their families to the whole population from which companies draw their workforce (see Pearson 2007).

The age-old question of whether or not mining is good for development remains a point of scholarly contention (Graulau 2008). It continues to be questionable as to whether or not CSR has any positive impacts that can be substantiated (Blowfield 2007; Frynas 2008; Jenkins 2005). Perhaps, one way of bridging this gap is to properly incorporate gender concerns. It is also possible the prevailing divide will not be resolved; maybe it should never be settled. Nonetheless, once women and men become active agents in such discussions, it is more likely to ensure our bases are covered when dealing with poverty and social injustice. And a GAD approach could harness the intricacies of this needed social transformation as detailed above.

In sum, both companies are at different levels when it comes to incorporating gender concerns at the local level even though the global statistics they present in their sustainability reports regarding gender inclusion and diversity are quite similar. At the local level, NGGL appears to be more proactive by establishing a gender mainstreaming committee in order to fully include women in decision-making around mining benefits. But CGML is yet to have such a gender-specific arrangement that is readily identifiable. Nonetheless, the concerns raised in these two locations did not really differ—which means that both companies have a long way to go in terms of integrating the voice of women into their day-to-day activities. For now, they can be considered to be merely dressing the window when it comes to such issues. While the discussion has been around integration, empowerment, and inclusion, I agree with the following point by du Toit (2005):

> It cannot be assumed that 'integration', 'incorporation', and 'inclusion' are necessarily panaceas for chronic poverty. Exactly how they will affect poor people depends very largely on what poor households are integrated or inserted into, and the exact ways in which economic and social power relations actually work. Facile and sweeping policy prescriptions can easily miss these details. (41)

A focus of this chapter has been on a gendered understanding of CSR not because a real example of what it means already exists out there or that it is easy to conceptualize what this could look like. From what is known, mining companies are far from engaging with the gender issue in a more useful manner. This makes the analysis somewhat speculative. However, I found that many of the women respondents in the focus groups were looking up to the companies to do something for them—either in terms of employment or the provision of some training in order to find themselves alternative employment and livelihood. Inclusion is definitely not the panacea to the socio-economic challenges these women are facing, but it is certainly a useful way of understanding how women can feel a part of activities and projects that are meant to benefit them in the long run. Yet still, the manner in which women become part of these activities cannot be taken for granted especially in the face of a powerful governing discourse such as CSR that continues to "responsibilize" corporations while cushioning them from proper social accountability and effective external regulation.

To sum up, engendering CSR has helped to make discernible the contested nature of the discourse by highlighting places where official corporate talk, text, and practices are most congruent with meanings generated about corporate responsibility from the grassroots. The contrast is clear enough to indicate that despite being presented with a corporation that is embedded in a constitutive relationship between itself and external stakeholders, these supposed "stakeholders" challenge the legitimacy of the corporation and the specific things that are done in the name of CSR. A re-constitution is therefore needed to properly situate corporations in a broader frame of responsibility by making them amenable to external scrutiny. To further advance this goal, the concluding chapter that follows outlines a list of recommendations that could help address some of the concerns discussed here, partly in terms of "re-responsibilizing" mining corporations to actually become accountable to the group of people portrayed by the CSR discourse as "stakeholders."

Chapter 7

Conclusion: Mining and CSR in Ghana

7.0 Summary of Findings

This study has told a story of two foreign mining companies in Ghana, particularly in relation to their corporate social responsibility (CSR). Focusing on Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. (NGGL) and Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. (CGML), I examined the perceptions of different mining stakeholders—that is, communities, companies, government, and civil society—regarding CSR and the different meanings they associate with the language and practices that underlie the work of these corporations. I highlighted the global norms they have endorsed or adopted that are expected to shape what they do in specific contexts, in addition to the multi-levels of influence they are supposed to be acquiescent to. Framing CSR as a discourse that "responsibilizes" these corporations without categorically making them truly accountable, I was able to show how people living in host communities continue to contest the powerful corporate discourse.

In light of the already established weakness of CSR both conceptually and in relation to its developmental promise (see de Bakker et al. 2005; Fox 2004; Frynas 2005; Idemudia 2010; Utting and Marques 2010) supplemented by primary fieldwork data (see Table 7.1 below for summary of concerns), I have argued that CSR is a discourse that "responsibilizes" its object (the corporation) in a particularly limited way by making it primarily accountable to itself. Yet, it is a contested discourse because what is often manifested in material terms (i. e. CSR practice and policies) fails to live up to its purported utility on the ground for people living in host mining communities. My assessment is that the concept as a discourse remains a powerful device that companies use to brand themselves as "corporate citizens," resulting in the reproduction of domination by a corporation that is only expected to be governed by itself. Excluding this conclusion, six chapters have been used to advance the argument, showcasing how the practice of CSR is often a deviation from its underlying principles (Raman 2010).

Chapter 1 provided a general introduction to the subject of CSR and mining in Ghana, including the research questions, theoretical and methodological considerations that informed the study. With an in-depth discussion of the overarching framework and background on the company and study areas, this chapter prepared the ground for the subsequent sections to follow. Chapter 2 engaged in a review of the discourses and forces that have fuelled or shaped the dominance of CSR. One major finding here was that despite the long history of social responsibility, with the "modern era" of CSR reportedly beginning in the 1950s, there is still a great deal of ambiguity[127] around its history, scope, rationale, and utility (see Ihlen 2011; McMillan 2007; Sahlin-Andersson 2006; Utting and Marques 2010; van Oosterhout and Heugens 2008; White 2008). The situation is no better in the particular context of Ghana where the concept is considered to be either "alien" or somewhat underdeveloped (Amponsah-Tawiah and Dartey-Baah 2011). This finding led me to appreciate the uncertainty around the concept. But it also revealed CSR's power as a substantive discourse, being that a great deal of writings, initiatives, and corporate activities already exist in its name.

Chapter 3 critically assessed the dominantly positive image corporations have created for themselves through the CSR discourse they choose to use. This was reflected in information on their websites, in their sustainability reports, and through interviews I

[127] I have already clarified in the conclusion of Chapter 2 what ambiguity does to CSR theory and practice.

conducted as part of my fieldwork in Ghana. The quest was to contrast the official and often ineffectual CSR claims with the experiences of other stakeholders within the host communities. A careful assessment of corporate citizenship was done to understand ways in which corporations continue to maintain dominance mostly by using the language of "citizenship" to portray themselves as responsible entities. The finding here was that although the two mining companies under study have undertaken a few specific projects and even won awards in recognition of their CSR initiatives, the prevailing concerns of host communities far outweigh the benefits expected from these initiatives. In particular, the communities continue to feel hopeless about the post-mining provisions put in place to ensure their long-term sustainability beyond the end-date of the mining projects.

Chapter 4 explored the multi-level factors that are expected to shape corporations positively. These levels—global, regional, home, host and sub-host—were discussed to showcase the complexity, nuance and context-specificity institutionalist discourses need to embrace in their discussions of how and why corporations behave in particular ways. Employing critical discourse analysis in this chapter helped to highlight the rhetorical nature of these so-called levels of influence. The goal was to show that since corporations operate under the principle of self-regulation they are mainly answerable to themselves, not external forces manifested within these different levels of analysis. The finding here was that even though the persuasion exists in theory, companies are not significantly shaped on the ground by these factors. One of the levels, the sub-host, could have more potential to positively influence corporate behaviour mainly due to CSR's affinity to notions of "stakeholders" and "social licence to operate" but the current contestation of the discourse suggests the lack of connection between that level and positive change on the ground for host communities.

In Chapter 5, I continued the discussion started in Chapter 4 with an emphasis on one particular level of analysis—global regulatory frameworks—to shed light on how CSR is hardly influenced by two acclaimed global norms (i.e. the UN Global Compact and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative). The voices from the grassroots were used to counterpoise the official expectations or claims of these norms. In each case, they were found to have several practical weaknesses. On the theoretical level, this chapter helped to illuminate some of the challenges institutionalists and constructivists face in arguing for CSR as a global norm. Since norms may be defined as "intersubjective understandings that constitute actors' interests and identities, and create expectations as well as prescribe what appropriate behaviour ought to be" (Björkdahl 2002, 21), the fieldwork data is used to show that the degree of intersubjectivity required for the CSR norm to proliferate and reproduce social change in host mining communities is still minimal. This assessment is not meant to discount these norms of "best practice" as entirely useless, but rather to show that they hold a weak or perhaps false sense of influence when placed in specific contexts. Being framed in a language of voluntary governance, it has become almost impossible to expect existing global governance norms to have sufficient weight—especially when dealing with "private authorities" that are constituted in ways that make them impervious to proper accountability and government regulation.

Perhaps, the most ambitious chapter of this dissertation is Chapter 6, as it sought to address a topic that is generally considered to be a new or emerging research agenda (see Jenkins 2014). The chapter sought to explore the general effects of mining on women with some attention to the feminization of poverty. It also examined mining companies' awareness of gender in their CSR endeavours and the place allotted to women in the design and implementation of CSR. This was one instance where I did not only show how the CSR discourse constitutes its "responsibilized" object (i. e. the corporation) in a specific way, but also how this constitution has direct implications for gendered poverty, subordination, and violence in mining communities. The broader focus was warranted in light of established evidence that women in Ghana are usually on the receiving end of negative impacts of mining activities (Akabzaa 2009).

Through a gender and development framework informed by critical discourse analysis, I used the voices of the women who formed part of the focus group discussions to show how CSR has, instead of making people's lives better, reproduced different forms of abuse, dispossession, and subjugation. This discussion also led me to a conceptual assessment of what a gendered CSR could look like, primarily based on the respondents' own self-identified notions of how to make things better. The chapter recognized the prevailing socio-cultural beliefs and practices that already place women at a disadvantage in local communities. Yet, the fact that companies are making claims in their sustainability reports about gender inclusiveness and diversity imply that they need to take the subject seriously. At this point, their attention to gender concerns in local communities—particularly those of female project-impacted non-employees—remains abysmal.

Table 7.1: Summary of Community Concerns and Recommendations

Type of Respondent	Concern/Issue	Recommendation*
General (i. e. women, men, youth)	• Lack of employment opportunities • Loss and dispossession of land • Absence of subsistence or traditional livelihood options • Lack of basic amenities such as hospitals, potable water, roads, maternity clinics, schools, etc. • High cost of living & general economic hardship • Lack of inclusion in design & implementation of CSR • Improper identification of project beneficiaries • Lack of proper compensation	• Government should play its developmental and employment-generating role • Specific CSR principles and guidelines in domestic legislation • Companies could offer avenues to start a trade or acquire a needed skill • Needs-based CSR • Provide an annual dividend to be given to people who lost their lands
Gender specific (through FGDs)	• Sexual subordination • Broken promises • Violent & inappropriate behaviour • Lack of proper engagement • Human rights violations or infringements	• Companies should correct violent behaviour and punish specific offenders • Companies and government should be conscious of the gendered repercussions of mining, identifying ways of addressing them • Adaptability and flexibility of CSR
Community-based groups	• Vocal groups often ignored • Ineffective consultation • The culpability of local authorities (i.e. chiefs, DCEs)	• Proper recognition for grassroots advocacy • A community ombudsperson is needed in local communities to resolve lack of trust
Other NGOs	• Opacity of the mining sector • Failure to follow established guidelines (e. g. Impact Assessment and FPIC) • Companies outsourcing basic services • Companies acting as pseudo-governments • Culpability of international financial institutions • Vagueness of global norms	• Transparency and accountability needed • Proper monitoring and implementation of existing regulation • Government putting in place other mechanisms to safeguard host communities • Companies/IFC to follow their own global FPIC requirements

*A detailed list of recommendations is discussed in subsequent pages

7.1 Grassroots Orientation to CSR: A Bottom-up Approach?

I began this research with the ambitious goal of identifying what can be done to make CSR work better for its purported beneficiaries, capturing this as a bottom-up CSR approach. This idea emerged out of the fact that many people have become cynical about the utility of the concept. While this cynicism exists, companies continue to expand programs, official positions and departments geared towards this same goal of being socially responsible. It is uncertain when we would have to disengage with the term altogether. However, as we currently live with it there is some utility in exploring ways of making things better than they currently are, if possible. Being a praxis-oriented researcher interested in how research may contribute to social justice and change, my approach was to critique the discourse of CSR as it stands and also suggest ways through which local communities who have been challenging the discourse but yet subject to its dominance may be able to find a way out of their predicaments.

One question I specifically asked community leaders, community-based groups and NGOs was, "what would you consider as a bottom-up approach to CSR?" To government officials, I asked: "Do you see value in a bottom-up approach to CSR? What do you think it will entail?" These questions were asked during interviews that were conducted in the English language. This is mainly because for the average community member who speaks very little English it was difficult for me to explain this term in a way they would understand. Yet, the people that responded did not give straightforward answers since the "bottom-up" term itself is foreign to CSR. Alhassan Atta-Quayson of Third World Network – Africa, for instance, believes that a bottom-up perspective implies involving specific local communities and groups to take ownership of projects and initiatives. This is mainly because "no matter how you start from the bottom…you are not going to be there forever. So it's always appropriate that organizations that have been set up to have perpetual existence be empowered to do some of these things" (Interview with author, 22 July 2013, Accra). Building community ownership over CSR projects could ensure the longevity of the projects beyond the lifetime of a mine.

Some government officials contended that a bottom-up approach already exists. In particular reference to the steps being taken to ensure environmental sustainability, a Technical Assistant at the Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology and Innovation said that "to a large extent there is an involvement of a bottom-up approach because you need to seriously engage the community people before you get your final approval. Maybe what is needed is to see how this bottom-up approach can be strengthened" to properly establish the roots of environmental management within the host communities (Interview with author, 20 May 2013, Accra). But in general, Dr. Steve Manteaw, Campaign Coordinator of ISODEC and Publish What You Pay Ghana, believes that the idea of bottom-up CSR is currently not something many companies are doing, but there seems to be a paradigm shift due to ongoing work of civil society groups. He said:

> With pressure from civil society, some are beginning to make a shift. And it is beginning to catch on gradually and I think some [companies] still have some way to go in terms of making a complete shift from the old ways of delivery of CSR and putting emphasis on participation and involvement of communities—not only in terms of identifying projects but in terms of the execution of the projects themselves (Interview with author, 17 July 2013, Accra).

In a telephone interview I had with Jamie Kneen (communications and outreach coordinator at MiningWatch Canada) regarding what a bottom-up CSR could look like, he said effective engagement would require companies to do more and be open to changing their plans to accommodating their host communities. He also said: "if there was (sic) to be meaningful engagement, then companies would have to extend themselves further than they do. They would have to be more open to changing their plans to accommodating communities….And they would have to be willing to risk more" (8 September 2014, Edmonton). This implies they would also have to risk and spend more money than they generally want to, and they need to be inclusive and not just cut a deal for themselves that benefits just a small fraction of the population. At least from this brief assessment, one can say a bottom-up CSR could be further strengthened when companies take their promises seriously by engaging communities at all levels of CSR design and implementation. It also needs an active civil society and a responsible government to ensure that locals are better informed about their rights and responsibilities in this dialogue.

The list of suggestions below can be considered to be key elements of what a bottom-up CSR entails, even though some of the requirements are beyond the purview of mining corporations. This is consciously undertaken in order to "re-responsibilize" the corporation in a much broader manner that takes account of the world external to itself. It is worth noting that some of the recommendations are from what I have already captured elsewhere as necessary conditions for a grassroots-oriented CSR. In a previously published article (Andrews 2013b), I considered a grassroots-oriented CSR to involve four interrelated elements: listening to the people, needs-based CSR initiatives, the flexibility and adaption of CSR to the changing needs of affected communities and government taking responsibility for its developmental and regulatory role. These were based on the overarching assessment that "CSR initiatives can benefit immensely from an agent-oriented configuration that sees social responsibility from a bottom-up or grassroots perspective" (Andrews 2013b, 63). I hold a similar stance in this conclusion.

The previous article was focused on Ghana's emerging oil sector, but due to the similarity in the issues raised by communities in both sectors, several elements of that perspective can be applied here.

7.2 Policy Recommendations

Corporations will remain in these localities and, therefore, it is probably worthwhile to see if there is some common ground on which different stakeholders can come together to create meaningful change. Despite the language of CSR being a dominant discourse that marginalizes and subordinates its purported beneficiaries in different ways, host communities are yet looking for specific ways to transform their livelihoods for the better. These recommendations are based on the general concerns raised by interviewees regarding their perception and contestation of the CSR discourse, particularly the practical and on-the-ground meanings they attach to corporate discourses of responsibility and accountability. Some of the suggestions to follow may be things the companies claim to be doing, but they in fact do maintain a superficial significance in the discourse, at least according to the community stakeholders interviewed. The responses and apparent contestation suggest that CSR is currently in crisis (Fox 2004; White 2008; Utting and Marques 2010). The list of recommendations offers ways of "re-responsibilizing" corporations in a manner that makes them more accountable and responsible than they are currently made up to be in the CSR discourse. It also involves the domestic government playing a proactive role.

A number of questions were asked to solicit some of the recommendations to follow. For the focus group discussions with community women, I asked: "What recommendations do you have for both the company and the government?" For the other community interviews, the question was "what would you recommend the company to improve upon or desist from?" During the pilot study, I also wanted to tease what people's perceptions of both the problems and the possible solutions are so the question asked was: "What is the main problem with mining and how do you think that can be resolved?" Each of these questions resulted in at least one suggestion to be discussed below.

Independent government sensitization

Before a licence is issued, the government authority in charge of this function (in this case Ghana's Minerals Commission) would undertake an extensive independent consultation and sensitization in the communities to be affected by the mining operation. This process can be captured as "Open, Prior and Independent Deliberate Discussion" (OPIDD). The process should be *open* to allow for as many community members to be involved as possible, and there should be a *deliberate discussion* that focuses on what communities should expect from the specific operations once they begin, and the ongoing commitments government would have for the communities even in the presence of a company. It should also be *independent* of any corporate efforts towards reaching these communities, even though several companies often connect with host communities prior to receiving their official licence to operate. The OPIDD process would allow communities to properly engage first-hand with authorities that are supposed to be advancing their needs instead of dealing with a corporation that may be interested in partial appeasement of affected peoples and communities. The objective is to provide adequate prior information to communities of what is coming, after which community members would be better equipped to negotiate with companies upon entry.

The OPIDD process should certainly involve NGOs and community-based organizations since they have a better understanding of what the major issues and areas of concern are in each community, being that they work from the ground. However, it should not be left to these groups to undertake because they often do not have the resources to reach the many communities a company's work could impact. Currently, the government leaves it up to companies to do this consultation with communities and report on what they did. Some agencies, such as the EPA, actually do a follow up to ensure companies' reports are verifiable through select onsite interviews with members of affected communities (Interview with Ransford Sekyi, Director/Head of Mining Department, EPA Ghana, 17 July 2013, Accra). Nonetheless, this process is often flawed since it is usually after-the-fact and it sometimes fails to properly capture and address the general concerns. In fact, these visits have yet to lead to the effective sanctioning of any specific company even though there remain a number of environmental sustainability concerns. Another challenge is that there is currently no independent way of tracking the myriad social concerns beyond what companies may submit as part of their impact assessment.

Undertaking an OPIDD means impact assessments can no longer be taken for granted since the requisite government agency would have had a clear stock of community expectations, including pre-existing issues that corporations may not necessarily be blamed for once they commence work. This process would also entail an initial assessment of how impacts will be evaluated and what exit provisions communities should expect mining companies to have put in place prior to the close of the mine. Finally, a distinction needs to be made between OPIDD and what is discussed below as "free, prior and informed consent" (FPIC). The former is something new I am proposing that government does in advance of granting a mining lease to a company while the latter is something companies are expected to do in order to maintain a social licence to operate. Even though FPIC inevitably involves government—and government may actually be the initiator of such a process for its infrastructural developments on indigenous lands—I have chosen to keep the two processes separate for both analytical and practical clarity.

Aligning FPIC with social justice

The notion of FPIC has become popular in international development discussions, particularly those that deal with natural resources and community infrastructural development such as education and health care. Article 16 of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of 1989 (or ILO Convention 169)[128] covers a number of the freedom of expression guarantees and the right to being part of decisions that affect the lives of people. Specifically, section 2 of that article states that:

> Where the relocation of these peoples is considered necessary as an exceptional measure, such relocation shall take place only with their free and informed consent. Where their consent cannot be obtained, such relocation shall take place only following appropriate procedures established by national laws and regulations, including public inquiries where appropriate, which provide the opportunity for effective representation of the peoples concerned.

[128] For more details, see http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169 (accessed March 17, 2015).

The idea is also referenced in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted at the 61st session of the UN General Assembly in September 2007. Article 10 of the declaration emphatically states that "indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior, and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned and after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return."[129] Even though the declaration is not a legally binding document, in comparison with the ILO Convention 169, it does represent a global commitment to the fair treatment of indigenous peoples. The UN Program on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD) has also adopted the FPIC principle, and therefore developed guidelines on how to undertake the process.[130]

In the mining sector, some financial investors have adopted FPIC as part of their standards. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) is one of such investors. The IFC Performance Standard 7 has a requirement to seek the "Free, Prior, and Informed Consent" (FPIC) of the peoples affected by projects (IFC 2012). All IFC-funded projects are subject to this requirement (Morgera 2007; Vives 2004)—for instance, the Newmont Ahafo Mine. Yet, the narrow definition of "consent" is in question (Baker 2012). The organization has insisted that "FPIC does not necessarily require unanimity and may be achieved even when individuals or groups within the community explicitly disagree," although undertaking FPIC is expected to be the result of a "mutually accepted process between the client and Affected Communities of Indigenous Peoples" (IFC 2012, 3). In

[129] See http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf (accessed March 17, 2015).
[130] See http://www.un-redd.org/Launch_of_FPIC_Guidlines/tabid/105976/Default.aspx (accessed March 17, 2015).

my own assessment of FPIC as a process, “free” implies that the process is not one that has elements of coercion or force; “prior” means that affected people are well engaged at the earliest stages of the commencement of any project and are given enough time to make a specific decision; “informed” suggests that the engagement process should have adequate information that is developed and presented in a manner that people understand; and “consent” simply implies the explicit “yes” or “no” that results from the collective decision of the affected peoples. Thus, the narrow definition adopted by IFC basically impairs the relevance of the process.

A human rights-based perspective informs FPIC, but it is still lacking in terms of its clear alignment with social justice in practice due to evidence that FPIC in some cases may not be an adequate tool to overcome domination and oppression (see Masaki 2009). There is ongoing debate around the scope of FPIC, particularly around what consent means and the end goal of the consultation process – whether to inform future project design or not (Mahanty and McDermott 2013). A question around “who counts” has also been raised because even though IFC standards apply it to those indigenous communities (especially those facing resettlement), the Equator Principles define it to embrace project-impacted people in general (Mahanty and McDermott 2013).

The other issue is that there is no clarity around whether or not mining companies not funded by IFC are going through the FPIC process, although those expected to undertake the process have challenges. Even though one would expect CGML to have consulted with the affected communities prior to the start of operations, FPIC never came up as one of the things they do even when I asked about international norms or instruments that inform their CSR activities. And, in fact, if both companies had properly undertaken the FPIC process, the community concerns could have been fewer. Once social justice principles are properly incorporated into the FPIC process, perhaps even what I have described above as OPIDD might not be necessary since all key stakeholders would have been part of the conversation from the start. But until there is evidence on the ground to suggest FPIC has been effective, it is necessary to keep pushing for it to become embedded into the ethos of the extractives sector overall.

Effective community engagement as empowerment

By definition, FPIC provides information and consultation prior to the beginning of a project. It should not end there. Once this project begins, there should be ongoing engagement with communities. One of the goals of this study was to understand the extent to which host communities are involved in the decision-making processes around CSR projects and initiatives, both at the design and implementation stages. The finding was that not all relevant stakeholders are involved. In one community, a woman interviewed cited the example of not feeling a part of decisions that affect them mainly because they have not received formal education. And of course, these two companies under study do have consultations and meetings with some community people. NGGL has some community committees, including the Ahafo Social Responsibility Forum (represented by 10 Ahafo communities, local government, regional government and civil society) that give people more decision-making power around the programs undertaken by its biggest CSR initiative (i.e. the Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation). CGML also has a Community Consultative Committee, which is made up of paramount chiefs, community leaders, and company officials.

While these are in place, community members generally questioned the selection of these representatives. In some cases, it was argued that these committees are made up of the same people and this selective representation does not auger well for the general good of the communities. Additionally, some of the community members accused their leaders of cutting a deal for themselves and therefore not being interested in the well-being of their town or village as a whole. Community engagement should therefore go beyond selectivism or tokenism, where individuals are placed on committees for the sake of being representative. Rather, it should entail a conscious effort to empower communities to make meaningful decisions on what best suits their needs. By so doing, people would begin feeling a sense of ownership over CSR projects instead of these structures becoming merely white elephants.

The basic act of listening is one that could enhance the engagement process because "a company that does not listen attentively will not pick up nuances of community opinion and cannot expect to establish a secure basis for good-quality relations" (Idemudia 2007, 400). But to be able to do this, companies should adapt to the changing needs of the communities. Otherwise, the consultation process becomes only an information session, which fails to capture the empowering element effective engagement can have. In the context of this research, some community members expressed concerns about the lack of inclusion and engagement in initiatives they are supposed to benefit from. Also, there is proof in the existing literature that "the northern-centered nature of mainstream CSR agenda means that it is not just insensitive to local priorities" (Idemudia 2007, 370). It is therefore expected that a conscious engagement with affected communities could lead to specific things they identify as important to them.

A responsible government

It is probably not expected that a discussion on CSR will entail the role of government, but one of the reasons CSR has been deemed a failure is due to the systemic political and economic challenges that host countries have prior to the arrival of a corporation (see Frynas 2005). Yet, people in local communities look to mining companies for a host of things including jobs, schools, clinics, potable water, football fields, and recreational centres, among others. Some commentators see this explicit reliance on corporations for developmental needs as signifying the return of colonial structures of the past, something corporations themselves have perpetuated by promising so much (Vertigans 2011). As an activity, CSR should mainly complement pre-existing provisions made by the requisite government in charge. For instance, the general lack of employment in host communities is something mining companies can help curb by hiring from within. Nonetheless, even if the companies were to hire all the people needed from these communities it is still going to be difficult to absorb the entire unemployed population.

Therefore, the Government of Ghana should fully embrace its developmental responsibility and provide basic amenities needed by mining communities. In any case, these communities are the purported recipients of royalties so even if CSR did not exist they would have been expected to be better off than their counterparts in non-mining communities. This is not the case, and part of the reason is a plethora of accountability, delegation, and monitoring issues. In addition to these challenges is the duality of the governance structure where there is vagueness around the authority chiefs and elders have compared to other regional and local government units or personnel, and vice versa. This duality, captured elsewhere as “legal pluralism” or “divided sovereignty” (see Crook 2004; Ray 1996; Schmid 2001; Schoneveld and German 2014) and its consequent ambivalence leads to communities not knowing where to turn for help. In the case of the Niger Delta, this phenomenon is captured as one that results in a ping-pong relationship between oil companies and government, at the expense of the average community member (see Idemudia 2010). If the government were to become more responsible, it would be effectively playing its primary role in order to safeguard communities from both exploitation and broken promises. Specifically, it will ensure that at least the nine percent royalties that goes to local districts is used for the socio-economic development of the local communities in these districts that are affected by mining instead of staying in someone’s pocket.

A community ombudsperson

One interesting finding from this study was that community members do not necessarily trust their leaders to act in their general interest. The category of leaders includes chiefs, elders, youth leaders, and district chief executives (who are government representatives in local communities). Some interviewees even accused these leaders of colluding with companies to exploit them through several practices such as protocol allocation, favouritism, and corruption. Based on these overall sentiments, it was easy to identify the lack of trust between people and their local authorities. Trust is difficult to rebuild once it is lost. Thus, my suggestion is that the government puts in place a “Community Ombudsperson” (CO) to be the intermediary between communities, companies and government itself, being that the ombuds program is one that is designed to help with problem-solving and conflict resolution or management (Ziegenfuss and O'Rourke 2011). During the fieldwork, I found that a number of community associations and organizations exist to advance the needs of the people, but their efforts are not united since their specific interests vary.

Essentially, an ombudsperson resident in host communities could effectively have as part of his/her fiduciary duty to listen to and address grievances in an equitable manner, even those between the people and their local authorities. A community advocate who is generally respected by a majority of the people should possibly take up this position in the first few years of implementation. And the beneficiary communities should be fully involved in the selection process. Choosing from a list of people communities know and respect is more suitable than bringing someone from the capital city to resolve localized concerns. I should point out here that the call for an organizational ombuds (OO) who can help individuals outside and inside the organization resolve conflicts already exists in the literature (see Erbe 2008; Howard 2010; Rowe 2010; Ulrich 2013). The OO position is considered to be part of embedded CSR processes because although the goal is to combat conflicts broadly, "the organizational goals of conflict mitigation and value congruence are inextricably linked" (Ulrich 2013, 359). The belief is that this ombuds, being a company employee, would bring the attention of the organizational leadership to issues that are systemic in nature and could help curb corruption, unjust practices, and human rights abuse or infringements (see Nivarthi et al. 2013). And this position is seen to be connected to other CSR efforts.

The OO idea is laudable as part of embedded CSR processes, and it possibly serves organizations well by helping them avoid litigation, for instance (see Ulrich 2013; Ziegenfuss and O'Rourke 2011). In fact, if the mining companies under study had effectively implemented it, they might have addressed some of the concerns around sexual subordination and basic human rights violation described by the women in the focus group discussions. In essence, what I am proposing here is not an OO as already captured by the organizational literature but rather a CO, someone not employed by a company but specifically commissioned by the central government to play an intermediary role between companies and affected communities. Of course, the CO position I am recommending costs money, and some companies may even offer to pay for it. But it should remain an independent third party communities can turn to for remedy. Ghana would be setting a laudable example in this direction since such a provision is hardly visible in any resource-rich African country.

CSR provisions in domestic legislation

It is never easy to suggest that an activity that has been voluntary for decades or perhaps centuries be now subject to legislation. Although economic regulation has been a function of government for many centuries, the growing spate of neo-liberalism has resulted in the prohibition of government regulation of corporate behaviour. Yet, there are advocates for mandatory CSR or at least a clear role for government and public policy in influencing corporate behaviour (Albareda et al. 2007; Doane 2002; Steurer 2010). We also know there are a number of international "soft" norms such as UN Global Compact, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, and the Global Reporting Initiative, among others that seek to promote what can be considered "best practices." But there is also substantial research that shows the weaknesses of these acclaimed norms when placed in specific contexts, and when judged for real significance on the ground (see Aaronson 2011; Deva 2006; Isaksson and Steimle 2009; Kilgour 2013; Rasche and Gilbert 2012; Smith et al. 2012). To further complicate the matter, Waagstein (2011) has shown why the argument for a mandatory CSR law is easier said than done. Using the example of the implementation challenges one of such laws (i.e. the Indonesian Law No. 40 of 2007)[131] has, the concerns can range from identifying the duty-bearer and beneficiaries to effective implementation of established mechanisms.

The belief here is that even beyond having CSR as a mandatory law, some specific provisions can be made in domestic legislation to show a stronger commitment to monitoring what corporations do in host communities. The reason behind this suggestion is that a strong domestic framework could possibly reduce the degree of dominance corporations have over domestic populations who are often left at the mercy of handouts in the form of social responsibility initiatives. Jamali and Sidani (2011) have argued that a primary part of CSR's weaknesses lies in the fact that it is not subject to any binding regulation in the form of hard law. But having specific CSR provisions in domestic legislation, even when they are not "hard" law, could set some clear parameters around acceptable corporate behaviour and the benefits local communities may expect from corporations.

[131] This law itself is one that covers everything a limited liability company is expected to do (or not), requiring them to "have a purpose and objective as well as business activities that do not conflict with the legislative regulations, public order, and/or morality." But Chapter V (Article 74) focuses on social and environmental responsibility, where it states that "provisions regarding Social and Environmental Responsibility shall be further regulated with a Government Regulation." Even though several countries these days have disclosure requirements for corporate social and environmental performance, this is the first available example of a domestic law that regulates the entirety of a corporation. See http://irmadevita.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/04/company-law-uu-40-2007.pdf (accessed July 17, 2015).

As already discussed in part of Chapter 4, there is currently a lack of attention to CSR at the national level. For instance, a word search for terms such as "corporate social responsibility," "CSR," "social responsibility," "community relations," "social benefits" or "social licence" in the main mining legislation (Act 703) yielded zero results. A document from the Minerals Commission entitled *Draft National Mining Policy of Ghana* has only one mention of CSR. It is certainly laudable that the Minerals Commission has a set of CSR guidelines that came into effect in 2012, developed with reference to existing domestic codes and such international instruments as the UN Global Compact and ICMM Sustainable Development Framework. Even in this case, there is nothing contextual in the 12-page document to suggest a specific direction beyond superfluous statements around expectations. It is a good first step, nonetheless, but my suggestion is to carefully incorporate much stronger language that would in the end safeguard host communities from domination and injustices of all kinds. This could be in the form of new legislation since existing ones may not be amenable. The framework overall should be made compatible with the attainment of socio-economic development and poverty reduction, and it should be based on the general principles of sustainability. For now, research has shown that this compatibility is lacking in the existing regulatory framework in Ghana (Akabzaa 2009).

Proper integration of gender into mineral economy

There is some talk about gender mainstreaming in Ghana but this discussion has not been effectively conveyed to cover all sectors of the economy. The mining sector is admittedly one of the sectors that lacks a substantial focus on gender issues even though it has enormous participation from women, particularly in the artisanal and small-scale mining sector (see Koomson 2011; Yakovleva 2007). There is simply not much written about women's participation in Ghana's large-scale mining sector, neither is there any specific provision for some of the peculiar challenges they face in mining communities as women and sometimes heads of households. Perhaps, this neglect is fuelled by a plethora of socio-cultural practices and beliefs that result in the marginalization of women from making decisions about their own well-being (see Anyidoho and Manuh 2010; Arku and Arku 2009; Ngom et al. 2003; Schindler 2010). But there are other reasons, too.

Another reason for the neglect of gender is the fact that mining has been a masculine field for many years (Lahiri-Dutt 2011a). And the broader field of CSR has also neglected the idea since those who introduce and shape the discourses of corporate citizenship are mostly men (Coleman 2002). Yet, it is already known that the current set-up is inadequate since even acclaimed "best practices" fail to properly address the issue of gender. For instance, the Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) has a limited reference to gender (Grosser and Moon 2005); the 2005 International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) Community Development Toolkit (CDT) for mining companies is not sensitive to gender in its definition of "community" (Lahiri-Dutt 2011b); and the UN Global Compact has abandoned the gender equality requirement in its guiding principles mainly due to the lack of women's participation in the Global Compact learning groups, the general absence of a gender discourse in CSR initiatives and the compact's focus on a business case for social responsibility (Kilgour 2007). Many other weaknesses of current norms and "best practices" are discussed in different chapters of this dissertation.

It has been argued that “human development, if not engendered, is fatally endangered” (Haq 2000 cited in Singhal 2003, 183). Others have posited that “mining can only be an effective vehicle of economic development if gender concerns are built into every aspect of project development” (Mishra and Reddy 2012, 14). These points serve to underscore the case for a purposive integration of gender into the bigger mineral economy, and CSR activities in particular. A proper integration of gender into the mineral economy includes such actions as the de-feminization of poverty, participatory empowerment, and organizational learning and change, as discussed in Chapter 6. Even though the companies under study have global data to support a goal towards greater gender inclusion and diversity, there is not much to be said about the specifics in host communities—particularly project-impacted women who are not employed by them. One point to note is that integration or inclusion is definitely not the panacea to the socio-economic challenges these women are facing in Ghana’s mining communities, but it is certainly a useful way of understanding how they become an integral part of activities and projects that are meant to benefit them in the long run. While this integration is happening, stronger domestic legislation on sexual violence and discrimination is needed to safeguard vulnerable populations.

Ongoing cost-benefit analysis

One other interesting finding was the fact that no proper cost-benefit analysis has been done for the mining sector at the national level. In fact, it was a surprise when the representative from the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources told me such an analysis is yet to be done. His main excuse, be it legitimate or not, was that the advertisement for a qualified consultant to undertake this project has not yielded results. Mining has generally been promoted based on the statistic that it contributes about 6 percent of the annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP)[132] but besides this contribution, there are no data to show if the over 100 years of mineral development has really benefited the host communities who live with project-specific aftermaths. Admittedly, it could be an onerous task but the lack of evidence leaves people to question the overall benefit of mining to the country, and the host communities in particular. To be specific, the presence of deplorable conditions in towns and villages expected to benefit from mining leaves scholars uncertain of the essence of large-scale mineral exploration, including the initiatives companies put in place to appease impacted people (see Akabzaa 2009; Akabzaa and Darimani 2001; Banchirigah 2008; Hilson 2007; Tschakert 2009; Yakovleva 2007).

Overall, a cost-benefit analysis is needed to understand the gains of the sector beyond contribution to GDP because it could help take a better stock of all social, economic and environmental harms and benefits—including the specific things accomplished in the name of CSR. It seems the requisite ministry has plans of doing this, and has in fact been planning for years now without actually doing anything. But there is no shortage of domestic expertise to undertake this project, so it is expected that the government take this suggestion seriously. The main rationale for adding this recommendation is that a cost-benefit analysis, when done properly, would give ample justification to implementing some of the things I have listed above. In essence, it would

[132] The Ghana Chamber of Mines reported that the contribution of the mining and quarrying sector to GDP has increased to 9.8 percent in 2013, largely attributable to increased production in the downstream oil sector. See http://ghanachamberofmines.org/media/publications/Performance_of_the_Mining_Industry_in_2013.pdf (accessed March 18, 2015).

provide an avenue to systematically juxtapose contributions to GDP or the country at large with specific benefits to host communities. It could be an opportunity to survey the list of things companies are doing in the name of CSR to assess their utility to specific beneficiaries and communities at large. I will add that once the first cost-benefit analysis is completed, there should be ongoing reviews after every couple of years to assess visible changes in the trend of benefits.

7.3 Relevance of the Study

There remains an enormous literature on the impacts of mining on African and other developing countries. However, this study substantially answers the *so-what* question by being relevant in the following ways: First, apart from adding to the wealth of knowledge in the literature, it has ignited a re-thinking of the nature, scope and meaning of CSR in the Ghanaian context. In more clear terms, Chapters 3 to 6 help one to understand the different shades of the CSR discourse and the contextual dynamics that challenge the official claims of the discourse. Chapters 4 and 5 in particular highlight the weaknesses of institutionalist accounts of CSR norm proliferation. This assessment challenges the existing mainstream theorization of norms to embrace more critical and context-specific nuances.

While adding current relevance to international relations or political economy theory, business ethics theory, and theories of management and organization, the outcome of the research could enrich policy making and dialogue on mining-engendered dynamics in Ghana and possibly elsewhere. With several recommendations highlighted, this appraisal is expected to be crucial to policy makers in Ghana, the U.S., and Canada since it directs them towards the existing challenges and possibilities. Studies that explore the impact of mining often focus broadly on cases in the African, Caribbean, and South American regions with the aim of forming generalizations that can be applied in multiple locations. Thus, Ghana has not received sufficient attention in the specific area of CSR although it equally receives regular foreign mining investments (Amponsah-Tawiah and Dartey-Baah 2011; Ofori 2007a). This research hopes to have enhanced the level of specificity with which this issue should be addressed.

Additionally, the self-identified recommendations from fieldwork interviews discussed in detail above seek to offer primary evidence of how the people themselves perceive or conceptualize CSR and why it is necessary to listen to them. This is because in the presence of a dominant corporation, these voices are frequently marginalized. Besides, with a relatively unexploited research method in political science such as street-level vox pops, I trust that the study has made a minor methodological contribution to the field of study. As a method that is hardly used in political science, using it as part of my pilot study revealed its benefit to research that focuses on a socio-political and economic phenomenon. It has particularly shown its importance in capturing the opinions of the average person on the street.

Moreover, the particular focus on women adds a gender dimension to a discussion that has been ongoing among scholars and practitioners for decades, especially since this topic is described as an emerging research agenda (Jenkins 2014). Although there is evidence of the "feminization of poverty" in Ghana (Awumbila 2006), and the fact that "women have often borne the brunt of negative impacts of mining activities [in Ghana]" (Akabzaa 2009, 58), the literature has an abysmal emphasis on the specific effects of mining on women. This emphasis is important because women dwell in a patriarchal and "malestream" structure of politics that puts them at a disadvantageous position in terms of employment, access to capital, and overall structural inclusion. The topic of gender and mining is understudied although it has been recognized as something useful to do (Lahiri-Dutt 2011). More importantly, both the potential and risks for sustainable development in Africa make the gender question a vital one to peruse. For starters, I have not yet seen any research that examines these companies within a single case. This is beside the point that the scholarly literature on the work of these companies in Ghana is marginal.[133]

7.4 Implications for Future Research

Discussions of mining and CSR are broad enough to embrace a great deal of subject areas. Despite the extensive nature of this study, it still did not cover a number of other important questions and topics. One of the topics future research could focus on is a careful assessment of the specific CSR initiatives companies have reported on, with the quest to exploring if the purported beneficiaries have actually found them useful. This would entail identifying these beneficiaries in host communities and also acquiring accurate data from the companies regarding coverage, amount spent, and modes of distribution. This research incorporated comments from people who have either worked on some of the projects undertaken by NGGL but it was, for instance, difficult to engage with someone working on the Chirano malaria control program established by CGML. A systematic breakdown in future studies could add another level of nuance to the discussion of CSR.

[133] A Google Scholar search on 19 March 2015, for instance, found less than a dozen relevant scholarly works specifically focused on these companies' operations in Ghana.

Secondly, there are foreign policy implications of this study that can inform future research. Since these two companies hail from different countries in the global North, it would have been interesting to examine the extent to which foreign policy informs the behaviour of these companies or vice versa. Chapter 4 attempted to understand the institutional factors (home, host, global, regional and sub-host) that influence CSR, but a specific account of foreign policy and CSR would be an interesting addition to international relations and international political economy discussions on social responsibility. This research could include multiple corporations in addition to or beyond these two cases.

Additionally, although a chapter in this dissertation was devoted to understanding gendered perspectives on CSR, a whole thesis could have been written about the topic. As already highlighted, the current literature sees the topic of CSR and gender as an emerging field. Thus, I will reiterate the point that a specific focus on impacts of mining and CSR on women and households is necessary. Such research could provide a detailed account of how corporations have grown to incorporate gender concerns (or not) and critically discuss whether or not having women on the board of corporations is sufficient indication that they are taking gender concerns seriously. For now, there is the lack of critical scholarly work to substantiate corporations' claims of gender inclusiveness and diversity.

In the final analysis, I suggest that future research continues to actively engage with the discourse of CSR in specific sites in Africa and around the world. If corporations are indeed here to stay and if they would continually become constituted as "responsibilized" entities without necessarily being accountable or externally regulated in any meaningful fashion, then the subject requires ongoing attention. Particularly, critical scholarship that seeks to deconstruct mainstream notions of CSR while elucidating ways in which different stakeholders (especially marginalized populations) can undermine such discourses and possibly make their lives better through actionable alternatives. This has been an overarching study goal of mine but certainly more work could be done in this important field of research.

Bibliography

Aaronson, Susan A. 2011. "Limited Partnership: Business, Government, Civil Society, and the Public in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)." *Public Administration and Development* 31 (1): 50-63.

——— and Jennifer Brinkerhoff. 2009. "Limited Partnership: Business, Government, Civil Society (NGOs) and the Public in the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI)," Institute for International Economic Policy Working Paper Series, IIEP-WP-2010-28, October, http://www2.gwu.edu/~iiep/assets/docs/papers/Aaronson_IIEPWP2010-28.pdf (accessed 19 December 2013).

Addy, Samuel N. 1998. "Ghana: Revival of the Mineral Sector." *Resources Policy* 24 (4): 229-239.

Adler, Emmanuel. 1997. "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 3 (3): 319-63.

Africa Conservation Foundation. 2007. "Chirano Goldmine Destroys Forest Reserves," July 11, http://www.africanconservation.org/forum/news-archives-around-africa/6168-ghana-chirano-goldmine-destroys-forest-reserve (accessed March 13, 2015).

African Mining Vision, 2011. "Draft Action Plan for Implementing the AMV," December, http://www.africaminingvision.org/amv_resources/AMV/AMV%20Action%20Plan.pdf (accessed April 27, 2014).

African Union. 2009. "African Mining Vision," http://www.townshiptimes.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Africa-Mining-Vision.pdf (accessed April 25, 2014).

Afshar, Haleh and Stephanie Barrientos. 1999. "Introduction: Women, Globalization and Fragmentation." In *Women, Globalization and Fragmentation in the Developing World,* edited by Haleh Afshar and Stephanie Barrientos, 1-17. Hamphire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Agbonifo, John. 2011. "Corporate Social Responsibility: An Oversocialised View of Multinational Corporations in Africa?" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 14 (1): 126–134.

Ahmad, Nesar and Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt. 2006. "Engendering Mining Communities: Examining the Missing Gender Concerns in Coal Mining Displacement and Rehabilitation in India." *Gender, Technology and Development* 10 (3): 313-339.

Aitken, Rob. 2013. "The Financialization of Micro-Credit." *Development and Change* 44 (3): 473-499.

———. 2010. "Ambiguous incorporations: Microfinance and Global Governmentality." *Global Networks* 10 (2) 223-243.

———. 2006. "Capital at Its Fringes." *New Political Economy* 11 (4): 479-498.

Akabzaa, Thomas. 2009. "Mining in Ghana: Implications for National Economic Development and Poverty Reduction." In *Mining in Africa: Regulations and Development,* edited by Bonnie Campbell, 25-65. New York: Pluto Press.

———. and Abdulai Darimani. 2001. "The Impact of Mining Sector Investment: A Study of the Tarkwa Mining Region." A Draft Report, Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI), Accra, Ghana.

Akindola, Rufus B. 2009. "Towards a Definition of Poverty: Poor People's Perspectives and Implications for Poverty Reduction." *Journal of Developing Societies* 25 (2): 121-150.

Akpalu, W. and Parks P.J. 2007. "Natural Resource Use Conflicts: Gold Mining in Tropical Rainforest in Ghana." *Environment and Development Economics* 12 (1): 55-72.

Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O. 2009. "Making a Difference in Colonial Intervention in Gold Mining in Wassa Fiase, Gold Coast (Ghana): The Activism of Two Women, 1874-1893." In *Mining Women: Gender in the Development of a Global Industry, 1670 to the Present,* edited by Jaclyn J. Gier and Laurie Mercier, 21-39. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Albareda, Laura, Joseph M. Lozano and Tamyko Ysa. 2007. "Public Policies on Corporate Social Responsibility: The Role of Governments in Europe." *Journal of Business Ethics* 74 (4): 391-407.

Altman, Barbara W. 1999. "Transformed Corporate Community Relations: A Management Tool for Achieving Corporate Citizenship." *Business and Society Review* 102-103 (1): 43–51.

Amis, Lucy, Peter Brew and Caroline Ersmarker. 2005. "Human Rights: It Is Your Business: The Case for Corporate Engagement." The Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum, http://commdev.org/files/1154_file_Human_Rights_It_Is_Your_Business.pdf (accessed 10 December 2013).

Amutabi, Maurice and Mary Lutta-Mukhebi. 2001. "Gender and mining in Kenya: The case of the Mukibira mines in the Vihiga district." *Jenda* 1 (2): 1-23.

Amponsah-Tawiah, Kwesi and Kwasi Dartey-Baah. 2011. "Corporate Social Responsibility in Ghana." *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 2 (17): 107-112.

Andreasson, Stefan. 2013. "Elusive Agency: Africa's Persistently Peripheral Role in International Relations." In *African Agency in International Politics,* edited by William Brown and Sophie Harman, 143-157. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Andrews, Nathan. 2013a. "Poverty in Theory vs. Poverty in Reality: A Critical Review of Concepts and Measurements." In *Africa Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Exploring the*

Multi-dimensional Discourses on 'Development', edited by Nathan Andrews, Nene Ernest Khalema, Temitope Oriola and Isaac Odoom, 20-39. New Castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

———. 2013b. "Community Expectations from Ghana's New Oil Find: Conceptualizing Corporate Social Responsibility as a Grassroots-Oriented Process." *Africa Today* 60 (1): 54-75.

———. 2011a. "Telling Tales of Conformity and Mutual Interests: The Limits of a (Neo)liberal International Order." *International Journal* 66 (1): 209-223.

———. 2011b. "Justice and Power: Understanding the Linkages among Society, Economics and Politics from a Multi-Level Perspective." *International Journal of Management and Business Studies* 1 (4): 42-44.

——— and Sylvia Bawa. 2014. "A Post-Development Hoax? (Re)-Examining the Past, Present and Future of Development Studies." *Third World Quarterly* 35 (6): 922-938.

Antwi, Frederick. 2010. "An Assessment of the Impacts of Newmont Gold Ghana Limited (NGGL) on the Socio-economic Development after Six Years of Operation in the Birim North District." MA Thesis submitted to the Department of Geography and Rural Development, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana, February.

Anyidoho, Nana Akua and Takyiwaa Manuh. 2010 "Discourses on Women's Empowerment in Ghana." *Development* 53 (2): 267-273.

Arku, Cynthia and Frank S. Arku. 2009. "More money, new household cultural dynamics: Women in micro-finance in Ghana." *Development in Practice* 19 (2): 200-213.

Arnfred, Signe. 2010. "Women in Mozambique: Gender Struggles and Gender Politics." In *African Women: A Political Economy,* edited by Meredeth Turshen, 113-128. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aryee, Benjamin N. A. 2003. "Small-Scall Mining in Ghana as a Sustainable Development Activity: It's Development and a Review of the Contemporary Issues and Challenges." In *The Socio-Economic Impacts of Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining in Developing Countries,* edited by Gavin Hilson, 379-418. Swets & Zeitlinger B.V., Lisse.

Asgill, Stephanie. 2012. "The Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI): Tool for Conflict Resolution in the Niger Delta or Arena of Contested Politics?" *Critical African Studies* 4 (7): 4-57.

Atta-Quayson, Alhassan. 2012a. "Can Government of Ghana Implement Proposed Mining Taxes?" National Coalition on Mining Newsletter Vol. 1.2: http://business.myjoyonline.com/pages/finance/201201/80738.php (accessed April 15, 2015).

———. 2012b. “Why Government of Ghana Must Implement New Taxes in 2012,” National Coalition on Mining Newsletter Vol. 2.1: http://opinion.myjoyonline.com/pages/feature/201204/85430.php (accessed April 15, 2015).

Atkinson, Giles and Kirk Hamilton. 2003. “Savings, Growth and the Resource Curse Hypothesis.” *World Development* 31 (11): 1793-1807.

Atuguba, Raymond and Christine Dowuona-Hammond. 2006. “Corporate Social Responsibility in Ghana,” Final Report submitted to FrIedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) – Ghana, http://lrcghanaorg.tempwebpage.com/assets/CSR%20FINAL%20REPORT.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

Aubynn, Anthony. 2009. “Sustainable Solution or a Marriage of Inconvenience? The Coexistence of Large-Scale Mining and Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining on the Abosso Goldfields Concession in Western Ghana.” *Resource Policy* 34 (1-2): 64-70.

Auld, Graeme, Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore. 2008. “The New Corporate Social Responsibility.” *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 33: 413-435.

Auty, Richard M. 1993. *Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies: The Resource Curse Thesis*. London, New York: Routledge.

Awusabo-Asare, Kofi, John K. Anarfi and D. K. Agyeman. 1993. “Women’s control over their sexuality and the spread of STDs and HIV/AIDS in Ghana.” *Health Transition Review* 3, Supplement: 69-84.

Awumbila, Mariama. 2006. “Gender Equality and Poverty in Ghana: Implications for Poverty Reduction Strategies.” *Geojournal* 67 (2): 149-161.

Ayitey, J. Z., J. K. Kidido, and E. P. Tudzi. 2011. “Compensation for Land Use Deprivation in Mining, Communities, the Law and Practice: Case Study of Newmont Gold Ghana Limited.” *The Ghana Surveyor Journal* 4: 32-40.

Babbie, Earl R. 1973. *Survey Research Methods*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Baker, Shalanda H. 2012. “Why the IFC’s Free, Prior, and Informed Consent Policy Does Not Matter (Yet) to Indigenous Communities Affected by Development Projects.” *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 30: 668-705.

Bakker, Isabella. 2007. “Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy.” *New Political Economy* 12 (4): 541-556.

Balzacq, Thierry. 2005. “The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context.” *European Journal of International Relations* 11(2): 171-201.

Banchirigah, Sadia M. 2008. "Challenges with Eradicating Illegal Mining in Ghana: A Perspective from the Grassroots." *Resources Policy* 33 (1): 29-38.

Bartley, Tim. 2011. "Transnational Governance as the Layering of Rules: Intersections of Public and Private Standards." *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 12 (2): 517-542.

———. 2007. "Institutional Emergence in an Era of Globalization: The Rise of Transnational Private Regulation of Labor and Environmental Conditions." *American Journal of Sociology* 113 (2): 297-351.

Barnea, Amir and Amir Rubin. 2010. "Corporate Social Responsibility as a Conflict Between Shareholders." *Journal of Business Ethics* 97 (1): 71-86.

Bear, Stephen, Noushi Rahman, and Corinne Post. 2010. "The Impact of Board Diversity and Gender Composition on Corporate Social Responsibility and Firm Reputation." *Journal of Business Ethics* 97 (2): 207-221.

Béland, Daniel. "Ideas, Institutions, and Policy Change." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16, no. 5 (2009): 701–718.

———. 2005. "Ideas and Social Policy: An Institutionalist Perspective," *Social Policy & Administration*, 39: 1–18.

Bendell, Jem. 2005. "In whose name? The Accountability of Corporate Social Responsibility." *Development in Practice* 15 (3-4): 362-374.

——— and Kate Kearins. 2005. "The Political Bottom Line: The Emerging Dimension to Corporate Responsibility for Sustainable Development." *Business Strategy and the Environment* 14: 372-382.

Benn, Suzanne and Dianne Bolton. 2011. *Key Concepts in Corporate Social Responsibility*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Benner, Thorsten, Wolfgang H. Reinicke and Jan Martin Witte. 2004. "Multisectoral Networks in Global Governance: Towards a Pluralistic System of Accountability." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2): 191–210.

Berggren, Bo. 1999. "Industry's Contribution to Sustainable Development." *Building Research & Information* 27 (6): 431-435.

Berry, Michael A. and Dennis A. Rondinelli. 1998. "Proactive Corporate Environmental Management: A New Industrial Revolution." *Academy of Management Executive* 12 (2): 38-50.

Besada, Hany and Philip Martin. 2013. "Mining Codes in Africa: Emergence of a 'Fourth' Generation?" Research Report, The North-South Institute, http://www.nsi-ins.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Mining-Codes-in-Africa-Report-Hany.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

Bird, Frederick. 2004. "Ethical Reflections on the Challenges Facing International Businesses in Developing Areas." In *International Businesses and Challenges of Poverty in the Developing World*, edited by Frederick Bird and Stewart W. Herman, 14-33. Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bird, Sharon R. and Stephen G. Sapp. 2004. "Understanding the Gender Gap in Small Business Success: Urban and Rural Comparisons." *Gender & Society* 18 (1): 5-28.

Björkdahl, Annika. 2002. "Norms in International Relations: Some Conceptual and Methodological Reflections." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 15 (1): 9-23.

Blommaert, Jan and Chris Bulcaen. 2000. "Critical Discourse Analysis." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 447-66.

Blowfield, Michael. 2010. "Business, Corporate Responsibility and Poverty Reduction." In *Corporate Social Responsibility and Regulatory Governance: Towards Inclusive Development?* edited by Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques, 124-150. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2007. "Reasons to be cheerful? What we know about CSR's Impact," *Third World Quarterly* 28 (4): 683-695.

———. 2005. "Corporate Social Responsibility: Reinventing the Meaning of Development?" *International Affairs* 81 (3): 515-524.

Boateng, Kwadjo Agyenim. 2012. "Newmont Spills Cyanide Again?" *Modern Ghana*, January 3, http://www.modernghana.com/news/370015/1/newmont-spills-cyanide-again.html (accessed April 24, 2012).

Boateng, Michael. 2011. "Communities Cross Swords with Newmont." *The Chronicle*, http://ghanaian-chronicle.com/communities-cross-swords-with-newmont/ (accessed April 24, 2012).

———. 2007. "Newmont Bans Women from Getting Pregnant." December 20, http://allafrica.com/stories/200712200403.html (accessed 21 February 2014).

Boschini, Anne D., Jan Pettersson and Jesper Roine. 2007. "Resource Curse or Not: A Question of Appropriability." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 109 (3): 593-617.

Bowen, Howard R. 1953. *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers.

Bowman, Diana M. and Graeme A. Hodge. 2009. "Counting on Codes: An Examination of Transnational Codes as a Regulatory Governance Mechanism for Nanotechnologies." *Regulation & Governance* 3 (2): 145-164.

Brammer, Stephen, Gregory Jackson and Dirk Matten. 2012. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Institutional Theory: New Perspectives on Private Governance." *Socio-Economic Review* 10: 3-28.

Bremer, Jennifer Ann. 2008. "How global is the Global Compact?" *Business Ethics* 17: 227-244.

Bretton Woods Project. 2010. "IFC's Mining Investments: A Black Hole for Human Rights?" April 16, http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-566099 (accessed April 24, 2012).

Brennan, M. A. and Glenn D. Israel. 2008. "The Power of Community." *Community Development* 39 (1): 82-98.

Brodie, Janine. 2010. "Globalization, Canadian Family Policy and the Omissions of Neoliberalism." *North Carolina Law Review* 88 (5): 1559-1592.

Brønn, Peggy Simcic and Deborah Vidaver-Cohen. 2009. "Corporate Motives for Social Initiative: Legitimacy, Sustainability, or the Bottom Line?" *Journal of Business Ethics* 87: 91-109.

Brooks, Simon B. 2010. "CSR and the Strait-Jacket of Economic Rationality." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 30 (11): 604-617.

Brown, William. 2012. "A Question of Agency: Africa in International Politics," *Third World Quarterly* 33 (10): 1889-1908.

——— and Sophie Harman. 2013. "African Agency in International Politics." In *African Agency in International Politics, edited by* William Brown and Sophie Harman, 1-15. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Brush, Candida G. 1992. "Research on Women Business Owners: Past Trends, a New Perspective and Future Directions." *Entrepreneurship, Theory and Practice* 16 (4): 5-30.

Bryceson, Deborah Fahy. 2010. "The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania." In *African Women: A Political Economy,* edited by Meredeth Turshen, 53-70. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bukh, Jette. 1979. *The Village Woman in Ghana*. Uppsala; Scandinavian Institute of African Studies/Center for Development Research, Copenhagen.

Burke, Edmund M. 1999. *Corporate Community Relations: The Principle of the Neighbour of Choice*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group Inc.

Bullough, Vern L., Brenda Shelton and Sarah Slavin. 1988. *The Subordinated Sex: A History of Attitudes Toward Women*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Bury, Jeffrey. 2005. “Mining Mountains: Neoliberalism, Land Tenure, Livelihoods and the New Peruvian Mining Industry in Cajamarca.” *Environment and Planning A* 37: 221-239.

Burnham, Peter, Karin Gilland, Wyn Grant and Zig Layton-Henry. 2008. *Research Methods in Politics* (second edition). Palgrave Macmillan.

Campbell, Bonnie. 2012. “Corporate Social Responsibility and development in Africa: Redefining the roles and responsibilities of public and private actors in the mining sector.” *Resources Policy* 37 (2): 138–143.

———. 2010. “Revisiting the Reform Process of African Mining Regimes.” *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 30 (1-2): 197-217.

———, (with Pascale Hatcher, Ariane Lafortune, Bruno Sarrasin, Thomas Akabzaa and Paula Butler). 2005. “The Challenges of Development, Mining Codes in Africa and Corporate Responsibility.” In *International and Comparative Mineral Law and Policy: Trends and Prospects, edited by* Elizabeth Bastida, Thomas Walde and Janeth Warden-Fernadez, 801-822. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

———, ed. 2004. *Regulating Mining in Africa – For Whose Benefit?* Discussion Paper 26. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

———. 2003. “African Mining Codes Questioned.” *Mining Journal* Issue 14: 106-109.

Campbell, John L. 2006. “Institutional Analysis and the Paradox of Corporate Social Responsibility.” *American Behavioural Scientist* 40 (7): 925-938.

Cao, Xia. 2007. “Regulating Mine Land Reclamation in Developing Countries: The Case of China.” *Land Use Policy* 24 (2): 472-483.

Canadian Network on Corporate Accountability. 2010. “The CNCA in brief.” January 2, http://cnca-rcrce.ca/the-cnca-in-brief/ (accessed April 17, 2014).

Carin, Barry. 2012. “CIDA, NGOs and mining companies: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly.” May 8, http://www.cigionline.org/articles/2012/05/cida-ngos-and-mining-companies-good-bad-and-ugly (accessed May 11, 2014).

Carroll, Archie B. and Kareem M. Shabana. 2010. “The Business Case for Corporate Social Responsibility: A Review of Concepts, Research and Practice.” *International Journal of Management Reviews* 12 (1): 85-105.

———. 2008. “A History of Corporate Social Responsibility: Concepts and Practices.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Andrew Crane, Abagail McWilliams, Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon, and Donald S. Siegel, 19-46. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2008a. "A History of Corporate Social Responsibility: Concepts and Practice." In *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Andrew Crane, Abagail McWilliams, Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon and Donald S. Siegel, 19-46. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2008b. "Corporate Social Responsibility." In *A to Z of Corporate Social Responsibility: A Complete Reference Guide to Concepts, Codes and Organisations*, edited by Wayne Visser, Dirk Matten, Manfred Pohl and Nick Tolhurst. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

———. 1999. "Corporate Social Responsibility: Evolution of Definitional Construct." *Business & Society* 38 (3): 268-295.

———. 1991. "The Pyramid of Corporate Social Responsibility: Towards the Moral Management of Organizational Stakeholders." *Business Horizons* 34: 39-48.

———. 1979. "A Three-Dimensional Conceptual Model of Corporate Performance." *The Academy of Management Review* 4 (4): 497-505.

Caspary, Georg. 2012. "Practical Steps to Help Countries Overcome the Resource Curse: The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative." *Global Governance* 18 (2): 171-184.

Cavanagh, Gerald F. "Global business ethics: Regulation, code or self-restraint." *Business Ethics Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (2004): 625-42.

Chambers, Robert. 2011. "Managing Local Participation: Rhetoric and Reality." In *The Participation Reader*, edited by Andrea Cornwall, 165-171. London and New York: Zed Books.

———. 1995. "Poverty and Livelihoods: Whose Reality Counts?" *Environment and Urbanization* 7 (1): 173-204.

Chant, Sylvia. 2011. "The 'Feminization of Poverty' and the 'Feminization' of Anti-poverty Programmes." In *The Women, Gender and Development Reader* (2nd edition), edited by Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Nan Wiegersma and Laurie Nisonoff, 174-194. Nova Scotia & New York: Fernwood/Zed.

Chatterji, Aaron K., David I. Levine and Michael W. Toffel. 2009. "How Well Do Social Ratings Actually Measure Corporate Social Responsibility?" *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* 18 (1): 125-169.

Clapp, Jennifer. 1998. "The Privatization of Global Environmental Governance: ISO 14000 and the Developing World." *Global Governance* 4 (3): 295-316.

Clark, Gracia. 1994. *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Clarkson, Max E. 1995. "A Stakeholder Framework for Analysing and Evaluating Corporate Social Performance." *Academy of Management Review* 20 (1): 92-117.

Coase, Ronald H. 1937. "The Nature of the Firm." *Economica* 4 (16): 386-405.

Coase, Robert H. 1976. "Adam Smith's View of Man." *Journal of Law and Economics* 19 (3): 529-546.

Coleman, Gill. 2002. "Gender, Power and Post-structuralism in Corporate Citizenship: A Personal Perspective on Theory and Change." *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 5: 17-25.

Comte, Jacqueline. 2014. "Decriminalization of Sex Work: Feminist Discourses in Light of Research." *Sexuality and Culture* 18 (1): 196-217.

Connell, Dan. 2010. "Strategies for Change: Women and Politics in Eritrea and South Africa." In *African Women: A Political Economy,* edited by Meredeth Turshen, 137-154. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coombs, W. Timothy and Sherry J. Holladay. 2013. "The Pseudo-Panopticon: The Illusion Created by CSR-related Transparency and the Internet." *Corporate Communications* 18 (2): 212-227.

Corrigan, Caitlin C. 2014. "Breaking the Resource Curse: Transparency in the Natural Resource Sector and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative." *Resources Policy* 40: 17-30.

Cornelissen, Scarlett. 2013. "Corporate Social Responsibility as a Social Development Paradigm in Africa's Political Economy: Its Emergence & Implications for African Agency." In *African Agency in International Politics*, edited by William Brown and Sophie Harman, 114-126. Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Cornwall, Andrea. 2003. "Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development." *World Development* 31 (8): 1325-1342.

———. 1997. "Men, Masculinity and 'Gender in Development'." *Gender & Development* 5 (2): 8-13.

Cortell, Andrew P. and James W. Davis, Jr. 1996. "How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 40 (4): 451-478.

Corvellec, Hervé. 2007. "Arguing for a license to operate: the case of the Swedish wind power industry." *Corporate Communications* 12 (2): 129-144.

Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion: Why Poor Countries Are Falling and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coppedge, Michael. 1999. “Thickening Thin Concepts and Theories: Combining Large N and Small in Comparative Politics.” *Comparative Politics* 31 (4): 465-476.

Cowling, Keith and Sugden, Roger 1998. “The Essence of the Modern Corporation: Markets, Strategic Decision-Making and the Theory of the Firm.” *The Manchester School* 66 (1): 59-86.

Cox, David B., R. Bruce Hutton and William Zisch. 2006. “Integrating Corporate Citizenship into MNC’s Risk Assessment and Management Processes: The Case of Newmont Mining in Ghana.” Symposium Paper, Ghana, November 20-22.

Crane, Andrew and Dirk Matten. 2008. “Incorporating the Corporation in Citizenship: A Response to Néron and Norman.” *Business Ethics Quarterly* 18 (1): 27-33.

——— and Dirk Matten. 2007. *Business Ethics: Managing Corporate Citizenship and Sustainability in the Age of Globalization*. Oxford: University of Oxford Press.

——— and Dirk Matten. 2005. “Corporate Citizenship: Missing the Point or Missing the Boat? A Reply to van Oosterhout.” *Academy of Management Review* 30 (4): 681-684.

———, Abagail McWilliams, Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon and Donald S. Siegel. 2008. “The Corporate Social Responsibility Agenda.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Andrew Crane, Abagail McWilliams, Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon and Donald S. Siegel, 3-15. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———, Dirk Matten and Laura J. Spence. 2008. “Corporate Social Responsibility: In a Global Context.” In *Corporate Social Responsibility: Readings and Cases in a Global Context,* edited by Andrew Crane, Dirk Matten and Laura J. Spence, 3-20. London & New York: Routledge.

Cray, Charlie. 2001. “Dubious Development: The World Bank’s Foray into Private Sector Investment.” Multinational Monitor 22 (9): http://multinationalmonitor.org/mm2001/01september/sep01corp3.html (accessed May 2, 2014).

Crook, Richard C. 2004. “Access to Justice and Land Disputes in Ghana’s State Courts: The Litigans’ Perspective.” *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 30 (50): 1-28.

Crowther, David. 2008. “The Maturing of Corporate Social Responsibility: A Developmental Process.” In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Corporate Social Responsibility,* edited by David Crowther and Nicholas Capaldi, 19-30. Hampshire, UK & Burlington, USA: Ashgate.

Culpeper, Roy. 2005. “Private Foreign Investment: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?” in Canadian Development Report, *Investing in Poor Countries: Who Benefits?* North-South Institute.

Cutler, A. Claire, Virginia Haufler and Tony Porter eds. 1999. *Private Authority and International Affairs*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Daaku, Kwame Yeboah. 1970. *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600-1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade*. London: Oxford University Press.

Dagenais Pierre. 2010. "Canadian Mining Industry Wins with Bill C-300's Defeat." Canadian Mining Journal, December 1, http://www.canadianminingjournal.com/news/canadian-mining-industry-wins-with-bill-c-300-s-defeat/1000395591/?&er=NA (accessed April 17, 2014).

Dahlsrud, Alexander. 2008. "How Corporate Social Responsibility is Defined: An Analysis of 37 Definitions." *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management* 15: 1–13.

Darlington, Patricia S. E. and Becky Michele Mulvaney. 2002. "Gender, Rhetoric, and Power: Toward a Model of Reciprocal Empowerment." *Women's Studies in Communication* 25 (2): 139-172.

Dashwood, Hevina S. 2012. *The Rise of global Corporate Social Responsibility: Mining and the Spread of Global Norms*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2007. "Towards Sustainable Mining: The Corporate Role in the Construction of Global Standards." *Multinational Business Review* 15 (1): 47–65.

Dashwood, Hevina S. and Bill B. Puplampu. 2010. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Canadian Mining Companies in the Developing World: The Role of Organizational Leadership and Learning." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 30 (1-2): 175-196.

Davis, Gerald F., Marina V.N. Whitman and Mayer N. Zald. 2008. "The Responsibility Paradox." *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (Winter edition): 31-37.

Daschmann, Gregor. 2000. "Vox Pop and Polls: The Impact of Poll Results and Voter Statements in the Media on the Perception of a Climate of Opinion." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 12 (2): 160-181.

De Bakker, Frank G. A., Frank den Hond, Brayden King and Klaus Weber. 2013. "Social Movements, Civil Society and Corporations: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead." *Organization Studies* 34 (5-6): 573-593.

———, Peter Groenewegen and Frank Den Hond. 2005. "A Bibliometric Analysis of 30 Years of Research and Theory on Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Social Performance." *Business Society* 44 (3): 283-317.

Deneault, Alain and William Sacher (with Catherine Browne, Mathieu Denis and Patrick Ducharme). 2012. *Imperial Canada Inc.: Legal Haven of Choice for the World's Mining Industry*, translated by Fred A. Reed and Robin Philpot. Vancouver: Talonbooks.

Dennis, Carolyne. 2010. "Capitalist Development and Women's Work: A Nigerian Case Study." In *African Women: A Political Economy*, edited by Meredeth Turshen, 85-96. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Denton, Jeannette Marshall. 2004. "Using vox-pop Interviews to Expose Language Learners to Authentic Discourse." *The Language Learning Journal* 29 (1): 47-51.

Denyer, David and David Tranfield. 2006. "Using Qualitative Research Synthesis to Build an Actionable Knowledge Base." *Management Decision* 44 (2): 213-227.

Deva, Surya. 2006. "Global Compact: A Critique of the UN's 'Public-Private' Partnership for Promoting Corporate Citizenship." *Journal of International Law and Commerce* 34 (1): 107-51.

Dhanesh, Ganga S. 2014. "CSR as Organization–Employee Relationship Management Strategy: A Case Study of Socially Responsible Information Technology Companies in India." *Management Communication Quarterly* 28 (1): 130-149.

Diduck, Alan, A. John Sinclair, Glen Hostetler and Patricia Fitzpatrick. 2012. "Transformative Learning Theory, Public Involvement and Natural Resource and Environmental Management." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 55 (10): 1311-1330.

DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Field." *American Sociological Review* 48 (2): 147-160.

Dingwerth, Klaus. 2008. "Private Transnational Governance and the Developing World: A Comparative Perspective." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (3): 607–634.

Dinye, Romanus D. and Michael O. Erdiaw-Kwasie. 2012. "Gender and Labour Force Inequality in Small-Scale Gold Mining in Ghana." *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 4: 285-295.

Doane, Deborah. 2005. "The Myth of CSR." Stanford Social Innovation Review (Fall edition): 22-29.

———. 2002. "Market Failure: The Case for Mandatory Social and Environmental Reporting." Paper presented at IPPR seminar *The Transparent Company*, 20 March, http://www.hapinternational.org/pool/files/doanepaper1.pdf (accessed March 13, 2015).

Dollar, David. 2005. "Globalization, poverty and inequality since 1980." *World Bank Research Observer* 20 (2): 145-175.

Dougherty, Michael L. and Tricia Olsen. 2013. "Taking Terrain Literally: *Grounding* Local Adaptation to Corporate Social Responsibility in the Extractive Industries." February: 1-12, Online. DOI: 10.1007/s10551-013-1643-0.

Du Toit, Andries. 2008. "Living on the Margins: The Social Dynamics of Economic Marginalisation." *Development Southern Africa* 25 (2): 135-150.

———. 2005. *Forgotten by the Highway: Globalisation, Adverse Incorporation and Chronic Poverty in a Commercial Farming District*. CSSR Working Paper No. 101, University of Cape Town: Centre for Social Science Research.

———. 2004. "'Social Exclusion' Discourse and Chronic Poverty: A South African Case Study." *Development and Change* 35 (5): 987-1010.

Ebbinghaus, Bernhard. 2005. "When Less is More: Selection Problems in Large-N and Small-N Cross-National Comparisons." *International Sociology* 20 (2): 133-152.

Eftimie, Adriana, Katherine Heller and John Strongman. 2009. "Gender Dimensions of the Extractive Industries: Mining for Equity." Extractive Industries and Development Series # 8, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTEXTINDWOM/Resources/gender_equity.pdf?resourceurlname=gender_equity.pdf (accessed 5 March 2014).

Elden, Stuart. 2007. "Rethinking Governmentality." *Political Geography* 26(1): 29-33.

Elkington, John. 2006. "Governance for Sustainability." *Corporate Governance* 14 (6): 522-529.

———. 1998. *Cannibals with Forks: The Triple Bottom Line for the 21st Century Business*. Gabriola Island, BC & Stony Creek, CT: New Society Publishers.

———. 1994. "Towards the Sustainable Corporation: Win-Win-Win Business Strategies for Sustainable Development." *California Management Review* 36 (2): 90-100.

Elizalde, Bernarda. 2010. "CSR, Mining Exploration and the Challenge of Accountability," Paper Presented at GRI Global Conference, Amsterdam, http://pt.slideshare.net/globalreporting/elizalda-27-may-mining-and-metal-sector-supplement-4517516 (accessed April 16, 2014).

Epstein, Charlotte. 2011. "Who speaks? Discourse, the subject and the study of identity in international politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 17(2): 327-350.

Erbe, Nancy 2008. "Engaged corporate responsibility: The organizational ombuds as a model." *Business Research Yearbook,* 401-405.

European Union. 2001. Green Paper – Promoting a European Framework for Corporate Social Responsibility, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52001DC0366 (accessed April 26, 2014).

Fairclough, Norman. 2010. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (second edition). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

———, Jane Mulderrig and Ruth Wodak. 2011. "Critical Discourse Analysis." In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (second edition), edited by Teun A. van Dijk, 357-378. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Falk, Richard. 2000. "The Decline of Citizenship in an Era of Globalization." *Citizenship Studies* 4 (1): 5–17.

Fasterling, Björn. 2012. "Development of Norms Through Compliance Disclosure." *Journal of Business Ethics* 106 (1): 73-87.

Fernandez-Feijoo, Belen, Silvia Romero and Silvia Ruiz. 2012. "Does Board Gender Composition affect Corporate Social Responsibility Reporting?" *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3 (1): 31-38.

Fineberg, Richard A. 2014. "The United States joins EITI: A Case Study in Theory and Practice." *Journal of World Energy Law & Business* 7 (1): 46-62.

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. 2001. "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (1): 391-416.

——— and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52 (4): 887-917.

Firmin-Sellers, K. 1996. *The Transformation of Property Rights in the Gold Coast: An Empirical Analysis Applying Rational Choice Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Forstater, Maya, Simon Zadek, Yang Guang, Kelly Yu, Chen Xiao Hong and Mark George. 2010. "Corporate Responsibility in African Development: Insights from an Emerging Dialogue." The Institute of West-Asian and African Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Working Paper No. 60, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/CSRI/publications/workingpaper_60.pdf (accessed June 29, 2012).

Foss, Nicolai J. 1993. "Theories of the Firm: Contractual and Competence Perspectives." *Journal of Evolutionary Economics* 3 (2): 127-144.

Fox, Tom. 2004. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Development: In quest of an agenda." *Development* 47 (3): 29-36.

Frediani, Alexandre Apsan. 2010. "Sen's Capability Approach as a framework, to the practice of development." *Development in Practice* 20 (2): 173-87.

Freeman, R. Edward. 2010. *Strategic Management: A Shareholder Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——— and David L. Reed. 1993. "Stockholders and Shareholders: A New Perspective on Corporate Governance." *California Management Review* 25 (3): 88-106.

Friedman, Milton. 2008. “A Friedman Doctrine – The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits.” In *Corporate Social Responsibility: Readings and Cases in a Global Context,* edited by Andrew Crane, Dirk Matten and Laura J. Spence, 26-32. London, New York: Routledge.

Friedman, Milton. 1970. “The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits.” *The New York Times Magazine* (13 September).

Friends of the Earth. 2000. *Dubious Development: How the World Bank's Private Arm is Failing the Poor and the Environment*. Washington D.C.: Friends of the Earth.

Frynas, Jedrzej G. 2008. “Corporate Social Responsibility and International Development: Critical Assessment.” *Corporate Governance* 16 (4): 274-281.

———. 2005. “The false developmental promise of Corporate Social Responsibility: Evidence from multinational oil companies.” *International Affairs* 81 (3): 581-598.

Gallego-Alvarez, Isabel, José-Manuel Prado-Lorenzo, Luis Rodríguez-Domínguez and Isabel-María García-Sánchez. 2010. “Are Social and Environmental Practices a Marketing Tool? Empirical Evidence for the Biggest European Companies.” *Management Decision* 48 (10): 1440-1455.

Garriga, Elisabet and Domènec Melé. 2004. “Corporate Social Responsibility Theories: Mapping the Territory.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 53 (1-2): 51-71.

Garrouste, Pierre and Stephane Saussier. 2005. “Looking for a Theory of the Firm: Future Challenges.” *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization* 58 (2): 178-199.

Garvin, Theresa, Tara K. McGee, Karen E. Smoyer-Tomic and Emmanuel Ato Aubynn. 2009. “Community–Company Relations in Gold Mining in Ghana.” *Journal of Environmental Management* 90: 571-586.

Gawel, Antonia. 2006. *Corporate Social Responsibility: Standards and Objectives Driving Corporate Initiatives*. Ottawa, ON, Canada: Pollution Probe.

George, Alexander. 1993. *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: U. S. Institute of Peace.

Ghana Business Code. n.d. http://ghanabusinesscode.com/ (accessed March 13, 2015).

Ghanaweb. 2013. “Committee to draft Ghana’s CSR policy.” 16 September, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=285909 (accessed March 13, 2015).

Ghanaweb. 2012a. “Etwebo community demonstrates against Chirano Gold.” March 13, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/regional/artikel.php?ID=232449 (accessed June 11, 2012).

Ghanaweb. 2012b. "Chirano Gold Mines launches Youth Skills Training." June 5, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=241032 (accessed June 11, 2012).

Ghanaweb. 2010. "Chirano Gold Mines yet to declare dividend." October 1, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=194437&comment=6122522#com (accessed June 1, 2012).

Ghanaweb. 2001. "Goldfields Says no Danger to Human Health During Cyanide Spill." 30 October, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=19133 (accessed March 13, 2015).

Gibbons, Robert. 2005. "Four formal(izable) theories of the firm?" *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization* 58 (2): 200-245.

Gifford, Blair D. and Andrew Kestler. 2008. "Toward a Theory of Local Legitimacy by Mines In Developing Nations: Newmont Mining and Health Sustainable Development in Peru." *Journal of International Management* 14: 340–352.

——— Andrew Kestler and Sharmila Anand. 2010. "Building local legitimacy into corporate social responsibility: Gold mining firms in developing nations." *Journal of World Business* 45: 304-311.

Gordon, Todd. 2010. *Imperialist Canada*. Manitoba: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

Gould, Susan F. 2011. "Does Post-Mining Rehabilitation Restore Habitat Equivalent to That Removed by Mining? A Case Study from the Monsoonal Tropics of Northern Australia." *Wildlife Research* 38 (6): 482-490.

Graulau, Jeannette. 2008. "'Is Mining Good for Development?': The Intellectual History of an Unsettled Question." *Progress in Development Studies* 8 (2): 129-162.

Green, Jessica F. 2013. *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Grosser, Kate and Jeremy Moon. 2005. "Gender Mainstreaming and Corporate Social Responsibility: Reporting Workplace Issues." *Journal of Business Ethics* 62: 327-340.

Gunningham, Neil, Robert A. Kagan and Dorothy Thornton. 2004. "Social License and Environmental Protection: Why Businesses go Beyond Compliance." *Law and Social Enquiry* 29: 307–341.

Hamann, Ralph. 2004. "Corporate Social Responsibility, Partnerships and Institutional Change: The Case of Mining Companies in South Africa." *Natural Resources Forum* 28 (4): 278-290.

———. 2003. “Mining Companies’ Role in Sustainable Development: The ‘Why’ and ‘How’ of Corporate Social Responsibility from a Business Perspective.” *Development Southern Africa* 20 (2): 237-254.

——— and Nicola Acutt 2003. “How Should Civil Society (and the Government) Respond to ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’? A Critique of Business Motivations and the Potential for Partnerships.” *Development Southern Africa* 20 (2): 255-270.

Hammersly, Martyn. 1997. “On the Foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis.” *Language & Communication* 17 (3): 237-238.

Hancock, Linda. 2006. “The Advantages of a Proactive Business Response to Human Rights Reporting.” *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 23: 21-24.

Haselip, James and Gavin Hilson. 2005. “Winners and Losers from Industry Reforms in the Developing World: Experiences from the Electricity and Mining Sectors.” *Resources Policy* 30: 87-100.

Haufler, Virginia. 2010. “Disclosure as Governance: The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and Resource Management in the Developing World.” *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (3): 53-73.

Hemphill, Thomas A. 2005. “The United Nations Global Compact.” *International Journal of Business Governance and Ethics* 1 (3): 303-316.

Henderson, David. 2004. “The Case Against ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’.” In *The Globalization Reader* (second edition), edited by Frank J. Lechner and John Boli, 202-207. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Hertz, Noreena. 2010. “The Poor Are Getting Poorer from Globalization” in Noël Merino ed. *Globalization,* 68-73. Detroit, New York, London etc: Greenhaven Press.

Hettne, Bjorn. 2000. “The Fate of Citizenship in Post-Westphalia.” *Citizenship Studies* 4 (1): 35-46.

Hickey, Sam. 2008. “The Return of Politics in Development Studies I: Getting Lost Within the Poverty Agenda.” *Progress in Development Studies* 8 (4): 349-58.

Hilson, Gavin. 2012a. “Poverty Traps in Small-Scale Mining Communities: The Case of sub-Saharan Africa.” *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 33: 180-197.

———. 2012b. “Corporate Social Responsibility in the extractive industries: Experiences from developing countries.” *Resources Policy* 37 (2): 131-137.

———. 2011. “‘Inherited Commitments’: Do Changes in Ownership Affect Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) at African gold mines?” *African Journal of Business Management* 5 (27): 10921-10939.

———. 2007. “Championing the Rhetoric? ‘Corporate Social Responsibility in Ghana’s Mining Sector’.” *Greener Management International* 53: 43-56.

———. 2002. “The Environmental Impact of Small-Scale Gold Mining in Ghana: Identifying Problems and Possible Solutions.” *The Geographical Journal* 168 (1): 57-72.

———. 2002a. “Harvesting Mineral Riches: 1000 Years of Gold Mining in Ghana.” *Resources Policy* 28 (1-2): 13-26.

———. 2002b. “An Overview of Land Use Conflicts in Mining Communities.” *Land Use Policy* 19 (1): 65-73.

——— and Natalia Yakovleva. 2007. “Strained Relations: A Critical Analysis of the Mining Conflict in Prestea, Ghana.” *Political Geography* 26: 98-119.

——— and Roy Maconachie. 2010. “The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative: Panacea or White Elephant for Sub-Saharan Africa?” In *Mining, Society, and a Sustainable World*, edited by Jeremy Richards, 469-491. Berlin: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

——— and Roy Maconachie. 2008. “‘Good Governance’ and the Extractive Industries in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Mineral Processing and Extractive Metallurgy Review* 30 (1): 52-100.

———, Richard Amankwah and Grace Ofori-Sarpong. 2013. Going for Gold: Transitional Livelihoods in Northern Ghana.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 51:109-137.

———. 2006. *Corporate Social Responsibility and the Shaping of Global Public*. Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hohnen, Paul and Jason Potts eds. 2007. *Corporate Social Responsibility: An Implementation Guide for Business*. Winnipeg, MB: International Institute for Sustainable Development.

Hofferberth, Matthias, Tanja Bruhl, Eric Burkart, Marco Fey and Anne Peitner. 2011. “Multinational Enterprises as “Social Actors”—Constructivist Explanations for Corporate Social Responsibility.” *Global Society* 25 (2): 205-226.

——— and Christian Weber. 2015. “Lost in Translation – A Critique of Constructivist Norm Research.” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 18: 75-103.

Holcomb, Tim R. and Michael A. Hitt. 2007. “Toward a Model of Strategic Outsourcing.” *Journal of Operations Management* 25 (2): 464-481.

Hopkins, Michael. 2007. *Corporate Social Responsibility and International Development: Is Business the Solution?* London: Earthscan.

Howard, Charles L. 2010. *The Organizational Ombudsman: Origins, Roles and Operations: A Legal Guide*. Washington, DC: American Bar Association.

Hughes, Carl D. and Oliver Pendred. 2014. "Let's be Clear: Compliance with New Transparency Requirements is Going to be Challenging for Resource Companies." *Journal of World Energy Law & Business* 7 (1): 36-45.

Humphreys, David. 2000. "A Business Perspective on Community Relations in Mining." *Resources Policy* 26 (3): 127-131.

Humphreys, Macartan, Jeffrey D. Sachs and Joseph E. Stiglitz. 2007. "Introduction: What is the Problem with Natural Resource Wealth?" In *Escaping the Resource Curse*, edited by Macartan Humphreys, Jeffrey D. Sachs and Joseph E. Stiglitz, 1-20. New York: Columbia University Press.

Idemudia, Uwafiokun. 2010. "Rethinking the role of corporate social responsibility in the Nigerian oil conflict: The limits of CSR." *Journal of International Development* 22 (7): 833-845.

———. 2007. "Community Perceptions and Expectations: Reinventing the Wheels of Corporate Social Responsibility Practices in the Nigerian Oil Industry." *Business and Society Review* 112 (3): 369-405.

IFC. 2012. "Performance Standard 7 – Indigenous Peoples" January 1, http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/1ee7038049a79139b845faa8c6a8312a/PS7_English_2012.pdf?MOD=AJPERES (accessed April 30, 2014).

Ihlen, Øyvind. 2011. "Rhetoric and Corporate Social Responsibility." In *The Handbook of Communication and Corporate Social Responsibility,* edited by Øyvind Ihlen, Jennifer L. Bartlett and Steve May, 147-166. Malden, Oxford & West Sussex: John Wiley & Son Inc.

International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) website, http://www.icmm.com/page/1409/resource-endowment-initiative (accessed August 20, 2009).

International Council on Mining and Metals. 2006. *The Challenge of Mineral Wealth: Using Resource Endowments to Foster Sustainable Development. The Analytical Framework: Main Report*. London: ICMM.

Isaksson, Raine and Ulrich Steimle. 2009. "What does GRI-reporting tell us about Corporate Sustainability?" *The TQM Journal* 22 (2): 168-181.

Jahdi, Khosro S. and Gaye Acikdilli. 2009. "Marketing Communications and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR): Marriage of Convenience or Shotgun Wedding?" *Journal of Business Ethics* 88 (1): 103-113.

Jamali, Dima and Yusuf Sidani. 2011. "Is CSR Counterproductive In Developing Countries: The Unheard Voices of Change." *Journal of Change Management* 11 (1): 69-71.

——— and Ramez Mirshak. 2007. "Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR): Theory and Practice in a Developing Country Context." *Journal of Business Ethics* 72 (3): 243-262.

Jackson, Patrick T. and Daniel H. Nexon. 2004. "Constructivist Realism or Realist Constructivism?" *International Studies Review* 6 (2): 337-341.

Jenkins, J. Craig and Craig M. Eckert. 1989. "The Corporate Elite, the New Conservative Policy Network, and Reaganomics." *Critical Sociology* 16 (2-3): 121-144.

Jenkins, Katy. 2014. "Women, Mining and Development: An Emerging Research Agenda." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 1 (2): 329-339.

Jenkins, Rhys. 2005. "Globalization, Corporate Social Responsibility and Poverty." *International Affairs* 81 (3): 525-540.

Jensen, Michael C. 2001. "Value Maximization, Stakeholder Theory, and the Corporate Objective Function." *Journal of Applied Corporate Finance* 14 (3): 8-21.

Jessop, Bob. 1998. "The Rise of Governance and the Risks of Failure: The Case of Economic Development." *International Social Science Journal* 50 (115): 29-45.

John, Caresse A. 2011. "Strategic Ambivalence: A Feminist Standpoint Theory Reading of Nella Larsen's Novels." *Feminist Formations* 23 (1): 94-117.

Citizenship Theory: A Critical Analysis." *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 27: 51-69.

Jones, Stephanie, Taghreed Badawoud, and Mohammad Reza Favagehi. 2012. "Corporate Social Responsibility: Transparency, Ethics and Governance in Emerging Markets," Maastricht School of Management Working Paper No. 2012/09, http://web2.msm.nl/RePEc/msm/wpaper/MSM-WP2012-09.pdf (accessed 18 December 2013).

Joppke, Christian. 2007. "Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights and Identity." *Citizenship Studies* 11 (1): 37-48.

Kacowicz, Arie M. 2007. "Globalization, Poverty and the North-South Divide." *International Studies Review* 9: 565-580.

Kao, Raymond W.Y. and Rowland R. Kao. 2010. "Corporate Social Responsibility." In *Sustainable Economy: Corporate, Social and Environmental Responsibility*, edited by Raymond W.Y. Kao, 9-33. New Jersey & London: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd.

Kapstein, Ethan B. and René Kim. 2011. "The Socio-Economic Impact of Newmont Gold Ghana Limited." Stratcomm Africa, Harlem.

Karl, Terry Lynn. 1997. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Berkeley, L.A., and London: University of California Press.

Karnani, Aneel. 2011. "'Doing Well by Doing Good': The Grand Illusion." *California Management Review* 53 (2): 69-86.

———. 2010. "The Case Against Corporate Social Responsibility." *Wall Street Journal*, August 23, http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052748703338004575230112664504890 (accessed April 26, 2014).

Kasanga, Kasim. 2001. "Land Administration Reforms and Social Differentiation: A Case Study of Ghana's Lands Commission." *IDS Bulletin* 32 (1): 57-64.

Kaufman, Harold F. 1959. "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community." *Social Forces* 38 (1): 8-17.

Kemp, Deanna and John R. Owen. 2013. "Community Relations and Mining: Core to Business but not 'Core Business'." *Resources Policy* 38 (4): 523–531.

Keohane, Robert O. 2011. "Global Governance and Legitimacy." *Review of International Political Economy* 18 (1): 99-109.

Keohane, Robert O. 2002. "The globalization of informal violence: Theories of world politics, and the 'liberalism of fear'." In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World,* edited by Robert Keohane, 272-287**.** London & New York: Routledge.

Kell, Georg. 2005. "The Global Compact: Selected Experiences and Reflections." *Journal of Business Ethics* 59 (1-2): 69-79.

Kessels, Jos. P. A. M. and Fred A. J. Korthagen. 1996. "The Relationship between Theory and Practice: Back to the Classics." *Educational Researcher* 25 (3): 17-22.

Khan, Farzad Rafi and Peter Lund-Thomsen. 2011. "CSR As Imperialism: Towards a Phenomenological Approach to CSR In the Developing World." *Journal of Change Management* 11 (1): 73-90.

Kilgour, Maureen A. 2013. "The Global Compact and Gender Inequality: A Work in Progress." *Business and Society* 52 (1): 105-134.

———. 2007. "The UN Global Compact and substantive equality for Women: Revealing a 'well hidden' mandate." *Third World Quarterly* 28 (4): 751-773.

Kinderman, Daniel. 2012. "'Free us up so we can be responsible!' The co-evolution of Corporate Social Responsibility and neo-liberalism in the UK, 1977–2010." *Socio-Economic Review* 10 (1): 29-57.

Kinross. 2014. 2013 Corporate Responsibility Report. Toronto: Kinross Gold Corporation. http://2013corporateresponsibilityreport.kinross.com/ (accessed March 10, 2015).

———. 2012. *Taking Responsibility*, 2011 Corporate Responsibility Report. Toronto: Kinross Gold Corporation. http://takingresponsibility2011.kinross.com/ (accessed 12 March 2014).

———. 2010. "Living Our Values...the Kinross Way." October, http://www.kinross.com/media/18753/living%20our%20values%20-%20english%20-%20october%202010.pdf (accessed April 24, 2012).

Klein, Naomi. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Toronto: Random House of Canada Ltd.

———. 2000. *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Name Bullies*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf.

Klonoski, Richard J. 1991. "Foundational Considerations in the Corporate Social Responsibility Debate." *Business Horizons* 34 (4): 9-18.

Kokutse, Francis. 2008. "Pollution Forcing Farmers into Illegal Mining?" January 30, http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=40999 (accessed June 11, 2012).

Koomson, Elizabeth Nana Mbrah. 2011. "Mining Communities in Ghana: Reflections on the Nature of Work for Female Miners and Non-Miners." *Reflections* (Summer): 52-59.

Kotey, Nii Ashie and Poku Adusei. 2009. "Project Finance Mechanisms, Human Rights and Sustainable Development in Ghana's Mining Sector: The Newmont and AngloGold Mining Projects." International Institute for Environment and Development Draft Paper.

Knight, W. Andy. 2009. "Global Governance as a Summative Phenomenon." In *Palgrave Advances in Global Governance*, edited by Jim Whitman, 160-187. New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Koehn, Daryl and Joe Ueng. 2005. "Evaluating the Evaluators: Should Investors Trust Corporate Governance Metrics Ratings?" *Journal of Management and Governance* 9 (2): 111-128.

Kolstad, Ivar and Arne Wiig. 2009. "Is Transparency the Key to Reducing Corruption in Resource-Rich Countries?" *World Development* 37 (3): 521-532.

Kristensen, Peter M. 2012. "Dividing Discipline: Structures of Communication in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 14 (1): 32-50.

Krueger, Richard A. and Mary Anne Casey. 2009. *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Inc.

Kurucz, Elizabeth C., Barry A. Colbert and David Wheeler. 2008. "The Business Case for Corporate Social Responsibility." In *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Andrew Crane, Abagail McWilliams, Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon and Donald S. Siegel, 83-112. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Labonne, Beatrice. 1996. "Artisanal Mining: An Economic Stepping Stone for Women." *Natural Resources Forum*. 20 (2): 117-122.

Laderchi, Caterina Ruggeri, Ruhi Saith and Frances Stewart. 2003. "Does it Matter that we do not Agree on the Definition of Poverty? A Comparison of Four Approaches." *Oxford Development Studies* 31 (3): 243-274.

Lahiri-Dutt, Kuntala. 2012. "Digging Women: Towards a New Agenda for Feminist Critiques of Mining." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (2): 193-212.

———. 2011. "Introduction: Gendering the Masculine Field of Mining for Sustainable Community Livelihoods." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 1-20. Canberra: ANU E Press.

———. 2011b. "The Megaproject of Mining: A Feminist Critique." In *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects,* edited by Stanley D. Brunn, 329-351. Springer Science+Business Media B.V.

———. 2006. "Mainstreaming Gender in the Mines: Results from an Indonesian Colliery." *Development in Practice* 16 (2): 215-221.

Lang, Anthony Jr., Nicholas Rengger and William Walker. 2006. "The Role(s) of Rules: Some Conceptual Clarifications." *International Relations* 20 (3): 274-294.

Larner, Wendy and William Walters. 2004. "Globalization as Governmentality." *Alternatives* 29 (5): 495-514.

Lee, Ian B. 2006. "Ethical Investing: Implications for Corporate Law and Corporate Social Responsibility." In *Global Perspectives on Ethics of Corporate Governance*, edited by G.J. (Deon) Rossouw and Alejo José G. Sison, 9-25. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Legro, Jeffrey W. 1997. "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure' of Internationalism." *International Organization* 51 (1): 31-63.

Levitt, Theodore. 1958. "The Dangers of Social Responsibility." *Harvard Business Review* 36 (5): 41-50.

Lim, Alwyn and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. 2012. "Globalization and Commitment in Corporate Social Responsibility: Cross-National: Analyses of Institutional and Political-Economy Effects." *American Sociological Review* 77 (1): 69-98.

Lloyd, Cynthia B. and Anastasia J. Gage-Brandon. 1993. "Women's Role in Maintaining Households: Family Welfare and Sexual Inequality in Ghana." *Population Studies* 47: 115-131.

Lorenzo Sacconi. 2006. "A Social Contract Account for CSR as an Extended Model of Corporate Governance (I): Rational Bargaining and Justification." *Journal of Business Ethics* 68 (3): 259-281.

Loscocco, Karyn A. and Joyce Robinson. 1991. "Barriers to Women's Small-Business Success in the United States." *Gender & Society* 5(4): 511-532.

Mahanty, Sango and Constance L. McDermott. 2013. "How does 'Free, Prior and Informed Consent' (FPIC) Impact Social Equity? Lessons from Mining and Forestry and their Implications for REDD+" *Land Use Policy* 35: 406-416.

Mahy, Petra. 2011. "Sex Work and Livelihoods: Beyond the 'Negative Impacts on Women' in Indonesian Mining." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities,* edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 49-66. Canberra: ANU E Press.

Maignan, Isabelle and O.C. Ferrell. 2001. "Corporate citizenship as a marketing instrument - Concepts, evidence and research directions." *European Journal of Marketing* 35 (3/4): 457-484.

Malpeli, Katherine C. and Chirico, Peter G. 2013. "The influence of geomorphology on the role of women at artisanal and small-scale mine sites." *Natural Resources Forum* 37: 43–54.

Marchand, Marianne H. 2009. "The Future of Gender and Development after 9/11: Insights from postcolonial feminism and transnationalism." *Third World Quarterly* 30 (5): 921-35.

Marsden, Chris. 2000. "The New Corporate Citizenship of Big Business: Part of the Solution to Sustainability?" *Business and Society Review* 105 (1): 9-25.

Marshall, Thomas H. 1965. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. Anchor Books, New York.

Masaki, Katsuhiko. 2009. "Recognition or Misrecognition? Pitfalls of Indigenous Peoples' Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)." In *Rights-based Approaches to Development: Exploring the Potential and Pitfalls*, edited by Samuel Hickey and Diana Mitlin, 69-86. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

Matten, Dirk and Andrew Crane. 2005. "Corporate Citizenship: Towards an Extended Theoretical Conceptualization." *Academy of Management Review* 30 (1): 166-179.

———, Andrew Crane and Wendy Chapple. 2003. "Behind the Mask: Revealing the True Face of Corporate Citizenship." *Journal of Business Ethics* 45 (1-2): 109-120.

McGuire, William. 1989. "Theoretical Foundations of Campaigns." In *Public Communication Campaigns*, edited by Ronald E. Rice and Charles K. Atkin, 39-42. Newsbury Park: Sage.

McIntosh, Malcom. 2003. *Living Corporate Citizenship: Strategic Routes to Socially Responsible Business*. London: Prentice Hall.

McIvor, Ronan. 2009. "How the Transaction Cost and Resource-Based Theories of the Firm Inform Outsourcing Evaluation." *Journal of Operations Management* 27 (2): 45-63.

McMichael, Philip. 2005. "Globalization and Development Studies." In *Critical Globalization Studies*, edited by Appelbaum and Robinson, 111-120. New York & London: Routledge.

McMillan, Jill J. 2007. "Why Corporate Social Responsibility? Why Now? How?" In *The Debate over Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Steve May, George Cheney and Juliet Roper, 15-29. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Mehlum, Halvor, Karl Moene and Ragnar Torvik. 2006. "Institutions and the Resource Curse." *The Economic Journal* 116 (502): 1-20.

Mensah, Joseph. 2008. "Cultural Dimensions of Globalization in Africa: A Dialectical Interpretation of the local and the Global." In *Neoliberalism and Globalization in Africa: Contestations on the Embattled Continent,* edited by Joseph Mensah, 33-54. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mercier, Laurie. 2011. "Bordering on Equality: Women Miners in North America." In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities,* edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 33-48. Canberra: ANU E Press.

Mercier, Laurie and Jaclyn J. Gier. 2009. "Introduction." In *Mining Women: Gender in the Development of a Global Industry, 1670 to the Present,* edited by Jaclyn J. Gier and Laurie Mercier, 1-10. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Merino, Amparo and Carmen Valor. 2011. "The Potential of Corporate Social Responsibility to Eradicate Poverty: An Ongoing Debate." *Development in Practice* 21 (2): 157-167.

Meyer, M.W. and V. Gupta. 1994. "The Performance Paradox." *Research in Organizational Behaviour* 16: 309-369.

Michael, Bryane. 2003. "Corporate Social Responsibility in International Development: An Overview and Critique." *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management* 10: 115-128.

Minerals Commission. 2012. Guidelines for Corporate Social Responsibility in Mining Communities, January.

———. 2010. Draft National Mining Policy of Ghana, October.

Mining Watch Canada. 2012. "Ghanaian Farmers Run Out of Patience with Kinross/Chirano Gold Mines." http://www.miningwatch.ca/article/ghanaian-farmers-run-out-patience-kinrosschirano-gold-mines (accessed June 14, 2013).

Mirvis, Philip and Bradley K. Googins. 2006. "Stages of Corporate Citizenship: A Developmental Framework." *California Management Review* 48 (2): 104-126.

Modern Ghana. 2012. “Chirano Gold Mines hoists flags on Independence Day.” March 6, http://www.modernghana.com/news/381957/1/chirano-gold-mines-hoists-flags-on-independence-da.html (accessed June 11, 2012).

———. 2011. “Chirano Gold Mine Sacks Workers for Illegal Demonstration.” December 6, http://www.modernghana.com/news/365184/1/chirano-gold-mine-sacks-workers-for-illegal-demons.html (accessed June 11, 2012).

MOFEP. 2013. GHEITI Final Report on the Aggregation/Reconciliation of Mining Sector Payments and Receipts: 2010-2011, http://eiti.org/files/Ghana-2010-2011-EITI-Report_0.pdf (accessed 18 December 2013).

Morgera, Elisa. 2007. “Significant Trends in Corporate Environmental Accountability: The New Performance Standards of the International Finance Corporation.” *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy* 18: 151-188.

Morris, Jack H. 2010. *Going for Gold: The History of Newmont Mining Corporation*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Muro, M. and P. Jeffrey. 2008. “Critical Review of the Theory and Application of Social Learning in Participatory Natural Resource Management Processes.” *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 55 (3): 325-344.

Murphy, Patrick. 1978. “An Evolution: Corporate Social Responsiveness.” *University of Michigan Business Review* 30 (6): 19-25.

Muthuri, Judy N. 2013. “Corporate Social Responsibility in Africa: Definition, Issues and Processes.” In *Management in Africa: Macro and Micro Perspectives*, edited by Terri R. Lituchy, Betty Jane Punnett and Bill B. Puplampu, 90-101. New York: Routledge.

Mühle, Ursula. 2010. *The Politics of Corporate Social Responsibility: The Rise of a Global Norm*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag.

Myjoyonline News Article, “Ghana attains middle income status,” http://news.myjoyonline.com/business/201011/55470.asp (accessed November 6, 2010).

Naykene, George A. 2013. “Chirano Gold Mine sponsors Breast Cancer Screening for Women.” Modern Ghana, 1 January, http://www.modernghana.com/news/437787/1/chirano-gold-mine-sponsors-breast-cancer-screening.html (accessed June 14, 2013).

———. 2012. “Economic – Donation Farmers: Chirano Gold Mines Limited Presents Motorised Tricycles for Two Best Farmers.” Modern Ghana, 1 November, http://www.modernghana.com/news/427412/1/economic-donation-farmers-chirano-gold-mines-limit.html (accessed June 14, 2013).

Néron, Pierre-Yves and Wayne Norman. 2008. “Citizenship, Inc.: Do We Really Want Businesses to Be Good Corporate Citizens?” *Business Ethics Quarterly* 18 (1): 1-26.

Newell, Peter and Jedrzej George Frynas. 2007. "Beyond CSR? Business, Poverty and Social Justice: An Introduction." *Third World Quarterly* 28 (4): 669-681.

Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. 2006. *Vulnerable Program–Ahafo South Project*. Accra: NGGL.

Newmont and IFC. 2009. *Creating the Foundations for a Linkage Program in a Rural Setting*. Accra & Washington, D.C.: NGGL/IFC.

Newmont. 2014. *Beyond the Mine*, 2013. http://sustainabilityreport.newmont.com/ (accessed March 10, 2015).

Newmont. 2013. *Beyond the Mine: The Journey towards Sustainability*, 2012, http://www.beyondthemine.com/pdf/BeyondtheMine2012_FullReport_web.pdf (accessed 12 March 2014).

Ngom, Pierre, Cornelius Debpuur, Patricia Akweongo, Philip Adongo and Fred N. Binka. 2003. "Gate-Keeping and Women's Health Seeking Behaviour in Navrongo, Northern Ghana." *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 7 (1): 17-26.

Nguyen-Thanh, David and Maya Schnell. 2009. "Reviewing Half a Decade of EITI Implementation in Ghana's Mining Sector." In *Advancing the EITI in the Mining Sector: A Consultation with Stakeholders*, edited by Christopher Eads, Paul Mitchell and Francisco Paris, 50-54. Oslo: Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative.

Nivarthi, Sarangapani Ali Quazi and Md. Abu Saleh. 2013. "Corporate Social Responsibility Ombudsman: A Proactive Perspective." Proceedings of the 9th Asian Business Research Conference 20-21 December, BIAM Foundation, Dhaka, Bangladesh: http://www.wbiworldconpro.com/uploads/dhaka-conference-2013/management/1394959063_410-saleh.pdf (accessed March 17, 2015).

Norman, Wayne and Chris MacDonald. 2004. "Getting to the Bottom of the 'triple bottom line'." *Business Ethics Quarterly* 14 (2): 243-262.

Nwete, Bede. 2007. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Transparency in the Development of Energy and Mining Projects in Emerging Markets; Is Soft Law the Answer?" *German Law Journal* 8 (4): 311-340.

Nyuur, Richard Benon-be-isan, Daniel F. Ofori, Yaw Debrah. 2014. "Corporate social responsibility in Sub-Saharan Africa: Hindering and supporting factors." *African Journal of Economic and Management Studies* 5 (1): 93-113.

O'Callaghan, Kevin and Anne Drost. 2013. "The Evolving Legal Regime Governing Corporate Social Responsibility," A presentation at the Institute for the Study of International Development – McGill University Executive CSR Workshop in Cape Town, May 6.

Odoi-Larbi, Stephen. 2009. "WACAM Slams Newmont Over Cyanide Spillage." *Modern Ghana*, October 20, http://www.modernghana.com/news/244665/1/wacam-slams-newmont-over-cyanide-spillage.html (accessed April 24, 2012).

OECD. 2001. "Corporate Social Responsibility: Partners for Progress." http://puck.sourceoecd.org/vl=3358612/cl=19/nw=1/rpsv/cgi-bin/fulltextew.pl?prpsv=/ij/oecdthemes/9998007x/v2001n24/s1/p1l.idx (accessed October 6, 2010).

———. 2001. "Codes of Corporate Conduct: Expanded Review of their Contents," Working Papers on International Investment No. 2001/06, http://www.oecd.org/daf/inv/corporateresponsibility/1922656.pdf (accessed 11 December 2013).

O'Faircheallaigh, Ciaran 2010. "Aboriginal-Mining Company Contractual Agreements in Australia and Canada: Implications for Political Autonomy and Community Development." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 30 (1-2): 69-86.

Ofori, Dan F. 2007a. "Social Responsibility and Ethics in Ghana: Stakeholders Expectations and Challenges." In *Management and Economic Development in sub-Saharan Africa: Theoretical and Applied Perspectives,* edited by John O. Okpara, 63-97. London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd.

Ofori, Dan F. 2007b. "Corporate social responsibility, myth, reality or empty rhetoric: Perspectives from the Ghana Stock Exchange." *African Finance Journal* 9 (2): 53-68.

——— and Robert E. Hinson. 2007. "Corporate social responsibility (CSR) perspectives of leading firms in Ghana." *Corporate Governance* 7 (2): 178-193.

Ojo, Godwin Uyi. 2012. "Community Perception and Oil Companies Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative in the Niger Delta." *Studies in Sociology of Science* 3 (4): 11-21.

Okoh, Godfried Appiah. 2014. "Grievance and conflict in Ghana's gold mining industry: The case of Obuasi." *Futures* 62 (Part A): 51-57.

Okpanachi, Eyene and Andrews, Nathan. 2012. "Preventing the Oil 'Resource Curse' in Ghana: Lessons from Nigeria." *World Futures* 68 (6): 430-450.

Ölcer, Dilan. 2009. "Extracting the Maximum from the EITI." OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 276, February, http://www.oecd.org/dev/42342311.pdf (accessed 17 December 2013).

O'Rourke, Anastasia. 2003. "A New Politics of Engagement: Shareholder Activism for Corporate Social Responsibility." *Business Strategy and the Environment* 12 (4): 227-239.

Oshionebo, Evaristus. 2007. "The U.N. Global Compact and the Accountability of Transnational Corporations: Separating Myth from Realities." *Florida Journal of International Law* 19 (1): 1-38.

Overdevest, Christine and Jonathan Zeitlin. 2014. “Assembling an Experimentalist Regime: Transnational Governance Interactions in the Forest Sector.” *Regulation & Governance* 8 (1): 22-48.

Owen, John R. and Deanna Kemp. 2014. “‘Free prior and informed consent’, social complexity and the mining industry: Establishing a knowledge base.” *Resources Policy* 41: 91-100.

——— and Deanna Kemp. 2013. “Social License and Mining: A Critical Perspective.” *Resources Policy* 38: 29-35.

Parkins, John R. and A. John Sinclair. 2014. “Patterns of Elitism within Participatory Environmental Governance.” *Environment and Planning C* 32 (4): 746-761.

——— and Ross E. Mitchell. 2005. “Public Participation as Public Debate: A Deliberative Turn in Natural Resource Management.” *Society & Natural Resources* 18 (6): 529-540.

Parpart, Jane L. 2002. “Rethinking Participatory Empowerment, Gender and Development: The PRA Approach.” In *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/Local World*, edited by Jane L. Parpart, Shirin M. Rai and Kathleen Staudt, 165-181. London & New York: Routledge.

———, Shirin M. Rai and Kathleen Staudt. 2002. “Rethinking Em(power)ment, Gender and Development: An Introduction.” In *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/Local World*, edited by Jane L. Parpart, Shirin M. Rai and Kathleen Staudt, 3-21. London and New York: Routledge.

Parsons, Richard, Justine Lacey, Kieren Moffat. 2014. “Maintaining Legitimacy of a Contested Practice: How the Minerals Industry Understands its ‘social licence to operate’.” *Resources Policy* 41: 83-90.

Pattberg, Philipp and Johannes Stripple. 2008. “Beyond the public and private divide: remapping transnational climate governance in the 21st century.” *International Journal of Environmental Agreements* 8 (4): 367-388.

Pearson, Ruth. 2007a. “Reassessing Paid Work and Women’s Empowerment: Lessons from the Global Economy.” In *Feminisms: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges in Development*, edited by Andrea Cornwall, Elizabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead, 201-213. London & New York: Zed Books.

Pearson, Ruth. 2007b. “Beyond Women Workers: Gendering CSR.” *Third World Quarterly* 28 (4): 731-749.

——— and Cecile Jackson. 1998. “Introduction: Interrogating Development: Feminism, Gender and Policy.” In *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy,* edited by Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson, 1-16. London & New York: Routledge.

Pedro, Antonio M. A. 2012. “The Africa Mining vision: Towards Shared Benefits and Economic Transformation.” GREAT Insights 1, no. 5, July, http://ecdpm.org/great-

insights/extractive-sector-for-development/the-africa-mining-vision-towards-shared-benefits-and-economic-transformation/ (accessed April 26, 2014).

Pegg, Scott. 2006. “Mining and Poverty Reduction: Transforming Rhetoric in Reality.” *Journal of Cleaner Production* 14 (3-4): 376-387.

Perks, Rachel. 2011. “Towards a Post-Conflict Transition: Women and Artisanal Mining in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*, edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 177-196. Canberra: ANU E Press.

Pick, Susan and Jenna Sirkin. 2010. *Breaking the Poverty Cycle: The Human Basis for Sustainable Development*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Piderit, Sandy Kristin. 2000 “Rethinking Resistance and Recognizing Ambivalence: A Multidimensional View of Attitudes Toward an Organizational Change.” *Academy of Management Review* 25 (4): 783-794.

Pinkston, Tammie S. and Archie B. Carroll. 1996. “A Retrospective Examination of CSR Orientations: Have They Changed?” *Journal of Business Ethics* 15 (2): 199-206.

Porter, Tony and Karsten Konit. 2006. “Self-Regulation as Policy Process: The Multiple and Criss-Crossing Stages of Private Rule Making.” *Policy Sciences* 39 (1): 41-72.

Post, James E. 2013. “The United Nations Global Compact: A CSR Milestone.” *Business and Society* 52 (1): 53-63.

Post, James E., Lee E. Preston and Sybille Sachs. 2002a. *Redefining the Corporation: Stakeholder Management and Organizational Wealth*. Boston: Stanford University Press.

———, Lee E. Preston and Sybille Sachs. 2002b. “Managing the Extended Enterprise: The New Stakeholder View.” *California Management Review* 45 (1): 6-28.

Pouilot, Vincent. 2004. “The Essence of Constructivism.” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 7 (3): 319-336.

Prieto-Carrón, Marina, Peter Lund-Thomsen, Anita Chan, Ana Muro and Chandra Bhushan. 2006. “Critical perspectives on CSR and development: what we know, what we don’t know, and what we need to know.” *International Affairs* 85 (5) 977–987.

Procacci, Giovanna. 2007. “Genealogies of Poverty: From Inclusion towards Exclusion.” *Development* 50 (2): 26-30.

Purevjav, Bolormaa. 2011. “Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining: Gender and Sustainable Livelihoods in Mongolia.” In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities,* edited by Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt, 197-212. Canberra: ANU E Press.

Quaak, Lizet, Theo Aalbers and John Goedee. 2007. "Transparency of Corporate Social Responsibility in Dutch Breweries." *Journal of Business Ethics* 76: 293-308.

Radel, Claudia. 2012. "Gendered Livelihoods and the Politics of Socio-Environmental Identity: Women's Participation in Conservation Projects in Calakmul, Mexico." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (1): 61-82.

Rai, Shirin M. 2011. "Gender and Development: Theoretical Perspectives." In *The Women, Gender and Development Reader* (2nd edition), edited by Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Nan Wiegersma and Laurie Nisonoff, 28-37. Nova Scotia & New York: Fernwood/Zed.

Raman, K. Ravi. 2010. "Strange Bedfellows? Critiquing Corporate Social Responsibility." In *Corporate Social Responsibility: Comparative Critiques,* edited by K. Ravi Raman and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, 1-24. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rasche, Andreas and Dirk Ulrich Gilbert. 2012. "Institutionalizing Global Governance: The Role of the United Nations Global Compact." *Business Ethics* 21 (1): 100–114.

———, Sandra Waddock and Malcolm Macintosh. 2012. "The United Nations Global Compact: Retrospect and Prospect." *Business and Society* 52 (1): 6-30.

Rathgeber, Eva M. 1990. "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice." *The Journal of Developing Areas* 24: 489-502.

Ray, Donald I. 1996. "Divided Sovereignty: Traditional Authority and the State in Ghana." *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 28 (37-38): 181-202.

Razavi, Shahrashoub and Carol Miller. 1995. "From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse," UNRISD Occasional Paper 1, February, http://unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/ab82a6805797760f80256b4f005da1ab/d9c3fca78d3db32e80256b67005b6ab5/$FILE/opb1.pdf (accessed 25 February 2014).

Reeves, Hazel and Sally Baden. 2000. "Gender and Development: Concepts and Definitions." Bridges, Report No. 50 http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re55.pdf.

Republic of Ghana. 2006. Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703).

Republic of Ghana. 2012. Minerals and Mining (General) Regulations, 2012 (L.I. 2173).

Republic of Ghana. 2006. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Investing in Ghana*. Newsletter, http://www.mofep.gov.gh/newsletter.pdf (accessed November 6, 2010).

Reskin, Barbara F. 1988. "Bringing the Men Back In: Sex Differentiation and the Devaluation of Women's Work." *Gender & Society* 2 (1): 58-81.

Robins, Fred. 2006. "The Challenge of TBL: A Responsibility to Whom?" *Business and Society Review* 111 (1): 1-14.

Rosenzweig, Philip M. and Jitendra V. Singh. 1991. "Organizational Environments and the Multinational Enterprise." *Academy of Management Review* 16 (2): 340–361.

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and John R. Nellis. 1986. "Assessing Decentralization Policies in Developing Countries: The Case of Cautious Optimism." *Development Policy Review* 4: 3-23.

Robinson, James A., Ragnar Torvik and Thierry Verdier. 2006. "Political Foundations of the Resource Curse." *Journal of Development Economics* 79 (2): 447-468.

Rosenau, James N. 2009. "Introduction: Global Governance or Global Governances?" In *Palgrave Advances in Global Governance*, edited by Jim Whitman, 1-6. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

——— and Ernst-Otto Czempiel eds. 1992. *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosser, Andrew. 2006. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse: A Literature Survey." Working Paper 268, Institute of Development Studies.

Rowe, Mary 2010. "Identifying and communicating the usefulness of organizational ombuds with ideas about OO effectiveness and cost-effectiveness." *Journal of the International Ombudsman Association* 3(1): 9–23.

Rubin, Gayle. 2006. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." In *Feminist Anthropology: A Reader*, edited by Ellen Lewin, 87-106. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Ruggie, John G. 2007. "Business and Human Rights: The Evolving International Agenda." *The American Journal of International Law* 101 (4): 819-840.

Ruggie, John G. 2004a. "Reconstituting the global public domain: Issues, actors and practices." *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (4): 499-531.

———. 2004b. "The Global Compact: An Extraordinary Journey." Greenleaf Publishing, http://www.wbcsd.org/web/publications/bar/rtbrugg.pdf (accessed 25 July 2012).

———. 2002a. "The Theory and Practice of Learning Networks: Corporate Social Responsibility and the Global Compact." *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 5: 27-36.

———. 2002b. "The Theory and Practice of Learning Networks: Corporate Social Responsibility and the Global Compact." Greenleaf Publishing, http://www.greenleaf-publishing.com/content/pdfs/jcc05rugg.pdf (accessed 25 July 2012).

———. 1998. “What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge.” *International Organization* 52 (4): 855-85.

———. 1982. “International Regimes, Transactions, and Change-Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order.” *International Organization* 36 (2): 379-415.

Russell, Bonita I., Daniel Shapiro and Aidan R. Vining. 2010. “The Evolution of the Canadian Mining Industry: The Role of Regulatory Punctuation.” *Resources Policy* 35 (2): 90-97.

Sacconi, Lorenzo. 2006. “A Social Contract Account for CSR as an Extended Model of Corporate Governance (I): Rational Bargaining and Justification.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 68 (3): 259-281.

Sadler, David and Lloyd, Stuart. 2009. “Neo-liberalising Corporate Social Responsibility: A Political Economy of Corporate Citizenship.” *Geoforum* 40 (4): 613-622.

Sahlin-Andersson, Kerstin. 2006. “Corporate Social Responsibility: A Trend and a Movement, But of What and for What?” *Corporate Governance* 6 (5): 595-608.

Sanyal, Kalyan. 2007. *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Accumulation, Governmentality & Post-Colonial Capitalism*. London, New York & New Delhi: Routledge.

Sarraf, Maria and Moortaza Jiwanji. 2001. “Beating the Resource Curse: The Case of Botswana.” Environmental Economics Series, Paper No. 83.

Sawicki, Jana. 1988. “Identity Politics and Sexual Freedom: Foucault and Feminism.” In *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, edited by Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby, 177-191. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Scalet, Steven and Thomas F. Kelly. 2010. “CSR Rating Agencies: What is Their Global Impact?” *Journal of Business Ethics* 94: 69-88.

Scherer, Andreas Georg, Guido Palazzo and Dorothée Baumann. 2006. “Global Rules and Private Actors: Toward a New Role of the Transnational Corporation in Global Governance.” *Business Ethics Quarterly* 16 (4): 505-532.

Schindler, Kati. 2010. “Credit for What? Informal Credit as a Coping Strategy of Market Women in Northern Ghana.” *Journal of Development Studies* 46 (2): 234-253.

Schmid, Ulrike. 2001. “Legal Pluralism as a Source of Conflict in Multi-Ethnic Societies: The Case of Ghana.” *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 33 (46): 1-47.

Schmidt, Vivien A. 2010.“Taking Ideas and Discourse Seriously: Explaining Change through Discursive Institutionalism as the Fourth ‘new institutionalism’.” *European Political Science Review* 2, no. 1: 1-25.

———. 2008. “Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 303-326.

Schoneveld, George C. and Laura German. 2014. “Translating Legal Rights into Tenure Security: Lessons from the New Commercial Pressures on Land in Ghana.” *Journal of Development Studies* 50 (2): 187-203.

Schwartz, Mark S. 2011. *Corporate Social Responsibility: An Ethical Approach*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Seawright, Jason and John Gerring. 2008. “Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu for Qualitative and Quantitative Options.” *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (2): 294-308.

Segerlund, Lisbeth. 2005. “Corporate Social Responsibility: Towards New Rules for Transnational Corporations?” Paper presented at the 3rd ECPR Conference, Budapest, 8-10 September, http://regulation.upf.edu/ecpr-05-papers/lsegerlund.pdf (accessed 10 December 2013).

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

———. 1992. *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Seth, Anju and Howard Thomas. 1994. “Theories of the Firm: Implications for Strategy Research.” *Journal of Management Studies* 31 (2): 165-192.

Severinsson, Elisabeth I. 1998. “Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice: A Supervision Programme for Nursing Students.” *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 27 (6): 1269-1277.

Shamir, Ronen. 2004. “The De-Radicalization of Corporate Social Responsibility.” *Critical Sociology* 30: 669-689.

Shanahan, Suzanne and Sanjeev Khagram. 2006. “Dynamics of Corporate Responsibility.” In *Globalization and Organization: World Society and Organizational Change*, edited by Gili S. Drori, John W. Meyer and Hokyu Hwang, 196-224. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shaw, Hillary. 2010. “The Regulatory and Legal Framework of Corporate Governance.” In *A Handbook of Corporate Governance and Social Responsibility,* edited by Güler Aras and David Crowther, 191-209. Surrey, England & Burlington: Gower Publishing & Ashgate.

Shaw, Timothy M. 2014. “Prospects for African Agency post-2015: from the Kimberley Process to the African Mining Vision.” Paper presented at the 55th International Studies Association Annual Convention, Toronto, March 26-29.

———. 2012. “Africa’s Quest for Developmental States: ‘Renaissance’ for Whom?” *Third World Quarterly* 33 (5): 837-851.

Short, Clare. 2014. “The development of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative.” *Journal of World Energy Law & Business* 7 (1): 8-15.

Sikkink, Kathryn. 1986. “Codes of conduct for transnational corporations: the case of the WHO/UNICEF code.” *International Organization* 40 (4): 815-840.

Singhal, Rekha. 2003. “Women, Gender and Development: The Evolution of Theories and Practice.” *Psychology & Developing Societies* 15 (2): 165-85.

Sjöström, Emma. 2008. “Shareholder Activism for Corporate Social Responsibility: What do we know? *Sustainable Development* 16 (3): 141-154.

Slack, Keith. 2012. “Mission impossible? Adopting a CSR-based business model for extractive industries in developing countries.” *Resources Policy* 37 (2): 179-184.

Smith, Craig. 1994. “The New Corporate Philanthropy.” *Harvard Business Review* 72 (3): 105-116.

Smith, Roy C. and Ingo Walter. 2006. *Governing the Modern Corporation: Capital Markets, Corporate Control, and Economic Performance*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Shirley M., Derek D. Shepherd and Peter T. Dorward. 2012. “Perspectives on community representation within the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative: Experiences from south-east Madagascar.” *Resources Policy* 32 (2): 241–250.

Snyder, Richard. 2006. “Does Lootable Wealth Breed Disorder? A Political Economy of Extraction Framework.” *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 943-968.

——— and Ravi Bhavnani. 2005. “Diamonds, Blood and Taxes: A Revenue-Centered Framework for Explaining Political Order.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4): 563-97.

Soares, Rachel, Christopher Marquis and Matthew Lee. 2011. “Gender and Corporate Social Responsibility: It’s a Matter of Sustainability.” Catalyst, http://www.women-wealth.com/images/Gender_and_corporate_social_responsibility_final.pdf (accessed 26 February 2014).

Soederberg, Susanne. 2007. “Taming Corporations or Buttressing Market-Led Development? A Critical Assessment of the Global Compact.” *Globalizations* 4 (4): 500-513.

Sovacool, Benjamin K. and Nathan Andrews. 2015. “Does Transparency Matter? Evaluating the Governance Impacts of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) in Azerbaijan and Liberia.” *Resources Policy* 45: 183-192.

Sternberg, Elaine. 2011. “How Serious is CSR? A Critical Perspective.” In *The Responsible Corporation in a Global Economy*, edited by Colin Crouch and Camilla Maclean, 29-54. New York: Oxford University Press.

Steurer, Reinhard. 2010. "The Role of Governments in Corporate Social Responsibility: Characterising Public Policies on CSR in Europe." *Policy Sciences* 43 (1): 49-72.

———, Andre Martinuzzi and Sharon Margula. 2012. "Public Policies on CSR in Europe: Themes, Instruments, and Regional Differences." *Corporate Social Responsibility & Environmental Management* 19 (4): 206–227.

———, Markus E. Langer, Astrid Konrad and Andre´ Martinuzzi. 2005. "Corporations, Stakeholders and Sustainable Development I: A Theoretical Exploration of Business–Society Relations." *Journal of Business Ethics* 61: 263-281.

Stevens, Paul. 2003. "Resource Impact – Curse or Blessing? A Literature Survey," Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy, University of Dundee, Dundee: UK.

———, Jaakko Kooroshy, Glada Lahn and Bernice Lee. 2013. "Conflict and Coexistence in the Extractive Industries." A Chatham House Report, http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Energy,%20Environment%20and%20Development/chr_coc1113.pdf (accessed April 27, 2014).

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2003. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company.

Stigson, Björn. 1999. "Sustainable Development for Industry and Society." *Building Research & Information* 27 (6): 424-430.

Sweetman, Caroline. 2002. "Editorial: Understanding Poverty." *Gender & Development* 10 (3): 2-9.

Tavis, Lee A. 1982. "Multinational Corporate Responsibility for Third World Development." *Review of Social Economy* 40 (3): 427-437.

Taylor, Celia R. 2013. "Disclosure of Payments under the US Dodd-Frank Act: The 'Resource Extraction Rule'." *Journal of Energy & Natural Resources Law* 31 (1): 55-64.

The Mining Association of Canada. 2009. 'Towards Sustainable Mining' (TSM) Progress Report.

The Webster's. 1976. *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*. Springfield, Masschusetts: Merriam-Webster Inc., Publishers.

Theodori, Gene L. 2005. "Community and Community Development in Resource-Based Areas: Operational Definitions Rooted in an Interactional Perspective." *Society & Natural Resources* 18 (7): 661-669.

Thérien, Jean-Philippe and Vincent Pouliot. 2006. "The global compact: Shifting the politics of international development." *Global Governance* 12: 55-75.

Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald. 2014. "The Relational Generation of Workplace Inequalities." *Social Currents* 1 (1): 51-73.

Topal, R. Şeminur and Atakan Öngen. 2008. "The Impact of Social Responsibility on the Environment." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Corporate Social Responsibility,* edited by David Crowther and Nicholas Capaldi, 109-145. Hampshire & Burlington: Ashgate

Trebeck, Katherine Anne. 2007. "Tools for the Disempowered? Indigenous Leverage Over Mining Companies." *Australian Journal of Political Science* 42 (4): 541-562.

Triplepundit. 2011. "Case Study: Corporate Social Responsibility in the US." March 12, http://www.triplepundit.com/2011/03/case-study-corporate-social-responsibility/ (accessed April 16, 2014).

Tschakert, Petra. 2009. Recognizing and Nurturing Artisanal Mining as a Viable Livelihood. *Resources Policy* 34: 24–31.

Turshen, Meredeth. 2010. "The Political Economy of Women in Africa." In *African Women: A Political Economy,* edited by Meredeth Turshen, 1-21. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ulrich, Zachary P. 2013. "A Role for Ombuds in Embedded Corporate Social Responsibility Processes?" *Industrial and Organizational Psychology* 6 (4): 358-360.

United Nations. 2013. UN Global Compact, Global Corporate Sustainability Report, http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/about_the_gc/Global_Corporate_Sustainability_Report2013.pdf (accessed 11 December 2013).

———. 2007. Global Compact Annual Review, 2007 Leaders Summit, http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/news_events/8.1/GCAnnualReview2007.pdf (accessed October 5, 2010).

Utting, Peter. 2007. "CSR and Equality." *Third World Quarterly* 28 4): 697-712.

——— and José Carlos Marques. 2010. "Introduction: The Intellectual Crisis of CSR." In *Corporate Social Responsibility and Regulatory Governance: Towards Inclusive Development?* edited by Peter Utting and José Carlos Marques, 1-25. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vallentin, Steen and David Murillo. 2012. "Governmentality and the Politics of CSR." *Organization* 19 (6): 825-843.

Valor, Carmen. 2005. "Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Citizenship: Towards Corporate Accountability." *Business and Society Review* 110 (2): 191-212.

Van Alstine, James. 2014. "Transparency in Resource Governance: The Pitfalls andPotential of 'New Oil' in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Global Environmental Politics* 14 1): 20-39.

Van De Ven, Andrew H. and Paul E. Johnson. 2006. "Knowledge for Theory and Practice." *Academy of Management Review* 31: 4802-821.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2001. "Critical Discourse Analysis." In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton, 352-371. Malden & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

———. 1993. "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 4 (2): 249-283.

Van Kersbergen, Kees and Bertjan Verbeek. 2007. "The Politics of International Norms: Subsidiarity and the Imperfect Competence Regime of the European Union." *European Journal of International Relations* 13 (2): 217-238.

Van Oosterhout, J. (Hans). 2005. "Corporate Citizenship: An Idea Whose Time Has Not Yet Come." *Academy of Management Review* 30 (4): 677-681.

———. (Hans) and Pursey P. M. A. R. Heugens. 2008. "Much Ado About Nothing: A Conceptual Critique of Corporate Social Responsibility." In *The Oxford Handbook of Corporate Social Responsibility*, edited by Andrew Crane, Abagail McWilliams, Dirk Matten, Jeremy Moon, and Donald S. Siegel, 197-223. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Van Teijlingen, Edwin R. and Vanora Hundley. 2001. "The Importance of Pilot Studies." *Social Research Update* 35: 1-4, http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/10149/1/SRU35_pilot_studies.pdf (accessed June 21, 2012).

Vertigans, Stephen. 2011. "CSR as Corporate Social Responsibility or Colonial Structures Return? A Nigerian Case Study." *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 3 (6): 159-162.

VibeGhana. 2012. "Govt proposes establishment of national CSR Settlement Committee." March 10, http://vibeghana.com/2012/03/10/govt-proposes-establishment-of-national-csr-settlement-committee/ (accessed June 12, 2012).

Visser, Wayne. 2007. "Developing Countries." In *The A to Z of Corporate Social Responsibility,* edited by W. Visser, D. Matten, M. Pohl & N. Tolhurst, 154-157. London: Wiley.

Vives, Antonio. 2004. "The Role of Multilateral Development Institutions in Fostering Corporate Social Responsibility." *Development* 47 (3): 45-52.

Vogel, David. 2005. *The Market for Virtue: The Potential and Limits of Corporate Social Responsibility*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Waagstein, Patricia Rinwigati. 2011. "The Mandatory Corporate Social Responsibility in Indonesia: Problems and Implications." *Journal of Business Ethics* 98 (3): 455-466.

Waddock, Sandra. 2012. "Corporate Citizenship." In *SAGE Brief Guide to Corporate Social Responsibility*, 23-39. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

——— and Samuel B. Graves. 1997. "The Corporate Social Performance – Financial Performance Link." *Strategic Management Journal* 18 (4): 303-319.

Walker, Gordon and Elizabeth Shove. 2007. "Ambivalence, Sustainability and the Governance of Socio-Technical Transitions." *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 9 (3-4): 213-225.

Wallace, William. 1996. "Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats: Theory and Practice in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 22 (3): 301-321.

Walters, William. 2012. *Governmentality: Critical Encounters*. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2002. "The Power of Inscription: Beyond Social Construction and Deconstruction in European Integration Studies." *Millennium* 31 (1): 83-108.

——— and Jens Henrik Haahr. 2005. "Governmentality and Political Studies." *European Political Science* 4: 288–300.

Warhurst, Alyson. 2011. "Past, Present, and Future Corporate Responsibility: Achievements and Aspirations." In *The Responsible Corporation in a Global Economy*, edited by Colin Crouch and Camilla Maclean, 55-83. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2001. "Corporate Citizenship and Corporate Social Investment." *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 1 (1): 57-73.

Webb, Kernaghan. 2012. "Multi-level corporate responsibility and the mining sector: Learning from the Canadian experience in Latin America." *Business and Politics* 14 (3): 1-42.

Weber, Klaus, Gerald F. Davis and Michael Lounsbury. 2009. "Policy as Myth and Ceremony? The Global Spread of Stock Exchanges, 1980-2005." *Academy of Management Journal* 52: 1319-1347.

Wells, Don. 2007. "Too Weak for the Job: Corporate Codes of Conduct, Non-Governmental Organizations and the Regulation of International Labour Standards." *Global Social Policy* 7 (1): 51-74.

Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werthmann, Katja. 2009. "Working in a boom-town: Female perspectives on gold-mining in Burkina Faso." *Resources Policy* 34 (1): 18-23.

White, Allen L. 2008. "Fade, Integrate or Transform? The Future of CSR." In *The Corporate Social Responsibility Reader*, edited by Jon Burchell, 267-276. London & New York: Routledge.

Whitman, Jim. 2009. "Conclusion: The Global Governance Prospect." In *Palgrave Advances in Global Governance*, edited by Jim Whitman, 189-203. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Williamson, Oliver E. 1981."The Modern Corporation: Origins, Evolution, Attributes." *Journal of Economic Literature* 19 (4): 1537-1568.

Wickins, Peter L. 1980. *An Economic History of Africa: From the Earliest Times to Partition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Wiener, Antje. 2003. "Constructivism: The Limits of Bridging Gaps." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 6 (3): 252-275.

——— and Uwe Puetter. 2009. "The Quality of Norms is What Actors Make of It: Critical Constructivist Research on Norms." *Journal of International Law and International Relations* 5 (1): 1-16.

Willard, Bob. 2012. *The New Sustainability Advantage: Seven Business Case Benefits of a Triple Bottom Line*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.

Williams, Oliver F. 2008. "The UN Global Compact: The Challenge and the Promise." In *Leadership and Business Ethics, edited by* Gabriel Flynn, 229-249. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Williams, Robert J. 2003. "Women on Corporate Boards of Directors and their Influence on Corporate Philanthropy." *Journal of Business Ethics* 42 (1): 1-10.

Williamson, Oliver E. "The Modern Corporation: Origins, Evolution, Attributes." *Journal of Economic Literature* 19 (4): 1537-1568.

Win, Everjoice J. 2007. "Not very poor, Powerless or Pregnant: The African Woman Forgotten by Development." In *Feminisms: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges in Development*, edited by Andrea Cornwall, Elizabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead, 79-85. London and New York: Zed Books.

Wolfson, Nicholas. 1984. *The Modern Corporation: Free Markets versus Regulation*. New York: The Free Press.

Wood, Donna J. and Jeanne M. Logsdon. 2002. "Business Citizenship: From Individuals to Organizations." *Business Ethics Quarterly,* The Ruffin Series vol. 3: 59–94.

World Bank. 2012. The World Bank Group in Extractive Industries, 2012 Annual Review, http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/553076004dcf13eba0e8a4ab7d7326c0/WBG+EI+AR+2012.pdf?MOD=AJPERES (accessed 11 December 2013).

———. 2006. "Where is the Wealth of Nations? Measuring Capital for the 21st Century." http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEEI/214578-1110886258964/20748034/All.pdf (accessed November 11, 2010).

———. 2002. *Globalization, Growth and Poverty: Building an Inclusive World Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank and International Financial Corporation. 2002. *Treasure or Trouble? Mining in Developing Countries*, Washington D.C., http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTOGMC/Resources/treasureortrouble.pdf (accessed August 20, 2009).

Worthington, Ian. 2010. "Business and Environmental Responsibility." In *A Handbook of Corporate Governance and Social Responsibility,* edited by Güler Aras and David Crowther, 471-487. Surrey, England & Burlington: Gower Publishing & Ashgate.

Yakovleva, Natalia. 2007. "Perspectives on female participation in artisanal and small-scale mining: A case study of Birim North District of Ghana." *Resources Policy* 32 (1): 29-41.

Yakovleva, Natalia. 2005. *Corporate Social Responsibility in the Mining Industries*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Yankson, Paul W. K. 2010. "Gold Mining and Corporate Social Responsibility in the Wassa West District, Ghana." *Development in Practice* 20 (3): 354-366.

Ziegenfuss, James T. Jr. and Patricia O'Rourke. 2011. *The ombudsman handbook: Designing and managing an effective problem-solving program*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.

Zuckerman, Elaine. 2002. "EnGendering Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs): The Issues and the Challenges." *Gender and Development* 10 (3): 88-94.

Appendix A: Preliminary Schedule of Questions for Interviews

Questions for Community Members, NGOs and Local Leaders

- What do you think should be the benefits of mining to the community?
- Have these benefits been realized with the presence of the company in this area? What are the factors that impede this realization?
- If the impact of mining has been positive, how do you see your life 5-10 years after the mining company leaves this community?
- How do you evaluate the company's relations with the community? Can you itemize specific things the company has done?
- What do you understand by 'corporate social responsibility (CSR)'?
- Do you feel included in the company's CSR initiatives/projects? Would your inclusion make a difference?
- What would you recommend the company to improve upon or desist from?
- Is there anyone else in this community that you think I can speak to regarding this issue?

Questions for Company Staff

- What are your perceived contribution of mining to the socio-economic development of this community and the country at large?
- What do you consider to be the negative aspects of your operations? If any, how are they being addressed?
- What do you understand by 'corporate social responsibility (CSR)'?
- How would you evaluate your company's relation with the community? How are they included in the design and implementation of CSR projects?
- What in particular are you doing in terms of CSR that sets your company apart from others operating in Ghana? Can you itemize?
- How do you evaluate the influence of global CSR initiatives such the UN Global Compact on 'good' mining practice?

Questions for Government Officials

- What do you consider to be the overall contribution of mining to the country's development –positive or negative?

- Do you think the current institutional framework (mining and environmental laws and polices) promote good mining practice or CSR? If so, how?
- If no to the above, how does Ghana hope to ensure that companies adopt good and sustainable practice? What role does global norms and initiatives (such as UN Global Compact) play?
- What do you understand by ‘corporate social responsibility (CSR)’?

Questions for FGD (women participants)

- What benefits should mining bring to your community and yourselves? Can you itemize specific benefits, if any?
- Do you think the mining company is responsible for the progress of your community? Why? How?
- What do you understand by the term ‘poverty’? Are you poor?
- As women, has the prevalence of mining investments in this locality made you better off than your counterparts who live in non-mining areas, or has your living condition been worsened?
- What do you understand by ‘corporate social responsibility (CSR)’?
- Do you feel included in the CSR initiatives/projects of mining companies? Would your inclusion make a difference?
- What recommendations do you have for both the company and the government?

Questions for Vox Pop

***Got the following data from respondents: age range, gender, present employment, present place of residence (specific area needed to assess the usefulness of their comments)

- Are you familiar with the mining company/ies in this area? What do you know about it/them? (mention specific company under study to focus response)
- What do you think has been the overall impact of mining here, socially and environmentally?
- Have you been directly affected by mining? If yes, in what specific way(s)?
- Has the companies done anything good that you can mention?
- What do you understand by ‘corporate social responsibility (CSR)’?
- What is the main problem with mining and how do you think that can be resolved?

Appendix B: Letter of Information/Initial Contact

Study Working Title: Responsibility for What, to Whom? A Critical Assessment of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of Kinross and Newmont in Ghana.

Research Investigator:

Nathan Andrews
10-16 HM Tory Building
Department of Political Science
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4
andrews5@ualberta.ca
(780) 222-7280
(+233) 20813-2591 (cellphone when in Ghana)

Supervisor:

Dr. Rob Aitken
10-16 HM Tory Building
Department of Political Science
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2H4
raitken@ualberta.ca
(780) 492-0539

I would like to invite you to participate in this study that aims to understand the nature, scope and rationale of corporate social responsibility in Ghana with a focus on the work of Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd. and Chirano Gold Mines Ltd. operated by Newmont and Kinross, respectively. In your current position as a company executive, government official whose portfolio fits into the study area, an NGO activist in these communities, and/or a community member/leader, I deem your contribution to this research vital. Your involvement will be in the form of any of these two main methods: interviews and focus groups. Both methods will last for no longer than 60 minutes each.

The result of this study will be used in support of my dissertation, which will be submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree requirements for my PhD in political science at the University of Alberta. Funding for the study is received from both the Trudeau Foundation and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). Apart from my dissertation, data from this research will be used for a combination of conference presentations, journal articles, book chapters, policy briefs and possibly a complete book.

Data from this study will be kept in a secure place (a password-protected personal computer) for a minimum of 5 years following completion of the research project after which all data and associated files will be destroyed/deleted. Identifiers will be used for company officials, government officials, and NGO activists who are interviewed unless they request otherwise. Pseudonyms will be used for all community members and key informants unless they request otherwise. However, anonymity cannot be guaranteed in a group context although all participants in focus groups will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement. If any specific quotes are used for publication purposes, particularly those that have specific names or titles attached, you will have the chance to verify their accuracy before it is sent out. Additionally, a copy of the published material resulting from this research will be made available to you upon request.

Please note that you are under no obligation to participate in this study. Participation is completely voluntary. Even if you decide to participate, you are not obliged to answer any specific questions. Also, you can choose to withdraw from this study during the process or modify your participation at a later date. However, I request that you do so within 30 days of your initial participation.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research or/and if you have any concerns about this study, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615. This office has no direct involvement with this project. Further still if you have any additional questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact me at andrews5@ualberta.ca or 780-222-7280 or (+233) 20813-2591 when I am in Ghana doing fieldwork.

Thank you in advance for you interest in participating in this research. I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely yours,
Nathan Andrews.

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

Name (please print clearly): ______________________________

1. I have read the letter of information in full and have had all my questions/concerns answered to my satisfaction.

2. I understand that I will be participating in the study *Responsibility for What, to Whom? A Critical Assessment of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of Kinross and Newmont in Ghana*.

3. I understand that my participation in this interview or focus group (circle which one applies) is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time during the process. Further, I am aware that I can withdraw my contribution at a later date provided I inform Nathan Andrews within 30 days of my initial participation.

4. I understand that every effort will be made to maintain the immediate and future confidentiality of the information provided. The findings of this research will be used for a combination of these avenues: dissertation, conference presentations, journal articles, policy briefs, book chapters and a complete book. I will be consulted if any identifiable material (such as name, title or direct quotes) is used in any of these publications.

5. A copy of the published material following from this research is available upon request.

6. I am aware that if I have any questions or concerns, I may contact Nathan Andrews andrews5@ualberta.ca or (780) 222-7280 or (+233) 20813-2591 (when in Ghana) and Dr. Rob Aitken raitken@ualberta.ca or (780) 492-0539.

7. I know that for questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, I can contact the Research Ethics Office at reoffice@ualberta.ca or (780) 492-2615. This office has no direct involvement with this project.

8. I have read the above statements and freely consent to participate in this study.

Signature (participant) _______________________ Date: ________________

Signature (investigator) _______________________ Date: ________________

9. I give my permission for my name and title to be used in published work or presentations associated with this research project.

Signature (participant) _______________________ Date: ________________

Signature (investigator) ________________________ Date: _________________

Appendix D: Confidentiality Agreement (general)

Project title - Responsibility for What, to Whom? A Critical Assessment of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of Kinross and Newmont in Ghana.

I, ______________________________, have been hired to ______________________

(please state specific task such as transcribing or interpreting).

I agree to -

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e. g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher*.
2. keep all research information in any form or format (e. g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.
3. return all research information in any form or format (e. g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher* when I have completed the research tasks.
4. after consulting with the *Researcher,* erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher* (e. g., information stored on computer hard drive).
5. completely abide by the overall research ethics and guideline to which this project is subject.

______________________________ ______________________________ ______________________

(Print Name) (Signature)
(Date)

Researcher

______________________________ ______________________________ ______________________

(Print Name) (Signature)
(Date)

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Appendix E: Confidentiality Agreement (Focus Groups)

Project title - Responsibility for What, to Whom? A Critical Assessment of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) of Kinross and Newmont in Ghana.

I, ______________________________, have agreed to participate in this focus group.

I so doing, I agree to -

6. keep all the information, stories and experiences shared by other members of this group confidential by not discussing or sharing it with anyone outside of this group other than the *Researcher*.

With this in mind, I also understand that

1. my own stories and experiences will be kept in confidence within this group and may only be used by the *Researcher* as part of his dissertation or for other publication purposes.
2. I have the freedom to express myself the way I deem fit within this group without any pressure to conform to a predetermined formula or style of speaking.

______________________	______________________	______________________
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

Researcher

______________________	______________________	______________________
(Print Name)	(Signature)	(Date)

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.