THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

CSR: The role of stakeholder dialogue in achieving peaceful coexistence between host communities and multinational gold mining companies in Ghana.

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by

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<u>Dedication</u>

With great gratitude to God Almighty who gave me the strength, wisdom and knowledge to study in a land I had no prior experience of, I dedicate this work to my late wife Mrs. **Cynthia Nartey** who passed away just after the first semester break of my journey into this programme. Cynthia, you needed my support most at the time but had to sacrifice it to help me attain this qualification for the sake of our daughter. I am proud of you and know that God willing we will meet again. I also dedicate this to my daughter Christabel Narki Kenni Nartey who at a tender age of six had to endure the absence of a mother and the care of a father when needed most. Christabel, I know you had had a poor start in life but this sacrifice of yours will payoff dearly. I will also not forget my dear companion Ms Esther Arthur who made a lot of sacrifices to help me go through this journey. Your effort and support for Christabel and myself will not go unnoticed. I also dedicate this piece of work to my parents Mr Robertson T.K. Nartey and Ms. Mercy Dede Charnor for your patience. I was supposed to take care of you but life in general has been very challenging and this programme has not made it any easier to fulfil this dream. I hope to be able to now take full responsibility to ensure the few years you have left on earth is fully enjoyed. Finally I thank Dominic Nartey my junior brother for all the sacrifices he has made in shouldering the responsibilities I was supposed to carry as the eldest son and child of the family. May God bless you all.

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Abstract

Gold mining has the potential for doing great good, and also causing environmental, socio-cultural and economic harm. This has increasingly become the focus of CSR orientated research. When conducted in a developing country context, it is argued that multinational mining companies' (MNMCs) CSR policies should take account of the views of a range of stakeholders, including the host communities affected by their operations. This thesis presents the findings of a study conducted in Ghana based on ethnographic case study interviews with communities and other stakeholders. The study examined the causes of conflict between host communities and the mining companies, and the role of dialogue in trying to achieve peaceful coexistence. The study found both historic and continuing conflicts related to compensation, employment, alternative livelihood, relocation/resettlement, infrastructure development and environmental management. The findings suggest that lack of government policy, power imbalance, the narrow scope of dialogue processes and lack of understanding of host community culture are among the factors that impede meaningful dialogue. Consequently, negative CSR experience limits current and future willingness of the host communities to engage in dialogue with the mining companies. This is significant in that dialogue is considered to be a means whereby meaningful CSR can be developed, and a vital aspect of stakeholder theory. This questions the relevance of imposing western centric CSR concepts, and instead calls for a community centric approach to be developed based on listening to the often unheard voices. In this the thesis adds to the growing call for the re-orientation of CSR from the firm centric perspective. Research to better understand how the existing landscape can be evolved to support the development of peaceful co-existence between host communities and mining companies, forms a logical extension to the current study.

Key Words

Gold Mining, MNMCs, CSR, Community, Stakeholder Dialogue, Galamsey, Peaceful coexistence, SLO.

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1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is the introduction to a PhD thesis which is titled: *CSR*: *The role of stakeholder dialogue in achieving peaceful coexistence between host communities and multinational gold mining companies in Ghana.* The study focuses upon a key underdeveloped aspect of CSR research, namely the way in which communities can influence corporate actions and policy. The study taps into key debates around the potential impact and role of community actors who lack adequate power to influence change. Consequently, the thesis aimed to examine the relationship and interrelationships of host communities affected by surface gold mining operations in Ghana. It is doing this to then consider the relevance of existing corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives, and how they are designed by multinational mining companies' (MNMCs). It will then compare these with host community experiences and expectations through the interpretivist lens to modify the impact on beneficiary host communities. The thesis also adds to the current limited discussion on CSR in developing countries and the application of a predominantly western concept to the African setting.

Surface mining is a destructive force that impacts host communities. CSR and stakeholder theory aim at mitigating some of these negative impacts. This thesis is ultimately concerned with questioning these. Specifically, through ethnographic study within host communities, the thesis examined the factors that prevent meaningful dialogue between multinational mining companies (MNMCs) and host communities from the marginalised communities' perspective in a developing country context. The study highlights the failings of supposed community engagement strategies from the companies and demonstrate the negative social impacts that have surrounded the arrival of these MNMCs within the communities under examination. By so doing, the thesis makes

significant contribution to knowledge by throwing more light on our understanding of a neglected area. It also contributes theoretically by presenting an alternative model for analysing corporate-community engagement and CSR by starting from the perspective of community impacts rather than corporate engagement strategy. Furthermore, it significantly critiques theoretically existing models of CSR and stakeholder dialogue engagement, highlighting the problems of these approaches within a developing country context and the important power imbalances between companies and their stakeholders. This chapter introduces the study by:

1. Examining the role MNMCs play in developing countries through CSR and what outcomes result.

2. Sets the context by examining the overview of mining and development.

3. Presents a summary of the environmental context that influence CSR in Ghana.

4. Presents the scope and flow of the various chapters.

The chapter thus provides a contextual foundation upon which the whole thesis revolves. It has the following aims:

1. Introduce the background of the research,

2. Outline the research focus and gaps,

3. Set the research objectives and questions to be addressed,

4. Summarise key findings,

5. Outline the thesis structure and chapters.

1.2 The research background
It is argued that MNCs' operations in developing countries help improve living standard and facilitate globalisation. However, the negative impact of globalisation including environmental problems, rising inequality of societies, income disparity, facilitated by

increasing presence of multinational corporations in developing countries have necessitated the need for corporations to take responsibility for the impact their activities create in society (Moon & Vogel 2008). These have also called for the protection against the challenges of unregulated market forces (Levy & Kaplan 2007). The call for responsible business including corporate contributions normally are framed in CSR. In other words CSR examines business role in society (Muthuri & Gilbert 2011). The advancement in technology has made it possible for both positive and negative business practices in the remotest corners of the world to be noticed everywhere through the media (both traditional and social).

Crane and Matten (2010) mentioned that globalisation brings greater profit to shareholders as they operate in wider market areas but can also lead to financial risk due to lack of global market regulations. Stakeholders are equally exposed to international products and social benefits. However, they also risk being exploited by multinational companies especially those in developing countries. Communities for example get the opportunity to interact directly with multinational companies, where the latter provide development, open up the communities, and link them to the global community. Yet specific traditional and cultural values of these communities get infiltrated in the process. Governments are weakened by MNCs whiles different perceptions about issues like bribery, corruption, philanthropism and taxation become obvious.

The World Trade Organisation (WTO 2008) argued that there is nothing like globalisation because about 90% of world trade takes place between North America, Europe and Asia whiles the rest of the globe is ignored. Evidence also suggests the dominance of western-centric CSR studies is overwhelming. These focus on developed countries in Europe and North America (e.g., Visser 2006; 2008; Dobers & Halme 2009). According to Muthuri & Gilbert (2011) studies that focus on CSR in developing countries

are few (e.g., Jamli & Mirshak 2007; Amaeshi et al 2006; Hamann & Sprague 2008; Muthuri et al 2008; Lingreen et al 2010; Dobers & Halme 2009). This calls for more research in developing countries. Visser (2008) and Alger (1996) noted that CSR issues are more critical and essential in developing countries. They argued that when CSR and ethics are to be evaluated in global context these less developed countries become even more crucial to examine because of their limited legal enforcement that allows multinational companies to take undue advantage and do harm. This call comes at a time when evidence suggests that developed country CSR may not neatly fit into the developing world context due to the cultural variations, social values, and government priorities that influence the concept (Blowfield & Frynas 2005; Amaeshi et al 2006; Dartey-Baah & Amponsah-Tawiah 2011). Alger (1996) argued further that learning from and listening to African philosophies help provide diversity. Brock-Utne (2005) continued that developing countries in Africa also have something meaningful to contribute or teach the world to provide theoretical insight. Yet even when data is collected in Africa, it is still reported within western theories and concepts. Furthermore, research on Africa, conducted by Africans paint a better picture of the continent because these researchers are better able to tell their own stories (Brock-Utne 2002).

Although globalisation has opened CSR issues across boundaries, its application, strategies, orientation, meaning, relevance and implementation vary across different country contexts (Matten & Moon 2008; Elankumaran et al 2005; Romar 2004; and Ip 2009). Banerjee (2009) and Crane and Matten (2010) also added that the approach to CSR also depends on the level of poverty, type of governance, culture and religious beliefs. Again, how the concept is applied, what is done, how they are received, experienced, and stakeholder expectations also vary from country to county. Yet these have received less attention especially in the developing world (Blowfield and Frynas

2005). Even when business decides to engage in CSR, Gugler and Shi (2009) argued, it is confronted with the challenge of how to effectively balance local CSR response with global integration.

Corporate responsibility to society argument dates back to the 1930s (Dodd 1932; Berle 1931) through the 50s when Bowen (1953) wrote his seminal book on the 'social responsibility of the businessman'. Since then the definition and interpretation of the relationship between business and society has continued to evolve. Evidence suggest that the concept has attracted global attention (Moon 2007). However, Blowfield and Frynas (2005) argued that the poor and marginalized in developing economies have specific interest that are different from what pertains in the developed world. Therefore different approaches to CSR for the African context needs development. They however, failed to address what specifically must be done. To be able to draft an African version, it is important to look at, and understand the various contextual differences in the different countries. Therefore my aim in this thesis is to address this gap by providing a vivid contextual understanding of how host communities in the gold mining industry of Ghana experience CSR initiatives provided by multinational mining companies MNMCs). As Visser (2008) and Muthuri (2007) noted, this is crucial if the capacity and role of CSR to address Africa's sustainable development is to be interrogated.

1.3 Mining and Development
The contribution of mining to national development has been debated extensively in literature. According to Campbell (2009), the World Bank continues to argue that mining is a strategy for national development. It implies that mining provides tax revenues, education, health, employment and infrastructural development for developing countries to help improve living standards, and that through CSR MNMCs make direct contributions to poverty alleviation. Furthermore, due to the remote locations of mining

communities, MNMCs' activities provide the most rewarding option for socio-economic development of such communities (e.g., IIED 2002; Haber and Menaldo 2007 & 2011). The International Council on Mining and Metal (ICMM) in 2006 argued that mining in Ghana was a sure way of reducing poverty and revamping the Ghanaian economy (ICMM 2006). The ICMM is the mouthpiece of multi-national and large-scale mining organisations. It is also mentioned that large-scale mining companies are committed to balancing community development and environmental protection with profit maximisation (Jenkins & Yakovleva 2006: 272). This, the report mentioned is an added effort to the move of making positive contribution to the Ghanaian economy. However, the ICMM could be bias because it is a body of MNMCs and will logically present a positive view of its members.

Consequently, authors like Sachs & Warner (1995) and Auty (2008, 2001) dispute these claims. Bebbington et al (2008) for instance argue that the abundance of natural resources also creates political and economic challenges that undermine the contribution of mining to national development. Szablowski (2002) went further noting that mining can lead to over-dependency on minerals as against the development of other sectors and thereby impede the multiplier effect for economic growth. Karl (2007) added that the abundance of natural resources breeds corruption and erases the quality of good governance and results in conflict (Collier & Hoeffler 2005). Others deplore its negative environmental, social and economic impact on host communities (e.g., Newell 2005; Manteaw 2007). Specific arguments relate to competition over land-use, pollution of air and water, environmental degradation, rights of host communities, and socio-economic life after mine closure (Littlewood 2014; Kemp 2010; Hamann & Kapelus 2004 and Kapelus 2002). Mining communities in developing countries are also mostly vulnerable, poor and even lack governmental support and protection, making them preys to multinationals.

Governments either are corrupted by these mining firms or are rendered powerless because of threats of relocation and state fear of losing royalties when these companies decide to close their mines (Visser 2006). The size of MNMCs' financial strength amplifies these challenges.

Using two case study MNMCs (Gold Field South Africa and Newmont USA) this thesis investigates 1. How CSR is implemented by multinational gold mining companies (MNMCs). 2. How the concept is understood and experienced by host communities in the gold mining industry in Ghana. Specifically, I draw on stakeholder theory, the social license to operate (SLO), and peaceful coexistence theories to explore to what extent stakeholder dialogue influences CSR implementation and community experience in Ghana's gold mines. Why MNMCs engage in CSR and the role of dialogue in CSR implementation will be explored.

1.4 Problem Statement
One of the more serious CSR policy challenges faced by governments and companies in mineral-rich developing countries is the equitable resolution of disputes between communities and mining companies. As a result of frequent violent clashes reported between MNMCs and host communities in the mining industry in Ghana, corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become a priority concern. The situation has become noticeably contentious such that MNMCs adopt CSR as a toolbox to ameliorate community frustration (Gavin et al 2009; Hilson 2007). However, CSR seem not to work in the Ghanaian mining industry and understanding the situation is more complex.

The government controls all minerals under its territory. Mining exploration and licensing are handled by the government through government agencies and centralized committees. Local communities have no control over mineral deposits in their lands and their mining activities are termed to be illegal. Mining rights are conferred on mining

firms by the government with little or no consultations with the local communities. Sometimes local communities know nothing at all about the granting of concessions to mining firms in their communities (Conduah 1996). Gavin et al mentioned that sometimes it is the mining companies themselves that inform the communities that their land has been leased to them for mining activities.

Mining conflicts also arise as a result of alleged cyanide spillage into water bodies (source of drinking water), reports of inhuman treatments meted out on workers, arrest and maltreatment of community members for alleged encroachment on lands demarcated to MNMCs, environmental degradation and child labour (Hilson 2007; Garvin et al 2009). In this ethnographic research I will investigate these challenges and also ascertain the impact of large scale mining operations on stakeholders. This is important because it explains how industries' engagement in CSR can be a force for good or bad and finding a balance between the two is very necessary. Stakeholder theory tries to create a way to ensure this balance exists. However, there is strong evidence to suggest that this is not working to achieve its full potential in Ghana's mining industry.

1.5 The research Gap

Whilst research has been conducted into the mining sector in Ghana, how community stakeholders perceive mining companies' CSR decision-making and dialogue processes to uncover the historically rooted barriers to reconcile community and corporate perspectives to CSR has seen limited research. Consequently, in this study I will investigate:

1. What factors (dynamics, local complexities) impede dialogue between the firms and the communities?

2. How these firms arrive at CSR decisions as to what CSR projects should be implemented in these communities.

3. How host communities experience these initiatives.

4. How stakeholder theory can be reorientated from the firm and western centric focus to community centric perspective. In other words, this study seeks to redress the imbalance in the stakeholder theory by starting from the community perspective looking at business impact rather than CSR strategy by examining how dialogue and engagement strategies have played out in this context. I believe that knowing these will help improve business-community relationship to enhance peaceful co-existence. The findings will thus be useful to industry players, researchers, academicians and policy makers around the world. Consequently, this thesis addresses a fundamental gap in CSR and stakeholder dialogue literature.

Extensive literature review revealed that the focus of CSR is shifting from "why" organisations adopt and practice CSR to "how" they actually practice it. It has been argued that the "why" organisations adopt and practice CSR (which is normative in approach) must be complemented with "how" they actually practice it (the process) to realize the full potential of the concept (Steurer 2006; Smith 2003 and Crane & Matten 2010). Answers to the "how" actually describe what takes place and what factors influence the decisions. They are the descriptive aspect of the CSR concept and are relevant in improving the practice in the field.

Furthermore, evidence suggests that most research on CSR and the stakeholder theory have taken place in developed countries where the concepts originated (Muthuri & Gilbert 2011). Since 2005 researchers begun to raise questions about the suitability and

application of these concepts to developing countries (e.g., Blowfield and Frynas 2005). These authors called for more research to be conducted in developing countries if the full potential of the concept will be achieved. They continued that such studies when conducted in marginalised communities will provide a better understanding to address the imbalance in the stakeholder theory. Muthuri (2007) and Visser (2008) also suggested that understanding how marginalised communities experience CSR is crucial to addressing and interrogating Africa's sustainable development. In response to these calls, we see evidence of research carried out lately in Latin and South America and Asia. However, not many have focused on Africa. The few conducted on Africa have argued that the dynamics of the developing world are different from the west and so different approaches should be adopted for Africa (e.g., Amaeshi et al 2006; Hamann & Kapelus 2004; Ofori 2007; Dartey-Baah & Amponsah-Tawiah 2011; and Muthuri & Gilbert 2011). However, apart from Hamann and Kapelus who did their studies in the mining industry, the rest were conducted either in the financial industry (Amaeshi et al 2006; Ofori 2007) or rather more generally (e.g., Muthuri & Gilbert 2011; Dartey-Baah & Amponsah-Tawiah 2011). The massive impact of mining on host communities therefore requires investigation. Hence this study examines the application of CSR in the mining industry in Ghana to provide a suitable complement.

1.6 Research Objectives
Due to the dominant focus of the stakeholder theory on business, most of the literature on the theory have not been able to bring a balance between corporate and stakeholder dialogue processes (Burchell & Cook 2006). The analysis of stakeholder relationship has remained one sided emphasising the impact on business. Thus the theory has been company-centric (Burchell and Cook 2008; Friedman & Miles 2002; Frooman 1999). Steurer (2006) argued that the stakeholder perspective has seen the least research when

he developed the three perspectives of the theory into corporate, stakeholder and the conceptual perspectives. To arrest this situation, he called for the evaluation of the theory from a non-business perspective. He also argued that the theory has been weak in doing descriptive research analysis on business-stakeholder interactions (p. 56). Furthermore, Friedman & Miles (2002), and Frooman (1999) implied that the narrow focus of stakeholder analysis leads to only a partial comprehension of the relationship that exists between business and stakeholders. Together with Blowfield & Frynas (2005) these authors argued that more studies that focus on descriptive analysis, to examine stakeholder engagement, and how stakeholders' interactions and expectations of business in certain contexts are determined would provide a better understanding and insights to the theory. In response to this call, Burchell & Cook (2006; 2008; 2011 and 2012) have explored in to detail the dialogue process between business and NGOs. However, limited studies have been conducted to explore this process between business and community. Hence my aim in this study is to fill this existing gap to provide theoretical insight into the stakeholder theory. I focus on dialogue between MNMCs and marginalised communities in the gold mining sector in Ghana. Stakeholder theory suggests that with stakeholder collaboration the world becomes a better place for all (Freeman 1984; Friedman & Miles 2002). But why is this not working in developing countries? Through the adoption of stakeholder theory I provide insight into the important role of stakeholder dialogue in shaping business-stakeholder interactions. Using Steurer's (2006) three perspective approach, I analyse the interactions between business and marginalised communities whose voices mostly go unheard. I pay close attention to the role of dialogue in shaping MNMCs' interactions with these mining communities. In this regard the specific objectives of the study are to:

- Explore from different stakeholders' views communities' perspective of the factors that impact the ability of CSR to work in the Ghanaian context.

- Understand the way these factors influence how CSR decisions are made by MNMCs and experienced by host communities. This understanding can then lead to:

- The examination of Government and MNMCs' proposed strategies and how effective these have been in resolving disputes to promote peaceful coexistence and

- How improvement can be gained by taking these factors on board to improve corporate-community relationship and the stakeholder theory.

- To reorientate the stakeholder theory from a firm-centric view point to a community focus view by examining the impact of gold mining and the CSR practices of two MNMCs from the perspectives of the impacted communities.

In the process how current CSR activity influences communities' willingness to engage with MNMCs in Ghana's mining industry will be examined. By approaching CSR and the stakeholder theory from the perspectives of marginalised communities through their experiences, a better understanding of the stakeholder theory and the CSR concept would be furthered. Hence my core contribution in this thesis is bringing a community stakeholder perspective to the fore in understanding the limitations of Western centric CSR and stakeholder dialog approaches; revealing the inadequacy of existing approaches for addressing the fundamental barriers to peaceful coexistence in the Ghanaian context.

1.7 Research Questions
The research questions and topic were derived from extensive literature review drawing on recommendations for further studies. These research questions are:

- How are CSR decisions made and how do host communities perceive the effectiveness of CSR strategies?

- What are communities' expectations and definition of CSR?

- What are the influencing factors that impede dialogue between mining companies and host communities?

- How effective are the government & MNMCs' proposed strategies in promoting dialogue to enhance peaceful co-existence?

- To what extent have the western-centric CSR and organization-focused stakeholder theory need reformulating to reflect the realities of host communities' experiences in the gold mining context in Ghana?

1.8 The parameters of the Study

The study covered major stakeholders including government officials who were responsible for regulatory and policy development for the mining industry; Management of two large-scale mining companies (Gold Fields and Newmont) including executives responsible for environmental and CSR programme development and implementation; Organisational policy and decision makers; Unlicensed small-scale miners; Leaders of non-governmental organisations (NGOs); Community leaders; Executives of the Ghana Chamber of Mines; Environmental Protection Agency; Minerals Commission and Local Government officials who are responsible for mineral laws, land and environmental issues. Before introducing the various theories that underpin the study, it is important to first present the background and the key features that explain the Ghanaian context within which MNMCs implement CSR.

1.9 The Ghanaian context

Ghana is located in West Africa between Togo on the east, Cote d'Ivoire on the west, Burkina Faso on the north and The Gulf of Guinea at the south. It has unique socio-cultural, economic and political environmental factors that influence CSR practices. The country has an area space of 238,533 sq km out of which water covers 11,000sq km. It has a tropical warm climate (The World Factbook 2014). Briton was its colonial master

who established the colony in the 19th century and named it The Gold Cost due to its abundance in gold. Ghana however gained independence on the 6th of March, 1957 as the first Sub-Saharan country in the region through its first president Dr Kwame Nkrumah. It has an estimated population of 25.2 million. See table1 at the appendix for the breakdown of population statistics. The main religion practiced in Ghana is Christianity which accounts for over 70% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). The table below explains the composition:

Table 1: Religion

Christianity	71.2%
Muslim	17.6%
Others	11.2%

Source: Ghana Statistical service (2010)

Ghana boasts of many natural resources including gold, diamond, bauxite, manganese, rubber, timber, salt, silver, limestone and recently, oil. Oil was discovered in commercial quantity in 2007 and drilling started at its Jubilee Field in 2010 with projected output of 120,000 barrels per day by 2012. Throughout the country's history, cocoa had been the largest export merchandise, contributing some 68 to 70% but has since declined to just 27% by 2010 (GoG 2010). The country used to be the world's leading producer of cocoa until the 1980s when Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon toppled it to third place. Today, it is the second largest producer behind Cote d'Ivoire. Agriculture remains the main backbone of the economy, accounting for over 43% of GDP and employing over 56% of labour force. Cocoa provides one-third of the country's export revenues (GoG 2010) where the establishment of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board plays a major role in providing ready market for farmers.

The mining sector plays an important role in the Ghanaian economy with gold accounting for over 90% of all minerals export (Aryee 2012). This trend has continued since 1991 except in 2004 when cocoa briefly came top. The country is the second largest exporter of gold beside South Africa on the continent and the 9th largest in the world. The history of gold mining in Ghana can be found later in the thesis. The sector is said to contribute between 38% to 49% of corporate tax earnings, 6% of GDP and 27.6% of government revenue in 2011(Aryee 2012). The sector is also said to employ over 1,000,000 people who engage in gold, diamond mining, quarry and sand winning. Out of this figure, multinationals account for between 12,000 and 20,000 employment. According to Aryee (2012), the country produced some 3.6million ounces of gold in 2011, the highest in the country's history, generating over US$5billion in export revenue. However, out of this contribution, small scale miners contributed 28%. Campbell (2003) also noted that over 70% of the total gold produced are in offshore accounts as a result of lucrative tax rebates, free repatriation of dividends and other incentives. Aryee also reported that some US$24million was spent on CSR by mining companies in 2011. Other details of MNMCs' CSR expenditure over the years can be found at the appendices. However, this figures could not be independently verified. The country is reported to have achieved a steady GDP growth over the past few years. The table below explains the situation between 2010 and 2012:

Table 2: GDP Growth

Year	Percentage (%)
2012	7.9
2011	15
2010	8

Source: World Bank (2013)

Its GDP per capita income ranged between $445 to 724 between 2000 and 2012 (World Bank 2013). Despite these remarkable achievements, its imports exceed its exports

resulting in budget deficits. For instance the World Factbook (2013) pegged its imports of goods and services for 2011 at 56.2% as against 45% export. By 2013 government budget revenue stood at $9.282billion as against $14.13billion expenses (World Factbook 2014) and by the end of that same year the country's public debt stood over 50% of GDP (Ministry of Finance Budget Report 2014). The World Bank further put its GDP composition for mining and industry at 27.3% in 2012. As at 2005, its labour force stood at 11.79million out of which 15% were engaged in industry and 29% in service. However, over 7m of the population live below the poverty line. Of this figure, Hilson & Garforth (2012) report that over 70% are in rural areas where farming and mining take place. The rate of inflation between January 2012 and December 2010 is presented in the table below:

Table 3: Rate of Inflation

Year	Percentage (%)
2012	9.2
2011	8.7
2010	10.7

Source: World Bank (2013)

Ghana has a stable political and economic environment that attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). It practices a multi-party democracy and has enjoyed over 20 years of uninterrupted political stability since 1992. By 2011 over US$11.5billion (FDI) had been attracted and the mining sector is considered the sector that has seen the most FDI. However, corruption and lack of infrastructural development remain critical to national development. The Transparency International Global Corruption Perception Index rated Ghana 63rd most corrupt country out of 177 countries in its 2013 rankings (Transparency International 2013).The legal system is also reported to be struggling (Gocking 2000). The shareholder perspective defines the Company Act with current approaches calling for a reorientation to stakeholder focus. The detailed focus of the institutional determinants of CSR will be addressed later in the thesis.

1.10 The organization of the chapters

This chapter gives an introduction to the study including the research objectives and contributions. This is followed by the main literature areas that are relevant to the study including the research methods adopted. Through this brief introduction, the study is organised as follows:

Chapter Two: Literature Review Part One

This chapter examines CSR in general including the definition, background and factors that drive CSR. The chapter will also contextualise why CSR recognises the importance of the broader environmental and social responsibilities of the firm. Why this refocusing is important in helping see the value of the broader set of stakeholders beyond just the profit maximisation for shareholders. Consequently, the chapter will focus broadly on the significance of the stakeholder to CSR and the increasing emphasis on dialogue. It will also review literature on the drivers of stakeholder dialogue

Chapter Three: Literature Review Part Two

This chapter will examine how stakeholder relationships are managed and the emerging criticisms of the stakeholder theory including it being firm and managerial centric, being western centric and lacking a focus on power. The chapter will then examine the need to refocus the stakeholder theory from the firm-centric to stakeholder –centric point of view. These will provide the fundamental groundings that underpinned CSR practice, the gaps and theoretical basis for the analysis.

Chapter Four: Methodology

In this chapter I will examine the research process including the various philosophical issues, the research design, research approach, and various methods and techniques used

including ethnography, to collect and analyse the data. This will include the interviewing process, how access was gained and the challenges encountered.

Chapter Five: Findings

In chapter five I will look at the overall process of awarding mine contracts and the role dialogue played in CSR implementation. I will explore the use of dialogue in compensation, employment, resettlement and environmental negotiations from the perspectives of participants. I will also look at development expectations and the effectiveness of the SLO and stakeholder theory in the process.

Chapter Six: MNMCs Dialogue strategies and the obstacles to effective dialogue

In this chapter I will consider the medium, scope and the role of culture, traditional authorities, spirituality, and NGOs in the dialogue process. I will also examine the role of state policy, the dialogue strategies and the obstacles that prevent meaningful dialogue.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This chapter will conclude the entire thesis. It will involve the summary of the entire work with emphasis on how the objectives of the study were achieved and the contributions made. As a teaser, the contributions were seen in the inappropriateness in applying the western centric CSR to the Ghanaian context; the need to reorient the stakeholder theory to a community centric focus in the extractive industry; and the methodological contribution. I will end with a section that pulls together the key elements of the findings, why they are important to theory development, where they work, where they diverge, the limitations, management implications and suggested areas for future research.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW (Part One)

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one, I provided the research introduction and briefly discussed the context of mining and development. I also described the research background, gaps, objectives, research questions to be addressed and the mining industry in Ghana. My aim in this chapter is to:

1. Set the research parameters.

2. Understand critical knowledge inputs

3. Identify knowledge gaps and

4. Provide foundation for the empirical stage.

CSR is seen as a way of rebalancing the social, economic and environmental responsibilities of business. A key aspect of this is the recognition that business has responsibilities that extend beyond the traditional profit maximisation for shareholders to a broader set of stakeholders which include communities within which business operates. Consequently, a growing body of literature have examined how companies seek to engage with stakeholders as part of their CSR initiatives using various reporting systems and processes. However, these have been business centric, have come from westernised conceptualisation and failed to recognise many of the power imbalances and barriers facing effective dialogue. These are critical because an understanding of these concepts and their application in Africa will guide readers to critically evaluate the findings discussed later in the study.

Therefore, in this chapter I will examine the background of CSR to contextualise why companies have recognised the need to extend their responsibilities beyond shareholders to the broader social and environmental dimensions. I will explain why this refocusing of corporate responsibility to broader stakeholders is important. Specifically, I will discuss

why companies engage in CSR; What responsibilities MNMCs owe; The Social Contract Theory; Friedman's premises of corporations and their social responsibility which emerged from the Agency Theory. I will then turn my attention to the Stakeholder Theory and discuss why stakeholders are important; the importance and drivers of stakeholder dialogue and the growing diversity of stakeholders seeking to influence corporate activities.

2.2 The CSR Literature
Although the history of CSR dates as far back as the early 1930s (e.g., Dodd 1932; Berle 1931), it was after Bowen (1953) wrote his seminal book on the 'social responsibility of the businessman' some sixty years ago that the terminology of the social responsibility of business changed to CSR (Garriga and Mele 2004). Since then the concept has grown tremendously and attracted much debate globally (Nikolaou & Evangelinos 2009; Wagner et al 2009; Serenko & Bontis 2009 and Cochran 2007). More literature has been written on the topic consistently every year since the last three decades (Egri & Ralston 2008) with almost half of the articles published since 2005 (Aguinis & Glavas 2012). Wolff (2002) therefore posits that the time for CSR has come. Matten & Moon (2008) argue that CSR strengthens a company's sustainability, consolidates its value orientation, projects its image and gives it a good start in risk recognition for making corporate environmental changes. These and other factors have surged up CSR adoption by organisations. The concept is now given strategic consideration in many organisations the world over with mission and vision statements portraying traces of it (Wolff 2002; Ofori & Hinson 2007). Multinationals and international organisations today are creating positions and vacancies for CSR experts who sit in their management meetings to develop strategic objectives. Companies' annual reports now go beyond the traditional profit maximisation to include responsibilities towards a whole range of stakeholders such as

communities, employees, customers, suppliers, environment and even competitors (Ofori and Hinson 2007). However, the situation seems different in the Ghanaian mining sector as government control and ownership of minerals gives it power to negotiate with multinational mining companies with little or no consultation of local communities who sit on the resource.

The starting point of understanding CSR is to examine how it is defined because that inluences the way organisations put together CSR policies. However, opinions are divided on how CSR should be defined. According to Devinney (2009) there are those who support that CSR should aim at achieving profitability while operating within the confines of the law (which is the shareholder approach, supported by early writers like Smith (1967) and Friedman (1970; 1962). There are also those who think that businesses do not operate in a vacuum but within societies from which they derive benefits to survive hence the need to give back to society and be responsible to a range of stakeholders (e.g., Freeman 1984; 1993; Hills and Jones 2007). In unison, Newman et al (1985) and Fredrick (1997) agreed that it is the obligation of corporate bodies to be socially responsible and draw programmes that will benefit society and other stakeholders through a concerted effort. For this reason Avisha (1994) posited that social responsibilities of businesses go beyond the 'bottom line' (profit maximisation). The shareholder approach is becoming more and more obsolete in modern business as many companies now prefer the stakeholder approach due to the concern that it adds value and contributes to organisational performance and also attracts quality talents (Holiday et al 2002; Turban & Greening 1997) as we shall be seeing soon. The general public, investors, consumers and potential employees all want to commit their resources to organisations that are responsible not only to shareholders but to a wider stakeholder groups including the environment.

Although many researchers have tried to give a definite definition to the CSR concept (Dahlsrud 2008), a universally accepted definition still remain elusive (Smith & Langford 2009; Pesmatzoglou et al, 2012; and Godfrey & Hatch, 2007). Whilst important, CSR does not mean the same thing to everybody (Moir 2001; Pesmatzoglou et al 2012; Garriga & Mele 2004). Waddock (2004) and Garriga & Mele (2004) suggest the reason for the confusion in the definition is that scholars study it from different disciplines and with different conceptual lenses. Godfrey and Hatch (2007) further contend that firms are responsible to many stakeholder interests rather than the narrow objective of making profit and that is why the definition is difficult to pin down. This notwithstanding, understanding clearly what these other responsibilities of the firm are have proved difficult to assimilate (McWilliam et al 2006). Terms like corporate sustainability (van Marrewijk 2003), sustainable development (Nikolaou & Evangelinos 2008) and corporate citizenship (Wood & Lodgson 2002; Matten et al 2003; Crane and Matten 2010; Rasche 2009) have been used to describe CSR. The concept has therefore been termed as elusive (Smith and Langford 2009), malleable (Devinney 2009) complex, unclear and controversial (Garriga & Mele 2004), broad, fussy and blurry (Geoffrey 2001).

For the purpose of this research, the broader view, which seeks to explain that social and environmental concerns should be incorporated into organisations' operations is preferred. The definition of Aguinis (2011, p.855) which is also supported by Rupp et al (2010) is preferred. This definition states that it is a "context-specific organisational actions and policies that take into account stakeholders' expectations and the triple bottom line of economic, social and environmental performance". In this study I used CSR as a concept to describe the expectations of host communities with regards to how MNMCs use policies, engagement and practices beyond legal compliance to influence socioeconomic, infrastructural development and environmental concerns in Ghana's

mining industry. It is however disheartening to know that most CSR definitions are seen from the company's perspective (Frooman 1999; Steurer 2006; Friedman & Miles 2002). They tell what CSR means to the company and fail to define it from the perspective of other stakeholders like the community. This accounts for the presence of major conflicts between organisations and their stakeholders. In this study I try to understand what CSR means from the perspective of the community in the Ghanaian mining context. This is important because when multinational gold mining companies operating in Ghana understand CSR from the perspective of the Ghanaian mining communities, the relationship between these two stakeholders will improve since these communities are the end users of these CSR initiatives.

2.3 Why do companies engage in CSR?
There are various reasons why companies engage in CSR. However, Bowie (1991) explained that it is difficult to ascertain the true motive of corporations practicing CSR because the real motives lie with the company directors. It has been argued that many adopt CSR mostly because it promotes their own interest. Thus, CSR is strategy driven (Porter &Kramer 2002; 2011; Prahalad & Hammond 2002). Stakeholder pressures also sometimes force MNMCs to engage in CSR activities (e.g., Perez-Batres et al 2012; Sharma & Henriques 2005; and Doh et al 2010). This is underpinned by the social contract and legitimacy theories. Aguinis & Glavas (2012) group these into reactive and proactive forces. The reactive is the stakeholder pressure and the proactive is the strategy driven. The latter comes from the companies' own willingness to use it as a strategic weapon to increase shareholder wealth (e.g., Husted 2003). A study conducted by The Economist in 2008 found that, more than 50% of global brand leaders attribute their reason for adopting CSR to good brand reputation and goodwill, leading to increased financial performance (also see Lev et al 2010; Vlachos et al 2009; Waldman & Siegel

2008; Arora & Henderson 2007; Brammer & Pavelin 2006; Luo & Bhattacharya 2006; Goll & Rasheed 2004; Orlitzky et al 2003). Thus, these authors suggest companies perceived to be socially responsible receive extra reward from customers through repeat purchases while those perceived otherwise suffer boycotts and compliance pressures (Weaver et al 1999; Snider et al 2003; Oberseder et al 2011). However, Mohr et al (2001); Auger & Devinney (2007); and Devinney et al. (2010) contest that when it comes to actual purchase and consumption, only a few consumers actually take company CSR into account. Rowley & Berman (2000); Griffin (2000); Orlitzky (2008) and Surroca et al (2010) also noted that there is no clear association between CSR and financial performance. Aguinis et al (2011), Peloza (2009), and Godfrey et al (2009) attribute the inconclusive nature of the association probably to sampling error, the varied CSR definitions and different disciplines in which the studies are carried out.

Companies perceived socially responsible are able to attract and retain better employees (Glavas & Piderit 2009; Carmeli et al 2007; Jones 2010; Lin et al 2010). Furthermore, Hart (1995); Bansal & Clelland (2004); Moon & Vogel (2008); and Thomas & Lamm (2012) suggest that voluntary commitment to social responsibility helps companies avoid litigation and enhance corporate independence from governments. Porter & Kramer (2006); Bansal & Roth (2000) and Greening & Turban (2000) explained that embracing CSR is regarded as a long-term investment which creates a peaceful business environment for the organisation to do business thereby providing competitive advantage. Minor and Morgan (2011) also suggest that good CSR spending should be considered as the premium paid for "reputational insurance" which stands to minimise negative impact on firms' reputation when things go wrong. Though these economic benefits are attributed to good CSR, Friedman (1970) argues that when the underlining motive for

engagement is profit maximisation then it ceases to be CSR but profit maximisation in disguise. These strategic arguments for CSR adoption stem from the instrumental theory.

2.4 The instrumental CSR theory
This theory sees the CSR concept as a strategic tool that corporations use to realise their economic objectives of maximising profit. Consequently, Husted (2003), Johnson (2003), Greenfield (2004), and others refer to the instrumental theory as the strategic CSR theory. Husted (2003) contends that it is for these strategic reasons that the philanthropic responsibility to other stakeholders is upheld by many corporations. According to Burke & Logsdon (1996) the theory provides opportunities for firms to measure in broader context the benefits of CSR better than just comparing profitability with philanthropic contribution. Hence the adoption of CSR does not only ensure corporate long-term profitability but also community improvement. This view is underpinned by the resource-based view where it argued that better performance is ensured when firms interact with physical, human and organisational resources over time. Hence, if corporations are able to effectively utilise their resources they will be able to gain and sustain competitive advantage. However, in the present dynamic business environment, where increased pressure is mounting on corporations (Aragon-Correa & Sharma 2003; Kassinis & Vafeas 2006), competitive advantage is considered to come from ethical capabilities and social resources (e.g., Porter &Kramer 2002; 2011; Prahalad & Hammond 2002).

On the stakeholder pressure perspective, Zadek (2004) showed how Nike's case could serve as an example when consumers forced Nike to adopt CSR. Aguilera et al (2007) identified three main reasons why stakeholders pressurise firms to adopt CSR: Self-interest driven, moral principles and concern for relationships. Aguinis & Glaves (2012) added that stakeholders apply pressure to impact companies' reputation, revenue and resources. This is done through for example regulation (Fineman & Clarke 1996; Weaver

et al 1999; Chatterji & Toffel 2010), certification and standards (Chritmann & Taylor 2006), although standards and certification sometimes are seen as potential sources that lead to symbolic CSR (Perez-Batres et al 2012; King & Lenox 2000; Frenkel & Scott 2002; and Rondinelli 2002). When there is increased regulation and stakeholder power and legitimacy is strong, companies' CSR adoption and management becomes eminent (David et al 2007; Aguinis & Glavas 2012).

Other moral reasons for engaging in CSR (Bansal & Roth 2000; Aguilera et al 2007) include:

1. Companies create social problems like pollution and therefore must engage in CSR to solve them so as to prevent further social problems (Korten 1995).

2. Every kind of corporate activity has a social impact of a sort irrespective of whether employing workers or producing goods and services and therefore must be responsible for these impacts whether neutral, negative or positive (Crane & Matten 2010).

3. Government failure, the increasing power of corporations and their influence on government. Beck (1992) argued that governments, whose responsibility it is to protect their citizens have failed. With the increasing threat of outbreak of diseases, environmental pollution and abject poverty, it has become obvious that governments alone cannot tackle society's problems (e.g., Matten 2004). Governments are also seen sometimes as the causes of the problems and cannot be relied upon to provide the solutions. The solutions may sometimes require adverse changes in community lifestyle. This, many governments would not want to do. This failure, plus stakeholder pressure from civil society groups, have necessitated the intervention of corporate bodies. Consequently, modern times have seen lots of businesses engaging in CSR and taking on activities that

previously were funded by governments. Many firms especially in the mining industry have become political actors (e.g., Beck 1997) building schools, hospitals, roads etc. to enhance their legitimacy.

2.5 The Legitimacy Theory

The perception that socially responsible behaviour is important to the legitimacy of a company has gained theoretical attention in CSR literature in recent times (Basu & Palazzo 2008; Aguilera et al 2007). This theory agrees that the adoption of CSR is as a result of pressure from various stakeholders relating to political, social and economic reasons. Politically, the concept of legitimacy is underpinned by the notion that it is achieved by the rational evaluation of the organisation by the people served or impacted by its operations (Claasen & Roloff 2012). Contrarily, sociology describes legitimacy from charismatic, traditional and rational rule perspectives (Weber 1980/1921 cited in Claasen & Roloff 2012). Describing three ways of attaining organisational legitimacy, Dowling & Pfeffer (1975, p. 127) defined social legitimacy as the extent to which organisations conform to the existing social values and norms. Suchman (1995, p. 574) continued that it is the generalised perception that the actions of an organisation are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions. Dowling & Pfeffer (1975) argued that the organisation can reorient its practices and outputs to conform to the existing values and norms, or through communication alter social legitimacy definition to suit its practices and values. It can also identify with symbols and values of socially legitimate organisations, again through communication. For this reason it is argued that corporations are using their voluntary social accounting reporting to obtain their legitimacy to operate in society (Kolk 2010; O'Dwyer and Owen 2008). Suchman (1995) distinguished between pragmatic, cognitive and moral legitimacy. The pragmatic legitimacy assumes that the organisation's actions yield some benefits for itself and stakeholders. In other words there

is a business case for engaging in an action (see also Thomas & Lamm 2012). The moral legitimacy considers the extent to which the organisation's actions conform to moral norms and obligations irrespective of the cost involved (Donaldson & Dunfee 1994). In this case moral legitimacy considers the rightness of the action, thus the right thing to do. The cognitive dimension considers the extent to which an organisation's actions are congruent to established conceptual maps and narratives. Among the three, Koppell (2008) argued that the moral legitimacy is the best and represents the true meaning of the word, because the other two imply an external authority is submitted to or acknowledged irrespective of the legitimacy of the source of that authority.

In the nutshell legitimacy has to do with the extent to which corporations meet societal expectations. And this can result from organisations' manipulation and people's perceptions (Claasen & Roloff 2012). The theory explains that corporations will have to engage in other social responsibilities and perform well if they want to grow and survive into the future. Therefore, companies will embrace CSR so as to gain legitimacy and power (Milne & Patten 2002; Deegan 2002; and Davies 1997).

In the mining industry, MNMCs are beginning to be more responsible to communities in recent times (Gifford and Kestler 2008). They use CSR through the voluntary provision of infrastructure, and jobs within the mining communities to gain legitimacy. Newmont Corporation of the US is mentioned by Gifford et al (2010) as one of the companies using this approach in Peru as their corporate social contribution to these communities. Meanwhile, Whitemore (2006) accuses MNMCs' CSR to be greenwash used to cover up their unethical practices.

Although Mitchell et al (1997) proposed the prioritisation of powerful stakeholders in gaining legitimacy, Freeman et al (2010) and Carroll & Buchholtz 2006) cautioned

against overlooking vulnerable stakeholders for long-term legitimacy. The theory requires corporations to create a balance between societal expectations, perceptions and their actions in order to gain legitimacy. However, corporations lobby to change public expectations and laws to become legitimate (Heisey & Schimmelpfenning 2006). As discussed throughout this study, society's expectations and perceptions of businesses' social responsibilities are very crucial and high. This means there is the risk of communities pulling out of the social contract between them and the MNMCs if they suspect the latter to be engaging in unacceptable mining practice which will consequently affect the MNMC's ability to continue operation. In this regard, the theory is regarded as a tool or machinery upon which the MNMCs depend for survival. Governments, whose responsibility it is to address this imbalance are mostly weak in Africa (e.g., Visser 2008) and this could be part of the reasons corporations pay lipservice rather than instigate real changes.

Relying on the premise that this theory is based on the assumption that social contract underpins corporations' operation, it is important for the latter to disclose social information including CSR reports to the public to help society judge its social responsibility performance (O'Dwyer and Owen 2008; Kolk 2010). Meanwhile, according to Davies (1997), the legitimacy theory is synonymous with the SLO of businesses in society and related to the social contract theory. However, the more MNMCs take up government responsibilities the weaker governments become. Reich (1998) argued that this poses danger because corporations are not reliable and cannot be trusted to do these forever. This social responsibility of the firm brings into sharp contrast Friedman's (1970) argument on the corporations' social responsibilities.

2.6 What responsibilities do MNMCs owe?

It is important to know what responsibilities business owe stakeholders to be able to examine how well they live to these expectations. Carroll (1991) designed a CSR model that depicts the responsibilities of the firm in the form of a pyramid with four interrelated layers. These layers are economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities. He emphasised that these layers must all be met consecutively to make a company a true practitioner of CSR. From this model, Carroll & Buchholtz (2009) defined CSR to include the economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic expectations placed on organisations by the society at a given point in time.

The Economic Responsibility: Carroll indicates that the economic responsibility is the first required of the firm to survive. Workers expect to be paid fair wages and work within conducive environments; customers expect quality goods and services at reasonable prices; and shareholders expect good returns on their investment. These are the main reasons why the firm is established in society. It must be viable economically to effectively manage these. All the other responsibilities rest on this basic one. Hence when things became difficult for many big firms in Europe and America between 2007 and 2009, many governments bailed out some companies so they can survive e.g., Northern Rock, the Royal Bank of Scotland.[1]

There is evidence to support the fact that firms with stronger financial background are more able to engage in CSR initiatives than their counterparts (e.g., Bansal 2003; Waddock & Graves 1997). But the question is which one should come first, CSR engagement or profit maximisation since we all agree that CSR is expensive?

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[1] Critics however are of the view that the crisis were created by these same businesses especially the banks for not taking due diligence in their operations and granted loans to borrowers who could not pay.

The Legal Responsibility: Carroll emphasised the need for companies aiming to be socially responsible to be law abiding and play by the rules of the game. Companies that do not abide by government and societal laws of their host countries will have problems. Legal responsibility therefore becomes a pre-requisite for socially responsible companies. Many companies in recent years have been convicted for using illegal strategies that are anti-competitive to aim at gaining market share and have been fined huge sums. Examples of these firms include Microsoft which was fined £280.5m for withholding information to abuse its monopolistic power in Europe.

The Ethical Responsibility: This is a voluntary obligation required of companies to do more than the legal requirement of a country or community. For example in America, many companies have voluntarily taken initiatives to cut greenhouse gas emission without any legal compulsion. This notwithstanding, consumer and other pressure groups are these days mounting pressure on many companies to reduce environmental pollution in many parts of the world. This pressure is forcing companies which hitherto were not taking actions to develop voluntary initiatives to do so (e.g., Eberlein & Matten 2009). Ethical responsibility for Carroll is therefore exceeding society's expectations over and above regulation and economic responsibility.

The Philanthropic Responsibility: This responsibility lies at the very apex of Carroll's pyramid and explains business resolve to demonstrate love towards its employees, society and the general public. The term 'philanthropic' in Greek means the demonstration of love toward humanity. This responsibility of the organisation sees to it that the quality of life of its stakeholders is improved. In CSR, these activities of the company include such things as improving working conditions and retirement benefits for employees, building schools, health facilities and other infrastructure for communities, and the sponsorship of other social and health events all outside what the legal obligations of the company are.

According to Carroll, this forth responsibility is voluntary and can be met at the company's discretion as compared to the other three. McWilliam & Siegel (2001) and Odgen & Watson (1999) contend that an adequate level of investment in philanthropy and social activities enhances company profitability and maximisation of shareholder value. However, I argue that the voluntary nature of CSR may not incentivise corporations to engage in CSR.

The usefulness of the model lies in its structuring of CSR into different dimensions. However, the element of profitability and doing legal business are fundamental to CSR. According to Crane and Matten (2010), the limitation of this model lies in its inability to explain what happens when two of these responsibilities are in conflict. For example the economic responsibility of the firm to survive and be profitable coming into conflict with keeping jobs for employees when firm closure becomes inevitable is not addressed by Carroll's model. A typical case was when in 2008 car manufacturing companies like Ford, General Motors and others sent home thousands of workers when the economic crises was severe.[2] Trade unions do not take kindly to these developments as they defend their stand on ethical and humanitarian grounds that the employees and their families would suffer as a result. They see these corporate decisions as greed for profit at the expense of employees while the companies justify their actions as an indispensable move to remain economically viable. The model is also criticised for being biased towards the US where CSR emanated from. Visser (2006) is one of the critics of the model when applied to developing countries. He noted that in Africa for instance the philanthropic dimension is placed at the second on the pyramid behind the economic factor instead of the legal reported by Carroll. This is due to the difference in culture and other contextual factors.

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[2] Recently Lloyds TSB bank was in the news for its decision to send home over 15,000 workers in order to remain profitable and survive. This decision made its total job loses to 40,000 within two years (BBC News 2011).

Having discussed CSR and what responsibilities business owe, the question becomes to whom does business owe these responsibilities or to whom is the firm accountable?

2.7 Corporate Accountability

The question of who business owe responsibilities has raised much debate in research. Corporate accountability is a social responsibility term that seeks to find out whether the corporation is accountable at all to anybody. There are two schools of thought regarding this subject. The first draws on agency theory to explain that businesses are set up by individuals who contribute their hard earned resources to business' establishment and therefore the company should be responsible only to these individuals (e.g., Friedman 1962; 1970). The other suggest that businesses do not operate in a vacuum and that many other individuals and institutions contribute directly or indirectly to the survival of the firm. Therefore these individuals/institutions should also be owed responsibilities (e.g., Freeman 1984; Hills and Jones 2007). This is referred to as the stakeholder theory. Those supporting the stakeholder theory are of the view that shareholders' investment in business is for speculative reasons where they only wait for their share prices to appreciate and then sell rather than being part owners of the business (e.g., Ghoshal 2005; Guerrera 2009). More on this will be discussed shortly. Others argue that the increasing power of business and its influence over governments, government failure, and the role that business has voluntarily assumed in society should make them accountable to society (Beck 1992; Matten et al 2003; Garriga & Mele 2004). These views emanated from the social contract theory.

2.8 The Social Contract Theory

The social contract theory is underpinned by the relationship between the corporation and society. This theory has some similar assumptions to the agency theory because it assumes that individuals have certain self-interests because they are rational. Consequently, the social contract theory sees the corporation to have some indirect

responsibilities toward society similar to the one that exists between states and citizens (Steidlmeier 1992). The theory relates to CSR philosophy (e.g., Maignan et al 1999). Shocker and Sethi (1973) in relation to this argued that corporations operate in society through social contract either implicitly or explicitly. Its growth, survival and success is dependent on delivering some desirable social benefits to society and to distribute other social, economic and political benefits to stakeholders from whom it gets its power.

To ensure business and society become equal partners there are direct and indirect reciprocal needs between both parties. Through this social contract these parties enjoy mutual responsibilities and rights. In social contract theory, society expects corporations to operate their businesses in socially responsible ways. Therefore those who flout this expectation stand to lose their market power (e.g., Davies 1960). Corporations have two social obligations, according to Boatright (1993). These are negative injunctions and affirmative duties. The negative injunctions requires corporations to be responsible for the damages that result from their operations. Meaning that corporations will have to make sure their operations do not bring any negative impact or cause harm to other stakeholders. This then becomes the minimum level of moral conduct expected of business. The affirmative arm requires corporations to help society and voluntarily participate in active community services. This is comparable to the philanthropic responsibility of the firm as argued by Carroll's CSR pyramid. The minimum moral conduct is equivalent to the legal requirement of corporations (Friedman 1996). That notwithstanding, laws have limitations in scope to demand responsible behaviour. They are also unable to take care of all possible contingencies. Furthermore, society expectations of business transcend the minimum legal requirement (minimum level of moral conduct). Hence the justification for the need for corporations to extend their responsibilities beyond the legal requirements.

However, as Deegan (2002) argued, social contract terms are ambiguous. Values of society keep changing and so are their preferences making these contracts invalid over time. This calls for the need for frequent amendments of the 'contract' (Tomer 1994). Furthermore, even among corporate executives, there may be differences in perception about the terms of the 'contract'. Gray and colleagues (1996) in proposing suggestions, mentioned that legal expectations offer outline terms of the contract explicitly while the other social expectations outside the legal framework are implicit in the contract. However, because the non-legal expectations (implicit terms) of social contracts are so ambiguous and variable, there is the constant need for business to adjust its actions and behaviour to align with expectations of society (Boatright 1993).

Consequently, business will consider itself engaged in CSR when it supports local communities even though social contract may present just a partial involvement in the concept. Hence there is the need to highlight the commercial benefit recommended by the instrumental CSR theory that enhances firms' image and facilitates their acquisition of SLO. Up to this stage, I have gradually built a case for the need for business to extend its responsibilities beyond just the shareholders to a broader society. I have also discussed the theories that underpin this need. From this point the shareholder and stakeholder perspectives will be discussed in detail.

2.9 Friedman's premises of corporations and their social responsibility
Friedman (1970) argues that:

Only human beings have moral responsibility for their actions. He explained that corporations are not human beings and therefore cannot assume moral responsibility for their actions. It is human beings who set the corporation up hence them and not the corporation should be held responsible for actions. Again, managers are not trained

politicians to set and attain social goals. Consequently, they cannot decide what is in the best interest of society.

Furthermore, the responsibility of company managers is solely to generate profit for the shareholders and act in their interest (also see Jensen 2002). Friedman explained this is why they are employed. Therefore any action outside this responsibility amounts to a breach of their authority. Profit maximisation is the basis upon which the company is set up and therefore if it pays its taxes and performs all its legal responsibilities to the state then there is nothing to worry about social responsibility. Friedman's argument means that the company works within the framework of regulations set by the government. Sundaram & Inkpen (2004) agreed that social problems are the responsibility of government and not the corporation. Employees and other stakeholders' interest must be protected by government regulations. Therefore the firm should not worry about them so long as it pays its taxes. Meanwhile, as discussed earlier, laws have limitations in scope to demand responsible behaviour. Therefore, I argue that where there are no strict regulations or when for corrupt reasons the state fails to enact laws to protect other stakeholders then the firm may not be accountable to anyone. Ghemawat (2003) further argued that the technological advancement and globalisation has made it possible for firms to avoid national laws by comparing those of various nations and locating in nations with weaker and favourable laws. Therefore it is difficult for the state alone to set regulations and regulate business operations within its territory. These views emerged from agency theory.

2.10 The Agency Theory
Agency theory is an economic theory that originated in the 1960s and 70s to explore risk sharing between groups and individuals (e.g., Wilson 1968; Arrow 1971). It evolved from "Agency relationships that are created when one party, the principal, enters into a

contractual agreement with a second party, the agent, and delegates to the latter responsibility for carrying out a function or set of functions on the principals behalf" (Kassim and Menon 2003, p.122 (see also Jensen & Meckling 1976). The theory can be applied to the contract relationship that exists between employers-employees, shareholders and managers, the corporation and various stakeholders (Harris and Raviv 1978). In a business context, the shareholder is the principal who contracts a manager or executive (agent) to manage the day-to-day operations of the business on his behalf. The principal can also be the organisation who delegates responsibilities to another party to minimise transaction cost (Kassim and Menon 2003). Consequently, anytime principal is used in this report, it either stands for shareholders or the corporation (MNMCs) and the agent stands for management. The theory is relevant to the study because it explains the controversy surrounding the use of shareholders' wealth by MNMC managers on CSR programmes.

The theory in this context aims at resolving two main problems that normally occur in the agency (shareholder-corporate) relationship. These are the conflict of interest when the goals of shareholders conflict with those of management and there is difficulty for shareholders to know or have access to information regarding what management does (*information asymmetry*) (Shankman 1999). The other problem is about the sharing of risk when the two parties have different attitudes to risk (Jensen & Meckling 1976; Eisenhardt 1998).

Many times management does not put the agreed upon principles (profit maximisation) into practice (shirking). Pollack (1997) suggests that when incentives exist for management to act contrary to shareholders' wishes, shirking increases. The ability to measure CSR outcomes for example is also critical (e.g., Eisenhardt 1985; Anderson 1985) because not all outcomes are easily measurable. Others also take longer.

To overcome the above challenges shareholders employ Board of Directors (BODs) (Fama & Jensen 1983), and create reporting procedures to provide information regarding the behaviour of management to the shareholders (e.g., Pollack 1997). These BODs are tasked to prevent management from engaging in self-interest projects (e.g., Eisenberg 1976; McCubbins & Schwartz 1984). Boards may use budget cuts and incentive structures that discourage opportunistic behaviour (Kassim & Menon 2003) as restrictive tools. However, these have the disadvantage of preventing profitable investment (Moe 1987) and influence the extent CSR will be engaged. Furthermore, management behaviours are not the sole responsible factors of risk. Economic conditions, government policies and other environmental factors beyond management's control can affect results. Hence Barney (1990), and Jones (1995) suggested the use of cooperation and trust instead to help solve agency problems related to management opportunism.

The traditional agency theory focused on shareholders as the most important stakeholders who have to get the ultimate control. The management appointed by shareholders are expected to be accountable to the shareholders, maximise shareholder wealth and avoid any actions or investments that may be detrimental to this wealth creation (Heracleous & Lan 2012). In this structure, other stakeholders will have to look elsewhere for the protection of their interest (Hansmann & Kraakman 2001). Consequently, legal actions can be taken against management for investment attempts to satisfy a wider stakeholder group (Heracleous & Lan 2012) such as engaging in CSR to satisfy communities.

The theory's strength lies in its ability to examine the importance of self-interest and incentives in organisations (Perrow 1986). It suggests organisational life can be applied to a wider variety of research topics (Eisenhardt 1998). It further highlights the importance of information and implied information is a purchasable commodity that can help principals control opportunistic behaviours of agents through the establishment of

information systems, budgeting, managerial supervision and the engagement of board of directors (Eisenhardt 1998).

However, this shareholder primacy has received much criticisms to make the agency (shareholder) theory myopic and outdated. For example it has been argued that the control of corporate assets and results do not lie with shareholders in corporate practice (e.g., Stout 2002; 2003; Bainbridge 2002; Dalton et al 2003) and that shareholders are mostly passive (Learmount & Roberts 2006; Guerrera 2009; Heracleous & Lan 2012). Ghoshal (2005) noted that it is far too easy for shareholders to dispose of their shares than it takes for an employee to get another job. Therefore putting their interest above other stakeholders is just unfair and inappropriate. Hirsch et al (1987), Perrow (1986), Dalton et al (2007), and Learmount & Roberts (2006) have also disagreed with shareholder primacy. Hirsch et al, and Perrow criticised shareholder theory as being too positivist, narrow minded and almost useless in solving social problems. Perrow suggested that it neglects the potential of exploiting other stakeholders. Ghoshal (2005), Aguilera et al (2006) and Davis (2005) questioned its self-interest and control assumptions as being more applicable to Anglo-American governance relationship rather than a universal approach (see also Young et al 2008; McCarthy & Puffer 2008). Sundaramurthy and Lewis (2003) continued that the assumptions are inconsistent with systems of corporate governance that promote collaborative behaviour. Lubatkin (2005) further contend that the assumptions present limited comprehension of the complexities of the real situations in organizations. Donaldson (1990) contested its painting of managers as immoral characters who defraud shareholders.

Ferran (1999) suggested that directors are not agents of shareholders as the agency theory assumes but rather autonomous bodies and one of the many stakeholders of the corporation (see also Blair & Stout 2001; Easterbrook & Fischel 1991). Employees,

creditors, managers, communities and local governments all make positive contributions into the organisation's success, comparable to the team of production (e.g., Stout 2002; Kaufman & Englander 2005). Heracleous and Lan (2012) equally argue that the legal framework of the agency theory sees the corporation as a separate entity with the managers as part of a wider stakeholder group instead. Therefore directors/managers should manage the corporation independently after their engagement by shareholders without the latter's interference (Frankel 1983). They must be able to take risky decisions that will benefit all parties even when this will lead to short-term loses (Marchesani 2007).

This new focus of the agency theory is consistent with the stakeholder theory as it recognises that other stakeholders also have legitimate right, claims and concerns on the firm. As such Jensen (2008, p. 167) stated that "stockholder value maximisation has been very wrong from the social viewpoint from the start. Maximising the value of the firm's equity will not produce maximum value for the firm as a whole. Maximising total firm value will get us to the efficient frontier for society". Consequently, Ghoshal (2005) and Daily et al (2003) call for the need to broaden the scope to more complex range and be complemented by other theories to enhance its full potential.

Ferran (1999), and Farrar & Hannigan (1998) explained that although shareholders own the shares, they do not own the corporation because it is a legal entity and hence autonomous. Its status permits it to grant limited liabilities to shareholders and this is what protects shareholders from being personally liable to the corporation's debts (Heracleous & Lan 2012). Consequently, the corporation takes a stakeholder perspective and management, including directors mediate to balance competing stakeholder claims on corporate resources. In this regard Nixon et al (2004) and Cascio (2002) remark that any firm that overly focuses on the profit maximisation and ignores the interest of other stakeholders will suffer in the long-term and lead to corporate failure eventually. These

perspectives, the limitations and narrow focus of the agency theory suggest its reorientation to a broader theory hence the birth of the stakeholder theory.

2.11 The Stakeholder Theory

Stark (1994) contend that the stakeholder theory is the most popular in CSR. Though the theory dates to the 1960s, its critical adoption was epitomised in the 1980s (Freeman 1984). Stakeholder theory looks at various individuals, groups or institutions to whom the corporation owes responsibilities. The theory explains that companies are not managed in the sole interest of shareholders but in the interest of many other stakeholder groups as well. These groups have legitimate stake in the affairs of the company because they make direct and indirect contributions, and sacrifices into the operations of the firm. The theory recognises other stakeholders as members of a team (Heracleous & Lan 2012).

Margolis &Walsh (2003) and Walsh et al (2003) mentioned that prior to the development of this theory, many writers considered only the economic role of the enterprise in their social responsibility research. Even today, many firms are likely to respond quickly to the stakeholders who have the power to harm their profit aspiration (McWIlliams & Siegel 2001; Henriques & Sadorsky 1999 and Perez-Batres et al 2010). This idea agrees with Friedman's position on the responsibility of the firm and that any activity of CSR must pay off (McWilliam and Siegel 2001).

Various definitions have suggested that the stakeholder stands to benefit or get harmed by the activities of the company. For example Freeman (1984, p. 46) defined a stakeholder as "any individual or group that is affected or can affect the operations of the company as it tries to achieve its objectives". Among various definitions, the one proposed by Hill and Jones (2007) which states that the stakeholder includes constituents who have legitimate claim on the firm established through the existence of an exchange relationship who supply the firm with critical resources, appears more relevant to this

study. This is because these constituents make a contribution to the firm and therefore expect some interest to be satisfied in exchange. Evans and Freeman (1993) explained that two basic principles must be followed in defining stakeholders. These are the principle of "corporate rights" which explains that the company has a legitimate obligation not to violate the rights of others. The second principle is the principle of "corporate effect" which seeks to explain that companies should be responsible for the effects their operations have on others. The common good principle is also important in stakeholder theory. It explains that business must contribute to the common good of society because that is where it operates. It must not be harmful to society or act like a parasite on society but rather be a contributor to society's wellbeing (Mele 2002). Mele continued that this contribution can be in diverse ways including the provision of social amenities, respect and dignity for individual rights as well as living harmoniously and peacefully now and in the future.

From Evans and Freeman's (1993) description of 'corporate effect' and 'corporate right' principles, I argue that stakeholders may vary from one company to another. Even the same company can have different stakeholders at different times and under different circumstances when certain tasks are to be performed. Evidence suggest the scope has moved beyond the traditional employees, customers, shareholders and suppliers dimension where the firm is situated in the middle, to a complex network where suppliers' suppliers are considered an important part of the exchange relationship (Rowley 1997). In the traditional model (as discussed in the agency theory), the shareholder is the most important stakeholder as he supplies the resources needed to start the business operations. Hence his or her interest overrides all. The modern model goes beyond the four to include community, environment, media, competitors, government, etc.

2.11.1 Why stakeholders are important

Although employees use their mental and physical capabilities to turn resources into finished goods and services to generate profit, government creates the enabling environment for the firm to peacefully operate and make the profit to satisfy shareholders. This is done through the provision of infrastructure and enactment of laws to protect the company from social misfits. Without these, the profit aspiration to satisfy shareholders will be impossible to achieve. These laws protect corporate facilities, patents and prevents unhealthy competition. Consequently, it is appropriate for the company to owe government some responsibilities in exchange. These responsibilities could include the payment of taxes and royalties, and being a partner in development. Communities likewise allow companies to use their land, water resources and other amenities in their operations to generate profit. Hence, they will expect business to provide some benefits in return.

The emphasis that the shareholder's interest should dominate business responsibility has been discussed at length in both the agency and stakeholder theory. However, the inclusion of various stakeholders' interest places a tougher challenge on managers due to their varying expectations that influence the long-term survival of the business (Hall & Vredenburg 2005). This calls for regular stakeholder dialogue (Kaptein & van Tulder, 2003) and led to Donaldson & Preston (1995) describing three forms of stakeholder theory namely *Normative, Descriptive* and *Instrumental* stakeholder theories. The *normative theory* justifies reasons why businesses should take into consideration stakeholders' interest. The *descriptive theory* ascertains how and whether stakeholders' interests are been taken into consideration by the firm. The *instrumental theory* seeks to know whether it is important for business to take stakeholders' interest into consideration.

All these are relevant in CSR implementation. However, the focus of this study is on the descriptive because evidence suggests it lacks exploratory research (e.g., Stuerer 2006).

2.11.2 Types of Stakeholder relationships
Stakeholder relationships in all fields have been changing over the years. In the past some have been very antagonistic with consumer boycotts, employee strikes, suppliers withholding supplies and credit, NGO and civil society chastisement of business among other things. Though this antagonistic behaviour still exists in many parts of the globe, other relationships have surfaced in recent years. More cooperation now exists between businesses and stakeholders (Rondinelli & London 2003; Selsky and Parker 2005; Lin 2012). This takes many forms including strategic alliances, joint ventureships, supplier partnerships, etc. Some of these collaborations are with NGOs (e.g., Le Ber & Branzei 2011; 2010; Burchell & Cook 2012; 20011; 2008; Austin & Seitanidi 2012a), governments and trade unions (Lin 2012). These collaborations are more evident in environmental management and have been growing since the 1990s. Bendell (2000) and Murphy & Bendell (1997) contend that this stakeholder collaborations are done in areas like mining to tackle problems associated with the industry. These help co-create value to solve societal problems (Burchell & Cook 2012; Austin & Seitanidi 2012a). This broader collaboration has spread into other industries.

A key question is why has stakeholder collaboration become necessary? Austin and Seitanidi (2012a) and Austin (2000) explained that the complexity and magnitude of socioeconomic problems that confront society in the entire world goes beyond what individual organisations can handle alone. Therefore businesses have realised that to make an impact on society they must collaborate. Being responsible does not mean carrying the world's problems alone. It means sharing and acknowledging that you are in the situation with others (Visser 2011, p.5). Consequently, collaboration has been

recognised as a sure approach in implementing CSR that helps achieve economic and social missions (Porter & Kramer 2011; Kourula & Laasonen 2010; Selsky & Parker 2005 and Seitanidi 2010; Burchell & Cook 2006). Societal pressure (Campbell 2007; Aguilera et al 2007) coupled with the moral argument for business to assume more responsibility other than the profit maximisation dream (McWilliam & Siegel 2001; Donaldson & Preston 1995) further drives this collaborative partnerships.

Forms of relationship that organisations have with stakeholders according to Crane and Matten (2010) range from '*challenge*' which is based on conflict and opposition, '*one-way support*' where the organisation contributes to other stakeholder(s) without gaining anything in return; '*mutual support*' where the organisation gives and gains something in return. '*Strategic dialogue*' which is a long-term relationship developed between the organisation and the stakeholder(s). In this case they meet regularly to discuss pertinent issues relevant for their mutual existence.

Stakeholder dialogue is therefore a necessary tool in managing corporate social relations because it brings to bear stakeholder interests and demands, and helps in their satisfaction (Burchell & Cook 2008). Furthermore, more involvement of stakeholders leads to democratic governance which also enhances corporate accountability and learning (Burchell & Cook 2011; 2008; Lawrence 2002). However, stakeholder dialogue has mostly been between corporate and government and recently corporate and civil society (e.g., Burchell & Cook 2012; 2011), government and unions (e.g., Lin 2012) without much focus on business-community engagements hence this study.

2.12 Mining and community dialogue
Mining decisions can be very complex. Some simply consider it as having to do with right and wrong and brings morality into the picture (e.g., Morris 2004). However, what one considers as right another might consider otherwise. For example community

members who encroach MNMCs concessions to make a living may interpret their action as normal but to the MNMCs it is wrong because their investment has been taken for free. To the MNMCs, this amounts to stealing and deprivation of return on investment. Deciding whether moral status should be assigned to a mining situation should be dependent on the following: The possibility of the decision having effect on others whether positive or negative; whether the decision maker has the alternative of not doing what has been done. Dilemmas result when the decision maker realises that alternative choices exist. Moral status should also consider whether the decision is regarded by others as relevant ethically (e.g., Crane and Matten 2004).

Consequently, CSR implementation has come with the constant call for MNMCs' to engage with a broader stakeholder network in dialogue. Again, the increasing demand and expectations of stakeholders has led to the need to reorientate stakeholder theory from firm centric perspective for a better management of stakeholder relationships. However, managing expectations has dominated the field (e.g., Whiteman &Mamen 2002; Jonker & Nijhof 2006). Research has focused more on how to help MNMCs prioritise stakeholder demand and effectively disseminate information (social accounting report) even though these have been found by Berchicci & King (2007) and Perego & Kolk (2012) to lead to weak engagement and greenwashing rather than dialogue. This form of interaction is one-way and largely controlled by MNMCs. Again, by focusing more on information dissemination rather than dialogue, MNMCs define for themselves the information that they perceive stakeholders required instead of reacting to the issues of concern needed by stakeholders (e.g., Crane and Livesey 2003). To improve, many have called for organisations to transcend stakeholder management to stakeholder dialogue (e.g., Kaptien & van Tulder 2003). The UN and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention 169 have for instance called for host communities to be

involved in mining decision-making and respect for indigenous people's right of consultation (Whiteman and Mamen 2001). Indeed Kaptein & van Tulder (2003) found that the best way to resolve confrontations and promote peaceful coexistence between the firm and the multiple stakeholders is through stakeholder dialogue. Dialogue is therefore the process of interactions between business and stakeholders that transcend unilateral information delivery and control to reciprocal engagement and information sharing (e.g., Payne & Calton 2002) that encourages frequent two-way interaction (Burchell and Cook 2011). It is also seen as a means by which progressive engagements and understandings rather than conflictual processes of communication are arrived at (Millar et al 2004; Arts 2002) and these are built on trust and transparency that result from involvement in decisions. It involves commitment to ensure productive problem solving through listening and learning from each other (Lawrence 2002; Kaptein & Wempe 2002). Kaptien & van Tulder (2003) and Payne & Calton (2002) argued that dialogue helps change preconceived ideas for mutual benefits.

During dialogue both present and future expectations are discussed and the standards of operations developed. Through dialogue the MNMCs can explain to communities the challenges they face and address unclear signals (e.g., Wheeler & Silampaa1997; Payne & Calton 2002). Dialogue also provides the opportunity for adequate understanding of stakeholders' expectations, what communities consider very pertinent and how well MNMCs are living up to these expectations (e.g., Waddock & Smith 2000; Zadek 1997). Even if MNMCs will not be able to meet specific demands, they will be able to better explain to them why. Bendell (2000) and Crane & Livesey (2003) added that stakeholder dialogue helps bring all stakeholders' views on the operations of the organisation to bear. Fung (2003) continued that when dialogue is participatory and inclusive of a wider stakeholder group, democratic and transparent relationship between the corporation and

stakeholders will be facilitated. However, existing legal and dialogue frameworks in Ghana have not incorporated these into mining decision-making. Again, I posit that the voluntary nature of dialogue can compromise its effectiveness. Furthermore, the final decision can be influenced by the one who initiates the process and/or has power to influence decisions.

The processes and procedures that lead to decision-making can either be formal or informal interactions or both (Folger & Cropanzano 1998). Bies & Moag (1986) contend that for individuals to perceive outcomes of interactions to be just, social sensitivity must be incorporated into the dialogue process by the decision-makers. This social sensitivity ensures that parties to the dialogue are treated with respect, honesty, kindness, politeness and transparency (Kaptien & van Tulder 2003; Rahim et al 2000; Lawrence 2002). Lawrence noted that when exchanges are unfavourable, the marginalised party will feel that their dignity has been attacked and the interactions can be interpreted as unjust. Because traditional communities adopt a collective approach to decision-making, Whiteman & Mamen (2002) suggested that the perception of indigenous people about justice in interactions is vital to conflict resolution. Displaying mutual respect during interactions is also fundamental to effective dialogue (Kaptien & van Tulder 2003; Lawrence et al 1997). Consequently, the issues to consider in MNMC-community engagements is whether the former takes the culture and traditional laws of host communities into consideration and demonstrate any respect for these cultural norms during their dialogue processes. Do they also consider other socioeconomic factors?

Indigenous communities rely heavily on oral communication. Consequently, verbal commitments are necessary in improving dialogue. Meanwhile these are contrary to western concepts that regard verbal communication as informal. Furthermore, studies

imply that conflict resolution attempts that do not consider historic misgivings will not produce satisfactory dialogue results (e.g., Pettigrew 1997).

The dialogue procedures used to arrive at the final decisions are also important in natural resource management and conflict resolution. According to Jones (1980, p.65) "corporate behaviour should not be judged by the decisions actually reached but the process by which they are reached". By this, he intimated the need to focus on the decision-making process rather than the outcome of the decisions themselves in CSR implementation. From this, it can be deduced that if the process of CSR decision-making is wrong then automatically the final CSR activity will also be wrong. For instance Lind & Tyler (1988) argued that people will perceive dialogue decisions to be fair if they think the procedure followed to arrive at those decisions are fair and just. Lawrence et al (1997) continued that this fairness is important in mineral resource decision-making and can influence the level of confidence and acceptance of the final decision by the dialogue parties (e.g., Tyler & Cain 1981). Even though dialogue procedures are very important in decision-making, the subject lacks much empirical studies (Whiteman & Mamen 2001). Therefore, I argue that the decision-making procedure in natural resource management would be even more crucial and effective when host communities perceive it to be fair by their own cultural standard. This may however be contrary to what MNMCs perceive to be fair.

Husted (1998) suggested three main elements that determine fairness in dialogue procedures. These are choice, voice and feedback. The *choice* has to do with the composition of the parties including who gets involved and who is left out. In mining decisions-making, do traditional leaders and spiritualist for instance get the opportunity to participate in dialogue processes? Where do such meetings take place and in what settings? Whiteman & Cooper (2000) argued that whereas corporate decision-making takes place in boardrooms, indigenous ones are made within the locality.

The *voice* explains whether the parties to the dialogue are given adequate voice to influence decisions. This includes the language used, whether communication is two-way or one-way, and the power differentials between the participating members. Burton & Ruppert (1999) for instance argued that indigenous people sometimes use storytelling and myths to communicate and illustrate fundamental issues. However, these may be considered irrelevant by western concepts of communication. Consequently, I argue that natural resource decision-making at the state and MNMC levels without community consultation that factor these traditional norms into the process may lead to acceptance challenges. Effective dialogue therefore may be influenced by the extent to which the process incorporates mechanisms that provide stakeholder education and understanding of mining cost and benefits to communities.

The *feedback* considers whether participants are given convincing explanations to the decisions taken. Kaptien & van Tulder (2003), Lawrence et al (1997) and Lawrence (2002) implied the importance of feedback in providing justification for mining decisions to participants cannot be overemphasised. In providing feedback, traditional communities may perceive public relations as western concept that deceives. Therefore MNMCs must be careful about its use in providing feedback. During conflict management and grievance handling situations, host communities may prefer extended meetings where parties will engage in longer hours of talk until they are able to reach harmonious compromise. And when this is absent the process is likely to be judged as unfair.

According to Bash and Bastien (1997), while in developed economies like Australia and Canada indeginous people are able to adequately negotiate natural resource management through memorandum of understanding between state, community and MNMCs during mining dialogue, the opposite is the case in most developing countries. Corrupt governments take advantage of the situation to make fair negotiations problematic.

Equally, MNMCs are able to divide communities and thereby weaken their negotiation power during dialogue meetings (Whiteman and Mamen 2002).

The lack of understanding between dialogue and consultation may create many problems between stakeholders in the mining industry. Nettleton (2000) noted that most MNMCs and states have narrow perception of what constitutes adequate dialogue and refer to consultation as dialogue (see also Rockwell 2003). This has become a major setback in natural resource management because MNMCs have regarded it as a one-way communication that does not make room for amendment to project plans. Contrary, communities and civil societies may see dialogue as a broad process that allow meaningful expression of community concerns that need acting upon by both MNMCs and the state. Consequently, Chapman et al (2005) distinguished between dialogue and discussion. They argued that discussion focuses on parties stating, advocating, and trying to convince others to accept their point of view as the ideal and most valid option. Contrary, dialogue has a more open approach, and involves breaking down entrenched positions and assumptions. Consequently, openness and willingness to consider opposing views become central to dialogue engagements and differentiates dialogue from debates and negotiations.

Participation in dialogue need to be broad and should include minorities, women, the disable, the poor, and the youth. However, certain cultural norms may prevent women from expressing their views when men are present (e.g., Islamic cultures) and this may lead to marginalisation. Barriers to participation in dialogue include poverty, illiteracy, dependence, and control over resource, lack of information, power imbalance and past experience (Pandy 1998; Frooman 1999). Consequently, many host communities are likely to be hindered by these factors during dialogue processes (O'Faircheallaigh 2010). More discussion about power will be addressed in the next chapter. However, although

it is evidently clear that the importance of dialogue and its drivers in stakeholder relations cannot be overemphasised, relatively limited empirical studies have been carried out into the dialogue processes and their outcomes (Burchell and Cook 2008) especially in the mining industry in Ghana.

2.13 Drivers of Stakeholder Dialogue

Drivers to engagement in mining include risk to brand reputation, need to secure and maintain SLO to reduce conflict (e.g., Slack 2012 and Kemp 2010) and the associated problem of resource curse (Auty 1993 2001), desire to ensure peaceful coexistence (Kende 1968) and perception of engagement (Lawrence 2002). Because brand reputation has been thoroughly discussed under why companies engage in CSR, this will not be repeated here. However, to what extent are MNMCs' reputation threatened when their end products are sold anonymously by other companies down the distribution and value chain, and their interests are closely aligned with that of the state? I will now discuss the drivers one after the other.

2.13.1 The need to secure Social License to Operate (SLO) and reduce conflict

Slack (2012) argued that conflict between MNMCs and indigenous communities have resulted in many mining project delays. Some have been abandoned with significant losses to the corporations. Community oppositions have also led to legal suite, and roadblocks (Whiteman and Mamen 2002). All these affect MNMCs' operations significantly. To minimise, if not eliminate these completely, MNMCs are driven to dialogue to secure communities' SLO (Slack 2012).

The Social License to Operate (SLO) is a contract between MNMCs and host communities that set the rules. It was developed in response to the UN initiative requiring companies operating in indigenous people's territories to first secure their free, prior and informed consent in issues regarding their land and other resources before commencing

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operation (Wilburn &Wilburn 2011; UN 2004; Salim 2003). Salim (2003) mentioned that it is acquired through mutual engagement with communities in forums where negotiations on conditions by the communities are arrived at after serious analysis of the likely impact of the company's operations is carried out. The free, prior and informed consent and the social license to operate give the community power to say no or withdraw its support for a company operating or intending to operate in its territory. This means that social license is an intangible, non-permanent and ongoing acceptance of a firm's activities by the community (Nelson and Scoble 2006). Lassonde (2003) posits that without community support company projects will go nowhere. He continued that social license is the belief and acceptance of the value creation of the company by the community such that it is allowed to extract the resources of the community for mutual benefits. However, this is not granted by going to government ministries, paying a fee or through applications. A fundamental objective of gaining a social license is to ensure project risks are minimised, and this money cannot buy. Wilburn & Wilburn (2011) admit that SLO is difficult to achieve because it is voluntary and has multiple sub-stakeholders within the community. Some of these stakeholders may agree the establishment of a new mine or expansion of an existing one whiles others may not. Nelson & Scoble (2006) call for a situational analysis and research prior to the development of the mine to understand the cultures, norms, and language of the community to help gain their social license.[3]

Because surface mining is associated with displacement of people and impact economic livelihoods in remote areas, gaining the social license to operate becomes even more

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[3] This Veiga et al (2001) mentioned Newmont did not do in Peru when its contractor was involved in an accident that spilled mercury resulting in the death of many. They explained that if Newmont had conducted or familiarised itself with the culture of the people it would have understood in advance that the community had a cultural belief in the use of mercury for spiritual exercise and for other uses and so would have developed a different approach to minimise the impact when the accident occurred.

important if the company will survive (Nelson & Scoble 2006). It is through effective community engagement and dialogue that social license is gained (Wilburn & Wilburn 2011; Nelson & Scoble 2006). Unfortunately, Thomson & Boutilier (2011) contend that many companies underestimate the need to build relationship with the local community. They also overlook the essence of providing information that members of the community need on the project to help them make decisions. Credibility, trust and social legitimacy are key fundamental building blocks in securing SLO and come through community engagement and consultations (Thomson & Boutilier 2011). In the definition of the community in granting a social license, Asmus (2009) raised the need to address three main questions which are the definition of the parameters of the community whether based on geographical dimension; what process is used to determine agreement when there is a lack of consensus e.g., majority decision; and what represents adequate level of consent. Slack (2009) contend that if a community's consent must be gained before actual mining work begins in the community then the company must consider the community as a partner rather than a stumbling block that must be overcome. And to do this calls for the company providing transparent and critical information and enough time to the community to assess their needs before making a decision as to whether to accept a company's presence in the community. The acquisition of SLO requires the company going beyond traditional strategic management to develop a philosophy that meets the needs of all stakeholders in the community. A framework that looks at the economic, socio-cultural and environmental factors that can affect the company's operations in the community must be employed and innovative ways found to address any gaps.

For a company to know whether it has acquired the social license or not, Nelson and Scoble (2006) mentioned that the results from community consultation plus a letter of support from the community are the main indicators of acquisition. However, the

question I ask is who writes the letter and what happens when the writer has personal interest in the mines or is perceived to be corrupt by community members?

Another weakness of the SLO theory is that it assumes that the communities have the ownership rights of all the resources in their communities, which is not the case in the Ghanaian context. In Ghana, all mineral deposits in every land in the country are owned by the government. Therefore people living on the land only have surface rights and limited authority to say no to any company that the government gives mining rights. This is what makes the Ghanaian case a unique context for further exploration.

2.13.2 The need to reduce conflict and its associated problem of resource curse

Pondy (1992) describe conflict as a series of episodes that include stages of latency, feeling, perception, manifestation and aftermath. Latency denotes antecedent conditions within; feeling reveals the affective, perception- the cognitive level, which manifests in behaviour with the aftermath showing the impact on relationship between the parties and the wider environment. Conflict affects productivity, stability and adaptability (Pondy 1992). Consequently, MNMCs will be driven to dialogue in order to prevent the impact of conflict on productivity. Pondy also noted that there are three types of conflict which are bureaucratic, bargaining and systems conflicts. Contribution and inducements are the two main methods of organisations reaction to conflict. They can resolve conflicts by either withdrawing, altering their behaviour and values within the relationship, or by altering the entire relationship. However, due to the significant investment MNMCs have made in mining communities in Ghana, instant withdrawal may not be cost effective. Altering behaviour looks more realistic hence they may be driven to dialogue to ascertain which behaviours need altering.

There are two major conflict management models according to Thomas (1992), Ury et al (1988) and Brown (1983) which are the process and structural models. The process model

deals with the internal dynamics of conflict and suggests that conflict moves through five key stages which are frustration, conceptualisation, behaviour, interaction and outcomes. At the frustration stage the conflict is seen to come from one party's perception that the other(s) frustrate(s) the satisfaction of its concerns. At the conceptualisation stage the parties define the conflict in terms of its possible outcomes. The behaviour stage deals with the different modes of handling conflict including the strategic and tactical objectives. The interaction stage deals with the pattern of behaviours between the conflicting parties that influence the escalation or otherwise of the conflict and the factors that promote or discourage it. The outcomes look at the aftermath of the conflict in both the long-term and short-term. According to Thomas, other third parties also play various roles in fanning the flames or resolving the conflict.

The structural model on the other hand aims at examining the various parameters that apply across conflict episodes. It captures four factors that affect interactions in conflict. These are the predispositions of individual parties in the conflict, the size of the stakes or incentives and conflicts of interest in the dispute, the social pressures on the parties in the conflict, and the procedures and rules that govern behaviour of parties in the conflict. The incentive structures involve the level of incompatibility or compatibility of the parties in the relationship, the greatness of interests at stake and the degree to which incentives are drafted to reward cooperation or competition. The procedures and rules explain the availability of rules that govern how conflicts can be settled, whether there is availability of third parties, and how dialogue is operationalised among the parties.

Incessant external pressure for organisations to meet environmental conformity and social programmes motivates conflict management theorists to focus more on a combination of both the structural and process models in managing conflict. The involvement of top management is said to be paramount in conflict management (Brown

1992). They are the decision-makers in the organisation and influencers of corporate decisions so if they get involved in the conflict resolution it works better. However, as Brown argued, managers are not likely to adopt perspectives that violate their own assumptions (p. 305) which then makes conflict resolution between the company and its external stakeholders more difficult especially when the decisions that lead to the resolution do not favour managers.

In resolving conflicts, Blake and Mouton (1964) and Thomas (1976) argued that the best approach is through collaboration. All other means are either obnoxious or less useful. However, according to Robbins (1974), Brown (1992) and van Huijstee & Glasbergen (2010) collaboration is just one of the approaches but probably not always the best to achieve peaceful coexistence among diverse and interdependent relationships. Walton & McKersie (1965) for instance have criticised the overreliance on collaboration in conflict resolution. Brown argued that early conflict management theorists also emphasised the focus on intergroup and interpersonal levels of analysis in relationship. However today, conflict resolution researchers have extended their analysis to include power difference and inter-organisational relationships. The analysis of organisations and their environments have also been suggested if conflicts can be resolved. Governments have been forced by civil society to intervene in organisations' operations; organisations themselves have increased their activities leading to many consequences on the interdependencies of other stakeholders and the environment (Trist 1983; Emery and Trist 1965). But how far have these approaches been successful in Ghana's mining industry? For these reasons management theorists have called for the expansion in the perspectives in theories managing conflict (Brown1992).

Some of the factors to be considered in today's conflict management include global diversity and interdependency; decline in perceived legitimacy in authority due to

increase in civil society and media pressure. "As established orders and authority becomes less respected and legitimate, negotiations over power and power differences become increasingly difficult and complex" (Brown 1992, p.305). I contend that the widening gap between the rich and the poor and the tendency for the rich to keep getting richer and the poor poorer in society can impede conflict resolution. In other words power differences, interdependency, ideological differences and lawlessness can lead to conflict explosion.

To be able to better manage conflict, conflict management theorists should develop theories that focus attention on dealing with the gap between the "rich and the poor, the powerful and powerless, multicultural and multinational constituencies; individual, group, organisation and societal level of analysis; and theories that influence the process, structure, ideological and contextual aspects that determine conflict outcomes" (Brown 1992, p.306). Crowfoot & Wondelleck (1990), Trist (1983), and Gray (1989) argued that existing conflict resolution theories do not focus on intergroup, interpersonal and intersociety-interorganisational factors.

To reduce mining conflict, McPhil (2008) suggested the adoption of a reformation of mineral legislation, improved governance, and macroeconomic management. Others suggest the adoption of the Extractive Industries Transparency International (EITI) initiative that recommends the avoidance of minerals from conflict and corruption zones on the world market (e.g., Lawson & Bentil 2014). The EITI calls for adequate community involvement in mineral decision-making. The ICMM has also encouraged MNMCs to engage in CSR and adopt the ISO 26000 social responsibility performance measurement to improve community relations. It has for instance given guidelines as to how mine closures should be integratively done (ICMM 2008). However, irrespective of the increasing adoption of CSR and these standards, criticisms arise about their role in

socio-economic development and environmental management (Littlewood 2014). Hamann (2004) for instance questioned to what extent environmental and socially responsible mining practices have been adequately integrated into mining decision-making. Again, because they are voluntary, they fail to address major concerns. Many critics are also of the view that refusing to buy from countries and organisations that have these challenges is an indirect erection of barriers aimed at eliminating weaker countries from benefiting from international trade (e.g., Zadek 2004).

2.13.2.1 Conflict, host community lands and justice
The upsurge of trade liberalisation and the privatisation of previously government owned mining corporations have led to increased presence of MNMCs in less developed countries across the globe. Technological improvement has also resulted in mining economics, such that it is now possible for MNMCs to engage in mining activities which hitherto were considered unprofitable. However, this expansion of mineral exploration has constantly occurred in areas occupied by indigenous people (Whiteman and Mamen 2002). Furthermore, depending on where the mineral deposit is located, mining leads to resettlement sometimes of a whole community. This impacts social life, culture, traditions and indigenous activities (e.g., Gifford et al 2010). Consequently, many have faced conflictual relationships with these MNMCs. Some other reasons for conflict include competition over land-use, inequality in economic distribution of mineral revenue and poor environmental management. Whiteman & Mamen (2002) and Garvin et al (2009) further argued that some of the social impact of mining relate to community health, breakdown and adulteration of community and family culture. This breakdown can also have serious influence on community perception of MNMCs.

Mining also has directly impacted livelihoods, socio-economic life after mine closure, and rights of host communities (Littlewood 2014; Kemp 2010; Manteaw 2007; Newell

2005; Hamann & Kapelus 2004). All these have required the need to dialogue. I argue that although mining communities are not rich economically, their subsistence farming activities are very important to their economic survival. And even though mining brings some economic benefits, it also results in serious economic decline as land is lost and other activities such as hunting are compromised (e.g., O'Faircheallaigh 1991). Consequently, this study implies that host communities' perception of MNMCs will be highly influenced partly by the level of direct and indirect economic impact mining will have on communities. Equally, indigenous people's perception of justice may also be seen from the level of control they have over the natural resources in the land on which they live and whether existing legal frameworks address these.

From the perspective of corporations, the above conflictual situations affect corporate reputation, investment opportunities and share prices. As Slack (2012) argued earlier, conflict between MNMCs and indigenous communities have resulted in many mining project cost and losses to the corporations. Community oppositions have also led to legal suite, and roadblocks (Whiteman and Mamen 2002). Consequently, MNMCs-community conflicts have become a global issue (Slack 2012). To minimise these challenges MNMCs may be driven to dialogue with stakeholders.

According to Rahim et al (2000) conflict results when a party's values, goals, and beliefs are perceived to be incompatible to those of the other. Blalock (1989) continued that differences in world views, claims to scarce resources and power influence social conflict. Mining conflicts are often intractable, rooted in values, morality, and influenced by identity frames held. These occur over distributional issues which are of high importance (Gray 1997) and may need dialogue to resolve.

Although natural resource management and development studies literature have suggested the need to focus more on the study of conflict between host communities and MNMCs (e.g., Klare 2001), it has been noticed that the responses to this call have focused on the outcomes, impact of mining on host communities and the sharing of benefits (O'Faircheallaigh 1998). Limited attention has been paid to the decision-making process and the conflictual issues related to the mineral resource management, especially from community perspective of the stakeholder theory. Furthermore, Lawrence et al, (1997) argued that studies on the involvement in natural resource decision-making have not considered the extent of fairness of stakeholder involvement in the procedures. Instead, these have focused on outcomes.

Evidence suggests cross cultural differences significantly affect conflict management (e.g., Fry & Bjorkqvist 1997). Although these studies are well grounded according to Whiteman and Mamen (2002), organisational justice studies on MNMC-indigenous conflict related to natural resources decision-making are few if any. Consequently, I propose that a better understanding of dialogue from the cultural perspective of host communities will promote meaningful dialogue to enhance peaceful coexistence between MNMCs and host communities. For this reason the adoption of the stakeholder perspective recommended by Stuerer (2006), Friedman and Miles (2002) for the analysis becomes relevant. This is because this understanding will unravel the root causes of conflict between these stakeholders. I make use of social contract, stakeholder, and SLO theories to examine the dynamics that prevent meaningful dialogue, taking into consideration how local culture influences community expectations of dialogue. The stakeholder theory is combined with peaceful coexistence theory to develop a more inclusive framework for the study because understanding community perspective of CSR

and dialogue will help improve business-society relationship to promote peaceful coexistence.

2.13.3 The desire to achieve Peaceful Coexistence

The desire to achieve peaceful coexistence can drive MNMCs and stakeholders to engage in dialogue. Peaceful coexistence is a socialist and political theory that emanated from Russia in the 1920s but became popular in the 1950s and 60s. (Kende 1968; Lipson 1964). It rests on the principles of: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs (Lipson 1964), and the renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes. It recommends the employment of dialogue, trust, mutual understanding, and consideration of each other's interest, promotion of cultural and economic cooperation among stakeholders (Kende 1968). The theory applies to business-stakeholder relationships (how firms can coexist peacefully with their stakeholders). The theory believes that it is wrong to want to profit from other people through aggression, oppression and enslavement. It also believes that conflict produces grief, resentment, pain, misery and devastation. If placed on a continuum, peaceful coexistence would perhaps be considered the most idealistic level to be when the causes of conflict are removed with the opposite end open conflict. It is achieved when each stakeholder acts and makes decisions that are mutually beneficial and acceptable to the other parties.

The term means many things but not the same thing to everyone. Some think it means the maximum support for the weak and oppressed. Others argue it does not mean war and violence are wrong. Still others think there must be conflicts but weapons should not be used (Lipson 1962; Kende 1968). Walzer (1997) for instance equates it to tolerance. However, Tinder (1998) questioned whether toleration is good especially in a situation where power is imbalanced such as in a master and servant relationship. The master and the slave are expected to tolerate each other and pretend that all is well. Such is the

relationship that exist between many MNMCs and host communities. But can this be peaceful coexistence? If that is the case then peaceful coexistence is far from good. For example Lipson (1964) argued that this type of coexistence is a cold war that lacks the tactics to get out of war and can therefore explode at any time. But are host communities really servants of MNMCs? In this study I argue that even the weak (servants) when too much pressed to the wall are likely to fight back. Mosley (1962) thus noted that the different meanings in different contexts and societies make the achievement of genuine peaceful coexistence difficult.

For the purpose of this study, peaceful coexistence is defined as the coexistence of stakeholders from different social systems and cultural backgrounds and involves scientific, economic, and cultural cooperation between various stakeholders on issues where they have common interest (e.g., see Kende1968). I combine this theory with stakeholder approach to develop a more inclusive framework because I believe that MNMCs can coexist peacefully with communities if certain obstacles are removed. However, the achievement of peaceful coexistence in the surface mining industry in Ghana can be complex than imagined because of several factors including poverty, level of education and the role of the state etc.

Kende pointed out that peaceful coexistence can be seen as a dangerous theory that must be eliminated because it is silent on issues of peoples' right to their resources and any compensation when expropriated. Peaceful coexistence emphasises the need for stakeholders to live side by side each other in harmony, avoiding conflict but at the same time achieving their mutual objectives. Kende (1968) contend peaceful coexistence can help stakeholders know each other's culture and system better and facilitate exchange of information, cultural values and ideas without necessarily interfering in each other's internal affairs and this can only be achieved through dialogue. However, this does not

necessarily mean the parties should definitely love each other (Lipson 1964). As Khrushchev (1959, p.1) explained "it is important to establish normal relations with our neighbours, this is so much the more necessary in the relations between stakeholders belonging to different social systems". The principles of the theory also prohibit actions that change other people's mode of life and system of governance. It encourages equality of the parties, and prohibits the forceful seizure of other peoples' resources (Khrushchev 1959, p. 3). Consequently, host communities would expect MNMCs not to forcefully seize their resources, and violate their sovereignty. Instead MNMCs should show respect, employ dialogue, trust, mutual understanding, and consideration of community interest, promotion of cultural and economic equality in sharing mining benefits.

Stakeholders in the extractive industry may have different ideologies, objectives and social systems. However, these do not mean they should fence themselves from one another. As Khrushchev explained, "peaceful coexistence does not mean just living side by side in the absence of conflict and yet with the constantly remaining threat of it breaking down in the future. Rather, it should and can develop into peaceful competition for the purpose of satisfying man's needs in the best possible way" (p. 4). This principle is criticised for not promoting dispute resolution, and is bias against stakeholders who adhere to different social systems.

Griess (2007) suggest peaceful coexistence can occur if the parties can ignore each other. Though this is dependent upon how removed the company and community are from one and other and that the company "plays by the rules" (43). In situations where some form of mutual dependency underpins the relationship between a company and the community, as is the case in Ghana, the foundations for peaceful coexistence have to be created. Gladwin and Walter (1980) suggest that responsibility for this lays in the attitude the MNMCs take to achieve their aims (to dominate or cooperate). The latter is more likely

when all parties have high levels of interest, interdependence and where efforts to build mutual trust, recognition of other party's interests, open communication and willingness to respond favourably to others' needs is evident. This indicates how MNMCs respond to causes of conflict, and has a significant role in laying the foundations for building peaceful coexistence and for providing a basis for real dialogue to take place.

To be able to effectively and truly apply the principles of peaceful coexistence in deeds rather than in words, Khrushchev recommended that stakeholders should be able to remove personal ideological differences that will serve as obstacles to the achievement of mutual economic advantages. However, he failed to mention the specific factors that serve as the obstacles that prevent the achievement of peaceful coexistence. He also noted that the rejection of peaceful coexistence spells doom that can see relationships in flames. Adopting the theory does not suggest cowardice. Rather, the strength in unity. As Khrushchev suggested "together with our neighbours, we are united and stronger than ever" (1959, p.17). The theory suggests that disputes should be resolved through dialogue and other peaceful methods that agree with the UN Charter (Lipson 1962). Hence, MNMCs and stakeholders may be driven to engage in dialogue to promote coexistence. However, as discussed earlier, the achievement of peaceful coexistence can be very complex.

Other drivers to stakeholder dialogue

Aside the above discussions, NGOs would want to be seen as legitimate solution finders who mount pressure on business but at the same time will want to engage in dialogue to avoid criticism of only being critical of organisations without providing solutions

(Burchell & Cook 2012). Burchell and Cook argued that having won public accreditation for campaigning against negative corporate practice, there has become the need for NGOs to influence policy and social change to maintain their legitimacy. For this reason, environmental NGOs for instance emphasise the need for MNMCs to conserve environmental resources e.g. Forest, mineral resources such as coal, oil etc., which are non-renewable (Hediger 1999). They argue that corporations' activities should not affect the environment negatively and therefore issues like environmental degradation must be taken seriously. Ameer & Othman (2012, p.61) mentioned that practicing sustainability involves the "adoption of a long-term focus and a more inclusive set of responsibilities.... that have beneficial impact on the ecosystems, societies and environments of the future". What is unknown is how environmental impact assessments are doing in developing countries like Ghana and whether there are stringent measures in place to ensure conformity to environmental sustenance.

Mining environmental impact may vary from mine to mine based on the type of operation employed. For example surface mining may have more serious impact compared to underground mining. Disturbances may include land loss, vegetation/forest, underground/surface water contamination, aquatic life destruction, air and noise pollution, etc. Meanwhile, policy related to land reclamation and compensation are mostly poorly designed. Consequently, both business and NGO/civil society would be driven to dialogue for reputational purposes (Burchell and Cook 2011).

Mining communities are also likely to be driven to dialogue to avoid public and corporate criticisms for being antagonistic, violent and inconsiderate in their demands. Likewise, government may want to dialogue with all the above stakeholders in order to be seen as legitimate conflict manager and create the right environment for mutual benefits. However, it is unknown the extent to which these stakeholders are engaging to ensure

successful dialogue. Despite the above advantages, stakeholder dialogue comes with challenges.

2.14 Challenges with stakeholder dialogue and collaborations
Although dialogue is good it does not always lead to mutual benefits. Stakeholder dialogue can be time consuming, and organisations may not have the required resources to engage in such relationship (Burchell and Cook 2008). Austin and Seitanidi (2012b) argue that the process of value creation and the extent it must go are problematic for many organisations. Godfrey & Hatch (2007), and Clark (2007) also argue that not much consideration has been given to the dialogue process. There may also be clashes between companies and stakeholders on values, goals, and beliefs as they try to dialogue (Crane 1998). Porter and Kramer (2006, p.6) further contend that "leaders of the partnering organisations sometimes focus too much on the frictions between them rather than on points of intersection. They continued that partners forget that the temporal gains have potential to undermine the long-term prosperity of all the parties". Baur and Schmitz (2012) suggest the collaboration of not-for-profit organisations with businesses sometimes compromise their independence and credibility as true certifiers. Jamali & Keshishian (2009) and Berger et al (2004) argue that improper analysis of the cost and benefits of the expected potential value, due to either inexperience, underestimation of the gravity of the task and poor preparation result in grave consequences. Berger et al (2004) and Rivera-Santos & Rufin (2010a) added mistrust, ineffective decision making, misallocation of costs and benefits, power imbalance, misunderstanding and unequal apportioning of time for the implementation of agreed objectives as other barriers. The inability to identify the right partners with the highest potential that will ensure synergistic value creation has also been cited. Poor partner selection is also identified as one of the major reasons for dialogue failures according to Holmberg and Cummings

(2009) yet it is not given maximum attention (Austin & Hesselbein, 2002). There is also the problem of schizophrenia where conflicts arise as a result of multiple identities in the dialogue and collaboration process. When one issue has not been completely exhausted, other subjects are brought in by either party which sometimes become very difficult to deal with (Crane and Livesey 2003). Crane & Livesey argued that control over strategic focus and corporate image can become very difficult as companies try to dialogue even when they both have the best intentions. There is no guarantee that an acceptable mutual conclusions can be reached.

Measuring dialogue outcomes is another difficulty. This is because most dialogue outcomes are unquantifiable and intangible in nature. How to measure and harness these intangible benefits pose great challenge. Burchell and Cook (2008) suggested that because of this intangible nature of dialogue benefits, important experiential outcomes of the dialogue processes are ignored during evaluation. These authors consequently admonished that measurement of dialogue's effectiveness can be seen in how it has led to changes in corporate policies and positively affected employees' attitude. Bendell (2000b) also raised the problem of accountability as a major concern in business-stakeholder dialogue. He explained that though stakeholder dialogue addresses and enhances corporate accountability, bringing the stakeholder organisations themselves to the accountability table is mostly overlooked. Making NGOs and trade unions accountable to the general public is not frequently heard. It becomes even worse when for instance governments and others collude behind closed doors. Selskey and Parker (2005) highlight the problem of resistance as parties try to prevent each other sometimes from achieving their collaborative goals in the relationship.

There is also criticism about the motivation or motive behind business drive to dialogue. For example Burchell and Cook (2011) found that in many cases, businesses choose to

engage in dialogue to avert protest against them. Consequently, MNMCs will engage in dialogue with both communities and NGOs to reduce incidences of protest that comes with reputational damage and its associated cost. The problem of selective engagement has also been reported by Burchell and Cook (2008). They explained that stakeholders will not engage in dialogue unless they are sure the process will ensure positive change. Consequently, negative experiences can stifle community motivation to dialogue with MNMCs.

The challenge of being seen to endorse corporate legitimacy when stakeholders agree to dialogue with business also exists. For instance Payne and Calton's (2002) study of stakeholder dialogue and organisational learning revealed that NGOs perceived their engagement with business in dialogue as granting legitimacy to corporate processes. Hence refusing to dialogue was a good strategy to put more pressure on business to want to engage. Consequently, non-engagement in dialogue could be a strategic weapon for communities. Furthermore, expectations are normally raised prior to dialogue and the challenge of how to manage these expectations becomes a difficult issue especially to business.

2.15 Summary and conclusion
In summary, I have found in this chapter that CSR definition has been very difficult to pin down and this can create problems between providers and recipient stakeholders. The review has helped Identify why stakeholders are important to CSR development and revealed why business should focus on a wider stakeholder network rather than the narrow shareholder perspective. Overall, the gaps for this chapter have also emphasised the uncompromising need for dialogue with diversity of stakeholders seeking to influence business behaviour so as to achieve and improve business-stakeholder relationship. I have also examined the drivers to stakeholder dialogue and illustrated that CSR research has

focused mainly on why businesses engage in CSR, what they do and the outcomes but failed to explore the process of engagement. However, to better understand CSR and the stakeholder theory the descriptive process must be explored to complement the above (e.g., Stuerer 2006; Smith 2003). Since CSR relates to stakeholders there is the need for MNMCs to ensure that their CSR initiatives meet stakeholders' expectations to ensure peaceful coexistence. It is obvious from the review that CSR, especially in mining, is a complex subject with unclear definition. This lack of clarity in definition is likely to create misunderstanding between beneficiaries and providers (MNMCs). However, MNMCs will do well to ensure peaceful coexistence if they act in socially responsible ways towards their stakeholders. But this could only be done when MNMCs understand communities' culture, traditional dialogue systems and the broader socioeconomic context before initiating any CSR strategies. Unfortunately, existing CSR research has not focused much on CSR dialogue with host communities (e.g., Whiteman & Mamen 2002). In the next chapter I will examine emerging criticisms of the stakeholder theory including its business and western-centric nature and the need to refocus the stakeholder theory to place stakeholders in the centre of CSR and dialogue approaches rather than the firm. This will help further develop the framework for the subsequent methodology and empirical chapters that will follow.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW (Part Two)

MANAGING STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIP AND THE CRITICISMS OF THE STAKEHOLDER THEORY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two explored the background, of CSR, the drivers of dialogue and various theories underpinning these concepts. In that chapter, I found that the shareholder primacy which emerged from agency theory was no longer sufficient for business operations in society. Consequently, stakeholder pressures have forced business to engage in CSR activities. Meanwhile, there is no standard definition for CSR. Neither is there a CSR model developed for Africa including Ghana. To gain a contextualised understanding of the study, it is important to also examine various criticisms of the stakeholder theory that impact business-stakeholder interactions concerning natural resource management and their practical applications to the mining industry. Hence this chapter is a follow up to chapter two and is in two parts. The first part examines the criticisms of the stakeholder theory including its business and western centric focus, and the power imbalance nature of stakeholder relationship to conclude the theoretical framework for the study. The second part narrows down to practically examine CSR in Africa, the Ubuntu philosophy and the influence of Ghanaian culture on natural resource management decisions. I will also discuss land use and the role of chiefs in development and land management in Ghana. I will conclude the chapter on land and mining, and the history of mining in Ghana to guide readers to understand the dynamics that are likely to influence CSR and dialogue decisions and how they are experienced by communities. I start this chapter by examining how stakeholder relationships are managed so as to identify the gaps and weaknesses of the stakeholder theory.

3.2 Managing stakeholder relationship

As far back as 1978 as quoted by Garriga & Mele, (2004), Emshoff and Freeman presented a paper explaining that stakeholder management has two basic principles. First, the central aim of the Stakeholder theory is to achieve maximum cooperation among stakeholders and the firm to realise its objectives. Second to develop efficient strategies to deal with multiple stakeholders' expectations simultaneously. However, as discussed earlier, managing these multiple stakeholders poses a great challenge to firms (Hall & Vredenburg 2005). It demands companies factoring into their managerial decision-making expectations of all groups with interest in the operations of the company (Mitchell et al, 1997). Hill and Jones (2007) posit that it is in the long-term interest of the firm's owners to balance the needs and expectations of these different stakeholders. Most writers agree that there are conflicting needs and expectations of stakeholders and that the company in many cases may not have sufficient resources to meet all these expectations and so identify the major stakeholders and prioritise their needs to satisfy (e.g., Perez-Batres et al 2012).

In satisfying stakeholder needs, Hart (1995) and Knox et al (2005) suggest that the organisation identifies the stakeholder group likely to influence the organisation's operations and strategically prioritise their needs. This is what Mitchell et al (1997) call stakeholder salience. Murillo-Luna et al (2008) admit that the identification of most influential stakeholders is sometimes very difficult. Consequently, Mitchell et al and David et al (2007) mentioned three main characteristics that firms consider when prioritising stakeholders. These are: ***Power***: The ability of the stakeholder to influence the organisation's actions. ***Legitimacy***: Whether the demands of the stakeholder is proper, important and appropriate and ***Urgency***: How urgent the need and expectation is to be satisfied immediately. In Mitchell et al, (1997) and David et al's (2007) view, the

organisation is likely to attach more importance to those stakeholders who have these three attributes. Mitchell et al graded stakeholders into three: *latent, expectant* and *definitive*. Those who wield only one of the three attributes are considered *latent* and have their expectations considered last while those who possess all the three are termed *definitive* and have their concerns addressed first. The *moderate* stakeholders are those who possess two attributes and are likely to be considered after the definitive ones have been satisfied. Business will normally develop appropriate engaging relationship with the definitive stakeholders to enhance successful operation. This view is underpinned by the corporate perspective of the stakeholder theory as described by Freeman (1984) and is considered firm-centric where the firm is liken to a hub surrounded by various spokes (stakeholders). It considers how faster the hub can spin with the spokes around it (how the firm can better manage stakeholders) and deemed inappropriate in business-stakeholder relationship (e.g., Freeman and Miles 2002).

3.3 Criticisms of the stakeholder theory

sment. Through stakeholder dialogue, preconceived ideas between self and others give way to collaboration because new things are learnt (Payne & Calton 2002; Kaptein & van Tulder 2003). In examining engagement processes, a key aspect that provides better understanding of how the strategic repositioning from company-centric to stakeholder focus by organisations is through engagement and dialogue processes. However, Buchell & Cook (2012; 2011) argued that prior research has to a large extent failed to analyse this process of repositioning from two angles and focused rather on one side due to the dominant focus on business.

Steurer (2006, p.56) extended the stakeholder theory by mapping a three dimensional approach of corporate, stakeholder and conceptual approaches. He explained the "corporate perspective as focussing upon how corporations deal with stakeholders, the

stakeholder perspective as analysing how stakeholders try to influence the corporation while the conceptual perspective explores how particular concepts (Argandona 1998) relate to business-stakeholder interactions".

In analysing the stakeholder theory contribution to research, Stuerer argued that the stakeholder perspective is the most underdeveloped currently and explained the importance of approaching stakeholder dialogue process from a noncorporate-centric perspective. Building on the approach of Donaldson & Preston's (1995) typology of descriptive (what do happen), normative (what should happen) and instrumental (what happens if.) approaches to stakeholder analysis, Stuerer (2006, p. 60) went further by integrating his three dimensional approach. He used his conceptualisation to examine the strength, weaknesses and gaps in studies related to the stakeholder theory. In this regard he argued that the theory is weak in the descriptive analysis of business-stakeholder discussions. He argued that a better understanding of stakeholder engagement underpinned by a descriptive analysis of stakeholder expectations of business and how interactions are carried out in context is important for researchers. Similarly, Andriof & Waddock (2002) and Friedman & Miles (2002) argued that the stakeholder theory has been narrowly focused on the organisation, analysing critical issues from the organisation's perspective as discussed earlier. This corporate perspective is usually underpinned by the instrumental (Andriof et al 2002) and normative theories examining stakeholder relationship impact on firm performance (e.g. Jones 1995). Another dimension of the corporate perspective is the critical management studies spearheaded by authors like Banergee, Jones and Flemming (e.g., Banergee 2007; 2009 and Jones & Flemming 2003). These authors argue that stakeholder engagement in CSR is a business controlled process used to contain stakeholders with the underlying motive remaining business as usual. Consequently, stakeholder dialogue can never change the way business

is conducted. It will still remain a widow-dressing tool. Though critical perspective theories including this study do not totally disagree with some of these arguments, we assume that it is myopic and passive to suggest that stakeholders are powerless to affect business.

For this reason Frooman (1999, p. 191) suggested that this imbalance stems from the organisation focused nature of Freeman's (1984) proposition resulting in authors viewing stakeholder relationships from the point of view of business independently of others. Frooman, Freeman and Miles therefore condemned the narrow focus of the stakeholder theory indicating that it has led to only a partial and restrictive understanding of the relationship that exists between business and stakeholders. Frooman suggested that for the theory to be effective it must also seek to show how stakeholders try to manage the organisation. He argued that "if what a firm should do is partly determined by what its stakeholders will do, then we need an account of what these stakeholders will do. Therefore, to be really useful to a firm trying to manage its stakeholders, stakeholder theory must provide an account of how stakeholders try to manage the firm." p. 192). Consequently, he used resource dependency theory to explore four types of stakeholder influence strategies over the firm. These are withholding, usage, direct and indirect strategies which all relate to power. Frooman also predicted which of the strategies stakeholders will use to influence firm behaviour based on the relationship that exists between stakeholders and the firm.

The above authors plus Burchell and Cook, De Bakkar and others therefore take a stakeholder approach and argue that to understand better business-society relationship, stakeholder theory must also be examined from the perspective of stakeholders rather than corporate performance. Indeed Freeman himself took the theory beyond the hub and spoke dyadic and encouraged researchers to examine stakeholder relationships in their

own rights moving away from how business can best manage its stakeholders to how stakeholders influence business behaviour. (e.g., Harrison & Freeman 1999; Freeman et al 2010). Together with Phillips and Wicks, they admitted that stakeholders legitimately deserve a say in how resources are distributed or allocated and that failure to give them this opportunity influence stakeholders' perception of justice. Stakeholder involvement thus creates new opportunities for firm value creation (Phillips, Freeman and Wicks 2003).

Since this call many studies have tried to examine stakeholder theory from the perspective of stakeholders. However, most of these have focused on NGO/civil society influence on business (e.g., Burchell and Cook 2006, 2008, 2011 and 2012), Murillo-Luna et al (2008), Sharma and Henriques (2005), Rodgers and Gago (2004), and Frooman (1999) with limited focus on community influence on firm strategies. The few that focused on communities have also been largely western bias (e.g., Whiteman and Manen 2002) even though a limited number have recently been focused on Latin America and Asia.

Consequently, this thesis addresses this gap in the stakeholder theory by examining the nature of dialogue that exists between MNMCs and society with specific attention to experiences of marginalised communities. Through the stakeholder theory I will provide important insight into the role of dialogue in business-community interactions. Taking inspiration from Stuerer, the analysis will focus on the communities and their relationship with MNMCs. In this regard the role of dialogue in the interactions is key. I am interested in investigating what constitutes peaceful coexistence and how it can be achieved through stakeholder dialogue theory, using qualitative confirmation quotes, and measure events in their natural settings with some historic touch of how mining contracts are awarded. The process of CSR implementation, outcomes and how past negotiations and arrangements have affected present relationships and perceptions to ensure peaceful

coexistence would also be explored. This is important because I believe stakeholders in the mining industry can peacefully coexist and realise mutual benefits if certain obstacles are removed.

To reemphasise, this study focuses on the stakeholder perspective, specifically the community rather than the corporation. However it addresses some conceptual issues and aims at defining CSR from the perspective of the gold mining community, (the weakest, marginalised and most vulnerable) stakeholder in the business-society relationship. The corporate perspective of the stakeholder theory and the CSR concept are both company and western-centric, transported to developing nations where economic, institutional and environmental drivers are totally different. To reorientate the theory from this perspective to for instance community perspective requires that the experiences of community members are sought to understand the relationship that exists between MNMCs and the impacted communities. Having discovered that CSR and the stakeholder theory are western concepts, the question is how is CSR doing in Africa? Is the western concept applicable to the African terrain? The next section addresses these questions.

3.5 CSR in Africa

Although CSR emerged in the developed world in the 1930s (Pesmatzoglou et al. 2012), the concept attracted limited debate in Africa until the mid-2000s. Visser (2005) and Hamann & Kapelus (2004) were some of the first few who wrote about it in Africa. The reason for the limited attention is not clear but could be attributed to lack of interest or deliberate intention so Western MNCs could exploit Africa and the developing world. Prior to Visser's publication most CSR articles had focused on Europe and North America (Matten & Moon 2008). Many writers agree that MNMCs' business operations in less developed countries is a sure way of enhancing development and reducing poverty to facilitate globalisation (Fourie & Eloff 2005; Visser 2006; Prahalad & Hammond 2002;

Gifford et al 2010; Moon 2007; Otto 1997). This is particularly important because according to a UN report, about 80% of the wealth of the world is enjoyed by just one billion people all based in the developed world with the remaining 20% shared among the rest of the five billion who reside in the less developed world (UN 2005). This highlights the massive inequality of wealth distribution between the developed and underdeveloped world. The report emphasised that poverty, ill-health, lack of education and massive unemployment create serious inequality which if not addressed, the social justice and better living conditions for all encouraged by the UN will remain elusive. Consequently, political, social and economic upheavals will continue in these less developed countries (UN 2005, p.12). To address these issues, the above writers agree that the vehicle is partly through CSR. However, evidence suggest that MNMCs' CSR contribution to these developing countries are woefully inadequate (e.g., Pesmatzoglou et al.2012; Gifford & Kestler 2008; Ite 2007).

In 2006 Visser tried to use Carroll's (1991) CSR model to conceptualise the concept for Africa. He criticised Carroll's pyramid to be western centric which does not apply to the African context and placed the economic and philanthropic responsibilities above the legal and ethical ones. Visser (2006; 2008) attributed the African prioritisation of the economic and philanthropic responsibilities to poverty, mass unemployment, and lack of development among others. He explained that the socio-economic needs of the region are so huge and that African countries are over reliant on foreign aid. CSR in itself is also at its infant stages of development and these explain the reasons for placing philanthropic factor on the second position of the hierarchy. He therefore indicated that setting aside funds for community and social projects are highly expected of companies (Visser 2008). Corporations are expected in CSR to contribute meaningfully to community through the provision of jobs, infrastructure development and payment of taxes. This situation is

similar to countries like China and India. Consequently, when earthquake struck China in 2008, French (2008) posits many Chinese companies poured out donations to the affected communities to showcase their philanthropic gesture. Matten and Moon (2005) noted that in many developing countries including most parts of Africa, due to corruption and weak governance, compliance at the legal level tends to be weak and unreliable. Poor and inefficient legal systems, lack of resources and government policies as well as lack of political will to enforce regulations make the legal factor less attractive on the pyramid (see also Dobers & Halme 2009; and Fox 2004). The focus of CSR expectation in this area should therefore be on the avoidance of corruption, improved ethical responsibilities and good governance (Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah 2011). Smith (2003) also criticised Carroll's model and argued that defining corporate social responsibility along Carroll's model remains to a large extent vague and somehow an arbitrary construct. Consequently, he demanded CSR to be reframed as a strategic concept of corporate social responsiveness, dealing with 'how' to do CSR and not 'whether' to do CSR.

Though Visser's work gives a general overview of CSR operations in Africa, it still cannot be used to generalise African CSR. There are many countries in Africa with different cultural, religious, and economic development differences which can influence CSR policies. Dashwood (2007) and Dartey-Baah & Amponsah-Tawiah (2011) agree that in such places it is through religion, culture and customs that CSR expectations from businesses are shaped. Hence the need to develop local strategies to implement the concept.

Furthermore, I argue that even within the same country, CSR expectations may differ between industries and areas depending on several factors including the level of development, the class of people living in the area and how well informed they are. For example people living in East Legon, a plush suburb of Accra, the capital of Ghana may

have different orientation of CSR compared to those living in Damang a remote mining community that lacks basic infrastructural development. Such communities may have different expectations from MNMCs than local companies for different reasons including perceptions like ability to provide, origin and level of impact. Visser (2006) therefore admits that his findings are speculative and provocative and so need further research. He called for the need for flexibility in the adoption of, and approaches to CSR policies and practice if multinational companies will succeed in Africa. Again, in Africa including Ghana, there is lack of political will to facilitate, emphasise and develop CSR unlike the west. Whereas in the west governments go to the extent of embedding CSR into their legal and social system and sometimes threaten to regulate the concept (Lofstedt and Vogel 2001; Matten and Moon 2008), the opposite is the case in Ghana. Consequently, a Ghanaian perspective of CSR is needed to address this knowledge gap.

Although the number of writers on the topic in Africa has increased of late, most of them still use the western and company centric definition to generalise its implementation (Idemudia 2011). Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah (2011) and Idemudia (2011) explored that Western CSR theories are not fully applicable in Africa because of the different drivers in the two regions. Western countries are more economically and socially developed with great respect for the rule of law and reputation as compared to Africa. In Ghana there are concerns for the ability to create enabling economic environment for business to thrive; filling the developmental gap where government fails and charity. Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah suggested changes in CSR priorities, the application of local African CSR theories like "Ubuntu" plus increased legislation as means to overcome the limitations of the western theories.

3.6 The Ubuntu Philosophy

The term Ubuntu is defined by Mbigi & Maree (1995, p. 7) as the sense of solidarity or brotherhood which arises among people within marginalised or disadvantaged groups. It pictures a cultural world view that tries to explain what it means by being human". Ubuntu promotes generosity, friendliness, love, care, tolerance, humility, politeness, understanding, harmony, hospitality, compassion and sharing between parties (Mkabela & Luthuli 1997; Tutu 1999). In other words Ubuntu means humanity towards others and the belief in universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity. Its essence of care is consistent with the theory of the ethics of care which insist on the avoidance of viewing care as a burdensome activity (Sevenhuijsen 2003; Bowden 1997). Rather it values human relationship based on trust, openness, interdependency, the acknowledgement of emotions and responsibility to others. It also endorses mutual respect, (respect for others' language, opinion, and values). It comes from the Zulu and Xhola languages of South Africa (Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah 2011, p132). The term was used by Bishop Desmond Tutu to mean that a man can only be a man through others' help. A man is human because he belongs to a greater whole, shares and participates in collective activities of the community. An Ubuntu person (or institution) is therefore available and opened to others, is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, oppressed, tortured or treated in an undignified way lesser than who they actually are (Tutu 1999, p. 35). Therefore I argue that it is these beliefs and value orientations that can influence communities' expectations of MNMCs although these contrast western individualistic culture which are based on rights, justice and rules. African cultures have a collective value and sense of responsibility (Noddings 1984; Mkabela 2005). They emphasise the need to consider the local context and situational factors when addressing problems. They are based on religious beliefs that good people must share what they have with the underprivileged.

3.7 The influence of culture on natural resource management and decision-making

There is enormous evidence to suggest that culture plays a very significant role in decision-making (e.g., Christie et al 2003; Beekun et al 2008; Scott 2008; Suddaby et al 2010; Aten et al 2012). The question as to why under the same institutional pressures some companies adopt CSR practices better than others (e.g., Jamali 2010; Fransen 2012; Lee 2011; Montiel and Husted 2009) still remain debatable but couldn't the reason include issues of cultural variations? Because this study focuses more on the community stakeholder rather than the MNMCs, more effort will be placed on the local culture and its influence on MNMCs' CSR decisions. Hence the influences on the decisions rather than the decision-making process is the focus of this study. Aten et al (2012) contend that a combination of institutional theory and cultural studies could produce fantastic results in CSR adoption. Suddaby et al (2010, p.1234) state that "actors, organisations, individuals and states attain their agency substantially as a result of their embeddedness in culture". Culture whether at the national, organisational, individual or institutional level can either facilitate or impede CSR adoption (e.g., Caprar & Neville 2012).

Deloria (1992) argued that local culture framework for managing natural resources in developing countries is different from that of the west. Posey (1999) continued that indigenous communities derive their cultural identity from the land. Consequently, Whiteman & Cooper (2000) and Berkes (1999) suggested that local traditional knowledge is embedded in natural resource management. Berkes continued that this traditional knowledge are transmitted from generation to generations culturally and influence relationship between one and another. Therefore, Berkes & Henley (1997) implied that the spiritual beliefs of indigenous people is fundamental to decision-making. Burton & Ruppert (1999) continued that although indigenous spirituality is also paramount to local communities, these are not recognised or understood by non-local

decision-makers. Additionally, any disregard to local traditional laws and spirituality can have serious implication on conflict resolution. Consequently, Bedford & Warhurst (1999) noted that the UN expressed the need for MNMCs to recognise and address the indirect and direct impact of their operations on local culture including community spirituality. However, to what extent do MNMCs take local spirituality and traditional norms of host communities into consideration during their dialogue processes? All the discussions have so far been in abstract terms. We now need to understand what is happening in the Ghanaian mining context.

Ghanaian indigenous and traditional decision makers believe they are bound by traditional laws. Hence any decisions that are contrary to these laws and/or affect sacred reserves will lead to spiritual consequences. For this reason, traditional laws play key roles in mining decision-making and natural resource management in local communities. Any decision reached regarding natural resources must be linked to the spiritual needs and rooted in the local community culture. Local communities also have a collective approach to the management of land. Berkes (1999) argued that this approach relies on undocumented property rights of the communities. Consequently, any natural resources management decisions must be based on community prior informed consent. Lack of consideration of these cultural dynamics is likely to be interpreted as injustice.

3.8 The role of Chiefs in development and land management in Ghana
Chiefs play crucial roles in governance in Ghana. Their duties include the codification of customary laws; settlement of disputes; communal labour organisation; organising festivals, ceremonies and rituals; being custodians of stool lands; and the promotion of local economic development (Bob-Miller 2009; Lentz 1998). Their role as development agents dates back to precolonial times. The importance of chiefs is seen in the state's creation of the Ministry of Culture and Chieftaincy Affairs with a sector minster in charge.

The institution has constitutional backing and impacts the political economy of the state (Kleist 2011). The traditional authority of chiefs are highly regarded with powerful ones still receiving royalties from subjects they overpowered in wars between the 1600 and 1900s. Typically, many Brong Ahafo chiefs still pay royalties to the Asantehene (Asante Chief).

Although the authority of chiefs are subject to those of the president, some ethnic groups (e.g., the Ashantis) highly recognise their chief than heads of state and sector ministers. Many have the authority to banish from their jurisdiction individuals found to despise or flout their commands (Odotei & Awedoba 2006). Odotei & Awedoba implied that 80% of lands in Ghana are controlled by chiefs with government possessing 10%, for public development (see also Besley 1995; and Asabere 1994). The remaining 10% is owned by individuals. This to a large extent influences agricultural and industrial development because of acquisition problems. Even the state will have to compensate chiefs if they have to release portions of their land for national and infrastructural development. These have made the institution an honourable one in Ghanaian society (Lentz 1998) even though this is constantly being debated (Ubink 2007). Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) for instance suggest, the respect, status, worship and adoration that determine the legitimacy of chiefs should be morally earned through selfless sacrifice and not bought. The Indirect Rule policy of Briton that uses traditional institutions to sustain domination has ensured the survival of Chieftaincy in Ghana (Bob-Miller 2009; Kleist 2011). Kleist contend that contrary to the belief that modernisation will cripple and see the disappearance of the institution, it is still vibrant in governance in many African economies. In Ghana the Ashanti Kingdom demonstrated tremendous power in the 19th and 20th centuries (Odotei & Awedoba 2006) and continue as the strongest point of chieftaincy reference today.

In modern times however, communities expect their chiefs to be agents of development and progress (Boafo-Arthur 2003; Bob-Miller 2009) rather than just exercising their authority. This is partly so because Asabere (1981b) argued that these days chiefs sell stool lands for example through corrupt means including bribery, kickbacks and middlemen, leading sometimes to multiple sales and long litigations. Hence in the selection of potential successors communities look for those who can blend tradition with good education, integrity and western experience to secure development and charitable donations from their western networks (Kleist 2011). This desire is highly influenced by the massive level of poverty and underdevelopment in many communities in Ghana. Mohan (2008) confirmed that lack of state funds and recent economic crises have shifted community development responsibilities to other actors including traditional authorities instead of the state and its District Assemblies.

3.9 Land and mining in Ghana

Land is the most important asset and input in farming in peoples' economic life in Ghana (Asabere 1994). It has a religious and cultural attachment. Acquaye (1978) contends it belongs to a vast majority of people including the dead, the living and the generations to come. In other words, it is inherited from the dead, serves as a right to use for the living and an inheritance for the generations to come. Land was historically fought for in wars with its size determining the strength of a chief's empire. Chiefs inherit it from their ancestors and swear oaths they will protect it under any circumstance for their present and future generations. It is thus a pivot around which the chieftaincy institution revolves. There is therefore an inseparable bound between people and their land in Ghana (Asabere 1994). Stool lands are for the stool (seat of the chief) and can be sold at discounted prices to natives for the purpose of farming, development, etc. These can be passed on to others including owners' descendants under customary practices with the consent of the chief

or community leaders (Besley 1995). Community lands are for the people but under the care of the chiefs (Asabere 1981a).

However, land reforms have taken some lands from traditional owner communities and chiefs through the nationalisation process enacted in the early 1960s. This was done through the creation of the State Land Act 1965 and the Administration of Lands Act 1962. These two Acts give the president power to take any land under its jurisdiction for public interest (Asabere 1980). The 1980s Structural Adjustment Programme and the Minerals and Mining Laws drafted by the Peoples National Defence Council (PNDCL 153) Act further empowered the president to give occupation rights to any individual or organisation for development or mineral extraction in the public interest. These took away mining lands and the ownership rights of all mineral content in every land from communities and chiefs leaving them only the surface right. Nationalisation impacts the local culture (Asabere 1994) and although individuals whose lands get affected receive compensation, these were limited to the immovable properties such as crops and buildings on the land but not for interest in the land (see Minerals Commission 2006; Botchway 1998). Again, those in urban areas were pegged at the market price whiles those in remote areas have been left vague. Under the laws of Ghana it is illegal to sell land to foreign companies except through the government and even that will have to be for a long-term lease rather than outright sale.

3.10 History of mining and the birth of CSR in Ghana

This section of the chapter looks at how mining evolved over the years in Ghana and how CSR practices were introduced. It is divided into three subsections- pre-independence, post-independence and the present eras, and describes how multinational mining firms flooded the industry prior to independence but lost all mines to local firms after independence. After which, lack of expertise, equipment and other resources almost

collapsed the industry until the mid-1980s when the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) aimed at attracting investors suggested by the World Bank and IMF pushed the industry back into the arms of MNMCs. The section concludes on the present situation of the industry and is relevant to the study because it gives an overview of how mining started in the country and how CSR was introduced.

3.10.1 The Pre-independence era

Dumett (1998), Sweeting & Clark (2000), Garvin et al (2009) and Hilson & Garforth (2012) noted that gold mining in Ghana dates as far back as over thousand years ago. However, multinational involvement started during the colonial era in the 1880s led by Britain (Maltby and Tsamenyi 2010). British soldiers who returned from the war with the Ashantis in 1874 reported the way they could pick gold from the ground just as they could potatoes (as reported by one returnee, Power 1975). These reports attracted the formation of many mining companies to enter the industry in the then Gold Coast (today Ghana).

Majority of these companies later failed as a result of difficulty in getting access through the jungle. Lack of transportation, portable water, mining equipment and high cost of labour were the other factors (Thomas 1973; Maltby and Tsamenyi 2010). Indigenous workers for example preferred to work on cocoa farms and felling of timber to working in the pits because of the favourable income in cocoa farming compared to mining. After 1945, labour unrest and strike actions plagued the industry as employees complained about poor treatment, low pay and other incentives. In response Stockwell (2000) and Decker (2004) noted that the mining companies started implementing corporate social responsibility policies towards their workers. These they called philanthropic and paternalistic policies aimed at maintaining good relationship between workers and managers. Worker friendly statements were heard for the first time during managers' annual report readings with statements such as "our employees are our most valued asset".

The Second World War enlistment drew many more workers from the mines to fight. This coupled with strikes and trade union promotion by the government posed even more challenges to the mining firms. The fight for independence in the mid-fifties escalated the problems. The rhetoric of the 1940s were no longer working, forcing mining firms to extend their corporate social responsibilities to communities at large in order to secure their mining licence (Deegan et al 2002; Patten 1992). Milne and Patten (2002) termed this "advocacy advertising".

3.10.2 Post-independence era

After independence in 1957, most mining firms in the country became state owned since the multinational mining companies were all foreign and had to leave the country. However, not long after, these companies faced technical and production problems making them uncompetitive on the international market (Akabzaa and Dramani 2001). Through the 1980s and parts of the 90s, the then Ghana government introduced The Structural Adjustment Programme and went to the World Bank and the IMF for assistance as the economy dipped with huge deficits and inflation (Kampfner 2001; Hilson & Nyame 2006) . Conditionalities attached to the granting of the loan included reduction of inflation, downsizing, privatisation, cutting of government spending on (health, education and welfare), removal of trade barriers, import duties, payment of 3% royalties, and free transfer of dividends (Brohman 1996; Konadu-Agyeman 2000; Foster & Bills 2002; Campbell 2003; Rodriguez 2004; Haselip & Hilson 2005 and Kumar 2006). This led to the drafting and revision of various mining laws (Botchway 1998).This helped in reducing inflation and increased the competitiveness of the economy on the international market. Aryee (2001) for instance reported that gold export earnings rose from $114.1m in 1983 to $679.4m in 1998. The decision however pushed mining

companies back into the arms of multinationals (Aryee 2001). Hilson (2011) noted that as at 2001, there were 237 companies in Ghana who were either exploring or mining gold.

3.10.3 The Present era

Today, mining reforms have made the industry more attractive to foreign investors. The government has become the sole owner of all mineral deposits throughout the country and mining in communities by land owners without the permission of government is termed illegal. Two types of mining exist in Ghana (large-scale mining dominated by MNMCs and small-scale mining dominated by illegal miners popularly known as galamsey, meaning gather and sell (Aubynn 1997). Small scale miners use labour intensive, low expertise, and lack financial resources for exploration.

As at June 2010, 435 active licenses were operating in the industry with between 12% to 15% of the total land area of the country given out as mining concession. Today MNMCs from all over the world are in Ghana engaged either in exploration or active mining. Some of these companies include: Gold Fields, Newmont, Golden Star Resources, and AngloGold. The impact of large scale mining on the country is both positive and negative. Though they employ less than 20,000 people and add only 6% to GDP (e.g., Word Bank 2013), Aryee (2001) and Sweeting & Clark (2000) suggest gold support to the economy cannot be overemphasised. The Ghana Minerals Commission indicated that 3% (now 5%) of mining companies' gross sales are paid as royalties to the government out of which 80% goes directly to a consolidated fund of the government, 10% to administrative departments that have oversight responsibility over mining. The other 10% is distributed among local communities (2.5%), local councils (2%) and District Administrations (5.5%). From the above statistics, it is evident that the amount that gets to the local communities can't simply bring any meaningful development.

Meanwhile, ICMM officials in 2006 made it clear that without community consent, mining would not be possible as they hold the social licence to operate (SLO). However, as a result of the limited contribution MNMCs made to the country, NGOs and other stakeholders started a clarion call on these multinationals to embrace CSR to enhance community development within the rural communities where their mining activities take place (Weber-Fahr 2002; Akabzaa & Dramani 2001). Caruso et al (2003) and Downing (2002) contend that the influx of MNMCs has caused great community dislocation, displacement of tens of thousands without any alternative jobs resulting in violent clashes between MNMCs and communities. Though MNMCs claim to be doing enough in rural communities by way of CSR, the communities feel MNMCs' effort is woefully inadequate (Hilson & Yakovleva 2007 and Garvin et al 2009).

Hilson (2007) reported that these MNMCs at a point in time all contributed directly or indirectly to liaise with the Ghana Chamber of Mines – the umbrella body of MNMCs in Ghana to conduct an industry-wide military arrests and detention of alleged illegal miners in the rural communities. The community folks claimed they were being deprived of their livelihood and that where they conducted their mining activities were lands that MNMCs would not use because of economic reasons (Hilson & Yakovleva 2007; Banchirigah 2006). The MNMCs on the other hand explained that the plots have been legally acquired from the state and whether they mine on it or not illegal miners had no right to encroach it. Consequently, illegal mining has become a contentious challenge for both the state and MNMCs in Ghana with no immediate solution in sight. Hilson (2007) concluded that MNMCs' CSR management in Ghana is greenwash that projects a clean image but practices environmentally harmful practices to the detriment of societies.

The Ghana Minerals Commission formed under the 1992 constitution of Ghana is mandated to draft mining policies and regulate mining activities including the enforcement of mining laws (Hilson & Banchirigah 2009; Minerals Commission 2012). The commission in conjunction with the Lands and Natural Resources ministry issue mining licences for the exploration and mining of minerals in the country after environmental permit is obtained from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) who sees to environmental compliance. Hilson (2007) continued that mining lands are leased for periods between 30 to 40 years. Aubynn (1997) argued that out of the 70% of mining land of the country demarcated to MNMCs, 60% are concentrated in the Wassa West District of the Western Region (one of the areas for this study). Out of this, over 90% of the people are employed in agriculture. 44% of the land is rain forest and produces 39% of the nation's cocoa, the second largest foreign exchange earner and 50% of the country's timber (Akabzaa & Dramani 2001). The Wassa District has 57.6% of the working age group (15-64 years) of the region and is one of the least educated (37.4%) in the region making it difficult for the people to have alternative jobs when displaced (Hilson & Banchirigah 2009).

According to Bank of Ghana (2003) report, $68.6m royalties collected from these companies the previous year saw no significant disbursement and direct benefits at the community level. In June 2011, the (GNA 2011) reported the then Executive Director of the GCM as saying the mining industry performed very well in 2010 contributing $170m in corporate tax revenue to the government. This amount represented 24% of all company taxes received over the year. The sector was also adjudged the highest corporate taxpayer for the year. 68% of the $3.7b mineral revenue for that year was said to have been returned to the country. $865m representing 27% of total fund was spent locally on inputs including power and diesel. It was said the industry employs 12,294 people, 98% of who

are Ghanaians. $364m was also said to have been contributed to the Government Revenue Authority for the year 2010. Over all, mineral revenue was mentioned to contribute 49% of Gross Export Earnings in 2010 and the sector was mentioned to be a catalyst in sustainable development (GNA 2011). The Ghana Statistical Services and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning mentioned in that report that the mining sector grew from 6.8% in 2009 to 11.2% in 2010. The CEO of the GCM concluded by advocating that 30% of these royalties be invested in the local communities over time meaning that seven years calls for community share to be increased have fallen on deaf ears.

Gold mining is concentrated in the middle belt and southern coast of the country specifically in the Western, Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions. Ironically, these regions produce about 97% of Ghana's cocoa, and up to 85% of food. Brong Ahafo is known as the bread basket of the country. 95% of the country's forest is also located in the above regions. Mining activities thus affect all these great heritages. Present challenges include environmental destruction (Moses & Nkansah 2007; 2012), compensation, employment, and resettlement (Hilson & Banchirigah 2009; Akabzaa & Dramani 2001; Kumah 2006; Hilson 2011).

The above discussion presents a holistic contextual description which will help the data analysis later. The analysis will require a clear delineation, yet empirically and theoretically connectable set of levels through specific set of categories and a clear description of the process under investigation. The idea of this analysis would be based on the belief that any social system could be profitably explored as a continuing system, with a history, present and future. Pettigrew's (1997) contextual theory that takes into consideration how the past and future are related to the present would therefore be employed to add further insight to the data.

3.11 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed literature on theories that constitute the theoretical framework for the study. I have discussed into detail the criticisms of the stakeholder theory and found that the theory and its associated CSR concept have been western and organisation focused and have failed to examine how stakeholders can also influence corporate decisions. Consequently, there is the need to examine these theories from stakeholder perspective and to develop alternative CSR approaches for Africa. The review has also revealed that institutional drivers in the west are totally different from Africa. Western countries have well-crafted institutions and are more economically advanced, with respect for the rule of law. These dynamics are contrary to Africa. Consequently, can this western CSR be adequately applied in Ghana's mining industry where collective cultural values, level of economic development and other factors are likely to shape CSR and dialogue processes? To be able to explore how these concepts and theories work in Africa, require listening to the voices of these impacted communities and investigating their experiences as they live them. Again CSR studies have concentrated heavily on the west with minimum attention to Africa hence the need to conduct more descriptive CSR research in Africa. In reviewing accountability literature in the previous chapter, it was noted that although corporate accountability was shifting to stakeholder perspective, because the corporate perspective dominate, analysis are still heavily tilted towards business hence the need to refocus. It was observed that although the firm is accountable to stakeholders, the neglected responsibilities of governments now assumed by the firm have made organisations become political actors. This, coupled with the fact that their financial strength is stronger than many governments' has weakened government and rendered most stakeholders vulnerable leading to firm exploitation. If these challenges are reported in developed countries then there is the need to examine the situation in less developed countries like Ghana. And this can only be done by listening

to the voices and experiences of these often marginalised stakeholders through ethnographic studies.

Similarly, only a few if any studies have used ethnographic approach to conduct studies into community experiences of CSR dialogue especially in Ghana. Many authors have advocated the need to conduct more descriptive research into the critical perspectives of the stakeholder theory in Africa (Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Visser 2008; Dobers & Halme 2009; Muthuri & Gilbert 2011) to make the stakeholder theory serve its full potential (Stuerer 2006; Smith 2003; Andriof & Waddock 2002). This and the previous chapter have revealed the theoretical justification for the need for the study. It is prudent for MNMCs to understand how beneficiaries define CSR, meaningful dialogue and their expectations of these concepts. Consequently, this study fills these existing gaps by exploring the process of CSR implementation and the role that dialogue plays to ensure peaceful coexistence. Using the interpretive lens through inductive ethnographic approach aided by Stuerer' (2006) stakeholder perspective analysis framework, I will explore the dialogue processes used to implement CSR. This will unearth community feelings, experiences and expectations of stakeholder dialogue processes to complement well the why, what and outcomes of CSR in the field and this must be done through a carefully thought-out methodology. To sum up, the literature review chapters have helped identify the gaps, justify the need for the study and the methodology for the research. I have found for example that a qualitative ethnographic approach is ideal in exploring community experiences of CSR and dialogue initiatives. Existing models have been western and corporate centric which may not neatly fit into the Ghanaian context hence the need to develop one for Ghana's mining industry. Furthermore, stakeholder approaches have been grouped into three (managerialist, corporate, and stakeholder perspectives). However, research has focused more on the corporate and managerial

perspectives with limited focus on the stakeholder perspective. Consequently, more research is needed in this area to enhance the full potential of the theory. In the next chapter I will discuss and justify my choice of methods and strategies used for the data collection and analysis, and link these to the findings in chapter five, six and seven.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter I reviewed literature on CSR and mining, and demonstrated the relevance of previous research in CSR to help identify existing gaps for the study. In this chapter I describe the methodology adopted to answer the research questions outlined for the thesis. A descriptive and exploratory study via qualitative triangulation method was used for this study. The qualitative approach in this research employed ethnographic strategy to explore community experiences of MNMCs' CSR initiatives in two separate mining communities in Ghana. These communities were Damang (Gold Fields) and Kanyasi (Newmont). Although ethnographic research are normally confined to single sites, evidence suggest that multiple site studies are on the increase (e.g., Marcus 1998; Lane 2010). Van Maanen (2010) described how Lane adopted the strategy to explore self-managed careers through the voices of job-seeking high-tech workers in Dallas and Texas.

This methodology chapter discusses, the philosophical assumptions, methods, approaches to data collection and analysis techniques used in the research. In this chapter I explain four of the five areas of the research process which embodies the entire study including the conceptualisation of the research problem, the data collection and analysis (e.g., Creswell 2003), with the presentation of the report (the fifth area) in the next chapter. In the process I justified why and how the companies and informants for the study were selected. The challenges I encountered in the field and how they were overcome are also discussed. The analytic framework used drew on Steurer (2006), Andriof & Waddock (2002), Freeman & Miles (2002) and Frooman's (1999) recommendation, detail of which can be found at the end of the previous chapter. Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Strauss & Corbin's (1990) style was adopted for the analysis.

The five areas of the research design and methodology according to Saunders et al (2009) are the research philosophy also known as the paradigms; research approach; research strategy; time horizon and method. The diagram below describes and summarises the chapter.

Figure 1: The Chapter four outline

Research Need

Philosophical assumptions

Quantitative   Qualitative

Ethnography

Primary Data   Secondary Data

Focus Group Interview   One-to-One (Face-to-Face) Interview   Observation

Coding Process

Open Coding/Categorisation   Data Analysis

Axial Coding
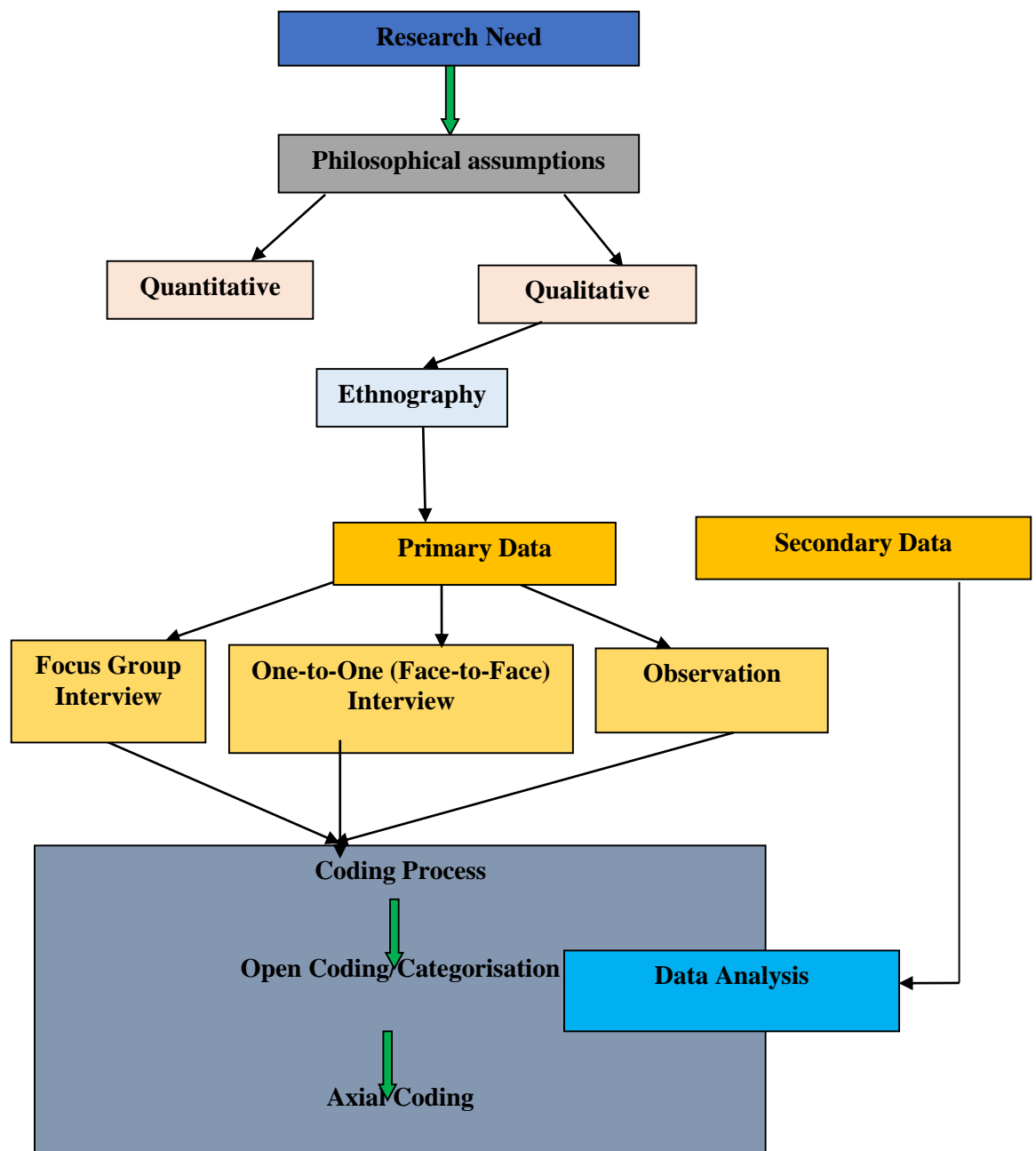
Before explaining the research process it is important to first recap the research problem, the research gap and the purpose of the study.

4.1.1 Problem Statement
In response to heightened global awareness of sustainability, environmental and ethical issues, corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become a priority concern in the extractive industry. One of the more serious CSR policy challenges faced by governments and MNMCs in mineral-rich developing countries is how to equitably resolve disputes between communities and mining companies; one country where this issue has become noticeable is Ghana. CSR does not work in Ghana's mining industry however, understanding why, is a more complex situation.

The government has the sole ownership and control over minerals under its territory. It consequently awards exploration and mining rights to MNMCs through its agencies and centralised committees with minimum or no consultation of the indigenous people who own and live on the land (e.g., Conduah 1996; Hilson 2007; and Gavin et al 2009). This results in conflicts between host communities and the MNMCs. Understanding the situation is important because it explains how MNMCs' engagement in CSR can be a force for good or bad and finding a balance between the two may help to ensure peaceful coexistence is achieved. Stakeholder theory tries to create a balance to make CSR work. However, evidence suggests this is not working to achieve its full potential because mining decisions have been examined from corporate point of view.

4.1.2 The research Gap
Through extensive literature review I observed that although some research has been conducted into the mining sector in Ghana, these have not addressed the issue of how mining companies actually dialogue with host communities and how CSR decisions are operationalised. Studies have also not explored how CSR is defined from the perspective

of vulnerable communities affected by mining in Ghanaian. Whereas the firms perceive themselves to be doing much in terms of CSR implementation, the communities think otherwise (Hilson 2007; Garvin et al 2009). Existing research have tried to explore what causes conflicts but not much has been reported on the fundamental details of MNMCs dialogue processes and the influencing factors that prevent meaningful dialogue. In this ethnographic study, I will investigate the process of MNMCs' CSR operationalization, what they actually do and how these strategies are perceived by beneficiary communities. It is believed that investigating their dialogue processes will help expose:

1. How CSR decisions are made and how host communities perceive the effectiveness of CSR strategies.

2. What communities' expectations and definitions of CSR is.

3. What the influencing factors that impede dialogue between mining companies and host communities are.

4. How effective the government & MNMCs' proposed strategies in promoting dialogue to enhance peaceful co-existence have been.

5. The extent western-centric CSR and organisation-focused stakeholder theory need reformulating to reflect the realities of host communities' experiences in the gold mining context in Ghana

In the process of reviewing literature it came to light that the focus of CSR is shifting from "why" organisations adopt and practice CSR to "how" they actually practice it. It has been argued that the "why" organisations adopt and practice CSR (which is normative in approach) must be complemented with "how" they actually practice it to realise the full potential of the concept (Steurer 2006; Smith 2003). Jones (1980, p. 65) further argued that "corporate behaviour should not be judged by the final decision reached but by the process that led to the decision". He therefore called for a process approach rather

than a decision principle approach in dealing with CSR issues. These gaps informed the need for this study. Answers to the "how" actually describe what takes place and what factors influence the decisions and are the descriptive aspect of the CSR concept. Both the normative and descriptive aspects are relevant in improving dialogue and CSR practice in the field (Stuerer 2006). A review of CSR literature has further shown that Western CSR models have been applied to the African context and this has not worked well. Writers like Visser (2006), Idemudia (2011) and Dartey-Baah & Amponsah-Tawiah (2011) have all called for the need to develop a different model for developing countries. Yet none have actually been attempted for Ghana. In this study therefore, I attempt to explore the situation and help suggest a model for the industry in the context of Ghana. Whiteman and Mamen (2002) added that CSR research have not focused on community involvement in mining decision-making. Most have been organisationcentric trying to see how organisations manage their stakeholders without a recourse to how stakeholders also influence corporate decisions (Stuerer 2006; Friedman & Miles 2002). In doing this I explore communities' own feelings, experiences and expectations of MNMCs' dialogue and CSR processes. These have consequently informed the adoption of an interpretive lens and ethnographic approach because these cannot be adequately measured in quantitative terms.

I believe that only when the process of operationalisation is fully explored that the inherent challenges can be uncovered and solutions prescribed to improve business-community relationship to enhance peaceful co-existence. The findings will also be useful to industry players, policy makers and academia.

4.1.3 The purpose of the study
Considering the above context, the purpose of this study is to explore the impact of large scale mining operations on community stakeholders. Specifically, explore from different

stakeholders' persctives to understand the factors that impede the ability of CSR to work in this context. Secondly, the way these factors influence how such CSR decisions are made by MNMCs. Thirdly, examine how effective MNMCs and government's proposed strategies have been in addressing these conflicts. Finally, understand how improvements can be gained by taking these factors on board.

4.2 THE PHILOSOPHICAL THEORIES OF THE RESEARCH

The ideas people hold about reality and the nature of knowledge have required researchers to constantly demonstrate a vivid understanding of the position they adopt in terms of paradigms, ontology and epistemology in carrying out their research (Karatas-Ozkan 2010; Deetz 1996; Morgan & Smircich 1980; Burrell & Morgan 1979; Easterby-Smith et al 2008). Guba and Lincoln (1994 describe research paradigm as a framework that guides how research should be conducted, based on people's philosophies and assumptions about the world and the nature of knowledge.

Karatas-Ozkan & Murphy (2010) and Leitch et al (2010) contend that the purpose of a study, the type of question(s) to be answered and the philosophical assumptions held by the investigator about the nature of reality and knowledge, and the best way of conducting investigation into that ontology influences the selection of paradigms, methodology and method. Consequently, the interpretive paradigm was adopted for this study because interpretivism focuses on exploration and investigation of complex phenomena with the intention of gaining interpretive understanding into complex issues. The issues I set out to explore are complex, subjective and perceptional. Therefore I employed a more embedded qualitative approach to holistically translate, describe and come to appreciate meanings (e.g., Shaw 1999; Hoepfl 1997) as against frequencies of phenomena that occur in the social world (e.g., Gioia and Pitre 1990). In other words the study aims at generating and creating meanings rather than discovering and measuring data (Gergen

1991; Bruner 1986). The theory reflects the multiple meanings of reality from multiple individual perspectives and considers the language used through human interactions (e.g., Morgan 2007; Guba and Lincoln 1994; Brand 2009; Cunliffe 2011). The research was therefore done through the generation of detailed rich descriptive data of events that uncovered and preserved the meanings that participants involved in the study ascribed to issues (e.g., Gephardt 2004). But what then is interpretive paradigm?

4.2.1 The interpretive paradigm
This paradigm assumes that social reality is subjective and perceptional, rather than objective. Its users employ probing interviewing to unearth the real meanings and perceptions people have on issues as they live their everyday lives in their own natural environments (Johnson et al 2006; Deetz 2000; Morgan 1980). According to smith (1983), early social science writers who used the traditional positivist paradigm in social research realized at a point that it was not suitable for certain researches. Hence debates started about its inappropriateness in explaining social phenomena (also see Amis & Silk 2008). This led to the development of the interpretive paradigm (Sheree 1984; Smith 1983). Interpretivists adopt an inductive approach to unearth and understand the motives and perceptions underlying respondents' behaviour within specific context (Smith 1983; Sheree 1984; Lewis & Grimes 1999; Deetz 2000). Based on the above description, Strauss and Corbin (1990) concluded that interpretive research is any type that does not rely on statistical and quantitative data analysis for its findings.

In applying this to organisational study, I see the organisation as a social site, and a special community that shares important characteristics. Hence my focus was on the social aspects of the organisation's activities rather than on the economic aspect, with the aim of showing how particular realities are produced and maintained socially (e.g., Deetz 1996; Alvesson & Deetz 1996; Hardy & Clegg 1997).

Regarding research approach, Collis & Hussey (2009) argued that there are two main approaches, which are deductive and inductive. Positivists adopt the deductive approach while interpretivists adopt the inductive approach. Consequently, I adopted the inductive approach to induce meaning from participants. The differences between these approaches can be found at the appendix of the thesis. However, before discussing any further the detailed methodologies used, it is important to explain the difference between qualitative and quantitative methods to provide readers a clearer understanding why quantitative method was discarded. Collis & Hussey (2009) argued that there are two main paradigms which are the positivism and interpretivism. All others came out of these two and qualitative and quantitative methods are associated with these two paradigms. Consequently, I have decided for the purpose of this study to compare only these two.

4.2.2 The positivism-qualitative debate

Collis and Hussey (2009, p.56) describe positivism as "a paradigm that originated from the natural sciences and rests on the assumption that social reality is singular and objective, and is not affected by the act of investigation, and uses deductive process in collecting data with the view of providing explanatory theories to understand social phenomena". Positivism therefore adopts a methodology that relies on hypothesis formulation and testing, and a statistical method/technique in collecting and analysing data (Brand 2009; Brand and Slater 2003). Writers who adopt this paradigm use theories to predict and explain phenomena through the application of logical and objective reasoning. Creswell (1994) argue that because positivists use rationality, rigour, prediction, and believe that reality exists independent of us, there is the assumption that the investigation of social reality is a waste of time and has no effect on reality. The environments in which positivist researches are carried out can also to a large extent be controlled (Karatas-Ozkan and Murphy 2010). There is also the measurement of cause

and effect relationship between variables and the belief that the social and natural worlds are govern by laws. These assumptions encourage the use of quantitative techniques and methods for data collection and analysis.

According to Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2005), there are three stand points regarding quantitative-qualitative debates about paradigms. These are the purist, situationalist and pragmatist. The pragmatist and the purist are said to lie at extreme ends of a continuum with the situationalist in the middle. The purists argue that qualitative and quantitative methods emerge from different ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions of research and that paradigms relating to these studies cannot be combined because each of them has a different world view. Silverman (2006) agreed when he opposed construct validity in qualitative research and argued that looking for objectivity in these types of research is not possible due to the different ways and models used in conducting qualitative research. The models are incompatible with the assumptions that true fixes on reality can be obtained separately from a particular way of looking at it (p. 212). For this reason these writers advised the use of a mono (single paradigm) method in research. However, there is evidence to prove that the two can be combined to produce ground-breaking results and this is the position of pragmatists. This study however used the mono method based on the assumption that the research questions are better answered using the qualitative approach.

I argue that the world views of the qualitative and quantitative divides are totally different. Consequently, the focus of this research necessitated a qualitative interpretive approach because research questions like "how" and "why" used in this study are better answered using this approach. This is because my objectives are not to measure the relationship between cause and effects but to explore the individual and multiple subjective experiences of the various stakeholders in the mining context in Ghana. Qualitative

approach and interpretivism paradigms are therefore most appropriate in exploring the process of how MNMCs operationalize CSR and why there are conflicts between community stakeholders and the MNMCs. This implies that there is the need for constant interaction between me and the respondents to understand their world view (e.g., Morgan and Smircich 1980; Linstead 1993; Lewis & Grimes 1999; Kilduff and Mehra 1997). Therefore the underlying motives and perceptions of individuals as to why they do what they do can be better understood through this process than through quantitative surveys. This is because surveys can hardly vividly describe factors like emotion, frustration, anger and experience.

Although quantitative research has some relevant advantages which include its strength in collecting and analysing statistical information as compared to its qualitative counterpart; the ability to generalize the findings beyond the boundaries of the study, it has weaknesses that made it inappropriate for this study. Some of these weaknesses include:

1. The separation of people from the social context in which they exist (Robertson 1993).

2. Quantitative data collection method is highly restrictive and imposes constrains on respondents which helps in ignoring vital information that could affect the findings (Collis and Hussey 2009).

3. It is difficult and highly inaccurate to understand people when their perceptions have not been examined. Sheree (1984) therefore argued that the task of a phenomenological researcher is to see the logic or meaning of an experience, for any subject, rather than to discover causal connections or patterns of correlation. The nature of phenomenological research is to study a small number of samples

and allow them to speak for themselves so as to reveal their personal experiences as they live them.

4. Certain complex phenomena and findings like intelligence, experience, values, beliefs and norms cannot be captured and interpreted using positivist approach or by the assignment of numbers (Mingers 2001).

The above weaknesses do not make quantitative studies completely irrelevant just that it is not appropriate for this study because my aim is to explore experiences and motives of informants in their natural habitats. Furthermore, qualitative research has strength in doing this through an embedded situation where the researcher gets closer to the informants to generate rich and thick data in a holistic fashion (e.g., Bryman 1984 and Gephardt 2004).

Qualitative data was therefore used through ethnographic interviews to explore the nature of mining in Ghana, and critically examine the complex relationships between the Ghanaian Government, MNMCs and communities. The method was selected to allow me to explore at length the viewpoints of each relevant party in an area where the nature and causes of disputes and environmental challenges are complex and poorly understood. Gephardt (2004) argues that qualitative research offers researchers who adopt it tremendous reward in that it provides a direct engagement with everyday organisational and management realities and presents the opportunity for the researcher to make great contributions to the field of research. It provides a unique, socially important, memorable and theoretically meaningful contributions to organisational life and scholarly discourse.

The ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions underpinning this study were influenced by Karatas-Ozkan and Murphy (2010). These authors explained that paradigms are chosen by researchers based on the purpose of the research and the

philosophical assumptions of the researcher about the nature of reality (ontology) and the appropriate way of conducting enquiry into that reality (epistemology) which further determines the methodology and methods to adopt. Consequently, I accept that the reality of why there are conflicts in the mining sector and communities' experience of MNMCs' CSR initiatives are subjective and individualistically constructed, differing from one person to another. Epistemologically, I believe it is through constant interaction with the participants being studied that the underlying motives and their true experiences of MNMCs' CSR and dialogue initiatives can be shared and understood. Therefore there is the need to reduce the distance between myself and the participants so as to vividly understand their perspectives. Axiologically, I believe that values, beliefs and customs of the people researched influence the interpretation of their experiences. Therefore it is only through an embedded ethnographic approach that these can be meaningfully understood. Through the use of this ethnographic method I will unearth various perceptions of phenomena. And during the analysis stage, effort will be made to understand what happens in situations and seek repeated patterns in similar situations elsewhere taking into consideration the element of subjectivity in the collection and analysis of the data.

4.3 The Research Strategy

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), there are many strategies used in conducting research. These include case study, ethnography, action research, grounded theory, survey, archival study, experiments etc. However, not all these are relevant to inductive research. Saunders et al (2009) argue that the research strategy is the overall plan that the researcher employs to answer the research questions. Because I adopted the inductive approach and interpretive paradigm, ethnographic strategy has been employed to investigate the nature of disputes in two of Ghana's mining communities. A comparative

study of two large-scale mining companies (Goldfields and Newmont) was employed to explore MNMCs' CSR and dialogue initiatives.

4.3.1 Ethnography as a strategy

I employed ethnographic strategy to try and make sense of the relationships and experiences that host communities had with the two MNMCs. The justification is that ethnography is an iterative, rigorous, flexible, and open-ended emergent learning process that involves discovery, making inferences and continuous enquiry to attempt achieving valid understanding rather than a rigid investigator controlled experiment. Secondly, it is interpretive, reflexive and constructive in approach and requires the daily recoding of field notes by the researcher(s) to present the world of host population in their human contexts of thickly described case studies (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995). Thirdly, it involves an embedded approach where the researcher asks questions (interviewing), observes, and participates in the socio-cultural activities of the host population under investigation (Whitehead 2005; Van Maanen 1988; 2010; Cunliffe 2009). Whitehead (2004, p.5) and (2005, p.4) describe ethnographic research as the holistic study of socio-cultural systems, processes and meanings from the "emic" and "etic"[4] perspectives that depends on fieldwork. In other words it aims at understanding these from the view point of the members of the system under investigation (see also Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Cunliffe (2009) continued that ethnographic research involves the study of participants' culture, context and social meanings. It is also about giving thick description, imaginations and constructing tales. As far back as 1922, Malinowski, (1922, p. 25) remarked that the aim of the ethnographer is "to grasp the native's point of view… to realize his vision of the world". To realize the full benefits of ethnographic research,

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[4] Emic is the attempt to understand cultural components of the cultural system from the view point of those being studied whiles etic is the attempt to analyse a cultural system through the researcher's own research paradigms brought from outside the cultural system under investigation.

Wolcott (1995) and Whitehead (2004; 2005) posit that the study should be conducted over different seasons and longer time period so that the researcher can witness the different conditions of the people's circumstances and cultures so as to make informed analysis of the situation.

How the study was operationalised

Consequently, I lived in the communities 24 hours a day and 7 days a week over a period of four months. This enabled me to familiarise and identify myself with the people so as to get first-hand information in the communities. In the process I joined the hosts in attending church services, ate from their local food joints, and patronised items from their local market every market day (Wednesdays). In fact in Kanyasi (Newmont communities) I taught during Sunday School Lessons, broke bread in church and attended funeral ceremonies of community members. At one point I joined a queue to register for the general presidential and parliamentary elections to be held later in the year. I made new friends some of who call me to this day. I also played draft (a game) and spoke the local dialect with them to fulfil the ethnographic and social embeddedness principles required of ethnographic research as recommended by Hammersley (1992) and Alvesson & Deetz (2000).

Ethnography was employed also because it presented me the opportunity to observe the lives of the people in their natural environment (e.g., Alvesson and Deetz 2000) even as they carried out their everyday activities. Through this approach it was possible for me to watch what happened, listened to what was being said, ask questions and collect whatever data was available as I immersed myself into the context of the hosts to throw more light on the issues of concern (e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson 1992; 1995; Atkinson 1992). Bryman et al (1988) argued that this process enables the reader to understand the world from the informants point of view, with emphasis on what practically goes on as

well as the structural and ideological factors that give meaning to the phenomena under observation (Alvesson and Deetz 2000). Easterby-Smith et al (2008,p.423-424) thus posit "in the method sections...we often see an emphasis on the quantity of data collected rather than on proximity to the life worlds of those studied. Statements emphasise researcher objectivity and independence from the phenomena they are studying rather than indicate how closely they were with the social settings and their members to understand their perspectives, and research procedures are presented as linear rather than open-ended, iterative, and contingent processes. They noted that this approach does not only invite inconsistent readings and evaluations of the work, but also misrepresents key quality-making practices.

My background as a Ghanaian, former miner from a mining community, and one time a farmer gave me a lived insight into the study. I did not however make this known to any of my informants to influence their decision in any way. As Golden-Biddle & Locke (1993; 1997) and Sheree (1984) put it I had to bracket my subjective opinions to get unbiased data.

However, staying in the community for 24/7 does not suggest ethnographic research presents a true or a more accurate account of the phenomenon than other strategies. There is no research that is fully neutral. Meaning that full objectivity in research is non-existent and there are no strategies to ensure this. As Gadamer (1975) argued, there cannot be any understanding without prejudice. Again, the use of the term "natural setting" to describe ethnography and the reference to other strategies as "artificial" can be a subject of debate since those termed artificial are equally part of society (Hammersley and Atkinson 1992). An explicitly crafted situation is no less real; it is just a different place where the research is conducted with different benefits, affordances and costs. Classifying such locations as artificial as compared to natural for ethnography may obviously appear convincing yet it

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is not the accuracy that presents the writer and reader the conviction when the two are compared. Rather, the contrast overtones through which the natural appears as good as against the artificial (as bad) is what counts (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). In addition, the "real world" that the ethnographic researcher tries to capture, no matter how "natural" it may appear is most often an imposition by some methodologists and the ethnographic researcher is just reinforcing this position if he lays too much emphasis on the natural setting (Umar 2008).

Furthermore, the reflexive nature of research does not permit the ethnographer to generate neutral data because he is actually part of that which is being studied in various ways. It is therefore almost impossible to be completely objective in the true sense of the word. But as Denzin & Lincoln (2005, p. 21) argue, "There are no objective observations except those situated between the observer and the observed".

Alvesson & Deetz (2000) contend that even the attempt to become part of the natural context as in ethnographic research has been criticised due to the near impossibility and difficulty of the researcher to effectively make a presentation of a culture he/she is not naturally part of or does not belong to. Furthermore, it is difficult to effectively convert empirical ethnographic field data to ensure it reflects what is actually in the real world (Van Maanen 1988). The subjectivity of the ethnographic researcher to select and interpret data is also questioned with regards to fairness and justice especially when unstructured strategies are used. The claim of ethnography to present the situation as it is, has been contested because no one has access to independent reality, what we all have are interpretations, and any research is just an interpretation based on assumptions of what we believe to be true (Hammerseley 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; 2007). Again, evidence suggests there is some amount of bias in every research since the investigators decide what questions to ask informants and pre-set these questions before

approaching respondents (e.g., Spiggel 1994; Holbrook & O'Shaughnessy 1988). The situation is even worse in quantitative research as respondents are not given the opportunity to express their opinions (Collis & Hussey 2009). However, it is worth noting that if subjective and relativity epistemologies are taken to their full limit then all researches including ethnography are merely story telling argued Parker (1995).

More on this will be discussed later under reflexivity. Despite the criticism of ethnographic studies by naturalists their adoption still continues as Hammersley and Atkinson (1992, p.13) argue "when setting out to describe a culture, we operate on the basis of the assumption that there are such things as culture, and have some ideas about what they are like; and we select out for analysis the aspects of what is observed that we judge to be cultural".

Critics also argue that generalisation from findings from single social settings as in ethnography is not feasible. To this criticism it has been argued that it is possible to generalise the findings of single settings theoretically depending on the type of setting selected (Silverman 2006). Generalisation, also known as external validity has to do with replication of the findings to other researches. Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010) distinguished between internal and external validity and argued that internal validity is not applicable to exploratory and descriptive research because the aim is not to measure cause and effect relationship. The conduct of explanation building, pattern matching and the use of logic models to address rival arguments during the analysis addresses the internal validity. Instead of focusing on addressing external validity what I did was to pay more attention to the construct and internal validity, and use transparent documentation and justification of the research process to validate this study (e.g., Gibbert & Ruigrok 2010; Silverman 2006; and Cook & Campbell 1979).

I argue further that replication in social research could be difficult because of social constructionism. Society and human beings in general are constantly changing and what motivated individuals just moments ago may not do same now and so replication of the same research conducted following the same procedures and methods should not be expected to always yield the same results. Scientific and natural science researches should be replicable but not social sciences since the latter deals with human behaviour (e.g., Gibbert & Ruigrok 2010). In any case I do not aim at generalising the findings. Rather, building and elaborating existing theory.

All the above criticisms notwithstanding, ethnographic studies offer important complements to other forms of research. They help to explain, describe and illustrate certain complex phenomena that other strategies cannot. Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010), and Gephardt (2004) continued that although there are challenges, a well conducted ethnographic case study can produce ground breaking results. These reasons made its adoption very appropriate in this study.

4.3.2.1 Justification for the choice of companies

The choice of these two companies is based on the fact that they are two of the giants in the industry and are both multinational gold mining companies. They are also the ones identified to be championing CSR in the industry in Ghana. Newmont is also reported to have conflicts in other parts of the world such as Peru and Indonesia (Gifford et al 2010; Bury 2004). They therefore provide an intriguing comparison in their CSR implementation. Gerring (2007) argued that to be able to do a good comparison and analysis of organisations, one must choose those with similarity in size, industry, and context. In addition to the above, in the Monday19[th] September 2011 edition of the Business News in Ghana, Gold Fields was reported to have been adjudged the best in CSR and sustainable development, highest taxpayer, sector leader in the mining industry

and the number nine on the overall list of the best 100 companies in the country by the Ghana Club 100, (a body that rates the performances of the best hundred companies in the country yearly).

In contrast to this achievement in Ghana, Gifford et al (2010) reported that Gold Fields with headquarters in South Africa ranks the lowest in the top ten multinational gold mining companies in CSR in the world. The ranking was based on environmental, community, market and workplace indicators. In that ranking, Newmont and Lihir of Papua New Guinea jointly topped the table whiles Gold Fields came last (Gifford et al 2010 p. 310). See appendix for details as presented by Gifford et al. I therefore sought to find out why the worst performer in that world ranking is the best in Ghana. What is the company doing differently in Ghana to make it the best in the country and why Newmont the best in the world ranking is having more problems in Ghana? The flexibility and appropriateness of ethnographic studies in investigating complex phenomena in their natural context influenced me to adopt it as a strategy.

4.4 Research Method[5]
I employed personal face-to-face and focus group interviews, where informants were asked questions for detail responses. These methods were informed from the ethnographic strategy adopted with the qualitative inductive approach. These were further influenced by the aims of the research as mentioned throughout the chapter.

Although interviews are criticised for being costly, time consuming, intimidating and sometimes result in bias responses because the informants provide the interviewer the information he wants to hear (Neuman 2003), it has unquantifiable advantages especially when the aim of the study is to explore complex issues such as in this study. Response

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[5] Methods are subsets of the methodology and are the specific techniques/mechanisms that the researcher employs in carrying out the final research (Crotty 1998 p 6).

rates are high; nonverbal communication signs which aid follow-up questions and analysis are easily accessible in face-to-face interview. The way informants express and present themselves and the language used during the interview presents potentially rich empirical data for analysis (Fleetwood 2005) hence its adoption.

In conducting the research, many planned approaches failed and I had to fall on contingency plans. The initial plan was to start the data collection from Newmont because I had been introduced to a manager to help gain access. However, upon reaching Ghana it was noted that he had resigned from the company and relocated outside the capital. Many Ministers of state earmarked for interviewing had also been reshuffled whiles others had either travelled or were on leave. This confirms Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010) and Pratt's (2008) argument that planned access and contacts sometimes fail at the last minute requiring the need to change the planned approach. What specific strategies to adopt when this happens were however not mentioned by these experts.[6] Most methodology sections, Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010) argued, stop where things begin to get interesting for the reader. Due to the above reasons, methodology experts such as Denzin & Lincoln (1994) and Eisenhardt (1989) reported that qualitative researches are difficult to plan and execute.

While reviewing the methodology literature, I found that writers like Zbaracki (1998); Barker (1993) and Elsbach & Kramer (2003) used this detailed approach to conduct their studies (though not in the mining industry). Hence I present the details shortly. But before then I first present the sampling method adopted.

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[6] Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010) and Easterby-Smith et al (2008) noted that having a plan changed at the last hour is normal because only a few planned research programmes go uninterrupted. Documenting this however adds credibility and validity to the study since it tells the reader that in fact the author actually went to the field to collect the data rather than crafting something out of nothing (e.g., Easterby-Smith et al 2008; Pratt 2008; Golden-Biddle & Lock 1993; 1997).

4.4.1 Selecting the participants[7]

In selecting participants for a research it is important to consider those who will provide the information that will help answer the research questions and at the same time represent the views of those studied. The selection also determines the validity of the outcome of the research results. The procedure is therefore an important part of the research design. Consequently, I employed the purposive approach (e.g., Sheree 1984; Gephardt 2004) to obtain information from informants who were directly related to the study. This was because it has been argued that it is the most appropriate for qualitative ethnographic studies (Sheree 1984). Again, I believed that the answers to the research questions lay with personalities like the managers of the companies, chiefs and opinion leaders of the communities, and key government officials. These representatives were perceived experts in their roles and in their experiences. For example CSR and environmental managers in the companies, and state agency officials interviewed had both professional and second degree academic qualifications related to their fields. They had also been on their posts for ten or close to ten years. Chiefs, opinion leaders and community members selected had also been living in the communities for decades and could compare their experiences prior to the establishment of the mines and presently. These were also experts in their experiences to tell their own stories. NGOs who directly were involved with these study communities and had variously supported or mediated their cases were also sampled. The information that these few provided were richer and representative of the range of voices and experiences of the social settings of mining operations in Ghana. These voices were more useful than what many hundreds who were

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[7] Sekaran (1992, p.226) defined sampling as "the process of selecting a sufficient number of items from the population so that by studying the sample, and understanding the properties of the sample subjects, we will be able to generalize the characteristics to the population elements".

not directly involved in mining issues would have revealed (e.g., Patton 2003; Tracy 2010; Easterby-Smith et al 2008).

During the search for participants I drew upon Churchill & Iacobucci's (2002) six steps which were the definition of the target, identification of the sample frame, selection of representative method, determination of the participant numbers, selection of the participants and collection of the data from the selected participants for the research. Concerning the appropriateness of the numbers, Sheree (1984) argued that theoretically a single respondent can be enough, a claim that can be startling yet not unreasonable. He explained that "the aim of a phenomenological research is to uncover the necessary structural invariants of an experience, and those invariants are fully discoverable in any individual case" (p.200). However, because of the dangers of researchers sometimes seeing only what they want to see rather than what is there to be seen, increasing the numbers to five or ten participants should be fine Sheree concluded. Since I was interested in the sense of experiences as the subjects live them, and the way they fit together holistically as a whole, a single interview, experiment or questionnaires would not suffice. More information was needed than could be obtained from these approaches. More extensive and prolonged contacts of the informants were needed to understand their experiences, so as to establish the strongest shared understanding, and to generate their own account of their experiences rather than imposing a ready-made structure on their experience (e.g., Sheree 1984). Consequently, in total, I interviewed 40 informants from the various stakeholder groups. I also conducted other informal interviews and discussions with other participants. Other details of the informants and the questions asked can be found at the appendix.

Before I began the data collection, I identified respondents from sifting through News Reports on mining back home. (e.g., who made what comments about mining, what were their positions/titles, what organisations did they work for? Did the comment relate to CSR, conflict, mining revenue, Newmont, Goldfields, etc.?) I also discussed my research topic and case companies with friends here in the UK and back home to explore opportunities for possible access to the target companies and informants. These worked as a few names came up.

4.4.2 The journey to the field and gaining access
I set forth for the data collection on 20th March, 2012 and arrived the next day. Falling back on old networks after the proposed plan failed on arrival, a pastor friend connected me to a colleague pastor at Damang who hosted me for my entire stay in the community. The host also granted me an interview and introduced me to others including the chief, local government officials and community members who also granted interviews and subsequently linked me up to Gold Fields. It took me almost one month to gain access to Gold Fields. Bureaucratic procedures and protocols including signing confidentiality clauses plus unavailability of company managers to interview were to blame for delays in the field. Further challenges encountered in the field will be discussed later under methodological difficulties.

The enquiry strategy I adopted included field observation, unstructured/semi-structured interviewing, informal conversation, focus group, corporate and government document reviews. I followed an iterative process as recommended by (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) and replicated by Whiteman and Mamen (2002) when they examined conflict and justice between the Ngabe-Bugle people and Tiomin Company in Panama.

4.4.3 The Interviews
I engaged in individual face-to-face interviews with community members, chiefs and opinion leaders, state officials, MNMC officials, representatives of the chamber of mines,

local government officials in the various communities and NGOs to gain a better and holistic understanding of the relationship that existed between MNMCs, and other stakeholders. In all 40 interviews were conducted including at least three corporate executives from each MNMC, eight community members from each community, six chiefs and opinion leaders (three from each community), eight government officials, two NGO officials (one local and one international), two representatives of the Chamber of Mines plus other informal interviews. This multiple stakeholder approach presented a broader range of critical perspectives on CSR and dialogue issues, and helped to explore the different views of the different stakeholders to enable comparisons to be made during the data analysis. Most of the data gathered through this process related to general experiences, feelings and opinions about the MNMCs' CSR projects, the meanings they give to CSR in enhancing the relationship, informants' perceived mining impact, community involvement in both CSR and mine decision-making, and expectations. The tool was mostly semi-structured and unstructured, and were conducted around these broad themes. The tools were developed through reading news articles related to mining and CSR in Ghana. For example by reading reasons for community protest, questions were generated. Further questions were developed through literature reviews after the gaps were identified. These questions were tested on colleague students to explore their understanding prior to going to the field and then modified according to feedback received. These were further updated on the field during and after interviews. For example responses gathered from interviewing community members helped me refine the questions to ask leaders which further necessitated adjustment for corporate executives and government officials. Some of the questions also emerged simultaneously during the interviews based on answers provided by respondents. These became follow-up questions which were very helpful. Consequently, flexibility played a crucial role.

The interviews were conducted in English and or the local dialect in either the informant's office or home and lasted between 45 to 120 minutes. These were digitally audio recorded using MP3 device with informants' permission and later translated (local language) verbatim into English and transcribed for the analysis (e.g., Baxter & Eyles 1997). During the course of the interviews I took notes especially of nonverbal aspects of informant's behaviour as well as incidents that took place before, during and after the interview that the recording device could not capture. I found ethnographic methodologists Hammersley (1998) and Hammersley & Atkinson's (1995) confrontational line of questioning most useful and inspiring. Consequently, I sometimes used this approach to prevent respondents from lying. For instance I used information gathered from other sources to ask direct questions such as "what make was the 4x4 car you bought from your compensation money"? Like Hammersley & Atkinson (1995) argued these respondents realised that I already had the information so revealed the truth.

These data were complemented by informal individual/group conversations, and interviews (e.g., Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). The informal settings of such interactions did not permit digital recording of the ethnographic conversations. Consequently, summary notes were jotted down in my field notebook.

Two focus group sessions each were conducted in the studied sites among community members which lasted two hours each. These complemented the individual interviews from key informants. The first one in Kanyasi (Newmont community) occurred after a church service whiles the second one was at a funeral ground. In Damang (Gold Fields community), one was formal whiles the second one was more informal (conversational). Each group was made up of eight people ages between 21 and 69 and included farmers, unemployed, students, graduate community members, some employed by the MNMCs and others teachers. They also included petty traders. I made sure each focus group had

at least two out of the eight being women. The process facilitated widespread data gathering. These sessions were conducted purely in the local language because of the level of education of participants.

All the interviews were started by explaining the purpose of the study to the informants and told they had the right to refuse to grant the interview and to also avoid any questions they were not comfortable with. They could also pull out of the process even in the middle of the interview if they felt no longer interested and in that case their information would not be used. They were also given the consent form to sign after explaining its relevance to them. I found that many members of the host communities unlike company and government agencies interviewed did not sign because they felt it was irrelevant.

The interviews were conducted in phases starting from phase1 (community), phase2 (organisations), phase3 (government), phase4 (chamber of mines) and phase5 (civil societies). After each phase some initial analysis was conducted to generate new themes around which further questions could be asked and for the modification of interview questions. This process continued throughout the data collection.

Phase One: In this phase I engaged local community leaders and local people to explore their experience of the companies' CSR and dialogue implementation. The reason for contacting them first was the fact that they were at the bottom of the policy framework and were those impacted by policy decisions. They were also the direct recipients of companies' CSR and dialogue initiatives and mining impact. This enabled me to familiarise myself with their situations and environmental conditions. I consequently used this familiarity as the basis to probe the other stakeholders.

Phase Two: This phase involved company executives who took CSR decisions and developed company policies. These were required to explain their perceived relationship

of the company with the communities over time. Representatives included community affairs, environmental and CSR/sustainability managers.

Phase Three: Involved contacting government officials in government agencies such as District Chief Executives (Local Government) who were responsible for local administration in communities and partnering companies in development at the local level. They were the government representatives at the local level. I also interviewed senior managers of the Minerals Commission who were responsible for mining regulations and laws. Representatives of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) responsible for managing environmental issues and government ministers were also interviewed.

Phase Four: Involved senior officers of the chamber of mines, the umbrella body of the mining firms.

Phase five: During this phase, I contacted leaders of both international and local NGOs for their independent opinions. These were required to express their views and perceptions of the relationship that existed between MNMCs and the communities and what they perceived were the problems between these two stakeholders. They were also asked to describe their role in conflict resolution between these two.

Even though mostly semi-structured questions were employed, on few occasions open-ended questions were used throughout the period. These happened when I realized that the informants did not have enough time to go through the entire questions. In such cases I focused on broad areas such as what causes conflict between the MNMCs and their host communities; what economic and social benefits do stakeholders derive from mining and what negative impacts result. Effort was made to give adequate representation to the informants such that at the end of each interview I asked them to add any additional

comments they felt relevant. I realised that these sections though open ended, gave informants the opportunity to give details of what they thought could help minimise the conflicts or re-echoed what their needs were that needed companies' attention (community respondents). Others used that to call for better dialogue between the companies and the host communities.

4.4.4 Observations
While in the communities independent observations of the study sites were recorded and pictures of the environment as impacted by the mines were taken. CSR projects implemented by the MNMCs including classroom blocks, clinics, boreholes (drinking water), wells and the nature of the roads within the communities and those linking other communities were also photographed. I also photographed other social activities engaged in by the communities such as funeral gatherings and church activities. These snap shorts provided further evidence to authenticate claims which further helped my analysis. They also aimed at providing comprehensibility to readers to help them make their own judgement. The use of this technique according to Schutz (1964) helps the researcher study the social world without actually disturbing it. A relative objectivity distance was also enabled because through observation I could see beyond what those studied see. Because informants are deeply immersed in their social world it is sometimes difficult for them to see beyond their circumstance, culture and environment. Therefore through observation I was able to step back, maintain some distance and see things from different perspectives beyond what informants perceived.

4.4.5 Document Analysis
Invaluable data concerning the background and history of the companies and their operations in Ghana and specifically the catchment communities were sourced from document analysis. This access to corporate and state documents provided further insight into CSR expenditures and corporate-community agreements. Details of discussions and

interactions between the two stakeholders were also unveiled. On the state side, gathered documents included proposed drafted CSR policy guideline, proposals and procedures for acquiring mining licence. Further access to MNMCs' websites, CSR magazines, CSR/sustainability annual reports, newsletters from the Chamber of Mines, and prints from Ghanaian newspapers on issues concerning the industry and specifically the two study organisations were invaluably helpful. These sources complemented the academic literature sources from articles used for the literature review chapters. I used quotes from these data to confirm or falsify claims either from informants' responses or observations during the analysis. This array of techniques and strategies were employed because this toolbox had the advantage of delivering multiple representations and a comprehensive portrayal of the situation than what a single source could provide. It also helped fill the gaps left by other techniques and provided a wider and richer scope that facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the social process. It also secured the basis that enabled the findings to be transferred easily onto other contextual settings (e.g., Hammersley 1992; Geertz 1973; Matthyssens & Vandenbempt 2003).

The combination of these data sources, techniques, stakeholder sources and strategies is known by Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010); Denzin & Lincoln (1994); Strauss & Corbin (1998) and Lindgreen et al (2009) as triangulation and relevant in increasing validity of qualitative research. Gibbert & Ruigrok (2010) explain that it is a strategy adopted to generate data from the same phenomenon from different angles and sources. [8] I also attended local and international conferences relevant to this research to expose the study

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[8] However, triangulation is also seen as the combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to conducting research. For this reason Silverman (2005) and Flick (2002) distinguished two forms of triangulation namely the qualitative triangulation which is the combination of various qualitative methods as explained above and the second one being the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods as mostly practiced by pragmatists.

to the international community in order to gain expert and first-hand information on these issues.

4.5 How the data analysis was done
4.5.1 Data Referencing
I used double quotation marks for all direct quotes from informants throughout the data.

Serial identifiers and titles such as community leader, opinion leader and senior officer were also used to distinguish quotes from various sources. FG1, 2, etc were also used to denote focus group informants. These were aimed at helping me and readers to be able to trace sources easily to avoid confusion while reading the report.

In order to avoid doing harm to informants, pseudonyms were used in the text. However, I admit that sometimes it is difficult to hide the identity of the informants because their position is mentioned and it is very easy for readers to know who occupied the office at the time when the study was conducted. For instance when chief of Damang is used, even though his name is not mentioned, every stakeholder in the study will know who the chief of the Damang community was during that period. What I did to minimize injury in a situation like this was to use judgement to ensure that the titles were further concealed. This however, has the potential of compromising the authority of the quote. This is because the position of the person saying what, gives the reader basis to validate or discard the information. Company informants also mentioned that all the information they provided were already in the public domain and so there was nothing to hide. This gave me the impression that to a large extent respondents' titles could be used. This reduced fear and danger of compromising the validity of information sources.

The data analysis was done by first reading through the entire data transcript several times back and forth and listening to the audio recordings as well (e.g., Thompson et al 1990; Miles & Huberman 1994; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Gibbert, Ruigrok and Wicki 2008;

Leitch et al 2010). The complex whole was then broken down into smaller manageable constituents through the use of open coding to come up with themes and categories to better describe how informants perceived their world (e.g., Oktay 2012; Pratt 2008; Gibbert & Ruigrok 2008; Schouten 1991; Hill & Stamey 1990 and Mick & DeMoss 1990). After this, I grouped the codes together into concepts and related themes (e.g., Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1990; Bazeley & Richards 2000; Leitch et al 2010). In other words the categorisation involved the classification of data as representing or belonging to some general phenomenon (e.g., Glaser & Strauss 1967; Miles & Huberman 1984; Strauss & Corbin 1990) and helped identify the emerging themes from the data. For instance when looking for newness, responses that mentioned the need for change to something new were coded.[9] I used statements that were common to create first order codes and categories which were then strengthened to become more abstract and theoretical (the axial coding e.g., Oktay 2012; Strauss and Corbin 1998; Spiggel 1994). From categorisation, I took the analysis to abstraction level, a process beyond categorisation that collapsed broader categories into fewer, concrete, higher-order and more general conceptual constructs of common features (e.g., Spiggel 1994; Miles & Huberman 1984). Once this was done, I sought how these categories related to each other (e.g., Leitch et al 2010; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1990). For instance respondents' complains that there was lack of standardised criteria for assessing compensation was associated with the lack of fairness in MNMCs' quote of compensation figures. With this in mind, I scanned the data back and forth to see how and where they fitted or misfit (e.g., Charmaz 2006; Glaser & Strauss 1967). In the process the data was reduced, dissected, sorted and reconstituted (e.g., Spiggel 1994). I

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[9] (e.g., the need for a change of government policy or change in the way compensation was negotiated and paid, (e.g., see Pratt 2008).

then discovery, organised and decided what was important to be learnt and what to tell readers (e.g., Bogdan & Biklen 1982). Thomas (2003) mentioned that this enables the researcher to draw findings from the significant or dominant themes out of the raw data without constraining structured methodologies. The process of abstraction continued until theoretical saturation was achieved. Various perspectives were then developed from the analysis to assess how informants perceived CSR and dialogue strategies, and companies' implementation of same. To be able to do this, responses to questions such as what is your definition of CSR and dialogue, and what are your CSR and dialogue expectations of the company were analysed? [10] The second perspective analysed responses to the question "How are CSR project decisions arrived at?" In the third perspective I analysed responses to the question "How are mining contracts awarded?" The forth perspective analysed responses to the question "what are the major causes of conflict between communities and the MNMCs?" The fifth perspective analysed responses concerning the effectiveness of MNMCs and government's proposed strategies in resolving conflicts. In the final perspective I addressed responses to "what can be done to resolve the conflicts"? I then compared theoretical constructs with informant's experiences and responses to unearth similarities and differences. Comparison was then made among incidents, categories and cases. This was a constant process that took place throughout the analysis in an integrative form where I integrated theory into the contexts, conditions, strategies and outcomes.

Throughout the analysis my field notes were also incorporated as a component that further contextualised the findings. The responses from each informant and those collected from other secondary data sources were combined into one manuscript.

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[10] This second bit of the question was asked all stakeholders with the exception of the company representatives.

Irrelevant data were then sorted from the relevant data before the latter were coded, analysed and represented according to the economic, environmental and socio-cultural indicators from the various stakeholders' perspectives. Comparisons were then made of the companies and communities to look out for similarities and differences (e.g., Neuman 2000).

The analysis was a difficult process that required intuitive, dynamic and creative skills with the aim of determining the categories, assumptions, and relationships that informed informants' views of the world and the particular issues under investigation (e.g., Basit 2003). My primary objective was to generate understanding of the participants' sense-making in the research (e.g., Leitch et al, 2010). The process helped in the manipulation of the data through the categorisation, abstraction, comparison and integration. This facilitated the construction of a coherent conceptual explanation of the findings (e.g., Spiggel 1994). To be able to do this effectively required a constant iteration (moving back and forth) the data (e.g., Thompson et al 1990 and Mick & DeMoss 1990). This iterative process helped in making inferences that aided interpretation (e.g., Hirschman 1992; Spiggel 1994). Spiggel contended that such an approach enhances unified interpretation; refine concepts and draws out theoretical implications. It also promotes data verification and refutation (e.g., Holbrook & O'Shaughnessy 1988). The summary of the research methodology has been compiled into a table and put in the appendix.

4.5.2 Summary of analysis procedure
The following steps were followed for the data analysis:

Table 4: Summary of Analyses Procedure

Step1	Line-by-line analysis to identify concepts in the data (open coding). This involved the identification of phrases and words that evoked emotions, strong feelings, actions, justification for actions, verbs that described action and those that raised eyebrows.
Step2	Grouping of codes into broader categories and concepts (those words and actions that go together).

Step3	Comparison and contraction of codes into smaller units. This process reduced the number of categories to a smaller number.
Step4	Comparison of cases and identification of their characteristics or dimensions.
Step5	Began theoretical sampling through refining and asking questions concerning identified categories/themes/concepts.
Step6	Moved the analysis to an abstract level by developing relationships between categories and concepts, and their subcategories. (This was an important part that distinguished study from other qualitative methods). This included analysing specific keywords and actions in the data to stimulate abstract thinking. For example taking compensation: how did the various stakeholders e.g., chiefs, ordinary community members, company reps and government representatives define it and what other words were used to describe it. The author did the same for CSR, dialogue and other keywords.
Step7	Identification of core categories and relationship of these categories to context, conditions, process, consequences of actions, etc.
Step8	Tied the study's components together to fill existing gap(s) and compare it with existing theory.

The process started with a broad approach that ended with a narrow end. It was more of a funnel or V-Shape.

4.6 Time Horizon[11]
This study adopted the cross-sectional time horizon to conduct the research because of the limited time within which to complete and hand in the research report. Secondly, resource constraints made it impossible to conduct a longitudinal research. The study aimed at catching experiences in flight (Pettigrew 1985) hence the adoption of this time horizon.

4.7 Methodological Difficulties
Gaining access and the analysis were the most difficult parts of my study. However, in this section the challenges of gaining access will be thoroughly discussed whiles difficulties with the analysis will be addressed in the next section under reflexivity. The process of gaining access started by obtaining ethics approval from the research ethics

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[11] This involves whether the study will be cross-sectional or longitudinal. Saunders et al (2009) contend that a cross-sectional research is the type that obtains information in one episode of fieldwork whiles longitudinal research study variables and/or group of subjects over a longer period of time.

committee of the business school. This was presented to the companies and the various institutions together with a drafted application letter detailing the objectives of the study. This stated clearly that the study was purely for academic purpose only. Although I was well prepared for challenges, many surprises were encountered. I classify these into four parts (access to communities, access to companies, access to government institutions and NGOs).

4.7.1 Access to companies

The actual access to the companies was obtained through networks including old customers, friends and church members who happened to know or had friends and family members that worked in the targeted institutions. Even with these array of networks, it was still very difficult to penetrate bureaucratic protocols. For instance there was the need to sign confidentiality clauses and go through induction training with Gold Fields. At a point the manager responsible for granting access doubted the authenticity of the official introduction letter given to me by the business school and signed by my supervisors. He explained that the letter could be drafted by anybody who sat behind the computer and therefore I should go back and get a more authentic alternative. This was shocking because the letter was printed on the University's letterhead with the logo and contact details. It took the intervention and persistent plea of the colleague manager who introduced me to the company to convince him to accept the letter. I met this intervening manager in the church where I fellowshipped in the town. It took me over one month to overcome this obstacle to start interviewing corporate representatives. However, in order not to waste precious time, I used the waiting period to interview community members, chiefs and local government officials who were relatively easier to contact.

Interviewing Newmont representatives was the most frustrating in the data collection as appointments were either cancelled in the last minute or never honoured. When approval

was granted after nearly six weeks of waiting, I had to travel from my base in the Kenyasi Township to the office of the main respondent near Ntotroso more than four times to get him to grant interview. Sometimes he will not be in the office when we had agreed on an appointment. I would wait for hours and later be told he would not show up because he had been caught up in a meeting. The other informant had been on an assignment outside the country but had come home briefly when I caught up with him through the main contact person. Although he agreed to grant me interview, I had to meet him on a highway where he parked by the roadside to grant the interview in his car after two previous appointments failed. He was travelling back to his base the next day hence there was no time for another appointment. At the end only two of the targeted three representatives were interviewed with the third being a consultant the company had engaged on a long-term contract on its alternative livelihood projects.

4.7.2 Access to communities

Upon arrival in Damang (my first community), I was introduced to the chief of the town by the host pastor as custom demanded. This pastor had good rapport and credibility in the town. An appointment was subsequently booked to interview the chief. The next was to interview community members. Although gaining access to community participants in general was relatively easier, there were challenges in Damang. These included participants' fear of not knowing my identity. This was complicated by the fact that just three weeks earlier, a combined force of state security (police and armed forces) deployed by the government had conducted a military sweep of the town and caused many arrests of community members for alleged illegal mining operations. Community members therefore could not be sure whether I was a spy for the government security forces or company informant. Consequently, a group of young men playing a draft game refused to grant interview. Even though I explained the research intentions, spoke the local dialect

and showed them my student ID, they refused to talk. I had no option than to leave them. At another time, two women in their 50s and a man in his late 40s also refused to grant interviews arguing that they had granted many of those but had not seen any meaningful outcomes. The activity was a waste of their precious time. It took the persuasion of the pastor, some elders and members of the church who introduced me to community members, my involvement in community activities including communal cleaning, attending funerals, church attendances and knowledge of the local culture to bridge the gap and break the ice. For instance, during communal cleaning, I met three of the guys who refused an earlier interview at the draft game. Clearing the overgrown weeds along the main road and sweeping together made them draw closer and engaged me in informal conversation. They remarked that I was hardworking, down to earth and wondered how I could come from Europe with that high level of academic achievement and engage in those manual exercises. It was however, my background as a subsistence farmer brought up in a remote village worse than their environment that helped me. I also had to convince them that the more they spoke about their experiences, the more people get to know about their experiences and hopefully one day help would come. Talking about their experiences as the experts would provide insight that would possibly inform future practices.

Apart from the above challenges, I was also intimidated by the positions of the chiefs. Paramount chiefs in the olden days were known for beheading strangers who found their ways into their palaces. When major chiefs died, it was believed that they must not be buried alone because of their position. They needed servants to serve them in the other world. Therefore people must be killed and buried with them. I was hence afraid when I appeared before the Kanyasi chief with all his bodyguards around him. Interestingly, the chief and his elders asked me to produce three bottles of British Schnapps (hard liquor)

when coming to conduct the interview. They explained that it was their custom that one does not enter the chief's palace empty handed. I was familiar with this custom as a Ghanaian. Therefore, I had to break my religious principles of not serving or drinking alcohol on religious grounds to gain access. This was a clear deviation from my faith so as to fulfil the principles of ethnographic research (e.g., Cunliffe 2008; van Maanen 1988). Fortunately, on the day of the interviews the chief made his bodyguards keep a distance and asked that the interview be granted by one of his sub chiefs in his presence. He interrupted at various points however to either clarify or raise issues. Again, because I was familiar with the culture and could speak the language, I was able to read the body languages and any signs of potential threats to overcome fears.

The research skills I learnt from the research training in the generic skills module (e.g., qualitative interviewing) and the ethnographic research books I read from Harmmersely and Atkinson (1995, 2007) and van Maanen (1988, 2010) were very helpful as these boosted my confidence a great deal.

4.7.3 Access to state institutions

As mentioned earlier, the initial plan failed when I actually got to the field. I realised some of the ministers of state earmarked for the interviews had either been reshuffled, too new to the ministry or were simply not interested in granting interviews. Others delegated their staff who they thought had all the relevant information to grant the interview. I was overwhelmed by the depth of relevant information I got from these delegated respondents. They were found to have more experience and unlike the ministers of state and CEOs, they had been in their position for several years as ministers come and go. They had also personally being dealing with these issues and visiting the host communities. Consequently, they had first-hand information. They provided the ministers with information before the latter report to the media because in many cases the

ministers did not go to the field. The minsters also sometimes for political reasons polished the information before relaying to the public. The delegated staff who mostly were either the research directors or senior directors of the units had information either in the form of reports, primary information or both.

In typical situations, the Environmental Minister, the Natural Resources Minister and the CEO of the Minerals Commission delegated their sector and research directors to respond to the interviews. Some of these information I am pretty sure I would not have laid hands on should I meet these main response targets for political reasons. Accessing NGOs was the easiest because they have been campaigning against these institutions for many years and wanted many people to know how both the state and MNMCs have been unfairly treating host communities.

4.8 Ensuring Reflexivity

One of the hallmarks of credible and rigorous ethnographic research is reflexivity. Despite the fact that realising total objectivity in ethnographic research is unachievable, it does not mean it should not be attempted. Consequently, ethnographic researchers are required to put aside their assumptions so that the true experiences of those studied can be reflected in the data collection, analysis and final report (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). One sure way of realising this objective is through reflexivity. This is described as the authenticity and honesty with oneself, his research and his audience (Tracy 2010) and considered one of the important factors to consider in reviewing ethnographic studies (Richardson 2000a). According to Richardson (P. 254), reflexivity addresses questions such as "How did the researcher come to write this report? Is there any self-awareness or exposure for the reader to make judgments about the point of view? Reflexivity also has to do with self-appraisal, self-reflection (Carolan 2003), and self- critique. It explains how the researcher has or has not influenced the stages of the research process (Koch and

Harringtion 1998). Hence Gadamer (1989) argued that one must understand oneself to be able to understand others. For this reason, reflexivity requires researchers to operate on multiple selves (Etherington 2004) and admit that they are intimately involved in both the research process and product (Horsburgh 2003). Reflexivity also ensures that ethnographers are honest about their weaknesses and strengths. Hence, Furman (2004) added that researchers should strive towards self-revelation rather than trying to look good in conducting their studies. However, Finlay (2002) distinguished between reflexivity and reflection and placed them at extreme ends of a continuum. She explained that reflexivity is more active than mere reflection (see also Woolgar 1988).

4.8.1 Achieving reflexivity in this research

My background as a farmer and miner, and my ability to speak participants' language, even though provided rich and valuable insight into communities' experiences, also had the potential of creating bias reporting. Furthermore, because I immersed myself in the culture of the communities, the danger of being influenced by their plight to produce subjective report was high. Consequently, there was the need to consider self-reflexivity. The aim of reflexivity in this study was to prevent subjective and emotive reporting (e.g., Koch and Harringtion 1998; Cunliffe 2003). However, achieving reflexivity was not straightforward. Hand (2003) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argued the need to consider it at all the stages of the study with explicit decision-making. Thus, reflexivity was ensured prior to my fieldwork, during data collection, data analysis and during presentation of the final report (see van Maanen 1988; Ahern 1999). It involved bracketing personal experiences following Ahern's ten tips to ensure reflective bracketing. These included the identification of interests that could easily be taken for granted; clarification of personal value systems and acknowledgement of known areas of subjectivity; description of possible areas of conflict; identification of gatekeepers'

interest and the extent they were favourably disposed towards the project; recognition of feelings that could indicate lack of neutrality; observation of new surprises in the data analysis; reframing any possible block that could occur in the research process; reflecting on how to write the final account; consideration of supporting literature whether they supported the analysis or just expressed the researcher's cultural background; and acknowledgement of the outcome of bias.

Reflectivity was also achieved through an analysis of the political and contextual environment within which the study was conducted (e.g., van Maamen 2010). These included for instance the power of the manager of Gold Fields in almost denying me access. Such reflexivity aimed at adding richness to the ethnographic report because it presented a union of the self and the subject matter under investigation, to prevent readers from looking for biases (e.g., Gergen and Gergen 2000). It involved me turning on myself the very lenses with which I scrutinised the lives of participants (e.g., Shaw 2010; Myerhoff and Ruby 1992). This was important because through making myself aware of my expectations of the research and my own feelings, I could fully appreciate the nature of my investigation, how it related to my personal and professional experiences and my relationship as an explorer and experiencer in the world of the research participants from whom I gathered the experiential data. By proactively exploring myself at the beginning of data collection I entered into dialogue with my research participants and used their presentation of themselves to help revise my pre-understandings and made sense of the phenomenon anew (e.g., Shaw 2010). Clearly, Finlay (2003, p.108) argued that "without examining ourselves we run the risk of letting our unelucidated prejudices dominate our research. New understanding emerges from complex dialectic between the knower and the known; between the researcher's past pre-understandings and the present research process, between the self-interpreted co-constructions of both participant and researcher".

What I also did specifically to reduce bias was to assess the possibility of my background and motivations affecting the outcome of the study before going to the field for the data collection (e.g., Dowling 2006). I introspectively asked myself whether I was well-suited to examine the research topic and chosen sites; could my background affect responses and if yes how could I ensure unbiased reporting? I then spent some time to jot down all the factors that needed bracketing prior to going to the field (e.g., Koch and Harringtion 1998; Ahern 1999; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Shaw 2010). These included issues and personal beliefs (e.g., van Maanen 1988) on competition for land use and illegal mining. With the above questions in mind, I decided not to let my informants know my background during the data collection stage even though it was difficult to eliminate beliefs and past experiences. Rolls and Relf (2004) call this type of reflexivity 'bracketing interview'.

To further ensure objectivity and reflexivity in reporting the findings, I ignored suggestions to ask for sponsorship from the studied organisations when I needed money to fund the study as a result of the untimely death of my financial backbone (my wife). My financial situation was precarious at the time and these organisations were in a position to sponsor the study. However, could I have accepted the sponsorship and still report their perceived negative practices? The answer is highly unlikely. Ethically this could have compromised the quality of the report.

While in the field, I also examined my impact on the scene and noted informants' reactions to these impacts. By so doing, I thought about what available knowledge already existed as well as those likely to be hidden. Surprisingly, Gadamer (1989) suggested that prejudices are important in research interpretation and hence must not be discarded. This view reflects the belief that people can engage reflexively on emotional or conceptual information stored in memory in the moment experience (Dowling 2006) and that

researchers influence and are equally influenced by the experience of engagement (e.g., Hand 2003). The collection of data from many sources in this study and the openness to the many voices in the report in itself can be considered as another form of reflexivity (see Dowling 2006).

During the analysis, I tried to bracket my subjective opinion by going beyond my experiences and not just taking what informants reported on the face value. Instead, I went beneath the surface of responses and my own experience to explore what could influence informants' responses. Thus, reflexivity enabled me to effectively navigate my path through respondents' accounts and my own responses to them. Thinking through my reactions this way ensured that my assumptions and mechanisms which constructed those assumptions were brought to the fore. This involved revisiting the data and my reflective journal several times during the analysis to look out for instances where personal experiences and opinions could bias the report and dealt with them. (e.g., Shaw 2010). This made the analysis take longer than expected. At various points, I sent emails and made phone calls to respondents to seek clarification and provide further evidence to substantiate responses when back in the UK. A typical situation was the request of company CSR spending data via email from corporate executives of the two companies and the minerals commission when analysing the data (e.g., Ahern 1999). Confirming this approach, Lewis (2000) noted that self-reflexivity is not the achievement of introspection as an isolated mind in private contemplation. Rather, it involves an intersubjective process of vibrant tension between oneself as an object and a subject. Dowling (2006) suggested that to create this tension requires a relationship with a supervisor or neutral people who are unfamiliar with the research. These individuals can spot emotive language and draw the ethnographer's attention for correction. Northway (2000) refers to these people as 'critical friends'. These discussions became practical

during this study in that although reflexivity factors were thoroughly noted and effort made to reduce bias during the analysis and reporting stages, some emotive languages were still spotted by my supervisors. My attention was frequently drawn to these for correction. At other times I had to suspend the analysis for a while to allow emotive response to subside. For this reason the report was written four times to correct reflexivity challenges to arrive at the present stage. Consequently, good ethnographic study is not limited to information and knowledge out there in the field but also the stories about oneself. Reflexivity thus shows the ethnographer's sincerity, honesty and transparency throughout the research project. It involves political, social and ethical challenges encountered during the research process so as to address any interpersonal and institutional contexts of the study (Dowling 2006). According to Muecke (1994), this type of reflexivity is employed when the ethnographer becomes an unavoidable participant throughout the text and its creation.

4.8.2 Challenges of reflexivity in this research
Until this point the strength and usefulness of reflexivity in this study have been discussed.

Clearly reflexivity was very important in this ethnographic study. It helped identify the taken-for-granted factors that could compromise the quality of the research. It also ensured honesty and credible reporting. However, evidence suggests that there are many challenges to ensuring reflexivity (see Gergen and Gergen 2000; Allen 2004; Gough 2003 and Denzin 1997). Gough and Denzin for instance advised that in ensuring reflexivity in our research, care must be taken in order not to allow the zeal to be reflexive constrain and compromise the relevance of our data. Indeed the level of reflexivity account to be included in this research report was difficult and complex to ascertain (e.g., Shaw 2010). However, based on Tracy's (2010) suggestion that the extent of the self-as-instrument information to include depends on the aims of the research project; Denzin (1997) and

Gough's (2003) caution to ethnographers not to squeeze out the relevance of the study by trying to ensure reflexivity, I used judgement to simultaneously achieve reflexivity and avoid compromising the relevance of the data. I must admit however that sometimes I found difficulty exercising reflexivity especially when at various points I faced the dilemma to demonstrate reflexivity and at the same time give my professional advice requested by respondents (e.g., see Whitehead 2004; Shaw 2010). A typical situation was when an old lady told me how news about the government giving her cocoa farm to one of the companies was delivered to her on the farm and bulldozers immediately started destroying the farm. Tears filled my eyes when she asked me to judge if it was appropriate for the government to do that. I felt so emotional because I remembered my experience as a farmer, the emotional attachment we had to our land and the sustainable benefits we derived from cocoa farms. I could not give her an answer. Instead, I had to quickly excuse myself to wipe my tears so she would not notice it and changed the topic to avoid the question. For reasons like this, Krizek (2003, p.149) argued that "connections and personal experiences in ethnographic research should be used to illuminate readers' understanding of the cultural event, place or practice rather than for personal catharsis".

4.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained the research design and the philosophical assumptions underpinning the research. Literature on the methodology was extensively reviewed and the detail overview of how the data were collected, and analysed have been given. Some of the practical, political and reflexivity challenges that had to be grappled with in order to collect, analyse and present the data and how they were overcome have also been showcased. It is hoped that this section will dispel any doubts of objectivity in conducting the research.

Although biases are constantly reported to be associated with qualitative research, and that this study cannot completely detach itself from that fact, it is worth mentioning that a great deal of honesty was exhibited in gathering and analysing the data. In the chapter that follows the findings interwoven with theory will be presented after which the contributions, theoretical and management implications, limitations and conclusions will be discussed.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS (Part One)

5.1 Introduction

To gain a critical understanding of the study, it was necessary to first set the context, define the aims and research questions to be addressed. These were the focus of chapter one. The study then moved on to review scholars' work in CSR, stakeholder theory and mining in chapters two and three. To further understand how these theories applied to the Ghanaian context an ethnographic method was used in the previous chapter (chapter four) through interviews, observations and document analysis to allow stakeholders present their experiences and views during data collection. The analysis was done through the interpretive lens using Stuerer's (2006) analytic framework complemented by views from Blowfield & Frynas (2005), Kaptein & van Tulder (2003), Freeman & Miles (2002) and Frooman (1999).

My aim in this chapter is to represent the findings under meaningful themes to create a plausible narrative. As a reminder, the main research questions for the thesis are as follows:

- ➢ How are CSR decisions made and how do host communities perceive the effectiveness of CSR strategies?
- ➢ What are communities' expectations and definitions of CSR?
- ➢ What are the influencing factors that impede dialogue between mining companies and host communities?
- ➢ How effective are the government & MNMCs' proposed strategies in promoting dialogue to enhance peaceful co-existence?

➢ To what extent have the western-centric CSR and organisation-focused stakeholder theory need reformulating to reflect the realities of host communities' experiences in the gold mining context in Ghana?

In interpreting the data I took the research questions into consideration and each of the themes was found to have ongoing relevance, determining dialogue, community relations, and engendering peaceful coexistence. In reading the chapter it should be noted that the emergence of the findings and the understanding of the themes are grounded in the views of the informants. In this regard, the thesis provides a useful and meaningful insight into real life experiences that will help understand the dynamics that prevent dialogue from bringing about peaceful coexistence.

To gain a contextualised understanding it was also necessary to identify what expectations stakeholders, specifically communities had of CSR. In this chapter I also examined the role of dialogue and the application of the SLO in fulfilling these expectations. Thus, I present and discuss issues related to compensation, unfulfilled expectations regarding employment/alternative livelihood, infrastructural development, and poor environmental management as dynamics that resonated strongly. These led to mistrust and frustration to prevent community willingness to engage. I start this findings chapter by presenting the summary of the findings followed by a brief discussion of the role of dialogue in the award of contracts. This is important because the findings suggest the genesis of the problems resulted from the consultation process prior to awarding contracts. I then move on to examine the factors and conclude with a brief discussion section. The diagram below represents the issues and their relationships as discussed in this chapter.

Figure 2: The flow of finding in chapter five
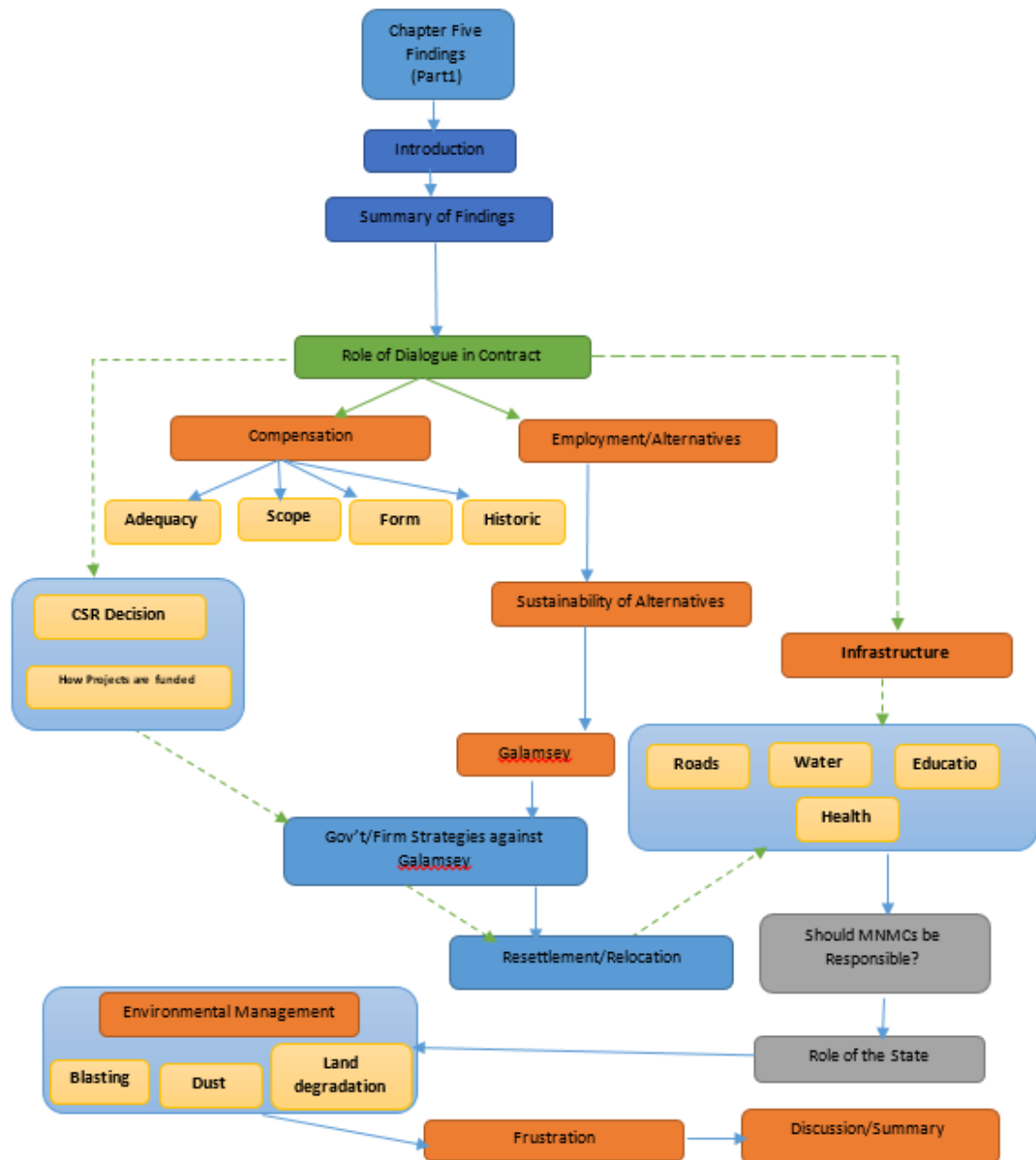
5.2 The summary of the findings

This is an overview of the findings. It provides the antecedents, consequences and the evidences that support these findings. It is aimed at guiding readers to have a holistic grasp and understanding of the core issues of the chapter prior to reading the expanded version that follows. The stakeholder theory as proposed by Freeman (1984) suggested

that stakeholders manage power not to the disadvantage of others. It argued that by stakeholder collaboration the world becomes a better place for all. However, this study indicated that stakeholder theory has failed to alter the way gold mining is conducted in Ghana. The contextual dynamics where massive unemployment (including graduates), lack of basic infrastructure development, poor education, poverty, weak rule of law exist and chiefs' authority played crucial role, MNMC's actions shaped the operating landscape. In a sense CSR and stakeholder theory in this case appeared more of a box-ticking exercise required by imposed western-centric and organisational-focus CSR and stakeholder theories. The consequences were land loss, lack of compensation, loss of income, community livelihood, community and culture change (including dislocation), and long-term mistrust. Due to lack of resources to develop the bigger picture, the views of the marginalised minority were sacrificed by the state for the benefit of the majority by protecting MNMCs who were seen to make some contribution which was better than none. To better understand the dynamics that impeded meaningful dialogue between MNMCs and host communities it was important to consider the role of dialogue in mine contract awards.

5.3 The role of dialogue in awarding mine contracts

I believed that by examining the various processes of how mine contracts were awarded and CSR implemented the challenges inherent in each would be unearthed and solutions prescribed. I found that the nature of disagreements in the industry did not result from the mere presence of the resource but the way dialogue was employed by the MNMCs and the state in their engagements with communities. The data implied although some form of dialogue existed between the state, MNMCs and communities prior to mine commencement, this had mostly been unfavourable to communities. Community capacity to influence negotiations on issues that affected them most was limited. This has

led to antagonistic and confrontational relationship between MNMCs and host communities with the nature and integrity varying considerably. The process had not changed since some 30 years ago when Coduah (1996) reported on the subject. The implication is that the problem is longstanding and the forces that must drive change were either weak and made no impact or were non-existent. As Dartey-Baah and Amponsah-Tawiah (2011) argued, in Ghana civil society groups and local NGOs who should provide advocacy support were not well developed and were under resourced. The state still had total control over mineral rights and awarded them to MNMCs through its agencies (Minerals Commission, EPA and Ministry of Land and Natural Resources) with minimal consultations of the local communities who owned the land. This situation was influenced by the Land Naturalisation Programme in the 1960s (Asabere 1994; 1980; Besley 1995) and the Structural Adjustment Programme that reviewed mining laws in the 1980s empowering the president to take lands for public interest (e.g., Kampfner 2001; Hilson & Nyame 2006).

Meanwhile, agriculture remained the most precious occupation that provided both domestic and economic support for mining communities. Land on which farming took place was the most valuable asset to rural communities in Ghana. It was a prioritised heritage over and above cash and buildings. Surface mining thus affected land availability for food and cash crop production. The implication was economic hardship and poverty that affected community survival because food scarcity resulted, land losers had to buy food at higher prices, cash crops disappeared and yet consultation was poor. This inflamed passions and strangled community enthusiasm to engage.

5.3.1 How contracts were awarded
The Minerals Commission after certifying the authenticity of an application form recommended approval to the Minister of Land and Natural Resources for the issuance

of the mining licence. This was after the environmental permit had been secured from the EPA. Although the application process was comprehensive and detailed, informants including chiefs argued that consultation of community landowners prior to awarding mine contracts was low. Some reported that they were on their farms when land acquisition information was delivered to them by company representatives:

What happened was that we were on the farm when they came and said they were coming to take the land. They meet you on your farm when busily working with that sad news. They then brought their machines and told us to leave so we couldn't say anything. After that they asked us to come to a place for an agreement to be signed so that they will pay us but the money they gave us was an insult" (community member, Kenyasi).

Contradictorily, both government respondents and company representatives vehemently denied the allegation when I put this to them later in separate interviews, explaining that even though the state had ownership of the minerals it could not just remove communities without consultation. They explained that community consultation started immediately mining companies expressed interest in the business and that the District Assemblies were the first point of call in every community who then informed the communities through the posting of twenty one days notices. The definition of immediately remains contestable. Meanwhile officials from the Minerals Commission and EPA when questioned on the effectiveness and appropriateness of the method of information conceded that people complained but blamed the existing law:

"We are currently battling a similar case in one of the communities. The information doesn't really get down to the people, but currently that is what the law is saying and so that is what we are working with. But we know there are challenges with it" (SO, EPA).

The implication is that the western method of information (pasting notices and the use of print media) adopted in this context was inappropriate. It was not until after the concession had been awarded to the MNMCs that communities got the information. Again, even if information was provided, community members' capacity to understand also became questionable considering their literacy levels. For example a study

conducted by the IMF (2006) found that populations in most mining and farming communities in developing countries were mostly illiterates.

The government agencies try to address any concerns raised but these did not stop the investment taking place. Arguably, the notices posted by the District Assemblies were merely for information without any meaningful dialogue taking place. This questioned the strength and application of the UN (2004) principle of the Social License to Operate (SLO) and stakeholder theory in the mining sector in Ghana. Both theories call for stakeholder engagement and dialogue (e.g., Freeman 1984; Blowfield & Frynas 2005; Kaptein & van Tulder 2003; Salim 2003). The SLO for instance required companies to secure the free, prior, and informed consent of indigenous peoples regarding their land and other resources before commencing operation (Wilburn and Wilburn 2011; UN 2004; Salim 2003). It is a voluntary agreement between the mining company and community, often based on a number of sub-stakeholders engagements, each with different views and levels of acceptance of the mining company's right to operate (Wilburn and Wilburn 2011). It informs the community about how a mining operation will impact them (Salim 2003) and empowers them to withdraw support from current or future mining activity. SLO reflects a community's belief that the mining company, through its operations, would generate mutual benefits for itself and the communities (Thomson and Boutilier 2011). And I found this important in this context because failure to gain SLO made the development of credibility, trust and social legitimacy, which are ingredients to meaningful dialogue harder to achieve.

Employing the principle of stakeholder engagement (e.g., Kaptein & van Tulder 2003) and using the one man one vote concept to explain the consultation process, the chief executive of the local NGO intimated that even though consultations were made prior to

awarding concessions, these were done with District Assemblies (DAs), chiefs and opinion leaders rather than the individual land owners. This was because chiefs are powerful and honourable people in Ghana (Lentz 1998) whose roles had constitutional backing. They controlled and allocated most stool lands (lands inherited from predecessors invested in the seat of the chief for the benefit of the entire community). Culturally, it was expected that visitors including MNMCs would pay courtesy call on the chief and elders prior to mine establishment. They could be used to reach community members. DAs on their part were recognised as government representatives at the local level. Hence the acceptance of the project by these two groups were believed to have granted legitimacy rather than the ordinary community members. However, the NGO official contested the appropriateness of this approach because he believed these leaders may have personal interest that would not benefit the general communities. In comparing the consultation process to voting he indicated that each person had only one vote therefore consulting leaders on behalf of all defeated the principle of stakeholder engagement and the SLO and would not work:

"..consultation in the process is inadequate and ineffective. They consulted chiefs and Assemblymen and that was all. In mining everybody is important. It is just like voting or election. Everybody has just one vote. So you cannot say that the chief represents his people. The chief is just one person. What happens if he decides that because he has been promised or he has a contract in the company he agrees? The companies think that oh the chief and his elders have accepted the project so that is the end of the story. If the chief is collecting money from the company here and there, his decision will not benefit the whole community" (LNGO Executive).

The above response expressed lack of trust in the chiefs and opinion leaders to represent the majority hence the need for individual engagement that considers multiple sub-stakeholder interests in decision-making in resource extraction. The capacity of the consulted leaders to represent the feelings and needs of the community depended on the level of trust community members reposed in them. However, both the stakeholder

dialogue theory and the SLO do not suggest one-on-one consultation. Rather, they proposed groups and sub-group consultation (e.g., Blowfield & Frynas 2005; Salim 2003). Again, as Asmus (2009) argued, what is the definition of adequate level of consent? Is it based on the majority decision or the agreement by leaders? These theories assume probably that leaders were transparent and trustworthy and therefore could represent their subjects. However, as the context in literature explained, leader corruption is massive in Ghana (Hilson 2011; Transparency International 2013) and the findings implied in situations where poverty is huge people become self-seeking. The findings during my discussions with most community members and NGOs also suggested MNMCs' consultation of chiefs and opinion leaders was based on the business case it served. This situation was seen as injustice that resulted in the wellbeing of the marginalized jeopardized. This finding resonated with Blowfield & Frynas (2005) argument that the exclusion or inclusion into stakeholder status in many instances is neither based on moral obligation nor legal rights but on the business case and power for that recognition, what Mitchell et al (1997) called stakeholder salience. These authors however, did not mention how such a situation should be rectified.

Community informants also questioned why they were the last to be consulted when they owned the land. To them responsibility of the MNMCs should be directed towards them first before the government because they were the ones sitting directly on the minerals and were also those directly impacted by mining activities. In other words, the practice whereby MNMCs went to finalize negotiations with the government before coming down to the communities was wrong and weakened their authority to make any meaningful demands or hold MNMCs responsible. They argued that once the government concluded negotiations they were left with no option than to accept any offer from the companies as compensation with limited options to seek legal redress:

"The government has erred in not consulting the chiefs and people before giving their land to the MNMCs. You cannot stay in Accra and give somebody's land in Kanyase to a company and say go there and mine. It is an infringement on human right and must be taken to court but when you take him to court it is the same institution you are going to meet there. He is the judge, the lawyer and the prosecutor. You see how complex the problem is?" (Chief, Kenyasi).

Consequently, Greenwood and Van Buren III (2010) argued that when weaker but legitimate stakeholders are coerced into a contract rather than voluntarily, their dependence on the company increases and so is the chance that the company will exploit them. Furthermore, where law enforcement is weak vulnerable stakeholders depend on organisational trust to meet their expectations.

All the leaders reported that the government was a third party therefore paying their royalties to the state to come and develop their area would not work because these resources would always be diverted. Again, it was irresponsible to pay royalties into government common fund for national development because only an insignificant fraction was returned to affected communities. The implication is that there was lack of trust in even government to represent communities. This situation affected attempts to engage in meaningful stakeholder dialogue especially because the state was a major stakeholder. MNMCs swiftly refused to be blamed for government failure to invest mine revenue in host communities.

I found that the application of the SLO was absent even though the state adopted its implementation and this made it difficult for communities to want to engage in meaningful dialogue:

"the constitution says that once there is mineral in your land they have to come for it and when they take it they pollute the rivers. The communities don't even have the power in our laws to say no. The ECOWAS directive on mining has what we call the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent but it is not part of our laws now. You know this thing is coming to destroy you and yet you cannot say no because the law allows it. A lot of communities are saying they don't want mining yet they are imposing it on them" (LNGO executive).

This argument was confirmed later by the senior officer of the EPA when he said:

"We needed to consult as much as possible all the stakeholders but it is not that we are going to seek for the approval of the project from the community. No, that is not it, because there are times where community members will say that we don't want the project, what is your reason and they will say we don't have any reason. When this happens then we cannot also hold the investor to ransom because of some few people's interest that they will not disclose to us" (SO, EPA).

This response has important implications. The state and MNMCs' desire to expedient mining operations was stronger than their willingness to provide the communities transparent, timely and critical space essential to building stakeholder dialog and trust. Consequently, the marginalised people's interest were sacrificed for the bigger picture by the state because of thirst for mine revenue. Additionally, the state and its agencies interpreted community consent to amount to vetoing the project contrary to the principles of the SLO. In effect the SLO is not operating in Ghana. These came at a time when the ICMM (2006) made it clear that without community consent, mining in Ghana would not be possible as they hold the social licence to operate. SLO is an intangible, non-permanent and ongoing acceptance of a firm's activities by the community. However, this is not granted by going to government ministry, paying a fee or through applications. The situation further contradicts the mutual benefit idea proposed by the stakeholder theory of (Freeman 1984; Friedman & Miles 2002; Blowfield & Frynas 2005). Meanwhile, the companies justified their adoption of CSR to its ability to ensure their SLO and to contribute to the development of society in all honesty, respect and integrity:

"Newmont considers CSR as very critical to the success of our business. We believe that after getting the mining license from the government we also need the social license to operate which normally won't come as a signed document. You get it through your interactions and engagements with the communities. So we see CSR as a key to securing that SLO from the communities to enhance our business. You have paid compensation; taxes and whatever you owe the government but what more can you do to enhance the livelihood of the people affected by the project and support the sustainable development of the communities? And that is where we think we owe the community responsibility" (SO2, Newmont).

This implies that CSR is a strategic tool used to secure SLO to further business. This is contrary to the stakeholder perspective taken by host communities. In summary, although the stakeholder theory and SLO call for community consent, the contextual dynamics including literacy level, cultural variance and government control of resources made their application difficult in Ghana hence the need to revisit these theories.

5.4 Compensation payment

Compensation issues resonated strongly in the study as major contributory factors that prevented meaningful dialogue between MNMCs and host communities. Through both document analysis and interviews, I found that the companies after securing the mining licence were expected to then negotiate directly with the farmer for compensation to be paid as per the Mining Law (Minerals Commission 2006) and the Land Nationalization Act (Asabere 1994). However, the findings implied regulations concerning these packages were poorly drafted and this created problems for meaningful dialogue. Although compensation was to be adequate, the findings suggest what constituted adequate compensation, and the responsibility for determining this was undefined, allowing misinterpretation to take place. Four major challenges were revealed regarding compensation. These had to do with 1) what was paid- adequacy, 2) how it was determined- procedure, 3) in what form it was paid- medium, and 4) what it covered- scope. All informants, except MNMCs complained to me about the inadequate amount paid:

"the compensation they gave us was woefully inadequate and the moment you received that merger amount they have finished with you. As I speak my house is fallen and I don't have money to fix it. They forget that this GH 70million (£3000.00) they pay can be raised in one cocoa season when you have good harvest" (community member, Damang).

The company representatives and some opinion leaders however disagreed, arguing that the farmers were satisfied with what was paid given that they signed the agreement and

took the money. Company respondents also challenged communities on the definition of adequate compensation:

"...So when I hear people talking about compensation being inadequate I ask what figure is adequate. .... I don't see how and when a company will pay compensation to people and they will stand up and clap for the company." (SO3, Gold Fields)

The amount paid was also significantly influenced by the historic position when the government took land for public interest and defined what "adequate" compensation was. I also found through document analysis that the same compensation package and valuation procedures were maintained for MNMCs whose operations were profit oriented and under no legal obligation to adopt CSR. An explanation for this as previously highlighted by Ofori (2005) in his study into CSR in the financial sector was that in Ghana no institutional body exists to regulate CSR activities. But this was only part of the issues. The real thrust was that the Ghanaian government was so in need of the external investment that it was powerless and or ill prepared to put in place adequate regulations, one aspect of which could be CSR commitments. But these complemented and sat alongside the rule of law. For example in the western context it is unimaginable that land could be taken for mining without the signed consent of the owner of the land. This is because land rights are enshrined in the law (a long liberal economic tradition of property rights). In Ghana these processes were not so much in place. This is one of the fundamental problems with applying western centric models of investment, CSR and corporate practice into contexts that are very different and do not have these basic protections in place.

5.4.1 Medium and adequacy of compensation:

My discussions with community members during both individual interviews and focus group meetings revealed that the inadequacy and cash method of payment brought serious consequences. First, the disparate power relationship between the MNMCs and farmers

placed the latter in a weak negotiating position. MNMCs wielded considerable financial and legal power compared to the limited options communities had. Consequently, Van Buren III (2001) argued that where there is power imbalance, the stronger stakeholder is mostly the party likely to break trust through opportunistic behaviour. Second, community members' ability to invest their compensation to gain secure income streams was considered limited due to lack of investment training, reducing their ability to gain sustainable long-term income. This had serious long-term implications for communities. For instance, instead, the money was spent on "reckless living" e.g. drinking, marrying additional wives, buying cars etc. After the initial boost in personal wealth, community members, with no alternative means of earnings, became much poorer than prior to the mining company entering the area:

"The compensation is paid all at a go and in cash which is not the answer. These are farmers who have no education and training on investment. They have not handled money that big before so if you give 500m cedis to such people without training then you are not doing them any good. So what happens is that they take the compensation money and spend it on extravagant lifestyle like drinking, marrying second wives and buying cars because they can now afford. Some even keep the money in sacks in their rooms and spend it gradually and in no time everything is gone and their land is no more so they get frustrated" (Community leader, Damang).

This demonstrated a clear misunderstanding of human behaviour on the part of MNMCs as to how huge sums of money could alter how people behave. Prior to the mines these two study regions (Brong Ahafo and the Western Region) were known as the highest cocoa growing areas and food basket of the country but these farms and lands were now occupied by the mines. Third, MNMCs assumed that cash compensation could serve as a comparable substitute for land. Meanwhile land remained the most valuable asset to rural communities in Ghana. Communities also considered farming as a culture that determined their survival. Furthermore, because they had occupied these lands for thousands of years, no amount of monetary compensation could substitute the emotional

attachment, economic and cultural importance communities had to their land. The implication is that the gap between MNMC's conceptualisation of the value of land as against that of communities disrupted meaningful dialogue. Yet the western and firm-centric stakeholder theory is ignorant about these critical issues.

5.4.2 Compensation scope

I also found that the different perception MNMCs and communities had about the socio-economic value of land affected the scope of compensation. For instance compensation was paid for displacement, loss of crops and properties on the land but not for interest in the land. This means if one had 1000 acres of land and cultivated only 10 acres they got compensation for only the 10 acres but lost all the 1000 acres. Meanwhile, according to community members, land produced many other benefits such as raw materials like cane for basket weaving. Some used their land as guarantee to obtain loans. Hence, informants felt lack of compensation on the uncultivated land had serious consequences that bred hatred:

"You don't get anything for uncultivated land. I think that is not right because somebody will have a forest as his land and though not yet cultivated, can use the land as a guarantee to secure a loan. The person can also pick some mushroom, snails or even cane to weave some baskets for sale. It is also deliberately preserved for future generations and so when it is taken away without any compensation then that is unfair." (LGO, Wassa area).

Coming from this background and having derived all these benefits from land, I could understand their frustrations. However, it could be argued that unused land can also become a source of poverty. It is only when put to good use that benefits are derived.

The most striking finding to emerge from the above situation, compounded by the high level of poverty was *speculative projects* where people rushed to clear the land, plant crops and build structures in anticipation that when these got destroyed they would be compensated. This problem was found to arise when landowners heard rumours of the

mine approaching their area. Unfortunately, the companies refused payment terming the act as speculative in the sense that the areas had already been earmarked for use before the farmers rushed in to till. Community members refuted these claims explaining that MNMCs took large tracks of land as part of their concession but paid compensation only when they actually mined. This means no compensation was paid when actual mining had not taken place and yet MNMCs would not allow owners full access. They would have to negotiate entry into certain areas and be granted permission before they could utilize the land. Certain projects were forbidden entirely. Asking permission before accessing one's own land when compensation had not been paid, to communities was an infringement on their right:

"If you want to build or do anything on the land you will have to negotiate with the company and people see it as an insult because if it is my land and you haven't paid for it and you say I should not develop it then it doesn't make sense. I can build anything on it at any time. That is the biggest source of conflict" (Opinion leader, Damang).

This happened because the concession usurped the legal authority of landownership from communities and gave them to MNMCs. The refusal to pay had important implications as it added to the already precarious situation of the farmers and infuriated communities because of wasted energy, time and financial resources spent on such projects. Dissatisfied community members could seek arbitration to resolve compensation disputes but in reality I found considerable barriers existed, making this process unviable. These included court appointed valuers which undervalued crops/property compared to the mining companies' rates, a slow judicial system, high judicial costs compared to limited incomes of the farmers and low literacy levels that made them ill-equipped compared to company lawyers. Farmers felt forced under these circumstances to accept what MNMCs put on the table:

"The law is there, if an individual feels cheated he can go to court but that is where the difficulty is. These are poor people who are engaging with multinational companies. If

the case is adjoined for one year and your land has been taken, you don't have earnings you cannot hold yourself in court. So this makes the people vulnerable to MNMCs because the person just ends up saying oh let me just take it because I don't have money to fight this case in court" (LNGO executive Accra).

This questions the appropriateness of pitching farmers against powerful MNMCs who possessed both the legal and economic resources to dictate the terms in negotiation. Even the state could only manage a 3% (recently increased to 5%) royalty negotiation. In explaining this power imbalance, Hilson (2012) reported that Newmont's market worth as at 2011 was US$ 26billion whiles Ghana's GDP for that year was just around US$ 37billion.

Again, document analysis revealed that some written agreements between MNMCs and communities discouraged court actions and tied community benefits to adherence to the agreement. For example one such agreement between Newmont and host communities (Newmont 2008c) insisted on engagement and negotiation instead in handling disputes. Although the dialogue idea was good, it presented communities with limited options when dialogue failed. This reflected further the power imbalance between these stakeholders and the weakness of the stakeholder theory in the Ghanaian mining context.

5.4.3 The historic challenge of compensation
The shadows of yesterday could sometimes cast a spell on the present. To what extent past contractual obligations become the responsibility of the present came up in this study. Respondents acknowledged improved compensation was legally obliged after numerous calls and pressure from stakeholders. Compensation was now paid for deprivation and interest in the land. However it was intriguing to know that its lack of retrospectivity failed to reduce historic grounds for conflict as people who lost their land before the amendment (1985 to 2008) still fought for what they termed their right. Many of these people had formed informal groups to drive home their demands. The MNMCs felt

reluctant paying these compensations because of the sums involved, their legality and because some took over from others:

"You know these issues are historic. They happened before we took over. How do we become responsible for something we did not negotiate?"(SO3 Gold Fields)

Even if they have to pay anything still there were no clear quotes on what to pay and the final rate depended on what the companies were ready to part with. This situation further demonstrated the poor rule of law of the country, and bred community frustration and discontent to prevent meaningful dialogue. The importance of dialogue in promoting peaceful coexistence cannot be overemphasised (e.g., Kaptein & van Tulder 2003). However, the historical compensation confirmed Pettigrew's (1997) contextualist argument. Pettigrew argued that historical factors influence the present situation and determine what happens in the future. The findings implied that the historical challenge was as a result of lapses in the law. The companies acted on the provisions in the law. Was it fair for MNMCs to be asked to pay for those lapses? Yes the farmers needed to be compensated but should it be the responsibility of the companies? If anything should the government not be held responsible? It can however be argued that considering the moral and ethical expectations as underpinned by the stakeholder theory (e.g., Hill and Jones 2007), these MNMCs should go beyond the legal framework and honour these compensations. Hilson (2011) explained the impact of inherited CSR promises on MNMCs' CSR performance. The implication of these is that it is storing up long-term problems. Whichever way one looks at the situation, listening to the voices of the affected community members in both communities suggest, like Pettigrew (1985; 1997) argued, the historical context was affecting present efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence and if not immediately addressed would dangerously worsen future relations.

MNMCs effectively communicated and justified their commitment to the triple bottom line. In addition to highlighting these during the interviews, they also portrayed them on their websites. For example Gold Fields' mission is "to be the leader in sustainable gold mining", its vision "…. being the company of choice for investors, employees and society….. building mines across the world, operating them profitably over the life of mine and creating shared value for all our stakeholders" (Gold Fields Website 2013). Newmont's vision is "we will be the most valued and respected mining company through industry leading performance" its mission "build a sustainable mining business that delivers top quartile shareholder returns while leading in safety, environmental stewardship and social responsibility" (Newmont website 2013).

In this context the MNMCs presented CSR as a toolbox used to improve communities. They followed their own rules and created expectations of how they would act but in reality these seemed not to happen. Community members thus, felt that MNMCs engaged in greenwashing where they decoupled CSR action from implementation. For instance some chiefs expressed their sentiment at how Newmont used propaganda and public relations tactics to deceive the public to believe it awarded contracts to community leaders. They argued that this was done by merely registering them as contractors in their (MNMCs') books whiles in reality they were not given any contracts. This suspicion resonated among other stakeholders as well:

"I have been registered as a local contractor, but I am not receiving any contracts from Newmont. Meanwhile Newmont has my name on their file that I have been employed by the company as a contractor which is wrong. They do this to deceive the public" (Local leader, Kanyasi).

"….but when it comes to Newmont we still pick up issues. During the AKOBEN we realised that the systems are in place but it doesn't translate to the ground. …When it comes to presenting to you programmes that they have for communities, they have very good systems, reporting, tracking, and all those things neatly done and computerised but you go to the communities and there are issues" (SO, EPA).

This situation bred mistrust and anger to prevent dialogue. These resulted partly because such CSR reports did not specify what should and what should not appear in them and how performance would be measured. This confirmed previous studies reported elsewhere by Delmas & Cuerel Burbano (2011). And because it is voluntary companies highjack it for propaganda and public relations benefits. It also explained why Gifford et al's (2010) ranking of best CSR companies is unreliable. They admitted their data was taken from company website. However, as Bansal & Clelland (2004) argued, engaging in greenwashing can lead to serious consequences like penalties, legal liabilities and loss of investment opportunities. This situation calls for the need for independent third-party reviewers of these CSR reports.

To conclude this section, I argue that the corporate and managerial perspectives of the stakeholder theory and the SLO initiative both have weaknesses in the Ghanaian context. Both assume that communities have the ownership rights of all the resources in their land, which is not the case. In Ghana communities living on the resource had limited authority and influence over projects authorised by the government. They also lacked negotiation capacity, and the legal framework did not provide communities adequate empowerment. These are what make the Ghanaian mining case a unique context that needs attention. The ability of these theories to underpin dialogue between the different parties as a means by which the mining companies gain legitimacy was distorted because the government's view was apparently shaped by fulfilling the commercial need, limiting both timescale in which negotiations took place and the areas that were discussed. From this section I examine employment and alternative livelihoods, and the role of dialogue in meeting community expectations around these dynamics.

5.5 Employment

I found in this section that employment related issues equally prevented efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence. This was because communities felt disappointed, marginalised and discriminated against in terms of employment. There were also the general feeling of resentment and frustration towards MNMCs for the following reasons: First the predominantly agrarian communities had lost their lands and many had also been displaced. Second, mining was expected to provide communities enough jobs that did not happen. Most of the available few were equally on short-term contracts secured on paid bribes. This meant when mining operations were completed unemployment became inevitable. The outcome was that illegal mining (galamsey) became an attractive alternative source of income to the majority displaced. The diagram below shows how this section is presented:

Figure 3: Employment and livelihoods
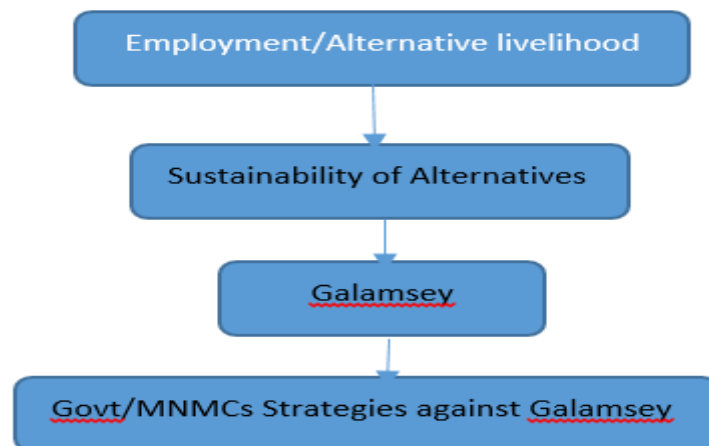
Littlewood (2014), Kemp (2010) and Akabzaa & Dramani (2001) suggested that surface mining leads to displacement and competition over the use of land. Indeed I discovered that mine establishment reduced the size of agricultural land available for farming. Over 90% of the population who engaged in farming as their main employment were displaced and both cash and food crops were lost. This means that the once busy community farmers

had suddenly become idle. This situation threatened community livelihoods, economic sustainability and contributed to social deprivation as aggravated unemployment with limited alternatives resulted. This arguably made communities scornful of MNMCs because they were seen to be the reason for their sudden change in circumstance.

Additionally, when mining commenced communities' expectations about employment opportunities in the mines increased. Contrarily, this did not happen. Community respondents explained that MNMCs deliberately ignored them and gave jobs to outsiders with the excuse that they lacked skills in breach of initial agreements. For example document analysis later confirmed by interviews discovered that an agreement entered between Newmont and host communities in 2008 after persistent unemployment complaints stated that preference would always be given to local communities in all vacancies (Newmont 2008b). For this reason communities felt MNMCs have not kept their promise, a situation that increased mistrust and affected interactions:

"... the percentage they promised to employ from the communities is not what they are practicing" (Sub chief, Kanyasi).

"So the job that they claim we cannot do, outsiders who also don't have the expertise are employed and expect us to train them at the expense of the local folks. This is creating a big problem. Meanwhile, they told us they were going to create jobs for us. We have lost our land and should be employed in the company. They promised us paradise but now we are living in hell." (Opinion leader, Damang).

These promises of paradise were seen by community members, some government participants and NGOs as strategies to gain prior access to mine establishment. Thereafter, their situation is heavily impacted comparable to living in hell. Meanwhile, trust was based on the notion that parties' expectations of each other's behaviour were appropriate and consistent with pre-set expectations that the organisation fulfils its promises. This means broken promises damaged trust and prevented willingness to engage in subsequent dialogues. This was underpinned by the concept of fairness as suggested by Phillips

(1997). Interestingly, company informants confirmed that employment related issues posted the greatest challenge to peaceful co-existence. Yet MNMCs were constrained because of the non-availability of qualified skills in the mining communities. Indeed mines are located in rural communities whose population is not suitably educated for technical mining work (Gifford et al 2010; Bebbington et al 2008). These challenges complemented by the migration of people from other places in search of jobs increased competition for jobs.

The use of mechanisation resulted further in fewer job opportunities which exacerbated the unemployment situation. These contrasted the World Bank's argument that mining provides employment for developing countries to help improve living standards, and that through CSR MNMCs make direct contribution to poverty alleviation (Campbell 2009). To minimise the unemployment challenge was the need to develop training and education for the youth. Barke and Lodgson (1996) suggested that when these trainings are close to the company's mission greater wealth is created than investment in other areas. This implied that MNMCs would train community members in mining related vocations. However, considering the non-renewable nature of the resource coupled with the mechanised nature of mining meant only a few could be engaged after training. Hence although MNMCs responded somehow to this call by enrolling some youth in training, the aim was to empower them for employment elsewhere. However, this laudable idea was confronted with other challenges. First, beneficiaries had different expectation of the training- engagement by the company after graduation. Second, training periods sometimes took longer than the mine remained operational, meaning employment opportunities were gone before graduation. The World Factbook (2011) for instance puts the education lifespan between primary and tertiary in Ghana at 12 years. Communities also questioned the sincerity of the MNMCs in initiating training as it was seen as a means

to protect their commercial interests, suggesting MNMCs' ability to gain community trust would be difficult:

"If they don't want to employ you then they ask you to go for training. A lot of people have finished the training but they don't employ them. What is the importance of the training if it cannot secure you employment?" (Community member, Kanyase).

The possibility of turning farmers who all their lives knew only farming as their occupation into traders and other vocations also remained debatable. The outcome was that there was no motivation for the youth to enrol. Most of them either dropped out midway through the training and resorted to illegal mining or MNMCs provided only a few temporal low skilled employment, though once contracts were over, such individuals struggled to find further employment resulting in disappointment, anger and protests. These were admitted by participants of both companies:

"When it comes to major conflicts that have escalated employment is one. Employment remains the main risk to the company. Everybody wants to work in the company; the youth think they are not getting the needed jobs. There was one demonstration in 2006 during the mine transition from construction to operation. We had about 3,600 people from the communities working on the mine construction. After this we had to reduce the number because the next phase required less people. But Ntotroso community protested and their main reason is that they still need employment so why are we sending them home?"(SO2, Newmont).

To encourage local employment Newmont drafted a system jointly with host communities where the few available work applications were endorsed by local leaders to authenticate their local citizenship. Surprisingly, the findings implied this gave leaders the opportunity to effectively sell jobs to those most willing to pay irrespective of citizenship:

"When it comes to picking people for employment the chiefs fix their own favourites and family members. If you are not a family member then you will have to pay bribe to secure the job. ...if you go to the company today you will be astonished to find that most of the people working in the company are from outside the communities. ... there is a form that potential employees are supposed to fill and endorsed to confirm they are natives of the area. All the people have these forms endorsed by our own chiefs, and elders but they are outsiders" (community member, Kanyasi).

I also found through document analysis that even when wrongful endorsements were later detected no disciplinary action was taken by the company against the employee or the endorser. The company however took no responsibility for the action. This was contained in employment agreement between communities and Newmont (Newmont 2008b). "The company shall not be held responsible for the citizenship of an employee whose citizenship has been validated, and cannot dismiss such employee on account of wrongful validation" (p.6). This inaction plus chiefs' authority promoted the corrupt act. Contrarily, chiefs blamed company managers for secretly employing their relatives and friends from outside the communities because they (managers) themselves did not come from these communities:

"A job that an unskilled labourer can do, before you realise people they initially recruited from Tarkwa, Bogoso, Obuasi and other places at the initial stages of the mine bring their brothers and relatives to be employed" (Local leader, Kanyasi).

To further minimise the unemployment situation and also fulfil the local content principle of the World Bank (2004), MNMCs awarded contracts to the chiefs and opinion leaders. However, this was interpreted by most community members during focus group discussions and interviews as a deliberate ploy to corrupt and silence the leaders whose responsibility it was to fight for the community:

"The problem is with the leaders. They have contracts with the company. Many of the workers are contracted on casual basis and instead of paying each worker at the operations 9million, they pay 2.2 or maximum 2.5million cedis. The remaining 6.5million on each worker goes to the chief. How then can he fight for the local community? They have their big share in the business. They call the chief to their office and silence him with gifts and contracts so he cannot talk for the community. They are all corrupt" (Community member, Damang).

This feeling emanated partially from lack of trust resulting from chiefs selling community lands and engaging in suspicious activities in recent times. For instance Asabere's (1981b) study into land tenure system in Ghana found that chiefs engaged in multiple sale of community lands resulting in major land conflicts. Consequently, while MNMCs

believed they were honouring their moral obligation and commitments to local communities by providing jobs, this in fact often divided the community and many local people were in a poor position to apply for these jobs. The outcome was that many local people felt disenfranchised by the whole process. The true motive of the companies regarding these contracts is subject to debate. However, communities implied it served a business case. Community members also accused chiefs of abusing their authority through their engagement in these practices thereby relegating their traditional roles of unifying, protecting the people and serving as development agents. This was contrary to Bob-Miller's (2009) suggestion that chiefs acted as development agents and source of security for their communities.

5.5.1 Alternative livelihoods

Sustainable alternative livelihoods enable communities to find long term alternative means to earn a living (Ngugi & Nyariki, 2005; Chambers and Conway, 1991). Hence communities expected MNMCs to provide alternative livelihoods for displaced farmers apart from training. Community respondents acknowledged that alternative projects centred on animal rearing (grasscutter, sheep, goat and snail), fish farming, cassava farming and oil palm cultivation etc. (Gold Fields) had been created. However, these were implied by communities and NGOs to be company inspired with limited community involvement in designing or influencing the nature of alternative projects. This means their effectiveness was reduced thereby providing insufficient evidence of the MNMCs' CSR intention. Furthermore the alternatives were considered less in value compared to that sacrificed and incapable of supporting the sustainability principle:

". ..but the truth is that these cocoa farms were what our fathers used to take care of our education from primary school to complete university. Some inherited them from their fathers and were also going to pass them on to their children. And mind you cocoa can last for about 70years or more and so for somebody to come and take it for life, pay 13m (£325) and 2 goats for rearing was an insult". (Local chief Kenyasi).

I also discovered that Newmont also gave displaced farmers the option under its Agriculture Improvement and Land Access Programme (AILAP) to look for a two acre alternative land which the company paid for and provided seedlings for planting. It had also acquired the services of Agriculture Extension Officers to train these beneficiaries to help increase their yield. This gesture will normally suggest that beneficiaries will leap for joy at the initiative considering the fact that they had lost their land (their source of income). However, van Maanen (2010), Cunliffe (2009) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) were right when they argued that ethnographic studies are full of surprises. Indeed, I was surprised to discover that most beneficiaries collected the seedlings and sold them for various reasons. They explained that most cash crops like cocoa and citrus took between four to seven years before fruition and recipients could not wait for this long to start harvesting again. Some were also old and had no more strength to till the land:

"..so if they add the cocoa to it for planting, me for instance I am old and cannot farm anymore so how do I start again from the scratch and wait for it to mature? So the option is to sell it" (an old community woman, Kenyasi).

Others could not find the alternative land to buy. So they either connived with other landowners to present their plot, or presented other people's land secretly as the substitute, took the money, shared and disappeared. This was confirmed by MNMCs representatives:

"What they do is they go and show somebody's land to the company as the alternative land, take the money and disappear. Some also go look around but don't get alternatives and so present other peoples' as theirs, take the money, give part to the landowners and take the rest" (SO2, Newmont).

Aside the AILAP project Newmont also provided animals for rearing and occasionally supplied food basket to the most seriously impacted to reduce hardship. Although the lending idea was good, most recipients were angered by the numbers (e.g., two goats) which were also recycled among beneficiaries. Consequently, what was provided was described as a short-term fix and inadequate in reducing suffering. The implication is that

the options lacked creativity and failed to enhance community sustainability. Participants argued that these must compliment what the communities had rather than replace them in other to make a positive impact:

"a company will go and give a family grasscutter or create a fish pond and say this is a CSR initiative. If you have a farmer who can go to do fishing and still have his land to cultivate cocoa, plantain and others in addition to the fishing then that will be fine but if you take the person's whole land and give a fish pond or grasscutter, to me you have made the person worse off than he was. What can this do for a family"? (SO INGO).

Sustainability of the alternatives

When asked how recipients felt about the adequacy of the alternatives, MNMC respondents contended that beneficiaries were happy about the projects and even asked for more. Interestingly, another explained that the youth avoided other alternatives including agriculture and rather travelled to Libya to die in attempt of seeking greener pastures:

"People don't even attempt to join the police service, fire service, CEPS, training college or other opportunities available. It is all about mining, mining, mining. They do demonstration so that we employ them in the mines. Some prefer to go to Libya and die rather than farming" (SO3, Gold Fields).

The above responses raised a few concerns: 1) the availability of the alternatives and whether communities qualified for these with their reportedly low skills. 2) The availability of land for farming when they have lost all to mining. 3) Whether the fish farmers have received any training. 4) The availability of markets for these alternatives. Contrary to the World Bank (2008) report that implied agriculture was a sure way to reduce poverty in developing countries, I discovered that farmers rather lost the land for farming to the mines.

Newmont also boasted of a community member who emerged the National Best Plantain Farmer in the 2011 National Famers Award as a beneficiary of the company's alternative livelihood initiative. This achievement was boldly displayed at the company's website

(Newmont 2013) and in various magazines (e.g., CSR Watch 2012). However, a close analysis of the situation produced a few questions. For instance the possibility of winning the national award by tilling only a two acre alternative land did not appear to be credible. It implied that the farmer had other lands that were not affected and still benefited from the company's Agriculture Extension Officers' training to increase his yield. And if that was the case then it confirms informants' argument that CSR must complement and improve the beneficiary's situation rather than being a replacement. Again, is the replacement of destroyed facilities CSR? For example could boreholes or wells provided to communities by MNMCs after damming their rivers, their source of drinking water be termed as CSR projects? Or could resettlement homes provided be termed as CSR projects when the recipients had to be moved from their old homes to make way for the mine? These arguments question the definition of CSR and add to the debate that CSR means something but not the same thing to everybody (e.g., Garriga & Mele 2004). Informants implied that if MNMCs will not take the lands and cocoa farms from the people but instead train them to improve their yield to enhance their lives then they could be praised for doing CSR but not when their more sustainable land/crops were replaced with inadequate substitutes. The loss of land and cocoa without sustainable alternatives had generational implication as the opportunity for future generations to earn a living was lost. The sustainability principle argued that resources should be used by the present generation such that the ability for the future generation to benefit is not compromised (Elkington 1998). Consequently, MNMCs' CSR initiatives were contrary to the sustainability principle. Meanwhile the country's legal framework and the stakeholder theory do not make provision for communities to reject these alternatives when not satisfied. With reference to the stakeholder theory (Freeman 1984) I argue that community interest were second to gold extraction and the theory failed to acknowledge

the partial replacement of what was destroyed, the power imbalance between the stakeholders and the impact these have on participation in dialogue. Thus, Van Buren III (2001) argued that when power imbalance exists the opportunity for the stronger party to exploit the weaker party through opportunistic behaviour becomes stronger. And this is at odds with the precepts of stakeholder theory because it resulted in undesired outcomes for weaker stakeholders (communities). This was negatively reinforced because of weak rule of law. As it were, community stakeholders were again disadvantaged and excluded in negotiations and decision-making on issues that affected them due to the power inequality. Even when cases were sent to court (e.g., the aggrieved groups on historic compensation) no injunctions were placed on mining and because the stakeholder theory treats all parties as equals these are not considered.

Another finding was that communities felt potential wealth created from mining support to businesses was lost. For example, community respondents argued that the MNMCs billeted staff outside the local town to avoid confrontation between employees and locals because physical conflict had previously taken place (Newmont). Conflict came from a belief that mine employees used their status to gain influence within the community which, in some instances, had led to family breakdown:

"so what the workers did was to start teasing their fellow indigenes who had not got employment in the company which resulted in confrontation. Most marriages also broke down. When Newmont came many women started divorcing their husbands. Many workers who came from other places did not have wives so they took what they could lay hands on. So there were adultery and separation going on resulting in serious confrontations" (local leader, Kanyasi).

Newmont banned, under threat of dismissal, employees from such activity and required that they lived outside the local township, depriving the community of associated economic benefits. A further consequence was that Newmont had to bus its workforce in,

resulting in increased pollution, exposure to less safe roads, and because the bus company

was from another township, an increased feeling of financial loss and frustration:

"Newmont puts its workforce outside the communities in Sunyani. When they close you see more than 30 buses going to Sunyani. If Newmont is talking about safety then it has to reconsider this issue. The negative effect is that the local economy will not grow….If they live here they will rent rooms and buy food. Some would have built houses to develop the place… this incident happened long ago and if workers decide to go and chase peoples' wives then irrespective of where they live, they will face the same fate" (LGO, Kenyasi).

This decision came at a time when evidence suggested road accident claimed almost 2000

lives annually in Ghana (WHO 2013; GNRSC 2010). This again highlights the effect of

past incidents on present and future relationships. Explaining the situation further, a

company official from Gold Fields intimated that it was the staffs themselves who

relocated to Takwa, the commercial capital (in the case of Gold Fields) attributing the

reason to their ability to afford, lack of accommodation and motivated by the free bus

service to and from work. Most of them also had their families in the cities due to lack of

development infrastructure especially good schools for their children. The question

community informants asked me during the interviews was, would their staff still want

to live outside these communities if the companies had helped developed the places?

"Why can't they replicate what they have in Mensacumta viallage   in the communities for their workers to stay here? Do you think their workers will not live here if they develop this town?" (Opinion leader, Kanyasi).

Surprisingly however, I discovered that these were not the only reasons but also the

security of their families in these violence plagued communities:

"..Our children are not here because of the lack of facilities. But that is not all. For example I deal with the illegal mining issues which is a dangerous thing. If I have my family here they will be in danger. Even me myself they plan to attack me." (SO3, Gold Fields).

Although prior research findings suggested that mining boosts local economies (ICMM

2006; World Bank (cited in Campbell 2009; Garvin et al 2009), because workers lived in

these communities to patronise goods and services (e.g., Garvin et al 2009), the situation as implied by the data was contrary. This was because the workers expected to help the local economies grow rather migrated to the cities when employed and had increased purchasing power. A consequence of all these was that illegal mining (galamsey) became an attractive alternative source of income to the majority of host communities.

5.5.2 The galamsey challenge

Galamsey is an illegal mining activity undertaken by indigenous people with low skills, inadequate financial capital and equipment to extract gold (Hilson & Banchirigah 2009; Garvin et al 2009; Hilson 2007). Their activities cause serious environmental problems such as forest devastation, destruction of water bodies, land degradation and water pollution through the use of poisonous chemicals like cyanide and mercury (Moses & Nkansah 2007; Kumah 2006). It is also associated with high mortality rate as pits collapse burying people alive. It was normal to expect that with these negative consequences associated with the trade, illegal mining will be less attractive to these communities. However community responses indicated that, illegal mining existed because miners felt forced into it. This was because the alternative was poverty with little opportunity for legitimate work when displaced:

"We do it because there are no alternative employment opportunities apart from the farming. If they take your land then you will have to engage in it otherwise you will starve to death. It is a tedious job. I pity the aged who cannot engage in it (Illegal miner, Kenyasi community).

Admittedly, some company officials conceded the lack of alternatives promoted its upward surge. They explained that employment and alternative livelihood were most critical to communities such that without these no matter what MNMCs provided in communities would not be appreciated:

"It is a livelihood issue. If you see a galamsay guy and decide to kick him out of Gold Field's concession he will ask you do I care if you provide school for my kids or electricity

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for my community. For me it is my livelihood and that is where our problem is. So whatever you do for them in place of galamsey they will never appreciate because you have thrown them away from their livelihood." (SO1, GF).

This finding contrasts Hilson &Garforth's (2012) who attributed the reason for the increase in galamsay to what they called 'agriculture poverty', a situation that results from the over reliance on seasonal subsistence farming for survival fuelled by inconsistency of the rains. Here, family income was said to be tied to harvest therefore when the rains failed and affected crop yield then farmers had no alternative than to branch into illegal mining. This situation Hilson &Garforth continued was further worsened by the inability of farmers' produce to survive in liberalized markets.

Despite efforts of the MNMCs and government to make it unattractive including the use of the national security, illegal mining remained extensive. Interestingly, some opinion leaders, chiefs and government officials supported the trade in breach of both state law and agreements entered between MNMCs and community rulers. This agreement required chiefs to work together with MNMCs to prevent illegal mining in the communities (e.g., Newmont 2008). This breach happened because these leaders believed the trade made their township sustainable. Illegal miners equally felt proud of their contribution in sustaining the township rather than the MNMCs who they accused of staying outside the communities:

"Without galamsay, this town would be a ghost town. Because of galamsay you can count between 6000 to7000 people working in the town as compared to the 1200 that Newmont employs. So this town derives its strength from galamsay because they have purchasing power to spend" (Opinion leader, Kenyasi).

"Newmont workers do not live in this town. It is we the galamsay people who come from the community who develop it. We buy everything from cassava to soap to ensure that the money remains in the town. If you bus all your staff to Sunyani every day then you are not doing the town any good. I think that is why the DCE is always on our side. In fact he wants galamsay to remain in this town forever because the town is not benefiting from Newmont. When you listen to him you realise that he is not happy with Newmont" (illegal miner, Kenyasi).

To validate the economic contribution of illegal mining to Newmont communities, two of the miners led me to view a 20 bedroom hotel and conference facility an illegal miner had built out of the trade that employed some 30 workers at the time. Below are photographs of the hotel taken when we toured the facility.

Figure 4: Front view of hotel

Figure 5: Side view of hotel

5.5.3 Government-MNMCs' strategies to combat galamsey

After failed attempts to stop galamsey, Gold Fields decided to tolerate its unfriendly

neighbours through a policy dubbed 'live and let live' where galamsey operators were

allowed to operate at one end of their concession. This strategy had previously been cited

in (Hilson 2007). However, in February 2012, just some three weeks before my arrival

for data collection the group numbering about 3000 had been flushed out with the

combined team of the military and police deployed by the state in another violent clash

at the call of Gold Fields. Company officials and some traditional authorities explained

that the miners had taken undue advantage of the company's lenience to encroach so

close to the plant that it had to shut down operations for eight hours losing several

thousand dollars in the process:

"Galamsay is a big issue here. Last February we brought in the military to drive them out. The government actually initiated that move because it has shares in our operations and needs to protect us. We exercised this when about 3000 illegal miners from various parts of the country very aggressive attempted to attack the mine. We had to shut down for eight hours…" (SO3, GF).

This remained a recurrent issue previously commented by Hilson (2007), Hilson (2012a, b and c), and Hilson & Banchirigah (2009) implying that the strategies deployed have been ineffective. Newmont was also having an uneasy calm at its Kenyase site where the trade was gradually getting closer to its concession. The government now encouraged the miners to regularise their trade by registering their activities with the Minerals Commission. However, I found that bureaucracy, delays, lack of resources, politics, the centralised nature of the arrangements coupled with lack of expertise for exploration impeded the process. Again, the negative publicity and stigma associated with the trade made some chiefs and land owners reluctant to release their lands for the purpose. The lucrative nature of the trade as compared to the alternatives available if any fan its attractiveness:

"If you compare the galamsay workers earnings with the government workers then I can say that galamsay worker's one week wages will be more than the monthly salary of government workers. For instance between this Friday and Monday one stands the chance of realising 10m (£300.00) or even more. So it is not a bad job at all. The only problem is that what we are doing is illegal because we can be caught" (illegal miner2, Kanyasi).

By implication, the actions of the state and MNMCs in violently crushing out illegal miners and depriving communities their livelihoods, their social and civil rights to live in freedom without interference were violated making them more powerless. This falls short of the arguments raised by Matten and Crane (2005), Matten et al (2003), Scherer & Palazzo (2008) that individuals must be able to live in freedom and have access to healthcare, education and other welfares without interferences, abuses or intimidation, and should have the right to own properties. These rights which were said by the above authors to protect the weak from those too powerful for them were taken away from

communities (see also Khrushchev 1959). Another implication is that where poverty and unemployment are high illegality thrives yet the stakeholder theory fails to address this gap.

5.6 Relocation/Resettlement
As noted in the introduction stage of this chapter, the land tenure arrangement in Ghana explained that although land could be owned by families, individuals and customary institutions, mineral rights were the prerogative of the state. This means that the state could release any land containing gold to MNMCs for mining. Consequently, lands were compulsorily taken from landowners living on the land. And the nature of mining (surface mining) engaged in meant sometimes entire communities were displaced (Kuma 2006; Hilson 2007). This made relocation and resettlement of affected communities a necessity by MNMCs. Communities indicated that MNMCs did resettle most, affected people. Local building contractors were used as part of the company's contribution to the local content principle to construct the resettlement homes. However, a disconnect between what the companies considered acceptable and how those affected viewed them emerged in this study. This was seen as a major cause of discontent. It was unclear however, if the end users had any influence over the design of the houses and whether any pre-discussions as to how these facilities would look like after completion took place. Concerns about room sizes, adequacy of ventilation and basic facilities like toilet, sanitation and water were raised by community members during the interviews. For instance no house-to-house refuse collection existed making domestic waste disposal problematic as people dumped in open spaces. Equally, there were no toilet facilities in these homes. Consequently, we (community members and myself) all queued for the few public ones. These were perceived as being detrimental to the communities' well-being, health, disease prevention and individual's sense of esteem:

"Go look at houses they have built, they are like hen coups, so tiny...Toilet facilities should have been provided in every house so that the public ones will be for public use. But we all queue for the few public ones in town. You can imagine when you have a visitor and he asks to use the toilet then you direct him to the public toilet which may not be close. Furthermore, when in the middle of the night you develop a running stomach, you will then be running to go and queue at the public toilet"... (Community member, Damang).

This means their living status had been downgraded especially because they had these in their previous settlements. Interestingly, MNMCs were proud of improving the living conditions of locals who had previously lived in madhouses:

"...and the houses we have built for them are better than what they used to live in. They now live in cement block houses instead of the madhouses" (SO2, GF).

Contrary, recipients reacted angrily to MNMCs' claim of providing a better option. They explained that they were more comfortable in their traditional lifestyle:

"the company must know that even though we were living in madhouses we were comfortable with the environment, we could breathe fresh air, get mushroom, fresh vegetables, and foodstuffs but where they have put us that they think they are giving us better options is poor. They have taken our land and for that reason we have to buy food before we eat. How do I get money to buy food to feed myself and my family" (Community leader, Kanyasi)?

Honneth (1992) described such experience as societal value hierarchy, where people's form of living was downgraded. The madhouses were considered inferior to what the MNMCs provided. In part the disjuncture between the company perspectives on the quality of resettlement housing and that of the community relates again to a series of assumptions being made about the actual needs of the local communities, and illustrated inadequate consultation with the communities around their needs and preferences.

Below are samples of resettled homes compared to those of a few senior staff of Gold Fields in Damang.

Figure 6: Front view of a resettlement home

Figure 7: A compound view of Gold Fields senior staff quarters

Figure 8: Another view of the Gold Fields senior staff compound

Figure 9: Interior view of senior staff homes (Gold Fields)

The criteria for individuals' qualification for resettlement also formed a basis for conflict. According to community responses during focus group discussions, decisions about eligibility were made by a company formed committee comprising chiefs, assembly members and company representatives. Resentment stemmed from the fact that the committee was not free from company influence. Also criteria, such as length of residency, meant some families might lose their houses with no right to resettlement. This gave the impression that decisions were both subjective and biased:

"...they determine who lives or does not live in a particular area. Sometimes you get some little money, not resettlement. 'we will only build one room for you and not three because your house is not in a good shape', forgetting that irrespective of the shape that is where I live. They come with a bogus law that to qualify for resettlement the person should be living at the place for at least two years. This law is irresponsible because I can be living in the city and later decide to relocate to the village to do farming, use all my resources to settle down. Does it mean if after six months the mine gets to my area then I shouldn't be resettled?" (FG2 Community member, Kenyasi).

Once again I found that no clause existed in the legal framework for communities to reject resettlement facilities or refuse relocation. The laws presupposed that communities must definitely accept resettlement options provided by MNMCs because the state prioritised mine revenue over community wellbeing. Hence community choices were restricted. This limitation further reflects the weakness of stakeholder theory in enhancing dialogue in Ghana's mining industry because this would never happen in the developed world.

The findings also suggest resettlement impacted heavily on the local culture leading to the devaluation of certain values and social norms. Some of these resulted from disintegration, river diversion, excavation and migration. For example local residents complained that resettlement had disintegrated most communal lifestyles leading to the loss of family ties and the sense of community. One local government official mentioned during interview that he sometimes stood accused by community members for not attending their bereaved families' funeral ceremony when in reality he mostly did not

hear about them. He continued that previously one could just give a shout when in trouble and would receive immediate help because of their unified communal lifestyle:

"At the old site, we were grouped together and one could shout for help when in need. There was the communal way of life but now it is not like that. Today, somebody will even die at the other side of town and we will be here and not know. Later you meet the bereaved family and they accuse you for not showing up to morn with them. It is quite difficult you know" (LGO, Damang).

This happened because in Ghanaian culture, attending social gatherings like funerals and weddings was a social requirement and needed no invitation especially when one was known. This is contrary to western culture where wedding attendance for instance is strictly by invitation, and yet the western centric, managerialist and corporate perspectives of the stakeholder theory is ignorant about this. A chief also contended during informal conversation that he could no longer recognise where his ancestors were buried because the place has been devastated, a situation considered disturbing because of the cultural bond with ancestral spirits. The photographs below show a funeral ceremony of a bereaved family I attended in Kanyasi where participants dressed in cultural mourning clothes presented gifts to the bereaved family. One focus group discussion and a few informal conversations were held during this period as I immersed myself into the flamboyant cultural display of unity and care for the bereaved family.

Figure 10: A typical community funeral ceremony

Figure 11: Cultural greetings at the funeral

Figure 12: A section of attendees greeting mourners at the funeral grounds as culture demands

The socio-cultural fabric disintegration of host communities was also witnessed in mining's promotion of indiscipline, mistrust and suspicion between community leaders and their subjects. This had happened because community members felt their leaders had sold their conscience to MNMCs in return for contracts as discussed earlier. This compromised the authority of traditional rulers who prior to the mines wielded enormous power:

"For me I don't think any chief will summon me to his palace that I will go and he cannot do anything to me. They themselves know this for a fact that their authority is gone because they don't think about their subjects. They have sold their integrity because of their greed. The culture of this place is lost. There is no more respect for the elderly or the chiefs because they drive past us every day not caring about anybody." (Community member, Kanyasi).

Community leaders felt frustrated by this development because they saw their authority slipped through their fingers due to the presence of the mines:

"The authority of the chiefs has been taken away. Recently I heard people saying that now if you fail to appear before the chief when he summons you there is nothing he can do to you. This has empowered the youth to disrespect the chiefs' authority. But it is clear that if it had not been for the mines this would not happen" (Local leader, Kanyasi).

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Odotei & Awedoba (2006) noted that many traditional rulers in Ghana have the authority to banish from their jurisdiction individuals found to despise or flout their commands. Migration of other jobseekers into these communities had been partly blamed for the cultural dilution because people brought different lifestyles. Although there were some positive impacts, generally the negative impact was suggested to be substantial as irresponsible behaviours such as prostitution, adultery, teenage pregnancy, illegitimate children and crime rates increased:

"Another social impact is that when the galamsay people are flashed out, they leave illegitimate children around…. you know they spend their monies on our women and young girls and get them impregnated. When these children grow up you can imagine what happens to them" (Community leader, Damang).

These findings again contradict Garvin et al's (2009) work that argued a positive overall mining impact on culture. In the next section I examined community infrastructural development expectations.

5.7 Infrastructure Development

CSR remained the main development toolbox for MNMCs in host communities as discussed earlier in this report. And agreeably, host communities expected that responsible MNMCs would give back part of their profit to the catchment communities by way of development to improve community life. Thus from this point the chapter examined infrastructure expectations of host communities and the role of dialogue in the provision of these. The diagram below demonstrates how these are presented:

Figure 13: Pictorial network of infrastructure development
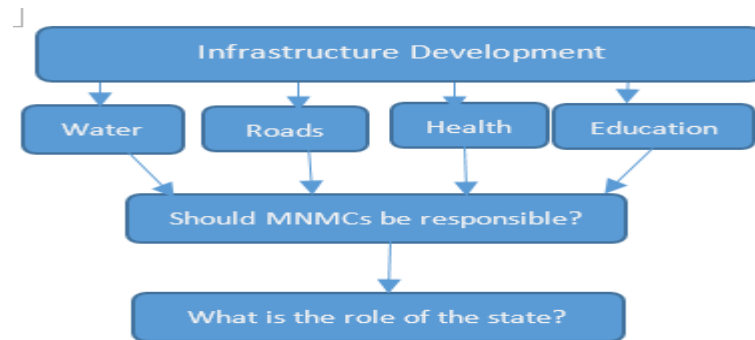
The World Bank argues that mining is a strategy for national development. It implied that mining provided education, health, and infrastructural development for developing countries through CSR to help alleviate poverty (Campbell 2009; ICMM 2006). It is further argued that due to the remote locations of mining communities, mining activities serve as the most rewarding option for socio-economic development of such communities (e.g., IIED 2002). For these reasons governments in developing countries allow MNMCs to operate to improve infrastructure. Infrastructure covers many things and includes roads, water, electricity, telecommunication, education and health (Mele 2002).

Sat against a context shaped by high poverty level, massive energy crises, poor road network, health and education concerns and limited infrastructural development, community infrastructure development was seen as a legitimate concern. I found that communities had high hopes that MNMCs would provide adequate infrastructure to help improve their lives. These expectation included places of convenience, electricity, roads, water, health and education. The findings also indicated that the nature of social deprivation in these communities shaped community expectations considerably. These were further influenced by the limited education of past leaders who negotiated contracts. Communities reposed trust in MNMCs to deliver on their promise but this did not happen and the promises later became legally unenforceable:

"..In fact when they were coming they made many promises and you know our leaders at the time were illiterates. They trusted them and because this place was so poor they embraced those empty promises. When we later tried to draw their attention to those promises they denied and asked for evidence and as you know without evidence we can't enforce this in court" (Opinion leader, Damang).

I also observed through document analysis that mining laws in Ghana were equally silent on how CSR issues should be implemented. Any such actions were from MNMCs voluntary initiatives. The consequences were mismatch in expectations against outcomes which affected interactions. In other words the divergent expectations as against outcomes played a fundamental role in preventing meaningful dialogue and contributed to the conflicts in the industry. Garbarino and Johnson (1999) suggested that building trust is a process where expectations of another party's behaviour are set and evaluated after a while to ascertain whether those expectations are met or not. Consequently, Lee and Chung (2009) concluded that expectations serve as cognitive filtering devices by which consistency with pre-set goals are measured. When results fall below desired threshold trust is compromised. These explained how mutually accepted commitments and relationship suddenly became antagonistic. Before examining the various CSR projects, it was important to first explore how these projects were funded by MNMCs.

5.7.1 How CSR projects were funded and decisions made

Responses from corporate and state representatives, collaborated by community leaders and document analysis revealed that both Gold Fields and Newmont had created CSR foundations into which they contributed percentages of revenue to fund CSR projects. Gold Fields contributed $1 on every ounce of gold bar produced plus a 0.5% of annual gross profit into its foundation. Newmont's foundation was known as the Newmont Ahafo Development Fund (NADeF) into which it also contributed $1 on every ounce of gold bar produced plus a 1% of annual net profit. These funds were shared between all the catchment communities within which the companies operated with those most

impacted getting bigger returns. Newmont had 10 catchment communities but currently operated in five. Among these, Kanyasi number1 & 2, Ntotroso and Gyedu were the most disturbed and so benefited more from CSR projects. Gold Fields Damang had eight communities. Both foundations had board of trustees selected from the communities with representatives from the company who managed the funds. Prior to creating these foundations, CSR budgets were generated from various departments and went through regional and corporate headquarters for approval:

"Our budgeting process is the bottom up type. What we do is, we look at what we want to do in a particular year, put the estimated cost into a budget. Then it goes up. Each of the Managers will have to justify what the business case is. Once they approve it, it goes to the Regional level for another review and justification by the CSR Vice President for the African Region. From there, it goes to the corporate headquarters for approval" (SO1, Newmont).

The implication was that if headquarters decided there was no business case for the budget, it may not be approved even when the projects are legitimate. Again, because the final decision-makers are far removed from the implementation site (proximity), decisions may be constrained due to weak moral intensity (how important the decision is to the decision maker) (e.g., Jones 1991). Jones explained that the farther the decision-maker is to the context the weaker the moral intensity. The budgeting situation improved since the creation of the foundations. Project funds were disbursed after decisions had been arrived at through the Consultative Committee Meetings (CCM) and there was money to construct the projects. Each community had its allocation and projects were funded based on how much the community in question had in the fund, meaning projects did not take off without funds irrespective of how pressing the need. Accepted proposals were tendered for bidding by locally registered contractors and the winner constructed the project. However, community participants including opinion leaders and local government officials suspected foul play in the way funds were disbursed noting lack of

transparency, adequate and rigorous judgement, and suspicion of the infiltration of party politics, and corruption among board members who included chiefs:

"The chiefs on the committee are greedy people who only look at their own interest instead of the majority. In the olden days chiefs looked at the interest of their people and the development of their communities but those we have today are the exact opposite. They must be replaced with a more competent, transparent and trusted ones. Politics has also eaten into everything in Ghana and so is this committee. It is the company that selects the people and where we have say NPP or NDC people on the board you just imagine what happens" (FG2 community member, Kanyasi).

Community leaders further argued that since the creation of the foundations the MNMCs' have relaxed their CSR funding:

"Since this foundation was established Newmont has relaxed. They should support what the foundation is doing then the community can develop faster" (Community leader, Kanyasi).

The implication is that trust, an important element in achieving meaningful dialogue was lost hence peaceful coexistence remained elusive.

5.7.2 Water

Responses from community interviews and informal conversations indicated that host communities were beset with acute water problems. Prior to the mines these communities depended on rivers and streams for both agriculture and domestic use but these had either been damned or contaminated. The nature of mining involved the adoption of the heap leach method associated with the use of commercial quantities of cyanide and mercury. These occasionally were accidentally discharged into water bodies. Furthermore, the operations used volumes of water leading to the construction of what were known as the tailings dams to contain run-off water from the extraction process. The waste (tailings) usually contained arsenic pollutants which impacted water quality making them poisonous for both domestic consumption and agriculture use. This situation basically affected the survival of host communities. The provision of adequate portable water was therefore the most pressing need for both communities because the companies had not

provided adequate alternatives, although the quality of what was provided was better. Women and children were also said to travel the length and breadth of the communities in search of portable drinking water, a situation that had become a daily routine:

"We need more water because there are times that you see the women very tired looking for water to fetch. It is now that the rains have set in that we are a bit ok but the situation is not good. It is up to Newmont to give us a better water system" (Sub chief, Kanyasi).

Meanwhile, company informants argued that compared to what had been destroyed, what has been provided (boreholes and wells) was better:

"...They now drink pipe bourn water instead of the untreated streams they used to drink from" (SO2, GF).

Community members objected implying it was better to have abundance with lesser quality than quality with scarcity:

"Hey, water shortage is the worst thing we have ever experienced. Since Newmont came our water situation has been very bad. You cannot build a community without water can you? Water is life. If we had our streams from which we were drinking and had more than enough and you destroy it but are unable to provide us with adequate alternative then you have caused us more problems. You had better leave us to drink what we had that you claim was not good. If you destroy it then it is your responsibility to provide an adequate alternative. Newmont must give us enough water so they will have a better name." (Opinion leader, Kanyasi).

Again, communities raised the substitution of rivers for boreholes as CSR project debate. In their opinion it was just a partial replacement of what had been destroyed because rivers provided numerous benefits aside drinking, domestic and agriculture use. For instance rivers provided recreational benefits where people swam for pleasure and exercise. Rivers also served as source of livelihood for community fishing, and in Ghana they also served as gods and shrines for traditionalists. Replacing them with boreholes therefore provided only the domestic satisfaction. They also argued it was the same source their forefathers drunk from until the MNMCs came to destroy them. To destroy them and unable to provide adequate alternatives, to them was a crime:

"..meanwhile what we had that you condemn we could fish and swim. Remember our forefathers also drunk from these rivers before we were born and they served as shrines so your so called better alternative is not better for us" (Opinion leader, Damang).

The photographs below were alternative sources that complemented boreholes and small water projects in Damang. Figure 14 was a bucket of well water I collected for bath. Respondents including my host explained during both formal interviews and informal conversations that although the quality is poor they use it because of inadequate alternatives. Indeed I observed long queues around these well especially in the mornings and evenings where mostly women and children collected it for domestic use.

Figure 14: Well water for the researcher to bath

Figure 15: The source of the well water

Figure 16: Water In the well

Figure 17: Alternative water project for Damang community

5.7.3 Road Network

With a nation-wide poor road network accounting for nearly 2000 deaths annually and complemented by massive dust pollution, roads emerged the next pressing development expectation of the communities. Meanwhile, a significant disjuncture existed between what the companies perceived as their responsibility and the expectations of the impacted communities. Some community leaders even contended it was a taboo to have their roads tarred. This research found evidence of companies maintaining the roads (grading and watering the dusty surface) that were necessary for the transport of mining but leaving those they termed to be the responsibility of the government. This means they were able to provide examples of the 'good' they did but also held a clear view where their responsibilities ended:

"We have done a lot of infrastructure developments in terms of education, health, water and sanitation. What we haven't necessarily done much on is roads and electricity. We have left these for the government even though we keep the one from Kenyasi to Ntotroso in good shape because of heavy traffic." (SO2, Newmont).

This was a distorted view of infrastructure development and it was received by the communities as a serious breach of commitments and trust. Community members argued that maintaining the Kenyase-Ntotroso road was a strategic move that helped the company pour its gold because it passed through the mine. The same was the one linking Damang and Tarkwa. Pegg (2006) illustrated a similar situation between host communities and Shell in Nigeria. Community informants expected MNMCs to step outside their legal obligations and do some philanthropic giving to improve community life.

"But I think Newmont should do some sacrifices sometimes. Look at this small stretch of road from here to Hwediem, it is less than 2km when we asked them to support tar it they told us they pay tax to the government so it is not their responsibility. Even giving us their grader to re-grade the surface they refused". (LGO2, Kanyasi).

This position infuriated respondents and impacted community willingness to engage. In Damang however, Gold Fields had contracted an opinion leader to occasionally water the dusty surface to reduce air pollution. However, community members questioned the rationale behind the gesture when the money spent could be used to tar the roads once and for all. Some even accused the leaders again for conniving with the company to leave the roads in that shape so as to maintain their source of income:

"You know why our roads are not tarred? Somebody has it as a contract where he waters the dust. So if they tar the roads, he has lost his source of income. Can you believe that? They think we don't know" (Community member, Damang).

The implication again was the level of mistrust that affected dialogue. The photographs below portray the nature of roads linking the towns which posed serious health risk to communities especially during the dry season.

Figure 18: Passengers and the nature of roads linking Damang to other towns

Figure 19: Nature of roads in the Damang community and a staff bus

Figure 20: A contracted tanker used to water the dusty surface of the roads

5.7.4 Health

Although Gold Fields had recently commissioned a clinic in Damang, Kanyasi communities clamoured for a hospital. Newmont had helped expand an existing clinic but the people expected an upgrade to a hospital because of increase demand for healthcare resulting from the new attractions to Newmont. This desperation had been compounded by disagreements between factions as community leaders and local government officials called for a market instead. An accumulated fund in their foundation had controversially remained untouchable because of the disagreement. Community leaders argued during interviews that it was already in the government's development plan to build a hospital for the community but will not build a market. Community members at a focus group session, contrarily thought the government's promise could delay or may even be a political talk that would never see the light of day. Therefore if they had funds then it should aim at providing a hospital:

"I think that by now this clinic should have been upgraded to the status of a hospital but it is still a health centre. The DCE and the chiefs are fighting for a market whiles we are calling for a hospital. If they don't agree with the hospital then the market will also not be constructed. When people are dying you are talking about a market. This is a

misplaced priority and as leaders we expect them to make sound judgement" (FG1 community member, Kanyase).

This disagreement resulted from long-term mistrust stored up over the years which affected efforts to promote meaningful dialogue. Findings however implied a chunk of the amount sitting in the fund was accumulated from a fine imposed on Newmont for a spillage that occurred in 2009. Evidence suggested overall national need for healthcare was massive. For instance only 4.8% of GDP was allocated for health (World Factbook 2013) and the doctor-patients ratio was estimated to be 1:15,259 (Otoo 2014). The pictures below show portraits of the clinic constructed by Gold Fields in Damang with future plans to upgrade to a health centre.

Figure 21: *The front view of the community clinic, Damang*

5.7.5 Education

The data also indicated that community expectations in MNMCs' provision of educational support remained critical. Culturally, communities saw their educational expectations to be legitimate because MNMCs must fill the gap where the state failed. Their responses implied that once their farmlands were gone and the companies failed to employ them for lack of skills, they must provide educational infrastructure to equip the youth with the necessary employable skills. To answer this call, MNMCs had successfully constructed a few basic schools and libraries. Gold Fields in addition adopted a primary/Junior High School (JHS) in Damang where it motivated staff by paying top-up salaries to augment government salaries. As a result the school was said to be one of the best academically in the District.

Below is a photograph of the adopted basic/JHS:

Figure 22: *The compound of the adopted model school*

This gesture complemented by the government's 'free meal' policy for basic schools led

to increased basic school enrolment. However these were perceived inadequate to equip

beneficiaries with the needed employable skills. Communities wanted their children to

have access to sponsored university education instead:

"We want our children to go to university so that they can also improve their lives not just primary school. If you consider the amount of gold they are carrying from this land, building a university should not be a big deal for them. What is the importance of the school they provide if it cannot make the person employable? They only carry our resource away to build their country" (FG2c, Kanyasi).

This finding contradicted Garvin et al's (2009) findings on MNMCs contribution to

education. Whereas they argued that this had been positive this study revealed that after

the basic education children who then matured for secondary education rather branched

into galamsey for several reasons. This was because, the higher one climbed the more

education became expensive in Ghana. For example there were no more free meals, books became expensive, and utility tariffs, what was popularly known as user fees were imposed. There was also the need to rent accommodation, and in some instances pay tuition fees for private universities because the state had only five that could not absorb the numbers. Most polytechnics did not also offer degree courses making private ones the only available option and parents had no jobs to foot such costs. Furthermore, the massive graduate unemployment even after completion made it unattractive to local communities where galamsey boomed. Additionally, given the challenges of resource constrains (World Bank 2013) associated with staffing these often remote facilities, their effectiveness in promoting literacy remained debatable. For example Cobbold (2006) in his study titled attracting and retaining teachers in rural communities in Ghana noted that the lack of development in remote villages made school staffing difficult. This means at the end a gap existed between what communities expected and what MNMCs provided which made community appreciation, ownership and maintenance of these projects difficult. The implication is that there was poor community consultation around their needs and this divergence served as fertile grounds for broken relationship. Again, although the Wold Bank (2013) statistics indicated a 71.5% literacy rate for the country, the findings implied that basic reading and writing skills (the World Bank's criteria for literacy) did not guarantee employment because by primary six most pupils were able to read and write. Below are other basic educational facilities provided by MNMCs in the studied communities:

Figure 23: *The front view of the basic school provided by Gold Fields*

Figure 24*: Side view of the basic school*

Figure 25: *Front view of a basic school provided by Newmont at Kanyasi*

Figure 26: *Beneficiaries of Newmont's scholarship Source (NADeF 2011 report)*

It was in the above school (Figure 25 with Newmont's signage) that I joined the queue to register to vote in the election. During the registration exercise, I asked when the facility was built by the company. Suddenly, other members of the queue joined in the discussion with most of them condemning the company for insignificant CSR noting that the school was not built by Newmont. Rather, the company only renovated it when a storm ripped off the roof. Some pointed to the pot hole-ridden nature of the road just few meters away to justify their claim. Rhetorically they asked me if the nature of the road befits a gold mining town:

"Hey master don't credit Newmont with this. They only renovated the building they didn't build it. Will Newmont build this school? ....Look at the road just behind you and judge if this place befits a gold mining town" (Community member, Kanysi).

Their reaction demonstrated again the community's frustration at MNMCs' CSR tokenism. A few however praised Newmont with the explanation that better half a loaf is than no bread.

Beyond the boundaries of the immediate communities, Gold Fields had one time sponsored the senior national football team, The Black Stars with a three year package of some $3m that saw the team qualify for its maiden FIFA World Cup in 2006. This together with the construction of some training pitches for local division one football teams, the sponsorship of National Beauty Pageant and musical events had helped boost the company's image because of the nation's passion especially for football. However, participants questioned the impact of such activities on the immediate communities during interviews and informal conversations. Raising again the issue about MNMCs' focus of CSR which reinforces the lack of understanding of the needs and expectations of the affected communities:

"Did you know that more than $3million was spent on this Black Stars as sponsorship? Don't you think that, this money could build Senior Secondary School and probably start a university here? What direct benefit does the sponsorship of the Black Stars bring to our communities here? It is all political so that the government will think it is a good company" (Community member, Damang).

A critical analysis of this response and many others revealed to me that MNMCs can be acclaimed of engaging in good CSR once their engagement make impact at the macro level even though the situation may be bad at the micro (immediate community) level. Companies therefore can strategically target the macro level at the expense of the micro to improve their image because the immediate communities would not have the numbers and power. Consequently, Gold Fields might have been adjudged the best CSR Company in Ghana not necessarily because it made great impact in the lives of the host communities but because at the macro level it paid more taxes to the government as mentioned in the GNPC criteria in chapter four and supported football, the nation's passion game.

Overall the finding contradicted Garvin et al's (2009) on impact on trade, employment, infrastructural development and personal income but confirmed impact on agriculture and cost of living. For instance they claimed there was positive impact on all the indicators except on agriculture and cost of living.

With all these community expectations, the questions of whether it was the responsibility of MNMCs to provide all these development infrastructure should be considered. Indeed these expectations seemed unreasonable to lay at the door of MNMCs as they reached into the realms of government responsibility. However, these needed to be understood in the context of the poor state of infrastructure and community definition of responsibility. Thus in the absence of the local state and any substantive local socio-economic infrastructural development, local people turned to the MNMCs for compensation. This was because they saw them as the root cause of their economic and environmental challenges. Since their lives were more secured prior to mining development, it was easy to see why they felt the MNMCs were not honouring their commitment to CSR. Before moving on to discuss whether MNMCs should be responsible for infrastructural development, it was important to consider first what responsibility meant to communities.

5.8 The meaning of responsibility

The responsibility concept was central to this study and all informants mentioned some sort of responsibilities of the MNMCs in their communities. However, a close look at informants' responses found that they had differing views of responsibility. The lack of a standardized definition of the term made it difficult for one to draw conclusions as to whether the MNMCs were irresponsible or responsible. The definition is therefore difficult to pin down (e.g., Gariga & Mele 2004). However, taking into consideration the concept of CSR in the mining industry as per the research topic, it was anticipated that the meaning of a responsible company would be visible in the mining communities. However, it was only during the interviewing process that it became obvious the term 'responsible company' was subjective (differed from person to person) and the understanding depended on who one talked to. Informants also differed on the content of responsibility and what was acceptable or unacceptable responsibility. However, in general, they described responsibility simply as being given a voice about issues that concerned their lives and filling the gap where government failed. So should MNMCs be responsible for filling these gaps?

5.9 Should MNMCs be responsible for development needs?

The argument in favour of mining contribution to development raised the question to what extent should MNMCs be responsible for community development? The responses suggest MNMCs lament government's neglect of mining communities in terms of development resulting in MNMCs playing the quasi-government role in the provision of such infrastructures. This ignites the debate on the role of firms in society (e.g., Beck 1997 and Fort & Schipani's 2002). MNMCs argued that their presence in the communities made government deliberately shirk its responsibilities. They explained during the interviews that if government were to complement what they provided host communities, these places would be the most developed in the entire country. But due to

government failure complemented by the level of poverty, whatever they provided was seen as a drop in the ocean. Furthermore, development and employment were state responsibility. The little they provided by way of CSR was just voluntary top up. They owed their primary responsibility to their shareholders and once they paid their taxes and royalties to the government they were not responsible for other community demands:

"The problem is that the communities are depending 100% on the mining companies because government is not developing the communities. It is also the mining companies that the communities see and not the government. So MNMCs have become development agencies. The government sends funds meant for community development to other areas with the mind-set that Goldfields is in that community and will provide the infrastructure that the community wants. This is bad because the company is also a profit oriented institution who has shareholders to satisfy. So at the end of the day it will do what it can and leave what it cannot because it pays its taxes" (SO1, GF).

Communities however challenged this claim and although some confirmed government neglect made MNMCs the only alternative hope, the interpretation of the majority as to who was responsible for community development was the one that directly impacted the communities, took their resources away and was physically present in the community. In this sense it was the MNMCs and not the government. They created the problems and so must fix them. Although the government gave the resource right to them and as a result benefited by way of tax and royalty payment, it did not ask them to devastate their environment. If they could do their business in a way that would not negatively impact their lives directly or indirectly then they could be excused of any responsibilities. Prior to their arrival they did not have those challenges:

"We attack them because when they were not here we were living our own way of life and were comfortable. We had our own traditional toilet facilities that we used and were happier. They are the people who have created the problems that we see around and so they must fix them. Our rivers that have been dammed for example was not the responsibility of the government and therefore they must provide alternatives" (opinion leader, Damang).

Aguilera et al (2007), Korten (1995), Hawken (1993) and Crane & Matten (2010) had previously mentioned elsewhere that the reason companies were expected to adopt CSR

was because they created most environmental and global problems and so through CSR they minimise these impacts.

With reference to Hill and Jones (2007), communities also argued that MNMCs had the moral obligation to go beyond the laws of the state to provide infrastructure development in host communities especially because of the inadequacies in the Minerals and Mining Act in addressing development issues. Again, because they used community resources which included water, roads, land etc. in the process of extracting the gold, community development expectations were legitimate. It was therefore a crime morally not to give back to the community. This was further aggravated by the perceived sense of injustice, based on the perception that compared to what MNMCs took out of the communities, measured in value and negative impact, they returned too little. For instance less than 5% royalties reached communities for development. They must be attacked therefore to provide some infrastructure in return:

"If you look at the amount of Gold Newmont is carrying away from our land you will marvel. Every day the company pours gold. However the arrangement governing it is unfair and limited. They don't do anything for the community. They are criminals" (Sub chief, Kenyasi).

The use of the word criminal or crime by informants did not mean the breach of any legal laws of the land. Rather the moral laws expected of a responsible MNMC to engage in fair, just, right, equitable and ethical business and do some sacrifice beyond the expected legal framework of the state (e.g., Kaler 1999). Failure to do this made MNMCs' operations a nuisance to host communities and prevented meaningful dialogue. The sense of injustice perhaps was expected and reflected a historic position where MNMCs gave back less in terms of infrastructure development compared to what they gained (Krasner 1978) which has yet to change. Implicit in the adoption of CSR was the view that the MNMCs seek to minimise harm and do some good whilst complying with legal

obligations (e.g., Kater 1999). However, as Hall & Vredenburg (2005) argued, the varying expectations of the multiple stakeholders poses a tougher challenge on business managers.

Another contentious issue raised about MNMCs' CSR projects in Ghana was that these projects were computed as cost and deducted from company profit before tax. In effect, the country contributed to MNMCs' CSR projects. The companies only pre-financed the projects and got it back somehow. The revenue authorities only received the information of expenses made on CSR even without any independent verification. CSR project costs therefore stood to be highly inflated to the detriment of communities and the state. Why companies were not doing much in CSR with all these lapses in their favour frustrated civil society groups:

"But the irony of that support is that they may be giving that $3m or whatever, to the Black Stars but what we forget is that they immediately get a tax refund. So effectively that support is subsidised by the Ghanaian taxpayer. That support is paid back by the government in the form of tax relief which does not come to the knowledge of the public" (SO, INGO).

Overall, the best MNMC's CSR in Ghana had been equated to the one eyed man among the blind:

"I do admit that Newmont is one of the best performing companies in CSR in this country but the best here is relative to the bottom..... What this means is that their best remains very bad" (SO, INGO).

5.10 Ubuntu Philosophy
Listening to the voices of participants revealed that the Ubuntu philosophy also influenced community expectations significantly. For instance Ghanaians like many other Africans are known for their collective value orientation, sense of responsibility, care, tolerance and sharing (Mkabela & Luthuli 1997; Tutu 1999). Mkabela & Luthuli (1997) and Tutu (1999) suggested that the principles of Ubuntu demonstrated collective ethics that recognises that harmony and balance of interconnectedness and egalitarian

approach stress humanness in terms of love, generosity, hospitality, understanding, humility and politeness for each other. This means CSR is not an isolated phenomenon but an initiative embedded in cultural preferences, and shaped expectations, practices, beliefs and norms of the indigenous people. With an estimated 88.8% religious population (71.2% Christians and 16.8% Muslims respectively) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010), both believing in sharing and giving to the underprivileged in society, philanthropism was the expected norm. For instance in a research conducted in Lebanon by Jamali and Neville (2011), it was found that dignified work, ethical conduct, charitable giving, and the requirement to give 2.5% of one's income to charity was a prerequisite for Muslim salvation. This placed a philanthropic responsibility expectation on successful businesses who operated in Ghana. This suggested an approach that moves away from seeing the organisation as a separate institution to one that sees itself as part of the community. This approach reorders the fundamental understanding of the relationship and interconnectedness between MNMCs and other stakeholders. Yet MNMCs and the stakeholder theories were ignorant about these. It can be argued however that if MNMCs were expected to provide all these infrastructural developments then what is the role of the state?

5.11 The role of the state
Most informants although saw their expectations of MNMCs to be legitimate, also blamed government failure, inefficiency, carelessness, corruption, and poor mining policy for many of the challenges in the industry rather than CSR per se. CSR should complement government efforts but not to replace it they argued. They explained that the above factors made it difficult for the state to effectively and efficiently manage mining resources. The state rather than the MNMCs should be held responsible for the challenges some argued. They continued that the government could only bargain 5% royalty, refused

to invest mineral revenues in host communities, and assigns only an insignificant fraction of the royalties to communities. This ended up being used by District Assemblies for paying recurrent expenditures like salaries and fuel. In this regard, transparency on the use of mineral royalties were not available to communities.

Furthermore, communities argued sentimentally during all discussions, be it informal conversations, focus group discussions or formal interviews that it was the government that sold them into slavery because of weak laws and policies. It gave their land to MNMCs by signing the contracts without first consulting the people and allowed MNMCs to heavily impact host communities who have become victims trapped in a complex web:

"government has sold us to the company on a silver Plata like slaves. They claim the minerals is invested in the government so they take it without giving anything in return" (sub Chief Damang Area).

With regards to policy, almost all informants lamented the lack of a clear and comprehensive mining policy for the challenges in the industry. They argued that the absence created confusion relating to everything from compensation through development to land reclamation:

"In my opinion the major problem we have is lack of mining policy. We have mining laws but not mining policy. The mining laws are supposed to come out of the policy. The policy is supposed to tell where the industry is going. For example in 10years time or after mine closure how do we want mining communities to look like and what specific things do we want to achieve with the mine proceeds? It is after these that you can give the detail dos and don'ts to get there but as it is we don't have the where we are going. We only have the dos and don'ts and for me that is a major setback" (ex-minister of state).

Another major finding was that policy heavily impacted how MNMCs operationalised CSR. For example MNMCs needed to collaborate with Local Government (District Assemblies) and other agencies such as the Ghana Health Service (GHS), Ghana Education Service (GES), Highways Authority and others to be able to implement CSR

projects by law. If for instance a company wanted to construct a hospital for a community and the GHS or district assembly disagreed, the project did not take place even if the community strongly called for it. This was because government and its agencies were responsible for the staffing and management of the facilities:

"When the communities say we want a secondary school and the GES says build a Junior High School (JHS) for them we go straight away by what the GES says because we hand over the project to the government after completion. If we ignore them and provide the facility who will staff and pay salaries when we don't manage the projects? So in short we and the community alone don't decide what should be done in the community. We can't just get up today and say we want to put up a hospital for Damang because we have the money" (SO1, GF).

This means that because of lack of state resources to manage CSR projects after MNMCs' provision, what were provided failed to meet the needs of host communities. This situation further frustrated host communities. This revelation came up when I asked corporate participants whether state policy had any influence on CSR provisions. Although they did not see any direct link, a critical analysis of the responses suggested that was the case. The situation also implies that even though MNMCs may want to do more, situational factors prevented them from taking these positive CSR decisions. Meanwhile the stakeholder theory does not consider this contextual limitation. This agrees with Trevino and Youngblood's (1990) suggestion that situational factors either facilitate or imped many CSR decisions.

5.12 Environmental Management
Poor environmental management also affected efforts to promote peaceful coexistence. The finding implied the open pit nature of mining resulted in significant negative environmental impact but limited social and economic benefits to a few people. The findings noted that Communities' environmental concerns related to vibration, noise, and dust levels resulting from blasting, and land reclamation issues. Blasting for instance was implied to have created lots of cracks in buildings because they were mostly madhouses.

However, weak laws, corruption and other challenges in the judicial system stood between communities and justice:

"Blasting is so serious. When you look at the buildings many are madhouses and most have developed cracks as a result but who will speak for us? Prior to the mines things were not like that. But when you take this to court it is going to be the same kickbacks, bribery and corruption," (community leader, Kenyasi).

The Minerals and Mining Act 703 also required MNMCs to fully reclaim mined lands after operation because of the importance of land to host communities. Although the EPA had standards as to how reclaimed lands should be, it conceded during interviews that many challenges including economic reasons made land reclamation sometimes almost impossible. For instance government's economic priority over community concerns were critical:

"Sometimes we allow companies to leave some of the pits as voids (open pit without backfilling). You know mining is about economics. It is an investment. Some projects when you ask them to backfill after mining, the project becomes economically unviable and because of this you expect them to leave it void and then it creates death traps and mosquito breeding grounds for the local community after the mining company has carried away the resource" (SO, EPA).

This failure to reclaim lands, aside serving as death traps also led to land wastage and poor resource utilisation, factors that further angered host communities. MNMCs' adoption of international environmental standards e.g. ISO 14001, ISO 26000, GRI (Delmas & Cuerel Burbano 2011; Berchicci & King 2007; GRI. 2006) and the need to report environmental performance had reduced environmental impact marginally. The EPA inspected MNMCs' CSR, environment and sustainability practices through a tool it developed called AKOBEN which measured the environmental impact of mining. Whilst this was an important step in safeguarding the environment and community well-being, limited resources and unavailability of tougher sanctions have reduced its effectiveness to "naming" and "shaming" tactics:

"In terms of staff strength we have a challenge; at times it is difficult for us to go to all the areas....As we speak Ghana doesn't have any standard for monitoring blasts. What

we have been relying on is Australian standard and some internally developed standards from some of the mining companies" (SO, EPA).

The implication is that mining communities bore the negative impact because the state is unable to enforce environmental compliance. Meanwhile the "corporate rights", "corporate effect" and "negative injunction" principles of the stakeholder and social contract theories as explained by Evans and Freeman (1993) and Boatright (1993) respectively, suggest MNMCs have legitimate obligations not to violate the rights of others. They suggested that MNMCs should be responsible for the effects their operations have on others. The environmental impact as compared to the limited socioeconomic benefits to host communities served as potential breeding ground for conflict and prevented meaningful dialogue. These environmental issues had attracted serious debates from previous studies (e.g., Hilson 2011; 2012; 2013; Hilson and Yakovleva 2007) even though these studies mostly focused on small-scale and illegal mining rather than MNMCs and again, not much has changed.

5.13 Frustration and despair

Emergent from the analysis of responses from focus group session, personal interviews and informal conversations also was the notion of community frustration. Communities felt frustrated because of the belief that they had little power to influence the way decisions about their lives were made, and that little had changed despite attention from researchers, international organisations and other bodies that examined the impact of mining and the extent CSR had made a positive difference. Consequently, some pleaded with me to ensure the information provided initiates positive change else a time will come when no researcher will be given access:

"We are getting fed up because since the mine came here, some of us have granted interviews upon interviews and it is the same old stories. We are suffering and it looks like there is no saviour coming to our rescue. We hope and pray that you will be that saviour. If things don't improve from the information we are giving you, it will get to

a point where nobody will be ready to speak to any researcher" (community member, Damang).

This was indeed one of the challenges I encountered in collecting the data as explained in the previous chapter. The situation was compounded by the power imbalance between the MNMCs and the communities. However, as far back as 1960 Davis (1960) explored the power of the firm in society and the impact such power has on stakeholders when he introduced corporate power as an aspect of CSR and noted that what gives power to the company comes from both internal and external sources. Bringing this to the mining context in Ghana the external source suggests the argument posted by the International NGO official which implied that MNMCs derived support from their home government. He remarked that the umbilical cord of the MNMCs were tired to the home country governments' such that an attempt by the host government to flex its mussel attracted the home government's punitive sanctions. These included withdrawal of AID and grants that supported host government budgets. This was informed by the World Bank (2013) report that indicated that a significant proportion of Ghana's budget support came from Aids and grants. The internal power resulted from the strength of MNMCs' market worth and sales revenue which sometimes were greater than the GDP of the country.

5.14 Discussion and conclusion

Overall the research findings around economic empowerment pointed to a failure of mining companies CSR to improve the lives of indigenous communities in Ghana. Community experiences also demonstrated key weaknesses in the companies' ability to understand the needs and concerns of the community which pointed to an inadequate or superficial process of stakeholder dialogue. Furthermore, listening to the voices of these communities revealed a significant mismatching and a yawning gap between community expectations and outcomes thus between theory and practice around economic compensation, employment opportunities, community development, resettlement and

environmental management. To some extent communities believed that corporations should fill gaps in government provision, and there was evidence that some company initiatives had been well received by certain sectors of the community. However, overall community experiences pointed to an ineffective or disingenuous CSR on the part of MNMCs. This was underpinned by an entrenched process causing communities to feel more and more alienated from decision-making processes and unable to harness the benefits of mining for the good of the community as a whole. These processes run counter to assumptions that mining can help developing countries advance (The World Bank 2004; Gifford et al. 2010). Host communities felt their rights had been trampled and the use of force rather than dialogue had been adopted to usurp the legitimacy of resource ownership from them. The communities were expected to live with the illegitimacy of the contracts. Furthermore, rather than serving the people who owned the land the contracts served the interest of the government and the MNMCs. Whilst not within the scope of this study to judge how well the organisations achieved community aspirations, these did provide a backdrop to the range of expectations that stakeholders had of MNMCs.

This chapter has provided an account of and reasons for the wide spread conflict and dynamics that prevented meaningful dialogue between MNMCs and host communities. The next chapter examines the dialogue strategies of both the state and MNMCs to promote dialogue and how effective these have been in resolving conflicts. In that chapter I proposed the need to re-orientate the stakeholder and CSR theories from the western and firm-centric focus to help address the problems identified to promote peaceful coexistence. In the process I developed a new framework that considers communities and their culture as integral rather than peripheral part of dialogue and CSR processes.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX : EXPLORATION OF MNMCs' DIALOGUE STRATEGIES

6.1 Introduction

In chapter five I presented participants' views, antecedents and impact of poor CSR engagement between MNMCs and communities. The major challenges highlighted related to unfulfilled expectations ranging from inadequate community consultation in awarding contracts, to dealing with issues that concerned the survival and wellbeing of communities. Issues related to employment, compensation, infrastructure development and environmental management were specifically crucial. These were further influenced by the lack of rigorous mining policy, political will, weak rule of law, poverty, thirst for FDI to balance state budget and corruption. The findings served to highlight the complex nature of the interrelationships between these factors. To gain a contextualised understanding of the study, it is important to also examine dialogue strategies developed by MNMCs through which they communicated with host communities and the barriers within these strategies that prevented meaningful dialogue. Hence this chapter builds on chapter five.

The specific aims of this chapter are to:

1. Examine MNMCs' dialogue strategies including how they communicated with indigenous host communities.

2. Examine how these strategies influenced CSR and conflict resolution decisions.

3. Explore the barriers within these strategies that prevented successful dialogue

In this regard the thesis provides readers a meaningful insight into the application of the stakeholder theory in the Ghanaian mining context. By examining the main channels of communication by MNMCs to create dialogue with communities, deficiencies within these processes will be drawn out. These are important because it is only then that the

stakeholder theory can be improved. The diagram below represents the issues discussed in this chapter and their relationships with the previous chapter.

Communication Channels

Poor Environmental Management

Corruption

Weak Legal framework

Community Consultative Committees (CCC)

MNMCs CSR Policies

Land Loss

Grievance handling (GH)

Community Forum (CF)

Poverty

Information Office

Absence of clear mining policy

Unfulfilled expectations

Lack of Political will

Operational Context
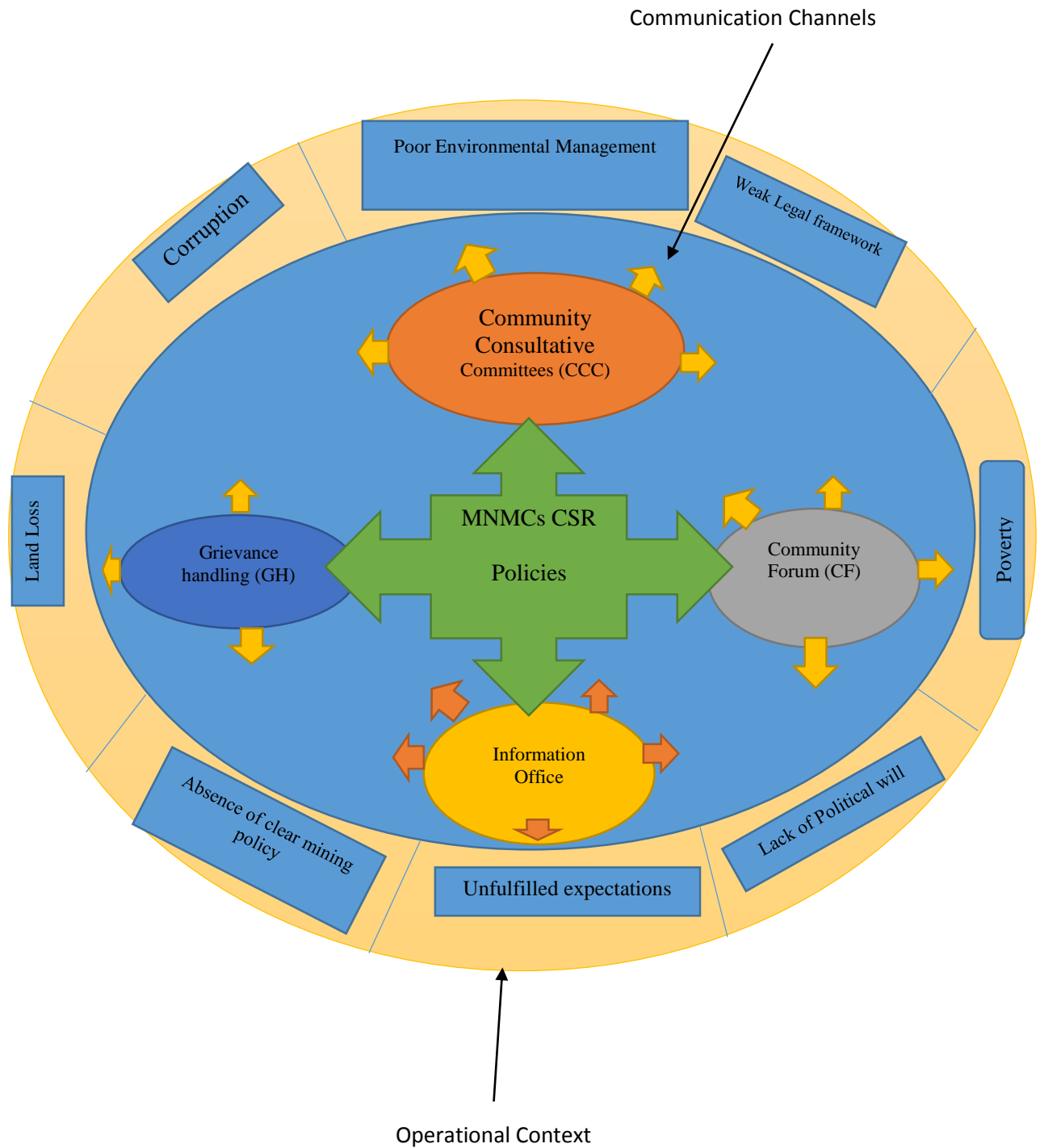
Figure 27: *Diagram linking MNMCs' communication channels with the wider operational context*

The internal circles indicate the various channels MNMCs used to communicate with communities. The outer circle depicts the interrelated contextual factors that influence the ability of MNMCs strategies to effectively function.

6.2 MNMCs' Dialogue/Communication Strategies

The concept of stakeholder dialogue has played a crucial role in debates around CSR, whereby the processes of stakeholder engagement and dialogue are interpreted as central to a firm's capacity to develop CSR that meets the needs of its internal and external stakeholders (Freeman 1984; Donaldson and Preston 1995; Andriof et al. 2002). Consequently stakeholder dialogue is understood as a means by which firms and their external stakeholders can transcend beyond traditional conflictual engagements towards more dialogic, solutions finding engagement (Arts 2002; Millaret et al. 2004; Weick 1995). Kaptein & van Tulder (2003) like most of the participants interviewed agreed that stakeholder dialogue was the best way to promote peaceful coexistence between the MNMCs and their multiple stakeholders:

"what I will say is that we are all human beings and as such there are bound to be misunderstandings but when they come it is better to dialogue and jaw jaw than to resort to violence. Me I have never liked confrontation to the resolution of any issues. I mean it doesn't pay." (Community leader, Damang).

Understandably therefore, MNMCs created their own strategies aimed at promoting dialogue and handling disputes. Four main channels were operational. These were the *Community Consultative Committees (CCCs), Community Forums (CFs), Grievance and Complaint Handling Committee (GCHs) and the Information Centres (ICs).*

These dialogue strategies influenced how CSR project decisions were made and implemented, and how grievances and complaints were resolved. The CCCs were made up of the chiefs, opinion leaders, youth leaders, DAs, women and company representatives. Each community was expected to have one CCC. This group met quarterly and meetings were restricted to membership. Company informants also

indicated top management support and involvement in CSR decision-making, and that CSR committees had the support of Members of Parliament and General Managers. It was at such meetings that project decisions were raised and discussed. The Community Forums (CFs) contrarily were opened to all community members to attend. Corporate document analysis collaborated by interviews revealed that it was on these platforms that MNMC staff responsible for community relations met the communities occasionally to hear their voices and concerns for redress (e.g., Newmont 2008c). Complaint offices were also created where members lodged their complaints and grievances. Resolution committees were made to address these concerns. Although these were laudable, they were bereft with many challenges.

6.3 Obstacles to effective dialogue between MNMCs and host communities
I found that community mistrust in these channels grew to the point where communication was seen to be one-way, flowing from company representatives to communities. The CCC and CF processes had been labelled talk shops where information was passed down to communities with little opportunity for dialogue in decision-making:

"They have the community forum where concerns are raised for discussion but when we attend it is like a classroom where teachers come to teach students. We are expected to listen to their lecture without any opposition or criticisms. Even when given the opportunity to talk, your views will not be acted upon" (community member, Kanyasi).

This was contrary to stakeholder dialogue theory that recommends two-way interaction (e.g., Kaptein & van Tulder 2003; Lawrence 2002). The implication was that the strategy failed to serve the desired purpose hence dialogue remained ineffective.

6.3.1 The scope of involvement
I found that a gap existed between MNMCs' dialogue promises and what actually happened. For example through corporate document analysis I observed that an agreement between Newmont and host communities in 2008 (Newmont 2008a) suggested that MNMCs promised to seek community consent through dialogue in CSR

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decision-making, grievance and complaints handling. And these would be executed through open dialogue, where patience, tolerance, equity, trust, and sharing of transparent information would be the guiding principles. Contrary, the dialogue strategies were perceived by most host communities during interviews and focus group discussions to be highly influenced by MNMC representatives. Feelings expressed were that MNMCs selectively nominated participants who would accept their position for the dialogue meetings. A typical reference was when the community member commented in chapter five page 190 that MNMCs formed their bogus committees and decided who lived or did not live in the communities during resettlement decisions.

It was also assumed that the diverse group representation on the CCC for instance would enable various concerns to be effectively channelled through these representatives for discussion and possible agreement. However, member restriction meant non-members did not have voice in dialogue initiatives. Most of the members on these committees were also criticised for being in bed with the companies. (They either had contracts or were employed directly by the companies). This was also evidenced in the previous chapter when community members criticised their leaders for taking up contracts in the mines instead of serving community interest and acting as development agents. This means that these privileged few decided for the majority. The MNMCs mistakenly considered these communities as homogeneous when many private and individual interests existed within these communities that needed harmonising first in order to present a common community interest. Unfortunately, MNMCs did not recognise these subgroups, their different aspirations and interest that affected corporate –community dialogue. The implication was that selfishness, and corruption complicated MNMCs-community interactions.

Closely related to the above point was the community feeling that MNMCs used unethical strategies including divide and conquer tactics to silence the opposition. They explained that individuals perceived to strongly oppose the mines, if not offered employment in the mines were reported to the security forces as riot leaders during community protests. These were picked up, detained and manhandled by state security to put fear in community members:

"What happens is that they connive with the chiefs so when they spot you to be loud and leading the people to revolt against these evil practices, then they mark you down. When there is misunderstanding in town then they report you to the police as the initiator. You will be picked up and beaten mercilessly. Or they can also decide to offer you a job in the company so you become part of them and so silence you" (community member, Damang).

These practices exacerbated conflicts and made resolution problematic as fear prevented free expression. The implication is that trust was compromised as these communication channels were implied to merely exist in name but without any meaningful dialogue taking place. MNMCs contrary explained that their decision to award contracts to chiefs for instance was out of genuine concern to fulfil the UN's (2004) local content principle that required MNMCs to use local resources in their operations. They explained that by the act, chiefs stood a better chance of employing the right community members to execute the contracts:

"You know the chiefs are the ones who know the community members. If we give them the contract they have their own means of employing the local people to deliver. We don't know who comes or does not come from the communities. We deliberately do this to create jobs for the people" (SO2, Gold Fields)

This was further discussed in the previous chapter. The implication is that lack of trust affected dialogue. These findings stood contrary to both theory and what had been documented in company dialogue agreement with communities. For example Blowfiled and Frynas (2005), Crane & Livesey (2003), Kaptein & van Tulder (2003) and Lawrence (2002) argued that stakeholder dialogue has the potential to enhance transparency, information sharing and provide inspiration for collaboration. Therefore through dialogue

both present and future expectations can be discussed and the standards of operations developed. The MNMCs would be able to explain to stakeholders the challenges they face and to equally understand stakeholders' expectations and challenges (e.g., Buchell & Cook 2006).

6.3.2 Lack of involvement of chiefs, traditionalists and culture

Furthermore, chiefs and traditionalists who possessed important local knowledge about the communities and their culture (Asabere 1994; and Odotei & Awedoba 2006) were ignored especially during critical CSR decision-making and dialogue meetings. Meanwhile, this knowledge could be adequately harnessed to improve MNMC-community relationship.

While the concept of stakeholder dialogue has gained much credence in recent years (e.g., Kaptein & van Tulder 2003), this data also exposed its weakness in its inability to define what constituted adequate dialogue and consultation. This lack of clarity in the definition led to the divergence between MNMCs and community standpoint. This affected expectations in both CSR implementation and conflict resolution. Contrary to MNMCs' claim of the establishment of adequate participatory dialogue in CSR decision-making with communities, some chiefs, opinion leaders and most community members during the interviews contended that projects were imposed on local communities without meaningful dialogue or community consultation. The project committees were still influenced by the MNMCs who decided what projects to implement:

"That is another area where the company has not fared well. I think if you want to put up a project for the community you must involve them right from the beginning…. yes I know that health centre is a very good facility but maybe the community will need something more pressing than the health centre. For example we have health centre at Hunivaley but water is our problem so we will tackle the water issue first but this is not done. They get up and say we have done this for you and then they go and commission it and I think that is not good" (local leader, Damang).

When asked how the company got the land if he was not consulted as a leader he noted that MNMCs had already acquired the land from the state and because they had the resources, they could determine the location and type of project without consultation:

"Ah but they have already acquired the land. All the land that we live on has been acquired from the government. Don't you know? This clinic that they put up I didn't know about it but because it is their land and money that is where they have built it which is wrong. If I were to be consulted we could have dialogued to choose a better place to locate it".

The implication is that MNMCs' legal authority over the land and resources gave them the power to decide projects and their location. This again reflected the level of dissatisfaction in the local people's participation in these dialogue processes. The holistic orientation and collective identity, the foundation of Ghanaian culture that underpin the understanding and implementation of CSR and dialogue initiatives were ignored by the MNMCs. Meanwhile, these communities were the beneficiaries and users of these initiatives. Participants also felt that early negotiators failed to critically analyse MNMCs' CSR promises:

"Those days, there were no roads linking this place to other towns. There was no electricity and pipe water so when the company promised they will provide these amenities upon start of operation they became too excited and did not pen down or negotiate what level and type of amenities were going to be provided. Today, they have constructed some roads but they are untarred roads, they have provided water but these are boreholes which are also inadequate and unreliable" (Opinion Leader, Damang).

Traditionalists were also seen as significant icons and symbols around whom communities revolved. They acted as the link between the living and the dead, spoke with the gods on behalf of the communities and were regularly consulted for spiritual directions and healing. This lack of consultation resulted either due to ignorance, limited understanding of the culture, norms, and languages of the different community elements on the part of expatriate staff, or disregard because these beliefs were considered outmoded. For example pouring libation and visiting shrines were considered idol worship and evil by some local managers:

"...because idol worshipping is one of the things God has hated for a long time" (SO3, Gold Fields).

This was contrary to arguments suggesting that incorporating spiritual issues into natural resource consultation processes lead to innovative compromises (Burton and Ruppert 1999). The perceived injustices related to cultural sensitivity were also seen in community members' belief that no attempts were made by the MNMCs to recognise and acknowledge local culture in their dialogue processes. Even though Newmont had assigned an annual financial support for local culture, its actions did not demonstrate a commitment to respect. Gold Fields on the other hand had no such support. Communities also felt both Gold Fields and Newmont ignored the negative impacts of their mining activities on their valuable cultural heritage. For example they diverted rivers and destroyed sacred reserves without consulting the chiefs and people leading to serious protests:

"We have lost all our sacred places and ancestral areas. They divert and dam our rivers without consulting us. It is a pity because you know as a Ghanaian whether you like it or not our departed souls are poured libation to but today you cannot even locate where they are buried…. that area should have been fenced and left untouched. It is painful" (community chief, Damang).

Meanwhile, as discussed in the previous chapter, rivers served as shrines for local communities. Vanden Berg (1999) argued that many developers perceive indigenous religions as interesting yet less significant to developing projects. Consequently, whiles western stakeholder and CSR theories may see these as unimportant, their acceptance and recognition are the basis for effective dialogue and eventual peaceful coexistence. This is because they help establish respect and minimise conflict.

No efforts were also made to factor traditional laws into dialogue decisions. For example both communities had days where work on the land was forbidden. Communities traditionally interpreted this as days that the gods came out of their secret places to

interact with the land, have their bath and enjoy some quietness. They were not supposed

to be seen. But these were not respected as MNMCs worked 7 days a week, day and night

throughout the year. Even though Lawrence (2002) and Lawrence et al (1997) argued

that reciprocity is crucial in dialogue, community respondents believed that MNMCs did

not demonstrate any respect or commitment to understand the importance of land and

culture of the host communities. Meanwhile, these were fundamental to building effective

dialogue and implementing CSR. This study notes that incorporating local culture into

mining decision-making can be challenging especially for expatriate decision makers.

However, Burton and Ruppert (1999) argued that it is not beyond accomplishment. How

this can be done was not suggested.

6.3.3 Lack of NGO/civil society involvement

Beyond the immediate community, local NGOs were also not involved in these dialogue

decisions. Meanwhile, communities relied on these as advocates who provided support

to enhance their legitimacy as solution finders to MNMCs' ill treatment and

marginalisation. This resulted because there were no adequate reporting and solution

finding avenues provided by both MNMCs and the state. Communities also lacked the

technical and legal expertise to contest MNMCs. NGOs became the only viable

alternative to get community voices heard. This lack of involvement had led to

antagonistic relationship between MNMCs and NGOs. MNMCs saw NGOs as those

inciting communities against them. Hence MNMCs tagged Local NGOs as anti-mining

who deliberately and falsely accused them so as to attract external funding from donors:

"They make noise for their selfish interest, they speak as if for the people but in actual
fact they are doing their own business. When they need money they rehearse some
negative things and push it out there so that they will be seen to be advocating well and
receive funding. They are all anti-mining" (SO3, GF).

Consequently, MNMCs avoided NGOs and dealt directly with communities. Contrarily,

NGOs indicated the reason for the anti-mining tag was their criticality in exposing

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MNMCs and state's unethical practices and abuse of power when dealing with communities. For instance the international NGO informant explained how his organisation exposed one such deal between Newmont and the government which made it the number one enemy:

".. when Newmont came and influenced the introduction of the Stability Clause, we campaigned seriously against it. But they went ahead and signed a confidential investment agreement with the government. Under that agreement Newmont is expected to enjoy 15years 3% payment of royalties. If we didn't have that clause, when gold price went up to almost $2000 per ounce, government could just have said this time Newmont should pay more. We exposed this to the public and so you don't expect Newmont to have an excellent relationship with us" (SO, INGO).

This antagonism led to NGOs and communities jointly perceiving MNMCs' CSR and dialogue strategies as reactive and public relations rhetoric tool deployed to improve corporate image. CSR strategies were perceived to be used to appease communities after negatively impacting them and receiving backlash from community and advocacy groups:

"Mining companies don't think of CSR from the beginning of their project. They work for some time and when they are getting into problems then they think of doing some CSR projects to minimise the harm to the community to avoid backlash from the general public. They do more public relations trying to improve their image on the ground. So CSR in these communities have resulted from cyanide spillage. They have always put premium on the economic factor likewise government. The environmental and social are just rhetoric. You cannot destroy the environment and build a hospital in place. I mean it is not right."(LNGO).

To communities and NGOs these CSR and dialogue approaches made people more vulnerable, worse off, and treated communities with contempt. They were "veils" that MNMCs hid behind to destroy vulnerable communities. In this sense these strategies were aimed at painting a picture of being seen to engage while in reality they were public relations. This standpoint confirmed Banerjee (2007) and Palazzo & Richter's (2005) view that CSR and its associated stakeholder theory is an instrument for containment with outcomes being eternally constrained by business case logic. In other words MNMCs only implemented CSR when it led to profit enhancement as long as their tax obligations were honoured and they acted within the law. This was contrary to The World Bank (2004)

and the ICMM' (2006) view that CSR encouraged development. Communities and NGOs suggest that the way it was practiced in Ghana could not promote dialogue, not alone enhance peaceful coexistence between MNMCs and host communities. However, evidence suggests that if properly engaged, stakeholder theory through dialogue could produce fruitful results. For example Buchell & Cook (2012; 2011; 2008), Selsky & Parker (2010), Austin & Seitanidi (2012a) and Porter & Kramer (2011) argued that through dialogue business and NGOs could collaborate to positively co-create value beyond individual capabilities to improve community development and solve societal problems. Again, MNMCs could gain stakeholders' trust in decision-making (Burchell and Cook 2008; 2006). In this sense dialogue could demystify business and stakeholder perspectives (Payne & Calton 2002) to create the building blocks necessary for the development of joint solutions. Contrary, this antagonistic relationship between MNMCs and NGOs prevented this from happening. Although this study highlights that this dialogue process will not be simple to manage, it is necessary to ensure that the full potentials of all parties are realised for mutual benefit.

6.3.4 Lack of involvement of development agencies and concern for impact on socioeconomic factors

Local government, Town and Country Planners, and DAs were equally not involved in MNMCs dialogue processes. Consequently, these institutions had limited capacity to propose solutions. Meanwhile, these institutions could not be considered as peripheral third parties. Ignoring the Town and Country planning (TCP) unit for instance resulted in resettlement homes lacking basic facilities such as toilet, drinking water, sanitation and other infrastructure facilities as was discussed in the previous chapter. Contrary, MNMCs although admitted the TCP were not consulted, argued that the DAs were involved in CSR decision making. This was emphasised in the previous chapter when the senior officer2 of Gold Fields noted that Gold Fields alone did not decide what CSR projects

should be implemented and that the GES, GHS, DAs and other bodies were consulted. They also described how these decisions were taken through the CCC. What was not clear was what specific factors influenced these decisions even though it was suggested that state policy and uncontrollable internal factors (e.g., shareholder interest influenced how much could be done) (see Jones 1991).

Again, the socio-economic impact of mining on the current and future generations were not factored into MNMCs' dialogue strategies and decision-making. Host communities were also found to depend mostly on agriculture for their economic sustenance. Meanwhile, resettlement and displacement affected these livelihoods. It became necessary for MNMCs to provide adequate alternatives. However, it was observed that MNMCs mimic the CSR and dialogue practices of each other and implemented western best practice leading to homogeneous CSR. Contrary, the development needs of Kanyase for instance were different from that of Damang not a lone the west and this accounted for the failure. This means that CSR should involve strong exploration of the indigenous cultural systems that respect traditional protocols to help access local knowledge. For these reasons, imposing the western-centric CSR on the Ghanaian terrain was not pragmatic as it always produced negative results. If well empowered and equipped, communities would be able to determine their own CSR needs. Currently, communities had limited influence in determining what should be done. The outcomes were that what were provided failed to meet the sustainable economic and social needs of beneficiaries because of the limited dialogue. Furthermore, both document analysis and interviews failed to prove that MNMCs' stakeholder dialogue meetings ever resulted in any substantive amendments to the way things were done.

Another perceived shortfall confirmed through personal observation especially about the complaints office was the concern that many times community members with complaints

went to the information offices only to find them either closed or opened without anybody to register their complaints. Throughout the data collection period I found that these information centres were either locked or empty. Efforts to get attendants to interview proved futile. Whereas these oversights may result from cultural difference, misunderstanding or a deliberate ploy, they led to increased perceived injustice and greatly contributed to failed dialogue.

6.4 Why the Obstacles Occurred

Analysing corporate responses revealed that MNMCs regarded CSR and dialogue as a voluntary top up to their core business rather than a priority concern for managers. Stakeholder dialogue and CSR by definition are voluntary hence failure to engage in these attracts no sanctions. There was therefore no incentive to engage in these processes. Contrary, communities refused to subscribe to this theoretical limitations of these concepts. They argued that this definition of CSR for instance would not work in mining communities. For communities, even though these theories did not bind companies legally, there are the social and moral obligations required of MNMCs operating in the mining industry to engage in CSR and dialogue because these assured companies their SLO. Community members argued that the legal licence although carried all the theoretical legitimacy, would not work without the social counterpart given by the communities. Communities emphasised the need for responsible MNMCs to combine both to operate if peaceful coexistence is to be achieved:

"They think that once they have secured the permit from the state they have finished. They have forgotten that we can make life very uncomfortable for them. They have to gain our support by way of social licence in addition to the government's before they can operate peacefully" (community leader, Kanyasi).

Consequently, Slack (2012) explained that failure to gain community acceptance has resulted in violent community resistances in the extractive industry in many countries resulting in forced mine closures or suspensions at significant costs to MNMCs.

6.4.1 The format for dialogue

The study found that the format for dialogue did not meet local peoples' needs and resources. For instance during a focus group discussion, community participants explained that the location for dialogue meetings had been company offices, state agency offices or rented hotels which were too formal for communities. When such meetings had to be organised in corporate head office or in multiple stakeholder forums in the capital, travel risk and expenses meant low participation. This was because many could not afford transport fares. The language had mostly been English instead of the local dialect and were full of mining jagons. In the end ordinary community members lost interest in such meetings because they did not mostly understand the debates. Hence participation was low as only the few educated ones attended:

"Me I have stopped attending those meetings...ah but when we go it is all English. I don't understand those big mining words. You know my education is just standard seven so if I go and will not understand what they will say then why should I go. I better sleep and rest" (community member, Kanyasi).

This means that the dialogue processes did not serve any meaningful purpose because the setting and medium of communication made community members uncomfortable to adequately express themselves.

My analysis also found that MNMCs' dissemination of information and the provision of feedback on dialogue decisions were westernised and limited. For instance these feedback were mostly silent on criticisms and perceived to be PR exercises aimed at scoring cheap propaganda points from the public. Meanwhile MNMC participants argued that they had fantastic relationship with host communities because they had free passage through all the communities:

"One of the yardsticks I use to determine the level of our relationship is that we drive through all the communities. Our workforce come from Tarkwa every day and go through all the communities. If we don't have good relationship with them it will be impossible to pass through all the communities every day" (SO3, Gold Fields).

MNMCs did not regard or effectively use local traditional systems of communication which included the use of the gong gong and local FM stations. In traditional Ghanaian cultures, gong-gong were used to assemble people for the delivery of important messages from the chief and his elders. The gong-gong is a metallic instrument that produces a unique sound when stricken with an object to attract public attention for important information. It is clear from Ubuntu that Ghanaians preferred collective decision-making hence the gong-gong played pivotal role. At the collective decision-making fora, everybody is given the opportunity to express their views on important issues through deep engagement. Modern times have however seen the adoption of public address systems and local FM Stations to complement the dissemination of information due to coverage, cost and flexibility. But these were not used by MNMCs probably because they were contrary to western concepts and both the stakeholder theory and the SLO required representation (e.g., Blowfield & Frynas 2005; Mitchell et al 1997). Meanwhile, almost every home in mining communities had radio sets where they tuned in to local FM stations to listen to favourite programme discussions in the local dialect especially in the mornings and evenings. Some farmers even carried their sets to the farms for this purpose. Information dissemination and panel discussions about mining issues where opportunities for phone-in would be permitted was absent. Meanwhile this could be frequently carried out so stakeholders would phone in and have their mining concerns addressed. Contrary, dialogue feedback were relayed through annual reports and posting of notices. And these were full of technical mining jargons and in English. Apart from communities' inability to understand because of their level of education, these reports were not adequately available to communities. They were also suspected to be full of public relations information (e.g., Hilson 2007). For example respondents implied that what got reported on MNMCs' CSR and sustainability reports were different from what

happened on the ground. This PR killed trust and prevented effective dialogue. Therefore there is the need for independent third-party verification of such CSR reports for authentication. However, there were no external pressure or state regulations requiring independent verification. Hence this was voluntary and attracted no sanctions. Consequently, their provision served only company interest as they promoted corporate best practice to would be investors. Even in the west where this existed, O'Dwyer and Owen (2007), Smith et al. (2011) and Boiral & Gendron (2011) have argued that most third-party institutions had MNCs as their pay masters hence in order to protect their repeat consultancy business and avoid litigation they become 'rubber stamps'. That is they reported what interested their clients thereby compromising the validity and quality of such reports. For this and many other reasons, Smith et al. (2011) and Boiral & Gendron (2011) suggested that third-party assurers do not add any credibility to CSR reports.

MNMCs' desire to expedient mining operations was stronger than their willingness to provide the community timely, transparent and critical information essential for building stakeholder dialog and trust. This deepened mistrust towards MNMCs due to the perceived social injustice, and made social conflict resolution and dialogue difficult. The expatriate staff (white managers) did not also attend such dialogue meetings to boost community confidence even though local communities had lost trust in their traditional rulers and local managers.

Related to the above was the community feeling of mistrust relating to unfulfilled verbal promises. Communities felt MNMCs deliberately refused to fulfil promises made to them during mine construction negotiation because they were not documented. They also felt the MNMCs were dishonest in providing full account of mine information and the consequences of the mines on the local communities. Empty promises by MNMCs were

suspected to be an entry strategy aimed at making the mines acceptable to the communities. Hence, MNMCs promised big but delivered little. Interestingly, this was collaborated by one of the informants at the Mineral Commission:

"When they are entering, as part of the entry strategies they promise a lot. They promise what they cannot deliver and because these promises are mostly not documented, the communities cannot enforce them later when undelivered" (SO1, Minerals Commission).
Meanwhile, host communities relied heavily on oral communication and trusted MNMCs to fulfil all verbal promises. Because these were not fulfilled mistrust increased. Consequently, verbal commitments were necessary in improving relationship even though this is contrary to western culture. For example, according to Whiteman & Mame (2002) in western culture verbal communication is regarded informal and may not necessarily be binding. This is crucial because as Mayer et al., (1995) argued the creation of trust between parties with differing power relationships is ultimately dependent on the ability and integrity of the organisation.

The misunderstandings resulted partly because of the power inequality and lack of respect for cultural differences. Lack of adequate information on the mine contracts prevented informed dialogue as community members entered dialogue rooms without adequate preparations to contest MNMCs. Kanyasi communities for instance had no prior mining experience and those who served on the committees were also not adequately informed about the nature of the contracts with the state. They did not also know the potential mine impact, community rights and had no means of accessing these important information. For these reasons communities stood disadvantaged during dialogue processes. Consequently, Lind & Tyler (1988) argued that people will perceive a decision to be fair when the process of arriving at the decision is fair, even if the outcome is unfavourable. Lawrence et al (1997) added that this is even more crucial in natural resource management decision-making. This placed responsibility on the MNMCs to gain

community trust, consent, and to ensure compliance with the concept of fairness. However, it is worth noting that both organisational and personal factors influence these CSR decisions (see Ferrel et al 2008; Jackson 2007; Trevino and nelson 2007; Brown 2005; O'Fallon and Butterfield 2005; Anand et al 2003; Antonakis and Atwater 2002 and Jones 1991).

In summary, while stakeholder dialogue had been adopted as a strategy to minimise conflicts, in reality, the approach created more problems. This is because communities perceived MNMCs' deployment of these strategies to be manipulative and aimed at facilitating project acceptance. There was restriction on participation in dialogue, failure to solicit feedback and evaluation. MNMCs also failed to adequately develop dialogue and meaningful consultation procedures regarding mining impact on the socio-cultural, economic and environmental dimensions. Mitigation strategies were also inadequate. Whereas MNMCs argued that they constantly dialogued with host communities on both CSR and mine development, community members suggested the contrary. They argued that MNMCs took all the decisions regarding CSR. Consequently, MNMCs' effort to use CSR to improve relations, rather deepened mistrust and frustration. Specifically, the speed at which things happened, the level of mistrust, the scope and selection of dialogue committee members, lack of understanding of the Ubuntu local culture, the language and venues of dialogue meetings, power inequality, and corruption accounted for the failures in dialogue.

6.5 Perceived State Irresponsibility
In examining all the obstacles preventing dialogue between host communities and MNMCs, I found that MNMCs were not totally blameable for dialogue failures. Other factors that extended beyond MNMCs' control equally contributed to the ineffective

dialogue. Some of these were government irresponsibility and failures. These factors and their relationships are presented in the diagram below.

Figure 28: *Diagram portraying perceived factors of state irresponsibility*
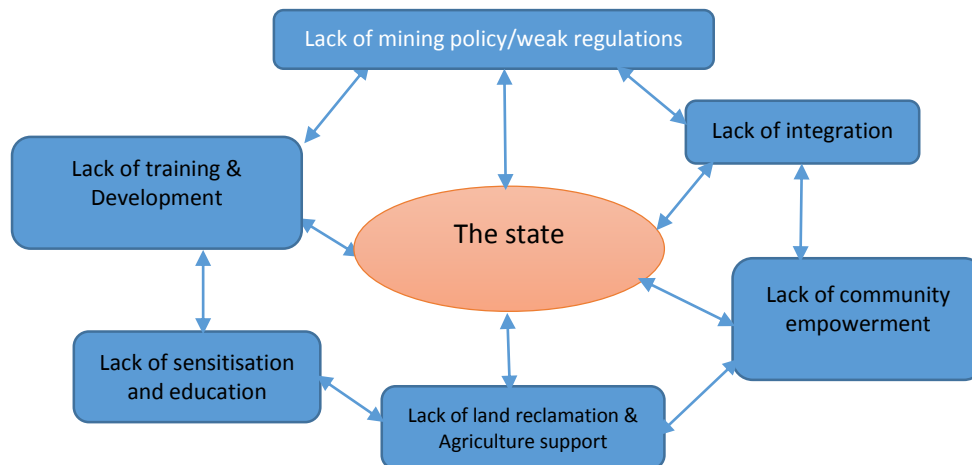
6.5.1 Lack of mining policy/weak regulations

The findings suggested that government regulatory pressures were weak and failed to create the enabling environment for CSR and dialogue to thrive in Ghana's mining industry. For example government did not act as the initiator and driver of these processes. Government did not also develop or strengthen CSR institutions to facilitate CSR implementation for the benefit of both business and society. It failed to define what adequate compensation was, leaving room for misinterpretation as discussed in the previous chapter. It did not have clear mining policy, could not put robust regulations and enforcement in place to make CSR and dialogue productive. Consequently, its influence was very limited because of the absence of uniform guidelines for CSR in the country. These were discussed in the previous chapter when for instance the ex-minister of state remarked that the absence of mining policy led to a failure in providing effective plan and direction (see page 219). Government did not ensure that nationally mine revenues were judiciously used such that future generations could also benefit although gold was a non-renewable resource that could be depleted. At the local level, Local governance capacity was equally weak and there was lack of supervision on how the insignificant

community share of mineral revenues were used. It failed to hold both MNMCs and DAs accountable. This enabled DAs and Local Governments to use these revenues for settling recurrent expenditures:

"it will interest you to know that the local assemblies use the royalties to pay recurrent expenditures like salaries and fuel. This money is already so small and they are also using it for the wrong purpose. There are no structures in place to ensure that this money is judiciously used. Nobody audits them" (Ex-Minister of state).

The few projects financed from mine revenues were also not labelled to ensure visibility. Consequently, communities did not understand or realise the positive impact of mining in their communities. Policy guidelines on mine closure were not strictly adhered to.

Before awarding contracts for instance, host communities who bore the most consequences of mining impact were not meaningfully consulted on the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in any way. This mostly happened between the state and MNMCs at centralised administrative and political level. Communities came into the picture only when compensation, resettlement, employment and environmental issues became contestable. Meanwhile, these political level decisions impacted the local communities. The EIAs failed to notice any adverse impact on local socio-cultural, economic and environmental systems. Accurate access to relevant transparent information were not provided. Hence, although Urkidi & Walter (2011) argued that participation is part of the justice process, this study points out that the level of dialogue that existed in this context could not achieve peaceful coexistence. Both MNMCs and the state mistakenly assumed that merely engaging community stakeholders was equivalent to meaningful dialogue. This standpoint was too simplistic for adequate dialogue. Consequently, improper community engagement and equipment resulted in communities becoming passive stakeholders in the dialogue and decision-making process. This happened due to the power inequality. This, complemented by the top-down

communication, unfulfilled promises, and the lack of historic compensation made communities unwilling to engage further.

This reflects the weakness of the business-centric view of the stakeholder theory. The theory has failed to understand that sometimes past experiences reshape dialogue approaches, as some stakeholders may deliberately not want to engage any further in dialogue. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, Blowfield & Frynas (2005) noted that the exclusion of the weak in interactions leads to marginalisation and jeopardy of community interest. Honneth (1992) argued further that misrecognition has psychological effect on the victims. Therefore this study argues that there is a difference between participation and active dialogue. Active dialogue occurs when parties are allowed to actively engage and express their feelings, views and frustrations. Although stakeholder theorists discussed the benefits and prerequisites to meaningful dialogue (e.g., Kaptein & van Tulder 2003; Lawrence 2002), they did not explain how it should actually be done.

The background of MNMCs' CSR which could guide government in negotiation were not explored. Many community members felt powerless, marginalised and consequently lost trust and confidence in both the state and MNMCs. This made it difficult for communities to maintain any dignity during dialogue meetings with the MNMCs. The general consensus was that the state has failed to hold MNMCs accountable for the negative social and environmental impact of the mines on communities. Instead it has colluded with the MNMCs to punish host communities because of the linked interest they had. This lack of trust made dialogue problematic (Mayer et al., 1995; and Lawrence 2002).

Environmentally, the state failed to enact and enforce strict environmental laws to protect the eco system. It did not also resource its mining institutions e.g., the EPA, Minerals Commission, Lands and Natural Resources etc. with adequate staff and equipment to effectively deal with mining challenges. This was exemplified when the EPA respondent for instance reported that lack of resources hampered their efforts (see page 221-222). The existing policy failed to also plan the sustainability of mining communities after mine closure such that these communities would not become ghost towns after mining. It failed to plan how communities would look in the medium and long-term. Neither did it set funds aside for community sustainability after mine closure.

Small scale/illegal mining was not integrated into the mainstream such that their activities could feed into the large scale operations. Because their activities were considered illegal, they were not consulted or invited to the negotiation table. Contrary, peaceful coexistence theory argued that even when you do not like your neighbour you have to dialogue to ensure peace (e.g., Lipson 1964). This ignorance meant violence and confrontation continued.

6.5.2 Lack of integration of mining into other sectors

The findings suggested both the nation and host communities heavily depended on mining either legally or illegally. Communities for example relied on income from illegal mining when they lost their land without any economic diversification. This overdependence on the mines was manifested in community expectation of MNMCs providing everything. This mind-set is dangerous and can badly affect host communities after mine closure. However, this resulted because government failed to integrate mining into other sectors. Rather, the sector looked like an isolated enclave. There was no diversification of both local and the national economy through economic empowerment to improve GDP growth. Hence the nation's overreliance on gold revenue always had catastrophic implications for the economy especially when the price of gold fell on the

world market. The World Bank (2013) and IMF (2006; 2014) separately sounded cautions to this effect. Government equally failed to invest in other sectors such as local tourism. It did not also make host communities attractive to investors and thereby provide communities a competitive advantage.

6.5.3 Lack of community empowerment

The mining regulations available did not empower local communities to effectively engage. Consequently, communities were not able to negotiate fair deals and to say no when they anticipated mining would not bring the required benefits to their communities. There were no level playing field where the existing power inequality between MNMCs and communities could be reduced. For instance communities had to fall on NGOs to advocate their concerns because they were not adequately heard during stakeholder dialogue meetings. The SLO initiative and the stakeholder theory both failed to equalize this power imbalance even though Aryee (2012) contended the state was a signatory to many of these conventions. Some of these institutions included the ECOWAS Directive on Harmonisation of Guiding Principles and Policies in Mining in West Africa, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). Consequently, communities could not fully apply the principles of the SLO or participate in local governance. Neither were they educated on their right. They were not granted adequate legal, economic and political authority in mine negotiations to protect their interest and rights. Hence, communities were not indispensable in mine contracts and CSR decision-making processes. They were also not represented at the administrative levels of mining institutions. For example there were no community representatives at the Minerals Commission, the EPA, Ministry of Land and Natural Resources etc. to specifically represent the voice of communities in all mine related issues. Hence, they had limited input and right on how issues concerning their wellbeing were managed. The stakeholder and CSR theories should underpin the dialogue between the different parties as a means by which the MNMCs gain legitimacy.

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Contrary, this was distorted because the government and MNMCs' views were apparently shaped by fulfilling the commercial need, limiting both timescale in which negotiations took place and the areas that were discussed.

6.5.4 Lack of sensitisation and education on mining
The data implied either education was not well done or the lack of trust affected the credibility of such information. This was typically evident in the standoff between Kenyase community leaders and members over the construction of the market as against the hospital as explained in the previous chapter (see pages 205-206). The little information that was provided did not transcend the exploration stages. There was no community education on what was practically feasible for MNMCs to do especially in infrastructural development and employment.

The state also failed to provide information on mine revenue generated to communities. Hence communities perceived MNMCs as cheats whose only interest was to syphon mineral wealth. Interestingly, some MNMC respondents suggested that communities were also dishonest because they tried to cheat the companies through their speculative projects during compensation negotiations:

"Farmers also try to cheat the mining companies through their speculative projects when it comes to compensation because they suspect the educated mining representatives of trying to cheat them." (CEO, Chamber of Mines).

This confirms again the level of mistrust between these two stakeholders which made dialogue problematic. Town management committees were absent even though they could be tasked with the planning and development of the communities. Currently, DAs who were expected to play this role had limited involvement in CSR and dialogue initiatives:

"With the District Assemblies, one thing we haven't been doing much is for them to be able to take over the projects and ensure their sustainability. The District Assemblies will be around when the mines are gone and they must be able to sustain the projects. At the moment they are not too much involved. This is where we have to improve to ensure project sustainability" SO3, GF).

6.5.5 Lack of adequate training and development

The study found that investment in community members' skills training, and development were not prioritised. The few provided were also not diverse and sustainable. For example they were not up to levels where beneficiaries could become gainfully employable both in the mines and in other sectors to enhance their integration into other industries. There was lack of adequate support for both graduate trainees and school graduates. For example the few qualified individuals were not adequately assisted through flexible credit schemes to establish themselves after undergoing training. Although Newmont's foundation (NADeF) gave between 100 and 400 Ghana cedis (between £20 and £80) loan facility to beneficiaries, these were perceived inadequate and repayable within 12 months:

"Although they give us seed capital on loan, it is very small and the time for repayment is too short. By twelve months you have to finish paying. If they can increase it to say 1000 Ghana cedis and give us more time to pay we will be better off" (Community woman, Kanyase).

This was confirmed through Newmont's document analysis (Newmont 2011). This inadequate gesture was however absent with Gold Fields and contributed to the surge in illegal mining. This was because illegal miners did not see the wisdom in waiting for years to graduate from training and education only to struggle for seed capital when illegal mining revenue was readily available.

6.5.6 Lack of land reclamation and Agriculture support

The findings also revealed that MNMCs did not restore all mine lands to productive reusable state even though farming remained the main occupation of the nation (56% of total population) and more than 90% of these host communities (Aryee 2012; Akabzaa & Darimani 2001). This resulted because government participants noted that asking MNMCs to fully reclaim mined lands made the projects economically unviable for the MNMCs (see chapter five page 225). The result was that the unclaimed pits became death traps and mosquito breeding grounds for host communities. The agricultural land is also

permanently destroyed and these fuelled community anger to prevent meaningful dialogue. Proper cost-benefit analysis that factors CSR initiatives and environmental impact of the projects into mining cost were also not carried out by independent technical experts prior to awarding mine contracts. Those who conducted the EIAs were mostly company and government staffs who had financial interest in the project. There were no community representatives involved. Consequently, it became difficult for MNMCs and the state to sacrifice profitability and mine revenue for social and environmental concerns in their mining decision-making. Contrarily, Slack (2012) argued that for CSR to become the fundamental business model for the corporation, MNMCs must be able to abandon their profitable projects when they suspect these will not bring enough benefits to host communities. This however will require great ethical boldness.

6.6 Discussion and conclusion
In this chapter I have examined the various communication/dialogue strategies developed by MNMCs through which they interacted with host communities. I found that although channels existed for dialogue, considerable factors impeded their successful implementation. Inadequate attention had been paid to the dialogue processes leading to decision-making. The factors that prevented meaningful dialogue were two fold. First company specific and the second state negligence, third thirst for FDI, fourth corruption and fifth leader mistrust. The dialogue strategies did not work because they were far removed from the people most affected. The approaches have created serious mistrust and the state apparatus required to provide protection were either weak or non-existent because of the state's hunger for mine revenue to support its ailing economy. These have led to community frustration which has been aggravated because even external bodies including researchers did not seem to make any difference. Communities had no avenues to voice their frustrations and concerns. Decision-making procedures of communities were mostly communal in nature. Meanwhile MNMCs' approach diverged significantly

from these traditional forms of interactions. Specifically, the speed at which things happened, the level of mistrust, the scope and selection of dialogue committee members, lack of understanding of the Ubuntu local culture, the language and venues of dialogue meetings, power inequality, corruption compounded by slow and weak judicial system, and lack of education were among the factors that accounted for the failures in dialogue. Meanwhile, MNMCs constantly emphasised community support for the mines and failed to admit community discontent even though violent clashes and anger have variously been expressed. For example MNMCs contended that if they were not on good terms with host communities they would not have secured their SLO. They justified this with their ability to gain free passage through all the communities. Contrarily, host communities felt they did not freely give the SLO. Rather the political environment in which they found themselves gave them little alternatives to withhold it from MNMCs. MNMCs and communities also had divergent beliefs about stewardship, culture and land use. Yet communities lacked the capacity to influence decisions on these fundamental issues that determined their very survival. They felt the establishment of the mines has eroded their identity and way of life without any opportunity to effectively be heard. MNMCs to a large extent blamed the state even though they benefitted from community powerlessness during decision-making.

Host communities were not merely opposing mining. The conflict, in other words did not result from the mere presence of gold in their communities but the impunity with which MNMCs and the state ignored them in decision-making on these important issues. Consequently, host communities felt marginalised by the existing dialogue channels. MNMCs and the state consistently ignored their concerns and blew their public relations horns instead.

To conclude, I recognise that the incorporation of cultural, religious and all these factors into mine decision-making can be very challenging. However, they are fundamental to effective dialogue especially in natural resource management. Burton & Ruppert (1999) agreed with this standpoint when they explained that it is not beyond nonindigenous managers to factor spiritual and cultural factors into mining decision-making. These issues require enormous resources, expertise and knowledge from MNMCs, the state, civil society and the wider international community to manage. This suggests the need for interventions that occur as part of a clearly communicated long-term strategy, collaboratively developed with a broad stakeholder input that considers competitive development alternatives. These need to extend beyond mining for communities. Proactive interventions that would offset the challenges of mining impact on communities and help communities become sustainable in the long-term may help reduce this problem. The environmental and social externalities of mining should not be the responsibility of government alone. Neither should it be borne by communities or future generations. Transparent planning and dialogue in decision-making that goes beyond mere consultation should be upheld with stakeholder accountability playing crucial and uncompromising role. In-depth understanding of local community culture and challenges should not be compromised. Community sustainability and economic development need to be collaboratively undertaken by MNMCs, the state, Local Government, NGOs and the international community with knowledgeable and committed ethical staff in charge.

With the right policies, partnership support of development partners, education and development, backed by equitable distribution and judicious use of mining resources, industry integration, stakeholder collaboration and effective dialogue, Ghana's mining industry will experience great sustainable development in an environment where players will effectively and peacefully coexist. The next chapter will be the conclusion that will

summarise the entire thesis. In that chapter I will examine the main contributions of the study, its theoretical and management implications, and limitations and suggest areas for further studies.

7.0 CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the thesis. In the findings chapters, my respondents made many claims as to the causes of failed CSR and dialogue initiatives between MNMCs and host communities in the mining industry. However, I feel it is not enough to just wind up without expressing my views on what respondents have told me. Therefore, I believe I have a responsibility of presenting some refined conclusions through the extraction of specific issues to attempt to make some sense out of the contentious issues raised. I need to let readers know my perspectives of the situation because it will be difficult to claim that I remained neutral and distant from respondents' world and for that matter do not have any opinion or conclusions whatsoever. My account will however, be more analytical and coloured by the interpretive lens than those of my respondents. To be able to do this, I will first present summaries of my findings to reflect the key issues from the perspectives of MNMCs, communities and the government in such a way that will also address the objectives I sought to achieve. Consequently, in this chapter, I aim to:

1. Summarise the entire research, relating what has been done to achieve the research objectives/questions to how the gaps identified have been filled in this study.

2. Pull out the main conclusions, contributions, theoretical, managerial and policy implications of the study.

3. Discuss the limitations of the study.

4. Suggest areas for further studies.

7.2 How the study achieved the objectives of the research.

My main objective of the study was to examine the critical perspectives of the stakeholder theory. Specifically, I aimed to explore the role of dialogue in shaping MNMCs'

interactions with mining communities in Ghana. Steurer (2006) argued that stakeholder theory has focused mainly on how firms engage with stakeholders but failed to examine how stakeholders try to influence firms' behaviour. Blowfield & Frynas (2005) continued that more research on stakeholder theory needs to be conducted in marginalised communities in developing countries. Both studies concluded that research in this direction will provide useful insight into stakeholder theory to enhance its full potential. Consequently, in achieving this objective, I sought to understand how the CSR experiences of marginalised communities impacted by gold mining influence the ability to gain peaceful coexistence. Critical to this is that stakeholders, MNMCs and impacted communities, can engage in meaningful dialog. This is important to ensure those most adversely affected by gold mining gain a voice and influence which provides the foundation to the establishment of "legitimacy of actions" and thereby fill that existing gap to contribute to knowledge. Consequently, a qualitative ethnographic approach suggested by Hammerseley & Atkinson (1995; 2007) and Van Maanen (1988; 2010) was employed to explore a range of critical factors that prevented meaningful dialogue between MNMCs and mining communities in Ghana. The study thus, allowed community participants to tell their own stories to the world.

Objective2 *Summary of major conclusions of the impact of MNMC-community relationship and its impact on CSR.*

In this study I have demonstrated that mining is a controversial issue in Ghana. Communities as well as civil society groups point to the adverse effects associated with the industry. Irrespective of the positive socio-economic impact of gold on the country, mining communities felt marginalized when it comes to sharing the mine wealth. They felt instead of being the first to realize the benefit of mining, the presence of the resource in their communities has rather become a curse (e.g., Auty 1993; 2001).

Secondly, host communities had a varied range of expectations from MNMCs. These ranged from adequate compensation through employment to infrastructural development and environmental management. These expectations communities implied would help improve their standard of living. However, communities saw MNMCs and government collude to deprive them of what they duly deserved because they had no power to influence decisions concerning their own lives.

Thirdly, government and its agencies perceived gold as the most precious commodity that supported state budget. Therefore, as the current leading foreign exchange earner, any MNMC that engaged in its extraction must be protected at all cost. For mining communities to argue that they sit on the resource so must be given more, even though reasonable, was misplaced because all revenues from all resources were for the entire country and that was why the common fund was created to develop the whole nation. If specific communities would be given preference then those regions without any resources would stand disadvantaged.

Fourth, I also found that conflicts did not result from the mere presence of gold, but the lack of adequate consultation of host communities prior to extracting the resource and the subsequent disruption the process had on their socio-cultural, economic and environmental systems. Communities felt they were far removed from mining decision-making. In other words, both MNMCs and the state did not consider seriously issues that concerned their wellbeing and survival.

Fifth, there was power imbalance that relegated host communities to the background in mining decision-making and this was critical to conflict resolution. Communities thought they must be the first to be consulted by the state rather than the MNMCs.

MNMCs contrary perceived themselves as custodians of shareholders wealth who owed the most important responsibility of generating enough profit to satisfy them (e.g., Freidman 1970; Jensen 2002). Their next responsibility was to the state and it was the state's responsibility to invest in these communities. If it decided not to, they had limited authority in compelling it as to how it should use its mine revenues. After all it was the government that they had contract agreements with and not the communities. They were therefore not ready to take on any additional responsibility of community development. Any token they gave were out of their philanthropic gesture (e.g., Carroll 1979; 1991; 2008 and Visser 2008) which communities must appreciate.

However, communities strongly disagreed with this, arguing that the MNMCs owed them legitimate obligation of investment of mine revenues because of the impact they suffered (e.g., Hill & Jones 2007; Evans & Freeman 1993) and also because they were the rightful owners of the resource. The MNMCs saw the community demands as outrageous, something to be compared to a beggar with choice because the resource did not belong to them but the state.

These formed the basis of the disagreements (communities understanding of CSR and the responsibilities of MNMCs) that dialogue and CSR implementation had become contentious in the industry. Host communities expected MNMCs to fill the gap where the state was unable. These factors coupled with mistrust, power imbalance, cultural differences, corruption, weak legal framework and level of poverty against the position of MNMCs that dialogue was problematic. These were therefore what accounted for the ill fit of western CSR in the Ghanaian context. In western economies, once the company pays its taxes and operates within the laws, its community engagement is purely voluntary (e.g., Matten & Moon 2008). However, these were not enough in Ghana's situation. Unfortunately, stakeholder theory failed to recognise these dynamics. The implication is

that it is myopic and too simplified for MNMCs to think that Ghana is the same as any of the western countries and could therefore lift the one-size-fit-all approach to the mining industry in Ghana. Consequently, this study contributes to knowledge by addressing the gap that call for communities to be given a voice in Africa (e.g., Blowfield & Frynas 2005; Amaeshi et al 2006). By listening to the "voices" of participants in this study, the role dialog should play in helping to build peaceful coexistence seems unfulfilled. This then led to the next objective which is:

Objective3: The exploration of the wider factors that prevented peaceful coexistence.

A number of factors became evident in preventing dialogue from being a positive force for change. First, communities had learnt to mistrust the motives of the mining companies and government bodies, believing that the commercial imperatives came before safeguarding their wellbeing. For example this was seen in the perception that compensation paid for land loss was unjust, compounded by a sense that seeking legal redress was pointless. This led to another significant finding- speculative projects (see chapter five). Consequently, I argue that where compensation is poor and effort to seek legal redress is pointless due to weak judicial system, speculative projects and illegality increase.

Second, community views were implied to be inadequately sought when awarding mine contract and when alternative livelihood and CSR projects were designed. The quality of replacement houses were equally implied to be poor and influenced by company formed committees. Furthermore, community members felt unable to influence the need to reduce environmental impact of mining activities. Whilst community representatives were involved in negotiations the outcomes were seen as short term and bias to the benefit of the MNMCs resulting in long term generational poverty as land that would provide cash crops and sustainable income was lost. The expectations created by MNMCs'

promises, mission and vision specifically linked to long term sustainability (to operate in a way that meets the needs of present generations without compromising future ones (e.g., Elkington 1987) were not perceived to have materialized. This had a number of dimensions. For an agricultural based community, the ability to farm and pass on farms to future generations, had provided longer term sustainability. Compensation, whilst alleviating immediate financial loss, was seen as a poor substitute for long term sustainability of land. This is further exasperated as compensation paid, whilst seen as inadequate, was not invested. The failure of the MNMCs and government bodies to aid the farmers, whose limited education and experience in dealing with large amount of cash, questions the MNMCs' ethical view and willingness to reduce the long term impact of their actions.

Extra contribution brought to the fore was community frustration. Frustration was the communities' deeply rooted view, learnt over many years, reinforced because governmental bodies, NGOs and even academic researchers seem unwilling or powerless to drive change. The above factors together with unfulfilled expectations in the areas of sustainable employment, alternative livelihoods, infrastructure development, relocation/resettlement, and proper environmental management led to conflict situations. The implication is that when marginalised communities become powerless in driving change and the intervening forces are unable to help, many years of frustration can lead to conflict situations.

Objective4: Examination of the factors that shaped CSR in Ghana's mining industry

Campbell (2007; 2006), Marquis et al (2007), and Doh & Guay (2006) in discussing institutional theory suggested corporations are greatly influenced by certain institutional frameworks within which they operate and these affect their level of CSR engagement. Consequently, there was the need to examine the factors that shaped CSR in the mining

industry. I found that factors that shaped CSR in Ghana's mining industry included corruption, poverty, level of education, government policy, culture and legal framework. I noted that these factors were either weak or absent and influenced both MNMCs' provision and communities' CSR expectations. For instance there was weak legal framework, lack of political will and clear mining policy to facilitate CSR adoption. Meanwhile, the level of poverty, lack of development and the Ubuntu culture of sharing and caring have increased the pressure on MNMCs to do more philanthropy. However, corruption, government policy, lack of understanding of the local culture and the quest to increase shareholder wealth have stood between fulfilling community expectation and CSR provision.

Objective5: The examination and effectiveness of MNMCs' and government proposed dialogue strategies

Lawrence et al (1997), Lawrence (2002) and Payne & Calton (2002) suggested that through dialogue fairness can be achieved. Therefore there was the need to examine to what extent the proposed strategies of both the MNMCs and government have succeeded in achieving fairness to enhance peaceful coexistence. I discovered that the challenges in the above section led to a deep routed breakdown of trust between the impacted communities, MNMCs and the government, and raised questions around the role of government within these processes and where the boundaries between government and corporate responsibility lie. This mistrust of the companies' motives, own community leaders', and government's resulted in community scepticism about the sincerity of new CSR initiatives. Admittedly, MNMCs have realised the need to engage host communities in dialogue to minimise conflict. They believed that through dialogue and stakeholder engagement (Lawrence 2002; Kaptein & vanTulder 2003), effective CSR could be implemented to achieve the desired peaceful coexistence. Consequently, they have created Community Consultative Committees, Grievance Handling and Information

Centres as strategies to encourage dialogue and resolve conflict. Unfortunately however, they lacked the understanding of the fundamental causes and framework for promoting effective dialogue and engagement. MNMCs did not also demonstrate respect or understanding of the contextual dynamics and indigenous culture. Neither did they factor these into their dialogue processes. They narrowed the scope of engagement and organised stakeholder meetings in settings that did not promote effective dialogue. Consequently, I argue that without the understanding of the fundamental causes of conflict and the contextual dynamics, meaningful dialogue will remain elusive (see chapter six). Again, both government and MNMCs regarded community members' mining activities to be illegal and because they considered the engagement of illegal miners to mean endorsement and legitimisation of illegality they were not invited to dialogue meetings.

Without any real basis for trust and change the local residents felt abandoned, marginalised and therefore angry that "nothing changes" further reducing the potential for meaningful dialog. In the communities' eyes the CSR claims of the MNMCs were not honoured, dialog has failed. Consequently, peaceful coexistence remained unattainable. Underpinning this problem was the inability of the stakeholder theory to define what constitutes adequate dialogue. Clearly, significant bridges need to be built before dialog can be used to support the development of peaceful coexistence between these communities and MNMCs.

7.3 Research Contributions
In this study I have presented a new model that serves to highlight the complexities and interrelationships at play in the interactions between communities and MNMCs. Understanding these dimensions can be enhanced. For example the relative importance of each dimension to specific stakeholders would enable the creation of focused strategies.

The diagram below depicts the above discussion and summarises the overall findings of the study as part of its contributions. It explains that weak legal framework, lack of political will, clear mining policy and corruption led to community powerlessness. These factors together with poor environmental management, unfulfilled expectations, inadequate compensation and resettlement resulted in community frustration which consequently degenerated into conflict. MNMCs' use of dialogue and CSR to resolve the conflict situation apparently failed because their approach lacked the cultural and contextual understanding to make dialogue effective.

Figure 29: *The overall findings of the thesis*
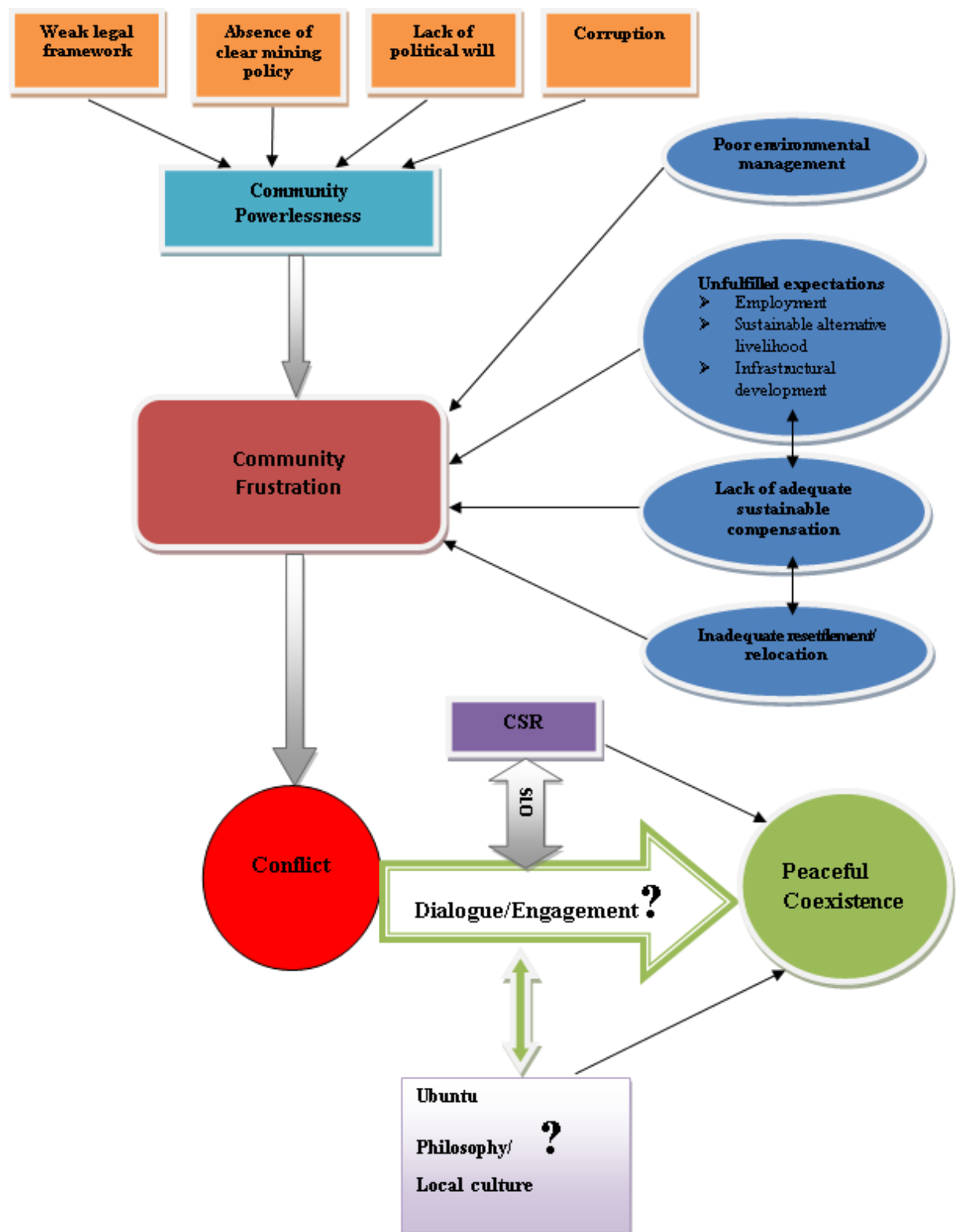
By examining the barriers that exist to peaceful coexistence between Gold mining firms and the impacted communities in Ghana, this thesis contributes to the reorientation of stakeholder theory by redressing an imbalance in the examination of stakeholder engagement. Significantly the contribution lies in its examination of the impact of gold mining on community CSR practices of two mining companies from the perspectives of the impacted marginalised communities in Ghana. It therefore, brings a community stakeholder perspective to the fore in understanding the limitations of western centric CSR and stakeholder dialog approaches thereby filling the gap for the need to examine critical approaches to the stakeholder theory (Stuerer 2006; Friedman and Miles 2002 and Frooman 1999) from noncorporate perspective. I have thrown more light on the criticism of the stakeholder theory and revealed the inadequacy of existing approaches for addressing the fundamental barriers to peaceful coexistence in this developing country context. I have also answered the call for more descriptive studies in Africa (e.g., Visser 2008; Dobers & Halme 2009; Blowfield & Frynas 2005).

To move this contribution further, I propose the reorientation of the stakeholder theory from the firm-centric perspective to a community-centric focus especially in the extractive industry due to the level of impact and the marginalised nature of such communities. In other words, I suggest host communities in the mining industry become the central focus of the stakeholder theory rather than the firm. While critical stakeholder theories (e.g., Andriof & Waddock 2002; Freeman & Miles 2002 and Steurer 2006) draw attention to external stakeholders, they do not directly address affected communities. To support this reorientation, I have positioned the community at the centre, reflected their views and expressed the need to integrate these in to our understanding of non-firm centric theory. By focusing on mining impact on community stakeholders and exploring in depth stakeholder dialogue, I have pinpointed how perceptions and experiences of

dialogue could impact business-society interactions and the constraints within dialogue processes. Again, community experiences have provided valuable insight to advocate alternative frameworks to examine dialogue impact on business-stakeholder relationship especially in developing countries. The diagram below highlights this reorientation with the various stakeholders' expectations.

Figure 30: *The proposed stakeholder theory with stakeholder expectations in the extractive industry*

State & Agencies
- Increased royalties
- Prompt payment of taxes and royalties
- Security
- Development
- Complement community development
- Pollution free environment
- Eventual land reclamation.
- Operate beyond legal framework

NGOs & Civil Society
- Community development
- Environmental protection
- Forest preservation
- Provision of community employment
- Adequate compensation
- Sustainable alternative livelihoods
- Better resettlement facilities
- Employment for displaced famers
- Increased royalties for communities and governments

Community
- Sustainable compensation
- Employment
- Development (e.g., sufficient Portable water, Electricity, Tarred roads, Hospitals, Markets, Education)
- Basic facilities in resettled homes
- Good environmental management (e.g., Reduction in air, sound, water and land pollution, Reduction in vibration levels, Eventual land reclamation)

Chamber of Mines
- Peaceful working environment
- Increased profit for members
- Increased members' welfare etc.

MNMCs/ Shareholders
- Peaceful working environment
- Increased profit/ return on investment, etc.

7.3.1 Methodological contribution

Another significant contribution of this study lies in the methodology used, in that the

approach is one of the few if any, in which the author's background as a farmer and a

galamsey miner have influenced the study. Coming from this background and living in the communities added rich experience to the research such that I could see myself in community experiences and responses. This background although was not disclosed to respondents, helped me to stand back to objectively look beyond the situation and to better tell the African experience to address Brock-Utne's (2002; 2005) call for Africans to tell their own stories. For instance Brock-Utne (2002) argued that research on Africa, conducted by Africans paints a better picture of the continent because these researchers are better able to tell their own stories. The richness in my ability to speak the local dialect, break bread with communities and freely participate in community activities enabled me to get closer to the context and to catch the experiences in flight. The approach dispelled any fears from respondents to enhance free flow of relevant information which would have been concealed had the research been conducted by a westerner. Effort was also made to prevent subjective reporting even though I was able to empathise more with the vulnerable communities' suffering from the curse of living in scarcity amidst plenty. Growing from these backgrounds to become a researcher provided a rich understanding of cultural implications to complement the ethnographic strength in qualitative research. This fulfilled the call by Alger (1996) and Brock-Utne (2005) who argued that learning from and listening to African philosophers help provide diversity. Brock-Utne suggested that Africa also has something meaningful to contribute or teach the world to provide theoretical insight.

Further contributions lie in the role of state policy on CSR implementation, "community frustration" and "speculative projects". I argue that state policy influences CSR implementation. For example I noted that MNMCs were not totally blameable for lack of community development. Rather the need to collaborate with local government and the absence of clear state policy presented serious setbacks to CSR implementation. For

instance state's inability to resource schools and hospitals with teachers and doctors, pay their salaries and manage projects after MNMCs provision, resulted in MNMCs being advised against the provision of certain projects.

7.4 Theoretical implications
The western and firm-centric stakeholder theory (Freeman 1984) inadequately assumed that cash compensation could be sufficient and adequately compensate for relocation, land loss and community emotional attachment to land. Contrary, I found that farming is a culture and way of life to indigenous mining communities. Again, because stakeholder theory, SLO, CSR and dialogue are all voluntary and no sanctions exist for nonengagemnet, they are not a priority concern for corporate managers. Stakeholder theory also sees the community as a secondary stakeholder consequently it is not adequately involved in mine planning decisions. Contrary, I discovered that it is a primary and indispensable one especially if peaceful coexistence is to be achieved in the extractive industry.

A community is not a homogenous group. Divergence between community members was identified. For example community leaders were seen as self-serving. Expectations of the type of CSR that should be provided and by who was found to be strongly related to person's situation, e.g. quality of housing was more important for those displaced from a township compared to compensation and generational sustainability for farmers. It was also clear that the mine provided opportunities; limited by the valuable income from supply of services and materials going outside of the community whilst perversely illegal mining was seen to add to the communities' sustainability.

Theoretically the findings imply that existing CSR models are firm centric and western centric. They are not designed to be organic (go bottom up) but instead they are topdown. Consequently this needs repositioning through negotiated outcomes. Secondly, dialogue

is the means to address this situation. However, it should not be between chiefs and opinion leaders who benefit directly and indirectly from the mine projects and hence become bias towards the companies. This does not mean these groups should not be involved in dialogue. Rather, I suggest the need to go beyond these stakeholder groups to those ordinary community members below these layers. Thirdly, there is the need to factor into dialogue processes adequate understanding and knowledge of the cultural systems, and demonstrate respect to ensure meaningful dialogue. Furthermore, to ensure peaceful coexistence dialogue needs improvement but not without first empowering communities. The lack of community cohesiveness and diversity suggests that MNMCs and other official organisations have a considerable task in finding common ground to begin building effective dialog. Fundamentally dialog needs to address the demarcation of corporate and governmental responsibilities as currently this is a major barrier to peaceful coexistence. Furthermore, the barriers to the development of meaningful dialog are long established and provide a historic context as well as fertile grounds for continued conflict. Consequently, there is the need to consider historical factors if dialogue will be meaningful. I confirm that the factors outlined remain current, and highlight with greater clarity how associated issues shaped the communities' CSR experience. The problems of the communities are so complex removing the viability of quick fix solutions. Such problems will need a more global and holistic approach from multiple stakeholders. Conflict must be made unattractive. However, the unattractiveness depends on the power of the intervening forces which seem to be lacking presently in the Ghanaian mining context. Communities have their roles to play and so is the state. Beyond these two, these challenges require an active and proactive rather than passive global support. Organisations that provide finance to MNMCs (e.g., the UN, World Bank, IMF) also have the ability to influence the development of CSR. This may be through contractual loan

conditions that require full and transparent environmental and social impact assessments. Business plans should allocate sufficient resources to fulfil stated CSR obligations, and be reported and validated by independent external bodies. Civil society groups, the media, and institutions like GRI, and ETI need to play crucial roles. By addressing these flaws it is hoped that a win-win situation will result.

Surface mining is a cause of social and environmental harm. However, it also provides valuable revenue, builds infrastructure, generates employment, and facilitates societal wealth creation. Based on the views of the communities, currently it appears that the "harm" element far outweighs perceived gains. This questions whether current CSR practices truly address the existing and on-going needs of the communities. The extent that western centric CSR, underpinned by business case logic is applicable in a developing country context has been an embedded theme within this study. Whilst, these findings cannot completely resolve the increasing debate surrounding this issue, it is believed they offer some tentative insights which at the very least suggest a different emphasis in the development of CSR practice and stakeholder theory. The findings question the applicability of western developed CSR notions to developing countries where the operating conditions are different. The ability of multinationals to break away from the imperatives formed by operating within business logic perspective, also seem absent or weak within Ghana. Specifically, strong rule of law, the desire and capacity of the organisations to engage in self-regulation reflecting the apparent limited influence of external stakeholders to apply sufficient pressure to change the mining companies' view of how they should act. A further dynamic is that the economic imperative faced in Ghana will influence the government's attitude to both the MNMCs and to the communities. A seed change is required in the way the mining companies think about CSR and how they

fulfil the moral as well as the economic imperative. MNMCs need to see their obligations extend beyond shareholders and the state.

These findings agree with Blowfield & Frynas' (2005) and Friedman & Miles's (2002) studies which suggested that the suitability of the CSR concept and its application in non-western contexts is inappropriate. For example Blowfield and Frynas argued that CSR is not capable of questioning its own conviction and theory because it is molded in the image of developed economic and cultural systems. This included unfounded assumptions about the capacity of business to self-regulation, the power of the state to facilitate CSR implementation; and the role of stakeholders in exercising their influence over corporate CSR practice (e.g., Nartey, Harness and Cook 2012). The orientation of western-centric models of CSR indeed do not fit with the needs and culture of Ghana. Neither do they apply to business case logic, especially those whose governments are constrained or unwilling to impose requirements on multinationals to effectively compensate and support infrastructure development in impacted host communities and whose population suffer from global poverty and are subject to unequal power in their interactions with both government and business.

This ill-fit is further explained as follows: Western CSR and stakeholder theories present a comprehensive picture of human beings and society underpinned by various assumptions. They propose various principles to solve CSR questions as if they can solve every CSR problem in the world in every situation. However, in reality situations are more complex than the simplified views these theories present. For these reasons I agree with various authors who have argued that western CSR and stakeholder theories are too reductionist i.e. focusing on one aspect and neglecting other areas (e.g., Kaler 1999); too impersonal, failing to focus on relationships and personal bonds but rather on abstract principles (e.g., Gilligan 1982); too abstract meaning they are impractical and theoretical

in solving pragmatic day-to-day challenges (e.g., Stark 1994); too elitist and objective implying they can be imposed without any experience of the situation the people face (e.g., Parker 1998); and too imperialist, assuming they can be applied to every context all the world over (Dartey-Baah & Amposnsah-Tawiah 2011; Ako, et al 2009; Blowfield and Frynas 2005).

To address this, I suggest the adoption of flexible alternatives that take the context (economic, socio-cultural, environmental, and political factors) into consideration. As Steinmann & Lohr (1994) argued a solution should commence from a real-life experience approach that aims at a peaceful settlement through discourse where the different parties in the conflict sit together to discuss various options to reach an acceptable option that will please all. For this to work also requires that meetings are devoid of persuasion, coercion, partiality, and imposition from powerful parties. Approaches need to be holistic, based on experience rather than principles, thinking global and acting local, seeing each context as a unique individual case that requires a unique solution rather than a one-size-fit-all.

This study helps better understand the theories underpinning the CSR concept rather than developing a completely new one. This is because as Freeman (1999, p. 233) argued, "What we need is not more theory that converges but more narratives that are divergent –that show us different but useful ways to understand organisations in stakeholder terms". Without a deeper comprehension of what dialogue entails, and an appreciation that decoupling action from discussion is not equivalent to successful stakeholder engagement, MNMCs would realise that they would be able to identify their stakeholders alright but it would be difficult for them to successfully dialogue with them.

7.5 Management and policy implications

The management implications stemming from this are: First, a willingness to reduce the power imbalance that exists between the MNMCs and the community, reinforced through the existing legal system, government attitude and third party corruption has to emerge. Second, the causes of current and historic factors culminating in the lack of trust have to be dealt with. This is a first step in creating conditions to facilitate meaningful dialog to take place, but is only part of the journey to secure peaceful coexistence. It is recognised that this process, even when undertaken with much energy and sincerity, the outcomes will take considerable time to make a difference.

While the findings expose the ultimate weaknesses of Western models of CSR, I believe this study provides valuable insight into improving the relationships between MNMCs and communities in countries faced with similar operating conditions to Ghana. For MNMCs these include broadening their dialogue scope and working directly with those most impacted, rather than being reliant on community leaders and government officials in negotiating outcomes. Communities have a range of expectations about what type of CSR is relevant. Further, its delivery should be based on negotiated outcomes. Mistrust, combined with frustration, casts a negative halo over community interactions, which once established stifle the opportunity for meaningful dialogue. Proper implementation of CSR also needs a pragmatic approach that embeds CSR philosophies, local culture and concepts into the organisational culture. The adoption of the culture that educates and encourages all employees to embrace the concept and appreciate that the company's responsibilities extend beyond the profit maximisation dream needs to be employed by MNMCs. This should involve the creation of awareness among corporate executives, management and employees about the sensitive nature of the concept and ethical business. CSR can be a force for good however, if it becomes a mere replacement and implemented

without effective dialogue with the beneficiary community members then it loses that attribute and becomes a barrier to peaceful coexistence. To be a foce for good CSR may need to promote community wellbeing and given strategic attention. Consequently, MNMCs' CSR initiatives need to aim at sustaining and improving economic lives of host communities. These CSR strategies need factoring the socio-cultural, environmental, economic and political factors of host countries and communities into the equation. These require that MNMCs take a flexible and innovative approach to the implementation of dialogue and CSR. This could be expensive. However, as Leisinger (2003) argued, though this is the case and sometimes result in company losses, they are necessary and that corporate business processes must be organised around environmental, social standards and human right issues.

7.6 My other personal claims

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I cannot conclude the study without commenting on the communities' position. My main aim in this ethnographic research was to give my respondents a voice. That is to allow both communities and the MNMCs to tell their own stories to the world. This, I have done throughout all the empirical chapters until now. However, I will not be doing my ethnographic readers and myself any good if I decide to pen off without making any comments or say what sense I make of the voices of my respondents. This is particularly important because I was part of the study when I embedded myself in to the respondents' world. Failing to comment will only make me a passive researcher against the principles of ethnographic research and the story will not be complete. Indeed, one side of it will be conspicuously missing. Furthermore, in presenting their stories respondents may use persuasions to try to convince audience to believe their stories as the true reflection of what happens in the industry. Hence the need to present my views.

Although I sympathise with communities' deplorable conditions and frustrations, and for that matter gave them more voice than other stakeholders, I do not totally agree with all their allegations. For example they were not right when they spent their compensation on extravagant lifestyle such as marrying additional wives and then turned their frustration on the companies. They also need to hold their leaders and the state accountable and block the corruption holes before asking MNMCs to do more. This is because instead of expressing care for the majority, due to poverty, chiefs, opinion leaders and the privileged in society rather became self-centred, self-seeking and individualistic focus. Corruption had distorted chiefs' and state view from seeing their role and relationship with their subjects who they should care for. They benefited from the mines economically but impacted negatively on their own sense of care contrary to the collective and communal cultural practices prescribed by African culture.

However, because of implicit power imbalance, the causes of conflict and the dimensions within them are more easily recognizable than solutions. Finding a means to create a unified voice, and a willingness to risk losing short term gain (e.g. one off payment of compensation) to secure long term sustainability, may help. To these must be added other strategies for creating a more equal power balance between stakeholders. This would include for example, creating partnerships with a range of stakeholder groups (Jamali & Keshisian 2008), by recognising that responsibility is first and foremost to satisfy the needs of the local community beyond that required to fulfil a western view of CSR (Ako, et al 2009), avoid complying only with the dominant stakeholder (the government's) view of CSR which reduces legitimacy (Yakovleva and Vazquez-Brust 2012).

Government also needs to take responsibility to ensure that regulations are put in place to minimise the environmental impact of MNMCs' operations on communities. It is also its responsibility to ensure that mine lands are fully reclaimed, mining policies become

community friendly and what is due communities are well accounted for and used for the provision of economic and infrastructure development. It is possible MNMCs may even want to contribute more should they see government investing the little share due communities in these projects. As they argued, if government will do this to complement what they provided, host communities would be the most developed in the entire country. Currently, both community and state respondents admit that what gets to the communities is insignificant and painfully, it is used for the wrong purposes (settling recurrent expenditures of the District Assemblies). The state must also not be completely blinded by what it gets from MNMCs. It owes host communities the right of protection.

So the question is has my perception changed after my ethnographic journey? The answer to this question is partly yes. This is because having listened to the responses especially of the marginalised communities, I empathise more with them for suffering whiles living in abundance. They were suffering from corrupt leadership both at the state and community level. One can also understand their frustrations especially when they see these MNMCs flying their gold out every now and then from beneath their feet while they lived in poverty and hunger. The truth is if I were living in their communities I would have felt the same. However, instead of pointing fingers at the MNMCs and the state, I would have started tackling these complex problems from the community leaders' corruption before moving beyond.

7.7 Limitations of the study

The limitations of this study must be mentioned. The data is derived from interviews conducted in Ghana and focused on gold extraction. Caution about generalising the findings to other domains or industries should be exercised. Care has been taken to present a balanced insight of how the communities experience CSR. This has involved interviewing company, government, NGOs and community stakeholders. Inevitably,

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when conducting research in the environment where things take place such as pollution, re-settlement and land loss, I admit the feeling and views of those most impacted will be coloured by such experiences. The risk of bias does exists though this is balanced against the need to understand the real feelings and experiences of people impacted by CSR. Although the data was collected over a four months period, and reflects the current situation, the actual benefits as initiatives linked to alternative livelihoods and infrastructures, will accrue over a medium time period.

Also spending more time than this would have enabled me to have a clearer picture as implied by some informants when they commented "you are lucky you came during the rainy season and because the rains have set in the situation is better". This argument suggests that ethnographic research must be conducted over longer periods so that different seasons can be captured. This notwithstanding, the time limit at my disposal, and resource constraints influenced the time spent in the field. However, the data generated was enough for analysis because saturation point was reached as no new insights were recorded.

Furthermore, in this thesis I focused on the factors that make the development of peaceful coexistence problematic. It is clear CSR expectations by communities is so high because of the lack of development, weak rule of law, poverty, culture and the absence of policy guidelines. It is also clear many of those identified, if resolved could promote conditions where peaceful coexistence can emerge. However, it is possible other dimensions exist which need exploration and development.

7.8 Areas for further research
The study confirmed areas which prevented meaningful dialogue. Collectively these have provided a deeper insight why specific issues resonated strongly with the communities. Future research should examine how dialogue should be done between MNMCs and host

communities. This is because conflict cannot be resolved through mere participation in dialogue. This leads to the second area that requires research attention. That is to compare how CSR and dialogue are operationalised by these MNMCs in the developed world to these findings to present a better understanding. For example Newmont operates in Denver, USA and Gold Fields operates in Australia. Comparing these findings to how these MNMCs' CSR operations are developed in the west will provide further insight. Again, studies on the role of third-party assurers on CSR implementation in developing countries is needed to provide a better understanding of MNCs' CSR engagement. Furthermore, this study has focused on the influencing factors on the decision making process rather than the factors that influence people to take decision. Future research is needed on the factors that influence the decision-making process to complement those of this study.

The situation in Ghana's mining industry is not uncommon. Many MNMCs have incredibly bad reputation globally. Although these two MNMCs may not admit there are contentious conflictual issues between them and host communities, similar situations have been reported for example with Newmont in Peru and Indonesia with significant costs. Interestingly, this bad reputations have not prevented the opening of new mines by these same MNMCs across the globe. Why irrespective of these negative image MNMCs are increasingly successful in opening new mines is another area that needs further research.

7.9 Conclusion
I acknowledge that dialogue between the MNMCs and communities occur. However, the absence of the local state was also a major contributing factor in these conflicts. But importantly there were winners and losers in the process. The MNMCs had their profits, the state had its tax revenue, and a minority of locals had secured jobs. However, the local

communities were left with very little compensation and carried the long-term burden of socio-economic, environmental and divisive cultural impact of mining. In other words MNMCs' CSR initiatives and mining in general were impactful at the macro (national) level whiles the micro (community) level bore the negative consequences. The debate about who was responsible is obviously a complex one which current dialogue processes seem unable to address. And because the stakeholder dialogue theory treats all stakeholders as equals the power imbalance between the different stakeholders and their ability to fully participate in negotiations were not considered. The theory thus failed to equalize the power relations although it identified lack of resources leads to stakeholder prioritisation (Mitchell et al 1997). It did not address how to balance power difference. Increased participation in mining decision-making by host communities is required to reduce conflicts. However, to be effective there is the need to understand and incorporate the concerns of host communities into mine planning. Furthermore, dialogue needs to transcend the contract awarding stages through to after mine closure. I have found that lack of equitable distribution of mine proceeds even though was key to the conflict situation, lack of understanding and respect for the local culture were even more crucial. Consequently, the findings demonstrated the need for stakeholder theorists to factor a vivid understanding of host community culture and contextual dynamics into dialogic engagements and mining decision-making with host communities. Conflict resolution between MNMCs and host communities will also require acknowledgement of the local socio-cultural, economic and environmental dimensions. These need to be factored into the dialogue processes. Realities on the ground indicated that the way to meaningful dialogue and peaceful coexistence is complex. However, by addressing and incorporating the identified flaws in this study into stakeholder theory, the theory will be able to realise its full potentials.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Table 5: Population Statistics

Total population	25.2m	World Factbook (2014)
Growth rate	2.19%	
Active age group (15-64yrs)	57.2	
0-14 years	38.7%	
Over 64 years	4.1%	
Adult age	18 years	
Urban population	51.9%	
Rate of urbanization	3.5%	
Percentage of total population below poverty	28.5%	World Bank (2013)
Life expectancy	57 years	
Literacy rate (15 years +)	71.5%	
Life expectancy (primary to tertiary	12 years	
Dependency ratio	72.2%	Word Factbook (2013)

Appendix 2

Table 6: Differences between deductive and inductive research approaches

Deductive approach emphasis	Inductive approach emphasis
Scientific principles	Gaining understanding of meanings humans attach to events
Moving from theory to data	A close understanding of the research context
The collection of quantitative data	The collection of qualitative data
The need to explain causal relationship between variables	A more flexible structure to permit changes of research emphasis as research progresses
Operationalization of concepts to ensure clarity of definition	A realization of the fact that the researcher is part of what is being researched and the process
The application of controls to ensure validity of data	Less concerned with the need to generalize
Highly structured approach	
Independence of the researcher from what is being researched	
Use of larger samples to enhance generalization	

Source: Saunders et al (2009, p.127)

Appendix 3

Table 7: Estimation of key CSR indicators of Top ten gold mining multinationals in the world

MNG.Comp.	Environment	Community	Market	Workplace	Total
Barrick	1	1	1	2	5
Newmont	1	2	2	2	7

Goldcorp	0	1	1	1	3
Gold Fields	0	1	0	0	1
Kinross	2	1	2	1	6
Agnico-Eagle	1	0	1	1	3
Harmony	0	1	1	2	4
Lihir	2	2	2	1	7
Yamana	2	0	1	1	4
AngloGold	0	1	1	1	3

Source: (Gifford et al 2010, p. 310).

Appendix4

Table 8: Summary of Research Methodology and Design

Research Philosophy	Interpretivism
Ontology/epistemology	Subjective and perceptional
Research Purpose	Exploratory
Research Approach	Inductive
Research Strategy	Ethnographic
Time Horizon	Cross Sectional
Data Collection Method	Interview, Observation, Document Analysis
Data Analysis Framework	Stuerer (2006) Analysis framework

Appendix5 *Companies' profile*

Newmont Profile

Newmont is a multinational mining company with the headquarters in Denver, USA. It was established in 1921 and by 1925 it had listed on public trading. It has about 40,000 employees worldwide and operates in the US, Australia, Indonesia, Peru, Mexico, New Zealand and Ghana. It is one of the largest mining companies in the world, one of the few of the Fortune 500 companies and to be listed on the Dow Jones World Sustainability Index companies. As at the end of 2011 it boasts of some 98.8million ounces of gold reserves and some 81, 767 square kilometre land area (Newmont 2011).

Its Mission: We will build a sustainable mining business that delivers top quartile shareholder returns while leading in safety, environmental stewardship and social responsibility.

Vision: We will be the most valued and respected mining company through industry leading performance.

Values

Act with integrity, trust and respect

Reward creativity, a determination to excel and a commitment to action

- Demonstrate leadership in safety, stewardship of the environment and social responsibility
- Develop our people in pursuit of excellence
- Insist on and demonstrate teamwork, as well as honest and transparent communication
- Promote positive change by encouraging innovation and applying agreed upon practices

It has two operating sites in Ghana (Kanyasi Ahafo Ano and Akyem) but the Akyem mine is yet to pour gold. Its investment agreement with the government of Ghana in the Kenyase mine in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana was signed on the 19th February 2003 when Newmont acquired Normandy Gold's concession. Normandy was an Australian mining company which prior to Newmont's takeover was mainly into explorations. Although Newmont, prior to entering Ghana had operated in countries like Peru and Indonesia, the Ghana concession was its first in the Sub-Saharan Africa. It operates under the name Newmont Ghana Gold Limited in Ghana.

It started resettlement negotiation agreement with some 1,700 households in catchment communities when it secured its environmental permit in 2004. In March 2005 resettlement began with compensation cost totalling some $45m. The company then was granted a loan of $125m on the 31st January 2006 by the International Finance Corporation (IFC) which to date remains its development partner, to help in its resettlement and social impact assessment plan implementation. This was after Newmont agreed to terms of the IFC which included environmental, social, safety and health, and developmental issues. The company also agreed to have independent bodies verify its reports and make these public on their website.

Actual mining started in the Ahafo mines in January 2006. It poured its first gold on the 18th July 2006 and commercial production started in August the same year. Ever since, the company has been increasing production and in 2009 it produced some 15 tonnes of gold which was equivalent to 531, 470 ounces. This figure amounted to 17% of the total gold production of the country in that year generating some $528m export for the country. This figure was equivalent to 20.7% of total gold export for that year. It was estimated that at the time of the start of the mines some 12m ounces of gold reserve were lying in the Ahafo Mines with a 13 years lifespan. The concession stretches over some 40km area with a rate of production of about 500,000 ounces per year (Mitchell & Jorgensen 2007).

Currently, the company operates four open pits in its Ahafo mines and ready to commence commercial operation in its Akyem mine in the Eastern Region of the country. Plans are also far advanced to start underground mining in the Kenyase area.

Newmont is estimated to contribute 1.3% of the 6.3% of total sector contribution to GDP. In 2009 it committed $75m in capital investment representing 4.5% of the $1.67b total direct investment recorded by the Bank of Ghana in that year. As at 2009 the company had 1731 employees on its payroll aside contractors and suppliers (Mitchell & Jorgensen 2007).

According to information from its website confirmed by this report, the company has made significant contributions to communities in its catchment areas through its Newmont Ahafo Development Fund (NADeF). Some of these contributions include

community libraries, water facilities, teachers' quarters, classroom blocks and provided micro credit schemes for many community members.

As part of a local content programme, the company has been able to train about 100 local entrepreneurs and suppliers to contribute to the local economy. From this programme, one Mr. Alex Boampong, the CEO of Alexiboam Company Limited, a local supplier at Gyedu, one of the catchment communities and a beneficiary of the Newmont initiative was adjudged the Young Enterprise (Innovation and Entrepreneurship) of the year 2012 by the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI). Mr. Kwasi Asamoah of the Ntotroso community also won the Best National Plantain Farmer Award for the year 2011 as another beneficiary of its land access programme (AILAP).

Gold Field Profile

Gold Fields Ghana Limited (GFGL) is a subsidiary of Gold Fields Limited, a multinational mining company with its headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa. The parent company, Gold Fields Limited (GFL) is said to be the fourth largest gold mining company in the world and second in Africa (GIPC Club 100). It is estimated to produce 3.5million equivalent ounces of gold in a year and operates in Australia, South Africa, Peru and Ghana. Its total gold reserve is estimated to be between 64million and 76.7million ounces. Its total Mineral Resources is estimated at 225.4 million ounces and is listed on JSE Limited, NASDAQ Dubai Limited, New York Stock Exchange (NYSE), Swiss Exchange (SWX) and Euronext in Brussels (NYX).

Gold Fields Ghana (GFG) was incorporated in 1993 and is the largest gold mining company and taxpayer in the country. It produces over 800,000 ounces of gold each year. The parent company owns 90% shares with the remaining 10% free carried interest own by the government of Ghana. It operates two mines (Takwa and Damang mines), all in the Wassa Area of the Western Region of Ghana. It has some 14million ounces deposit and is the second largest producer for Gold Fields Limited, the global company. The Ghana operation contributes about 35% to its total global output.

Its Tarkwa mine covers 20,825 hectors and is located at the southwestern end of the country, some 300 kilometres from Accra, the capital. Mining activities in this area dates as far back as the 19th century. It was originally operated by the State Gold Mining Company of Ghana until 1993 when it was acquired by Gold Fields. It was an underground project but was halted in 1999 for cost reasons especially when open pit heap leach operation became a more viable option in 1996. According to Hilson (2011) the open pit operation resulted in the need to resettle some 20,000 affected farmers.

The Damang mine operated under the Abosso Goldfields Limited (AGL), a Ghanaian registered company from 1882 until 1956. Some companies that worked the mine prior to Gold Fields were IAMGOLD, Australia Goldfields and Abosso Gold Field. Pitting and trenching carried out between 1990 and 1992 demonstrated near-surface mineralisation over approximately a 3 kilometre strike length. Follow-up drilling commenced in 1993. By early 1996, a 3 Moz Mineral Resource had been estimated and a feasibility study demonstrated that open pit mining would be viable to a depth of about 200 metres. In 1997 the construction of the Damang Gold Mine and mill was completed and mining commenced in August with the first gold pour in November. In January 2002, Gold Fields Limited acquired the Damang Gold Mine. The current estimated depth for the Damang pit is 300 metres following the approval of a cutback in 2005.

Gold Fields owns 90% of the issued shares of the Damang Mine with the Ghanaian government owning the remaining 10% free carried interest. The Damang Gold Mine consists of two mining leases, namely the Damang mining lease and the Lima South mining lease, covering a combined total of 8,111 hectares as well as four prospecting licences. Botin (2009) contend that the mine covers some 50 km^2 concession land and is 30km away from Tarkwa. The Damang plant currently processes 5.2 Mtpa from a blend of approximately 5% oxide ore and 95% fresh ore. Whereas its Tarkwa operation has mostly been underground, its Damang counterpart has been basically open pit. As at March 2012, the Damang site had 2034 employees and contractors. Direct staff were 1024 Ghanaians and 14 expatriates making a total of 1038. The Vice President and Managing Director of the Ghana operations, Mr. Peet Van Schalkwyk on Monday 18th February, 2013 announced that the Ghana operation was the largest contributor for the company worldwide in 2012.

The company has invested 2.4billion dollars in the country since the mid-1990s to date. It has also spent some $34m on community projects since 2002 in education, infrastructure, agriculture, health, and sponsorship among others. The annual spend on community support is estimated to be over US$2m (Gold Fields 2012).

Between 2010 and 2012, the company had successively been rated the best tax payer and CSR Company in the mining sector on the Ghana Club 100 Award Ranking instituted by the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), a government sector institute responsible for investment promotion in the country. In the 2012 award ceremony, the company swept six awards including best CSR Company on criteria such as size, profitability, growth and CSR (Joyfmonline 2012).

Despite all these success chalked, on the 2nd April, 2013, Joy online reported under a headline news "Gold Fields workers demonstrate over apartheid management style" where workers went on demonstration against the company for applying apartheid style management to workers in Ghana. This was raised when one of the senior managers was perceived to have been dismissed "unlawfully". Workers were said to also complain about poor conditions of work, discrimination against Ghanaian workers. As a result of the strike action the company halted production at both mines (joyfmonline2012). The management contrary disputed the claim and referred the strike as an "illegal" industrial action. Although it promised to address the situation, it also threatened "no pay" and "dismissals" for participating workers. The workers gave management a 24hour ultimatum to address their demands. The company is also accused of occasional spillages of cyanide by communities, environmental and local NGOs.

Appendix6

Table 9: MNMCs' CSR Spending by project and years

Socio-economic contributions	2006 (US$)	2007 (US$)	2008 (US$)	2009 (US$)	2010 (US$)
Education	1,121,061	1,010,246	1,406,203	1,259,262	2,826,680
Health	368,440	565,596	415,711	777,486	1,055,260

Electricity	176,086	458,797	333,611	285,319	526,218
Roads	399,020	609,146	2,612,992	1,375,626	1,459,049
Water	19,543	220,876	649,703	284,668	678,976
Housing	1,289,664	618,531	686,523	112,635	155,266
Agro-Industry	1,228,439	386,668	778,970	50,624	-
Agriculture	87,543	743,937	1,551,893	610,353	809,228
Sanitation	2,648,974	262,863	405,236	227,844	196,428
Resettlement Action Plan	2,648,974	4,503,381	567,820	800,188	1,190,371
Alternative Livelihood Projects	880,441	2,897,767	992,973	798,658	2,214,584
Others	845,054	830,747	2,004,228	2,841,649	6,478,411
Total	**11,713,239**	**13,108,555**	**12,405,863**	**9,424,312**	**17,590,471**

Source: The Minerals Commission (2011)

Appendix7
Table 10: Contribution of mining and quarrying sector to Ghana's GDP (2000-2011)

Year	Mining and quarrying, value added (current US$)	GDP (current US$)	% of Mining & Quarrying To GDP
2000	248165243.6	4982849054	4.98
2001	250786969.8	5314871684	4.72
2002	291147180.7	6166197192	4.72
2003	358667276.1	7632720680	4.70
2004	407261918.6	8881419348	4.59
2005	493457329.1	10731883141	4.60
2006	542745417.5	20410257646	2.66
2007	643251949.6	24757642258	2.60
2008	655286230.8	28528046011	2.30
2009	525269733.1	25978537279	2.02
2010	707884208.9	32174839713	2.20
2011	3102159606	39199656051	7.91

Source: Africa Development Indicators, World Bank, 2011

Appendix8 *Interview questions*

Research Objectives

1. To explore multinational mining companies definition of CSR
2. To explore how mining firms arrive at CSR decisions for implementation and what factors influence these decisions.
3. To explore the type of relationship that exists between multinational mining firms in the industry and the government and how this relationship influences the degree to which CSR projects are implemented by these firms.
4. To investigate why there are conflicts between the mining firms and the communities
5. To examine the viewpoint of various stakeholders of these disputes and environmental concerns of these communities.
6. To examine strategies proposed by the government in addressing these disputes and how effective these strategies have been.
7. To investigate how policy makers' actions influence organizational CSR implementation strategies.

Concept areas for Investigation
The Triple Bottom Line of Sustainability
   a) *Economic Factors:*
      i)   Cost of living
      ii)   Personal Income level
      iii)   Trade and Commerce
      iv)   Employment Opportunities
      v)   Infrastructural Development
b) *Socio-cultural Factors*:
      i)   Housing and Settlement
      ii)   Education
      iii)   Cultural Values
      iv)   Population Growth
      v)   Security and Crime
      vi)   Healthcare and Diseases
      vii)   Land Use
   c)   *Environmental Factors:*
      i)   Quality of Air
      ii)   Noise and Vibration Level
      iii)   Water and Sanitation
      iv)   Land and Water Pollution
      v)   Physical Land Degradation

Community Questions
1 Can you explain to me what the relationship between you as opinion leaders and the:
   a) Firm
   b) Community members
   c) Government and its agencies has been through the mines planning stages to now?
2 What do you understand by the term CSR?
3. What is the importance of CSR to you?

4. How do you perceive Goldfields/Newmont's CSR policy implementation in your community?

5. Do you get consulted by the firm when development projects are to be carried out in your community and at what stage do you get consulted?

6. How often do you feel that decisions are fairly made at your dialogue meetings?

6b. How would you rate the overall fairness with which issues and decisions that come up at your meetings are handled?

7. Can you tell me what economic, social and environmental benefits you have received from the firm since the establishment of the mines? Were these benefits pre-arranged before the establishment of the mines?

8. Have these benefits met your expectations? To what extent have they met or not met your expectation?

9. Among the three dimensions of economic, socio-cultural and environmental, where do you think the firm has excelled and where do you feel let down and why?

10. What would you expect the firm to do differently if asked to negotiate this time round?

11. To what extent do you think government has a role to play in solving the problems of your community? And what specific roles do you expect it to play?

12 Can you outline what strategies or effort the government has made so far in addressing these conflicts?

13. What effort has the company taken to encourage dialogue?

14. Can you tell me what efforts you as opinion leaders have made so far in finding solutions to the problems?

15. Are there any other stakeholders involved in the dialogue effort? If yes who are they and what roles are they playing?

16. To what extent do you think these other stakeholders share your concerns?

17. In your opinion, how can the community's challenges be resolved?

18. In one sentence can you tell me your overall impression about Goldfields/Newmont? Any further comment? Thank you

People interviewed

I   Local Chiefs

Ii   Opinion Leaders

Iii   Youth and community organizers

IV   Local Civil Society Leaders

V   Local Community Members from each Community (Two males and two females)

Organizational Questions

1. How do companies arrive at CSR project decisions?
    i.   How do you define CSR?
    ii.   What is the importance of CSR to your organization?
    iii.   How did your company gain access to the communities to start mining?
    iv.   Can you please summarise your firm's responsibilities to the community and the environment?
    v.   How are CSR budgets arrived at in your organization and who decides what CSR projects should be implemented in the communities?
    vi.   Are community representatives involved in these decisions? If yes at what stage and if no why?
    vii.   How much effort is made to ensure decisions are fair to communities?

2. Can you describe the type of relationship that exists between your firm and the :
 - Government and government agencies?
 - Community?
 - Civil Society Organizations?
 i. To what extent do government agencies and government policies influence and shape what responsibilities you have and the extent to which CSR strategies are implemented?
 Ii. Can you tell me what specific projects have been implemented in the community within the past five years?
 Iii. How much administrative support and commitment was given to these projects?
 Iv. How significant were these projects to the community? In other words, how have these projects influenced the lives of the people in the community? Were these one-off projects or part of a continuing programme?
 V. What organizational and individual factors influence your CSR decisions?
 VI. Were stakeholders satisfied with the projects? Did they solve the problems of the community?
 vi. What feedback have you received from the community and what ongoing issues do you feel the communities have in relation to your mining operations in the area?

3. **Why there are conflicts between firms and communities**
 i. Can you describe a situation where there was a misunderstanding between your organization and community members? What was /were the causes?
 ii. What generally brings conflict between your firm and the community? How are these resolved?
 iii. Were there agreements between stakeholders prior to the commencement of operations in the community? Who were the parties involved?
 iv. Were there conditions to be met before the commencement of mining operations? What were they and were they met?
 v. Were any important conditions realized later as been omitted and how have these been addressed?
 vi. What is the role of government in the resolution of the conflicts?
 vii. What specific organizations/stakeholders are involved in the resolution process?

4. **General Questions**
 4.1 How do you assess the impact of your operations on the community in the ff specific dimensions?
 i. Economic Factors:
 a. Cost of living
 b. Personal Income level
 c. Trade and Commerce
 d. Employment Opportunities
 e. Infrastructural Development

 ii. **Socio-cultural Factors**:
 a) Housing and Settlement
 b) Education
 c) Cultural Values
 d) Population Growth
 e) Security and Crime

f) Healthcare and Diseases

g) Land Use

ii.   Environmental Factors:

a) Quality of Air

b) Noise and Vibration Level

c) Water and Sanitation

d) Land and Water Pollution

e) Physical Land Degradation?

4.2 How do you perceive stakeholders' views about your operations in the community as far as the above factors are concerned?

4.3 In these three areas, where do you think you have performed best and where do you think needs more effort? Do stakeholders especially the community and general public have the same perception?

Any further comments?

Thank you.

People interviewed

I   Environmental manager Newmont & Gold Fields

II   Corporate affairs and CSR/sustainable development manager Gold Fields & Newmont.

III   Community relations manager (Newmont and Goldfields)

Government Agencies

i.   How do you define CSR and the organization's social responsibilities to the communities?

ii.   What is the importance of CSR to your institution and the government in general?

iii.   Do you have any idea of how CSR budgets are arrived at by multinational mining organization and who decides what CSR projects should be implemented in the communities?

iv.   Are community representatives involved in these decisions? If yes at what stage and if no why?

v.   How much effort is made to ensure decisions are fair to communities?

vi.   Overall, how fairly would you say decisions and processes are at your dialogue meetings?

vii.   Do government agencies and government policies influence the extent to which CSR strategies are implemented? Explain.

Pre-mining preparations

i.   Can you describe what preparations are done before mining activities start in communities? In other word what is the role of government in mine establishment?

ii.   How are mining contracts awarded and who negotiate these deals?

iii.   Can you tell me what percentage of gold proceeds go into community development? To what extent does community share enhance meaningful development?

iv.   How effective is the relationship between stakeholders in the gold mining industry especially government-firms-communities-civil society organizations?

v.   How do these relationships influence the implementation of companies' CSR strategies?

vi.   How do the communities perceive the firms' operations and why?

vii.   What economic, socio-cultural and environmental benefits accrue to communities as a result of mining? How do the communities perceive the effectiveness of these benefits?

viii.   Out of the three areas mentioned above, where do you think Goldfields is stronger and where are they weak? What about Newmont?

ix.   What adverse effects has gold mining brought to these communities?

x.   In your opinion what are the major causes of conflict between Newmont and Goldfields and their communities?

xi.   What specific strategies has the government put in place to address these conflicts and how effective have these strategies been?

xii.   How do you think the communities perceive your role in the mine planning and conflict resolution process?

xiii.   To what extent do you think the communities have been realistic in their demands and why?

xiv.   Which other stakeholders are involved in the conflict resolution process and what roles do they play?

xv.   What specific roles do your institution play in facilitating CSR in mining communities?

xvi.   Comparing Newmont with Goldfields, which of them has more conflicts with the communities than the other and why?

xvii.   Which of them has favourable reputation than the other in the eyes of the general public and why?

People interviewed

I   Director of Lands and Natural Resources.

Ii   Iii   Directors of Local Government.

V   Senior Research officers Minerals Commission

VI   Sectoral, Policy and Planning managers Minerals Commission

Vii   Deputy Director Minerals Commission

Viii   Past and present CEOs Ghana Chamber of Mines

Ix   Research director Chamber of mines

Civil Society Organization

i.   How do you define CSR and the organization's social, economic and environmental responsibilities to the communities?

ii.   What is the importance of CSR to your institution and the communities?

iii.   Do you have any idea of how CSR budgets are arrived at by multinational mining organization and who decides what CSR projects should be implemented in the communities?

iv.   What is the level of community involvement in these decisions?

v.   To what extent do stakeholders feel that things are handled in fair manner at your meetings?

vi.   Overall, how fairly would you say decisions and processes are at stakeholder dialogue meetings?

vii.   To what extent do government policies affect CSR implementation? Explain.

viii.   Can you outline the level of your involvement in mine planning, CSR implementation and conflict resolutions?

Relationship

i.   How do you perceive the relationship between:

a)   The government and the mining firms?

b)   The firms and the community?

c) The government and the community and to what extent are host communities involved in mine planning decision-making?

d) Can you describe the relationship that exists between your organization and
   1. Illegal miners?
   2. NGOs?

ii. How do these relationships affect the effective implementation of the companies' CSR strategies and conflict resolution in the communities?

Disputes & Strategies

iii. Why do you think there are disputes between these mining firms and the communities?

iv. What is the government doing to solve the problems and what do you think the government should do differently to resolve these disputes?

v. Is there any stakeholder collaboration effort aimed at influencing firm behaviour? Explain.

vi. In your honest opinion, are the firms living up to their CSR expectations? Explain.

Comparison

vii. Between Newmont and Goldfields, which one has more disputes with its communities than the other and why?

viii. In terms of economic, socio-cultural and environmental development, where do you think these firms have performed better and where have they performed woefully?

ix. In your opinion, which of these two firms has better reputation in the eyes of the general public and why?

The way forward

x. Finally, what do you expect to be done differently to enhance peaceful co-existence between these firms and the communities?

Any further comments? Thank you

People interviewed

I. CEO of WACAM (Local NGO)

II. Senior research officer Third World Network (International NGO).

See interviewees profile for the summary of comments, gender and other demographics

of respondents.

Appendix9
Table 11: Interviewees' Profile

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Profile
1. Nana	Male	62	Local leader, married with family. Has education to first degree and has great interest in CSR. Sees it as a means to enhance development but thinks companies are not fully embracing it. Though believes companies have opened up their community, high cost of living, unemployment and culture dilution are some of the problems they are confronted with.
2. Nana Kwasi	Male	48	Opinion leader and pastor. Married with two children. Sees CSR as companies' contribution in improving the lives of disadvantaged community members but thinks companies are not doing much to help communities.
3. Kofi	Male	34	Unemployed graduate looking for job and single. Sees mining as a nuisance that devastates environment and wish it is stopped. Feels companies' CSR contribution is an insult to community integrity.
4. Nana Kwabena	Male	64	Sub-chief educated to secondary level, married with five children and six grandchildren. Sees CSR as important but thinks MNMCs' CSR in the communities is less than expected. However, without them the mineral cannot be exploited due to lack of local expertise and equipment.

5. Obaa Yaa	Female	45	Nurse, married with four children. Works in a community clinic provided by a mining company. See CSR as important but blames government for underdevelopment of mining communities as it fails to complement company effort.
6. Kwadwo	Male	38	Teacher with first degree, married with two children and teaches in a mining community. Sees CSR as very important complement to government development and thinks company is doing well because all infrastructures in the area are provided by the company. The company also tops up the teachers' salaries every month.
7. Kwabena	Male	36	An unemployed and single. Believes in CSR but blames the community leaders and government for poor company CSR strategies.
8. Kwasi	Male	32	An employee of a mining company, single, educated to secondary school level. Believes in CSR but blames company for insurgence of illegal mining in the area.
9. Kwabena II	Male	44	A male senior company officer married with three children and has a masters degree. Believes in CSR and thinks the company is doing so well in CSR. Acknowledges that communities are not getting enough but blames government for not giving much of the mining proceeds to communities. Also thinks that government has left all development projects for the company to provide.
10. Nana Kwadwo	Male	49	Opinion leader has secondary school certificate. Married with five children. Thinks that companies are doing well though need to improve. Also believes that illegal mining is what sustains the community because it employs more than the company. Sees cost of living, housing, water and road network to be the most prevailing problems.
11. Adwoa	Female	30	A community member. Married with four children has no education. Thinks that company is there to exploit communities and blames community leaders for the lack of development. She accuses them of corruption and bribery as they take contracts from the companies.
12. Adobea	Female	51	Illiterate, married with seven children, a farmer whose land has been affected, compensated and resettled. Feels aggrieved by quantum of compensation and size and facilities in resettled homes. Thinks the company is a nuisance.
13. Antoh	Male	69	Illiterate farmer whose land has been taken, compensated and relocated. Feels has been let down by the company because he is poorer today than when the mines have not started. Thinks he has no strength to starts farming again even though the company is ready to support with farming inputs. Also embittered by facilities in resettled homes, room sizes and company refusal to provide more rooms because of accusation that some of his rooms were not in good shape to merit a new one.
14. Fofie	Male	40	Company official married with three children. Has masters degree, believes in CSR and thinks it gives them their SLO. Sees the relationship between communities and company as very cordial. Thinks government is to blame for lack of development at the community level as percentage of royalties brought to communities is low and also that government has neglected communities and expect companies to act as government in the provision of development and employment.
15. Nana Kwame	Male	66	Sub chief illiterate, thinks that the company is not doing well because the amount of gold it is carrying away from the community does not march the development and employment opportunities provided. Though knows it is the government's responsibility to provide development, feels it is the company that has impacted them negatively- destroying their water, farmlands and environment and not the government hence his argument for company responsibility. Also explains government cannot be seen but the company is.
16. Yaa Mansah	Female	44	A teacher and petty trader. Believes it is company responsibility to provide all infrastructure, employment and alternative livelihoods. Thinks the company has put them in hell contrary to the promised development. Concludes that government workers and the unemployed are the worse affected since teachers' salaries are determined from the capital and are the same irrespective of whether there is a mine or not. She thinks the mine has led to increased cost of living, housing, water shortage etc.
17. Ntim	Male	55	Community and opinion leader. Has secondary school certificate. Married with three children. Sees community development to be the responsibility of the company more than the government because it is the company that impacts the communities. Also see the companies to be rich and carry a lot of wealth from the poor communities. Thinks the companies should do more. Also thinks that blasting, dust, high cost of living lack of employment and water are the main issues that create conflicts.
18. Oware	Male	46	An ex-government official, married with two children and has a first degree. Sees CSR to be an important contribution that companies make to complement government development effort. Thinks though companies are trying, their efforts don't much what they take from the communities. He agrees that CSR has improved dramatically as compared to the 1980s and 1990s. Blames corruption and lack of education, engagement and transparency for the conflicts. Sees compensation, unemployment, lack of development and poor environmental management as the main issues to be addressed.
19. Opanin Fiifi	Male	75	An illiterate farmer married with 10 children and 16 grandchildren. Thinks the worst thing that has ever happened to him is the loss of his 56 acre farmland to the

			company and the destruction of his cocoa farm. He claims this has changed his life and will soon be dying. He is disappointed that what he intended leaving his children and grandchildren is what has been taken away. He is aggrieved because most of his land was taken during the 1990s when no compensation was paid for developed land. Depends now on family members and well-wishers for survival. Blames the government for poor laws that fail to protect the people. Calls on research community to ensure findings initiate positive action for liberation.
20. Maame Esi	Female	58	A farmer with elementary school qualification. Married with five children and three grandchildren. Thinks mining company has been a curse to the communities. She asks whether it was a curse for the community to have gold deposit. Blames community chiefs and opinion leaders for lack of development and sees them to connive with company to exploit the vulnerable communities. She sees poor compensation, relocation, unemployment, lack of infrastructure development and environmental challenges as the factors that breed discontent. She is fed up with granting interviews and threatens to stop providing information if nothing changes.
21. Kwadwo II	Male	53	A local NGO executive married with 4 children. Has a first degree. Thinks that government has colluded with MNMCs to suffocate communities. Also believes in CSR as a company's voluntary method of providing development in communities but sees what these MNMCs are doing as a drop in the ocean.
22. Nimo	Male	38	Government official married with two kids. Thinks that CSR is very important and that it helps companies secure their SLO. Also thinks companies have improved in their CSR initiatives. Sees compensation, unemployment, lack of development, high cost of living, vibration and lack of portable water to be the most common factors that breed discontent between communities and companies.
23. Kwabena	Male	46	A local government official married with three children and has a first degree. Sees CSR as very important that enables organizations to obtain social license to operate. Thinks the companies are doing well but can still do better. Blames government for being part of the problem. Thinks that compensation is inadequate and the fact that companies pay all at a go to the farmers without training is partly the cause of conflict as mismanagement becomes inevitable.
24. Nana Kwame	Male	43	An illegal miner married with two children. Thinks that CSR is important but company's refusal to develop mining areas and provide employment leads to the increase of the illegal trade. Admits that the trade is difficult but have no alternative. Calls on government and companies to collaborate to regularize the industry so they can be incorporated. Also admits that inadequate compensation and unemployment are the major causes of conflict between companies and communities.
25. Nana Yaa	Female	35	An illiterate petty trader married with two kids. Thinks the companies are not doing well but blames the chiefs and opinion leaders. She thinks they collect bribes from the companies. Also thinks that the decision to put employees outside the communities deprive the communities of economic benefits.
26. Agya Koo	Male	36	A government official. Has a degree, married with three children. Thinks that CSR is an important initiative that complements government effort in development. Sees companies to have improved tremendously in their CSR strategies but thinks that the laws of government must be revised. Admits that not paying compensation to those whose lands were taken by companies between the 1980s and 90s because they had not been developed was unfair but that not much can be done because that was the law.
26. Korkor Nimo	Female	16	School dropout illegal miner. Involved in the trade because parents could no longer pay her school fees. Thinks that MNMCs have failed the communities because they have not provided jobs. Joined the trade two years ago and aims at raising funds to enrol in a more sustainable trade.
27. Ama	Female	22	Illegal miner who dropped out of school at age 17. Thinks the illegal trade is lucrative as it fetches her at least the equivalent of a £ 1000 a month. Has two children.
28. Kudwo	Male	43	Company official with masters degree, married with two kids and comes from outside the community. Thinks that CSR is very important and grants them the SLO. To him there is a cordial relationship between the company and communities. Agrees that development in the communities lag behind but blames government for not investing much of the mineral revenues in the communities. Claims all the infrastructure developments in the area were provided by the company and not a single one was from the government. Also thinks that communities expect too much from the companies. Thinks that employment is the major source of conflict but still blames it on lack of skills in the catchment communities.
29. Owura	Male	39	Company official married with one child. Has Masters degree and comes from outside the community. Thinks the company is doing more than expected and that community expectation is unrealistic. Sees employment and illegal mining as the major causes of conflict as miners encroach their land and endanger their plant. Confesses the company has limited relations with NGOs because they are anti-mining.
30. Gyedu	Male	32	Student and illegal miner single and hails from a mining community. Thinks the companies are not doing much by way of CSR. He engages in illegal mining

			during school vacation to support his education. Through the trade he has been able to take care of his own education to the final year of his university education. He blames his illiterate chiefs for endorsing mining verbally without foreseeing the future consequences.
31. Nene	Male	41	Government official and a researcher with masters' degree. Married with two kids. Sees CSR as important contribution for development. Blames weak laws and unethical behaviour from companies as the causes of conflict. Believes that the companies are here to make profit and so CSR must be legislated to force them to develop communities. Admits that employment, compensation and environmental degradation are the main causes of conflict.
32. Obirimpong	Male	56	Government official married with six children. Has masters' degree. Agrees communities are not getting enough of mining revenue but also thinks that mining revenue should equally be enjoyed by all Ghanaians. Sees CSR to be very important means of complementing government development programmes. To him companies' CSR initiatives have improved over the years but still advocates the need to legislate CSR. Agrees that unemployment, inadequate compensation, high cost of living and lack of portable water are the major causes of conflict.
33. Fiifi	Male	52	Government official with first degree, married with four children. Thinks that though CSR is important, its voluntary nature makes companies get away easily especially in our part of the world. He agrees for it to be legislated. Blames conflicts on poor negotiations, galamsey and lack of rigorous stakeholder engagement.
34. Ayeki	Female	58	Ex-government minister. Married with six children and has a postgraduate research degree. Believes CSR to be complementing government development effort. Blames conflict on government, companies and communities. Thinks government laws are weak; community expectations too high; and vague company promises to be the major causes of conflict. She calls for transparency, community education, revision of mining laws and proper dialogue to reduce conflicts.
35. Semi	Male	54	Government official with first degree and in the process of having masters. Married with five children. Believes the time for CSR is ripe now than ever but thinks that sometimes companies do 'greenwashing'. Admits that though companies CSR initiatives have improved over the years, much more needs to be done especially for communities. Believes that as it stands, though the country is benefiting from mining, the impact is not felt much in the communities. Agrees that compensation, employment, galamsey, development, water and dust pollution are the major causes of conflict.
36. Anyemi	Male	47	Senior officer of the chamber of mines married with three children and has postgraduate qualification. Believes CSR is important and feels it should not be legislated because it will rather limit what companies can do to the detriment of communities because government's effort will only peg policy at a minimum threshold. Sees competition for land use, unrealistic expectations, compensation, weak government mining laws and lack of mining policy to be some of the major problems that create conflict in the industry.
37. Inkoom	Male	45	Senior officer chamber of mines. Married with three children and has a postgraduate degree. Admits that CSR is important complement to national development. Blames causes of conflict on weak government laws, lack of education, galamsey, lack of trust and transparency. He sees factors like compensation, employment, development environmental degradation and high cost of living to contribute to the problems.
38. Nana Ayirebi	Male	50	International NGO senior officer married with two children and has a postgraduate degree. Sees CSR as very important but thinks companies' approach to it is more of public relations tactics. Thinks that the best CSR company in the country 'raises from the bottom'. To him this means that their best is nothing to write home about. He blames the problems in the industry on poor government policies, company profit maximization motive, unethical business practice and home country government's umbilical cord attached to companies'. This he explains weakens government's effort to tighten laws on MNMCs. Admits that inadequate compensation, lack of employment, and lack of development are some of the factors that create discontent.
39. Wereko	Male	49	Local government official married with three children and with a first degree. Believes CSR is important but that its implementation by many mining companies is poorly done. Thinks consultation is not well done. Blames causes of conflict on company's apathy, weak laws, lack of trust, lack of transparency and vague undocumented contracts. Mentions factors like compensation, employment, alternative livelihood, galamsey and high cost of living as some of the main issues to tackle if peaceful co-existence is to be achieved.
40. Nana Adom	Male	66	A chief, married with eleven children and has a secondary school qualification. Blames problems in the communities on predecessors who negotiated directly with companies. Argued that promises were vague and undocumented due to lack of education. Also feels that giving all compensation at a go was suicidal and unthinkable for companies to do. Feels companies have betrayed their trust by not fulfilling promises. Failure to employ people from the catchment communities and lack of portable water are his immediate concerns that needed company address.