CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

A CASE STUDY OF ANGLOGOLD ASHANTI, ADIEYIE AND TEBEREJIE, GHANA.

by

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Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives have become widespread in the extractive industry, including in Africa. CSR opponents and proponents hold conflicting positions on the conceptualisation, importance and ability of CSR to effectively address the negative ramifications of the extractive industry and promote development in resource rich communities. Proponents of CSR hold that corporations can create shared wealth and promote long-term sustainable development. On the other hand, CSR opponents state that CSR is a greenwashing mechanism intended to guarantee corporations the social license to operate (SLO), and to allow continuation of usual business practices. This study sought to empirically investigate whether a global dominance of CSR has distorted or silenced ongoing knowledge of and protest against the negative externalities of the mining industry in Ghana. The study further assessed stakeholders’ perception of CSR as contributing to long-term development. The study employed an ethnographic approach using key informant interviews and community surveys to examine the social interaction between relevant state institutions, AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) and Adieyie and Teberebie communities. By using the environmental justice (EJ) framework to critically analyse the impacts of the mining industry, it was revealed that Adieyie and Teberebie bear disproportionately high levels of the cost of the operation of the activities of AGA while benefiting minimally despite ongoing CSR initiatives. Key informants who viewed CSR as a greenwashing mechanism held that current CSR initiatives cannot contribute to long-term community development but more important is corporation’s compliance to the rules and regulations that govern the industry. Other key informants were of the view that for sustainable development to occur, current CSR initiatives must be aligned to national and community development agendas and create shared value. The study proposes a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of resource extraction on resource rich communities using the EJ framework so as to identify and find solutions to the true drivers of the
marginalisation and exploitation of these communities. Furthermore, the government of Ghana should effectively perform its development responsibility to resource rich communities. In line with the arguments of Hermann (2004), the study proposes that CSR should be standardised and legislated with effective enforcement of standards and laws and also be aligned to the development agendas of the country and communities.
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>AngloGold Ashanti</td>
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<tr>
<td>BP</td>
<td>British Petroleum</td>
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<tr>
<td>CED</td>
<td>Center for Environment and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEPIL</td>
<td>Center for Public Interest Law</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCR</td>
<td>Center for Corporate Responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCPS</td>
<td>Centre for Cooperation with the Private Sector</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHRAJ</td>
<td>Commission for Human Right and Administrative Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIP</td>
<td>Carbon-in-Pulp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CND</td>
<td>Clean the Niger Delta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EITI</td>
<td>Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>EJ</td>
<td>Environmental Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Environmental Protection Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPC</td>
<td>Environmental Protection Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>GETFUND</td>
<td>Ghana Education Trust Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHEITI</td>
<td>Ghana Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIZ</td>
<td>German Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSS</td>
<td>Ghana Statistical Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>IACHR</td>
<td>Inter-American Commission on Human Right</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICMM</td>
<td>International Council on Mining and Metals</td>
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<td>ICO</td>
<td>Information Commissioner’s Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISODEC</td>
<td>Integrated Social Development Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>JHS</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
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<tr>
<td>KENGO</td>
<td>Kenyan Environmental Non-governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOSOP</td>
<td>Movement for the survival of the Ogoni People</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDWJ</td>
<td>Niger Delta Women of Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMAMTDP</td>
<td>Obuasi Municipal Assembly Medium Term Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCBs</td>
<td>Polychlorinated Biphenyls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTI</td>
<td>Right to Information</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLO</td>
<td>Social License to Operate</td>
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<tr>
<td>TWN-Africa</td>
<td>Third World Network for Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCC</td>
<td>United Church of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNGC</td>
<td>United Nations Global Compact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNECA</td>
<td>United Nations Economic Commission for Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environmental Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
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CHAPTER 1

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES: AN INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

A large amount of scholarship on the relationship between the environment and development has been produced over the past decades (Barbier 2010; Pellegrini 2007; Uitto 2014). This scholarship has taken on different perspectives within the economics, development, ecology, environment, political and behavioral science disciplines (Barbier 2010) to critically assess the environment-development nexus and its implication for human well-being. A large portion of this scholarship has focused on the extractive industry and its environmental, socio-economic and political ramifications (Butler 2015; Fulcher 2015; Holcombe 2015).

Natural resources form an important source of wealth for many countries and contribute immensely to development efforts when extracted. Resource extraction forms a large portion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of resource rich countries, serves as a direct and/or indirect source of income for a relatively large and diverse stakeholder base and sustains the economic system upon which the world’s economies thrive (Nistor 2007). It is estimated that natural resource rent constituted approximately 4% of world GDP in 2014 (World Bank 2016) while at the individual country level, resource rent contributes as much as 39.1% to Kuwait’s GDP, 24.7% to Togo’s GDP and 17.1% to Ghana’s GDP. In spite of these numerous benefits, the natural resource extractive industry has been alluded to as the most destructive industry, negatively affecting the environment and earth systems that sustain it. In addition, it has resulted in disruptions in the socio-economic and political structures of host countries and communities, particularly developing countries in Africa (Ashton 1966; Jensen 1993; Robbins 2011; Symon 2007; Werthmann 2016).
In recognition of the ramifications of the natural resource extractive industry and in a bid to regulate its activities, national and international initiatives, good practices, laws, processes, guidelines, compacts and principles have been formulated (EITI n.d.; UNECA n.d.). While these regulatory mechanisms are well intentioned and have been commended for their potential to positively impact the activities of the industry, most of them, particularly the international regulatory frameworks, have been criticized for their voluntary, unenforceable nature. Consequently, the extractive companies can pick and choose which regulatory framework to be signatories to on the basis of convenience, whether it be the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI), United Nations Global Compact (UNGC), Natural Resource Charter or International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM). This defeats the very purpose for which the protocols were developed.

In addition, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), also referred to as social investment, has been promoted as a self-regulatory mechanism through which companies undertake various initiatives and projects besides their legal financial commitment to the host country and communities. The drivers that motivate companies engaging in this voluntary social investment are highly contested among academics, practitioners and stakeholders. Proponents of CSR reason that it is a means through which corporations create shared wealth by generating jobs, support local businesses, finance infrastructural development and provide training and education opportunities in host communities and obtain the social legitimacy/license to operate (SLO) (Carroll 2015; Carron et al 2006; Hilson 2012; Prieto- Mares 2008). However, critical CSR theorists state that CSR is just a means through which corporations obtain the social mandate/license to operate and reduce business risks which may arise from opposition and resistance from host communities to their activities (Barsoum and Refaat 2015; Gilberthorpe and Banks 2012; Hilson 2012). Barsoum and
Refaat (2015) assert that due to the poor socio-economic conditions and high unemployment rate particularly in developing countries, coupled with neglected government responsibility in ensuring the development of communities, companies are faced with the double burden of ensuring that their activities have no or minimal socio-economic and environmental impacts while taking up governments’ responsibility of undertaking development. Consequently, when CSR initiatives of companies do not reflect communities’ expectations and demands and are un-adapted to the local context, they are perceived as engaging in ‘bad development’ (Barsoum and Refaat 2015). Empirical evidence supports this assertion and reveals that despite the implementation of CSR initiatives, resource rich countries and communities are still faced with high levels of poverty and income inequalities (Transparency International 2015), conflicts and armed violence over access to and control of resources (Butler 2015; Idemudia 2008), low education rates, poor and unsafe environmental conditions, political instability and interruptions in traditional systems of governance and social structures and networks (Robbins 2011), all of which are largely ascribed to the presence of the natural resource extractive industry. This has led to the call for the reimagining and reconceptualization of current CSR practice. Sagebien and Whellams (2010 in Butler 2015) indicate that for CSR to be viewed as ‘good development’, it must be aligned to and contribute to national and community development agendas with consideration for local context.

1.1 Research Rationale and Questions

This thesis argues that the differing scope and conceptualization of CSR among stakeholders (Gond and Moon 2011; Idemudia 2008; Lin-Hi 2010; Okoye 2009) creates tensions, confusion and questions over which demands of resource rich communities are justified under the SLO framework as well as the legitimate institutions to meet these demands. The issue of the lack of common conceptualization of CSR among relevant stakeholders was recorded as far back as the
1970’s when Votaw (1973) identified that diverse stakeholders attach different meaning to CSR (in Lin-Hi 2010) and thus the need to find agreed upon criteria for CSR. A number of stakeholders, particularly among activist groups and think tank institutions hold that resource extractive industries must first of all address the externalities of their activities before making claims of engaging in voluntary social interventions. This call has come as a result of recent trends in CSR reporting in which companies sum-up initiatives addressing their externalities which are mandated under their legal contract with the state, together with voluntary activities under the umbrella of CSR. Consequently, when companies provide communities with alternative sources of livelihood or supply communities with alternative sources of drinking water after impacting on their initial sources and disrupting communities’ normal way of life, they laud them as CSR initiatives. Lin-Hi (2010) asserts that due to the ambiguous nature of CSR, anything and everything can and has been connected to it.

Barsoum and Refaat (2015) in their analysis of CSR in Egypt observed dissatisfaction among stakeholder respondents who were of the view that companies spend more on publicizing their CSR initiatives than they spend on undertaking the initiatives in the first place. Basu and Palazzo (2008 in Demuijnck and Fasterling 2016) further assert that for fear of losing their SLO, corporations often misrepresent and restrict the amount and kind of information on their activities that communities and other stakeholders’ access. Thus, they mostly overemphasize and exaggerate information about their positive corporate activities while disguising and covering up the negative impacts of their activities. Consequently, communities and relevant stakeholders are not privy to sufficient and the right kind of information needed to make judgement about offering or enforcing SLO.
Matejek and Gössling (2014 in Demuijnck and Fasterling 2016) support this assertion with empirical evidence of how British Petroleum (BP) tried to use their narrative to gain back trust and legitimacy after the Deep Water Horizon disaster. This gives credence to the critique of CSR as mainly being a public relations tool. Consequently, community members and activist groups hold that current CSR initiatives are inadequate in addressing the ramifications of the extractive industry, let alone providing added benefits. They are thus demanding more commitment from companies towards addressing their externalities and meeting the needs of the people (Barsoum and Refaat 2015).

However, companies hold that they are doing the very best for communities considering the voluntary nature of CSR and the fact that they are not the government and should not be expected to take up duties and responsibilities traditionally attributed to governments (Cash 2012; Henderson 2001 in Idemudia 2008). Nonetheless, there seems to be a shift in the CSR-development debate from whether corporations via their CSR initiative should contribute to development to how best CSR can be harnessed for development. There is thus a consensus on the enhanced role CSR can and should play in community development if conceptualized and implemented appropriately. With this, CSR must change from its haphazard, philanthropic and temporal nature to strategic practices that are well coordinated and integrated into the business strategies of companies as well as development agendas of the communities. While this is not to say that businesses should assume the role of government in development, there is a place for them to contribute to community development.

The implicit assumption in the SLO framework suggests that corporations and stakeholders have the ability to influence each other’s activities in mutually beneficial ways. In other words, by engaging in acts of civil disobedience and resistance, communities can disrupt the operations of
companies and pose serious business risks to them. Companies, on the other hand, can obtain community support and cooperation through their social investments which will boost their business activities and increase profit margins. This implies that host communities and corporations possess, if not the same, a similar level of power and resources to interact on a level playing field which guarantees their interest are equitably satisfied. However, empirical evidence has recorded numerous instances of human right abuses and intimidation directed at resource rich communities by corporations. According to reports from Inter-American Commission on Human Right (IACHR), the number of human rights abuse petitions received against the extractive industry globally has been increasing over the years with 2015 recording approximately 2164 petitions as compared to the 435 petitions recorded 18 years ago (IACHR n.d.).

Demuijck and Fasterling (2016) indicate that the fact that an agreement is reached is not indicative of a mutual and satisfactory consent between interested parties as power may be distributed unequally. This raises questions of how to identify when a true and genuine SLO has been reached and which group of people form the dominant cohort whose acceptance of the company’s activities settles the SLO.

This thesis draws on the environmental justice (EJ) framework, that considers power dynamics and inherent imbalances as well as human rights abuses evident in the interactions between mining corporations and stakeholders (ActionAid 2006; Bullard 1993, 1994; IACHR n.d.; Schlosberg 2007) particularly in Africa to reveal how stakeholders, particularly community members, are rendered vulnerable and unable to fully grant the ‘SLO’. The ability of relevant stakeholders to effectively exercise their SLO is dependent not only on the geographic location of the mine and its attendant ramifications but also on a complex mix of factors that ranges from institutional discrimination, bias and negligence, intimidation and lack of access to essential resources such as
fair representation and media coverage. The study asserts that CSR can suppress but not eliminate ongoing opposition of stakeholders particularly community members and activist groups to the resource extractive industry.

A critical look at the institutional policies and arrangements surrounding the financing of CSR initiatives in most countries, casts doubt on who are the true bearers of the cost of CSR. As companies pride themselves in supporting community initiatives and undertaking infrastructural and human capacity development, stakeholders are critical about the cost of CSR initiatives being accounted for under the operational cost of companies. This implies then that governments and communities get less taxes and royalties than they would have obtained were CSR initiatives funded from the profit of companies. A case in point is the CSR initiatives of companies in Ghana (Darimani 2013; Ghana Business News 2013; Oxford Business Group 2013). This argument is, however, being challenged by the recent and still evolving campaign for corporate taxes of companies to be considered as part of their CSR. The campaign argues that since companies impact the economic, social and environment sectors of society, paying taxes into public finances is a way companies contribute to societal wellbeing and since CSR is about creating value for society, taxes are also CSR. Taxes here are viewed broadly to include all income and expenditure taxes (Scheiwiller and Symons 2009). It is, however, difficult to conceptualize taxes as a CSR initiative since the fundamental principle of CSR is that it is voluntary and non-legislated. However, the lack of definition and clear conceptualization of CSR makes room for misapplication and misrepresentation.

This thesis particularly focuses on the analysis of the CSR initiatives of a global gold mining company, AngloGold Ashanti with over 21 operations in four different continents. AngloGold Ashanti, Ghana, a subsidiary of the AngloGold Ashanti Company, owns and manages two
operations in Obuasi and Iduapriem in the Ashanti and Western region of Ghana respectively (AngloGold Ashanti 2014a; b). The study is guided by an overarching research question and three sub-questions. The research started with slightly different sub-research questions which were modified to reflect the key themes identified in the results obtained from the field survey with key informants and community leaders and members. The initial sub-research questions, as well as the revised sub-research questions, have been presented below.

Main Research Question

Does the global dominance of CSR as a response to the critique of the mining industry distort or silence ongoing knowledge of and protest against the negative environmental, political and social impacts of their operations?

Initial Sub-research Question

1. How do the gold mining activities of AngloGold Ashanti impact on the environment, social and political structures of Teberebie and Adieyie communities in Tarkwa, Ghana?
2. How do international and national policies shape AngloGold Ashanti’s activities and CSR initiatives in Teberebie and Adieyie communities in Tarkwa, Ghana?
3. Is CSR a sufficient and necessary condition to guarantee corporations’ SLO within the extractive industry?
4. Are there implications of the impacts of CSR initiatives for the discussion of pro-growth strategies of development in the natural resource extraction industry?
Revised Sub-research Question

1. How do the gold mining activities of AngloGold Ashanti impact on the environment, social and political structures of Adieyie and Teberebie communities in Tarkwa, Ghana?
   a) What are the negative ramifications of the activities of AGA on Adieyie and Teberebie?
   b) What are the current CSR initiatives of AGA?

2. Are there changes in stakeholder perspective about the natural resource extractive industry considering current CSR initiatives?
   a) How is CSR conceptualized among different stakeholders?
   b) Is CSR a sufficient and necessary condition to prevent stakeholder opposition to the activities of AGA?

3. What are the current and potential contribution of CSR to development within resource rich communities?

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised under five chapters with the first chapter offering an introduction to the discourse on CSR within the extractive industry. It explores the justification for the institutionalisation of CSR and identifies the different arguments put forward by CSR proponents and opponents on the importance and ability of CSR to contribute to long-term development within resource rich communities. The chapter proceeds to provide a rationale for the study and identifies various challenges with dominant theories within the CSR literature. It outlines the research questions that guided the study and provides details of how these questions evolved through the research process. The second chapter reviews in much more detail the concepts pertinent to the
extractive industry. It investigates the history and justification of CSR and the stakeholder theory and draws out the link between CSR, SLO and sustainable development. It further looks at how the concept of CSR has been operationalised in Africa. By exploring the EJ theory, the study identifies loopholes within the stakeholder theory that weakens its effectiveness in reducing the marginalisation and exploitation of resource rich communities. The study presents information on the formation of the EITI and the UNGC and its implementation and challenges. Chapter three presents the research methodology used in this study. It explains the research design and positionality of the researcher and how they influence the data collection process and outcome of the study. The chapter outlines the data collection, analysis and presentation methods employed in the study as well as the challenges and limitations of the study. It proceeds to provide a background of the study area and study institutions. In chapter four, the results of the study are presented under five broad themes beginning with the description of some characteristics of respondents from the community survey. It proceeds to present results of the impacts of AGA’s activities based on the perspectives of the various stakeholders identified and how the negative impacts are being addressed. The chapter identifies how CSR is conceptualised by the key informants and the implication of the different conceptualisation for community development. Furthermore, the institutionalisation of CSR and its ability to change the perception of stakeholders of the negative impacts of the extractive industry was explored. The final chapter discusses the implications of the findings and makes various recommendations for addressing the challenges and issues identified. It finally makes suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: RELEVANT CONCEPTS AND BACKGROUND REGARDING THE NATURAL RESOURCE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of some of the relevant concepts regarding the natural resource extractive industry. The chapter begins with the history and conceptualisation of corporate social responsibility (CSR), arguing that the difference in the conceptualisation and current operationalisation of CSR creates challenges for community development while at the same time provides flexibility in applying the concept to different circumstances. Next, the chapter analyses the connections among CSR and stakeholder theory, SLO and development. It shows how CSR is justified using the stakeholder theory and SLO as well as how CSR is called to contribute to the development of resource rich communities. The operationalisation of CSR in Africa is also explored and the shortfalls and potential for community development identified. Environmental justice (EJ) is explained in how it enables the critical analysis of the impacts of the extractive industry as well as the identification of the drivers and solutions to the marginalisation and exploitation of resource rich communities. Women have mostly been marginalised in decision-making processes that concern their environment and lives but EJ analysis assists in revealing gendered aspects of marginalisation. The chapter identifies women’s challenges and struggles in a male dominated society and how they attempt to overcome these challenges. It further looks at how the stakeholder theory and the EJ framework can be applied to the extractive industry and the shortfalls of the stakeholder theory to effectively identify the causes and suggest effective solutions to community marginalisation and exploitation. Finally, the chapter explores two of the
international guidelines that are applied to the extractive industry and how they are operationalised in Ghana.

2.1 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the Natural Resource Extractive Industry

2.1.1 History and Conceptualisation of CSR

Corporate social responsibility as a managerial practice originated in the 19th century during the era when people became critical of and begun to question the role of businesses in society (Visser 2010). This was at a time when industrial activities had increased tremendously and imperialism was at the root of the fast developing global economic system. The negative impacts of industrialization on the environment and societal wellbeing became apparent and steered disgust toward industrial activities (Husted 2015). It is of no surprise that industrialists like John A. Patterson (originator of the industrial welfare movement), Sir Titus Salt and philanthropist John D. Rockefeller are credited with initiating managerial CSR practices (Visser 2010). Nonetheless, records prove that various concepts and features of CSR existed as far back as 1700 BC (Amin-Chaudhry 2016; Gond and Moon 2011; Visser 2010; Husted 2015). In Japan and Mesopotamia, businesses were required to contribute to societal development and minimise the negative impacts of their activities on society in order to gain recognition, ascend the social hierarchy and avoid sanctions. Furthermore, practices such as zakat (alms giving within the Islamic religion) ensured that the affluent and rich contributed to the welfare of the poor in society (Husted, 2015; Visser 2010).

Amin-Chaudhry (2016), Gond and Moon (2011), Marens (2008), Carroll 2015 and Visser (2010) assert that CSR became an academic discourse in the 1950/1960 and was popularised by Howard R. Bowen who is credited as being the founder of modern CSR. Contrary to the argument of Freidman that the social responsibility of business is to make profit and be accountable to its
shareholders (Acquier et al. 2011; Hilson 2012). Bowen held that corporate businesses and their executive should undertake policies and actions that communities saw as desirable (In Carroll 2015). In his book titled ‘Social Responsibility of a Businessman’ written in 1953, Bowen provides a social as well as a business case for CSR. He indicates that the “voluntary assumption of social responsibility by businessmen is, or might be, a practicable means toward ameliorating economic problems and attaining more fully the economic goals we seek” (Bowen 1953 in Acquier et al. 2011, pg. 6). With this, Bowen established a positive link between social responsibility and corporate profit. This is supported by empirical evidence of companies recording increases in profit and corporate reputation by engaging in substantial CSR initiatives (Amin-Chaudhry 2016; Wilburn and Wilburn 2011). In 2012, Marks and Spencer in their ‘How Do We Do Business’ report indicated that by adapting their ‘Plan A’ CSR initiative, they recorded a £105 million in net profit (Marks & Spencer Group Plc. 2012 in Amin-Chaudhry 2016). Bowen further provides a normative ethical justification for CSR by linking power and affluence with responsibility. He thus states that as the power and affluence businesses possess increase, their responsibility not only to shareholders but also to stakeholders increase (Bowen, 1953 in Acquier et al. 2011, p. 6). Davis (1960) makes a similar assertion when he indicates that the social power of businesses should correspond with their social responsibility. Hence, the more efficient and profitable a business is, the more it is expected to significantly contribute to societal development. With increasing social awareness and the rise of social movements, together with the realization that engaging in CSR was in the interest of their business objectives, corporations formalized and institutionalized CSR into their operations in the 1970’s. In the 1990’s, CSR initiatives spread further as globalisation and capitalism expanded (Carroll 2015).
Corporate social responsibility was promoted as a self-regulatory and voluntary initiative that businesses engage in beyond their legal responsibilities to create shared wealth with host communities. However, the multiple conceptualisation and application of CSR over the years which allows for flexibility in the application of the concept at different times and in different social, political and economic contexts, has resulted in a lack of agreed upon definition of CSR and reduced its contribution to development (Gond and Moon 2011; Idemudia 2008, 2011; Lin-Hi 2010; Okoye 2009). Prieto-Carron et al (2006) indicate that the difference between a company’s mandatory and voluntary activities are blurred particularly in developing countries and thus it is often observed that CSR initiative are a combination of the two. Anything and everything is hence associated with CSR leading to confusion over what CSR should be comprised of, the appropriate institution to address the demands and expectations of society, overly high and most often unfulfilled community expectations and poor CSR standards. The varied lexicons such as social investment, social obligation, corporate sustainability and triple bottom line that are used simultaneously and interchangeably with CSR further complicates this situation (Bowen 1953; Davis 1973; Dyllick and Hockerts 2002; Signitzer and Prexl 2008).

Bowen, in an attempt to define CSR, explores the ‘protestant’ and ‘business man’ perspectives and finds differences in how the two theorised social responsibility. According to the ‘protestants’, social responsibility should be pursued out of genuine interest in society’s well-being while the ‘business man’ mostly pursues initiatives which are in line with their own long term interest (Bowen 1953 in Acquier et al. 2011). The ‘business man’ argument equates to ongoing claims that CSR is purposely to enable businesses to purchase their social legitimacy in order to continue with their activities unopposed and unchallenged. Carroll (1991) provided a four-segment classification of CSR, which forms a critical part of modern CSR practice and discourse. He indicates that, for
businesses to be perceived as socially responsible, they have to fulfil economic, legal, ethical and
discretionary responsibilities toward society (in Amin-Chaudhry 2016; Visser 2010). This
classification further adds to the confusion around the conceptualisation of CSR and blurs the
distinction between voluntary corporate initiatives and compliance with regulations. In recent
years, businesses are encouraged to be ethically, politically and economically responsible and are
called upon to account for and address their negative externalities while contributing to society’s
well-being. In addition to national initiatives and policies, international initiatives like the
Extractive Industry Transparency Initiatives (EITI), United Nations Global Compact (UNGC),
International Labour Standards, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights have been developed to encourage ethical
corporate practices (UNGC 2015). Furthermore, businesses are also expected to move beyond
philanthropy to engage in CSR initiatives that promote and ensure sustainable long-term
community development (Idemudia 2011).

2.1.2 Justifying the need for CSR through the Stakeholder Theory

Contrary to the argument by Friedman in 1970 (Garriga and Melé 2004, p.g. 53) that “the only one
responsibility of business towards society is the maximization of profits to the shareholders…”,
many reasons have been given for why corporations should engage in CSR (Hilson 2012; Prieto-
Carron et al 2006; Marens 2008; Carroll 2015). After more than a decade of Friedman’s highly
contested and disagreed upon statement, Freeman in 1984 popularised the stakeholder theory
although it was first seen in documents and works of Follet (1918) and Stanford Research Institute
(1963) (Friedman and Miles 2006). Freeman identified stakeholders as a group of people outside
the shareholder framework who are affected by and can affect the activities/operations of
businesses and thus are entitled to benefit from the existence of businesses (Friedman and Miles 2006).

The stakeholder theory is an organisational management and business ethic theory (Friedman and Miles 2006; Phillips et al. 2003; Edward 1984) that places stakeholders as part of the focus of the operations of businesses. It does not replace businesses’ concern for the interest of their shareholders with concern for the interest of stakeholders but rather expands on the scope of individuals or groups with an interest in the operations of the business and for whom the business should be concerned. It seeks to obtain distributive justice between shareholders and stakeholders through mediums such as CSR. The theory argues that businesses are not only accountable and responsive to their owners but also to those who are affected by and can affect their activities (Friedman and Miles 2006; Phillips et al. 2003). Nonetheless, not all stakeholders wield the same level and kind of power and influence over the operations of a business. Mitchell et al (1997) maintain that the perception of the managers of the importance and influence of stakeholders is determined by the level of power, legitimacy and urgency they possess. Thus, those classified as stakeholders or non-stakeholders and the priorities given to competing stakeholder claims depends on a complex interaction and combination of “the stakeholders power to influence the firm, the legitimacy of the stakeholders relationship with the firm and the urgency of the stakeholders claim on the firm” (Mitchell et al 1997, pg. 854) and not the mere interest in the operation of the business. Stakeholders must have a good balance of power, legitimacy and urgency in order to attract and maintain the attention of managers. Nonetheless, these classifications are fluid and porous and therefore different groups can possess different combinations and levels of the classifications at different points in time and can gain, lose or increase in any of these classifications.
Wilburn and Wilburn (2011) however have a different opinion on the power of stakeholders, which is revealed in their framework for identifying and conceptualising the different kinds of stakeholders. To them, stakeholders can be classified as vested; those who have control over a resource or tangible thing for which a SLO is being sought and non-vested, those who have just an interest in the activity that is being pursued in the license to operate. They assume that each vested stakeholder has equal power in that they all have one vote in determining whether an SLO should be given or withheld. This is however empirically unsubstantiated as all stakeholders possess different levels of influence over the operations of the company as revealed by Demuijnck and Fasterling (2016) and Mitchell et al (1997) and different amount of resources to seek justice. MiningWatch Canada and CENSAT-Ahua Viva (2009) in their report on human rights and CSR of Canadian companies in the extractive industry in Colombia, indicate that some of the mining companies who may not be directly involved in human right abuses against communities often benefit from the presence of human rights abuses which are perpetuated by governments or other interest groups. Muchlinski (2009) also indicates that most of the extractive industries are sited within countries with lax laws and weak regulatory and enforcement frameworks, mechanisms, systems and institutions. These conditions enable multinational companies to behave in ethically inappropriate ways without being held accountable and restrict the ability of affected individuals to seek and obtain justice. According to the Inter-American Commission on Human Right (IACHR), the number of human rights abuse petitions against the extractive industry by communities has increased significantly (IACHR n.d.). All these reveal that all vested stakeholders do not command the equal attention from mining corporations.

Despite the essential role the stakeholder theory has played and continues to play in pushing forward the agenda of CSR, it has been criticised on a number of issues. Jensen (2000), Marcoux
(2000) and Sternberg (2000) assert that the stakeholder theory provides leeway for managers of businesses to maximise profit for themselves at the expense of the shareholders, a situation referred to as managerial opportunism. By claiming to promote the interest of stakeholders and accounting to both shareholders and stakeholders, the business is truly accountable to none and the managers may be serving their own interest and little of the interest of shareholders and stakeholders. In addition, Marcoux (2000) indicates that the stakeholder theory fails to provide a set of processes and guidelines for daily decision-making within the business. While part of these claims are substantiated, Phillips et al. (2003) defend the theory by asserting that business accountability and transparency is improved when there are multiple stakeholders to be accountable to. Whether shareholders or stakeholders or managers, each group has an interest in the continued existence of the business and thus monitor each other to reduce or prevent the occurrence of managerial opportunism. Phillips et al. (2003) further indicate that it is challenging to project the interest of stakeholders and how to account for them in order for the theory to recommend systematic process and guidelines for decision-making.

2.1.3 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Social Licence to Operate (SLO)

Until the 19th century, corporations were perceived as the most powerful entities who were at liberty to do as they pleased. They were perceived as entities without human characteristics (body and soul) who could not be punished or condemned. However, due to increased industrial activities, the upheaval of the great depression and the Second World War (Husted 2015; Visser 2010), CSR was introduced as a counter to the devastating consequence of the imbalance of corporate power and also a response and solution to the negative externalities of industry.

It became increasingly clear that without the support and collaboration of stakeholders, the purpose of the business, which is profit maximisation, could not be effectively achieved (Idemudia 2008).
Thus, CSR is believed to give legitimacy to the activities of companies. Demuijnck and Fasterling (2016) asserts that SLO is comparable to the social contract concept and as far as the activities of the company negatively impact communities and create externalities, there is a need for companies to obtain the tacit and/or explicit consent of communities and social groups. Wilburn and Wilburn (2011) indicate that SLO was first used in relation to the United Nations initiative of ‘free prior informed consent’ that industries needed before commencing their activities in indigenous communities. Communities and groups whose lives were to be impacted by the activities of companies had to approve of the activities of companies and this can only be done if they have access to all necessary information relevant to inform their decision to either give or withhold consent. This largely does not occur as communities and groups often lack access to necessary information and resources as well as the appropriate institutions to provide these information (Basu and Palazzo 2008 and Matejek and Gössling 2014 in Demuijnck and Fasterling 2016).

Bice (2014), Martinez and Franks (2014) and Prno (2013) conceptualize SLO as the continuous support corporations receive from stakeholders through ongoing processes of negotiation. SLO is not a one off approval corporations acquire but an approval that can be weakened, lost or sustained depending on the operations of corporations and how sensitive they are to the needs and expectations of their stakeholders at any point in time. It is therefore pertinent for companies to engage and empower their stakeholders and encourage their active participation in decision-making processes that affect them (Prno 2013). The conceptualisation and operationalisation of SLO has morphed over the years from a point where employment generation was the only element needed for businesses to receive the social nod to enter and commence their activities to a point where continuous community progress needs to be assured even after the exit of the corporation for the community (Prno 2013). Although not all stakeholder needs and demands can be satisfied
simultaneously, majority approval may be needed to reduce business risk and losses that may arise from stakeholder opposition. The challenge with obtaining an SLO in communities with different groups who have varied interest is in identifying the relevant and legitimate stakeholders, those individuals with whom to initiate discussion and negotiations as well as how best to attend to the varied interests and address the numerous concerns raised. Corporations must, however, be careful to avoid the short falls of representation, which are mostly characteristic of SLO’s.

Wilburn and Wilburn (2011) reveal that companies do not need the consent of all stakeholders in order to obtain and use their SLO. Consent can be obtained from the affluent in the community who mostly form the minority or from the leaders of the community or interest groups despite the opposition of the others. They further indicate that consent cannot be equated to social license as this will place stakeholders at par with partners of the corporations. Consequently, companies can negotiate for an SLO without necessarily obtaining consent by merely informing stakeholders of their intentions and operations. The danger with this is that the voices and interest of the masses are ignored, suppressed and lost through the process while information from and to stakeholders can get distorted through the long and indirect communication mediums. This creates a volatile situation which can erupt into violence once the situation becomes too unbearable for those involved. Lederach (1997) and Hosbeg (2016) indicate that political instability arises when the people being ruled are oppressed, resources and power are mismanaged and unevenly distributed (relative deprivation theory) and when the minority or even majority are dispossessed and made to feel irrelevant (group entitlement theory) among others. These theories account for most if not all the political instability within resource rich countries and communities in developing countries particularly in Africa (see Lederach 1997; UNEP 2010; United States Institute of Peace 2007).
Asmus (2009) however maintains that consent plays a critical role in SLO and thus poses the question of what level of consent is adequate to obtain an SLO. This raises a fundamental question of how to measure a social license; must consent be obtained from every single stakeholder or not and if not whose consent is less significant to an SLO? Thomson and Boutilier (2011) provide a framework to identify different levels of an SLO. The first level, which forms the base of the pyramid is the withdrawn/withheld level. At this level, stakeholders oppose the continued existence and operation of the corporation or do not give corporations the go ahead to establish and operate within the area. The authors indicate this restricts the companies’ access to resources for its operations. The next level, which is acceptance, is the basic stage of the SLO where the corporation is given the support and legitimacy to begin or continue with its activities or projects.

As the corporation continues to build its credibility with the stakeholders, they advance to the approval level. At this level, their business risk is greatly reduced. With time and increase in the trust the stakeholders have in the corporation, they advance to the psychological identification level where their business risk is next to nothing as they have received the full consent and approval of the stakeholders. Although Thomson and Boutilier (2011) make a good attempt at classifying the different stages of an SLO, a clear distinction between the acceptance, approval and psychological identification level is lacking. This is because all levels require some element of trust and it is unclear how the differences in the level of trust for each level can be measured. Furthermore, the level of business risk or socio-political risk associated with each level is difficult to determine conclusively. Thus, the rate of the reduction of the risk is also difficult to determine, undermining a claim of the potency of SLO. Unfortunately, not much research and literature exist on measuring SLO and its impacts as well as the level of consent and the stakeholders whose consent are key in determining SLO. Furthermore, the movement of corporations through the
various levels is not strictly linear as corporations can progress or regress depending on the outcome of their activities and the perception of the stakeholders. Corporations may have to negotiate an SLO for every new project it initiates despite its SLO for ongoing projects (Friedman and Miles, 2006). Friedman and Miles (2006) indicate that legitimacy is often times limited to particular projects and is influenced by past incidents.

2.1.4 The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in Sustainable Development

It is becoming increasingly difficult to deny or overlook the role of businesses in development due to the vast amount of resources and technologies they possess and control. There is wide recognition of their contribution to economic development, the generation of employment and resource rent to governments and other institutions as well as the advancement of community well-being, this notwithstanding the critique of harmful effects on the environment and society particularly from the extractive industries (Idemudia 2008, 2011). Corporate social responsibility initiated as a response to these critiques has also become a critical tool through which corporations are being called upon to contribute to sustainable development¹. Thus, CSR is not only intended to address the negative externalities of corporations but also to promote development particularly within the communities in which they operate (Andrews 2016; Idemudia 2008, 2011). This, researchers believe can enable corporations obtain the social license needed to continue with their business operations unopposed (Idemudia 2008, 2011; Andrews 2016).

Beesley and Evans (1978) claim that the notion of a shift in responsibility of governments’ traditional role as source of social development to corporations is critical to the CSR discourse. However, not all stakeholders agree with this as some indicate that communities still have a social

¹ Long term improvement that addresses the needs of society and ensures the protection of the environment and ecosystems (Hermann 2004).
contract with their governments and corporations can and must only complement government efforts (Vives 2004). From this point of view, CSR initiatives should be voluntary and non-regulated. This, many stakeholders particularly corporations indicate will encourage innovation, efficiency and creativity among corporations with respect to their CSR initiatives, which would otherwise have been curtailed with government regulations and control (Cleverdon 2002; Matthew 2004 and Utting 2005 in Idemudia, 2008). However, it has been proven, particularly in developing countries that with this voluntarism, comes a lackadaisical attitude towards CSR initiatives. Corporations pick and choose the kinds of CSR initiatives to undertake, most of which are poorly suited to the needs and priorities of the communities and contribute little to sustainable development. Opponents of CSR as a voluntary mechanism have argued that corporations are often times driven by the profit making motive and thus if left to themselves, they will choose profit over meaningful contribution to community development (Hermann 2014; Idemudia, 2008). Consequently, they advocate for more accountability from corporations to communities and governments through “legally binding national and international regulations” (Idemudia, 2008 pg. 93). This, they believe will compel corporations to engage in initiatives that will propel development and more importantly sustainable development. However, Andrews (2016) identifies the challenges institutions and government in developing countries face with implementing rules and regulations. For instance, in 2007, Indonesia instituted a law (Law No. 40) that made CSR mandatory, however, it has faced many implementation challenges which have rendered the law redundant (Andrews 2016). The challenges identified with the postulations for voluntary or regulated CSR have led to the development of the third perspective that advocates for a balanced combination of voluntary CSR practices, active participation of all stakeholders and government
regulations. It promotes the idea of the creation of an enabling environment that minimizes corporations’ negative externalities while promoting positive externalities (Idemudia, 2008).

No matter the perspective taken, there is a general agreement that corporations must undertake strategic CSR in order to contribute significantly to community development. This involves integrating CSR into their core business activities, creating a CSR unit within the corporation and assigning dedicated and trained staff to the running of the CSR unit. Also, CSR initiatives should identify and address the needs of the people, be aligned to and contribute to national and community development agendas with consideration for local context through a participatory approach and made relevant to the businesses operations (Andrews 2016; Barsoum and Refaat 2015; Idemudia 2008; Sagebien and Whellams 2010 in Butler 2015).

2.1.5 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) within the African/Ghanaian context

Corporate social responsibility forms an important component of the business ethics movement which began in the USA in the 1970’s and spread to Africa in the 1980’s (Rossouw 2000). Since its inception in the 1970’s, it has become an established theory and academic field that examines proper business policies, principles, morals and practices as well as problems that arise and are crucial in the business environment. Examples of key and sometimes controversial areas of business ethics are CSR, corporate governance, insider trading, bribery, fraud, and discrimination among others (Rossouw 2000). Rossouw (2000) reveals that the practice of business ethics and CSR in Africa have been influenced by the search for socio-economic policies that address the impacts of Africa’s colonial and neo-colonial histories. Since businesses have often played a role in and benefited from colonialism and neo-colonialism, they are expected to contribute to finding and implementing solutions that address the problems of discrimination, economic exclusion and racism among other issues.
Despite this, CSR in Africa is faced with a number of contextual challenges, as conventional CSR is largely based on western ideologies and expectations and thus unrepresentative of the ideologies and realities of the global south (Andrews 2016; Jenkins 2005 in Idemudia 2011; Idemudia 2011). Jenkins (2005 in Idemudia 2011) argues that conventional CSR often ignores issues that are critical to the global south such as poverty reduction, tax evasion and unsustainable development as well as the structures and policies that create these problems. CSR conceals underlying problems such as environmental degradation, marginalisation, and corruption while providing Band-Aid solutions that only address the symptoms. Institutional and policy inefficiencies, as well as ineffective implementation mechanisms, enable corporations to shift with ease the responsibilities of their negative externalities to host communities or governments. Idemudia (2011) avers that this reveals the power imbalance that exists between the global south and multi-national corporations reaffirming the dominance of corporations. This imbalance in power informs the relationship of corporations with their stakeholders and its outcome. Those considered legitimate stakeholders, the nature and value placed on each stakeholder and the prioritization of issues within CSR is negotiated within this unequal power relation thus defeating the ‘business case’ for CSR in the global south.

Empirical evidence reveals that despite the advancement made in CSR at the global font, CSR in Africa is still largely philanthropic and of little significance. It involves unsustainable and uncritical investments in health, education and general infrastructural development. This promotes and deepens dependency on foreign corporations that propagate colonial tendencies and ideologies. It fosters colonial and neo-colonial civilization/humanization (Idemudia 2011). It also draws the

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2 The argument that businesses benefit immensely from undertaking CSR initiatives in resource rich communities in the form of competitive advantage, increased profit among others (Acquier et al. 2011; English (2000).
attention of governments away from performing their social obligations to communities that host these corporations and shifts the attention and expectations of communities away from governments. This could be attributed to a lack of clear conceptualisation of CSR as well as the lack of guidelines and frameworks to provide direction in the formulation and implementation of CSR.

Ghana has made some major strides although there is room for improvement. The Minerals Commission, a Government of Ghana agency mandated to regulate the activities of the extractive industry, developed a detailed non-mandatory CSR guideline for all corporations within the extractive industry in 2010. Also, the Ghana Chamber of Mines, the main mineral industry association, mandates all of its members, comprised of companies involved in mineral exploration, production and processing in Ghana to develop a trust fund in which they set aside US$1 of every ounce of mineral sold towards community development (Boon and Ababio 2009). Despite all these provisions and the amount of money that seemingly is invested, this has not translated into community development leading to agitations and dissatisfaction among community members. This may be due to a lack of authentic consultation, participation and ownership of these CSR initiatives which was confirmed by Peter Bradford, the CEO of Golden Star Resources Ltd, Ghana (Hilson 2006).

2.2 History, Scope and Pillars of Environmental Justice (EJ)

2.2.1 History of Environmental Justice (EJ)

The environmental justice movement originated in the 1980s from the United States. The movement emanated from and was characterized by the struggle to prevent the dumping of 120 million pounds of soil contaminated with polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) in the Warren County in North Carolina (Liu, 2001; Mohai and Pellow, 2009). The people of Warren County, who were
predominantly African-American (65%) noticed they were being unequally targeted for the siting of hazardous waste facilities due to their race. This prompted widespread interest in and studies into mapping the disproportionate exposure of people of color, ethnic minorities, indigenous persons and low-income communities to ecological and environmental harm, and the emergence of the concept of environmental racism. Melosi (2004 in Schlosberg 2007 pg. 3) reveals that in ancient Egypt, Rome and Greece, sewage and municipal waste were concentrated in and near the “working poor, minorities and politically disempowered groups”.

The first study to map the location of hazardous environmental conditions was conducted a year after the resistance in Warren County (1983) by US General Accounting Office. This was followed by a nationwide analysis of the socio-economic and racial characteristics of communities in close proximities to hazardous landfills in 1987 by the United Church of Christ (UCC) Commission for Racial Justice. They concluded that race was the most significant determinant of the siting of hazardous waste facilities with communities having large proportions of their population made up of racialized minorities who were mostly the poor and marginalized, hosting disproportionately large numbers of hazardous facilities (Wenz 1988, 2007). Whether hazardous facilities were first to appear at a location or racialized and poor communities were first, the close proximity of marginalized communities and hazardous facilities is an issue of great concern and reveals fundamental and institutionalized lapses that need to be critically looked at and addressed. Schlosberg (2007) indicates that even if racism is not explicitly intended in the distribution of environmental good and bad, processes such as market forces that results in the disproportionate location of environmental harm cannot be argued to be just. It is estimated that 79% of African-Americans are more likely to live in neighborhoods where industrial pollution is projected at causing the greatest health impact (Pace 2005 in Schlosberg, 2007).
2.2.2 Scope and Pillars of Environmental Justice

Benjamin Chavis, the executive director of the UCC for racial justice first defined environmental racism in 1982. According to Chavis, environmental racism is the “racial discrimination in environmental policy making, the enforcement of regulations and laws, the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities, the official sanctioning of the life-threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in our communities, and the history of excluding people of color from leadership of the ecology movements” (Bullard 1993, pg. 3). This definition is limited in scope as it does not account for other groups of people that are subject to environmental racism such as indigenous people and is silent on the intersectionality of race and class. Nonetheless, it has contributed significantly to the EJ movement particularly in determining and defining the pillars of the movement.

The justice literature is fundamental to the conception of EJ and until recently has been narrowly defined as an issue of distribution (Rawls 1971; Barry 1999; Getches and Pellow 2002). It is, however, largely recognized in contemporary justice discourse that issues of justice span beyond (mal) distribution (Bullard 1993, 1994; Bryant 1995; Fraser 1998; Honneth 1992; Hofrichter 1993; Hunold and Young 1998; Mohai and Bryant 1992; Nussbaum 2000; Sen, 1990). Consequently, underlining socio-economic and political factors that result in the (mal) distribution have to be identified and addressed (Young 1990) and this involves the procedural, recognition and capability aspects of justice. The environmental justice movement combines the struggle for social justice with that of environmental protection as often times the quality of one is sacrificed for the other (Faramelli 1972 and Wenz 1988). Faramelli (1972) and Wenz (1988) identify the tensions and conflicts in policies that seek to promote the protection of the environment vis-à-vis those aimed at promoting social equity and justice. Often times, environmental protection policies such as
conservation negatively affect the poor and vulnerable who directly depend on environmental resources while social justice policies have the tendency to ignore and override environmental concerns, thus the need to address the two simultaneously.

A fundamental and underlying factor of distributive (in)justice is the systematic and institutionalized lack of recognition and respect for human diversity and cultural differences (Schlosberg, 2007). Young (1990) asserts that maldistribution is premised on social structures, cultural beliefs and institutional context that sidelines and victimizes groups and individuals that are viewed as subhuman. Consequently, recognition justice involves acknowledging the values, experiences and diversity in the way of life of people as well as their equal rights and dignity (Taylor 1994). Honneth (1992) expands on this to include the elimination of the physical threat and barriers to the attainment of equal political rights and social and cultural freedom. He asserts that recognition is fundamental to fulfilling human dignity as self-worth and integrity is intertwined with the recognition given to and received from others. Fraser (1998) however, disagrees partly with Honneth’s focus on the “psychological rather than the structural nature of recognition”. Fraser thus suggests not just the recognition of diversity and freedom but also the removal of institutional and social structures and cultural ideologies that oppress some and privilege others. She further identifies that misrecognition occurs through cultural domination, disrespect and refusal to acknowledge the existence of a group or individual (Fraser 1998). Thus, people subjected to humiliations, verbal and physical abuse and devaluation eventually lose their sense of identity (Pulido 1996). LaDuke (2002 in Schlosberg 2007) provides another dimension to recognition justice as she questions the considerations involved in determining the average individual/human being/society who form the basis for environmental laws and regulations. However, the level of misrecognition is not uniform among a group of people and is experienced
differently at the individual level among males and females. Empirical evidence shows that females often are the most misrecognized (Gibbs 1982 in Schlosberg 2007; Hamilton 1986). Gibbs (1982) reveals that during a campaign to halt a proposed incinerator in south central Los Angeles, “women’s concerns were often dismissed as irrational, uniform and disruptive” (in Schlosberg 2007, pg. 61). Nonetheless, women have been instrumental in leading the call for EJ and social equity. This is partly because of their close association with and dependence on the environment and the fact that they view the destruction of the environment as threats to the well-being of their families and communities and cultural preservation (LaDuke 2002 in Schlosberg, 2007).

Closely linked to recognition justice is procedural or participatory justice, as recognition cannot be fully achieved without the authentic participation of individuals and groups in the decision-making processes that affect them. Authentic participation can be conceptualized as institutionalized public participation that enables the involvement of all people to impact policy and regulations. It draws on the notion of ‘speaking for ourselves’ ‘coming to voice’ (Collins 1998) and a ‘place at the table’ which empowers and allows those who have suffered misrecognition and political exclusion to self-determine their experiences and the nature of their interaction with the environment (Bullard 1993; DiChiro, 1992). Collins (1998 in Schlosberg 2007, pg. 17) indicates that the notion of ‘coming to voice’ involves “breaking silence, developing self-reflexive speech, and confronting or talking back to oppressors”. Thus, the oppressed are not satisfied with government or other groups simply offering to take care of their interest but would rather take charge of their lives, narratives and environment as well as what happens to them. They want to be “consulted from the start, speak for themselves, work with a variety of other groups and agencies and be offered a full partnership in the making of decisions” (Schlosberg 2007, pg. 20). Bryner (2002) further indicates that justice and for that matter, participatory justice includes the
right of representation. This may sound counter intuitive as representation has the tendency to further distort, silence and obscure the voices of the most vulnerable among the oppressed. Thus, the dominant and those given the mantle of representation may pursue their individual agenda and interest or that of a sect at the expense of the entire group. However, it is impractical to get everyone of the interest group to be present at every consultation or decision-making process and hence the need for accountability. It is difficult to achieve true participation in an environment of unequal access to information and resources as information is an essential part of free prior and informed consent (Grossman 1994; Schlosberg 2007). Shrader-Frechette (2007) indicates that fundamental to informed consent is access to the full information of the risks and issues involved, the ability of the potential victim to comprehend and access the information and willingly accept the dangers, benefits and conditions involved.

Capability justice is the final form/notion of justice, which has elements of and is most times embedded in the participatory or procedural justice. Authors such as Bryant (1995), Schlosberg (2007) and Taylor (2000) have attempted to tell them apart and provide different conceptualizations. Capability justice focuses on an individual or a community’s abilities and functioning. Schlosberg (2007) indicates that most of the struggles for EJ among people of color and indigenous communities have generally revolved around the functioning of their communities i.e. their ability to practice and preserve their cultures and way of life without adverse interruptions. This includes but is not limited to the ability for self-determination and actualization, which leads to the realization of their highest potential and personal empowerment. For indigenous communities, it is the continuous access to and preservation of their sacred and spiritual lands, their traditional foods and practices that are tied strongly with their existence, functioning and identity. Any attempt to or actual destruction of this capability has often been equated to ‘cultural
Although in theory, a lot of effort has been put into conceptualizing the different notions/aspects of justice, in practice these notions are interlinked and thus mention cannot be made of one notion of justice without reference to the others (Schlosberg 2007).

2.2.3 Principles of Environmental Justice

In 1991, a group of people of color gathered for the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit to build a movement to fight against the effects of years of oppression and colonialism that had led to the poisoning and destruction of communities and cultures. One of the outcomes of the summit was the development of seventeen principles of EJ (Grossman 1994). These principles (see Appendix A) do not only take into account the unjust environmental impacts on people of color and minority groups and the need to address these injustices but also the importance of preserving nature in and of itself. It recognizes humans as an integral part of the ecosystem, the interdependence of all species and the sacredness and indispensability of the earth.

2.2.4 Environmental Justice in Africa

The environment plays a critical role in the lives and livelihoods of individuals particularly those more directly dependent on its resources. This class of people is mostly the poor, vulnerable and marginalized in society. It has, however, been established that environmental related challenges are more predominant in low-income areas like Africa where “loss of healthy life-years is estimated to be 500 times that in Europe” (McMichael et al 2008, n.pg.). und Frieden & London Institute for African Alternatives (1999) indicate that there are a large number of stakeholders with competing and conflicting interest when it comes to the environment in Africa.

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3 Any event and situation that prevents the ability of a group of people or individuals to function in a manner, that is appropriate, acceptable and allows for self-determination and autonomy (Schlosberg 2007).
Most of the environmental and social struggles in Africa are embedded in and date back to the colonial period when there were widespread racial repression and indigenous people lacked access to the fair share of the benefits accruing from the environment. Ndungane (in McDonald 2004) reveals how the apartheid system in South Africa which was characterized by the segregation of black and white communities and consequent lack of provision of development initiatives and basic social amenities led to the unequal distribution of environmental harms to black and minority groups. Similarly, during colonial rule in Gabon, the waste distribution and management system was unfairly structured to favor the colonial masters which has been transferred to the rich and affluent in recent times (Anguelovski 2015; Schlosberg 2007).

The intensification of the environmental problems in Africa has been traced to the formulation and implementation of neoliberal and capitalist policies such as the structural adjustment program (SAP) developed and spearheaded by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) through the governments of African states (Obi 2005). The pursuit of policies of privatization, reduction in government subsidies, currency devaluation and the commodification of environmental resources culminated into mass poverty with most citizens losing access to environmental resources and those having access, over exploiting the resources (Obi 2005; Rootes 1999).

The struggle for power over access to these environmental resources which were mostly in the hands of the state and multinational corporations led to the formation and re-emergence of EJ movements in Africa particularly in the 1980’s. These movements have taken on “political, ethnic, national and gender identities” as a means of securing control and access to environmental resources (Obi, 2005 pg. 4). Thus, their concerns have and continue to involve linking environmental and social justice issues which are critical in the development of the African
continent. This, according to McDonald (2004) has led to the expansion of the ideologies and stakeholders involved in the EJ struggle and the creation of many movements. For example, in South Africa, environmentalists, civic organizations, democratic activists and trade unions have joined forces together in loosely aligned EJ movements (McDonald 2004). Rootes indicates that the increasing number of environmental groups and non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) who often times are community-based grassroots organizations in Africa and other third world countries shows the increasing assertiveness and power of civil society. Furthermore, in Africa, there has been a move for and the development of national coalitions of EJ groups and NGO’s to develop an indigenous nationwide response to environmental problems (Rootes 1999). One such organization is the Kenyan Environmental Non-governmental Organization (KENGO) which is comprised of 68 environmental groups. Also, national NGO’s have been joined to form regional forums such as the Environmental Network consisting of over 500 environmental groups and NGO’s from 45 African countries and the Third World Network- Africa.

The Movement for the survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) was formed out of a long standing situation of ethnical repressions and exploitation which prevented the people of Ogoni access to and control of their environmental resources particularly their oil. Similar to the MOSOP, the Green Belt Movement of Kenya which was founded by Wangari Maathai stood to oppose the expropriation of resources to private individuals and the destruction of the environment. This was after it was noticed that a large portion of the best agricultural lands was being given to white settlers while original Kenyan land owners were being marginalized (Maathai 2004). Wangari Maathai played a significant role in advocating for the rights of women during her time as lecturer and later associate professor at the University of Nairobi. This led her to be called to be a member of the local board and subsequently a board chair of the Environmental Liaison Center which
worked closely with the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP). Her work led to the realization that environmental degradation formed a major problem in Kenya. In devising a solution for the environmental problems, Wangari Maathai formed the Envirocare Limited which focused on environmental restoration through the creation of jobs in tree planting. However, Envirocare could not be sustained due to financial challenges but was later replaced with the Green Belt Movement (Maathai 2002). Wangari Maathai believed in the power of association and always encouraged the women she worked with to take responsibility of their action and mobilize to address their needs. She believed that by taking care of the earth, communities that were robbed of their self-confidence and self-knowledge could be healed and given back their voice to speak on issues that affected them (Maathai 2010). Other environmental movements in Africa include Wacam\(^4\), Ghana (Wacam 2016), Clean the Niger Delta (CND) (Miller 2014), Niger Delta Women of Justice (NDWJ), the Squatter Settlement Movement in South Africa, the Center for Environment and Development (CED) (Obi, 2005), and South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (McDonald 2004). Most of these EJ groups have contacted and networked with other international justice movements and affiliated agencies in order to firm-up their struggle and obtain solidarity.

However, the EJ groups and NGO’s have had a mix of successes and failures in their struggles against oppression, marginalization and exploitation. Their success includes empowerment of women, conservation of forest resources, environmental education and struggle against human right abuses and expropriation of public lands into private hands. Specifically, the focus of Kenya Green Belt Movement on women’s empowerment has challenged the dominant patriarchal system

\(^4\) Interview with the officer from Wacam revealed that the name of the organization, Wacam is no longer an abbreviation but has been adapted as the official name of the organization.
of ownership of land and environmental resources and led to the establishment of a transnational agency, Pan African Green Belt Network, whose membership emanates from six African countries. However, McDonald (2004) indicated that some environmental NGO’s like Kenya’s NGO have been unable to influence policy due to their fragmented, competitive and unrepresented character. This generates tensions and in-fighting as well as duplicated efforts which undermines any achievements made and prevents them from obtaining desired outcomes. Furthermore, there has always been controversies and tensions between jobs and environment which has served as a main conceptual stumbling block to a more proactive and effective EJ stance by trade unions. The environmental justice movements particularly within South Africa has been dominated by white, middle class activists who run the largest and well-funded environmental groups in the country. This prevents the voices of those that are marginalized from getting the needed attention and has limited the formation and effectiveness of local indigenous groups.

2.2.5 The Importance and Role of Women in the Environmental Justice Movement

Women particularly in Asia and North America have played and continue to play a critical role in the EJ movement. Verchick (2004) asserts that the EJ movement can also be considered a feminist movement for two reasons. The first is that the goals of EJ movement align to the aspirations and interests of most women. Women’s close association with ‘Mother Nature’, the heightened impacts of environmental destruction and pollutants on their health and family as well as their double burden as care givers and workers propels their interest and involvement in the EJ movement. Since women are more susceptible to environmental harm than men and remain the main homemakers and caregivers, they are keen on social equity issues and in ensuring the health and safety of their families (Verchick 2004). Kaczynski (in Verchick 2004) is of the opinion that women compared to men are much more protective of their own families and forceful when it
comes to fighting for what is right. The second reason involves the process through which the EJ movement achieves its goals. EJ activists employ approaches that reflect “feminist legal methods developed… in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s” (Verchick 2004 pg. 64).

Verchick (2004) outlines and explains three of the feminist approaches that feature predominantly in the EJ movement. Both feminist theorists and EJ activists critically analyze existing policies and societal structures and regulations to reveal obvious or hidden male biases. Despite the seemingly similar approaches, feminism mainly looks at patriarchy while EJ looks beyond patriarchy to consider the intersectionality of racism, classism, sexism and ageism among other divisions. Furthermore, EJ theories expand on the conceptualization of environment beyond the view held by traditional environmentalist to include humans’ lived surrounding. This includes not only the natural environment but also the social and built environment. Verchick (2004) indicates that this broad conceptualization of the environment enables EJ activists to expand on the types of environmental injustices and to identify such injustices when they occur. This intersectionality resonates with the struggles of feminist theorists to reveal and address the societal biases against females. Often times, the identification of these environmental injustices begins with women noticing the harmful effects of certain environmental conditions on themselves or their families. Governments and scientists mostly discredit this localized and place-based knowledge and experiences (Gibbs 1982 in Schlosberg 2007; Verchick 2004). However, it is increasingly becoming clear that citizen science is relevant and should be considered in environmental policy and regulation formulation processes.

Finally, feminist theorists and EJ activists all engage in processes of knowledge sharing and awareness creation to generate a sense of solidarity and community and effect the needed changes. Bullard (1993,1994), Ferris (1993) and Gauna (1995) identify active participation of minority
groups and the poor in decision making processes with government and relevant institutions as a means for the grievances and concerns of these people to be heard and addressed. This active participation must go hand in hand with changes in institutional structure and culture.

2.3 Relevance of the Environmental Justice and Stakeholder Theory to the Natural Resource Extractive Industry

The environmental justice framework is pertinent to this research as it provides a critical and nuanced perspective to the discourse and debate on impacts of natural resource extraction and the nexus between CSR and development. It identifies the social, environmental and economic dynamics within society, government and corporation relationships and interactions. It goes further to identify how these dynamics disadvantage individuals or groups of people based on their race, class, sex and age among other divisions (Liu 2001; Mohai and Pellow 2009; Schlosberg 2007; Wenz 1988). Specific to resource extraction, EJ looks beyond the superficial siting of mines to investigate the political, systematic and institutionalized processes that determine the distribution of benefits and harms arising from resource extraction. Similar to the political ecology discourse which asserts that the global political economy influences significantly the various economic, political, social and environmental decisions that are taken at the regional and local level (Robbins 2011), the EJ framework recognizes the dynamics and differences in power relations among various stakeholders (community, government and corporations) and the lack of recognition and respect for human diversity and cultural differences that sidelines and victimizes groups and individuals (Schlosberg 2007; Taylor 1994; Young 1990).

The stakeholder theory which has been used to justify the need for corporations to engage in CSR and other social investment initiatives is less critical about the true causes of the marginalisation of resource rich communities and thus suggests a prescriptive solution which has proved largely
ineffective in ensuring true community development and progress. English (2000) argues that stakeholder theory addresses the inherent deficiencies within the public participation approach that has been used for decades in environmental risk assessments. The stakeholder theory differentiates between critical stakeholders and the general public and gives the opportunity for those who are influenced by or can influence the activities of corporations to count in the decision making process. Hence, it appeals to the ‘moral conscience’ of corporations and makes a business case for the inclusion of stakeholders. Furthermore, it lowers the ‘us’ verses ‘them’ divide which is characteristic of corporation/government-stakeholder interaction by showing that stakeholders and corporations have a lot to benefit by being considerate of each other’s needs.

Nonetheless, the stakeholder theory is flawed in that it is unable to completely bring the power and importance of stakeholders at par with those of shareholders (Mitchell et al 1997) despite the fact that it seeks to ensure distributive justice through corporation’s social intervention initiatives (Friedman and Miles, 2006; Phillips et al., 2003). It reasons that corporations do not necessarily need the approval and consent of community members, as mere consultation and government approval are sufficient to guarantee the implementation of projects. Thus, corporations can consult with but not necessarily obtain the consent of and fully take the opinions and views of all stakeholders into account (Wilburn and Wilburn, 2011). Thus, the ability of resource rich communities to influence the actions of corporations will always be undermined as they will not be able to fully participate in decision-making process as equal partners leading to their continuous marginalisation and exploitation. Environmental justice, on the other hand, seeks to place resource rich communities in control of decisions that directly affect them. It scrutinizes the ability of these communities to take charge of their lives and environment and self-determine what happens to them. It moves beyond mere consultation to the ability of people to engage policy makers and
corporations and impact policies that concern and govern their lives and environment (Bullard, 1993; Collins 1998; Di Chiro, 1992). Consequently, EJ identifies that resource rich community members should possess equal or more power than governments and corporations and should actively be involved in processes that lead to project approval, modification or rejection.

Corporations have also been identified not to possess moral consciences but rather operate in a neutral zone to maximise profits and thus, the interest of resource rich communities cannot be fully guaranteed through voluntary non-enforceable initiatives they undertake. Corporations under the stakeholder theory can engage in various CSR initiatives that do not necessarily address the critical and urgent needs of resource rich community members or the externalities of their activities but that are significant enough to be used for public relations and suppress the complaints and opposition of stakeholders against the activities of corporations (Hilson 2012; Prieto-Carron et al. 2006). This often leads to tensions and conflicts among stakeholders and between stakeholders and corporations as one group of stakeholders are left dissatisfied with the social intervention initiatives. It is often the case that community members have a general distrust for their leaders as they believe it is their interest that is served during the implementation of CSR initiatives to the detriment of the majority others (Hosbeg 2016; Lederach 1997).

2.4 The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative and the UN Global Compact

The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) is a global standard formed in 2003 to “promote the open and accountable management of oil, gas and mineral resources” within the oil, gas and mining industry. The EITI has 52 implementing countries out of which 23 are African countries. Since the formation of the initiative, an estimated 2.3 trillion USD revenue has been disclosed in 332 out of the 341 fiscal years covered in its reports (EITI n.d.). Ghana adopted the EITI in 2004 as a means of promoting revenue transparency and accountability within the
country’s extractive industry but only become a member of the EITI in 2010. As part of the transparency initiative, corporations are expected to disclose the amount of royalties and taxes paid to government who in turn discloses the amount received. The figures are reconciled by an independent administrator and published in annual EITI reports. To ensure accountability, a multi-stakeholder group which forms the governing body of the Ghana EITI and is comprised of government institutions, companies and civil society groups oversee the entire EITI process and communicates the findings of the report in a way that enables public engagement and monitoring of the revenue generated. The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative also has an implementation secretariat at the ministry of finance (Ministry of Finance-GHEITI 2015). Out of the 52 implementing countries, only 12 countries have done assessment of the progress they have made towards meeting the 2016 standards with these countries being rated as either achieving meaningful progress or inadequate progress/suspended. Ghana has been ranked as achieving meaningful progress. According to the EITI Ghana website, the implementation of the EITI has achieved success in identifying the gaps in the management of Ghana’s extractive industry resulting in changes to existing fiscal regimes. This has led to the introduction of capital gains tax, fixed royalty rates and higher ground rent and attempts at improving accountability of subnational transfers (GHEITI n.d.).

Nonetheless, Andrews (2016) identifies a number of challenges and weakness to the effective implementation of the EITI in Ghana hence its limited accomplishment. He indicates that the major weakness of the initiative is its voluntary unenforceable nature limiting its scope of application. The discretionary nature of the initiative also limits the utilization of the disclosure requirement (Topal and Toledano 2013 in Andrews 2016). The production of the annual report depends on the willingness of corporations to supply the relevant information needed thus any delay or non-
provision of the information hampers the outcome of the report. Measurement and evaluation of the level of compliance are also challenged due to the dependence on the corporations themselves to supply the information needed to access their performance (Andrews 2016).

A new era of corporate responsibility emerged in 2000 when Kofi Annan, the former secretary general of the UN called on global businesses to uphold universal values on human rights, labour and the environment. This call led to the development of the global compact later on in the same year which aims to “build a sustainable, inclusive global economy in which both business and society can thrive within the environmental limits of the planet” (UNGC 2015). The compact has nine basic standards derived from four sets of principles: human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption with over 8000 companies, 4000 non-business organization and 170 countries as signatories. With over 15 years in effect, the global compact boasts of a number of achievements from spreading corporate sustainability practices among businesses to influencing the activities of corporations in the four principle areas (UNGC 2015). The UN Global Compact was launched in Ghana in July 2002 and relaunched in June 2012 as a “platform for companies, business associations, non-governmental organizations and trade unions to learn about and promote corporate responsibility and ethical business standards in Ghana” (UNGC, n.d.) using the global compact principles. It has a total of 37 participants with only one participant, Ghana Manganese Company Limited, from the industrial metals and mining sector (UNGC, n.d.). The UN Global Compact is very much limited in its scope of impact as the majority of corporations particularly within the extractive industry are not signatory to it. Kilgour (2013), Cavanagh (2004) and Deva (2006) indicate that the voluntary nature of the compact does not restrain bad corporate practices and does not fully address critical social issues such as gender equality. Furthermore, since the compact is voluntary, corporations are not under any compulsion to either be signatories and will
avoid being part of many of these guidelines once they do not significantly affect their corporate image and profitability. Consequently, corporations that want to behave in ethically inappropriate ways to maximize their profit will often avoid investing in countries that are signatory to international codes of conduct while countries may also avoid becoming signatory to these initiative if the government wants to engage in inappropriate practices. Muchlinski (2009) also indicates that most of the extractive industries are sited within countries with lax laws and weak regulatory and enforcement frameworks, mechanisms, systems and institutions. This reveals the ineffectiveness of voluntary international guidelines, frameworks and policies developed to regulate the activities of corporations.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented key theoretical frameworks and arguments within the extractive industry as well as some international initiatives that serves to guide practice within the industry. The social license to operate and the stakeholder theory have been used to justify the institutionalisation of CSR as part of business practice. However, empirical evidence has disproved the inherent assumption of SLO that, corporations and stakeholders possess the same level of power to influence each other’s activities in a mutually beneficial nature. Furthermore, the stakeholder theory which promotes distributive justice through CSR has been identified as being inefficient in ensuring that resource rich communities are not exploited and marginalised by government and corporations. The EJ theory which has been identified as a much more critical approach to the identification, analysis and solution of community marginalisation and exploitation is presented in the chapter. The next chapter presents and justifies the research methodology selected for this study. It outlines the research design, the sampling, data collection
as well as the data analysis and presentation techniques. It proceeds to give a profile of the study country, communities and institutions surveyed.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROFILES OF STUDY AREA AND INSTITUTIONS

3.0 Introduction

A critical look at the interaction between governments, resource extractive corporations and resource rich communities using the environmental justice (EJ) framework reveals great disparities in the distribution of power, resources and the level of participation in decision making processes. Community members are mostly disadvantaged and marginalised during these interactions and bear disproportionately high environmental and socio-economic cost relative to the benefits.

It is asserted in literature that the global institutionalisation of CSR to address the marginalisation of resource rich communities has distorted and silenced community’s opposition to the negative ramifications of the industry (Barsoum and Refaat 2015; Gilberthorpe and Banks 2012; Hilson 2012). However, little empirical evidence has been gathered to confirm or deny this assertion. Furthermore, the role and ability of corporations to contribute towards community development through their CSR initiatives which has received much attention in literature is also highly contested. This study consequently sought to ascertain whether the global dominance and practice of CSR among mining corporations in Ghana has distorted or silenced the perception stakeholders have about the impacts of the industry. Also, the study sought for the opinion of various stakeholders on whether corporations should be involved in community development and if so, through which structures and types of CSR initiative.

To address these issues, the study employs various methodological processes to obtain both primary and secondary data for analysis. This chapter focuses on the research methodologies used
in the study and argues that ethnography was the most suited approach to provide answers to the research questions. This is because the approach enabled the research to obtain information about the collective experiences of resource rich communities and the patterns (similarities, differences) that could be observed within these experiences. It identifies the data collection and analysis methods used in the study and provides a detailed description and justification for the selected research design, sampling technique and sampling criteria as well as the approaches used in analysing the data obtained through the field survey. The challenges and limitations of the study are also outlined. The chapter proceeds to identify and provide concise profiles of the communities and institutions selected for the study while justifying their selection.

3. 1 Research Methodologies

3.1.1 Research Design and Researcher Positionality

The research employed an ethnographic study of the social interaction (LeCompte and Goetz 1982; New World Encyclopedia 2008; Reeves et al. 2008) between the government, resource extractive industry and resource rich communities in Ghana. Ethnography involves the study of a group of people and their lived experiences through the view point of the people involved. It looks into how the experiences and beliefs of a community affects their behavior and thoughts through mediums of observation and interviews (Boyd n.d.; LeCompte and Goetz 1982; New World Encyclopedia 2008; Reeves et al. 2008). The study investigated the experiences and perception of resource rich communities, regulatory and think tank institutions, advocacy groups and mining companies of the impacts of the mining industry on the way of life and environment of communities, the nature and benefits of ongoing CSR initiatives and its ability to contribute to community development. Using qualitative data collection methods such as questionnaire surveys, interviews and field observations, the researcher was able to obtain a holistic insight of these issues through the
perception and experiences of different stakeholders; mining corporations, communities, government regulatory organizations, think tank institutions and activist groups. The fieldwork which involved contacting, arranging and undertaking interviews with key informants as well as community surveys and field observations was carried out in total of three months (16th May to 22nd August 2016). Since the participants were observed in their natural environments, the causes and processes involved in generating the outcomes observed were determined leading to the exclusion of some extraneous factors.

One challenge with ethnographic study is that the researcher’s own experiences and subjectivity may influence how the population is studied and the reliability of the results generated (LeCompte and Goetz 1982; New World Encyclopedia 2008; Kirby et al. 2006). Although it has mostly been argued that this can negatively affect the credibility of the data collected and the results generated, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) state that each ethnographic study is unique in that the researcher’s social role, experiences and positionality influences the outcome of the research and thus the aim of undertaking similar studies within a particular geographic location by different researchers should aim at obtaining supplementary rather than replicative results. If the researcher and participant subjectivity are acknowledged and admitted into the research frame, “ethnography may provide a depth of understanding lacking in other approaches to investigation” (LeCompte and Goetz 1982 pg. 32; Kirby et al. 2006).

As an individual passionate about the conservation and protection of the environment as well as development particularly in marginalized and exploited communities, the researcher is torn between the contradictory roles capitalism is portrayed to play in the environment, social and economic structures of society. Having been exposed to the negative ramifications various capitalist and pro-growth oriented activities such as mining have had on the environment and
socio-economic lives of resource rich communities as an environmental studies student, the researcher approaches this study with a critical perspective of the activities of the natural resource extractive industry particularly the gold mining sector in Ghana. This critical perspective influenced the selection of the EJ framework as the main theoretical framework with which the impacts of the extractive industry will be analyzed and strategic solutions formulated. Nonetheless, the notion and discourse that the extraction of natural resources are vital for development and can contribute significantly to the development of marginalized and exploited countries and communities led to the formulation of the research question of whether the CSR initiatives of corporations can contribute to community development and how this can be done. Other critical questions raised through this process include: Is there a possibility for a compromise between the profit maximization objective of capitalism and the environmental and socio-economic concerns that are associated with it? Is there a possibility that the gold mining industry can promote development within resource rich countries and communities and ensure the protection of the environment that sustains it? What changes need to occur in the global economic system to facilitate these outcomes and through which mediums? To reduce the subjectivity and selection bias that are inherent to ethnographic research, the researcher sampled respondents from a wide range of constituents and presents direct quotes of respondents within the results section of the study. Furthermore, a detailed discussion of the main theoretical framework through which the results were analyzed is also presented (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) as well as a delineation of the respondents and their role in the research as well as the reason for their selection have been explained in the paragraphs below.

The interaction between the researcher and respondents from the key institutions surveyed was without any significant power difference to influence the data collected and the results generated
from the interview. The researcher identified as an outsider to a large extent as she does not share the ethnicity, background and peculiar experience of the community participants as people living within a relatively rural mining community (Kirby 2006). Thus, the researcher upon arrival into the community was viewed as an outsider and this had an influence on the willingness of participants to partake in the research. They were of the view that many of the researcher’s kind had been to the community to undertake various forms of researches without community members obtaining direct benefits from them. Also, due to the fact that the researcher resided in the capital city of the country immediately before the community survey, some respondents were expecting various forms of monetary payment for their participation in the survey or as a show of kindness from the researcher based on their plight as exploited and disadvantaged citizens of Ghana.

However, due to the presence of a key community member who was with the researcher and introduced the researcher to the respondents, most of the participants eased up and interacted freely with the researcher on the identified issues and beyond. The researcher further explained to potential and actual respondents who requested for monetary compensation of her status as a student who was undertaking the research for academic purposes and not for commercial or money making ventures. Thus, with this, community members involved became understanding and those still willing to partake in the research were interviewed. The researcher identified with the participants in other respects as she is a Ghanaian by birth and training and has resided in the country virtually all her life. She is fluent in the local dialect spoken by the respondents and used this in all her interviews with the community respondents even with those who were fluent in the English language like the chief and a former assembly member. This reduced (if not totally eliminated) the power imbalance that might have existed between the researcher and community respondents and changed significantly the outcome of the study. Thus, respondents were more
comfortable and open with the researcher and provided information that truthfully answered the questions asked as this was corroborated with field observations and responses from other respondents.

3.1.2 Sampling Technique and Sample Size Determination

The study relied on both primary and secondary data sources to investigate the ramifications of the extractive industry on the environment and communities as well as the ability of the industry’s CSR initiatives to promote community wellbeing and development. The non-probability sampling method (purposive and snowball techniques) was used to select the various institutions and communities interviewed and surveyed during the study. This technique was used as it enabled the informed selection of key institutions with the mandate, objectives and activities related to the field under investigation as well as the appropriate communities. It further facilitated the selection of key informants with much knowledge, experience and expertise related to the interest of the study and cultures under investigation. Tongco (2007) indicates that purposive sampling, which involves the deliberate selection of respondents based on the knowledge and relevance to the research topic, is most effective for ethno(graphic) analysis and selection of key informants and can be effectively combined with qualitative or quantitative research techniques. Nine institutions from government agencies, think tank institutions, activist groups and mining companies and their association working on mining related issues within the study communities and elders of the communities were selected using this technique (Table 3-1). All institutions aside the Minerals Commission, Ghana, were identified by the researcher as relevant for the study before the inception of the field survey. However, during the course of the field survey and interviews with respondents, the researcher identified the indispensable role of the Minerals Commission within the natural resource extractive industry. Thus, the researcher established contact with the commission and
held an interview with the sustainability coordinator of the commission. In-depth semi-structured interviews were held with 4 elders from Adieyie (the chief, queen mother, former assembly member and an elder) and 2 elders from Teberebie. The uneven number of respondents from the community leaders across the two communities was due to the unavailability of most of them and also the unwillingness of some to partake in the interview. Furthermore, 10 officials representing the classified and identified extractive industry institutions, one from each institution with the exception of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) where two respondents were interviewed using in-depth semi-structured interviews. Of the two respondents from EPA, one was from the head office (Mining Department) of the agency where all final decisions concerning mining, nationwide, are taken while the other respondent was from the Tarkwa Regional office that directly oversees the activities of resource extractive companies in mining communities including the study communities. The semi-structured interview guide prepared for the interview with the officer from IMANI was revised during the interview due to the realization that the institute focused mainly on the oil and gas industry of the natural resources extractive industry unlike what was presented on the webpage of the institute. Thus, the original and revised semi-structured interview guide have been attached to the appendices of the thesis (Appendix G).
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<tr>
<th>Classification of Institutions</th>
<th>Name of Institutions</th>
<th>Portfolio of Respondents</th>
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<tr>
<td>Government Regulatory Institutions</td>
<td>Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)</td>
<td>Chief Programs Officer and Head of EPA Tarkwa</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Chief Programming Officer in charge of mining at EPA, Ghana</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Minerals Commission</td>
<td>Sustainability Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Think Tank Institutions</td>
<td>Center for Public Interest Law (CEPIL)</td>
<td>Legal Associate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IMANI Center for Policy and Education</td>
<td>Lead Policy Analyst for Energy and Natural Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Center for Corporate Responsibility (CCR)</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activist Groups</td>
<td>Wacam</td>
<td>Associate Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Third World Network for Africa (TWN-Africa)</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Company and Association</td>
<td>AngloGold Ashanti (AGA)</td>
<td>Senior Manager, Sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chamber of Mines</td>
<td>Senior Research Officer, Economic and Physical Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Elders</td>
<td>Adieyie</td>
<td>Chief, Queen mother, former assembly member and Linguist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teberebie</td>
<td>Kontihene and Gyasihene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study communities, Teberebie and Adieyie, were also selected due to their role as resource rich communities, their close proximity to the operations of the mining company, AngloGold Ashanti, and the impact of its activities on the communities’ environments and way of life of the people. The household was the basic unit of data collection and analysis in the study communities.
According to the Ghana Statistical Service, a household is ‘a person or a group of persons, who lived together in the same house or compound and shared the same house-keeping arrangements’ (Ghana Statistical Service 2010). The snowball or chain referral sampling technique was used to identify respondents for the community survey after the first respondent was identified through consultation with a knowledgeable community member. Subsequent respondents were identified based on the recommendation from previous respondents who were informed of the criteria for the selection of respondents. Household heads or representatives of the household who met the selection criteria and were available and willing to participate in the survey were targeted. This method was preferred as the study targeted a specific group of people, those who had lived in the community for 10 years or more, who were not visible to the researcher upon entry into the communities (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). All respondents selected were above the age of 20 and had lived in the community long enough to see AGA commence its activities in 2004 and its impacts on their way of life and environment. Due to the fact that the study communities were resource rich communities which had attracted a large number of migrants in search for jobs within the extractive industry, much more resources (finances, time and labor) will have had to be committed to identifying respondents using other sampling techniques. Furthermore, the purpose of the study was to obtain detailed information about the sample in order to identify how they fit into general construct, thus the need to use a non-probabilistic sampling techniques (Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2007). In all, 69 household respondents were surveyed from Teberebie (28 respondents) and Adieyie (41 respondents) using questionnaires. It is often assumed that with qualitative study, the sample size does not matter and is insignificant in determining the accuracy of sampling strategy, however, Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007 pg. 289) assert that the size of the sample can determine whether “data saturation, theoretical saturation and information redundancy”
(too small sample size) will be reached or whether in-depth analysis (too large sample size) can be conducted. This can have implications on the kinds of generalizations and inferences that are drawn from the data and may led to misinformed conclusions, recommendation and inaccurate knowledge generated policy. It is thus recommended that to obtain a fairly accurate result (sample size for 80% statistical power at a 5% level of statistical significance) for an ethnographic study, 30-50 respondents from each identified population should be surveyed (Morse 1994; Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2007).

The snowball technique enabled the easy and quick identification of members of the sample unit who were unknown to the researcher as the researcher was unfamiliar with the study communities. To test the veracity of referred respondents, the interviewer asked a number of background information that gave insight into the origin of birth of respondents, the year of residence within the community as well as the history and other details pertaining to the communities. Furthermore, the fact that the referrals were done within the circle of people who knew each other either through direct contact or as a result of particular circumstances or general information circulating within the community, the credibility of respondents was established. Respondents would often discuss their own experiences and part of those they referred the researcher to. For instance, a number of respondents within Teberebie referred the researcher to a community member who had been shot by a security personal of the mining company operating within the community for supposedly trespassing. Unfortunately this individual was unwilling to participate in the survey.

One challenge with the chain referral sampling method is that different respondents represent different groups of constituents and provide the researcher with access to some people but precludes access to others. Referrals are mostly made within one’s circle of contact most of whom have similar experiences or perception thus, similar responses on issues may be obtained. In a
number of instances, respondents referred the researcher to others who could corroborate their claims and stories and had similar perception about the impacts of the operations of the mining company. However, due to the varied groups of respondents that were targeted and actually surveyed, a good scope of information was obtained which can be said to be a representation of the communities’ experiences. Among the respondents surveyed were chiefs, queen mothers and other community leaders, a former assembly member, youth leaders and employees of the mining company or their spouses and relatives and respondents who individually benefit or have benefited from the company through their relocation, compensation or scholarship schemes. Furthermore, a good balance between male and female respondents was sought as each have different experiences and perceptions (Gibbs 1982; Hamilton, 1986). However due to the availability and the male dominated nature of the community and households, slightly more male respondents than female respondents were sampled (34 female respondents and 35 male respondents). With the aid of a knowledgeable community member, the first respondents were identified in both communities. Throughout the data collection process, transect walks were undertaken during which photographs of the crushing site and tailing dam of AGA, tangible CSR initiatives and the sources of water for the community among others were captured.

3.1.3 Data Analysis and Data Presentation Methods

General themes based on the topical areas of discourse were identified from the review of CSR and development literatures. These themes were used in the design of the questions used in the semi-structured interview with representatives of the various identified institutions and community leaders. These themes were subsequently used as broad classifications for the analysis of the data following which the inductive thematic analysis method also referred to as the data driven approach (Boyatzis 1998) was used to generate the detailed codes and themes for the analysis
(Table 3-2). The thematic analysis approach involves the encoding of qualitative information by identifying patterns that extends across a data set (Vaismoradi et al. 2013). This is to enable the detailed and nuanced account and analysis of the data yielding interpretations and conclusions of the issue from the perspective of those that experience and are in somewhat direct interaction with it.

Each audio recorded interview which was done either in Twi (one of the local dialect) or English was transcribed except for the interview with the officer from the Minerals Commission who insisted that the interview be hand written. The transcription was thoroughly read through several times paying critical attention to both the latent and manifest content. Analysis of the manifest content enabled the identification of the themes that were physically present in the data while the latent content allowed for further identification of the meaning underlying the themes identified and the context within which they were used (Downe-Wamboldt 1992). The wordings for the themes identified were phrased in such a way that they closely represented what was originally identified in the text and thus allows for the easy identification of the themes in the data set by other researchers. The sections and sentences or paragraphs in the transcripts within which the themes were identified were recorded and some key statements of respondents were included in the results section of the study.

Through the development of the various themes for analysis, the researcher was able to generate a deeper, rich and comprehensive understanding of the issues under investigation by analyzing information for the different sources. This information was triangulated by comparing the perspective of the respondents to find the differences and similarities in responses and reasons for the differences were explored. This was done to elucidate complementary aspects of the same phenomena and determine the credibility of the data obtained through cross verification from the
different sources surveyed. Furthermore, institutional documents and other written and observed evidence such as field notes and pictures were corroborated with the results obtained from the triangulation of the interview data. Patton (1999) states that differences in responses on an issue from different sources is not necessarily indicative of the invalidity of either or both opinions but rather that different perspectives have been captured.
Table 3-2 Themes Identified and used for the Analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Institutions</th>
<th>Themes identified from literature</th>
<th>Themes identified from the interview transcription/data</th>
<th>Definition and description of the themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Institutions</td>
<td>Impacts of the mining industry</td>
<td>Environmental costs and benefits</td>
<td>Includes the negative and positive impacts of the extractive industry on the natural environment, the everyday life and livelihood as well as the governance structure of the resource rich communities. The drivers of these impacts are also considered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Socio-economic costs and benefits</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Political costs and benefits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures to address negative impacts</td>
<td>Regulations and guidelines</td>
<td>National mining laws and regulations and how they are enforced and monitored as well as national performance rating and disclosure initiatives. Level of stakeholder participation in identifying and addressing impacts and technical support given to companies to facilitate ethical practices and compliance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stakeholder participation</td>
<td>Requirements of the mining industry</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Akoben rating</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monitoring</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical support to companies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualization of CSR</td>
<td>SLO</td>
<td>Initiatives that are voluntarily undertaken by institutions to obtain community approval and build competitive advantage</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary and non-enforceable</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Response to general state retreat in development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominance of CSR and its influence on popular perception of the extractive industry</td>
<td>Inadequate ongoing CSR initiatives considering negative ramifications</td>
<td>Positive or negative comments about the ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to address community concern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of CSR in development</td>
<td>Distribution of resources for CSR initiatives</td>
<td>Ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to promote long-term community improvement and recommendations for improving this role.</td>
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<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualization of CSR</td>
<td>Not Philanthropic</td>
<td>All activities of corporations that benefit resource rich countries and communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All activities of corporations</td>
<td>Initiatives that are voluntarily undertaken by institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Efficiency and profit maximization</td>
<td>Positive or negative comments about the ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to address community concern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary and non-mandatory</td>
<td>Ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to promote long-term community improvement and recommendations for improving this role.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominance of CSR and its influence on popular perception of the extractive industry</td>
<td>Voluntary and thus sufficient</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Insufficient due to philanthropic and voluntary nature</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More critical supervision-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Role of CSR in development</td>
<td>Strategic CSR</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shared value</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sustainable development goals</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standardization of CSR through Guidelines, framework and training</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government solely responsible for development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activist Groups</td>
<td>Impacts of the mining industry</td>
<td>Includes the negative and positive impacts of the extractive industry on the natural environment, the everyday life and livelihood as well as the governance structure of the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
resource rich communities. The drivers of these impacts are also considered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures to address negative impacts</th>
<th>Regulations and guidelines</th>
<th>National mining laws and regulations and how they are enforced and monitored</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualization of CSR</td>
<td>Insignificant and greenwashing(^5) mechanism</td>
<td>Initiatives done but don’t address community needs Initiatives that are voluntarily undertaken by institutions to obtain community approval and build competitive advantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SLO Voluntary and non-enforceable Response to general state retreat in development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominance of CSR and its influence on popular perception of the extractive industry</td>
<td>More critical assessment and monitoring</td>
<td>Positive or negative comments about the ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to address community concern and the true bearers of the cost of CSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of CSR in development</td>
<td>Irrelevant if mining laws and regulations are obeyed. CSR can supplement government efforts</td>
<td>Ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to promote long-term community improvement and recommendations for improving this role.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impacts of the mining industry</td>
<td>Environmental costs and benefits Socio-economic costs and benefits</td>
<td>Includes the negative and positive impacts of the extractive industry on the natural environment, the everyday life and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) “Overstating of the environmentally or socially conscious attributes of a firms offerings and the understating of the negative attributes for the firms benefit” (Financial Times n.d.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mining Company and Association</th>
<th>Political costs and benefits</th>
<th>livelihood as well as the governance structure of the resource rich communities. The drivers of these impacts are also considered.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measures to address negative impacts</td>
<td>Regulations and guidelines Stakeholder collaboration</td>
<td>National mining laws and regulations and how they are enforced and monitored as well as national performance rating and disclosure initiatives. Stakeholder collaboration in identifying and addressing impacts and technical support given to companies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualization of CSR</td>
<td>Social investments SLO and enhanced corporate image Shared wealth</td>
<td>Initiatives that are voluntarily undertaken by institutions to obtain community approval and build competitive advantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of CSR in development</td>
<td>CSR and social closure Basic needs verses Sustainable development Embedding CSR in community and national projects Sustainable development goals</td>
<td>Ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to promote long-term community improvement and recommendations for improving this role.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community leaders</td>
<td>Impacts of the mining industry</td>
<td>Environmental costs and benefits Socio-economic costs and benefits Political costs and benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominance of CSR and its influence on popular perception of the extractive industry</td>
<td>Cannot suffice for the impacts More critical assessment and monitoring</td>
<td>Positive or negative comments about the ability of ongoing CSR initiatives to address community concern.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The semi-structured questionnaires administered to community members were grouped under either open-ended or close-ended for analysis. Both closed and open ended questions were coded based on the options provided and entered into excel to generate tables and graphs. Questions such as the community of residence and length of stay, sex and age of respondents as well as the impacts and ranking of the activities of AGA were analyzed using excel. Some of the direct responses from community respondents were quoted within the results presentation to help clarify links between the data, interpretation and conclusions and also improve the credibility of the results (Corden and Sainsbury 2006).

Furthermore, the document analysis method was used to analyze documents obtained from the various institutions surveyed as well as from the internet. Elliot et al (2016), indicates that the document analysis methods involves the identification of how documents relate to each other and the context in which they are produced. Rapley (2007) further indicates that through document analysis, the implicit and explicit issues within the documents can be identified and analyzed.

Reports and information on the CSR guidelines developed by the Minerals Commission, Ghana, the Minerals Commission Act and websites of various institutions such as AGA, EPA, CCR and Wacam were analyzed to identify relevant information on the establishment and duties of the various agencies (see section 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). Peer reviewed articles, institutional websites and online sources of information among others were comparatively analyzed by extracting relevant information from each which were grouped into categories of related information. The issues identified within the documents were used to support or refute the results obtained from the field survey which were grouped under the five themes (Table 3-2) as well as used under relevant sections of the various chapters of this thesis. In most of the documents analyzed, the authors provided statistics, figures and/or examples to support the various claims being made about the
natural resource extractive industry and key theories with almost all authors providing the various sides of the argument which reduced bias to a large extent. A number of the documents particularly those which involved primary field data collection such as the work of Andrews (2015) included verbatim quotes from respondents to further stress and provide voices to the arguments being made.

3.2 Challenges and Limitations to the Study

The study faced a number of challenges. The first was with the contact and location of identified research institutions before and during the field visit. Emails sent to institutional email addresses located on their webpages were unsuccessful as the email addresses were incorrect or non-existent. Almost all the emails that were successfully delivered were not responded to and multiple attempts to contact the institutions before fieldwork proved futile. The second challenge also had to do with locating institutions during the period of fieldwork as some of the institutions had moved from the addresses located on their website. It took the intervention of interviews with other institutional representatives to locate their current address and contact details. Furthermore, appointments made with some institutions were rescheduled multiple times while it was difficult to arrange for appointments with other institutions.

Access to information has always been a major challenge for most research and this research was not an exception. Access to institutional documents such as environmental and social assessment reports was difficult to obtain as they were either unavailable, not completed or deemed as sensitive information. Also, documents that were available upon request were stashed away in piles of unarranged files and took time retrieving as there were no electronic-copies available. Pictures of relevant pages were captured and used for the analysis.

The fourth challenge had to do with research fatigue among community members. Some respondents in the initial stages of contact were reluctant to respond to the survey as they perceived
the research was being conducted by AGA or government institutions which they indicated had contacted them several times for similar work but they had not seen any positive outcome in relation to their living conditions. However, upon further explanation, most of the potential respondents who initially resisted being surveyed gave their consent. Those who still insisted they were uninterested in the survey were not pressured or forced into responding.

The research is also limited by its scope of study as it is a single country case study, limited to a particular mining company and located in two communities that form less than 1% of the entire gold mining communities in Ghana. This limits the extent to which the results generated can be generalised and applied to different geographic regions. However, by corroborating the research findings with existing literature and similar research, generalizable results can be identified and the contradictory results appreciated.

3.3 Profiling of Study Country, Institutions and Communities

3.3.1 Country Profile

Ghana, located within sub-Saharan Africa (West Africa) is home to approximately 28,308,301 people (GSS 2016). It covers a total land surface area of 238535km² and is bordered by Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, Côte d’Ivoire to the west and the Gulf of Guinea to the south. It is divided into 10 administrative regions, all of which host at least one mining activity. Of prominence is the gold mining industry in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Western regions and the oil extractive industry in the Western region. Mining, particularly gold mining, has been practiced since the pre-colonial era and was the backbone of the economies of the Akan tribes mainly Ashanti, Akyem, Wass and Denkyira (Ababio 2014). However, the advent of colonialism rendered local miners landless and restricted to labourer and artisan roles. European mining companies took control of the mining industries and introduced ‘modern’ mining techniques and
methods. To date, multinational mining firms continue to control the mining industry rendering all unregistered mining activities (galamsey) illegal and criminal.

Ghana is the second largest producer of gold in Africa, and gold contributed about 81% of the total revenue government received from the mining sector in 2014 (Ghana Chamber of Mines 2014). The extractive industry also contributes to national development through the generation of employment and engaging both directly and indirectly in initiatives and projects that promote intellectual and infrastructural development. Despite the prominence of the extractive industry in the country, agriculture remains the second major contributor to its GDP after the service industry at 22% by economic activity while mining and quarrying contributed 9.8% in 2013 (GSS 2014); agriculture also employed about 56 percent of the economically active population in the same year (FAO). Notwithstanding the agricultural sector’s huge contribution to revenue and employment, there is increasing threat of food insecurity within the country. This is due largely to the fact that the majority of productive lands are given out in concessions (Ofosu-Mensah 2011; OMAMTDP 2013), destruction and conversion of farmlands for mining activities and other purposes, dependence on rain-fed agriculture and poor storage and food processing and preservation facilities during abundant harvest (FAO). This has resulted in the increasing decline in agricultural sectors contribution to the economy although it still remains higher than the mining and quarrying sector (GSS 2014). Twerefou (2009) asserts that in Africa, the extractive industry is the second largest source of pollution as it is resource intensive and generates high concentrations of waste and effluents. It results in massive vegetation clearance and land excavation, decreasing forest cover, misuse of mining chemicals leading to decline in safe drinking water for humans, decline in air quality and loss of ecological biodiversity (Awudi 2002). The health implications of resource extraction include deafness, changes in vision, loss of sensation due to excessive mercury
concentration, cancer of the lungs, skin, liver and bladder as a result of arsenic concentration, brain and nerve cell destruction, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder and antisocial behavior as a result of lead concentration (REDOIL 2010).

3.3.2 Community and Company Profiles

Tarkwa is located within the Western Region of Ghana and is the capital of the Tarkwa-Nsuaem municipal district. It is predominantly a mining town although there are a number of farming and industrial communities. It is noted for the production of gold and manganese with recent discovery and production of oil. Gold mining in Tarkwa dates back to the 10th century and the Tarkwa mine is the largest open cast gold mine in the country. The city has about 23 mining related companies which are either small scale or large scale and owned by private individuals, multinational corporations or joint venture between the government and multinational corporations (Ghanadistrict 2006).

One such multinational corporation is AngloGold Ashanti (AGA). AngloGold Ashanti is the largest gold producing mining company in the world and its subsidiary in Ghana is one of the largest gold mining companies in Ghana. It has 17 gold mines in 9 countries and several exploration programs over the world. Its branch in Ghana was formed through a merger between Ashanti Goldfields Company Limited of Ghana and AngloGold Limited of South Africa in 2004 (AngloGold Ashanti 2014a). AngloGold Ashanti is South African owned and operates a number of mines in Iduapriem and Obuasi, communities in the western and Ashanti regions of Ghana respectively (AngloGold Ashanti 2014b). The mines in Obuasi and Iduapriem generated about 420,153 ounces of gold in 2014 and together with other mining companies contributed $422,631,000 to government revenue and $20,769,000 for CSR initiatives (Ghana Chamber of Mines 2014). The Ghana Chamber of Mines, the main mineral association in the country, has
adopted a policy which requires all partner mining companies to set aside a minimum of US$1 out of every earning per ounce of gold and also one percent of their net profit to develop their communities (GHEITI 2016). As part of the core strategies of the corporation, AGA focuses on five key business objectives: 1) safety, 2) long term sustainability, 3) profit optimization and maximization, 4) portfolio quality improvement and 5) improving their competitive advantage (AngloGold Ashanti 2014b). It also engages in a number of social investments in order to promote community well-being and consequently reduce their business risk and obtain a competitive advantage.

The Iduapriem mine located in Tarkwa in the western region was acquired by AGA in September 2007 and is a 110km² concession made-up of the Iduapriem and Teberebie properties. It is an open-pit mining operation with a crushing site and a carbon-in-pulp (CIP) plant. In Iduapriem, open cast mining activities, indiscriminate lumbering and felling of trees and destructive farming practices such as slash and burn have led to significant reduction in the forest cover of the municipality. Both the ground and surface water sources are heavily polluted with metals and other industrial waste coming from the different mines and other industries within the municipality. Only 48% of the communities within the municipality have access to safe pipe borne water. In addition, air pollution is a major source of worry for the municipal authorities and the citizens. Records of dust and chemical air pollution from the mines causing skin irritation, respiratory diseases and destruction of farm crops are widespread (Ghanadistrict 2006). The Tarkwa Nsuaem municipality which host Iduapriem has about 14.5% of its population living in poverty slightly below the Western Regions’ average of 19.2% and lower than the national average (calculated from the regional averages) of 30.24% (GSS 2015).
Teberebie and Adieyie communities located within the catchment area of AngloGold Ashanti’s Iduapriem mines were surveyed for this study (Figure 3-1). Teberebie and Adieyie were relocated from their original sites due to the close proximity of mining activities to their settlements. Nonetheless, due to expansion in the operations of AGA, the crushing site sits less than 7 kilometers from the Teberebie community. The major economic activity within the communities is farming although this has been limited due to the majority of farmlands being given off as concessions which have increased the distance farmers have to travel to access farmlands as well as decreasing fertility of the lands. Direct employment of community members by AGA is very limited as most are unskilled and unable to take advantage of the employment opportunities while most indirect and relatively low skilled employment have been given out to contractors who often employ from outside the communities (AngloGold Ashanti 2014a,b).
Figure 3-1 Map of Tarkwa Nsuaem showing study communities, Teberebie and some communities within Adieyie (Mile 7, 8, 9, 10½).

Source: Abdul-Rahaman et al. 2015
3.3.3 Profile of Institutions Surveyed

Minerals Commission

Minerals Commission was established through the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana under Article 269 and the Minerals Commission Act of 1993, Act 450 (Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources 2016). The commission is the government agency mandated to serve as the main promotional and regulatory body of the minerals sector in Ghana with the task of managing the mineral resources of the country and ensuring compliance with the laws and relations of the industry. It also provides advisory services to other government institutions such as the ministry of lands and natural resources and is accountable to the Parliament of Ghana. After the commission was established, the Mines Department which used to serve in the capacity of the commission was converted into the inspectorate division of the commission through the passage of Act 703. The commission aims to promote sustainable development through mining by actively engaging all stakeholders in a safe environment. In fulfilling its responsibilities, the commission actively collaborates with other government agencies such as the Geological Survey Department and the EPA.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

The Environmental Protection Agency was established out of the Environmental Protection Council (EPC) by Act 490 in 1994. With the establishment of the ministry responsible for the environment, the main advisory and policy formulation roles of the EPC to the government was re-assigned to the ministry necessitating the redefinition and organisation of the EPC. This led to the creation of the EPA which regulates and monitors all activities involving the environment so as to attain sustainable development and protection of the environment. The activities and operations of the agency are overseen by a 13 member board of directors, an executive director
and three deputy executive directors (divisional heads) (EPA 2017). To facilitate the discharge of their obligations, the EPA has developed the Akoben environmental performance rating and disclosure initiative to measure the environmental performance of the manufacturing and mining industry. Each company is assigned one of five colours (ranging from poor to excellent) for their performance in 7 broad categories with the outcome made available to both the companies and the general public (EPA 2010). The public disclosure ensures to a large extent that the companies improve on their activities and engage in ethical and environmentally accepted and friendly practices in order to secure a good corporate image and reputation. The effectiveness of the initiative is however hindered by a number of factors among which includes delays in the public disclosure of the results due to financial and human resource constraints. Up till the end of the field survey in August of 2016, the results for 2013-2015 had not been released.

**Ghana Chamber of Mines**

The Chamber of Mines is the main minerals industry association in Ghana and has been representing the collective interest of the industry since 1928. It is a private association funded by its member companies who produce approximately 90 percent of minerals which serves as one of the largest contributor to the revenue of the government of Ghana (Ghana Chamber of Mines n.d.). The member companies are grouped under five broad classifications of represented, pre-production, contract mining, exploration and affiliate. The chamber receives reports of all mine accidents and other safety issues and provides advisory services to its members when necessary. It engages in educational activities by furnishing the general public with information on the country’s mining laws and negotiates with labour unions of the mines on behalf of its members. Through an extensive committee system, the chamber ensures a good business environment exists
to aid its member companies and the country to thrive. This is facilitated by the extensive resource capacity of its member companies that are exploited to fulfil its mandates.

**Wacam**

The presence of a number of activist groups such as Wacam and TWN-Africa are actively seen within the extractive industry. Wacam was established in 1998 as a community based human rights and environmental mining advocacy NGO. Its operation began in 8 communities in the western region of Ghana but has spread to over 90 mining affected communities throughout the country. Their activities address the socio-economic and environmental issues emanating from the increased investment and activities within the mining industry. Specifically, Wacam engages in “community mobilisation, organisation and rights-based education for empowerment at the local, national, sub-regional and international levels”. From 2009 to 2013, approximately 900 community people, 150 journalists and 10 NGO’s within the three northern regions have been trained and have been instrumental in ensuring that emerging mining companies behave in ethically appropriate manner. Through their activities, regulatory agencies have investigated and sanctioned mining companies whose activities have resulted in the pollution of the environment and destruction of community livelihoods. Wacam works closely with various organisations such as CEPIL (Wacam 2016) which is instrumental in representing affected communities and individuals in the court of law.

**Centre of Public Interest (CEPIL)**

**Centre of Public Interest Law** is a non-governmental not for profit organization focused on the protection of human rights and was established in 1999 and incorporated under the companies code 1963 (Act 179). It was formed through discussion and collaboration between the current executive director of CEPIL (Dr Dominic Ayine), former CEO of the Savannah Accelerated
Development Authority and heads of the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) and TWN-Africa. Its main purpose is to protect the rights of vulnerable communities through public interest litigation and has been active in defending mining communities within the Wassa district in the Western region. CEPIL’s organisational concept was designed using models of public interest law practice from India and the US (CEPIL 2010).

**Third World Network (TWN)-Africa**

Third World Network -Africa is a policy research and advocacy organisation formed to address some of the strategic development issues facing Africa. As a regional organisation, it aids the “organisation and expression of African civil society at the supranational (regional, continental and global) levels on developmental issues” particularly facing the vulnerable and marginalised. Its activities focus on ensuring that policies and governance structures promote equitable distribution of economic benefits in areas such as trade and investments, regional economic integration, gender and economic policy, mining and development and climate change (TWN-Africa n.d.).

**Centre for Corporate Responsibility (CCR)**

Centre for Corporate Responsibility was set up following the outcome of a study sponsored by the British High Commission in South Africa and the German Development Agency (GIZ), conducted in 6 African countries. The study looked into the CSR practices of businesses within the countries which revealed that, there were no frameworks and guidelines being followed by businesses in undertaking their CSR initiatives rendering them philanthropic in nature with minimal contribution to community well-being. The Ghana chapter of the centre was therefore established between the University of Ghana Business School and the Centre for Cooperation with the Private Sector (CCPS), GIZ South Africa to mainstream corporate responsibilities in the country. The centre
hopes to encourage ethical and responsible business practices that is committed towards CSR and sustainability by equipping managers with the requisite skills needed to create and facilitate appropriate CSR initiatives. The centre runs its operations under 7 thematic areas which are streamlining corporate responsibility into business operations, business and human rights, business and the environment, anti-corruption, transparency and business ethics, partnerships in local supply chains, promoting/supporting and hindering factors for CSR and CSR reporting, disclosure and auditing (CCR 2013).

**IMANI Centre for Policy and Education, Ghana**

IMANI Centre for Policy and Education serves as a think tank institution within the African sub-region. The centre is headquartered in Ghana and has been ranked as one of the most influential policy think tanks in Africa, the most influential in Ghana and the second most influential in sub-Saharan Africa. IMANI works collaboratively with other institutions within the civil society, private sector, government and academia to undertake policy analysis and recommendation based on extensive research. With over 50 media allies in Africa and access to both print and electronic media, the centre provides regular communications of the outcome of their research to the general public to encourage public participation in decision making and holding government and other institutions accountable (IMANI Centre for Policy and Education n.d.).

**3.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the methodology used for the study was discussed. An ethnographic study which involved interviews, community survey and field observation was used to address the research questions identified. Government regulatory institutions, think tank institutions, advocacy groups, community leaders and a mining company and its associate were interviewed using semi-structured interview guide while questionnaires were administered to members of two resource
rich communities. The use of the thematic analysis method enabled the researcher obtain detailed and nuanced interpretation of the information obtained from the respondents from the perspective of those that experience the issues being investigated. The next chapter presents the result of the interviews and questionnaire survey under five broad sections. It incorporates direct quotes of respondents to establish a strong link between the data and interpretation of the date so as to improve the credibility of the results.
CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

The results from this research are framed in the context of mining dependent communities. The natural resource extractive industry is one of the most regulated industries in most countries due to its potential to cause significant harm to the environment and lives of residents in resource rich communities as well as its potential to yield significant benefits to society. While the industry contributes to the economy of countries through the payment of resource rents and royalties, it is being called upon to contribute to community development through its CSR initiatives. However, much contention exists between various stakeholders as to whether corporations are designed to undertake development, the nature and relevance of CSR and its ability to contribute significantly to community development. Critics of CSR hold that CSR is a greenwashing mechanism to prevent opposition to the negative impacts of the industry and consequently cannot contribute to the development of resource rich communities. On the other hand, proponents of CSR claim CSR has great potential to contribute to community development if it is conceptualized and operationalized appropriately. However, no consensus exists on what kind of conceptualization and operationalization of CSR is best for development and will maximize community benefits.

A proposition for corporations to engage in strategic CSR which creates shared value was suggested by some key respondents of this study and is supported to a large extent in the literature (Porter and Kramer 2011). Nonetheless, several challenges exist with the implementation of this suggestion within the natural resource extractive industry, particularly mining. For example it may increase community dependence on corporations and open them to more vulnerabilities during the operating of and closure of the mines. A contrary view is presented by Hermann (2004) who asserts that for CSR to be effective and contribute to development, it must involve the creation of “binding
legal obligations; and enforcing those binding laws” (2004, pg. 215). Empirical evidence reveals that law enforcement is often ineffective where it is needed the most. Andrews (2016) indicates that institutions and government in developing countries are faced with a number of implementation challenges which renders most of their laws fruitless. Furthermore, corporations maintain that regulating CSR will limit innovation and reduce its effectiveness and are thus opposed to this (Cleverdon 2002; Matthew 2004; Utting 2005 in Idemudia, 2008).

This chapter presents the results obtained from key informant interviews and community surveys. It begins with the demographic characteristics of community respondents providing information on their age, sex composition, educational attainment and occupation among others. It proceeds to present the results of the field survey undertaken to address the research questions formulated under 5 broad themes developed from the data guided by the literature reviewed for the study. These are: 1) impacts of the extractive activities of AngloGold Ashanti; 2), Measures to address negative impacts; 3) the conceptualization of CSR among various stakeholders; 4) Dominance of CSR and its influence on popular perception of the extractive industry and 5) the role of CSR in community development. The chapter concludes with a summary of the results presented.

4.1 Demographic Information of Community Respondents
Out of the 69 community respondents surveyed in Adieyie and Teberebie using questionnaires, 35 were male respondents and 34 were female. Of the 35 male respondents, 20 were from Adieyie and 15 from Teberebie while 21 females were recorded in Adieyie and 13 in Teberebie. The gender distribution of the sample population was influenced to a large extent by the desire of the researcher to obtain an equal number of male and female respondents as well as the availability and willingness of the respondents to participate in the study. The minimum age of respondents surveyed in Adieyie was 23 years and that for Teberebie was 22 years while the maximum age
recorded was 66 for Adieyie and 70 years for Teberebie. The age of male respondents from Adieyie averaged about 43 years while that of their counterparts in Teberebie averaged 46 years while that of female respondents in Adieyie was 38.5 and 52.6 for female respondents in Teberebie.

A relatively large number of respondents surveyed were non-local and had migrated to the study communities in search of job opportunities either as farmers, mine workers or galamsey (illegal mining) workers. In Adieyie, only 3 out of the 41 respondents identified themselves as natives of the land and 16 of the 28 respondents in Teberebie identified as natives. However, the researcher ensured that the respondents surveyed had lived in the community long enough to observe the impacts of AngloGold Ashanti on their lives and environment. Consequently, only respondents who had lived in the community for a minimum of 10 years were surveyed. The outlier was a midwife, the only health worker managing the clinic in Adieyie, who has been working in the community for 6 years. Health workers contacted in Teberebie indicated they had been in the community for only a few months and were also unwilling to participate in the survey. Some of the non-natives had lived in the communities for long periods of their lives as a result of their parents moving to the community in search of land for agricultural purposes, their marriage to natives of the land or their search for better opportunities. Table 4-1 provides a summary of the characteristics of respondents.
Table 4-1 Characteristics of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Residence status (%)</th>
<th>Gender (%)</th>
<th>Average age (years)</th>
<th>Average length of residence (years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Non-native</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adieyie</td>
<td>3 (7.31)</td>
<td>38 (92.69)</td>
<td>20 (48.78)</td>
<td>21 (51.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teberebie</td>
<td>16 (57.15)</td>
<td>12 (42.85)</td>
<td>15 (53.57)</td>
<td>13 (46.43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reasons for the relatively high number of non-native respondents in Adieyie compared to Teberebie could be attributed to the total population and size of the two communities. While Teberebie is made up of just one community, Adieyie is comprised of different communities such as Mile 8, Mile 9, Iduapriem and Agege among others. These communities are made up of the native community, relocated communities as well as a large section of immigrant communities. On the other hand, Teberebie is mainly made-up of the relocated community with a small immigrant population. On the average, the male respondents in Adieyie had lived in the community for about 23 years with their female counterparts staying for approximately 18 years. In Teberebie, the story is slightly different as on the average, the female respondents have lived longer (44 years) in the community while the males have lived in the community for approximately 38 years on the average. The range of the length of stay of respondents in Adieyie was 6 to 60 years while that in Teberebie was 10 to 70 years.

From the survey, it was observed that the educational attainment of respondents was relatively low in both communities as approximately 85.3% of respondent in Adieyie and 85.7% of respondents in Teberebie (Table 4-2) barely finished basic education. Out of the 85.3% respondents in Adieyie, 20% did not have any formal education, 20% completed or dropped out during the primary level
and 45.3% completed or dropped out at the junior high school (JHS) level. Approximately 33.3% of the 85.7% respondents in Teberebie did not have any formal education, 8.3% completed or dropped out during the primary level and 58.3% completed or dropped out at the junior high school (JHS) level. Only 4.8% and 9.7% of respondents from Adieyie and 10.7% and 3.7% from Teberebie made it to the senior high school and tertiary institution respectively.

Table 4-2 Educational Attainment of Community Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational attainment</th>
<th>Adieyie</th>
<th>Teberebie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal</td>
<td>3 (7.31%)</td>
<td>4 (9.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>4 (9.75%)</td>
<td>3 (7.31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHS</td>
<td>8 (19.51%)</td>
<td>13 (31.70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHS</td>
<td>2 (4.87%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>3 (7.31%)</td>
<td>1 (2.43%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over 90% of respondents in both communities were farmers or were combining farming with other activities such as teaching, trading and tailoring among others. Only 4 respondents in Adieyie, 1 male and 3 females, indicated they were currently not engaged in any activity that generated income while 5 respondents, 3 males and 2 females, in Teberebie indicated same. Other occupations listed by respondents include hairdressing, galamsey, baking, room attendance and casual worker. In Adieyie, 2 respondents indicated they had worked for AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) as an environmental quality tester and casual worker while 1 worker in Teberebie indicated he had worked with AGA as a security guard and two others were currently employed with the company. It must be noted that all respondents who had worked or were currently working with the company were male.
4.2 Impacts and Measures to address Impacts of AGA’s Activities

The impacts of natural resource extraction have been widely recorded. While the economic benefits have been largely recognized and often times overstated (Nistor 2007), the socio-economic and environmental ramifications, particularly in resource rich countries and communities, is dire (Ashton 1966; Jensen 1993; Robbins 2011; Symon 2007; Werthmann 2016). A case in point is the gold mining industry which contributed about 81 percent of the total revenue the government of Ghana received from the mining sector in 2014 (Ghana Chamber of Mines 2014). Results from the key informant interviews and community survey revealed that while AGA contributes to community well-being in the form of social investments, their activities have resulted in various human right abuses and socio-economic hardship for community members. According to AGA’s sustainability manager, their social investment initiatives are classified under five thematic areas; health, education, local economic development, sanitation and water. Under these themes, AGA engages actively with relevant government institutions and community leaders to undertake a number of initiatives that involve infrastructure development (health, sanitation and educational facilities), education and awareness creation (scholarships, health sensitization and screening) and capacity development (alternative livelihood training and local content development) (Figure 4-1).
Overall, AGA has renovated and built toilet facilities, classrooms, teachers’ quarters and health care centers, has provided educational scholarship packages to 88 beneficiaries from the 19 communities within their catchment areas, initiated and promoted the malaria control program which received international recognition and funding from the World Bank as well as a number of successful and failed alternative livelihood strategies. They also provided agricultural processing equipment and agricultural inputs to farmers although the chief of Adieyie and some community members indicated that this initiative had last been undertaken 4 years ago. Furthermore, AGA prides itself as employing local workers as “out of a total employees of about 550 or close to 600, we have only 2 expatriates, so it is very insignificant in terms of percentage” (AGA, 2016). Community members acknowledged that since the inception of large scale mining, their communities have
opened up and become more accessible to the main town through road networks constructed by the companies.

In addition, AGA has established a trust fund in which 1 percent of their net profit is committed to community development as part of their ‘stability/development agreement’ with the government. In 2004, the government of Ghana together with AGA signed a 15-year stability agreement\(^6\) that guaranteed a standard/flat rate royalty of 3 percent and a 30 percent income tax rate (Oxford Business Group 2013). This was to serve as security during periods of fluctuations in world gold prices. Since the institution of the trust fund, the direct social investments from AGA has drastically reduced. Aside from the scholarship initiative that AGA directly pays for, almost all other social investment initiatives they used to undertake are now taken care of through the trust fund which is managed by a board of trustees made up of representatives from the community, AGA and the assembly member. The interview with the former assembly member revealed that the communities have tried without success to negotiate with AGA to continue with their CSR initiatives in the communities despite the presence of the fund. This is because the resource in the trust fund is insufficient to simultaneously take care of the needs of the 19 communities within their catchment area and thus, CSR initiatives are undertaken on rotational bases among the communities. AGA, however, argues that the money from the fund is still from their coffers and thus, they cannot incur additional cost in undertaking extra CSR initiatives.

Not all community members benefit equally from the CSR initiatives undertaken in Adieyie and Teberebie particularly with the scholarship initiative. This is because the natives of the

\(^6\) An agreement between the government and corporations that enables government to obtain a fixed rate of resource rent during periods of fluctuations in world market prices while corporations are protected against increment in royalty, duty, taxes and long term mining lease significantly reducing their production cost (Oxford Business Group, 2013).
communities mostly incur a greater portion of the negative impacts of the activities of AGA due to their ownership and control over the majority of the community resources. Hence, it is their lands that are directly given out as concessions although non-natives may be indirectly affected as they will lose their access to land for productive activities guaranteed under shared cropping systems or other arrangements. Thus, giving priority to the needs of the natives off-sets the relatively high risk they incur from mining activities. In identifying the beneficiaries for the scholarship, the former assembly member mentioned that “there is a cut-off point for the scholarship. When you [students within the communities] fall within the cut-off point, you are selected. But the company may say they can only provide the scholarship package to 50 students while there are about 100 students who have qualified ... There are some who have immigrated into the communities because of the mines and are not natives of the communities so there is a committee, which is comprised of the assembly member, the head teacher of the school, representative of the education directorate in Tarkwa and a representative of AGA, which sit together to do the selection. The students selected together with their parents are interviewed to find out if the mines have had any direct impacts on them and their responses are taken into consideration in the selection. Thus, the kids of those who have been negatively affected by the company are considered first. If after this consideration and the number of students required for the scholarship are not attained, then the selected children of the non-natives are considered” (former Assembly member of Adieyie (male) 2016).

Despite the said benefits, most community leaders and members together with activist groups hold that the negative ramifications of AGA’s activities exceed their social investments. Interviews with community members, corroborated by Wacam and the former assembly member for Adieyie revealed a particularly serious incident. A shooting incidence occurred in Teberebie in 2006 involving company hired security officers and a community member. This led to severe injury of the community member in which healthcare outside the country was required. Although the
medical expenses of the victim were catered for by AGA and compensation was given, the effect of the incident on the victim as well as on the community has been long lasting: “They paid the hospital bills. They took him to 37 Military Hospital, and treated him till he was well. But now he can’t walk, he has to use crutches. He can’t work or do anything” (Female community respondent from Teberebie, 2016). Also, a community member indicated that not all the promises made to the victim have been fulfilled by the company.

Furthermore, it was revealed that levels of poverty and unemployment have increased in Teberebie and Adieyie since the inception of large scale mining by multinational corporations: “My own opinion of mining is that it has increased poverty situations in the communities” (Wacam, 2016). From the interview conducted with the officer from Wacam, it was revealed that a study conducted by Ghana Australian Company (which was taken over by AGA) during its operation revealed that while the national unemployment rate was about 30 percent, the unemployment rate in Teberebie was between 70-90 percent as lands were no longer available for farming activities. This reveals a conflict of interest over land use between communities and mining corporations. This has resulted in the increase in the prices of food stuff sold as well as the cost of living within the communities. Furthermore, galamsey activities which are purported by community members and the former assembly member of Adieyie to have existed before the inception of large scale mining have been curtailed as suitable lands have been given as concessions to AGA. Relatively cheaper transportation mediums such as the trotro (local name for commercial buses) do not use the route to and within the community thus residents have to depend on taxis which are relatively expensive and sometimes hard to come by.

Despite a large number of Ghanaians working for AGA, community leaders in Adieyie and Teberebie indicated that the majority of these employment opportunities are given to people from
outside the communities. Even when employment opportunities are made known to the communities, the requirements are high and thus community members are unable to take full advantage of them. Even employment of casual laborers is given out as contracts to companies who employ the majority of their workers from outside Adieyie and Teberebie further denying community members the little opportunity they have of employment. The Chief of Adieyie attributed this to the high level of favoritism and nepotism going on in the company and community. Also, the remuneration given by the contractors is lower than what they would have obtained if they were directly employed by AGA.

Women in Adieyie and Teberebie experience disproportionately high levels of the negative impacts of the activities of AGA due mainly to their role as care givers and their exclusion from productive activities within the mines. Due to the roles ascribed to individuals by society based on their gender and the patriarchal nature of Adieyie and Teberebie, women are left with the task of running the home, ensuring the needs of all family members are met as well as engaging in farming or other productive activities to generate income. This increases the burden on them and makes them more vulnerable than their male counterparts whose sole responsibility is to engage in activities to generate income. In Adieyie and Teberebie, women and children do not only travel long distances to farm but also to access water from the only available public water source which is a bit secluded from the community. Since the majority of the current water sources of the communities depend on ground water, during periods of drought, water becomes very scarce particularly when contractors mandated to occasionally supply water to the communities by AGA fail to turn-up. Teberebie however, no longer enjoys such services from AGA due to the community’s refusal to use the money generated from the sale of the water to undertake maintenance of their water facility.
Women are further disadvantaged by the gender roles ascribed by society as they are mostly excluded from taking up employment within the mine. Due to the low educational attainment of majority of community members in Adieyie and Teberebie, the majority of the job opportunities available are casual labour jobs. These jobs often involve hard labour and physical strength and are hence deemed inappropriate for women. This leaves women, particularly those with no or little access to lands for agriculture, with the only option of engaging in petty trading which is less profitable and may push them to engage in activities that exploit their sexuality and dignity. Extensive research and literature has been produced on the link between resource extraction and prostitution (Lahiri-Dutt 2012). Andrews (2015) in a study of resource extractive companies in Ghana noted that the patriarchal nature of the culture and institutions makes it easy for the sexual subordination and exploitation of women who are often times excluded from decision making and leadership roles. The outcome of his survey revealed however that local managers and workers associated with the companies on short or long term contracts as opposed to expatriates were mostly engaged in such acts. Nonetheless, female community respondents interviewed during this current research in both Adieyie and Teberebie were of the opinion that it is by choice that community members engage in sexual activities in exchange for favours from company workers. They noted that the presence of large scale mining has brought good marriages into the community as members who are able to settle down with some of the company staff are better off financially and socially. However, galamsey operators were sighted as the main culprit in teenage pregnancy and neglecting their parental responsibilities. Much of the blame was placed on the teenagers and their parents who allowed them to get involved in activities that resulted in their pregnancy rather than the men involved. Two respondents had this to say about the causes of teenage pregnancy: “I feel it all depends on the ladies in the community. Most of them lack the basic education about how to relate with men. I would, however, say that, such acts are promoted by the galamsey workers (female mid-wife in
Adieyie 2016)” and “But it depends on you the parent. It is your responsibility to ensure that your child does not do those things. Me for example, I would discipline you if you are my child and you decide to do those things because I never did them, and you dare not do any of that too” (female community respondent in Teberebie 2016).

Coupled with this, is the lack of involvement of women in decision-making processes in the communities. Out of the 34 female respondents in this survey, 28 (82 percent) indicated they no longer frequently attended community meetings to discuss their concerns with community leaders and AGA since their concerns and suggestions were often not taken into consideration. Thus, they will often make known their peculiar challenges and make various suggestions about intended projects to be undertaken but will later realise their suggestions were not taken. Most of the female respondents in Adieyie made reference to a mushroom project AGA suggested as an alternative source of livelihood for them. Issues with the weather condition and available market which they identified could serve as challenges to the success of the project were not taken into consideration and AGA went ahead with the project which collapsed after a few month of implementation. Furthermore, due to their numerous commitments and responsibilities to their families, the women found the times scheduled for the meetings as unsuitable for them and thus are unable to attend. Some of them acknowledge that the lack of female association prevented them from having a united and powerful front to push for their interest and concerns to be adequately addressed. The Queen mother of Adieyie indicated that a union or association of women does not exist in the community but she sometimes hold meetings with women in the community to discuss AGA’s initiatives with them.

In comparing the direct economic benefits local petty traders obtain from galamsey operations as opposed to mining companies, a local trader had this to say: “And because there is no galamsey in
“this area, life in this town is now a struggle... when you are selling items, you struggle before it gets finished” (Female community respondent in Teberebie 2016). This was corroborated by the Chief of Adieyie who mentioned that galamsey workers and farmers engage in more economic activities in the community than the mine workers who usually do not reside in the community and thus do not purchase from community members. These statements reveal minimal direct economic benefit of the presence of AGA in the communities as the purchase of locally produced food and other items has declined with the presence and activity of AGA. Since the majority of the workers of AGA do not hail from and are not resident in the communities, are provided with catering facilities during working hours and may find the living conditions in the communities below their standard, they do not patronise items sold by community members. On the other hand, the activities and presence of galamsey workers who usually purchase from local sellers have been curtailed due to the polluting nature of their activities which has raised concerns of environmental and health implications and recently led to a nation-wide campaign (#stopgalamseynow#) against galamsey. While this campaign may result in positive outcomes in the form of environmental protection, it will have a negative implication on the socio-economic lives of galamsey operators as well as the families and communities that depend on the revenue it generates (see Box 1).
Complementary to this, is the issue with the calculation and payment of compensation to community members who have lost their properties, be it land, houses or farmlands due to concessions given out to AGA. Some community members complained of receiving very little compensation, delay in payment or refusal of AGA to compensate them for a property destroyed or taken away. A male Teberebie community respondent indicated that “They took a land of about fifteen acres and they give us only an amount worth for 0.9 acres. ... So I have sent it to CHRAJ [Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice] for them to look into the case for me. So if you have come to ask me, I would say that they [AGA] are killing us in this town” (Male Teberebie community
The legal practitioner from CEPIL in his statement said: “One issue that cuts across almost all the cases was the fact of non-compensation for expropriations of lands and properties from these community members” hence corroborating the claims from the communities. This was further confirmed by the sustainability manager of AGA, who revealed that “99.9 percent of community complaints are related to land compensation activities and or maybe resettlement activities...”. While AGA agrees that delay in compensation payment leads to tensions between the company and community members, they are quick to add that they mostly give compensations over and above the amount recommended by the valuating team of the Lands Commission. However, the Associate Executive Director of Wacam revealed fundamental challenges with the valuation of community property and payment of compensation. She asserts that there are a number of discrepancies in the Act that talk about compensation, how it should be negotiated and implemented to ensure that communities are not worse off. The Stools Lands Amendment Act 2000 (Act 586) and the Minerals and Mining Act 2006 (Act 703) makes various provisions (see Box 2) that should ensure/guarantee if well implemented that community members receive fair, adequate and prompt compensations and livelihood restoration before the start of mining activities (Royal Network and Advertising Limited 2013; Minerals and Cadastral System 2006; Ministry of Finance-GHEITI 2015). Thus, Wacam indicates that “if that is done, then there won’t be a need for corporate social responsibility because the farmers will have their livelihoods restored and they can continue with the form of activity that they were engaged in before mining” (2016).
Furthermore, the consideration made in the calculation of compensations falls short of what is required by law which demands that payment is made for the market value of the property, the economic life of the crop, loss to dependents and those that subsist on the resource be it communally or individually owned. Since this is not done, women and children who depend, for example, the forest for various products (firewood, wild fruits etc) for household consumption and sometimes for sale are left unaccounted for in current compensation schemes. The officer from Wacam (2016) has this to say about the compensation scheme “…you pay a compensation for oil palm or cocoa to a tune of ‘20 cedi per tree’ and it is a one off payment and you brag about corporate social responsibility, you have not even restored what community people have lost, let alone improving their lot”.

On the other hand, community members have been accused of engaging in speculative development activities. AGA complained that community members sometimes put up structures when they hear of a potential takeover of their lands by the company or claim their property has

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**Box 2- Internal Regulations and Guidelines for the Mining Industry**

The Stools Lands Amendment Act of 2000 (Act 586)- In order to address the loopholes and discrepancies in the Town and Country Planning Ordinance 1975 (CAP 84) which considered the compulsory acquisition of private land by the state, the States Land Act 1962 (Act 125) was formulated. After years of implementing the State Lands Act, it was realised that it was deficient in a number of areas thus the 1992 constitution which superseded all other laws within the country filled in the gap till the Stools Lands Amendment Act 2000 (Act 586) was enacted. Act 586 removed the restrictions on the types of lands that could be compulsorily acquired by the state and indicates that in determining compensation, the Lands Commission must take into consideration the market value, the cost of disturbance, the extent of the disturbance and the increase in value to neighbour properties. Further provisions under the act include the resettlement of affected parties with consideration for their economic, social and cultural backgrounds. The Minerals and Mining Act 2006 (Act 703) further reiterates this by providing principles by which compensations should be calculated and paid. Compensation made for compulsory acquisition of property must be fair, prompt and adequate. The affected person(s) may apply to the high court when they are dissatisfied with the terms of the compensation given (Minerals and Cadastral System 2006; Ministry of Finance-GHEITI 2015).
been impacted by the operations of the company all in a bid to get compensation. This was also emphasized by the EPA officer in Tarkwa who indicated that, overnight, building structure spring up and community members want compensation for properties that are not needed or impacted by the company. However, an important issue was raised during an interview with a former male youth leader of Teberebie when he questioned the allegations of speculative demand. Should the lives of community members come to a standstill once a mining company comes into town or expresses interest in purchasing the lands of the people? When does developing one’s own property become illegal and who determines this? These are some questions that arise and speak to the issue of self-determination which has become a critical issue in EJ and neoliberalism.

Activist groups, community leaders and members particularly in Teberebie which is located very close to the crushing site of AGA further revealed the impacts of blast and dust on their infrastructure and health. Observable cracks were noticed in some of the buildings in Teberebie and the noise from the blast was heard several times during the period of interviews in the community. Aside that, the roads which run through the communities and connect them to the main town are un tarred and dusty and require regular watering which often times gets delayed. Thus, community members have to deal with the dust that is generated anytime a vehicle uses the roads or there are strong winds. There was also speculation of chemical pollution of the water bodies and soil community members in Adieyie and Teberebie depended on. This was however quickly dismissed by the officer from AGA and EPA who indicated that there has never been an incidence of chemical pollution either accidentally or intentionally from the Iduapriem mines. The EPA officer had this to say: “We know how chemicals are handled on the mine. So hardly will chemical contamination be a cause of water pollution” (EPA 2016). He however added that all mining companies in Tarkwa including AGA had experienced some form of accidental spillage of their contaminated
processed water. Nonetheless, community members are of the opinion that the challenges they face with their water, air and soil can be attributed to the operations of AGA. In the community survey in Adieyie, a young male farmer indicated that “We used to drink from Anwonampe, the river of the community, but the operations of AGA have brought pollution to the water. We drink from private wells of some few people in the community. AGA dug a borehole but that could not succeed because the water was oily with the chemicals used in the mining” (A young male farmer from Adieyie 2016). While AGA tried hard to dissociate its activities from those of its previous owners, most community members interviewed lumped them together and saw no significant difference in their operations aside differences in the management of the company.

As part of the mechanism to regulate and control the activities of corporations, the EPA developed the Akoben rating which is an “environmental performance rating and disclosure initiative” that measures the environmental performance of manufacturing and mining companies. It uses a five-color rating scheme to assess the toxic and non-toxic release and hazardous waste management practices of corporations through rigorous data collection, analysis and evaluation process. The results of the rating which are grouped into 7 categories (Figure 4-2) are made known to the corporations as well as the general public in a bid to encourage corporations to improve and better their operations to redeem their public image (EPA 2010). This rating serves as a check and caution to the mining companies to improve their operations to ensure safety of the environment and good health of the people. Companies whose activities are very detrimental to the environment are fined and this serves as a note of caution to the others. Thus through this, the EPA keeps these companies on their toes and makes sure that they put mitigative measures in place in order to reduce their negative impact on the environment and health of the people. Nonetheless, the AGA officer revealed that although they respect and appreciate this initiative of the EPA, they have some issues with the
parameters as well as how some indicators are measured and accessed. The EPA officer confirmed this and further indicated that it is not only the AGA that has issues with the rating system but all the mining companies.

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<th>AKOBEN RATING SYSTEM</th>
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<td>Legal requirements</td>
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<td>Hazardous and toxic waste- onsite management, spills and accidents</td>
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<td>Compliance with environmental quality standards</td>
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<td>Environmental monitoring and reporting</td>
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<td>Best practices- environmental management</td>
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<tr>
<td>Complaints management and community relations</td>
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<td>CSR</td>
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Figure 4-2 Akoben Rating System

Source: Environmental Protection Agency 2010

4.3 Conceptualization of CSR

Corporate social responsibility is faced with a fundamental challenge of conceptualisation which impacts significantly on the theorising and operationalisation of the concept (Idemudia 2008, 2011; Gond and Moon 2011; Okoye 2009; Lin-Hi 2010). This challenge emerged as a key theme throughout the field work as most of the stakeholders disagreed on what constitutes CSR, its relevance and how it should be undertaken. The officer from Wacam held that current CSR initiatives are greenwashing mechanism which only serve to divert attention from the unaddressed
negative ramifications of the industry. Based on extensive research and analysis conducted by her outlet, she indicates corporations do not adequately fulfil the requirements and demands of the law that govern their activities and are also inefficient in preventing and dealing with the negative impacts of their activities. Thus, corporations would not have to engage in CSR if they were efficient in meeting the demands of the law as this guarantees that communities are better off and able to benefit from the presence of mining activities. Consequently, if mining companies calculate and pay the right amount of compensations, the socio-economic lives of communities are not altered drastically due to mining activities, they are able to self-determine what happens to major aspects of their lives, and mining companies obey environmental guidelines and standards to the letter, there will be no need for voluntary social investments from corporations.

However, the officer from the EPA and CCR are of a different view as they believe that CSR is significant as it shows the relevance of a corporation in a community. The officer from CCR when asked of the relevance of CSR stated emphatically that: “Yes, there is a need. If you have read enough CSR literature, you will see that CSR is not philanthropy. CSR is everything and some documents mention economic, legal and ethical and so on” (2016). Thus, from this and other relevant statements made (“The mere fact that the company is in existence, is being efficient and is making profit means that there is some CSR going on”), about the conceptualisation of CSR by the CCR officer, there is no clear distinction between the legally mandated responsibilities and voluntary activities of corporations. Hence, everything a corporation does from its legal obligations to its social investment can be classified as CSR (Lin-Hi 2010) once it contributes to the economic, social and environmental development of society. This ideology relates to a recent and still evolving campaign for corporate taxes of companies to be considered as part of their CSR as through this companies contribute to societal wellbeing (Scheiwiller and Symons 2009). This then distorts and complicates the
discourse on CSR as the fundamental principle of CSR is that it is voluntary and non-legislated and thus an add-on to corporations’ legal obligations. The EPA officer indicated that since government initiated development projects hardly gets to resource rich communities, it is pertinent for mining corporations to contribute to community development through their CSR initiatives. Hence CSR is very relevant but should not be seen as a replacement of government’s social obligation to its people. Since corporations are keen on securing a SLO from communities, their engagement in CSR is critical to the survival and profitability of their businesses.

However, recent trends and empirical evidence are casting doubt on the perceived power and influence of communities on corporations through SLO’s. An incident that occurred in one of the communities and narrated by the AGA officer reveals the diminishing power of communities to enforce SLO. According to the officer “If it can’t be done, it can’t be done. We have times when communities have wanted to demonstrate for us to come in. We say no, we are not the government. We can do what we can do. In a community, I think the road was bad and they said that if you [AGA] don’t fix the road they will demonstrate. I heard that and I told the chief to tell them to demonstrate. There are laws in Ghana. If we have destroyed your road, that is impact mitigation we will fix it but if we haven’t destroyed your road, we pay tax to government” (AGA, 2016). Thus, the critical question that needs to be addressed and has been neglected in literature is what demands of communities are justified under the SLO framework? Mitchell et al (1997) assert that different stakeholders have different power and influence over the activities of corporations and thus command different levels of attention and value from corporations. By classifying different stakeholders under homogenous categories of a geographic location like mining communities, critical differences are blurred out.

While the institutions interviewed were concerned with the conceptualization of CSR, community leaders and members were critical of the quality of the CSR initiatives that were being undertaken
by AGA. A community member in one of the relocation houses in Adieyie complained of the
gility of the building materials used in the construction of the houses. She indicated that after a
few months in the houses, they began to observe wear in the floors of the building. Also,
community members in Adieyie revealed failures of CSR initiatives of AGA which were due to
poor consultation, planning and inferior infrastructure development. The alternative livelihood
training for mushroom farming stood out during the community survey. Community members
stated that they were just informed of the initiative and their concerns about the feasibility of the
project considering the environmental condition of the area and the interest of the target group
were not paid attention to. Furthermore, the structure put up to organize the training and house the
mushroom seedlings was not well invested into, thus, it fell apart after a few months. When asked
about the monitoring of the level of quality of their CSR initiatives, the AGA officer indicated that
‘we give a contract for companies to do it and they do it under our supervision. We supervise projects from
beginning to the end...’ (2016). This does not, however, explain community complaints of poor
quality CSR initiatives.

Community leaders, as well as, members also revealed that the clinics provided in both
communities lacked vital medications and well-trained health workers which meant that most of
the health cases reported at the clinics were referred to the clinics and hospitals in the main town.
The midwife who is the only staff of the community clinic in Adieyie indicated that she provided
midwifery, diagnostic and prescriptive serves to community members. Thus, she doubles up as a
doctor and pharmacist and refers patients to other health facilities in the main town when she is
unable to attend to their needs. Community members also complained that some of the alternative
sources of water such as boreholes provided by AGA were unsafe due to their oily nature and bad
taste while others were not functioning. The Chief of Adieyie indicated that the plan for the six
class room building (second figure in Figure 4-1) being put up by AGA was changed during construction without consultation with the elders and members of the community. He indicated that: “when they [AGA] said they were going to put up the school building, they showed us the plan and other documents and we agree to it. But it got to a point where changes were made without them calling on us to inform us about it”. This was corroborated by the former assembly member in Adieyie. This change saw the reduction in the size of the proposed building with no associated reduction in the estimated cost involved. This has resulted in community suspicion and mistrust for AGA leading to constant community-company confrontations as revealed by the Chief.

Community concerns also centered on the sustainability of good CSR initiatives which had either been stopped or scaled down. Farmers indicated that they used to receive farm inputs in the form of cutlasses, boots, fertilizers, pesticides among other items on rotational bases but this program was last organized 4 or 5 years ago. All 30 sampled respondents from Teberebie complained about certain CSR initiatives enjoyed by other communities within the catchment zone of AGA which had not been extended to them. They were of the opinion that they bear the greatest burden from the operations of AGA due to their relatively close proximity to the crushing site of the mine where the mineral ore is obtained and transported to other places for processing, but are the least of the beneficiaries of AGA’s social investments. The CSR initiative under contention is the free electricity provided to Adieyie and surrounding communities. Although AGA has been contemplating eliminating the free electricity initiative to the opposition of beneficiaries, members of Teberebie are pushing for the extension of the initiative to their community.

**4.4 Dominance of CSR and its Influence on popular Perception of the Extractive Industry**

The argument that CSR is a medium for corporations to silence the opposition of key stakeholders against their negative ramifications and enable them to operate as business as usual has been
around for decades (Gilberthorpe and Banks 2012; Hilson 2012). However, much empirical evidence has not been produced to support this assertion particularly during these times where information has become so accessible and communities more assertive of their rights and privileges. The interview with the officer from CCR revealed that due to the large amount of stakeholder activism particularly within the mining industry, regulatory authorities have become stricter in the enforcement of regulations regardless of the CSR initiatives that are being undertaken. He further mentioned that communities are increasingly demanding that the right things are done and taking charge of their lives and environment by declaring ownership of the land upon which extractive activities are taking place. He stated that the people are saying: “We don’t care what contract you have with the government. The government doesn’t own the land. The land belongs to us...” (2016). He, however, acknowledges that the unequal distribution of power and resources among the government, mining companies and communities hamper their ability to effectively self-determine what happens to their life and environment. This statement by the officer from AGA: “…if we give you a pen, we let everybody know we gave you a pen because the community wouldn’t talk about it. ...she is one of my communications officers, she used to work with TV Africa, we brought her here, so she is helping us (2016) confirms this fact. The company has money to employ various methods to portray a positive image to the general public while communities are unable to fully express their concerns and make it known to a larger audience. Thus, community members are unable to get adequate and fair representation in the media thus creating the impression that their opinion and agitations have been silenced by the CSR initiatives of the company. Furthermore, by employing tactics of intimidation and human rights abuses (IACHR n.d.), corporations are able to minimise the agitation of communities over the negative impacts of their activities. The officer from Wacam indicates that: “There is intimidation going on in the communities which is not appropriate. All mining companies are doing similar things...As for the mining intimidation, it is even there for us...The
killings, the maiming of community members, using guard dogs to eat up community members, shooting of community members” (Wacam, 2016).

In addition, community members are not furnished with adequate information about the true impacts of the mines on their environment, health and livelihood. Access to information forms a critical part of the free prior informed consent that is required before corporations commence their activities in local communities and is crucial for self-determination (Wilburn and Wilburn 2011). Without this, communities will be unable to make informed decisions and may not be able to demand that the right thing is done by corporations. The community surveys revealed that results of numerous tests undertaken by AGA on the water bodies, soil, air and health of the people together with their workers from the communities are not made known to them. A former male worker of AGA in Teberebie explained that when a group of the workers was about to be laid off, they undertook various health check-up and tests which were paid for by AGA but they were not given access to the results of the medical examination. When they inquired from the company, they were told to conduct medical examinations of their own if they wanted to know the state of their health (Former male worker of AGA, 2016). Another former worker of AGA in Adieyie who was directly involved in conducting environmental tests, as well as others interviewed in the community survey, revealed that the communities are not informed of the outcome of the tests but they receive an advisory not to use their water bodies and other environmental resources when there is the likelihood of contamination or danger. The officer from AGA stated that: “our actions don’t pollute, chemical pollution in water is out but for the fact that it is surface mining you don’t encourage the communities to use the streams that are around” (2016). This may, however, make community members skeptical about the operations and impacts of AGA and speculate that their water bodies have been polluted by the operations of the company. The lack of trust that community members
have for their leaders further deprives them of the kind of representation they need to attract attention to their complaints and plight. Community members are of the view that their leaders are easily corrupted and influenced by the corporation and thus do not pursue the interest of the community. This result is confirmed by other research conducted by Andrews (2015) on the CSR initiatives of transnational corporations, Newmont and Kinross in Ghana, where he found that community members were of the opinion that their leaders were exploiting them for their own benefits.

Despite all these challenges and factors that hinder communities from openly and freely expressing their displeasure about the operations of AGA and the CSR initiatives that are ongoing in their communities, community members are still critical of the operations of AGA. Community leaders and members were asked during the survey to rank the performance of AGA by comparing their negative impacts to their CSR initiatives. A range of 1-5 was given with 1 representing minimum performance and 5 representing best performance, however, some community members insisted on giving a score of 0 as they did not see any benefit with the presence of AGA but only negative implications. Below is a graph (Figure 4-3) showing the ranking of AGA’s activities by Teberebie and Adieyie community members. The ranks given by community leaders (Adieyie: Chief-2, Linguist-2, Queen mother-1, former Assembly member-4, Teberebie: Gyasihene-1, Kontihene-2) are also included in the figure below.
It can be observed from Figure 4-3 that the performance of AGA was ranked relatively lower in Teberebie than Adieyie as Teberebie recorded a higher number of respondents ranking AGA within the 0 range and none within the 4 and 5 range. The probable explanation to this might be the close location of AGA’s crushing site to the community which generates a lot of noise and dust pollution and damage to their homes and other infrastructure. Despite the impacts, Teberebie does not enjoy some of the CSR initiatives AGA undertakes in other communities such as the free electricity that Adieyie and surrounding communities are beneficiaries of. There has also been a number of community-company confrontations and disagreements that have rendered community members bitter and agitated over the operations of AGA. This reveals that CSR has been unsuccessful in silencing community opposition as communities have become more critical of the operations of extractive companies and assertive of their rights.

While officers from Wacam and TWN-Africa as well as community leaders in Adieyie and Teberebie held strong opinions that the CSR initiatives of the resource extraction companies do
not suffice to compensate for their negative ramification on communities and the environment, officers from EPA, CEPIL, IMANI and Chamber of Mines held the opinion that corporations were doing their best in terms of their CSR initiative. Since corporations pay taxes to government and royalties to resource rich communities and their activities are subject to a number of regulations, their CSR initiatives are an extra-effort and commitment they make to community welfare which should be appreciated. The Chief from Adieyie stated that: “the CSR initiatives of AGA no matter how well it is done cannot return the community to the way it was before the inception of mining”. Though it cannot be concluded whether the CSR initiatives of AGA and the mining industries as a whole has influenced the reaction of think tank institutions, regulatory bodies and community leaders to the ramification of the industry, it can be seen that some of the agencies particularly the EPA were trivialising the complaints and plight of resource rich communities. In his interview, the EPA officer indicated that mining “involves the use of explosives. The group you came to meet here, that was one critical area they were hammering. Then I told him, my brother, we are living in a mining communities. It is because it is a mining community that is why we are all here. He is complaining about mine blast impact on his farm and hamlet in Ampoyo. I am here in Tarkwa, the capital and I get impacts of the blast. Look at the cracks in my wall” (2016). By inference, it can be said that community members are not expected to complain about impacts that are inherent to the activities of mining corporations.

As part of the 7 assessment categories of the Akoben rating (see Figure 4-2), the CSR initiatives of corporations are assessed. However, due to the voluntary and self-regulatory nature of CSR, the EPA has been unable to develop comprehensive assessment criteria and therefore rate corporations based on what they report as their CSR initiative and what they actually do in the communities. Consequently, it can be observed that all corporations mostly score a gold on their CSR initiatives. Based on the 2012 rating of the Akoben (which is the latest the researcher was able to access from the internet), AGA’s Iduapriem mines scored fairly on non-toxic release, monitoring and reporting
and environmental best practice. Due to human and financial resource challenges, the agency has been unable to release the latest Akoben rating for the 2013-2015 years. The officer from EPA indicated that the implementation of the Akoben rating has put corporations on their toes and given the agency the opportunity to focus its efforts on other activities and initiatives. He stated that without the Akoben rating, he will be: “compelled to be running to the field every time”. However, corporations know that: “any point in time that [they] flout or bridge the criteria, [they] may be exposed and that will bring [them] down. So they are very conscious and doing self-regulation so it is a better tool for us. At the same time for them because the better colours [they] get, the better it is for [their] image” (2016).

4.5 Role of CSR in Development

Should corporations be expected to engage in the development of resource rich communities? Although this question may seem to demand a simple yes or no answer, interviews with different stakeholders reveal diverse and complex responses worth considering. The officer from TWN-Africa was emphatic in his view that corporations should not be expected to engage in long term community development projects. He stated that: “No, they shouldn’t and for me, this is important also in how we situate CSR. I won’t expect mining companies to be active in development. They are not set up to do development” (2016). He insists that communities have a social contract with the state and the fact that there is a general state retreat from development responsibilities, does not mean corporations should take-up that responsibility. The state remains the primary actor in community development although corporations can be called upon to play a role but not to become the main actors of development. The officer from AGA expressed the company’s willingness to contribute significantly to the development of Adieyie and Teberebie but their efforts were restrained by the need to satisfy the basic needs of the communities which have largely been ignored by the government. They, however, worked closely with government institutions in their CSR initiatives.
Similar assertions were made by officers from Chamber of Mines, CEPIL and EPA who indicated that mining corporations are actively working with the government to situate their CSR initiatives within the national development framework. According to the Chamber of Mines officer, “... we shouldn't forget that any project we do in CSR is done in collaboration with the government. It could be the regional government or the local government but you find a government footprint or presence in the design and execution of the project” (2016). Thus, through the minerals development fund act (reportingoilandgas.org, 2016), the minerals development bill (see Box 3) was formulated to ensure that projects and initiatives organised with the trust/CSR fund promote the long-term and sustainable development of resource rich communities.
Box 3- Internal Policies and Guidelines for CSR Initiatives

Minerals Development Fund Bill was passed into law in 2014 as a means of addressing the development challenges mining communities face. Although the fund was established by government in 1993, the bill in 2014 was needed due to misappropriation of the fund. The bill provides the legal basis for the disbursement and management of royalties received by government in a way that promotes socio-economic development in mining communities. Through the mining community development scheme as well as guidelines for corporate social responsibility projects established under the bill, mining communities are expected to directly benefit from the extraction of minerals from their lands. The fund is financed with 20 percent of mineral royalties from mining leases received by the Ghana Revenue Authority, money approved by parliament, grants, donations, gifts and money from investment made by the board of the fund. The fund is also to provide financial resources for traditional and local government agencies as well as other holders of interest in the land (Reportingoilandgas.org 2016).

The minerals commission has also developed guidelines for corporate social responsibility within mining communities. According to the officer interviewed the guidelines are intended to serve “industry, regulatory agencies and other stakeholders as benchmarks for development, implementation and assessment of CSR programs and activities by mining companies”. The guidelines are voluntary and corporations that commit to them must report on the planning, monitoring and assessment of their CSR initiatives in order to promote transparency and demonstrate their compliance with the principles and guidelines of the policy. They must also provide feedback to the commission which will inform any modification or alteration to the policy. The guidelines are presented under 10 themes and subject to review every 5 years in consultation with all relevant stakeholders (officer from Minerals Commission 2016).

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<td>Workplace and labour standards</td>
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The officer from CEPIL further revealed that there have been instances where community development initiatives of mining companies have been stalled by government institutions because they were not going to directly benefit (monetary wise) from the project. He gave an instance where a road project intended to be constructed by one of the companies was not done because officials from the Highways Authority were adamant that they should be given the money to construct the road themselves or the construction will not be authorised, and it was not. Thus, some community development projects can be hindered by the very governmental agencies mandated to ensure development because of corruption and the selfish interest of individuals. The officer from Wacam had a completely different opinion on corporations contributing to community development as she was of the view that no real development can be done by corporations if they don’t first address their ramifications and appropriately comply with regulations. She stated that “So now, instead of engaging in their responsibility, they are playing games and paying very little compensations and claim they are engaged in CSR to who’s benefit. ... So if even you are building a university, factory etc. in each community and there are no means of accessing them, what is the use?” (Wacam 2016). The important point from this is the ability of communities to be self-reliant and not depend on corporations for their every need. On the other hand, community leaders and members were of the opinion that once AGA is operating in the community and is extracting and profiting from the resources of the community, it is necessary that they invest in the development of the communities.

One medium through which corporations are encouraged to contribute to sustainable development is through their CSR initiatives. Idemudia (2008) asserts that focus has shifted away from whether corporations should engage in development to how CSR can be harnessed for community development. But what kind of CSR initiative promotes sustainable development? According to
the officer from CCR, corporations must engage in strategic CSR initiatives that generate shared value\(^7\) for the community and corporation. He argues that strategic CSR to promote development does not take away from government responsibility to its people but rather enables corporations to obtain competitive advantage and improve their public image. By engaging in internal strategic CSR by training staff and attracting a highly qualified and motivated labour force, corporations are able to encourage creativity and innovation and promote productivity. At the same time, corporations must engage in external CSR initiatives that promote and sustain their business activities. The CCR officer in explanation, gave a hypothetical example as follows: “a company in Ghana that uses cocoa in its business and doesn’t write free cheques for people. What it does is to develop the farmers’ livelihood and make it extremely impossible for the farmers to leave the cocoa industry because the company’s entire existence rests on their ability to purchase cocoa beans. And so if you make the lives of the farmers intertwined with the cocoa business then for as long as there are farmers, there are going to be cocoa beans…” (CCR 2016). Thus, corporations’ CSR must be tailored towards promoting activities within the community that feeds into their supply chain and generates income so that corporations will not “... automatically regard CSR as a cost and when you do philanthropic CSR it is a cost because you are spending money and nothing is coming back. As soon as the economy gets difficult, interest rates go up, you cut down on your CSR and you don’t get any benefit. But if you do strategic CSR, you run your CSR as if CSR is a business within your business and so long as you’re making money out of it, why are you going to stop?” (CCR, 2016)

To facilitate the development and implementation of CSR initiatives to promote community development, the Minerals Commission of Ghana has developed some guidelines for CSR implementation within the mining industry. Although these guidelines are non-mandatory and

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\(^7\) Policies and operating practices that generates economic value in a way that produces value for society by addressing its challenges. Companies find business opportunities in social problems (Shared Value Initiative n.d.).
corporations are encouraged to adapt them, the mining sector, it seems has accepted and is implementing them. There however seems to be a conflict in institutional roles as the Ministry of Trade, Centre for Corporate Business and other stakeholders have also developed CSR guidelines and policy for businesses in Ghana. However, since the Minerals Commission serves as the main promotional and regulatory body of the minerals sector in Ghana and the policy developed by the Ministry of Trade has not yet received government approval, mining companies are abiding by the guidelines of the Commission. The guideline from the minerals commission is presented under 10 themes (see Box 3) with each theme having a set of key requirements and measurement indicators. It is hoped that these guidelines will be effective in promoting sustainable community development, however, it being voluntary and non-enforceable can serve as a major drawback.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be observed that the majority of the stakeholders interviewed consider the CSR initiative of AGA as insufficient to compensate for its ramifications on the environment and the socio-economic life of the people of Teberebie and Adieyie. The quality of the CSR initiatives as well as the true bearers of the cost of CSR initiatives have come under great scrutiny as stakeholders such as Wacam believe that the communities and the government of Ghana are those who actually pay for the CSR initiatives that corporations undertake. Furthermore, community members of Teberebie and Adieyie are of the opinion that the CSR initiatives of AGA are of poor quality and thus compromises on sustainability particularly of infrastructure. On the other hand, some stakeholders such as EPA and IMANI attest that corporations are doing their best since CSR is a voluntary initiative and an add-on to the taxes and royalties they pay to government and communities. With respect to how CSR can contribute to community development, suggestions for corporations to engage in strategic CSR were given by the officer from CCR, however, some
challenges have been identified with this approach. It has also been suggested in literature (Hermann 2004) that CSR must be made binding with a set of enforceable regulations and laws that will ensure sustainable development within communities. This suggestion is however far from being actualised particularly in Ghana as the corporations insist on having it remain voluntary.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses the results of the study by identifying and providing possible explanations for the observed outcomes as well as their implications for community wellbeing and development. It identifies how and why resource rich communities are faced with the disproportionate distribution of the cost of natural resource extraction. It advances further to analyse two critical theories, stakeholder and EJ, that address the challenges of resource rich communities from different perspectives and the resultant implication of the solutions proposed. It identifies some of the consequences of the different CSR conceptualisations and operation in the study sites to the promotion of sustainable development within resource rich communities and the various challenges community members face in their struggle for environmental and social protection. The chapter finally draws a conclusion to the research and makes recommendations for improving the lives of resource rich communities like Adieyie and Teberebie.

5.1 Situating the Impacts of the Natural Resource Extractive Industry within the Stakeholder Theory and Environmental Justice (EJ) Framework

The resource extractive industry is of relevance not only to the economies of resource rich countries but also to those of resource dependent countries. It serves as a pillar that sustains the global economic system of capitalism that has been identified as a major cause of the environmental and social issues in society (Nistor 2007; Holcombe 2015; Fulcher 2015; Butler 2015). The majority of resource rich countries and communities particularly in developing countries despite the abundance of natural resources have experienced minimal economic growth, weak democracy and negative development outcomes (Ashton 1966; Jensen 1993; Robbins 2011; Symon 2007;
Werthmann 2016). It was first observed in the 1950/60’s that a majority of mineral rich countries was unable to translate their riches into economic growth and improved wellbeing of their people, a situation largely attributed to the type of resources involved, systems of governance, the manner in which resource rent is negotiated and expended, institutional quality and the nature of industrialisation that existed before and during the extraction process (Transparency International 2015; Frynas 2010; Butler 2015; Idemudia 2008; Robbins 2011; MiningWatch Canada 2014).

A more critical and careful analysis of the impacts of natural resource extraction within resource rich countries like Ghana reveals great disparities in the distribution of the benefits and costs of resource extraction between resource rich communities and the rest of the country. While Adieyie and Teberebie, resource rich communities, have to deal with the environmental degradation, disruption in their way of life as well as the economic hardship associated with the activities of AngloGold Ashanti (AGA), the government of Ghana contributes minimally to the development of these communities despite its access to and control over the resource rent. Due to the dissociation of surface land rights from subsurface land rights and the fact that the government is in-trust of the country’s resources on behalf of all citizens (Preston 2013; Hoogeven 2015; Gedicks 2015), revenue obtained from the resource rent is used for the development of the entire country through mediums such as the District Assemblies Common Fund and the Ghana Education Trust (GET) Fund (District Assemblies Common Fund n.d.; GETFund 2017). The implication is that resource rich communities are restricted in the amount of benefits they are entitled to and can obtain from the extractive industry.

The limited resources made solely available to resource rich communities are distributed among various stakeholders reducing the amount that directly gets to the communities for development projects. Half of the limited funds available to resource rich communities like Adieyie and
Teberebie through the mineral development fund are expended on administrative and other costs within the district assemblies (25%), stools (11%), traditional council (9%) and the administrator of stool lands (5%) (Manu 2016). The rest of the 50% is expended in support of the budget of mining sector institutions and to undertake special projects (Manu 2016) in the numerous mining communities in the country. This, coupled with the various policies and agreements such as the stability agreement between the government of Ghana and mining companies such as Newmont Ghana, shields these corporations from paying property tax to local assemblies (Darimani 2013), and hence further reduces the avenues through which resource rich communities can generate income from the extractive industry for development. This leaves the fate of communities in the hands of individuals, institutions and organisations who either engage in development initiatives or advocacy activities.

The stability agreement between the government of Ghana and AGA has been criticized for its time duration and a lack of careful consideration of the terms of the agreement. Prof. A. Sawyer, the chairman of the government committee set-up to re-negotiate the stability agreement in 2012, asserts that thorough work was not done before completing previous stability agreements (Ghana Business News 2013). Furthermore, B. K. Amponsem of Boaz & Associates indicates that the time duration contained in these agreements is too much since mining corporations only require between 4 to 5 years to recover their investments while government and other stakeholders continue to receive a fixed percentage of royalties and taxes despite increases in world market price of minerals. Mr. Yao Graham of the Third World Network (TWN)-Africa indicates that the stability agreement between the government and AGA should be scrapped as the tax holidays
received are too much (Ghana Business News 2013) and government has lost its 10 percent automatic minimum free carried interest\(^8\) due to its stability agreement with AGA (Darimani 2013).

5.1.1 Inadequacies of the Stakeholder Theory to achieve True Community Integration and Empowerment.

The stakeholder theory as a response to the exclusion of resource rich communities from the benefit of the activities of businesses has achieved limited success. The theory through proponents such as Freeman (1984), Friedman and Miles (2006) and Phillips et al. (2003) has been successful in advocating for and supporting the inclusion of resource rich communities into the concerns and focus of the activities of corporations. This has to a limited extent led to the redistribution of the benefits of resource extraction through the institutionalisation and implementation of CSR initiatives as it has been established that these communities can affect the activities/operations of businesses by enforcing the SLO (Friedman and Miles, 2006). Consequently, AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) has undertaken various social investments in Adieyie and Teberebie in the form of infrastructure and human resource development in exchange for the ‘approval and cooperation’ of these communities, which is to ensure AGA continues with its business operations without significant opposition and hindrances.

Nonetheless, the stakeholder theory is deficient in that it does not critically identify and address the underlying factors that resulted in the exclusion of Adieyie and Teberebie from the benefits of resource extraction in the first place. The conflicting discourse in the stakeholder theory of the significance of power in determining the importance corporations place on each stakeholder and how that affects the priority given to conflicting stakeholder claims (Mitchell et al. 1997; Wilburn and Wilburn 2011) impacts significantly on the kinds of solutions proposed for addressing the

\(^8\) The percent of the profit that goes to the government despite it not contributing to the capital for the operation of the corporation (Investopedia n.d.).
problems associated with the exclusion of certain stakeholders from the benefits. The stakeholder theory does not place much emphasis on the power imbalance between AGA, the government of Ghana and Adieyie and Teberebie communities and its role in exposing the communities to disproportionate cost and benefits of the mining industry. This results in the theory taking up a prescriptive approach in seeking to ensure distributive justice through the corporation’s social intervention initiatives (Friedman and Miles, 2006; Phillips et al., 2003). Thus, AGA can superficially deal with and correct the issue of the exclusion of Adieyie and Teberebie from the benefits by voluntarily providing them with certain infrastructures and support services. These provisions are oftentimes inadequate to address the negative impacts of the company and provide added benefits.

Issues also arise with the true bearers of the cost of CSR initiatives as mining companies although directly incur the cost of CSR initiatives enjoy various subsidies which reduce the amount of money they pay in taxes and royalties thus offsetting the cost. For instance, Newmont Ghana due to their stability agreement does not pay property tax to the local assembly (Darimani 2013). Furthermore, the cost of CSR initiatives are counted as an operational cost of the company and therefore, they tend to pay lower taxes and royalties than they would have paid if the cost was recorded against their profit. So at the end of the day, the country may be paying for if not the entire cost, the majority of the cost incurred by corporations undertaking CSR initiatives defeating the argument that it is a means through which corporations create shared wealth and give back to society. Furthermore, the stakeholder theory makes no mention of the role the government of Ghana plays in exploiting and disadvantaging the people of Adieyie and Teberebie and the responsibilities it should assume to address the problems created. It places the blame only at the
door step of the AGA restricting the amount and type of resources that can be harnessed to address the problem.

In addition, the issue of stakeholder participation and consent is not fully addressed by the stakeholder theory. The theory does not advocate for the empowering of the stakeholders to actively participate in and influence decisions that directly affects them; rather, it appeals to the moral senses and conscience of corporations to do the right thing by ensuring that stakeholders are included in the distribution of the benefits of the corporations activities (Phillips et al. 2003). Phillips et al. (2003) argue that corporations are neither moral nor amoral but rather operate in neutral ground with an interest for long-term profitability. Thus, corporations most often pursue initiatives that enhance their corporate image, competitiveness and profitability even if they respond minimally to the needs of resource rich communities (Mellah and Wood 2003).

Consequently, it can be inferred that everything AGA does is to advance its self-interest and it can therefore not be left with the liberty to decide whether or not to take the interests of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie into consideration. The officer from AGA interviewed for this thesis made note of the fact that they let the public know of every little thing they do for the communities as this advances their public image and competitiveness. Mellah and Wood (2003, pg. 183) raise the question of whether stakeholder rights should be fixed “on loose notions of voluntarism within a neo-liberal orthodoxy?” Although it may be argued that corporations may be put in check by the need to obtain the SLO and AGA will engage with members of the Adieyie and Teberebie communities in a bid to address their concerns, Wilburn and Wilburn (2011) reveal that corporations do not need the consent of all stakeholders in order to obtain and use the SLO. Hence, AGA does not need and does not mostly obtain the consent of all inhabitants of Adieyie and Teberebie in order to obtain SLO as the consent of a few prominent and key individuals is enough.
Thus, it is observed in the communities that although most of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the activities of AGA, this did not halt or prevent AGA from undertaking its mining operations. Furthermore, Wilburn and Wilburn (2011) argue that consent from stakeholders cannot and is not equal to SLO as this will place stakeholders at par with partners of the corporations which empirically is untrue. Hence, the interest of shareholders will always override those of stakeholders leading to a pursuit of profit rather than the well-being of resource rich communities. Thus, the notion and assumption in the SLO that both AGA and community members of Adieyie and Teberebie can mutually influence each other’s activities is flawed.

5.1.2 Overcoming the Odds: Achieving Equality, Self-reliance and Self-determination through the Environmental Justice (EJ) Framework

On the other hand, the EJ framework provides a broader and critical lens through which the problems of Adieyie and Teberebie in relation to natural resource extraction can be analysed and resolved. EJ investigates the interaction and relationship between society, government and corporations so as to identify the social, environmental and economic patterns that disadvantages individuals or groups of people on the bases of their race, class, sex and age and other differences (Mohai and Pellow, 2009; Wenz 1988; Liu, 2001; Schlosberg, 2007). It recognises that the people of Adieyie and Teberebie do not possess the same level and kind of power that corporations and governments possess and will therefore always be at the receiving end of policies and decisions made within the extractive industry. Consequently, without a balance in the power possessed by all stakeholders, Adieyie and Teberebie will not be able to self-determine what happens to their environment and way of life in spite of the assumption that with the SLO, they can influence the activities of AGA in a mutually beneficial way.
5.1.2.1 Redistribution of Power through Stakeholder Participation and Partnership

An environmental justice approach would seek to place Adieyie and Teberebie in control of decisions that directly affect them by scrutinising their ability to take charge of their lives and environment and self-determine what happens to them (Collins 1998; DiChiro, 1992; Bullard, 1993). This goes beyond mere consultation and passive participation that normally goes on in Adieyie and Teberebie where community members are gathered together and informed of various initiatives AGA wants to undertake without them taking community inputs into consideration (for example, the case of the alternative livelihood in mushroom farming initiative by AGA). Even in situations where they are made to decide on what they want to be done in their communities, AGA makes changes without consulting community members (for example, the case of the six classroom block under construction).

Arnstein in 1969 (pg. 280) proposed an 8 step ladder (Figure 5-1) which illustrates how power can be redistributed from the ‘haves’ to the ‘have nots’ as the ladder advances in stages. The 8 step ladder is grouped under three broad classification of non-participation (first two steps from the bottom of the ladder), tokenism (next three steps) and citizen power (final three steps). The nature of participation between AGA and Adieyie and Teberebie can be related to the third, ‘informing’ and forth ‘consultation’ steps after the non-participation stage in Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein in 1969). The ‘informing’ and ‘consultation’ steps involves the process where citizens are informed of the details about a project or initiative, their rights, responsibility and options as well as their opinions. However for participation to really take place at this stage, the opinions of citizens must be taken into consideration during the decision making process which rarely happens in Adieyie and Teberebie. The work of Arnstein has been criticized for not providing details and description of the necessary actions need to move from one step of the ladder
to the other in order to achieve the idea level of participation which is citizen control (LeGates and Stouts 2015)

Collins (1998), DiChiro (1992) and Bullard (1993) assert that EJ ensures that stakeholders are able to engage policy makers and corporations and significantly impact policies that concern and govern their lives and environment. This implies that, Adieyie and Teberebie will not have to resign to governments and AGA taking care of the issues that affect them but would rather take

Source: Redrawn from Arnstein 1969

Figure 5-1 Eight Steps Ladder of Citizen Participation

Collins (1998), DiChiro (1992) and Bullard (1993) assert that EJ ensures that stakeholders are able to engage policy makers and corporations and significantly impact policies that concern and govern their lives and environment. This implies that, Adieyie and Teberebie will not have to resign to governments and AGA taking care of the issues that affect them but would rather take
charge of their lives, narratives and environment as well as what happens to them. This can be loosely related to Arnstein (1969) sixth and seventh steps of participation which involves ‘partnership’ and ‘delegated power’ respectively. At the partnership level, power is redistributed through negotiations between relevant stakeholders where citizens are involved right from the formulation of the project ideas to the monitoring and evaluation stage. Arnstein (1969, pg. 289) indicates that partnership is most effective “when there is an organized power-base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable, when the citizens groups have financial resources to pay its leaders… and when the group has the resources to hire its own [team]”. At the level of ‘delegated power’, citizens have more dominant decision-making power and control of aspects of the project and are able to “assure accountability of the program to them” (Arnstein (1969, pg. 290). These conditions, however, do not exist in Adieyie and Teberebie where there is a general community distrust for their chief and leaders (92 percent of community respondent surveyed) who often represent the communities at meetings with AGA and the government. Furthermore, the level of poverty within Adieyie and Teberebie and government neglect, which makes them depend on AGA for the supply of their basic necessities as well as supposed acts of intimidation community members go through at the hands of AGA undermines their ability to be equal and effective partners in the process of decision making.

5.1.2.2 Knowledge is Power: Challenges to Authentic Stakeholder Participation

It is impossible for the people of Adieyie and Teberebie as well as other stakeholders to achieve true participation if they lack access to relevant information critical in ensuring accountability among state institutions and corporations (Human Rights Initiative n.d.). Access to information is also key in ensuring that resource rich communities are able to give their free, prior and informed consent (Schlosberg 2007; Grossman 1994) before and during the operations of AGA. It also
facilitates the enforcement of SLO as Prno (2013), Bice (2014) and Martinez and Franks (2014) indicate that SLO is constantly negotiated based on the outcomes of the operations of corporations and how sensitive they are to the needs and expectations of their stakeholders at any point in time.

Despite the critical role information plays, the people of Teberebie and Adieyie lack access to information about the true state of their environment and the extent of the impacts of the activities of AGA. Results of tests conducted by AGA on the air quality and water bodies of the community as well as the health of their workers among others are held in secret denying community members and the individuals involved the opportunity to effectively scrutinize AGA’s activities and ensure the right thing is done. With very limited access to information, with the limited information provided through the public consultation processes of the environmental impact assessment, community members in Adieyie and Teberebie are left to speculate about happenings in the community and may take decisions and actions that are ill informed and misdirected. This may lead to various allegations that may tarnish the reputation of AGA as may be the case of community complaints of ‘chemical contamination’ of water bodies by AGA. It may also raise community demands and expectation on AGA which, if not met, results in community-company tensions and clashes. Without a clear knowledge of the boundaries of the concession of AGA, community members have undertaken building projects on lands which have subsequently been claimed by the company resulting in the loss or destruction of their investments. This comes to prove how pertinent communication and easy flow of information is to community, government and company relationship.

Furthermore, institutions such as IMANI, Wacam and TWN-Africa, which have been set-up to ensure transparency and accountability of how government expends state resources, as well as its partnership with corporations, are unable to get access to detailed information documents on a
timely basis. Since most state institutions still run on the paper-based system where relevant information is stacked in piles of files and papers, individuals or institutions who request these documents often have to go through the piles to find the information. The law that is expected to address the issue of access to information at least within public institutions has come under much opposition particularly within the government. The right to information (RTI) bill which was drafted in 1999 (see Human Rights Initiative n.d. for critique to the bill) and presented before parliament has still not received approval although the constitution of the country recognizes the need for all citizens to have access to information. Opposition to the bill could be due probably to the fear that it will allow all the activities of the government to come under much scrutiny from various stakeholders. Information Commissioner’s Office (ICO) (n.d.) however indicates that access to official information can improve the confidence and trust of the public in institutions and corporations.

5.1.2.3 Overcoming Marginalization through Associations

Of great importance is the level of participation among various community groups within Adieyie and Teberebie. It is well established in literature (Andrews 2015; Verchick 2004) that the impacts of resource extraction differ significantly among male and female community members due to cultural and societal perceptions and practices, responsibilities ascribed to them by society and the peculiar nature of women’s makeup (Hamilton 1986; Gibbs 1982; Hammond 2015 in Keeling and Sandlos 2015). Women are more susceptible to environmental harms due to the heightened impacts on their health as a result of their biological make-up, are the main care givers and are often times excluded from paid jobs within the mining industry as they are considered too weak or fragile to work in such industries increasing their dependence on their male counterparts (Verchick 2004; LaDuke 2002 in Schlosberg 2007). It is therefore required that unique sets of
solutions which involve the authentic and full participation of women in decision making are
developed and implemented. Nonetheless, the feminist EJ literature points out that females are
underrepresented in decision-making processes and their concerns and opinions are often
dismissed as irrelevant and irrational (Hamilton 1986; Gibbs 1982).

In the case study sites, female respondents indicated that they have stopped attending meetings to
discuss their concerns with AGA as these concerns are often times not taken into consideration.
Furthermore, the timing of these meetings is inconvenient to these women as they are mostly
engaged with their numerous household responsibilities. The communities of Adieyie and
Teberebie are patriarchal societies where the men are the decision making authority within the
family and community (GhanaDistricts n.d.). This makes their opinion final particularly when they
conflict with those of the females. Although a few women representatives such as the queen mother
and other female elders exist, their authority is limited and mostly subject to the influence of their
male counterparts. Thus, aside from alternative livelihood strategies that AGA undertakes with
some form of gender sensitivity, there are no clear gender considerations for their other community
initiatives and social inventions. Andrews (2015) indicates from his own work in Ghana that
women dwell in patriarchal societies that place them at a disadvantaged position when it comes to
access to capital, employment and general political and structural inclusion.

In some parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world (Nigeria, Kenya, US), women, through
associations and movements have been instrumental in advocating for the protection of the
environment and well-being of society (Obi 2005; Taylor 2010; Verchick 2004). The feminist EJ
movement has been successful in preventing various projects that are harmful to the environment
and well-being of communities from taking place (Verchick 2004; Schlosberg, 2007).
Unfortunately, similar kinds of women’s movements and associations were not observed in the
study communities and even when there was some form of women mobilization, they were ineffective in mobilizing women to form a common front to advocate for their peculiar needs. The queen mother of Adieyie indicated that she sometimes meets the women of the community to discuss the initiatives of AGA which they intend to undertake. On other occasions, some women have approached her to present their needs to her and request for her assistance in securing jobs or scholarship from AGA for their children. This could be due to a lack of strong leadership to organize the women into these movements, a lack of clear comprehension of their rights, allegations of intimidation propelled by AGA against community members as well as a lack of the necessary resources needed to form and sustain these movements. It is believed that when these groups or movements are formed, they may achieve similar successes as the feminist environmental movements in various indigenous communities and beyond.

5.2 Stakeholder Perspective about the Activities and Impacts of AGA

Contrary to popular assertions in literature that the CSR initiatives of corporations are able to distort or silence ongoing knowledge of and protest against the negative environmental, political and social impacts of their operations (Bowen, 1953 in Acquier et al., 2011), results from this study revealed no clear indication of this happening in Adieyie and Teberebie. Community leaders and members, as well as officers from Wacam and TWN-Africa, still maintained that the activities of AGA had serious and irreversible negative implications for the environment and lives of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie despite the ongoing CSR initiatives. They indicated that despite the importance and profitable nature of the industry, community members were short-changed in the distribution of the benefits of the industry. The increasing assertiveness of members of Adieyie and Teberebie, their critical analysis of the activities of AGA and demand that the right thing is done can be attributed to exposure to more awareness of their rights, including those enshrined in
the national as well as international laws, regulations and guidelines. Advocacy groups such as Wacam, TWN-Africa and CEPIL have contributed immensely to community awareness through their rights-based education initiatives, representation and assistance of individuals and community groups to seek justice in the court of law. A number of community respondents indicated that their land and compensation issues at CHRAJ were being mediated by CEPIL which was corroborated by the officer from CEPIL.

The critical perspectives of officers from Wacam, TWN-Africa and CCR about the CSR initiatives of AGA indicate their inadequacy and inefficiency to address the impacts of AGA and also satisfy the needs of the communities involved. Due to the in-depth and critical research, these institutions undertake into the activities of resource extractive companies like AGA, they are able to ascertain the true cost and benefit of resource extraction as they are distributed among the various stakeholders. Officers from IMANI and EPA despite their view that AGA is doing its best through its CSR initiatives, revealed the negative impacts the industry has on the environment and lives of resource rich communities and the need for appropriate measures to be employed to address them.

However, a lack of media representation as well as allegations of intimidation from AGA against community members seem to suppress the agitations and complaints of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie against the activities of AGA. Media representation is key in conveying the plights and complaints of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie and findings of advocacy organizations for the general public and relevant stakeholders (Altheide 1976; McChesney 2015). There are a number of instances where the media have been able to ensure that appropriate measures were taken to bring justice and relief to those that were suffering most at the hands of corporations and governments. However, often times the media is influenced by money and controlled by the affluent and powerful (McChesney 2015) who in this case are AGA and the government of Ghana.
This influences how they report on the interaction between resource rich communities, government and resource extractive companies which is often one-sided and biased. Consequently, the news that gets to the general public and other stakeholders is information that portrays the CSR initiatives of AGA without showing the dissatisfaction of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie. This portrays a picture of harmony between the company and communities which does not exist, most of the time. AGA has employed a journalist to communicate its good deeds to the public while community members have to rely on the advocacy work of institutions like Wacam, CEPIL and TWN-Africa. These organizations do give some opportunity for the plight and complaints of the communities to come to public light, which in turn garners public support for communities and propels corporations, government and relevant institutions to take the necessary steps to address community concerns.

5.3 Implication of Conflicting CSR Conceptualization on Sustainable Development.

The general decline in the state’s ability and willingness to perform its developmental responsibilities to communities together with the negative impacts of resource extractive corporations has necessitated the institutionalization and implementation of CSR (Porter and Kramer 2011). CSR has been justified on the grounds of the stakeholder theory which indicates that resource rich communities are affected by and can affect the activities of corporations and thus are entitled to benefit from the existence of corporations (Friedman and Miles 2006; Phillips et al. 2003). Nonetheless, the lack of clear conceptualisation and standardisation of CSR has hampered its contributions to development in resource rich communities (Idemudia 2008, 2011; Gond and Moon 2011; Okoye 2009; Lin-Hi 2010). While there is an ongoing debate and disagreement among scholars and practitioners over whether corporations should engage in sustainable development in resource rich communities and more importantly whether they are designed for development, AGA
seems to have accepted and taken initiatives to tailor their CSR projects in Adieyie and Teberebie towards sustainable development through their scholarship and infrastructure development. However, AGA asserts that the huge deficit between the unmet basic needs of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie and initiatives needed to promote sustainable development has undermined its efforts. This claim is supported by Barsoum and Refaat (2015) who state that corporations are faced with the burden of community development as a result of the failure of the state to ensure development resulting in poor socio-economic conditions and high unemployment rate. Yet, this explanation does not suffice to relieve the responsibility AGA has towards resource rich communities as a result of the impact of their activities. Community members in Adieyie and Teberebie and other stakeholders expect that AGA takes the necessary steps to avert the negative impacts of its activities and not consider these as part of their voluntary activities or the responsibility of the state. It is also argued that since AGA obtains resources from the lands of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie, they should as a matter of obligation, be concerned with the communities’ development without having to contemplate if it is their responsibility or not.

The lack of common understanding among stakeholders of what CSR is and should be and whether it should and can be a medium for development within Adieyie and Teberebie has implications for the strategies suggested for community development. By emphasising that corporations are not set-up for development, the officer from TWN-Africa asserts that AGA should not be expected to engage in development or held responsible for community development. Instead, the government of Ghana should be solely responsible for community development since the people of Adieyie and Teberebie have a social contract with it. However, considering the affluence and influence corporations possess and the limitation to how much the government can contribute to community development, there is a wide recognition of the need for corporations to contribute to economic
development of countries and communities (Idemudia 2008, 2011). Furthermore, AGA’s role in development can be justified by the benefits it receives from the stability agreement and other incentives and tax breaks it enjoys from the government. This coupled with the notion among respondents from the advocacy institutions interviewed that the true bearers of the cost of AGA’s CSR are the government of Ghana and the two communities (Adieyie and Teberebie), justifies the need for AGA’s investment in development. The CSR cost is counted against AGA’s operational cost which enables them to pay less taxes and royalties which they will otherwise not pay if the CSR cost were accounted for against their profit.

By conceptualising CSR as voluntary and a means for corporations to obtain SLO, the officers from EPA and CCR believe CSR can be a great medium for community development if it is linked and embedded in the development agenda of the state and that of Adieyie and Teberebie. In this view, AGA must ensure that they collaborate with government institutions that oversee the development of the communities and find a place within their broad development agenda where their contribution and investment is needed most. This will reduce and prevent duplication of efforts and ensure that their CSR investments are well targeted at a community’s long term development. However, reports of corruption within government institutions which goes to the extent of preventing certain vital community projects from being undertaken by corporations, suggests that such public-private partnership can yield negative undesired consequences. This is where active and authentic community participation and oversight over CSR initiatives is needed. This will ensure that the people of Adieyie and Teberebie are able to hold AGA and the various government institutions accountable for the resources that are committed to CSR initiatives and their sustainability. It will also give them a sense of ownership over the CSR initiatives which has
been observed elsewhere to encourage proper care and maintenance particularly of infrastructure (Hilson 2006).

The view of the officer from Wacam that CSR is not relevant as it is a greenwashing mechanism to divert the attention of the public from the negative impacts of the extractive industry implies that AGA’s CSR initiatives cannot contribute meaningfully to development in Adieyie and Teberebie. According to her, compliance with the national and international rules and regulations set out for the extractive industry will ensure that the welfare of resource rich communities are improved. This implies that the state institutions that have been set-up to protect the environment and the interest of the people must be adequately equipped to ensure compliance among corporations. Nonetheless, the institutional challenges of inadequate human resources, financial constraints and lack of access to relevant information that EPA and other government agencies face, limits their ability to effectively execute their duties and responsibilities. Consequently, if AGA calculates and pays the right amount of compensation and ensures that it takes the necessary steps to minimise and address its negative externalities on the environment and way of life of the people of Adieyie and Teberebie, then there will be no need for CSR initiatives. However, Prno (2013) disagrees and indicates that the mere compliance with regulations is woefully inadequate to meet community needs due to increasing community demands on corporations, thus the need for CSR. Symon (2007), Akhakpe (2012) and Ingelson and Nwapi (2014) indicate that the level of enforcement, compliance and monitoring of laws differs between political and geographic regions, undermining their effectiveness. This is compounded by the perceived high level of corruption and duplication of institutional efforts that exist among the various state institutions.
5.4 Pros and Cons of Strategic CSR in promoting Sustainable Development.

The implementation of strategic CSR that enables the creation of shared value has been recommended by the officer from CCR as a medium through which corporations can promote sustainable development in Adieyie and Teberebie. Porter and Kramer (2011) claim that the more corporations engage in CSR, the more they are blamed for the failures and challenges in society and thus the need for the reconceptualization of the process of creating shared wealth in communities. Although Porter and Kramer (2011) conceptualize shared value as different from CSR, philanthropy or sustainability, the officer from CCR by relating shared value with CSR, provides corporations with the option of transforming already existing initiatives to promote development rather than initiating new projects that require different structures and set of principles. Shared value involves “creating economic value in a way that also creates value for society by addressing its needs and challenges” (Porter and Kramer 2011, pg. 4; Shared Value Initiative n.d.). Thus, businesses must link their success to progress within the societies in which they operate while regulations and policies that undermine the ability of corporations to be productive and competitive must be changed. By inference, AGA must invest in areas where they obtain direct or indirect benefits that feed into their business operations and enables them to achieve their business goals. This includes granting scholarships for fields of study that pertain to the mining industry and encouraging local and small scale businesses that will contribute to the supply chain of the corporation.

This notion of strategic CSR has both negative and positive consequences for the conceptualisation and operationalisation of CSR. Strategic CSR provides a clear classification of what communities can expect from corporations as social investments thus reducing the issues with CSR being associated with any and every activity (Prieto-Carron et al 2006). However, it gives corporations
the liberty to pick and choose initiatives which does not necessarily promote community development but rather their business goals and objectives. It also restricts community expectation and demands on corporations and reduces the likelihood of disappointments and community-corporation tensions. Nonetheless, this takes away from the notion of CSR being community centred and geared towards promoting community well-being (Hilson 2012; Prieto-Carron et al 2006; Marens 2008; Carroll 2015) and confirms the argument that CSR is just another medium through which corporations promote their own interest to the disadvantage of resource rich communities (Hilson 2012; Gilberthorpe and Banks 2012; Barsoum and Refaat 2015). Also, how to relate strategic CSR to non-renewable natural resources becomes a challenge. It is known that all mines have a life span and it is predicted that unless there are new discoveries of resource deposit, minerals at the Iduapriem mine will be exhausted by 2030. Hence if mining corporations invest only in capacity development initiatives or activities that fit solely into their portfolio as their CSR initiatives, communities will be worse off after the closure of the mine as their economic activities and existence will be intrinsically linked to the mine thus deepening their dependence on the mine.

A contrary view to that of strategic CSR is expressed by Hermann (2004) who asserts that CSR that fosters sustainable development may not promote the interest/core objective of corporations in the short run but in the long run ensures a constant or increasing profit margin for corporations who consider the triple bottom-line. Thus, by being mindful of the environmental, social and economic implications of their activities, corporations can sustain the resources that ensure economic profitability and continuity. Due to the enormous power that multinational corporations possess within their home and host countries, they play significant roles in global law and policy. Hermann (2004), however, notes that national laws and legal codes and bilateral agreements have
failed in safeguarding the environment and human rights since most national laws do not apply globally. To address this shortfall, international codes and agreements have been adopted by various governments, nonetheless, these agreements lack the needed enforcement and sanctions to ensure compliance. The next mechanism has been the adoption of voluntarily codes and guidelines by corporations which has also been unsuccessful in reducing or preventing abuse and exploitation of the environment and human labour particularly in developing countries (Hermann 2004). This makes daunting the task of sustainable development in developing countries. Hermann (2004) admonishes the home countries of corporations to actively play a role in regulating the activities of corporations outside their home countries to ensure that they adhere to strict social and environmental practices that promote sustainable development. This is an effort the European Union has taken up through the CSR initiatives of their corporations operating outside the EU. Furthermore, Hermann indicates that for CSR to be effective, it must involve the creation of “binding legal obligations; and enforcing those binding laws” (2004, pg. 215) and this is one thing corporations are not keen on having. The interview with the officer from CCR revealed that although corporations welcomed a CSR policy developed in conjunction with the Ministry of Trade and other stakeholders, they insisted that they did not want the policy to become law or binding on their activities. It is argued by corporations and other stakeholders that voluntary CSR promotes creativity and innovation while legalising it hampers these qualities and thus affects the amount of development and progress that can be made (Matthew 2004; Utting 2005 in Idemudia, 2008; Cleverdon 2002).
5.5 Summary and Recommendations

5.5.1 Summary of Finding

The mining industry in Ghana has played a large role in the economic development of the country. It does not only provide resource rent and royalties to government and resource rich communities but also invests in initiatives that are intended to supply benefits to resource rich communities (Ghana Chamber of Mines 2014). While these benefits are acknowledged, the activities of the mining industry have negative implications for the environment and lives of residents in resource rich communities (Obuasi Municipal Assembly 2013; ActionAid 2006). Results of the field research for this study indicate that resource rich communities bear disproportionately high levels of the cost of the operations of the gold mining industry while the social investments provided by the corporation through CSR initiatives are inadequate to address the negative impacts and do not result in improvement in the welfare of community members.

The use of the EJ framework gives a more critical, detailed and accurate analysis of the drivers of the marginalisation and exploitation of resource rich communities than the stakeholder theory. It also identifies issues of power imbalance, inadequate stakeholder participation and partnership in decision making as well as lack of access to relevant information that hinders resource rich communities from self-determining what happens to their environment and lives (Mitchell et al. 1997; Wilburn and Wilburn 2011; Phillips et al. 2003; Schlosberg 2007; Collins 1998; DiChiro 1992; Bullard 1993). The framework suggests appropriate strategies to deal with and address the issues faced by resource rich communities that result in the redistribution of power from corporations and government to community members. This, however, requires the transformation of the structures of society which includes the politics and institutions that deliberately or unintentionally perpetuates community marginalisation and exploitation (Fraser 1998).
Furthermore, institutions that have been established to regulate, oversee the activities of the resource extractive industry and ensure the well-being of communities must be equipped with relevant resources to discharge their duties appropriately and fairly. The assumption in the SLO framework that suggests that all stakeholders have the opportunity to affect and influence each other’s activities in mutually beneficial way (Demuijnck and Fasterling 2016) is further challenged by EJ on the grounds of power imbalance and unequal distribution of resources. Empirical evidence reveals that resource rich communities play very little role in decision-making processes and are faced with human rights abuses at the hands of corporations.

The study further argued that the different conceptualisation of CSR (Idemudia 2008, 2011; Gond and Moon 2011; Okoye 2009; Lin-Hi 2010) determined to a large extent the views of stakeholders on its importance and ability to contribute to sustainable development as well as the strategies needed to ensure community development. Key informants who viewed CSR as a greenwashing mechanism were of the opinion that it was irrelevant and could not contribute in any way to community development. What was relevant for community development was compliance of corporations to the rules and regulations governing their activities. For respondents who viewed CSR as voluntary and self-regulatory, its contribution to community development was limited as the government of Ghana bears the sole responsibility for ensuring community development. However, corporations by their free will can contribute to development by situating their CSR initiatives within broader national and community development agenda but this should not be something that is expected or demanded of them. Furthermore, it was suggested that by engaging in strategic CSR that involves creating shared value, corporations can contribute significantly to community development. The notion of shared value defeats the very essence of CSR as it shifts the focus from the community to how corporations through their social investment can improve
their profitability and expand their operations. While it is claimed that by encouraging shared value, community wellbeing will be catered for (Porter and Kramer 2011), it is hard to conceptualise this happening within the resource extractive industry as shared value will rather increase community dependence on corporations and subsequent collapse after the closure of the mines. It limits corporations’ social initiatives to only projects that benefit the corporation either directly or indirectly. This notwithstanding, the creation of shared value can be promoted and encouraged through local content initiatives and agreements between government and corporations along with other initiatives. The study suggested in line with arguments by Hermann et al (2004) that for CSR to contribute to development, it must be guided by a set of standardised guidelines and legal backing.

5.5.2 Recommendations

The use of the stakeholder theory and SLO through CSR to justify the redistribution of the benefits and costs of resource extraction has enabled communities like Adieyie and Teberebie to benefit from CSR initiatives. Nonetheless, these approaches have been unable to fully analyse the impacts of AGA’s activities and generate solutions that ensure that the concerns of community members for their environment and lives are adequately addressed.

i. Institutions: Comprehensive Impact Assessment using EJ

The study recommends a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of the activities of resource extractive corporations on the environment and way of life of resource rich communities using the EJ framework. This moves beyond the regular environmental and social impact assessments that is conducted before and during the operations of a corporation to consider the power distribution between different stakeholders and how that will increase the level of impact of the activities of corporations on the marginalised. It asks and addresses questions of who has the right to the
decision-making table by considering the current models of citizen participation proposed by corporations. It compares this against Arnstein (1969) ladder of participation or other models of participation to assess whether the involvement of community members leads to authentic participation or merely an illusionary or tokenism form of participation. By assessing currently proposed methods corporations hope to engage with community members and other stakeholders, appropriate approaches that involve the distribution of power from the ‘haves’ to the ‘have nots’ through partnership and resources distribution can be developed and implemented. This will help identify and address the true causes of the marginalisation and exploitation of communities such as Adieyie and Teberebie. Since communities do not possess the necessary resources and expertise to undertake such comprehensive assessment, advocacy and think tank institutions whose activities involve the extractive industry can take-up the responsibility. The outcome of their assessment can be trusted to be a true representation of the happenings in the community. Regulatory institutions such as EPA and Minerals Commission can also undertake the EJ assessment which may inform the formulation of policies, guidelines and laws which ensure equity and protects community well-being. These assessments will however not be relevant if the outcomes are not made readily available to community members and the general public in an understandable and accessible way. With such information, communities will be equipped with the knowledge needed to be able to grant or withhold their informed prior consent and the general public can put the necessary pressure on the concerned institutions to do the right thing and address community concerns. The assessments must be contextual and take gender differences, socioeconomic and cultural difference into consideration.
Questions that can be considered during the EJ assessment process include

1. What are the factors that can prevent community members from effectively engaging with corporations to influence what happens to their environment or lives?

2. Do currently proposed methods of community engagement ensure the authentic participation of community members?

3. How can power be redistributed between corporations, government and community members to ensure that all stakeholders benefit maximally from natural resource extraction?

ii. Government: Capacity Development of Regulatory Agencies

Although the extractive industry is one of the most regulated industries with numerous national and international laws, guidelines and frameworks (Andrews 2015; UNGC 2015), the ability of regulatory agencies such as EPA, Lands Commission and Minerals Commission to enforce the regulations are hampered by a number of factors such as inadequate human resources, financial and technical constraints, duplication of institutional efforts and conflicting institutional responsibility (key respondents from institutions). To ensure efficiency, the government must provide its agencies with adequate financial resources and well-trained personnel who will discharge their duties effectively. Furthermore, a clear separation of the powers and responsibilities of the institutions mandated to oversee the activities of the extractive industry is relevant but more important is the collaboration between these institutions to ensure efficiency and prevent duplication of efforts and wasting of scarce resources. It is also important that international guidelines and regulations that are adopted are contextualised and made appropriate for the systems and structures that exist within the country. A good job has been done with the Ghana EITI which has attracted a lot of businesses and institutions to be signatories (Andrews 2015).
however not all international initiatives e.g. UN Global Compact, have received much attention from the state and other stakeholders (UNGC n.d.) reducing their scope and level of implementation and making them less efficient. Relevant institutions need to critically assess and take stock of the international initiatives that the country is signatory to and revive important but neglected initiatives and eliminate those that are no longer of relevance or applicable to the industry.

iii. A Responsive Government

The increasing demand and call for corporations to partake in the development of resource rich communities (Sagebien and Whellams 2010 in Butler 2015; Gond and Moon 2011; Okoye 2009; Lin-Hi 2010) does not relieve government of its responsibility to ensure community development. Resource rich communities have a social contract with the government who receives and controls the resource rent obtained from corporations and hence government should be committed to ensure that the people whose lands supply the resources are well taken care of. It can first begin by ensuring that the distribution of the mineral development fund is geared more towards actual development initiatives in resource rich communities rather than in settling the administrative cost of various institutions. More than half of the funds available for the sole development of resource rich communities, the mineral development fund, is expended on mineral related institutions while very little is actually used to undertake development projects in all mining communities (Manu 2016). The government must also deliberately ensure that resource rich communities are not left out of the national cake by providing employment opportunities and basic social amenities. In the negotiation of the impact and benefits agreement, government must ensure that resource rich communities are not short changed but rather their interests are put at the forefront. Communities and other stakeholders should hold government and corporations accountable and ensure that they
are furnished with relevant and timely information that is vital for decision making. This will assist them to critically examine the pros and cons of various proposed projects and make informed decisions that will reduce the negative impacts of the extractive industry and increase the benefits derived. The passing of the right to information bill (RIT) can help in ensuring that relevant stakeholders get access to information (Human Rights Initiative n.d.).

iv. Standardisation of CSR to promote Development

The study proposes that a new conceptualisation and approach to CSR other than voluntary and self-regulatory is needed for community development. CSR must not be viewed as an initiative that corporations decide to invest in at their free will but rather an obligation corporations have to communities for the resources they obtain from the land and the negative impacts the process of resource extraction has on them. This must be complemented with effective law enforcement and monitoring to ensure that corporations comply with the established regulations and that the standards and regulations are achieving the needed effects. This will require that regulatory agencies are well equipped and motivated to effectively perform their responsibilities. Also, since corporations enjoy various subsidies and benefits and account for the costs of their CSR initiatives as part of their operational cost, the amount of money they pay in taxes and royalties are significantly reduced. Thus, more serious commitment to CSR which goes beyond voluntary and self-regulatory initiatives is expedient and should be expected from corporations. The initiative of the Minerals Commission to regularise CSR initiatives by developing guidelines is laudable but to increase its impact and compliance there is the need to back it up with enforceable binding legal obligations (Hermann 2004). These initiatives must be aligned to the broader national and community development agenda to ensure more sustainable investments and development.
Communities must also be given enough power to oversee the activities of corporations to ensure accountability.

5.6 Areas for Future Research

This research was effective in identifying the implications of the different conceptualisation and operationalisation of CSR on its ability to contribute significantly to long-term development within communities as well as in identifying the true drivers of the marginalisation and exploitation of resource rich communities using the EJ framework. Despite the extensive nature of this study and the number of issues, it was able to cover, a number of other important issues identified in the initial research questions were not addressed. One of the issue future research could focus on is the critical assessment of how international and national policies shape the activities and CSR initiatives of corporations particularly multinational corporations in resource rich communities. This will involve the identification of the various international policies corporations are signatory to as well as national policies that govern their activities and their level of implementation and compliance. Thus, an assessment of how effective these policies are in achieving their stated objectives, their relevance in the current and rapidly changing societal conditions will be investigated and possible areas for improvement identified.

The second area for research focus will be the investigation of the implications of the activities of natural resource extraction and the impacts of CSR initiatives for the discussions of pro-growth strategies of development. The current trajectory of growth which demands the over exploitation of resources is not sustainable and cannot be relied on to promote development. Thus, some researchers are calling for the gradual reduction in the power of the global economic system of capitalism to a system of de-growth where growth occurs within the confines of earth’s carrying capacity. The research will have to ascertain whether there is a possibility for a compromise
between the profit maximization objective of capitalism and the environmental and socio-economic concerns that are associated with it and if so what changes needs to be made to achieve this balance. Also, an investigation into de-growth concept will be required and various scenarios of running a local to global system based on this concept developed to determine its feasibility and ability to provide a better solution to the challenges of capitalism.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Principles of Environmental Justice

Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held on October 24-27, 1991, in Washington DC, drafted and adopted 17 principles of Environmental Justice. Since then, The Principles have served as a defining document for the growing grassroots movement for environmental justice.

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF COLOR, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to ensure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and, to secure our political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

1) Environmental Justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.

2) Environmental Justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

3) Environmental Justice mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.

4) Environmental Justice calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.
5) Environmental Justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.

6) Environmental Justice demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.

7) Environmental Justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

8) Environmental Justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

9) Environmental Justice protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

10) Environmental Justice considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11) Environmental Justice must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.

12) Environmental Justice affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and provided fair access for all to the full range of resources.

13) Environmental Justice calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.

14) Environmental Justice opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.
15) Environmental Justice opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.

16) Environmental Justice calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

17) Environmental Justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to ensure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.
Appendix B: GREB Approval Letter

April 28, 2016

Miss Priscilla Apronti Toloo
Master’s Student
School of Environmental Studies
Queen’s University
99 University Avenue
Kingston, ON, K7L 3N6

GREB Ref #: GENSC-076-16; Romeo #: 6018208
Title: “GENSC-076-16 Development within the Limits of the Environment: A Case For or Against Corporate Social Responsibility in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry of Ghana”

Dear Miss Apronti Toloo,

The General Research Ethics Board (GREB), by means of a delegated board review, has cleared your proposal entitled “GENSC-076-16 Development within the Limits of the Environment: A Case For or Against Corporate Social Responsibility in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry of Ghana” for ethical compliance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (TCPS 2 (2014)) and Queen’s ethics policies. In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (Article 0.14) and Standard Operating Procedures (405.001), your project has been cleared for one year. You are reminded of your obligation to submit an annual renewal form prior to the annual renewal due date (access this form at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/simon.html; click on “Events”; under “Create New Event”, click on “General Research Ethics Board Annual Renewal Form for Approved Studies”).

You are reminded of your obligation to advise the GREB of any adverse event(s) that occur during this one year period (access this form at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/simon.html; click on “Events”; under “Create New Event” click on “General Research Ethics Board Adverse Event Form”). An adverse event includes, but is not limited to, a complaint, a change or an unexpected event that alters the level of risk for the researcher or participants or situation that requires a substantial change in approach to a participant(s). You are also advised that all adverse events must be reported to the GREB within 48 hours.

You are also reminded that all changes that might affect human participants must be cleared by the GREB. For example, you must report changes to the level of risk, participant characteristics, and implementation of new procedures. To submit an amendment form, access the application by at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/simon.html; click on “Events”; under “Create New Event” click on “General Research Ethics Board Request for Amendment of Approved Studies”. Once submitted, these changes will automatically be sent to the Ethics Coordinator, Ms. Gail Irving, at the Office of Research Services for further review and clearance by the GREB or GREB Chair.

On behalf of the General Research Ethics Board, I wish you continued success in your research.

Sincerely,

John Freeman, Ph.D.
Chair
General Research Ethics Board

c: Dr. Allison Goebel, Faculty Supervisor
Appendix C: Letter of Information and Consent for Key Informant Interviews

**Project title:** Development within the Limits of the Environment: A case for or against Corporate Social Responsibility in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry of Ghana.

**Researcher:** Priscilla Toloo Apronti

**Purpose:** This research is being conducted by Priscilla Toloo Apronti under the supervision of Dr. Allison Goebel. This study has been granted clearance according to the recommended principles of Canadian ethics guidelines and Queen’s policies. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) has become a dominant response to the critique of the negative impacts of the natural resource extractive industry on the environment, social and political structures of resource rich countries. This research explores whether or not the CSR initiatives of the gold mining industry in Ghana have addressed the environmental, political and social ramifications of the industry. It further seeks to identify whether CSR within the gold mining industry in Ghana has influenced the perception as well as opinions of different stakeholder such as regulatory bodies, activist groups, think tank institutions and community members about the mining industry.

1. Interviews will be conducted with people with various degree of knowledge and experience with the issues identified for the research including government officials, company representatives, community leaders and members, think tank institutions and activist groups. As an interviewee, you will be participating in a semi-structured interview which will require that you state your opinion or that of your institution on questions of which you have some knowledge/expertise related to the topic under study.

2. The interview should take no longer than one (1) hour and will be held at a location convenient for both the interviewee and interviewer such as the company or organization office. Alternative mediums for the interview, either through the internet or by phone can be arranged if a location becomes a challenge. There may be follow-up interviews to clarify and expand on issues identified. The final outcome of the interview will be transcribed and sent to the interviewee to verify and confirm the information provided.

3. There are no known physical, psychological, economic or social risks involved with the participation in this research.

4. Participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time for whatever reason deemed necessary. This may be done before, during or 30 days after the interview by informing the researcher verbally (in person, or over the phone) or electronically (by email or phone message). The contact information of the researchers will be provided. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable. Your signature below indicates that you understand that your participation is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw at any time. Should you choose to withdraw, any data collected will be appropriately destroyed (deleted from recording device if one was used and notes and forms will be shredded).

5. You may ask to have any of your information removed from the study. Again, this may be done before, during or 30 days after interviews by informing the researcher verbally (in person, via Skype, or over the phone) or electronically (by email or phone message).

6. In order to retain as much detailed information as possible post-interview, a digital audiotape recording of the interview is preferable. You will be asked if you consent to the use of the digital recording of the interview. If you do not wish to have the interview recorded,
hand-written notes will be taken of the interview. In the case of a telephone interview, no audio-tape recording will be taken; instead, hand-written notes will be taken.

7. Given your level of experience and knowledge on the research topic, it is preferable that your name be used in the research dissertation and any peer reviewed article(s) published. However, you may opt to have no identifying information collected or used. However, given your occupation/position, it may be possible to identify you even without your name being disclosed.

8. Confidentiality will be protected as much as possible. Reports of this study in the form of physical notes will be kept safe in a locked drawer while audio recordings and transcription of the audios will be encrypted and kept on a password protected computer, hard drive and internet platform (google drive) under the care of the lead researcher; Priscilla Toloo Apronti. Once the researcher has transcribed audio files from the encrypted password protected audio recorder, audio files will be permanently deleted from the audio recorder. On instances where the information will be shared with other researchers, personal identifying information will be removed and confidentiality ensured before sharing. Your signature below indicates that you understand these provisions around confidentiality and anonymity.

9. Research results will contribute to academic discourse in the form a master’s thesis by the student researcher, and potentially peer reviewed article(s) by the professor and student involved. The academic community and any other interested person will have access to these publications.

10. There is no remuneration provided for participating in this research.

11. Your signature below indicates that you are aware that you may contact the principal investigator, or the General Research Ethics Board of Queen’s University, whose contact information has been provided below if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the research procedures.

12. Please retain a copy of this letter (letter of information and consent) for your records.

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<th>Enquires related to the research should be directed to</th>
<th>Enquiries regarding ethics should be directed to</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lead researcher</strong>&lt;br&gt;Priscilla Toloo Apronti&lt;br&gt;School of Environmental Studies&lt;br&gt;Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. K7L 3N6&lt;br&gt;Email: <a href="mailto:15pta@queensu.ca">15pta@queensu.ca</a>&lt;br&gt;Tel. (+1) (613) 770 9460</td>
<td><strong>General Research Ethics Board</strong>&lt;br&gt;Queens University, Kingston, Ontario Canada K7L 3N6r&lt;br&gt;Email: <a href="mailto:chair.GREB@queensu.ca">chair.GREB@queensu.ca</a>&lt;br&gt;Tel. 613-533-6081</td>
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Dr. Allison Goebel<br>School of Environmental Studies, Queen’s University,<br>Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6.<br>Email: goebela@queensu.ca<br>Tel. (+1) (613) 533-6000 ext. 77660
CONSENT FORM

Name (please print clearly): ____________________________________________

1. I have read the Letter of Information and have had any questions answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I will be participating in the study called “Development within the Limits of the Environment: A case for or against Corporate Social Responsibility in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry in Ghana”. I understand that this means that I will be asked to state my opinion on questions related to the topic under study. Should I be interested, I am entitled to a copy of the findings.

2. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time either before, during or after the interview. I am aware of the methods in which I can withdraw and that any data collected from me will be disposed of in a proper manner.

3. I understand it is preferable for the interview to be recorded on a digital recording device. Please initial one of the two following options:

   _____ I agree to the use of a recording device during the interview for the purpose of data collection and/or quotations in subsequent publications.

   _____ I do NOT agree to be recorded and instead, agree to the taking of hand-written notes during the interview.

4. I understand that every effort will be made to maintain the confidentiality of the data now and in the future. The data may also be published in professional journals or presented at conferences. In terms of personal confidentiality, please initial the option you are most comfortable with regarding the level of confidentiality you agree to for the purpose of this research:

   _____ I give consent to use my full name and title when cited in any related publications or conference presentations on the current research findings. I understand that my comments provided during the interview will be treated as ‘on the record’.

   _____ I do NOT give consent to use my full name and title when cited in any related publications or conference presentations on the current research findings. I wish to have my identity kept confidential to the best of the researcher’s ability. The researcher and I will agree on how I will be referred to, by a general identification of my position or occupation, or by a
pseudonym. Although every effort will be made to choose an identifier that preserves confidentiality, I am aware that given the nature of my position/title/occupation, it may still be possible to identify me.

5. I am aware that if I have any general questions, concerns, or complaints regarding the research being conducted, I may contact Priscilla Toloo Apronti (+1) (613) 770-9460; 5pta@queensu.ca, Da Costa Aboagye (+233) (24) 481-8432; abaqgyed@gmail.com or project supervisor, Dr. Allison Goebel (+1) (613) 533-6000 ext. 77660; goebela@queensu.ca. For inquiries regarding the ethics of the research I may contact the Chair of the General Research Ethics Board (01) (613) 533-6081; Chair.GREB@queensu.ca at Queen’s University.

I have read the above statements and freely consent to participate in this research:

Signature: ___________________________   Date: _______________________

Appendix D: Verbal Script for Interview with Community Leaders.

Researcher: Priscilla Toloo Apronti

Project Title: “Development within the Limits of the Environment: A Case For or Against Corporate Social Responsibility in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry in Ghana”

P.I. Hi, my name is Priscilla Toloo Apronti. I am a researcher from the School of Environmental Studies at Queen’s University, Canada. I am conducting a research study called “Development within the Limits of the Environment: A Case For or Against Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry in Ghana”. The goal of my research is to ascertain if the CSR initiatives of the gold mining industry in Ghana have addressed the environmental, political and social ramifications of the industry. It further seeks to identify whether CSR within the gold mining industry in Ghana has influence the perception as well as opinions of community members about the mining industry. It will take about 1 hour of your time to complete this interview. Are you interested in learning more about participating in my study?

Participant: No/Yes.

NO = Is it that you don’t have the time right now? Can we meet another time? No/Okay, thank you for your time. Have a good day.

YES = Okay, thank you. Is this a good time to conduct the interview?

P.I.: Good. Before I ask you any questions, I would first like to provide you with some information about my research project and about your rights as a participant. Feel free to ask me any questions that you might have about my research project.

Because this is a research project, it was first cleared by my Research Ethics Board and it complies with Canadian ethical principles and Queen’s research policies.

It might interest you to learn that your participation in my research will help me learn about the impacts of AngloGold Ashanti’s activities in this community, how they are addressing it with their CSR initiatives and how their CSR initiatives are influencing your perception about the mining industry. This research will contribute to scientific knowledge by providing empirical evidence of the influence of CSR on long term
community development and progress or whether it is just a social license for companies to operate in communities.

For my research project, what I am asking participants to do is to answer a few questions. You do not need to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. You can provide me with answers such as “I don’t know”, “I can’t remember”, or “I don’t want to answer”. That’s okay. You can also stop this interview at any time by just telling me to do so. If you want to quit, then I will destroy by deleting from the recording device and shredding the notes and forms which contains anything you have said so far. Is this okay?

Because I don’t want to miss anything that you are saying, do you agree to allow me to record our interview with my use of notebook and recording device? YES/NO

I am now recording our conversation. If you don’t want me to record some parts of your answer just tell me to stop recording and I will stop the recording device and then I will start it when you are ready to have me to do so. Does that sound all right with you?

Participant: YES/NO.

P.I.: This information is standard for all participants in research but it is important that you understand that your participation is completely voluntary and that you are informed about everything that might affect your decision to choose to participate in my research. There are some possible risks that we want you to be aware of before you agree to participate in my research. They are economic risk (participants of this research working with AGA may risk the disapproval of the work place), social risk (participants of this research may risk the disapproval of others in the community if their opinions differ from the common view in the community) and risk to participants due to power imbalance (participants may face disapproval of traditional leaders if they express an opinion different from those who have power in the community). All of these risks only exist if the participant's views become known by others in the community. Every attempt is made to keep your views private. To minimize any possible risks to you, I will only be reporting the information you give to me in aggregated form. That is your information will be group and reported together with other participating community leaders, thus, no one will be able to link any individual to any particular response. Furthermore, activist groups such as Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Minning (WACAM), religious and spiritual leaders, queen mother and women leaders which in this community can address these issues should you be faced with any of these possible risks due to this research. We have informed most of these groups and they will be happy to address any issues arising. Are you worried about any of these risks? (TALK about them). Do you still want to participate in my research?

Participant: YES/NO/Unsure.

P.I.: (Address any concerns.)

To protect your privacy I would like to collect the information anonymously and will only use it in an aggregate form. By doing this I will do my very best to protect your privacy and confidentiality. The information I am collecting right now is called the raw data. In order to ensure your privacy and confidentiality I will remove any personal information that might identify you from the raw data. This cleaned version or de-identified version is my scientific data. Do you understand what I mean? YES or NO.

Only myself and my supervisor will be aware of who said what and we will not reveal this information to anyone. The raw data, which includes your personal information or information that can identify you such as your name, age as well as your length of stay and position in this community, on physical notes will be stored in a locked drawer while audio recordings and transcription of the audio will be encrypted and kept on a password protected computer, hard drive and internet platform (google drive) under the care of the principal researcher. The scientific data (i.e., the information that doesn’t include your personal information) will be made public in my theses, scientific publication(s) and conferences. I might also share the scientific data with other researchers but they will never have access to the raw data.
If, however, you want me to quote you or I would like to quote you given your level of experience and knowledge about the research topic, do you agree to my quoting you and citing you by name? Yes/No.

However, given your occupation/position, it may be possible to identify you even without your name being disclosed.

Any personal information that I have collected about you I will keep for up to 7 years after I have collected the data after which the data will be transferred to the Queen's Research Data Centre. Research results will contribute to academic discourse in the form of a master’s thesis by the student, and possibly peer reviewed article(s) by the student and supervising professor. The academic community and any other interested person will have access to these publications.

Do you have any concerns?

P.I.: (Address any concerns.)

P.I. Great. Before we begin I want you to know that I have also written this information down, we call it a Letter of Information. The Letter of Information will remind you of my project and commitments I have made to you. It also has contact information if you have any concerns about your rights as a participant or concerns about how I conducted this interview. You should keep it somewhere safe should you have need of it in the future.

Do you feel ready to start the interview or do you have any other questions?

Participant: YES/NO.

P.I.: I will begin this tape recorded interview by stating the date of our interview today and thanking my guest (code number, pseudonym, name) for allowing me to interview him/her about how the CSR initiatives of the gold mining industry in Ghana has addressed the environmental, political and social ramifications of the industry and influenced the perception as well as opinions of community members about the mining industry. Please remember that we can turn off the tape recorder at any time or erase some information or say “off the record”. Are you okay to begin?

Participant: Yes/No

P.I.: Okay- let’s start. My first question is ……” Complete interview.

P.I. That is the end of the interview. Please keep this letter of information and please let me or others know if you later have any concerns. Do you have any further questions of me?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix E: Verbal Script for Community Survey.

Researcher: Priscilla Toloo Apronti

Project Title: “Development within the Limits of the Environment: A Case For or Against Corporate Social Responsibility in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry in Ghana”

P.I. Hi, my name is Priscilla Toloo Apronti. I am a researcher from the School of Environmental Studies at Queen’s University, Canada. I am conducting a research study called “Development within the Limits of the Environment: A Case For or Against Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in the Natural Resource Extractive Industry in Ghana”. The goal of my research is to ascertain if the CSR initiatives of the gold mining industry in Ghana have addressed the environmental, political and social ramifications of the
industry. It further seeks to identify whether CSR within the gold mining industry in Ghana has influence on the perception as well as opinions of community members about the mining industry. It will take about 30 minutes of your time to complete this survey. Are you interested in learning more about participating in my study?

Participant: No/Yes.

NO = Is it that you don’t have the time right now? Can we meet another time? No/Okay, thank you for your time. Have a good day.

YES = Okay, thank you. Is this a good time to conduct the survey?

P.I.: Good. Before I ask you any questions, I would first like to provide you with some information about my research project and about your rights as a participant. Feel free to ask me any questions that you might have about my research project.

Because this is a research project, it was first cleared by my Research Ethics Board and it complies with Canadian ethical principles and Queen’s research policies.

It might interest you to learn that your participation in my research will help me learn about the impacts of AngloGold Ashanti’s activities in this community, how they are addressing it with their CSR and how their CSR is influencing your perception about the mining industry. This research will contribute to scientific knowledge by providing empirical evidence of the influence of CSR on long term community development and progress or whether it is just a social license for companies to operate in communities.

For my research project what I am asking participants to do is to answer a few questions. You do not need to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. You can provide me with answers such as “I don’t know”, “I can’t remember”, or “I don’t want to answer”. That’s okay. You can also stop this survey at any time by just telling me to do so. If you want to quit, then I will destroy by deleting from the recording device and shredding the notes and forms which contains anything you have said so far. Is this okay?

Because I don’t want to miss anything that you are saying, do you agree to allow me to record our survey with my use of notebook and recording device? YES/NO

I am now recording our conversation. If you don’t want me to record some parts of your answer just tell me to stop recording and I will stop the recording device and then I will start it when you are ready to have me to do so. Does that sound all right with you?

Participant: YES/NO.

P.I.: This information is standard for all participants in research but it is important that you understand that your participation is completely voluntary and that you are informed about everything that might affect your decision to choose to participate in my research. There are some possible risks that we want you to be aware of before you agree to participate in my research. They are economic risk (participants of this research working with AGA may risk the disapproval of the work place), social risk (participants of this research may risk the disapproval of others in the community if their opinions differ from the common view in the community) and risk to participants due to power imbalance (participants may face disapproval of traditional leaders if they express an opinion different from those who have power in the community). All of these risks only exist if the participant's views become known by others in the community. Every attempt is made to keep your views private. To minimize any possible risks to you, I will only be reporting the information you give to me in aggregated form. That is you information will be group and reported together with other participating community members, thus, no one will be able to link any individual to any particular response. Furthermore, activist groups such as Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Miming (WACAM), religious and spiritual leaders, queen mother and women leaders which in this community can address these issues should you be faced with any of these possible risks due to this research.
We have informed most of these groups and they will be happy to address any issues arising. Are you worried about any of these risks? (TALK about them). Do you still want to participate in my research?

Participant: YES/NO/Unsure.

P.I.: (Address any concerns.)

To protect your privacy I would like to collect the information anonymously and will only use it in an aggregate form. By doing this I will do my very best to protect your privacy and confidentiality. The information I am collecting right now is called the raw data. In order to ensure your privacy and confidentiality I will remove any personal information that might identify you from the raw data. This cleaned version or de-identified version is my scientific data. Do you understand what I mean? YES or NO.

Only myself and my supervisor will be aware of who said what and we will not reveal this information to anyone. The raw data, which includes your personal information or information that can identify you such as your age as well as your length of stay and position in this community, on physical notes will be stored in a locked drawer while audio recordings and transcription of the audio will be encrypted and kept on a password protected computer, hard drive and internet platform (google drive) under the care of the principal researcher. The scientific data (i.e., the information that doesn’t include your personal information) will be made public in my theses, scientific publications and conferences. I might also share the scientific data with other researchers but they will never have access to the raw data.

If, however, you want me to quote you or I would like to quote you, do you agree to my quoting you and citing you by name? Yes/No.

Any personal information that I have collected about you I will keep for up to 7 years after I have collected the data after which the data will be transferred to the Queen's Research Data Centre. Research results will contribute to academic discourse in the form of a master’s thesis by the student, and possibly peer reviewed article(s) by the student and supervising professor. The academic community and any other interested person will have access to these publications.

Do you have any concerns?

P.I.: (Address any concerns.)

P.I. Great. Before we begin I want you to know that I have also written this information down, we call it a Letter of Information. The Letter of Information will remind you of my project and commitments I have made to you. It also has contact information if you have any concerns about your rights as a participant or concerns about how I conducted this survey. You should keep it somewhere safe should you have need of it in the future.

Do you feel ready to start the survey or do you have any other questions?

Participant: YES/NO.

P.I.: I will begin this tape recorded survey by stating the date of our survey today and thanking my guest (code number, pseudonym, name) for allowing me to talk to him/her about how the CSR initiatives of the gold mining industry in Ghana has addressed the environmental, political and social ramifications of the industry and influenced the perception as well as opinions of community members about the mining industry. Please remember that we can turn off the tape recorder at any time or erase some information or say “off the record”. Are you okay to begin?

Participant: Yes/ No

P.I.: Okay- let’s start. My first question is …..” Complete survey.
P.I. That is the end of the survey. Please keep this letter of information and please let me or others know if you later have any concerns. Do you have any further questions of me?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix F: Certificate for Ethical Conduct of Research involving Humans Course

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Priscilla Toloo Apronti

has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)

Date of Issue: 23 March, 2016

Appendix G: Interview Guide and Questionnaires for Respondents

Regulatory Agency: Environmental Protection Agency

Location of the AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) mine under consideration

a) Iduapriem [ ]  

b) Obuasi [ ]

Demographic characteristics

1. In which department are you working?
2. Current position at EPA
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with EPA?
5. How long have you worked with EPA in this district?

Operations of EPA in the natural resource extractive industry

6. Aside the Environmental Assessment Regulation (EAR) of 1999, are there other laws and policies that regulate the activities of mining companies in Ghana?
7. Have there been major changes to the EAR and other laws that regulate the mining industry since EPA was established in 1994? If yes, what are the major changes?
8. From your interaction with the mining industry, what are the major impacts of the industry in the communities in which they operate?

EPA, AGA and the Obuasi and Iduapriem communities

9. Does EPA have the environmental quality data base of Obuasi and Iduapriem before AGA took over the operations of the mine? If yes, what was the quality of the environment (vegetative cover, air, water, soil and noise)?
10. Has there been an environmental impact assessment conducted in Obuasi and Iduapriem since AGA took over the mines and what was the outcome of the assessment?
11. Does EPA provide any technical support to AGA on how to implement the environmental quality guidelines and standards of the mining industry? If yes, what is the nature of the technical support?
12. Has there been instances of non-compliance to the environmental quality guidelines and standards by AGA?
13. Do you have a mechanism for receiving and dealing with complaints about the activities of AGA in the communities? If yes, what is it?
14. Has the criticism about the activities of AGA by community members and activist groups influenced the way in which you enforce existing regulations?

The last Akoben rating of 2012 indicated that AGA’s Obuasi mines was performing poorly in the areas of toxic release and fairly together with Iduapriem mines on non-toxic release, monitoring and reporting and environmental best practices.

15. Has the outcome of the Akoben ranking affected the way EPA enforces its regulations on defaulting companies particularly AGA?
Impacts of CSR initiatives on law enforcement

16. Do you know of any CSR initiative of AGA in Obuasi and Iduapriem?
17. Do you think AGA is doing its best through its CSR initiatives to address the negative impacts of its activities on the community?
18. Has there been any instance where the CSR initiative of AGA has interfered with your duties of enforcing the environmental quality guidelines and standards?
19. Has there been any instance where the CSR initiative of AGA has interfered with their compliance with the environmental quality guidelines and standards for the mining industry?

Think Tank Institution: IMANI Center for Policy and Education

Demographic information of respondent

1. Department
2. Current position at IMANI
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with IMANI?
5. Year in which IMANI was established

Core activities of the Institution

5. What are the objectives and mandates of IMANI?
6. IMANI is actively involved in research in a number of sectors of the country, what aspect of the extractive industry does IMANI actively engage with and research into?
7. What are some of the findings of your research activities within the extractive industry? Are there any gendered dynamics in your findings?
8. Has the outcome of your research activities on the mining industry influenced in any way policy or field practice of the industry? If yes, in what ways?
9. What are the challenges IMANI faces in meeting its stated objectives?

IMANI’s operations within the extractive industry

10. Have your research ever centered on the activities of AngloGold Ashanti? Which aspects of their activities did you research into?
11. Has the advocacy initiatives of IMANI impacted on the activities of AGA in anyway?
12. From your interaction with AGA, what are the major impacts of their activities in the communities in which they operate? Are there any gendered dynamics to these impacts?
11. What is IMANI’s opinion about AGA’s activities in Ghana? Has this opinion changed over the years i.e. over the past 12 years? If yes what is the reason for the change?
12. Based on your interaction with AGA, which areas does their CSR initiatives cover?
13. Based on your opinion, has the CSR initiatives of AGA being able to address their ramifications in the communities?
14. With the current CSR initiatives of AGA, can communities enjoy a long term benefit from the extractive industry?
15. If no, do you think improvement in the CSR activities of AGA will be enough to effectively address its ramification on the environment or is there a need for another approach?
16. Has IMANI encountered any complaints from community members on the operations and CSR initiatives of AGA in the community? If yes, what were the nature of the complaints and does IMANI provide any support for these communities?
17. Has these complains affected the operations and reputation of AGA in anyway?

*Revised interview guide for IMANI Center for Policy and Education*

**Demographic information of respondent**

1. Department
2. Current position at IMANI
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with IMANI?
5. Year in which IMANI was established

**Core activities of the Institution**

6. What are the objectives and mandates of IMANI?
7. IMANI is actively involved in research in a number of sectors of the country, what aspect of the extractive industry does IMANI actively engage with and research into?
8. What are some of the findings of your research activities within the extractive industry? Are there any gendered dynamics in your findings?
Has the outcome of your research activities on the mining industry influenced in any way policy or field practice of the industry? If yes, in what ways?

What are the challenges IMANI faces in meeting its stated objectives?

**IMANI’s interaction with the extractive industry**

11. In terms of expenditure, do you also look at how government spends resource rent within resource rich communities, be it oil and gas or other natural resources?

12. In relation to your explanation so far, don’t you think it is unfair to resource rich community that since they are affected disproportionately by the presence and activities of these extractive companies?

13. In terms of the CSR that is being undertaken in Ghana, do you find it to be below the standard of international practices of CSR or is it adequate based on our system and structure?

14. Do you think that the taxation system and how government promotes investment within the extractive industry is fair enough for the country to generate enough wealth from our resources to be able to provide all these public goods?

15. Why do you think the government is still opting for the royalty system because it can be classified as our first mistake as a country? Why is it that subsequent agreement with Tullow and the others have not been done using the production sharing system?

16. In terms of transparency within the extractive industry, there is the EITI. Have you reviewed that policy or is it that it is an international policy so you don’t find a need to do that?

17. With the work that you do, what are the challenges you face aside funding?

18. So the question that comes up is whether they stand for the interest of the people or they are there to protect their own interest?

19. Do you think the passing of the RTI will make a difference looking at the nature of law enforcement in Ghana? We have the laws but the enforcement is difficult?

*Think Tank Institution: Center for Corporate Responsibility*

**Demographic information of respondent**

1. Department

2. Current position at CCR
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with CCR?
5. Year in which CCR was established

**Core activities of the Institution**

6. The main aim of CCR is to facilitate the mainstreaming of corporate responsibility in businesses in Ghana. How have you gone about this objective?
7. Are there any significant differences in how you interact with various businesses in different sectors? If yes, what are the differences and if no why not?
8. How will you rate a successful CSR initiative?
9. Can CSR initiatives promote long-term development within the host communities?
10. What are the challenges CCR faces in meeting their stated objectives?
11. What role can the extractive industry and their CSR initiatives play in enhancing the sustainable development goals (2030 agenda)?

**CCR’s operations within the extractive industry**

12. How does CCR promote the mainstreaming of corporate responsibility into the core business objective of AGA?
13. From your interaction with AGA, what are the major impacts of their activities in the communities in which they operate?
14. What is CCR’s opinion about AGA’s activities in Ghana? Has this opinion changed 2004 i.e. over the past 12 years? If yes what is the reason for the change?
15. Based on your interaction with AGA, which areas does their CSR initiatives cover?
16. Are these CSR initiatives effective in addressing the impacts of AGA in the community?
17. With the current CSR initiatives of AGA, can communities enjoy a long term benefit from the extractive industry?
18. If no, do you think improvement in the CSR activities of AGA will be enough to effectively address its ramification on the environment or is there a need for another approach?
19. Has CCR dealt with any complaints from community members on the CSR operation of AGA in the community? If yes, what were the nature of the complaints?
20. Has these criticism affected AGA in anyway?
Advocacy Groups such as Wacam, Center for Public interest Law and TWN-Africa

Name of Institution

Demographic information of respondent
1. Department
2. Current position at this institution
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with this institution?

Core activities of the Institution
5. When was this institution established and for what purpose was it established?
6. What are some of the issues you research into and what is/are the main purpose of your research work?
7. With respect to your advocacy activities in this community, what kinds of issues have you dealt with?
17. Have your institution intervened in an issue involving this community and AGA?
18. Has your criticism of the activities of AGA affected it in anyway?
8. What are the challenges your institution faces in performing its responsibilities related to the natural resource extractive industry?

Institutional activities related to AGA operations and its CSR initiatives
10. Do you know of any of the CSR initiatives of AGA in this community?

11. What are the benefits of CSR initiatives?
12. Are these CSR initiatives effective in addressing the impacts of AGA on the community?
15. Has the CSR initiatives of AGA influence how and what you report about the company?
16. With the current CSR initiatives of AGA, can communities enjoy long term benefits from the extractive industry?
17. Did the role of WACAM in facilitating the conferring of the 2011 public eye award on AGA for its operations in Obuasi lead to tensions between AGA and various activist groups like yours.
Mining Company: AngloGold Ashanti

Location of the AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) mine under consideration

b) Iduapriem [ ]
   b) Obuasi [ ]

Demographic information of respondents

1. Department
2. Current position at AGA
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with AGA?
5. How long have you worked as an AGA employee in this community?

Operations of AGA in the community

6. What are the value systems of AGA in the community?
7. What are the core business considerations of AGA in the community?
8. What are the impacts of AGA’s activities in the communities?
   Probe:
   a) Economic (livelihood and community infrastructure and services)
   b) Environment (air, water, noise, soil and vegetation)
   c) Social (traditional governance system, health of inhabitants, human rights)
9. What are some of the issues that arise in AGA’s operations in the community?

The last Akoben rating of 2012 indicated that AGA’s Obuasi mines was performing poorly in the areas of toxic release and fairly together with Iduapriem mines on non-toxic release, monitoring and reporting and environmental best practices.

10. Do you think this rating reflected the state of the Iduapriem and Obuasi mines?
    If no, why not and if yes, what has been done since 2012 to address these concerns?

Policies guiding CSR initiatives of AGA

11. Does AGA undertake CSR initiatives within the community?
12. Does AGA have institutional policies that outline and regulate the kinds of CSR initiatives that are implemented in the communities? If yes, what are they?
13. Are the CSR policies and guidelines as well as initiatives of AGA aligned to its core business considerations listed above? If yes, how is it aligned and if no why not?
14. Are the CSR policies and guidelines as well as initiatives of AGA aligned to its value system listed above? If yes, how and if no why not?
15. Does AGA have a social responsibility model/framework that guides its CSR initiatives?

**Community level CSR initiatives of AGA**

16. What is the nature of AGA’s CSR initiatives in the community?
17. Has there been any changes in AGA’s CSR initiatives since it was first initiated in the community?
18. What systems do you have in place to facilitate the participation of external stakeholders such as community members in the development and implementation of AGA’s CSR initiatives?
19. How are CSR initiatives monitored, evaluated and reported to assess its effectiveness in achieving the stated objectives?
20. To what extent does AGA’s CSR initiatives address the environmental, social and political impacts of your company in the communities?
21. Are there measures in place to ensure that the CSR initiatives of AGA promote long-term benefits for the people of the community?
22. How does AGA ensure the financial accountability and transparency of their CSR initiatives?
23. How does AGA calculate its returns from their CSR investments?

**Criticism of the operations of AGA**

24. In your opinion, are the concerns being raised by activist groups and think tank institutions such as WACAM and IMANI about the activities of AGA in this community well-founded?
25. Do you think the criticism being leveled against AGA by these groups is justified considering your CSR initiatives in these communities?
26. Has these criticism affected AGA in anyway?
Mining Association: Ghana Chamber of Mines

Demographic information of respondent

1. Department
2. Current position at Ghana Chamber of mines
3. Responsibilities and duties associated with your job
4. How long have you worked with Ghana Chamber of mines

Core activities of the Institution

5. The main aim of the chamber of mines is to represent the interest of its members. Which aspect of their interest do you represent?
6. Which stakeholders does the chamber actively engage with in the discharge of its duty towards its members?
7. What are the impacts of the activities of your members in the communities in which they operate?
8. Is the Akoben rating of the activities of your members a true reflection of the state of their operations in the communities?

Probe:
AGA’s operation in 2012 in Obuasi was rated poor in toxic release and together with the Iduapriem mines were rated fairly in non-toxic release, monitoring and reporting and environmental best practices. What has been done to address the concerns raised?
9. In representing the interest of AGA, does Chamber of Mines make use of the traditional decision making structures in the communities in which AGA operates?
10. Has there been complaints from community members about the operations of AGA in this community?
11. In your opinion, are the concerns being raised by activist groups and think tank institutions such as WACAM and IMANI about the activities of AGA in this community founded?
12. Has these criticism affected the way you represent the interest of AGA?
13. Has there been any issue involving AGA and other stakeholders with whom they interact?
14. What role did Chamber of Mines play in resolving the issues?
Role of Ghana Chamber of Mines in the CSR initiatives of AGA

15. Does your activities cover the CSR initiatives of your member? If yes, what exactly do you do in relation to the industry’s CSR?
16. What are the benefits of CSR initiatives?
17. What is the nature of AGA’s CSR initiatives in the community?
18. Has there been any changes in AGA’s CSR initiatives since it was first initiated in the community?
19. Do you think the current CSR initiatives of AGA can promote long term benefits within the communities they operate?
20. Do you think the criticism being leveled against AGA by activist groups and think tank institutions is justified considering its CSR initiatives in these communities?
21. Has these criticism affected AGA in anyway?

Community Leaders: Adieyie and Teberebie

Name of Community

Demographic characteristic

1. Gender of respondent
2. Age of respondent
3. How long have you served as a leader in this community?
4. In what capacity do you lead and what are your responsibilities?

Mining and AGA

5. Before AGA took over the mines in this community in 2004, what was your perception about the mining industry as far as you can remember?
6. Were community leaders consulted before AGA took over the mines in this community in 2004? If yes, in what form did the consultation take?
7. What are the traditional decision making structures that exist in this community?
8. Has the activities of AGA interfered with the traditional decision making structures in this community? If yes, how has that happened and is the interference positive or negative?
9. What are the observable impacts of AGA on the community?
10. What are the complaints/concerns of the community about the operations of AGA?
Community level CSR initiative of AGA

11. Does AGA undertake any CSR initiatives in your community? If yes, which areas does the initiatives cover?
12. Has there been changes in the CSR initiatives of AGA in this community over the past 12 years? If yes, what are the changes?
13. Does AGA actively engage community leaders in the identification and implementation of CSR initiatives in this community? If yes, how do they engage them?
14. How do the community leaders ensure the needs of the people are identified and taken into consideration in the design and implementation of CSR initiatives?
15. Has there been instances of community disagreement over CSR initiatives of AGA in this community?
16. Are the CSR initiatives adequate to address the impacts of AGA on the community?
17. Have your opinions about the operations of AGA changed over time? If yes what are the changes?
18. On the scale of 1-5, where 1 is least positive impact and 5 is most positive impacts, rate the impacts of AGA in the community? What is the reason for your rating?

Community Members: Adieyie and Teberebie

Demographic information

1. Name of community
2. Are you an indigene of this community?
   a) Yes [   ]          b) No [   ]
3. How long have you lived in this community?
4. Gender of respondents
   a) Male [   ]          b) Female [   ]
5. Age of respondent
6. Educational qualification
7. Occupation
8. Other sources of income
9. Income per month
Impact of AGA in the community

10. As far back as you can remember, before the inception of large scale mining in your community, what was the nature of the environment?

11. What has changed since the start of large scale mining in the community by AGA?

12. Has there been changes in your source of livelihood over the past 12 years?
   a) Yes [   ]  
   b) No [   ]

13. If yes, what are the changes and the reasons for the change?

14. Has the operations of AGA impacted your source of livelihood? If yes, what are the impacts?

15. Has the operations of AGA impacted on your health or that of any family member?
   a) Yes [   ]  
   b) No [   ]

16. If yes, what are the impacts and why do you attribute it to AGA’s operations?

17. What are the traditional decision making structures that exist in this community?

18. Has the activities of AGA interfered with the traditional decision making structures in this community?

19. If yes, how has that happened and is the interference positive or negative?

20. Do you know of any CSR initiatives of AGA in this community? If yes, which areas do the initiatives cover?

21. Were community members consulted in the design and implementation of the CSR initiative of AGA?

22. Have you personally benefited from the CSR initiatives of AGA in this community? If yes, what were the benefits?

23. Has there been instances of community disagreement over CSR initiatives of AGA in this community?

24. How were these disagreements resolved and who were the stakeholders involved in the resolution of the disagreement?

25. Has there been changes in the CSR initiatives of AGA in this community over the past 12 years?
   a) Yes [   ]  
   b) No [   ]

If yes, what are the changes?
26. From your opinion, are the CSR initiatives adequate to address the environmental impacts of AGA in this community?

27. Does the CSR initiatives of AGA adequately address its impacts on the livelihood of people in Obuasi and Iduapriem?

28. Have your opinions about the operations of AGA changed over time? If yes what are the changes?

29. Considering the CSR initiatives of AGA as well as the implications of their operations in the community, rate the overall impact of AGA in the community on the scale of 1-5, where 1 is least positive impact and 5 is most positive impacts.