IT IS WHAT IT IS:

BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE IN A NORTHERN ONTARIO MINING COMMUNITY

by

Eva-Marie Caroline Kovacs-Kowalke

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The following individuals certify that they have read, and recommend to the College of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis/dissertation entitled:

**IT IS WHAT IT IS: BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE IN A NORTHERN ONTARIO MINING COMMUNITY**

Submitted by Eva-Marie Caroline Kovacs-Kowalke in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. John Wagner, Irving K. Barber School of Arts and Science, Anthropology
Supervisor

Dr. Robin Dods, Irving K. Barber School of Arts and Science, Anthropology
Supervisory Committee Member

Dr. Diana French, Irving K. Barber School of Arts and Science, Anthropology
Supervisory Committee Member

Dr. Adam Jones, Irving K. Barber School of Arts and Science, Political Science
Supervisory Committee Member

Dr. James Hull, Irving K. Barber School of Arts and Science, History
University Examiner

Dr. Hevina Dashwood, Brock University
External Examiner
Abstract

The discourse surrounding mining extraction, mining communities and corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies is both a local and global issue. It is a particularly Canadian issue since over seventy five percent of mining done worldwide is connected to a Canadian owned mining corporation. I conducted my research in Marathon, Ontario, a mining enclave for one of the top gold mining corporations in the world, Barrick Gold Corporation. Many of those working in the mining industry see this area as a modern-day Klondike and, in fact, it has generated ten times more income than the Klondike itself (Sudol 2014). No one can doubt that northern Ontario is rich in natural resources but, since mining communities typically become entangled in a perpetual boom-and-bust cycle of extraction, the benefits of that wealth are very unevenly distributed. Corporate social responsibility programs have been touted as one way to distribute the benefits more equitably, and to avoid or limit the social and health problems that arise during bust cycles and then worsen for those who stay on after extraction is complete and the company leaves town.

The narrative of Marathon provides insight into how miners, mine workers, community members and Barrick’s middle and upper management have become entrenched in a false sense of economic sustainability due to the fact that the Hemlo mine site has been in operation for over three decades. On the basis of an eclectic set of methods and fieldwork practices, including participant-observation, interviewing, shadowing and discourse analysis, this research provides insight into how mining enclaves such as Marathon could benefit from a more common shared value approach to defining their specific needs and voices and achieving their own chosen path to an enduring future. Through understanding how corporate language silences alternative
visions of the mining industry, places like Marathon can hopefully be empowered to take control of their future before it becomes too dependent on a resource that will one day be gone.
Lay Summary

Mining, and the policies around it, are both a local and global issue, and it is particularly a Canadian issue as seventy-five percent of mining done world-wide is connected to a Canadian owned mining corporation. This research was conducted with those involved in the mining community in Marathon, Ontario. It suggests that the community has had a false sense of economic stability due to the length of time that the Hemlo mine site has been in operation. This dissertation shows that communities can be empowered for their future through alternative visions of resources.
Preface

This research project was approved by the Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB) of the University of British Columbia (Okanagan Campus), Certificate H12-01406. I am solely responsible for the design and conduct of the research project, the analysis of the data and the writing of this dissertation.
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Acknowledgements

This dissertation is in honor of my father Steve Kovacs, who passed away during this journey and sadly I did not get to share this moment with him. Dad I love you and I did this for you, once a miner always a miner!

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Chapter One: Introduction

In this dissertation I describe the corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies and programs of Barrick Gold as they are administered in a small mining community in northern Ontario (Figure 1). Many of those working in the mining industry see this area as a modern-day Klondike and, in fact, it has generated ten times more income than the Klondike itself (Sudol 2014). No one can doubt that northern Ontario is rich in natural resources but, since mining communities typically become entangled in a perpetual boom-and-bust cycle of extraction, the benefits of that wealth are very unevenly distributed. Corporate social responsibility programs have been touted as one way to distribute the benefits more equitably, and to avoid or limit the social and health problems that arise during bust cycles and then worsen for those who stay on after extraction is complete and the company leaves town.
The district of Marathon, located on Peninsula Bay on the north shore of Lake Superior, is no exception: a community that proudly wears their community motto of “built on paper laced with gold” (Figure 1). But this study is not just about a small mining community in northern Ontario that has Barrick Gold in its backyard; it is about the blood, sweat and tears of the individuals who live and work in these communities and whose whole lives are framed by them. It is their lived experience, together with my own and my husband’s families as well, that pushes me to understand the deep connection of such communities to the mining industry and to the discourse that surrounds mining in Canada and internationally.
As a young boy, in the 1940s, my father worked and lived in a coal mining town in Hungary. He told me stories of how he would be sent into ‘the pit’ in a bucket to go and gather coal, and of how it was normal for young men to work at the mine to help support the family, and how normal it was for a such a young man to be considered the man of the house and to put himself into harm’s way, daily! This normalcy became crystal clear to me when, in my twenties, I volunteered at a local Brigades school in a small community in Northern Botswana. The Brigades was founded by Patrick Van Rensburg in the late 1970s as an alternative system of education, which integrated vocational skills, such as wood working, carpentry and brick making and laying, into the secondary curriculum. The town was devoid of men, and over time I realized that the majority of the men worked in the main industry in Botswana, diamond mining. The mines were several hours away and the town was truly a mining enclave that survived on occasional visits from the fathers, sons and partners that left behind their rural families. These men had begun living double lives that were nevertheless normalized in this setting, juxtaposing their rural families and wives to those they acquired in urban centers near the mine sites. These dualities of life helped me understand certain aspects of my own life and that of my husband’s family’s histories and led me to examine the mining discourse in which such dualities and the conflicts they engender are muted, in Canada and internationally.

I began this dissertation by proposing to carry out a comparative study of corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs in the Global North and Global South, in Canada and Botswana. Obtaining a government visa to conduct research in Botswana turned out to be far more difficult than anticipated, however, and I was therefore not able to build on the research I conducted there as an MA student. I do, nevertheless, use my knowledge of Botswana, as well as other mining
locations in the Global South, to provide a comparative perspective on the mining industry in Canada.

Since my husband’s parents live and work in Marathon, this study is also a personal journey, one through which I seek to understand my own and my husband's family’s deep connection to mining as one expression of a global phenomenon.

**Importance of Mining in Canada Today**

Mining and resource development has a long and important place in the history of Canada, and that has not changed, except today it is more global in nature. The mining industry employs around 380,000 workers across Canada, down from 418,000 in 2013, in all realms, such as extraction, smelting, fabrication and manufacturing (The Mining Association of Canada 2013, 2014). Even though mining is important to local small communities, it is also linked to the economy of larger Canadian cities, such as Vancouver and Toronto. Toronto has become the hub for mining finance and home to some of the largest mining corporations in the world, such as Barrick. In 2012 mining contributed $52.6 billion dollars to Canada's gross domestic product, and $20.5 billion was due to mineral extraction and the remaining 32.6 billion was from mineral processing and manufacturing (The Mining Association of Canada 2013, 2014). On the global stage, in 2012, Canada was one of the leading mining countries, with 20.4% of Canada's goods and exports coming from the sale of various minerals abroad, including “aluminum, copper, gold, iron and steel, iron ore, nickel, silver, uranium, zinc, diamonds, potash and coal” with values ranging from “$1.5 billion to $17 billion each” (The Mining Association of Canada 2013, 2014). In 2012 Canada was home to more than 800 mining and exploration companies active in over 100 countries worldwide, accounting for about 75% of all mining done globally (The
Mining Association of Canada 2013). On the TSX and TSX Venture Stock Exchanges, mining activities are also strong, holding up to 70% of the world's mining equity transitions and together the TSX and TSX Venture also accounted for 70% of the world's equity capital in 2012 (The Mining Association of Canada 2013).

In 2012, mining as a whole made up about 7.7% of Canada's GDP, making mining and extraction Canada's 4th largest industry. Canadian mines in 2012 totaled 761, placing Ontario second with 19 mines after Quebec at 22 and British Columbia comes in third with 10 (The Mining Association of Canada 2013). Even though Ontario was second in number of mines in 2012 it was number one in total value at $9.2 billion dollars (The Mining Association of Canada in 2013). The latter statistic provides one more reason to choose northern Ontario, Marathon, as my study area, in addition to the fact that one of the largest international mining corporations operates one of its few Canadian mine sites within this delimited geographical area. In particular, this area can lend insight into how CSR programs could be effective tools to mitigate the negative social and health impacts of mining activities and culture, rather than serving mainly as an exercise in public relations as tends now to be the case.

**Corporate Social Responsibility Programs**

Corporate social responsibility has become a catchphrase in the last decade, and at the forefront of many corporations’ mission statements, especially in the mining industry (Hamann 2004). Why? Researchers such as Hamann (2004) and Visser (2006) see it as a response to the increase in the globalization of corporate investments, which has also led to a global ‘publicization’ of their international operations. This has been especially true over the last few years in the Global

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1 There are also 1188 non-metal mines in Canada. These include potash, oil sands, gravel, sand and other non-mineral operations.
South, particularly Southern Africa, since the damage caused by decades of environmental, social and labor exploitation by mining corporations has become a global disgrace and a public relations nightmare. The increased debate over the need for transnational mining corporations to reassess the definition of what makes them good global citizens, has thus generated well-laid-out CSR programs (Visser 2006).

The international debate over mining ethics can be traced back to the early 1970s, in North America and internationally, when a huge economic shift occurred: it was an era that saw the end of the “golden age of capitalism” (Raman 2007:103). In the first half of the 1970s, corporations faced a marked decline in profit and needed to find a buffer to stem such losses. Corporations began to engage in CSR as a discursive strategy used to 'cloak' the new form of neo-liberal thinking that became dominant at the time – down-sizing, cutting of wages, restructuring labor practices and conditions (Raman 2007:103). Unethical practices generated public debate, especially human rights violations of companies operating in less affluent countries. Even companies based in North America did not escape public scrutiny. Barrick, Goldcorp and Monsanto are good examples of this. It is important to note that this does not imply that civil societies did not play a role in the construction of CSR; instead it means that in fact CSR was an intervention outcome due to the global economic changes, profit declines and new sweeping neo-liberalism reforms that were occurring in the early 1970s (Raman 2007:104-105). Unethical practices contributed, notably, to the rise of AIDS and HIV infection rates which, in addition to being a health and public relations disaster, significantly reduced profits in the Global South, Southern Africa in particular. De Beers is an excellent example of why a corporation changes its operations globally to include good CSR regulations, such as ARV (Anti Retroviral) programs (Bendell 2003).
In the late eighties and early nineties, De Beers experienced a dip in their profit, which was directly linked to the rise of health-care issues in their mining operations in Botswana and South Africa (Bendell 2003). A few other global corporations also took up the gauntlet and began to define their role in the fight against AIDS in Africa. Their involvement filled the gap where government bodies had seemed to have fallen behind in combating (or were overlooking) the rising social and economic cost of AIDS and HIV (Nattrass 2004). Corporations such as De Beers and Debswana took over from the state in the treatment and supply of ARV (antiretroviral drugs) to their employees and, in some instances, family members under the CSR program called Vision of Zero (Bendell 2003, Nattrass 2004). Vision of Zero was De Beers’ and its partner corporations’ program to offer treatment and education to their workers (and limited family members) on AIDS and HIV in the hope of achieving a zero infection rate at all of their mines (De Beers Group 2011) This has been a positive initiative, but it should be kept in mind that these corporations were not chiefly motivated by ethical concerns, but rather by the concerns of their shareholders and investors (Kovacs-Kowalke 2009).

The Study Area

Marathon, Ontario is a relatively remote mining community located 180 miles or 304 km east of Thunder Bay on the north shore of Lake Superior (Figure 1). First Nations have a profound relationship to the Marathon/Lake Superior District. Significant research has been done over the last fifty plus years at the mouth of the Pic River, with one of the most significant discoveries being the “Pukaskwa Pits” which prove that human civilization and First Nations peoples occupied this area as long ago as 500 B.C (Boultbee 1981). The current town site of Marathon was originally used as a worker camp for the 5000 men who laid down the ties/tracks for the great Canadian Pacific Railway (Boultbee 1981). In the 1950s, it became the heart of the pulp
industry in northern Ontario. Marathon has undergone and continues to experience economic booms and busts, beginning with the pulp industry, which finally closed in 2008, and continuing with the finite reality of mining in the area.

In addition to Marathon, I also spent time in three other “communities of interest”² that Barrick includes in their CSR programs. It needs to be noted that in total Barrick has listed five such communities and one national park. Due to time and financial constraints I focused my research on the main mining enclave of Marathon, and two of the communities that reflect the different stages that mining communities pass through. Manitouwadge is a great example of a town constructed as one of the first ‘planned’ mining communities financed by the mining industry and the Ontario Government. The third community is Pic River, the largest First Nation community in the area that is directly and physically affected by the Hemlo mine site. As stated above, Hemlo has identified six communities of interest and they are as follows; three municipalities, Marathon, White River, Manitouwadge; two First Nations, Pic River and Pic Mobert; and, Pukaskwa National Park.

A common feature of these three locations is that they are rural communities, dependent on mills, timber and natural resources as their leading sources of employment. Northern Ontario’s natural resource wealth has led to many communities becoming entangled in the perpetual boom and bust cycle of extraction (Mawhiney and Pitblado 1999). While the Hemlo mine does employee a large pool of residents from three of these communities, many jobs are also related to the servicing of the mine site and the wider community. Marathon is the biggest of the three; its population reflects its role as the mining enclave of the Hemlo Barrick mine site.

² While Barrick uses the term “community of interest” to refer to the local communities impacted by their mining operations, scholars such as Newenham-Kahindi (2011:255) argue this term is too limited in scope and have proposed use of the term “community of place” instead. I discuss this issue more fully in Chapter 5.
Research Objectives

My doctoral research is grounded in a holistic and historical perspective that emphasizes the interconnection between male dominated mining culture, corporate boardrooms and the outcomes of corporate social responsibility policies as they are implemented in mining enclaves. My research is truly driven by the need to understand how a small mining enclave in Northern Ontario can survive the boom-and-bust cycle of mining, and how it can mitigate the negative social, masculine identity and mining culture aspects associated with mining. It also addresses how CSR policies could positively impact the well being of people in the region surrounding the mining enclave -- communities that may be less immediately dependent on mining but that nevertheless experience significant impacts when mining activities escalate or diminish. Most mines in Canada, certainly those in Northern Ontario, are located near to Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous communities, and this means that a very broad range of social and cultural issues need to be taken into consideration.

Ultimately, the goal of my project is to identify the specific steps that could be taken at this site and within the mining community, to improve corporate social responsibility awareness and understanding of their programs in relation to chronic and pervasive social problems globally. This directed the focus of my research in a threefold manner: (1) to document the values, incentives, methods, and language through which CSR policy and programs are generated and disseminated within mining corporations in Northern Ontario, most specifically Barrick's only Canadian owned and operated mine at Hemlo; (2) to ethnographically document the impact of mining operations and CSR policies on the well being of mine workers, miners\(^3\), family members and community members of the main mining enclave communities, specifically

\(^3\) I use the term miners when referring to those individuals who mine the ore from the earth, the physical end of mining. The term mine workers refer to all other onsite employees.
the community of Marathon Ontario where most workers from the Hemlo mine sites reside, and thereby allow the voices of Northerners, miners, mine workers and those who are directly linked to Hemlo site to be heard and understood in my dissertation; (3) to identify the disconnects between existing corporate CSR programs and mining enclave issues and to utilize this data to construct a more common shared value CSR model that meets the needs of both cultures: those living in and around mining enclaves and the mining “elite”.

The need to understand how CSR policies are realized and engaged with at all levels underlies all three of my research questions. Policies that are created at the corporate level and even created by paid CSR writers and given to individuals at the corporate level to disseminate down to mine sites are hollow. The disconnect is glaring in the case of Barrick: the corporate CSR Manager, in her seventh year working for Barrick, had never been to Hemlo, which is a twelve hour drive from Barrick's corporate office in Toronto. Her lack of engagement on a local level demonstrates how important it is to study up the discourse surrounding CSR policies, which often amounts to nothing more than an exercise in calming the negative press and naysayers by promoting a false sense of corporate action and social responsibility. The lack of corporate-office engagement with their closest and only mine in Canada also shows where their CSR interest lay, and how a cookie-cutter approach to mining issues is created based on a global public relations perspective, rather than on individual mine sites and mine enclaves directly. It is important to unravel how the latter have been constructed as an exercise in public relations, instead of creating corporate social responsibility policies that could be used to address individual mine sites and the full range of communities’ social, environmental, health and safety issues.
In this study, I will therefore focus particularly on how CSR policies could be used to build a more community-based, culturally defined CSR program that benefits all. Through an analysis of mining site culture, management/corporate culture and mining enclaves, I will show that in contrast to previous assumptions, a common shared value can be revealed, and an effective CSR program can be created. Mining corporations and the communities affected form an outside-in linkage, which strengthens the need to develop a strong partnership and well-defined community (Porter and Kramer 2006). The outside-in linkage is defined as the parallel effects that mining corporations and communities have on each other, and it is also where the common shared values arise. Community, local government and mining corporation leaders have focused too much attention on the issues and tensions dividing them, and not enough on intersections and on mutual dependencies (Porter and Kramer 2006). As Porter and Kramer (2006, 2011) state, it is this mutual dependency and common shared value interest that should direct the creation of business and social decisions, policies and CSR programs. Ultimately, for a corporation to be successful, it needs a healthy society, just as a healthy society needs successful corporations; hence the need to identify common shared value threads.

In order to gather information about this complex set of issues, I spent several months in Marathon as a participant-observer of mining and community activities. I conducted over one hundred interviews with mine employees, community members and their families, and I shadowed two Superintendents of CSR/HR during their working hours at the Hemlo mining site. Since the well-being and social challenges of mining communities can be highly gendered in nature, and the mining industry is widely understood to be male-dominated at both mine sites and corporate offices, I paid special attention to their voices, words and to how masculine values had become so embedded in CSR policies. Also, the latter can be seen in the implementation of
decision making with regards to donations and also how it is disseminated to mine workers, community members and key stakeholders.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

In the following chapter I describe the history of mining in Canada and northern Ontario, and then provide an introduction to Marathon and the Hemlo mine site where I conducted the majority of my fieldwork. In chapter three, I review an extensive body of theoretical literature about CSR discourse, policies and programs and a closely related body of literature about mining culture. In chapter four I describe my methodological approach and the specific methods I used to gather information from mine workers, mining company executives and community members. In chapter five, relying on material gathered through interviews, participant-observation, and the shadowing of senior company officials, I describe the relationship of mine workers and the town of Marathon to Barrick Gold and the Hemlo mine, and assess the relative strengths and shortcomings of Barrick’s CSR policies in this setting. I conclude, in chapter six, with proposals for how CSR policies could be strengthened through application of a common shared value approach.
Chapter Two: Marathon, Ontario and the Canadian Mining Industry

Mining is one of Canada's primary industries, and northern Ontario is home to the largest mineral deposits in Canada, in particular gold. Canada is also one of the world's leading mining countries and is home to mining corporations that account for 75% of mining globally, such as Barrick, Rio Tinto, Goldcorp, Hudson Resources Inc. and Tahoe Resources, to name a few. The mining industry in Canada involves extraction, refining and processing of gold, silver, iron, copper, zinc and nickel to cite just the dominant minerals involved. Mining has played a large part in the development of settlements across Canada, and it has also had a large part in displacing Indigenous communities from their land. My dissertation focuses on northern Ontario, on a small community on the North Shore of Lake Superior called Marathon, and on the gold that laces its past, present and probable future. In this chapter I begin by describing the settlement history of Ontario in relation to the mining industry. I then focus on mining in Canada as a whole, noting the different ways that mining has been organized technologically and socially over time, and how technological change has led to increasing environmental risk. I conclude with a description of the town of Marathon, my primary research site.

A Brief History of Ontario

Ontario is the “most populous and second largest province” in Canada, with the majority of the population located in the southern part of the province (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:1). It has a vast and varied landscape. “Two-thirds of the province lies under the Canadian Shield, which covers most of northern Ontario”, with the exception of Hudson Bay (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007: 1-2; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). Ontario reaches from Canada’s southernmost point in Lake Erie to Hudson Bay in the north and from the St. Lawrence
River in the east to the Manitoba border (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007). The name Ontario derives from a Huron word that can be translated to mean “beautiful lake” or “beautiful water”, which is fitting since lakes cover over 17% of the total area of just over one million sq km (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:2-3). Ontario has over 250,000 lakes which contain approximately one third of the world's fresh water supply and about 80% of Ontario’s drinking water. Rivers in Ontario are also abundant, with many of them draining into the Great Lakes, James Bay and Hudson Bay (James-Abra and Young 2015:2-3). Many also flow into the St Lawrence River and drain eventually into the Atlantic Ocean. During the European settlement period, the St Lawrence River system and the Great Lakes drew explorers, colonizers, traders and soldiers into the heart of the province (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:2-3).

In total, northern Ontario has over 90% of all land in the province but contains only about 6% of the population (Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009). It contains some of the oldest rocks on earth dating back to the Archaean and Proterozic eons of the precambrian era. One of the oldest sections is over 2 trillion years old, while the youngest is dated to about 900 million years ago (Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994, Sandlos and Keeling 2009). These rock formations contain a large amount of mineral deposits, and as a result the regional economy is heavily dependent on mining. A few areas, such as the clay belt in northern Ontario or the Rainy River area in the northwest region, are suitable for farming, but most of the soils in this region are not, and extractive industries thus dominate.

Since time immemorial, Indigenous peoples have inhabited Ontario, fishing and hunting elk, caribou, deer, bear and beaver. They were also the first miners in this territory, as I will describe in greater detail below. Pottery and archaeological sites attest to an intense network of
trading systems that, prior to European arrival, extended as far south as the Gulf of Mexico (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:6-9). Indigenous communities and tribes are many in number, from the Algonquian tribes of the north, which include the Cree, Ojibwa and Algonquin, and the Iroquoian tribes of the south, which include the Iroquois, Huron, Petun, Neutral, Erie and Susquenhannck. The first European explorer to have approached Ontario was Henry Hudson. Thereafter many more arrived, including Etienne Brule in 1608 and Samuel de Champlain, who traveled along the Ottawa River in 1613 (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:8). The importance of the fur trade and nation-building can be seen in how Champlain and Cavelier de La Salle were involved in the removal of both the Huron and the Iroquois from valued trade routes on the Great Lakes. Thus, at the very outset of European colonization in the 1600s and 1700s, we see the removal and abuse of Indigenous peoples from their land and communities, the Hurons being dispersed first in the 1640s to serve as the middlemen in the burgeoning fur trade.

Modern European settlements in “Ontario began with the arrival of [about] 6,000 to 10,000 Loyalists during and after the American Revolution” (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:9-10). At this time, Crown land in Ontario was cheap, and it drew many more Americans than Europeans (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:8-9; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). It cost six pence an acre and an oath of allegiance to the crown. By 1812, approximately 80 percent of the 100,000 settlers in southern Ontario were American in origin, and by 1842 the population of Ontario had tripled. By 1852 it doubled again. Most of these immigrants came from the British Isles - about 20% English, 20% Scottish, 60% Irish, and most of their settlements spread from the south and gradually moved into the northern areas of the province. Development of Ontario took off in the 1850s, with the province's economy being primarily agriculturally-based, with wheat as the main crop (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and
Bothwell 2007:9). During the 1850s, we see a slow shift away from farming as cities in Ontario began to grow, and industrial growth began to increase alongside urban growth. Industrial growth continued through the 1850s to 1860s with the development of textiles, metalwork, farm implements and machinery. Toronto during this time was growing as not just the railway and manufacturing center, but also as the province's capital (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:9-10; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994).

After a lengthy quarrel with the federal government over patronage, waterpower and the province’s northern boundary, Ontario’s government began to develop the province's lumber and mineral resources (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:9-10; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994, Nelles 1974). In the early 20th century, we see the railway lines begin to traverse Ontario, opening up northern regions which were rich in mineral resources – places such as Timmons, Sudbury and Cobalt. By 1911 Ontario was already primarily urban, but with the discovery of hydroelectric power and an export boom, industrial expansion and growth were no longer occurring in just a few larger cities, but throughout the province in smaller cities and towns.

Beginning in the 1880s and continuing into the 20th century, mineral discoveries began to increase in northern Ontario, with one of the largest deposits of nickel and copper being found in the Sudbury Basin in 1883 (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:11; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). In 1903 silver was discovered near the town of Cobalt, and in 1906 and 1912 gold deposits were uncovered near the towns of Porcupine (Timmons today) and Kirkland Lake. Since Indigenous peoples had been trading in these metals and mining them long before European arrival, they are best understood as ‘re-discoveries’ that provide an outline of the history of corporate mining in Ontario. In 1925 we see a gold rush at
Red Lake following the re-discovery of gold there and, in 1981; the area of Hemlo became the heart of a more recent gold re-discovery. Gold was not the only mineral that was discovered in the 1900s; one of the largest uranium deposits in the country was being mining at Elliot Lake, and then in 1964 near Timmons, Ontario, copper, zinc and silver deposits were also being re-discovered and mined (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:11; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). Southern Ontario has fewer minerals, but the largest number of settlers, while northern Ontario is mineral-rich and has made mining one of the most important elements in Ontario's economy. From the 1980s until the early 1990s, mining was less profitable due to the downturn in the international market for major metals. Another downturn occurred in 2013. But despite the occasional downturn, Ontario still produces more gold, nickel, copper, platinum metals and even salt than any other province in Canada (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:12; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994).

Ontario is also an important importer of energy; the primeval forest provided sufficient fuel for early settlers, but with rapid urban and industrial growth in the 1800s Ontario turned to coal for energy. Then, in the 1850s, oil fields were first exploited to keep up with Ontario's continued growth (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:12; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). A few years later Ontario was producing natural gas and becoming Canada's main producer of all of these commodities. Ontario has a large number of streams, rapids and falls, Niagara Falls being one of the biggest, and with the harnessing of the falls Southern Ontario experienced a burst of power. By 1906, a majority of electricity in Ontario was nationalized under the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, today known as Hydro One. In the 1950s, both the federal and provincial governments made it a priority to connect Ontario to the West's oil and gas fields, with oil coming first and then gas through the

Forestry and fisheries have long histories as important industries in northern Ontario. There are “71 million hectares of forested land in Ontario, of which 80% is owned by the Crown” (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:21-22). Commercial logging has slowed down in recent years, but about 47% of logging is done in Crown forests, mainly in northern Ontario (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:12-13; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). In 2011, the value of Ontario's forestry sector was evident in the 53,000 people it employed. The fishing industry in Ontario decreased in scale after the 1920s when it employed about 10,000 people. In 1956, the Great Lakes Fisheries Commission was established to develop a plan to sustain fishing, and in recent years there have been about 500 active commercial fisheries in Ontario and the Great Lakes. Commercial fisheries harvested about 26 million pounds of fish a year in 2011 (Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007:13-14; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994). The 60 Indigenous communities in the Great Lakes basin fish both commercially and for subsistence. Together with hunting, recreational fishing is also a popular pastime in Ontario, and northern Ontario is the playground for Southern Ontarians seeking these kinds of activities.

History of Mining in Canada

In this section, I describe the history of mining in Canada in order to illustrate the changes that have occurred throughout the Global North, as well as in northern Ontario specifically (Smith 1986, Newell 1986). The history of mining in Canada has been broken into five stages by
Sandlos and Keeling (2009). In summarizing these stages, I identify a few extra elements in the fifth stage:

1) Indigenous mining, prior to colonial contact and settlement;

2) The mid-1800s to early 1900s, when exploration and mining occurred in a harvest-and-move pattern, used to facilitate nation building;

3) The early 1900s to the late 1960s, a period in which mineral resources were seen by governments, provincial and federal, as a tool to ensure economic development (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009);

4) The late 1900s, a period of expansion and large scale exploration when the rise of environmental concerns began to change the mining industry and when CSR theory, in the 1990s, first began to take hold in the board rooms and offices of mining corporations;

5) Presently, a continuation on the evolution of large-scale mining and the rise of global many anti-mining movements based on, to name a few, human rights and environment violations and the increased involvement by Indigenous communities and leaders in the fight to reclaim their Indigenous rights and territories.

Stage One: Indigenous Mining

Prior to colonial contact, Indigenous communities had been mining and trading minerals and mineral products made from copper, gold, silver and chert (like flint, it is a very fine grained quartz silica mineral). The first mines were developed by the Indigenous communities in the Lake Superior area about 5000 years ago (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009) and the search for mineral resources by
Europeans during the early colonial period was fueled by European knowledge of Indigenous mining. In 1577-1578 Martin Frobisher started one of the earliest mining operations in Canada, on Baffin Island, but the ore turned out to be worthless and the mining operation collapsed (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3). Samuel Hearne, a fur trader and prospector, was guided through the region west of Hudson Bay, in 1770-72, by Matonabbe who was a trading chief and leader from the Chipewyan Indians, in search of copper (Roberts 2007; Smith 1979:313). Hearne was looking for the copper that was used by the Dene people and the YellowKnives, so named for their copper tools (Roberts 2007; Smith 1979:312-313).

**Stage Two: Harvest and Move**

The stage is known as “harvest-and-move” was the main mining exploration mode from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s. This approach to exploration was seen as the best method of developing resources/minerals as quickly as possible once discovered. The human rights and land rights of Indigenous communities were stripped away, creating the patriarchal parent-and-child relationship that we see today. Once the most easily accessed minerals were exhausted, workers would be moved to a new mineral deposit to repeat the cycle (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009). This phase witnessed the first forms of single-sex mining camps and fly-in camps, with nothing left behind once the mineral was exhausted, and no real commitment from either the workers or the mining corporation to the area mined.

The Caribou Gold Rush of the 1860s, and the well-documented Klondike Gold Rush from 1896 to 1898, are excellent examples of the harvest-and-move pattern. In both cases,
thousands of people were drawn to these two regions, and numerous camps and settlements were established to house gold explorers (Dean 1989). After the gold was exhausted, many camps were taken down and relocated, but many were also abandoned and still dot the landscape in those regions and all over Canada. These ghost towns reveal the full extent of mining development across Canada and the extent to which mining is ingrained in the social and economic fabric of the country. In addition, they reveal how remote areas in Ontario and Canada were developing. They also demonstrate just how involved the natural resources/mining industry was in nation building, and that this was done on the backs of the Indigenous peoples that had lived in these remote areas (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:1-3).

This stage of exploration and mining from the government perspective was needed in order to demonstrate territorial sovereignty as a powerful form of colonization and nation-building (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2-3). From the mining corporations’ perspective at the time, this mode of extraction (which is still used, but in a more politically correct, CSR-influenced guise) was the best manner to exploit the minerals and resources, maximizing extraction and therefore profits. The discourse we see today with regard to the mining and extraction industry, both globally and locally, has its roots in this approach to nation-building and colonial hegemonic domination (Dawson 1979; Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, Ontario 1994; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:1-2).

It was during this period, in 1841, that the Canadian Government passed a resolution requiring that a geological survey be carried out across Canada as it existed then. This included all of Ontario, hence the birth of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada in 1842.
From the late 1880s to 1920, we see the golden age of transportation infrastructure in Canada (Boultbee1981; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2). Mining exploration and the construction of new transportation infrastructure were juxtaposed. Many mineral deposits were unearthed during construction of the Pacific Railway (1883), the Grand Trunk Railway Company (1914) and the Canadian Northern Railway (1915). Again, as with the harvest and move extraction method, the construction of the railroads led to an even wider spread of sovereignty and government control of vast areas (Boultbee1981; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2).

The late 19th century, around 1870-1888, also marked the declining years of the fur trade industry. HBC began to sell off some of its territories; the first to go was Rupert’s Island which was transferred back to the Crown, the Canadian government in 1870 (Boultbee 1981; Lane and Stark 1977; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:11). HBC did retain its posts and about ten acres of land around each post, in keeping with their fur trading rights. In 1888, in the near vicinity of what was later to become the town of Marathon, HBC moved its post from the mouth of the Pic River south to Mobert (Lane and Stark 1977; Boultbee 1981). Trading did not stop immediately, but slowed until it came to an end in the late 19th century. However, once the fur trading posts were no longer of interest or profit to the HBC, the land did not go back to the original inhabitants, the Indigenous peoples, but instead was sold to a Port Arthur man, who later sold it to the Marathon Paper Mill Company (Boultbee 1981; Lane and Stark 1977). Not until a decade later would this area again become of interest, this time for the valuable wood and mineral extraction industries that were established in the same areas that the fur trade industry had once dominated.
In the case of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk railways, their construction was motivated in large part by mining exploration in Ontario and British Columbia. The Canadian Northern Railway was a prerequisite for mining exploration and development in the Northern Prairies and the Northwest Territories (Boulbee 1981; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007; Lane and Stark 1977; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2). In Ontario, one of the main worker camps for the laying of the Canadian Pacific Railway was on the Bay of Lake Superior, home today to the town of Marathon. Not only railways were spurred on by the mining exploration. For example, the first link of the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence Seaway system was built in Sault Ste. Marie in 1855 in response to the re-discovery of iron and copper ores around Lake Superior. Last but not least, road construction was also closely tied to the development of mining exploration. For example, in 1862, the Government of British Columbia commissioned the construction of the Caribou roadway, allowing for further access into the Caribou region (Boulbee 1981; Lane and Stark 1977; Sandlos and Keeling 2009, Leonard 2016).

During the early- to-mid-nineteenth century, many issues and policies emerged that are still embedded in today's mining and exploration industry in Canada and internationally. The Government of British Columbia took a very active role in regulating activities during the Caribou Gold Rush, such as by selling mining licenses and enforcing the law. Law and order enforcement during the Klondike Gold Rush (1896-98) was provided by a considerable presence of the North West Mounted Police (a precursor to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police). Careful management of these gold rushes was seen as a way to create a safe and stable atmosphere for settlement, and also as a way to generate government revenue through licensing, fees and fines (Lane and Stark 1977; Dawson 1979; Hillmer and Bothwell 2007; Sandlos and Keeling 2009). Also during this time, the patriarchal and hegemonic colonial relationship of the Government of
Canada to First Nation populations was consolidated. The gold rushes and further mining exploration displaced Indigenous peoples from their land, introduced diseases that decimated their communities, disrupted traditional social and cultural practices, and broke their connection with the environment and resources that they had been using, mining and trading since time immemorial. The ghosts of the past are still evident today in how federal and provincial governments deal with Indigenous communities versus mining and exploration corporations.

Stage Three: Early 1900s to the Late 1960s

During this busy stage from the early 1900s to the 1960s, both federal and provincial government bodies continued to look at resources, extraction and mining development as a way to stimulate economic growth, regional development, and job creation, and also as a way to support Canada’s war effort. Below are a list of policies and acts created during this period that serve as examples of how government extended its ability to control and benefit from mining development (Hillmer and Bothwell 2007; Sandlos and Keeling 2009, Nelles 1974).

1) 1907: the Federal Department of Mines was created.

2) 1917: the first Federal Mining Act; it stipulated that ore mined in northern Ontario had to be refined in Ontario, not the United States. Many provinces created their own provincial mining legislation in this time period.

3) 1948: the Emergency Gold Mining Assistance Act was passed by the government of Canada. Its system of subsidies extended the life of gold mines during a time when production had declined. During this period, Canadian mineral production rose from $502 million to $4.39 billion, including $3 billion from metal production (Wansbrough 2012).
During the 1950s, government bodies, both federal and provincial, began heavily to regulate the development of single-industry communities such as Manitouwadge, Kirkland Lake and Red Lake in northern Ontario, and to encourage mining corporations to settle their workers in existing communities instead of creating new ones (Bray and Thomson 1992:62-97; Dean 1989). Marathon is an excellent example of a single-industry town built by a paper mill corporation to house its workers and families. It became a mining town once the mill closed and mines became active in the area. Governments played a major role in advising and planning communities; if a mining corporation decided to build a new town, as was the case with Manitouwadge, then the government was involved in propping up this community once the local mines closed down, as did Geco, one of the town’s founding mine corporations. The failure of these single-industry communities and the cost of propping up these towns drove the governments, mainly provincial, to encourage diversity in economic development, not to just rely on and build around a single industry. However, this didn't always work, and towns such as Elliott Lake and even Marathon still have a heavy reliance on one industry. They will suffer in the long term after the mines in their areas close.

This is also the time when fly-in mining became a way to avoid the one-community, one-industry model and avoid the boom or bust economy many towns in northern Ontario and Northern British Columbia are living through still today. Red Lake in northern Ontario was the world's first fly-in camp in 1925, and was at the heart of the last gold rush in North America (Kirschke 2013). Workers had to travel by dog sled, canoe, and later by bush plane. Although fly-in mining began during stage three, it continues into the present. In fact, it has become much more common in recent decades, contributing to the anti-mining human rights discourse that figures prominently in the fifth stage of mining described below.
The second fly-in fly-out mine in Canada was created in 1972: the Asbesto Hill mine south of Deception Bay (Bray and Thomson 1992:189). By 1980, more mining corporations had begun to employ the fly-in mining method, in areas such as the Northwest Territories and Northern Saskatchewan. Today fly-in mining is common: DeBeers and Goldcorp, to name a few, operate fly-in camps in northern Ontario and the Northwest Territories. The oil industry also employs this method in Fort McMurray, and employees come from as far as Newfoundland. This form of fly-in mining has its benefits for mining corporations, as well as federal and provincial governments; but with camp life and the communities and families that employers leave behind, a different story emerges.

Corporations argue that fly-in mining allows workers to maintain a positive separation between home and work. However, Costa and Scoble (2006) and Rajak (2010) have demonstrated that corporations are not motivated by concerns for workers’ mental health, but by the opportunity to increase productivity and safety while lessening their responsibility to sustain development in a nearby community or mining enclave. The mining corporation can avoid a resource-dependent community linked to the boom-and-bust cycle of resource extraction and mining.

Other red herrings promoted by corporations are that fly-in mining provides greater flexibility for workers, and enables First Nation workers to be more involved in a traditional lifestyle (Angel 2014; Bray and Thomson 1992:189-201; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). It has been well documented over the last decade, with regard to oil sands workers in Fort McMurray, that long hours of work, such as 12 hour days, can lead to a shadow population living temporary, insecure, risky and mobile work lives with no commitment to a particular community or home (Angel 2014). The main social effects for First Nations have nothing to do with their ability to
preserve their traditional lifestyles, but instead with an increase in the number of First Nation men and women with high levels of alcohol consumption (Ehrlander 2010:2-3).

The fly-in approach is generally understood to have a number of highly disruptive social disadvantages. The hardship of mine closure, for instance, is not just focused on one community, but instead is spread among many areas and communities. The remote, fly-in-only Victor mine in the James Bay lowlands, 1,100 km due north of Toronto in northern Ontario, is a good example of just how widespread an area workers can be drawn from, in this case from communities as far away as British Columbia and Newfoundland and Labrador (Angel 2014; Bray and Thomson 1992:189-195). A major social hardship is the destructive effects of separating family members for extended periods of time. Similar patterns are evident in other mining culture around the global, such as in the Global South. For example, in Botswana, we see the latter in many communities, where men travel long distances to mine site camps, family units break down, and there are no male role models or partners in the households and community (Kowalke 2009). But in these mine site camps, the negative social effects are rife. Many of these camps are male-only and in remote areas or within short distance of a small town. Drinking and drug usage is concentrated in a small area and embedded in an atmosphere of masculinity.

Fly-in mining has benefits for federal and provincial government and mining corporations, since Community Relations (CR) and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives are limited to the period when workers are onsite. Once workers board the plane, they stop. Also, in fly-in areas, if there is a small town in the area, CR and CSR are limited to mere 'philanthropic' giving. Costs are also lower for fly-in mines, since they do not have to support local communities or rent or pay for new buildings to support their mineworkers and families. Mining corporations bring all supplies with them and build around the mine site to their needs;
when the mine shuts down everything is dismantled, or rots. In recent decades, provincial and federal government regulations have made it difficult to develop new communities and existing communities prove to be costly, with regard to CR and CSR initiatives, for mining corporations.

Stage Four: Late 1900s - Large Scale Exploration

Large-scale, global exploration focused on a widening range of mineral resources and technological innovation is an especially prominent aspect of mining in the late twentieth century, but this pattern has its origins in much earlier times. In the 19th century, large-scale exploration of mineral resources began at the St Maurice Forges in Quebec, and placer gold deposits in Quebec and Nova Scotia spurred new mining rules (Bray and Thomson 1992:5-6; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3). Colonists’ ‘rediscovery’ of silver at the north of Lake Superior brought Indigenous communities and colonists ‘together’ and led to treaties that allowed colonists to begin developing mining in the area in 1850. Ontario's Silver Islet mine, (located at the tip of the Sibley Peninsula in northwestern Ontario) was the first site to use diamond and compressed-air drills (Bray and Thomson 1992:5-6; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3-4). As noted previously, the railway construction beginning at the end of 19th century opened up new mining territories in northern Ontario and across Canada (Boultee 1981; Bray and Thomson 1992:5-6; Dean 1989). “The Canadian Pacific Railway led to the development of two of Canada's most significant mines” (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:5) and mining communities: “first Sudbury nickel in the 1880s” (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:5), and then “Sullivan lead-zinc mine in the Kootenay region of BC” (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:5; Bray and Thomson 1992). The colonization railways that were constructed in northern Ontario led to the Cobalt silver mine in 1903 and the rediscovery of gold at the Porcupine site, now Timmins, and Kirkland Lake in Ontario (Bray and Thomson
1992; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). By the beginning of the 20th century, Canada had emerged as the leader in producing a wide range of minerals globally (Bray and Thomson 1992; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). In the Canadian Shield, mines did not just produce precious metals, but also critical base minerals such as lead, zinc and copper (Bray and Thomson 1992; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). After World War Two, the drive for raw materials globally spurred a rapid expansion of mining and exploration, most notably in Northern Saskatchewan, Great Bear Lake, northern Ontario and potash in the Prairies and New Brunswick (Boulbee 1981; Dean 1989). Even though coal was not a major contributor to the global market, the 20th century saw an expansion of coal mining in British Columbia, with large open-pit and strip-mining. This form of mining differs from extractive methods that require tunneling into the earth. The beginning of the 1960s saw a “massive expansion of Canadian mineral production from coast to coast” (Bray and Thomson 1992; Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). Some important sites developed during this period are the Northwest Territories (lead, zinc), Highland Valley, BC (copper), Northern Saskatchewan (uranium) and Thetford Mines, Quebec (asbestos), to name only a few. During this period, mining began expanding to Canada's north. The first Arctic mine was Inlet nickel, followed by Nanisivik and Polaris mines that were the first High Arctic mines in Canada (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). Recently, the North has seen large expansion of mining, with a major nickel mine in the Voisey's Bay, Labrador and diamond mines in the Northwest Territories, Diavik and Ekati which opened in the 1990s. As nickel mining declined, diamond mining took hold (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). Since the 1990s, diamond and platinum mining in Canada has become a significant player in the global market. Mineral processing during this period also expanded, with more than a dozen base-mineral refineries.
established across the country, and it was no longer just in Trail, BC, Sudbury, Ontario and Arvida Quebec.

The value of mineral production after World War Two surged from $400 million to $5 billion by 1975 (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:4-5). The mining industry is susceptible to cyclical ups and downs in demands and prices, such as during the recession in the early 1980s, 1990s and currently. But in 2012, Canada's total estimated mineral production reached $46.8 billion, which is about “3.4% of the country's total gross domestic product” (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:5). Today, mining is still important to Canada's overall economy and employment. It has declined over the years, but “remains a regionally significant industry, particularly in northern parts of the provinces and northern territories” (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:7). Ontario, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Quebec are still the leading provinces in mineral production. The Province of Ontario has received 1.5% in royalties on the billions of dollars earned from ore extraction in the province over the past decade (Celli 2015).

Hevina Dashwood (2012), states that by the 1990s, Canadian mining companies were actively seeking to change their environmental and social practices. She believes that the high concentration of mining corporations in Canada was a key factor impelling their move to adopt CSR policies (Dashwood 2007). By the early 1990s, global norms on environmental and human rights were being articulated at global and state levels, and Canadian mining corporations began to incorporate these norms into their operations, through CSR policies (Dashwood 2007:132-3). Noranda and Placer Dome were two of the leaders in the global mining sector, and they laid the groundwork for other corporations to bring their operations in line with global societal expectations (Dashwood 2007:132).
Stage Five: The continuation on the Evolution of Large-Scale Mining

Anti-mining movements have grown in strength in recent decades, and now present significant challenges for many mining companies. Technological innovations that result in more intensive forms of environmental and social degradation are one of the main causes of the growth of these movements. Sandlos and Keeling point out, for instance, that “‘high-grade' ores (containing high levels of target minerals) were once mined using simple low technology such as pick and shovel or water separation techniques such as pans and sluices by solo miners or teams” (2009:2-3). But as deposits declined, high levels of technology were developed and used, such as dredging and hydraulic mining. With the development and use of advanced technology, the need increased for massive amounts of energy and capital and the takeover of small solo miner operations by mining corporations. Dredging was employed as the main technology in the gold fields during the Klondike; after all of the initial high-grade creek sediments were panned or sluiced out. Coal and mines are typically dug and blasted deep underground in order to follow the vein of ore (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2). Starting in the 20th century, technologies began to change, leading to railcars that run underground, as well as machine hoists and high-powered shovels that reduced the physical demand on miners. This, in turn, decreased the number of deaths in mining accidents (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2-3).

After World War Two, a big change in mining occurred, since declining ore grades required the use of new technologies, such as large earth movers and massive open-pit mining methods (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2-3). This period saw strip mining and open-pit mining employed to remove surface material and reveal extensive low grade deposits. Open-pit mining has always provoked intense controversy due to its massive removal of vegetation and soil.
These pits are a major source of water pollution and landscape degradation - for example Brenda Mines in British Columbia and the Hemlo Williams open pit mine in northern Ontario.

Today's mines often exploit ore, which contains a fraction of a percent of the targeted valuable mineral, such as gold. Mineral processing removes valuable minerals through thermo-mechanical techniques (chemical techniques), which produce waste material, that is, pulverized rock slurry known as tailings (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:2-3). Tailings are a major challenge to mining sites and the communities that have to deal with them even after the mine has closed. They contain different levels of heavy metals, such as cadmium, arsenic, lead and zinc (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3).

Over the last few decades, mining tailings slurries have become an environmental and community concern, since tailings ponds can be breached or leak into the surrounding ground, waterways and even air, causing not just environmental disasters but also health concerns for humans and wildlife (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3). Air problems may be less of a threat then leaking into soil and waterways, but the concern is still there, for tailings from sulfide mineral deposits may react with the water and air to produce sulfuric acid or acid mine drainage that can in turn dissolve even more toxic heavy metals from surrounding rock or waste piles (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3-4). It is important to understand that in the case of uranium mining, radioactive material in the tailings can increase the danger to local communities, environment and animals (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:3-4). The sheer volume of rock and tailings waste is staggering, creating large man-made topographies that forever change the landscape with hills, ridges and pits. These and many other mining issues need to be fully understood and examined, not just by mining corporations and federal and provincial governments, but more importantly by local government bodies, community members and the workers who labor and live near the mine site.
Canada bears an unusually large responsibility, since it is not just the major producer of important minerals and metals globally, but also the center of global financing and expertise (Sandlos and Keeling 2009:5). Seventy-five percent of all mining globally is done by either a Canadian mining corporation or a partnership with a Canadian-owned corporation. Canada is home to Barrick, Goldcorp, Rio Tinto, Eldorado, and Hudson Minerals to name a few. And although mining has played a large part in the development of settlements across Canada, it has also contributed to the displacement of Indigenous communities from their land and communities.

In the section that follows, I describe the small community of Marathon and the gold that laces its past, present and future. This history exemplifies, in many respects, the issues noted above for northern Ontario generally and Canada as a whole.

**Marathon**

All of the stages of mining history described above have occurred in the town of Marathon, and all are constitutive of mining culture as it occurs in this setting today. However, in the description that follows, I do not focus exclusively on mining history, but on the broader cultural and material characteristics of the region.

**Early Life on the North Shore**

Archaeological evidence of life on the northeast shore of Peninsula Bay can be dated back to about 3500 B.C. (Boultbee 1981:1). The “Pukaskwa Pits” (Figure 2) along the stony beaches of Lake Superior and the North Shore of Pic River provide proof of early life at the mouth of the Pic River (Boultbee 1981:1). These stony structures run the length of the North Shore of Lake
Superior, and are regarded as the oldest documented evidence of human habitation in this area (Boultbee 1981:1).

Figure 2: Pukaskwa Pits.
Source: Victor Kowalke.

These structures were rediscovered in 1954 by two Marathon men, James Graham and Colin McMillan (Boultbee 1981:1-2). Located near the mouth of the Pukaskwa River, they are oval with rock walls and a hollow center, hence the pit-like shape (Roberts 2007). In 1955 Dr. Thomas .F. McIlwraith from the University of Toronto came to the North Shore to begin work on the now named “Pukaskwa Pits”. Over his five years of research, Dr. McIlwraith counted and mapped 200 pits along the shore line from Marathon (Peninsula Harbour) eastward to Ganley Harbour (Boultbee 1981:1-3). However, it was not until 1958 the term “Pukaskwa Pit” appeared in print, in the writings of Norman Emerson and Thomas McIlwraith about the Red Sucker Point
site in Terrace Bay (Roberts 2007:17). The pits lined the shore at irregular intervals, and also at different levels on the beach - ranging from 20 to 130 feet above Lake Superior (Boultbee 1981:1). The lowest beach-level pits provide evidence that pottery-using peoples occupied these structures and date back to 3500 years ago (Boultbee 1981:1-3). The structures higher up on the beach indicate that occupation of these pits could have occurred much earlier than with the lower structures. The pits were classified into various types, with the most common being oval in shape, approximately 7ft wide from 9 to 11ft long, with an opening on the landward side (Boultbee 1981:2-3; Roberts 2007:17-18). The other three types of pits ranged in size, shape and usage, such as the smaller 3ft structures that may have been used as food caches (Roberts 2007; Boultbee 1981:3). The 10ft-by-10ft rectangular pits were called “apartments,” and were usually found on the highest beach level. These pits were partitioned and could have housed several families (Boultbee 1981:3). One of the Marathon men who located these structures, Colin McMillan, who also served as a guide to Dr. McIlwraith, advanced a theory that these pits were temporary shelters used by traders and hunters, some local and some from other areas (Boultbee 1981:1-5; Roberts 2007:18). The boats of these travelers would be used as a roof over the pit to provide shelter from the weather. These pits are proof that peoples have been traveling via boat to these remote areas of northern Ontario, especially in the North Shore area of Lake Superior, since early times. These pits have even been found on Detention and Monmouth Island, giving credence to McMillan's theory that travelers used boats for roofs on top of these structures. Indigenous peoples have occupied the sandy beaches along Lake Superior and the mouth of the Pic River, since as far back as 3500 BC (Boultbee 1981:3-4). In 1960 the University of Toronto and the National Museum of Canada studied three distinct beach levels with corresponding
receding levels of Lake Superior over the centuries, proving that Indigenous occupation took place at each and every level (Roberts 2007:17-19; Boulbee 1981:4).

The Fur Trade in Northern Ontario: Peninsula Bay (today Marathon) and North Shore

The first colonial contact with the Indigenous peoples in the Lake Superior area and surrounding waterways occurred during the fur trade era (Boulbee 1981:6; Canadian Museum of History 2016). One of the first contacts was with Étienne (Stephen) Brûlé, born in 1591 in Champigny-sur-Marne near Paris. In 1608, Brûlé sailed to Quebec under the flag of the French nation as a companion to Samuel Champlain. During his time in Canada, Brûlé lived with the Huron peoples and travelled over a large portion of Canada with his Huron guides, including to Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and Lake Superior. In 1632, Champlain published a map based on Brûlé’s accounts of his voyage to the “Grand Lac” (Lake Superior). In 1670 the Peninsula was outlined on a map published by the Jesuits based on Father Claude Allouez’s circumnavigation of Lake Superior in 1667 (Boulbee 1981:6). Then, in 1775, an English colonial explorer and trader visited the mouth of the Pic River (part of the North Shore) and acknowledged the presence of communities of Indigenous peoples living around and along the Pic River. Several years later, in 1794, Lieutenant Bennet of the English Colonial Regime noted that during his sketching of a map of Pic River and a coastal survey of Lake Superior, he observed many Indigenous Nations in these areas. Contemporary surveys and maps show that fur trading posts were also founded; the French in 1792 established a permanent fur trading post in the North Shore area and in 1821 the North West Company set up its own fur trading post in the same region, initiating control over the fur trade (Boulbee 1981:6-7).
Gabriel Coté, a French trader, established the first fur-trading post in 1792, at the mouth of the Pic River. By the turn of the 19th century, the mouth of the Pic River was a major trading region, with three active posts. During Coté’s time running the post, the North West Company maintained control (Boultbee 1981:7). Then, in 1821, after a long and bitter fight for control of the fur trade in the whole Northwest, the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) absorbed all properties and posts of the North West Company (Boultbee 1981:7). In 1827, once HBC had settled into control of the posts at the Pic River mouth, a report was submitted that about 72 men/young boys, 50 women and about 116 children lived in and around this region (Boultbee 1981:7).

*The Railway Construction Boom*

The Peninsula Bay area, now Marathon, became a major link in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). The Peninsula became the home base of operations for one of the most difficult and costly phases of the CPR line. The proposed route along the North Shore of Lake Superior was described as “200 miles” of “engineering impossibilities” by William Van Horne, the General Manager and later President of the proposed CPR line (Bray and Thomson 1992; Boultbee 1981:16). In February 5, 1881 a work order was granted for railway construction through this area, with work beginning in late spring 1883. Thereafter, Peninsula Bay grew into a busy town that sprawled along the shoreline of Lake Superior. The shore was littered with a collection of tents, shacks and clapboard houses. The harbor at Peninsula featured a large pier from which construction supplies and equipment were delivered to the estimated 12,000 men and 5000 horses working on the rail line (Boultbee 1981:17).

Constructing the right of way from Heron Bay (Pic River area) to Port Arthur was a massive undertaking, with over a million dollars worth of dynamite being used on this 200 miles
of line. In total this project cost 12 million dollars. A report by Ed Lemay, a young boy who worked as a laborer on the CPR construction, stated that no steam shovels, locomotive cranes or power drills were used. Horsepower and human strength moved the rocks, trees, filled in gullies, and built bridges along with all the ties and rails. The human cost was great, with many lives and limbs lost during the laying of the line. Ed Lemay recalled that one of the biggest accidents he witnessed was when a load of liquid nitroglycerine was ignited, killing every man in the camp (Boultbee 1981:17).

Life in the construction camp was at times lawless and rough; it housed 12,000 men who worked long days under physically abusive management. Tensions were released through physical activities such as boxing and regular visits to 'skin island' (Boultbee 1981:17; Marathon Historical Museum a personal conversation). Skin Island, as it was known then, is located about 3 km off the shore of Peninsula Harbor. During the days of the construction camp, prostitution was illegal and outlawed in town. However, 3 km offshore it was not, so a few enterprising individuals decided that they could circumvent the law by setting up “ladies of the night” on this island, hence the name (Anonymous⁴, A personal conversation).

This era was not just a period of amazing engineering, but also a time when troops were moved along the North Shore to Saskatchewan to fight in the Riel Rebellion of 1885. These troops moved along an uncompleted railway line during the winter, and it was not uncommon to take up to 17 hours to move just 30 miles (Boultbee 1981:17-19).

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⁴ I use the term anonymous when I cite comments from personal conversations that occurred during participant-observation time periods. In the case of formal interviews for which I had obtained signed consent, I identify individuals with an interview number.
Life at the Turn of the Century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the main economic resource of the area was timber, and in 1938 the Marathon Paper Mill company bought out the Pigeon River Lumber Company that had also been operating in the area (Boultbee 1981:23). The construction of the Marathon Paper Mill began in April 1944, and a mill town was created (Boultbee 1981:47-52). At first, the town was a construction camp, and it was not until 1944 that it was named after D.C Everest, the president of the Marathon Paper Mill. For a brief period, the name Everest seemed fitting since it was the construction of the mill that spurred the town. However, later that year, the town's name was changed to Marathon to reflect the mill’s importance to the creation and prosperity of the town (Boultbee 1981:54-56). The first public building in Everest was the Everest Hotel and it was opened in 1945. A period of rapid growth occurred from 1946 to 1949, with the construction of a public school, the Wilson Hospital, outdoor skating rinks and a further expansion of town roads and infrastructure (Boultbee 1981:59-69). The Marathon Paper Mill began operations in 1946, and functioned until 2009 when the new owners declared bankruptcy.

The town of Marathon was a booming town that had grown to 2500 by the late 1950s (Boultbee 1981). Slowly, the Marathon Paper Mill began to surrender control over the running of the town; in the late 1960s and 1970s, it turned over the operation of the Wilson Hospital to the peoples of Marathon and area. It was during this period, 1969-1970, that Marathon began to develop a new form of government with the first election and appointment of a Reeve and council and the creation of the Marathon Township Municipal Board (Boultbee 1981:102-103).

In the 1980s the town of Marathon, built on the paper industry, became aware that it was laced with gold. During the ensuing decades, Marathon and the surrounding area caught gold fever, and changed from a mill town to a mining enclave. The history of corporate mining in
Marathon thus began at a time when CSR policies were becoming a routine part of mining operations. In the chapter that follows, I examine the history of CSR policy development on a global scale, and the literature, much of it anthropological, that focuses on mining culture.
Chapter Three: Corporate Social Responsibility

Definitions of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) have been advanced since the 1980-90s, when CSR became the new catch-phrase in mining corporations’ operation guidelines and policies. Current trends support the definition in Wayne Vissers’ work that CSR refers to “the way in which business consistently creates shared value in society through economic development, good governance, stakeholder responsiveness and environmental improvement” (2006). Scholars such as Visser (1995, 2006, 2011), Porter (2006, 2008), Kramer (2008), and Hamann (2004) assert, however, that mining corporations do not always understand the importance of geography and community in structuring an effective and locally relevant CSR initiative. This is demonstrated in the Global South on how the focus of CSR initiatives is understood as an obligation to communities, in contrast to the Global North where CSR initiatives are still very heavy defined as philanthropic – donations to good causes (Dashwood and Puplampu 2010). That is why the importance to understand that each CSR initiative, to be effective, has to be holistic in understanding who is affected, which individuals are involved and, more importantly, how to include community members in defining the CSR initiatives that impact their lives. The cost-effective ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach does not work.

It is important to note that there are alternative definitions of CSR that have been proposed by many different scholars. Dashwood and Puplampu (2010) emphasize that corporate definitions do not necessarily correspond that well to how things work on the ground, when they write that “institutional context and operational challenges faced in different countries are important influences on CSR adoption and important factors explaining variation” (Dashwood 2011). Sagebien and Lindsay (2011) give a nice overview of this in the case of CSR in Latin America’s mining sector. Sagebien and Lindsay (2011) state that when defining CSR there are a
multitude of ideas driving each definition. CSR can be understood, for instance, as a way to gain social license to operate. This argument is in agreement with Visser’s approach - these definitions and their on-the-ground applications cannot always foster ‘sustainable’ development and can lead to the piecemeal efforts that characterize most CSR policies. Hence, that is why throughout this dissertation I will rely heavily on Visser’s holistic approach to CSR policies, both in the Global North and Global South.

Archie Carroll (1991, 1999) notes that the evolution of CSR can be traced back as far as the 1950s which, for Carroll, is when corporations began to realize the importance of defining social responsibility in the managerial context. It was not until the 1990s that CSR became part of an international debate, due to pressure from international watchdogs and organizations demanding that corporations operating globally take responsibility for the environmental and social damage they inflicted on less affluent countries. This push can be seen as linked to the origin of the ‘thinking globally, acting locally’ motto, or the idea of “glocality” (Visser 2011). However, “glocality” did not enter into corporate consciousness; nor was it practically applied until 1992, when the Rio Earth Summit issued Local Agenda 21 (Visser 2011). This is a program of action detailing how to apply global principles of sustainable development in local contexts (Visser 2011).

The chronology of CSR models begins with the early work of Archie Carroll (1991) and his North American-based pyramid model that defines economic responsibility as the effective foundation of CSR policies and programs for mining corporations. Visser challenges Carroll’s CSR model, stating that it fails to take into consideration the complex social, environmental, and economic issues of Sub-Saharan Africa (2006), issues that include, but are not limited to: war, tribal and local governments, HIV and AIDS, gender, maleness, and the defining of community.
These issues are critically and constructively detailed through case studies and analyses in Hamann’s (2004), Kapelus’ (2002) and Jenkins’ (2004) articles. Dinah Rajak (2002, 2010), Catherine Coumans (2011, 2012), Hevina Dashwood (2007, 2012, 2014), and Stuart Kirsch (2010, 2011, 2014), among others, supplement these scholars’ contributions with a greater focus on Canadian mining corporations. However, I first address Rajak's ethnographic work on a transnational mining corporation’s CSR anatomy in South Africa, and then I examine both Dashwood's (2012) work on CSR policies in the Global South, and more importantly her work on the Global North, in which she shows how mining and CSR policies have become global norms. Catherine Coumans’s work (2011, 2012) deploys an anthropological perspective that has been lacking in debates over CSR polices in Canada. Overall, the work of both Rajak (2002, 2010), Coumans (2011, 2012) and Hamann (2004) is of greatest importance in this field, because it stresses the need to define community in mining corporations’ CSR programs, the lack of tri-sector partnership involvement in mining issues and policies, and the elitist framing of CSR policies. Carroll’s model thus laid the foundation for the development of a CSR discourse based on Western corporate economic ideologies, but it failed to recognize the need to be holistic when studying mining in less affluent countries, such as in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and remote communities in the Global North.

Since those who criticize Carroll’s model also argue that CSR initiatives have been generally ineffective, I provide a detailed analysis of CSR literature in the next section, “Theoretical Foundations”, identifying several of the themes that are prominent in the scholarship on this issue. In the subsequent section, “The Anthropology of Mining”, I detail how the anthropological literature has evolved since Godoy’s 1985 article Mining: Anthropological Perspectives, highlighting the works of Raman (2007), Jenkins (1998), and Ballard and Banks
(2003). Then, in the section entitled “The Corporate Social Responsibility Discourse and Resource Curse”, I discuss articles that critically evaluate the anthropological literature on CSR. This literature illuminates why CSR discourse has been the main contributor to understanding the curse that mines bring to the communities in which they operate. I rely heavily on Dinah Rajak’s (2010) article the Ethnographies of Extraction: Anthropology, Corporate Social Responsibility and the Resource Curse in order to show how the ‘resource curse’ has become embedded in the CSR discourse. I then explore the work of Sharp (2004), Welker (2009), Dashwood (2012) and Coumans (2011, 2012) to indicate just how global CSR policies have become.

**Theoretical Foundations**

*Social Context*

It is imperative to understand that the CSR discourse originally lacked an understanding of the historical and social context of mining, and how this oversight continues to burden mining communities and corporations. The work of Hamann (2004) and Kapelus (2002) provides a framework to build upon. In the case of the Global South, South Africa for instance, the mining industry created a high demand for food, which in the beginning was met by African producers. But by 1920, the white Afrikaner (with the backing of the State) had displaced the native producer (Hamann 2004:208, 2003). Government policy contributed to the shift of laborers from agriculture to mining that began in 1886 (Hamann 2004:207-208). Governments also ignored the vague mining codes that sought to indemnify Indigenous populations against the damages that extraction caused to ecological systems, landscapes, water tables, and so forth (Hamann 2004:208).
The need for historical context parallels the importance of social context, for without such a context, a corporation cannot know or understand what its customers, workers, or employees want or need to enhance their lives and working conditions. Hamman (2003, 2004) draws a correlation between social and historical context, being key to developing new technology for a new, well-defined, common shared value CSR program.

*Lack of Inter-Partnership*

History and geography substantially explain not just CSR’s evolution in corporate management and public relations strategies, but also how it was defined. Argandona and von Weltzein Hoivik (2009) ask what it means to assert that a corporation can or should exercise responsibility towards others or on behalf of someone. The primary responsibility of mining companies is to their stakeholders, and encompasses all the actions, omissions and consequences that result from the individuals working for the corporation. These individuals include those who make policies and those who implement them in the mine sites. But CSR has never actually generated responsible behavior, and in the last few years has become a notable and effective smokescreen, or a form of whitewashing. Catherine Coumans and Stuart Kirsch, in their 2011 article *Occupying Spaces Created in Conflict*, that corporate reputations have become an economic asset that needs to be managed by mining corporations(1-2). This in turn has made of CSR policies nothing more than “snake oil and myths”, sold to communities as a means of demonstrating corporate respect for host communities and stakeholders (Coumans and Kirsch 2011:1-3). What I believe Coumans and Kirsch are alluding to is the need for CSR to become the bench marker to do the right thing even when no one is watching, if that is even possible.
Widely used in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Carroll’s (1991) first model of CSR is based on corporations demonstrating that they are law-abiding and socially and ethically supportive via money donations to the community. Above all, Carroll (1991) proposes that a socially responsible corporation is one that is economically profitable and law abiding. However, Carroll sees these needs as constituting only a small portion of what makes a corporation socially responsible.

Since Carroll (1991) built his CSR pyramid on Western ideologies that emphasize profitability and strength in world markets, this model has proven to be less suitable as a framework for mining corporations’ work in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Carroll’s (1991) pyramid model overlooks the importance of mining corporations actively involving the country, the people who work in the mine, stakeholders and those that live in the surrounding area (mine enclaves) in defining CSR programs. Subsequent works by Visser (1995, 2006) and Hamann (2004) viewed Carroll’s pyramid model as limiting and unsuitable for less affluent countries, such as those in Africa. Consequently, Wayne Visser’s (1995, 2006, 2011) ‘holism approach’ to CSR inverts the traditional CSR model and discards Carroll’s limiting Western definitions.

Visser (2006) states that doing business in Africa is messy and chaotic, and as a result Carroll’s pyramid model fits poorly, for there is no room in his classification system for the ambiguity and turmoil that characterize most corporate activities in Africa (13). Visser (2006) argues that Carroll’s pyramid model fails to engage with the many complexities and vexing issues that corporations in Africa confront in seeking to become good corporate citizens, such as the AIDS and HIV pandemic, local and tribal governance structures and tensions, historical and cultural issues, conflicts, civil wars, male dominance, sex work, over-mining of groundwater, and degradation of agricultural and inhabited land. Therefore, Visser inverts Carroll’s pyramid
and creates a more holistic framework to explain how CSR should be applied in developing countries.

In parallel with other researchers including Hamann (2004) and Kapelus (2002), Visser, writing in 2006 noted that research up until that time only addressed the ethical portion of Carroll’s CSR model and most of that research was based on the single case of South Africa. Visser (2006) suggested that the research scope needed to be expanded to other countries in Africa, and also to other continents, to provide a more holistic view of which elements (economy, ethics, philanthropy, and so on) are central to the design of a viable CSR program. Idemudia (2011) in agreement with Visser, expanded the scope of research out of Africa to the West. Idemudia particularly wanted to broaden the way in which we construct ‘community’ within the CSR discourse (2011). Other scholars such as Hilson (2012), Coumans (2012), Dashwood and Puplampu (2010) took a more critical approach to North America CSR initiatives, and as Visser discusses in the next section, the need to understand why these initiatives and polices are less structural and more focused on short-term philanthropic projects, such as ice time at local arenas, hospital donations or annual social events.

Visser (2006) also proposes that once a more holistic definition of CSR is adopted, the next question is: when should traditional cultural practices take precedence over global CSR programs, projects, standards, policies, and practices?

Lack of Study Up

In his article "Corporate Citizenship in Africa: Lessons from the Past, Paths to the Future," Visser (2006) begins by detailing the development that Africa has experienced since 1995, where Southern Africa received special focus at the Summer G8 Summit at Gleneagles, Scotland (1).
At this summit, several resolutions were passed, including an agreement by the United States to reform its aid budget to poor countries. Unfortunately, in late 1995, Hurricanes Rita and Katrina hit the southern US, and the government put the agreed to reforms on hold. Even with all the international attention and progress, the literature on Africa is still problem-focused, seeing Africa as either a moral dilemma for the rest of the world to solve, or as a good place to 'throw' aid money at. Visser sees this process as pouring money down the drain (2006:2). Visser points out that the progress that has been achieved has occurred mainly in the largest ten economies, which account for 75% of the total GDP of the entire continent (2006:11). As Nader called in 1972 for anthropologists to study-up, Visser argues that scholars and researchers need to understand African issues better, and change outsiders’ perceptions of the continent. Visser's 'common interest' agenda addresses issues special to Africa, recognizing that Africa is different in its social, cultural and governmental contexts, and thus African development must follow its own path (2006:11-12). This is what makes corporate citizenship and CSR in Africa so fascinating, and so critical, as the continent embodies some of the most vexing social, ethical, and environmental problems that corporations must face. The need to understand Africa and its history is paramount not only in wrestling with these issues, but in attempting to resolve some of the questions that surround debate over who defines CSR and corporate citizenship (Visser 2006:12).

The debate over CSR and CSR discourse is highly polarized, but there is general agreement that the (private) mining sector remains well situated to make a significant contribution towards improving Africans’ social, environmental and economic conditions (Visser 2006:12-14). Visser sums up the essence of the CSR debate: First, who defines corporate citizenship or CSR, and according to which criteria? Second, is such a definition relevant to the
African context (2006:12-13)? Visser argues that the priorities and structuring of CSR in Africa are very different from the classic American-based four-part CSR pyramid (economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic sections) that Carroll introduced in 1991(2006:13). One of the many problems Visser finds with Carroll's pyramid is that if one applies this model to Africa then the economic component would receive the most attention. In practice, the CSR initiatives of mining corporations focus on philanthropic projects in Africa, such as building schools or healthcare facilities (2006:13). In North America CSR initiatives are less structural and more focused on short-term philanthropic projects, such as ice time at local arenas, hospital donations or annual social events.

Visser highlights the ambiguity of classifying CSR activities of mining corporations according to Carroll’s four-part pyramid (2006:13). For example, in classifying a HIV and AIDS treatment program, should it be seen as primarily an economic responsibility, due to its medium-to long-term effect on the workforce; or should it be seen as an ethical responsibility, given that HIV and AIDS sufferers have basic human rights; or, should it be seen as philanthropic, since in reality HIV and AIDS are public health issues, not work-related diseases (2006:13-14). This example emphasizes the need to not just alter Carroll's model, but to learn, study and come to a holistic understanding of Africa and its 'on the edge of chaos' issues in order to develop a CSR or corporate citizenship model that works within the African context (2006:13-16).

**Common Shared Values**

This is where the work of Porter and Kramer (2008) is important, for it examines how mining companies that have engaged in CSR have weak, ineffective or un-productive initiatives. This is true for two reasons: first, CSR strategies can pit companies against society and different groups
within society against one another (as when conflicts occur over where CSR funding is to be allocated); and second, CSR strategies have been developed using a cookie-cutter model that is applied across industries and companies in a generic manner. This fails, since each company-industry is unique (2008:479). Porter and Kramer state that approaches to CSR are fragmented and disconnected from the operations of corporations, and their strategies blind upper management to the great opportunities for companies to benefit societies – in respect to issues such as AIDS and HIV, with a well thought-out and structured CSR program (479).

In order for CSR to be accepted wholeheartedly, a business plan has to be made that creates shared value for both corporation and society. Looking at CSR only through the framework of what guides a corporation, profit, CSR would be seen as too costly, constraining and limiting less affective for both corporation and society (Porter and Kramer 2008:479). Instead, corporations need to change the framework of their CSR programs, and discover that CSR can be a source of opportunity and innovation that bolsters their competitive edge (480).

Porter and Kramer introduce a new way of looking at the relationship between society and business/corporations that does not pit corporate success against social welfare - a zero-sum game (2008:480-481). The framework is based on identifying all positive and negative effects that business operations can have on society, and then determining, which ones need to be addressed. The idea is to come up with an effective strategy that creates a common value for both-society and business/corporation (2008:480-481). A corporation can apply its considerable resources, research, expertise and insight to activities that benefit society.

The debate over CSR became a corporate boardroom issue in late 1999 and early 2000 when government regulations and legislation began to increase due to global warming and labor conditions that were center-stage in the media and in stakeholders’ agendas (2008:480). The
response from business was less than clear. For the most part, it was largely cosmetic. At its center was a CSR report (written by the new industry of CSR writers), showcasing various corporate social and environmental “good deeds” (2008:481). When motivated by public relations, CSR programs are rarely coherent or detailed. Instead, they are created as a way of demonstrating a corporation's social sensitivity, without providing details on specific projects and how they will impact a vaguely defined social issue. The philanthropic initiative, as Porter and Kramer state, is a typical component of CSR programs that are usually defined in terms of volunteer hours, with no indication of long-term commitments or expected results (2008:481).

**Anthropology of Mining**

Godoy’s pioneering 1985 article, *Mining: Anthropological Perspectives*, begins by detailing how the discovery of ‘the miner’ as an academic subject came about. Godoy likens the recent discovery of the miner not as fortuitous, but as evolving out of the 1980s energy and environmental crisis. Godoy believes that it was during the crisis that the world came face-to-face with the fact that natural resources are not finite, and ever-expanding industrial growth cannot be supported (1985:199-200). However, in the mining industry, this crisis was not truly grasped, and the industry continued to remain focused on the twin projects of exploration and extraction (1985:199-200).

Godoy’s aim in this article is to examine mining enclaves (enclosed territories that are culturally distinct from the surrounding foreign territory) and the effects they have on adjacent rural areas. The article is divided into two sections: first, it reviews the anthropological literature on mining with the aim of making interconnections with other disciplines; second, it pinpoints areas for further research. Godoy places significant stress on extraction throughout this article,
choosing to touch on the marketing stages for coherence only (1985:200). Extraction is stressed, being that it is the most important phase of mining, and it is at that point when communities and countries begin to feel the effects of extraction on their societal, environmental, local, regional, economical, governmental issues and structures (Godoy 1985:200-201).

Godoy examines the ideologies, beliefs and rituals that lie at the heart of mining, and considers how they play out in the demographic, social and political characteristics of mining communities and surrounding rural areas (1985:200). He analyzes the social organization of mining, which is determined by the physical and social isolation of the mining communities combined with the very harsh work conditions. One finds that mine sites, based on the labor policies and practices of the mining industry, display a recurrent pattern of labor recruitment practices, such as those affecting migration, as well as importing a hegemonic political structure to mining communities (1985:205-207). Mining, in the early phases, is a highly labor-intensive operation, and the first and most important requirement is to secure reliable, ample and inexpensive laborers (1985:206). Past recruitment practices can be labeled as coercive and focused exclusively on the need to secure a steady supply of cheap labor. Godoy lists the voluntary reasons why individuals enter the mining labor force, such as to express cultural ideologies of manliness, to replenish cattle stock, to meet seasonal subsistence shortfalls, and to avoid fights or witchcraft accusations (1985:206). Mining corporations seek to minimize costs and liabilities, so mine laborers usually receive wages that are barely adequate for subsistence. This, in turn, forces miners to return home after their contract expires or upon retirement (Godoy 1985:206). The paying of below-subsistence wages to mine workers is in line with the need of the state to preserve Indigenous production systems in the miners’ home communities (1985:206). What this demonstrates is that Indigenous populations bear the brunt of mining
extraction, through low wages, abusive labor policies and the creation of a circular migration of laborers flowing to and from mine centers (1985:206-207).

Early anthropologists focused on the male circular migration flow, linking this to the breakdown of traditional values, male influence and the prevailing authority structure (Godoy 1985:206). Recently, the addition of female migration has added to the understanding of the dramatic influence of migration on fracturing rural families and communities (1985:206). Many critics instead see male and female migration as strengthening traditional values and social organizations because of the active link that migrant workers have with their rural areas via retention of their land rights and community membership (1985:206). These attachments are reinforced through visits home, but it has been noted that these trips home have become more infrequent, and fewer subsidies are reaching miners’ rural homes. Instead, the money is staying in the mining communities, and the result is a decaying link to Indigenous subsistence structures (Godoy 1985:207-208).

Mining communities and associated patterns of political organization are dictated by the mining corporation, because most of the time, mineral deposits are located in inaccessible rural areas (Godoy 1985:207-208). What occurs then is the development of self-contained mining communities, which can take on many forms; from open mining camp, to paternalistic company camps, or hermetic mining, total institutional compound as in South Africa (1985:207-209). Both structures isolate laborers, which promotes worker solidarity and, at times, radical labor movements (1985:207-209). Mining communities do not just have an influence and impact on the social and political structures of miners, camps and communities, but also have a dramatic impact on the environment and economy (1985:208-209). Mining activities have a tendency to incorporate surrounding regions into their economic sphere.
At this juncture, it is important to point out the glaring lack of anthropological scholarly work in the field of CSR, as well as on mining and communities in the Global North, such as my field site of Marathon, northern Ontario. Many articles explore background issues, such as the role of manliness in mining at all levels, and how this is reflected in policies, gender roles, gender relations and interactions. Maleness intersects with my fieldwork’s consideration of social issues, and is connected with ideas of what it means to be a mine worker, and how mine work re-enforces a ‘big man’ ideology in many mining enclaves in the Global North and South (Heald 2002; Kowalke 2009). The paucity of literature on mining in the Global North, especially in Canada and northern Ontario, is of great concern, since almost 75% of all mining globally is done by Canadian-owned mining corporations such as Barrick, or partnerships in which the Canadian role is prominent. The ‘big man’ ideologies that continue to plague mining corporations’ board rooms, mine sites, communities and the places where miners and non-miners interact, will be addressed in more detail in chapter five.

Dividing his analysis according to economic factors, social organization and ideologies, Godoy (1985) provides an in-depth survey of the paucity of anthropological writings about mining economics. Matched with this is a lack of interest in research areas such as the productive process and workplace conditions (1985:211-212). The author sees the research void as due to difficulties, and even lack of interest at times, in conducting research underground (and to a lesser extent above ground) among those who control access to information and worksites (1985:211). He cites the work of Wilson and Epstein in the mining compounds of the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) as an example of access difficulties, for both these researchers had their research shut down before completion when permission was withdrawn by mining
managers (1985:211). Such setbacks demonstrate the many obstacles and difficulties that anthropologists face when conducting study-up and study-down5.

In the second part of his article, Godoy notes that anthropologists have contributed a great deal to the mining literature on social organization and migration (1985:211-213), but there is a lack of demographical research on mining populations (1985:211). Migration, in fact, is over-researched, and little new can be added beyond repetitive case studies (1985:211-213). Godoy believes that to provide a truly anthropological study of mining, the researcher has to examine both the geological and economic infrastructure of the mining industry/corporation in a holistic manner, buttressing it with an extensive understanding of sociopolitical and ideological dimensions (1985:211).

At this juncture, we begin to see how the resource-curse concept took root in anthropology. The work of Chris Ballard and Glenn Banks in 2003, Resource Wars: The Anthropology of Mining, analyzes and addresses the dramatic change in the anthropology of mining since Ricardo Godoy's pioneering 1985 publication. However, there is a vast multidisciplinary literature on the resource curse, outside of anthropology, that covers the multiple factors that contribute to the ‘curse’ (Obi 2010, Collier and Goderis 2008, Karl 2005). However, since they focus largely on oil and gas extraction I’ll highlight the work of Ballard and Banks (2003) and their definition of the resource curse as the point at which a country’s GDP is closely linked to one resource or mineral. This leads to mining corporations and communities being locked in a constant battle over resources.

5Study-up refers to the need to get behind the facelessness of a bureaucratic society, to get to what runs international corporations and large scale industries that have their hands on and are directing everyday aspects of our lives is imperative. To study such bureaucracies raises very important access and ethical questions having to do with professional responsibilities, self-portrayal, and the nature of participant-observation as a research method (Nader 1972:5). Further detailed in Chapter 4.
Ballard and Banks (2003:287) focus on mining projects in the Asia-Pacific region, noting the monolithic characteristics of the state and mining corporations, and the limited agency of affected communities. The mineral boom of the 1980s saw an aggressive expansion of mining exploration and development in many Indigenous communities. Their article explores the critical debate amongst anthropologists who study mining to give a clear view of research on the anthropology of mining and where it is heading. The first portion of the article addresses the tensions between state and corporation with regard to the benefits and impacts of mining on local, Indigenous communities.

Banks and Ballard critically examine the conventional triad stakeholder model that mining corporations use as to guide their operations. For the authors, this model is insufficiently broad to capture the complexity of the relationships that form between and around mine enclaves (2003:289-290). The three central categories of the triad stakeholder model are: corporation, state, and community (2003:290).

Banks and Ballard’s article addresses a number of local and global aspects, emphasizing that the nation-state is not dead when it comes to mining. In fact, government bodies play a substantial role in the resource sector, especially in developing countries (2003:294). One of the roles of host governments is to set financial, labor and environmental regulations that mining corporations and operations must follow (2003:294). Here is where the authors see critical responses as justified, for governments have become less stringent about following their own regulations when competition for mining exploration is intense and chances of securing mining funding are limited (2003:294). Banks and Ballard’s criticism, directed at host government policies, is that independent countries, not western-based NGOs or host governments, should set mining exploration standards and policies (2003:294-295). The authors propose external source
mining standards that avoid placing host countries’ governments in a position of dependence and subject to influence in a mineral-dependent economy. When governments possess such blinders, other sectors of the economy are overlooked that could help improve long-term outcomes (Banks and Ballard 2003:295). The authors identify this “blinder effect” as a crucial component of the ‘resource curse’, meaning that a country’s GDP and at times civil unrest are tightly linked to one resource or mineral. Ballard and Banks state this has the ability to fuel the ‘resource curse’, pitting mining corporations and local communities and governments against each other in a fight not just over controlling the territory on which the mineral or resource is located, but also who is involved in as well as over decision-making and responsibility for social and environmental impacts. Ballard and Banks go on to give an example of a worst-case ‘resource curse’ scenario, which occurs when mining corporations fund civil unrest and conflict to gain access to disputed areas and protection for the mining site itself (2003:295). It is important to remember that mining corporations that engage in this risky maneuvering can also become targets during these times civil unrest and conflict.

The article concludes with a review of the politics of engagement for anthropologists who work in the arena of mining. The authors feel that corporations receive less attention in the stakeholder triad model than other stakeholders. They contend that much of the anthropological literature views mining corporations as monolithic, menacing figures (2003:290). For Ballard and Banks, this overlooks the fact that multinational corporations are complex, temporal, spatial and socially differentiated entities (2003:294).

Knapp and Pigott (1998) blend archaeological and anthropological perspectives to explain how these two disciplines could harmonize their perspectives through an 'explicitly' social study of the mining industry, past and present (300-301). Archaeologists have researched
the past technology of mining and productivity processes, but have not fully connected their work with the socioeconomic or ideological perspectives of past industrial mining societies (1998:301). The authors do make it clear that some social historians have written about gender, class, age and many other issues that are directly related to a more interdisciplinary and socially-based perspective.

The authors believe that focusing on the social context of mining communities allows for a unique blending of interests and expertise. Overlapping themes, such as gender, power strategies, labor exploitation, social reproduction, imperialism and colonialism were all explored at the conference at which these authors first presented their paper. These themes have relevance to any country whose culture and history are intertwined with mining and the exploitation of natural resources (Knapp and Piggott 1998:301). The highlight from the conference, and I believe of their paper, was how important archaeology and anthropology are to understanding and navigating the differences among changing societies (1998:301). Knapp and Piggott confirm my stance on the importance of the historical context, with their attention to the gap in literature on past mining, which inhibits understanding of the interconnection among technical, economic and social aspects of mining activities (1998:301). Archaeologists have recovered a wealth of material culture from former mining communities, but have yet to forge any connection between this evidence and the social realities of such camps and towns. Cultural anthropologists, for their part, have produced extremely rich narratives of the social life of miners, but seem largely unaware of the cultural material unearthed by archaeologists (1998:301-302).

It is here that Knapp and Piggott’s (1998) work can be juxtaposed with that of Jenkins, whose 2004 paper, Corporate Social Responsibility and the Mining Industry Conflicts and Constructs, further examines the issues and conflicts between mining industry operations and the
communities directly affected by them. Jenkins examined mining corporations’ reports, revealing the language that is used to construct CSR programs, and the direct correlations with the tensions and conflict that develop between communities and mining operations (2004:23). The author begins and concludes this article with the same premise: that mining corporations need to better understand the communities they work in and affect, in order to produce more 'culturally sensitive' CSR programs (Jenkins 2004:23, 32). Jenkins uses brief case studies to illustrate the diverse socio-environmental issues that arise from mining operations, and the corporate CSR policies that seek to ‘defuse’ such issues. However, it should be made clear that this paper does not address how mining corporations define CSR and construct their meaning of community (2004:24). Instead, the author seeks to provide insight into the corporate language, symbols and tools used to construct and conceptualize mining corporations’ relationship with communities and the conflicts that arise. Jenkins illustrates how words and concepts can mute the real meaning behind a mining corporation’s agenda, and perpetuate the tension between mining corporations and communities.

The two case studies that Jenkins builds his analysis on are the PT Kelian Equatorial Mine (KEM) and the Jabiluka Mine: each has created strategic CSR programs that illustrate how difficult it is to implement a loosely-defined community strategy plan (Jenkins 2004:25-26). The PT Kelian Equatorial Mine (KEM) is a gold mine that has been in operation since 1990 in the West Kutai Region of East Kalimantan, Indonesia, and has been the focus of persistent allegations of human rights violations and environmental damage (2004:24). Despite the allegations, KEM has continued to apply band-aid solutions in the form of compensation packages to workers, as well as to villages that lost land, houses and access to resources and food. All this did, however, was create more conflict and claims that this program was unjust
KEM, in an attempt to quash growing tensions with the community, distributed information on their commitment to several community building projects under the guise of "working together for sustainable solutions" (Jenkins 2004:25). However, the author notes that KEM was only paying 'lip-service' to these community projects to bolster their reputation (2004:25). This is a fine example of why voluntary or compensation programs (CSI) are ineffective and difficult to implement in the face of multi-dimensional conflicts and demands (2004:25). Jenkins explains that community funding projects can lead to other conflicts, for when a mining corporation funds one claim or group over another, divisions are created within the community (2004:25).

The second case study is the Jabiluka Mine in the Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory of Australia, where Jabiluka Mine has been in operation since 1981 (Jenkins 2004:25). Like the issues of human rights violations and environmental damages of KEM, the Jabiluka Mine was also besieged with allegations of bullying, intimidation and bribing of certain Mirrar people in order to gain access rights to the mine site (2004:26). This ad hoc corporate solution to conflict has led to a relationship of dependency, wherein the corporation has positioned itself as a provider to Mirrar communities (2004:26). Jenkins argues that while this may seem socially responsible, in reality it is a means of controlling the community.

The remainder of this article examines why effective CSR programs were not initiated in these two settings. Essentially, the explanation lies in a lack of understanding of the lived experience of the people who inhabit the local communities (Jenkins 2004:27). Jenkins speaks directly to my need to understand social context, and the imperative of understanding just how important this context of lived experience is in developing effective CSR programs. He illustrates how opposed are the corporation and the community when it comes to defining and
constructing the community. Jenkins points out that in communications from mining corporations, reference is made to how the corporation envisions itself as part of the community (Jenkins 2004:26, 28-29). However, as stated previously, defining community is a complex and at times daunting task, in that any definition is constructed through the lens of the author, rather than through the lived context-experience of the people in question (2004:26).

By analyzing mining company reports, Jenkins discovered a disinclination to explicitly define “community” as a concept or even a boundary. Instead, the word is used as an all-encompassing term to describe the wide range of stakeholders that have active connections with local communities, mine employees, and Indigenous groups (2004:28). Words such as “host” or “neighbor” are used to affirm the idea of the community working together, and to indicate that community concerns are being addressed in corporations’ reports and public discussions (Jenkins 2004:28). Jenkins’s emphasis on the need to define community is paralleled in the work of Hamann and Kapelus (2004) and Rajak (2010), who also stress the tension that develops when the definition of “community” is provided by mining elites that lack a direct understanding of community dynamics. Hamann (2003, 2004) states, that mining elites have, at times, created tension between community members by choosing projects that favor one group over another, thus fragmenting the community.

Finally, the mining reports Jenkins studied go to great lengths to display a commitment to creating 'valued communities'. However, this is a hollow sentiment. In reality, the reason is not that the communities are significant to mining companies; rather, those companies seek to exploit the land for further mining development, and to exploit their workers as a source of cheap labor (Jenkins 2004:29). Unfortunately, like so many other authors who critically analyze mining corporations’ CSR initiatives, Jenkins ends his work by reaffirming the discourse of CSR used
by mining corporations. He claims that community strategies and CSR initiatives are not morally-inspired initiatives, but rather strategic responses to social conflicts and issues that could affect their operations (2004:32). Porter (2006) and Hamann (2003) affirm Jenkins’s argument that there is nothing wrong with having a well-structured strategic CSR initiative, as long as it is built through partnerships with the communities affected by mining practices and operations.

This is where Raman (2007) provides an excellent critique, by arguing that CSR conceals its own inventions and intentions (103-104). She goes on to argue that CSR is problematic, serving as another way to legitimatize a discursive domain that only deepens the colonizing process of corporations (2007:103-104). The aim of this article is to outline the maze that currently constitutes the theories and practices of CSR, via a case-study of Coca-Cola and the experiences of the local communities that have borne the brunt of its operation and CSR agenda (Raman 2007:103-104).

In the early 1970s, a huge economic shift occurred in the world: it was an era that saw the end of the 'golden age of capitalism' and a diffusion of CSR as a foundation of knowledge and discourse (Raman 2007:103). In the first half of the 1970s, corporations faced a marked decline in profit, and needed to find a buffer to stem their losses. This led, by the 1990s, to the new terrain of CSR models and initiatives (2007:103). In reality, corporations began to engage in CSR in order to conceal neo-liberal thinking - down-sizing, cutting of wages, and restructuring of labor practices and conditions (2007:103). Raman notes that during this time, unethical practices began to be publicly debated. This was especially true for human rights violations by companies operating in less affluent countries, but even companies based in North America did not escape public scrutiny. Before the author presents the case study of Coca-Cola and its CSR program, the definition of the discourse of CSR is laid out: "[it]...implies a voluntary engagement
socially constructed by multinationals themselves, partly in an effort to fend off political-
ideological attacks and partly to work around the 'crisis of legitimation' that forms a part of the
larger derailment of ethics in the political sphere” (Raman 2007:105). It is important to note that
this does not imply that civil societies did not play a role in the construction of CSR. Instead, it
means that CSR was an intervention, prompted by global economic changes, declining profits,
and the sweeping neo-liberalism reforms that were occurring in the early 1970s (2007:104-105).

Raman provides a brief background to Coca-Cola and its 2006 pledge to incorporate the
UN Global Compact Report on Corporate Responsibility into every aspect of its daily business
(2007:106). To display its commitment to CSR, the company introduced a 'Manifesto for
Growth' that outlined its vision for sustainable growth, focusing on five key areas: profit, people,
portfolio, partners and planet (2007:105-106). Coca-Cola's CSR guidelines were in line with the
company’s five tenets of sustainable growth, and paralleled the corporation’s commitment to
three urgent environmental challenges: water quality and quantity, energy and climate change,
and solid waste management (2007:105). Coca-Cola had now displayed globally how committed
it was to being a 'global citizen that makes a difference' in the workplace, environment and in the
communities in which it operates (Raman 2007:105-106).

Raman (2007) focuses the remaining portion of this article on Coca-Cola’s operation in
the village of Kala Dera in Rajasthan, India. The company established a factory there in 1999,
following economic de-regulation. Until 1991, legislation had prohibited foreign companies from
holding majority shares in an Indian company. By 1999, the first Coca-Cola factory was in
operation, and other factories were commissioned all over India’s countryside. Even more
alarming was the rapid depletion of groundwater resources in the villages where Coca-Cola
operated (Raman 2007:108). In addition to Kala Dera, both Mehdiganj in Uttar Pradesh and
Plachimada in Kerala, among the most marginalized communities in India, also experienced a rapid depletion of groundwater resources, leaving many villagers without water for irrigation (2007:107). To Raman, this is a typical case of ‘environmental racism’, given that environmentally hazardous projects are usually located in underprivileged communities (2007:107-108).

It was not long before village communities began to band together in protest against Coca-Cola's over-mining of groundwater resources (Raman 2007:108). The protests gained the support of human right activists and other socially concerned groups that joined together under the Anti-Coca-Cola campaign (2007:108). Raman sees this as a move towards a mass post-development social movement, built through the solidarity and resistance of the villagers whose communities were destroyed by Coca-Cola's operations (2007:108). Coca-Cola was forced to respond to this growing social movement, and did so by countering the villagers’ claims in their CSR section titled "Our Environmental Values" (Raman 2007:109-110). Here, the company stated that Coca-Cola continually strove to ensure that its products and practices were both safe and world-class, and backed up this claim with 'independent' laboratory tests. This report also had the backing of the Indian government, which agreed that the claims against Coca-Cola were false and unsupported by the ‘independent’ laboratory testing they conducted (2007:109). Coca-Cola may have acknowledged that it still needed to improve practices and policies in India, but it stood firm on its position that it had indeed met 'quality standards’ and followed all applicable laws (Raman 2007:109). After the initial protest, Coca-Cola produced a review that highlighted its roles in social projects in India, such as education programs, HIV and AIDS initiatives, and the Global Water Challenge (2007:109). This image of corporate philanthropy is attractive to
multinational corporations such as Coca-Cola, for it is equated with social responsibility – in itself a good example of the ineffectiveness of CSR discourses.

Raman ends the article by addressing three reasons why corporations such as Coca-Cola will continually be attacked for how they operate in 'Third World' countries: (1) their violations of human rights; (2) their undermining of state powers; and, (3) their appropriation of resources from those who rely upon them for survival (2007:115). Those hardest hit by such corporate practices are employees and especially local communities. Raman believes that the villages devastated by the cola factories in India cannot be viewed in isolation, for what is happening to them is connected with the experience of other 'Third World' countries, such as in Sub-Saharan Africa. In all these places, corporations hold a hegemonic political power over the state itself, and can use this to bully and intimidate families, local communities, and local and regional governments to stop the formation of trade unions, protests or social movements (Raman 2007:115-116). Corporations also possess a great advantage over many of the countries they work in: they have the resources and power to directly influence what is publicly reported in order to preserve their image as 'good corporate citizens' on the international stage.

The Corporate Social Responsibility Discourse and the Resource Curse

In this section I will further extend my review of the anthropology of mining, focusing more specifically on the issue of the ‘resource curse’ and its relevance to the dialogue that surrounds CSR policies. The revolutionary work of Dinah Rajak (2010) demonstrates how the resource curse has become embedded in everyday life in the countries and communities where mining companies operate. I will then examine the work of Sharp (2006), Welker (2009), Dashwood (2012) and Coumans (2012, 2011) to further explore the position of anthropologists in the
development of the CSR discourse. Welker’s 2009 article, based in Indonesia, asserts that CSR discourse is largely shaped by development aspirations, but that opposing sides of mining extraction, policies and practices view development differently. Both Welker (2009) and Rajak (2010, 2011) provide clear and concise understandings of how corporate mining practices place the host countries and communities on very different and conflicting development trajectories. These two trajectories are what fuel the resource curse and, hence, the development of the CSR discourse that underlies all the discussions of CSR agendas and policies that mining corporations introduce to mining communities globally.

Dinah Rajak (2010, 2011) has spent several years studying the corporate elite of mining in Africa and attending events such as the Bi-annual Convention on Corporate Citizenship in Johannesburg. Rajak (2010) argues that mining corporations now use CSR discourse to present themselves as solutions to the ‘resource curse,’ rather than as the cause of the problem (2010:92). This new “hegemonic caregiver role” has now shifted to mining corporations and been authenticated through multi-stakeholder partnerships, in an attempt to ensure accountability in both the payment and expenditure of revenues from resource exploitation (2010:91-92).

According to Rajak (2010), the new orthodoxy of CSR requires that the same corporations that grudgingly engaged in CSR initiatives when they were first introduced are now competing for the title of leading corporate citizen in national and international arena (2010:91). These mining corporations have sought to shift their image from one of irresponsible capitalistic exploiters to champions of sustainable development. These corporations have been able to shift the perception of irresponsibility onto the governments of Africa and shine light on their use and misuse of resources and revenues at the expense of the general population (2010:92). Rajak states, that the CSR discourse, and oxymoronic view of corporations as champions of
development and social responsibility, are especially applicable and problematic when considering the nature of extraction, oil and mining corporations (2010:92). However, even with this shift in mining corporations’ CSR agendas, the cases of documented communities and countries besieged by the curse of conflict and violations continue to occur (Rajak 2010:92). This is the new orthodoxy of CSR, for if CSR was seen as merely smoke and mirrors (as many critics allege), then the debate over CSR would be done. But this new CSR orthodoxy leads PR operations to miss out on the possibility of creating well-defined and holistic CSR initiatives, based on the common ground between mining corporations and the communities affected, and designed to benefit both.

Rajak (2010) also calls for anthropologists in the mining field to study-up. She refers to the work of Gisa Weskalnys, and her belief that the role of anthropologists in addressing the resource curse can no longer be limited to identifying corporate shortfalls, mistakes, limitations and failures (2010:93). Instead, anthropologists need to understand the cultures, subcultures of corporations, and for Rajak it is mining (2010:93). Rajak states that anthropologists need to employ study-up and study-down methodologies to explain why countries and communities fail to reap the benefits of their natural resources and mineral wealth. No longer can anthropologists contribute to the perpetuation of the resource curse: instead, anthropologists need to illuminate the powerful agency within mining and extraction corporations and generate insights into the mechanisms that sustain corporate power (2010:93). The experiences at the elite level are just as dynamic and troubling as the experiences of those who have become subjected to the corporations’ operations, power, instruments and partnerships (Rajak 2010:93).

John Sharp’s (2006) article, Corporate Social Responsibility and Development: An Anthropological Perspective, examines the debates that surround CSR and the new discourse
that has arisen from the ever present and consistent question, "What does CSR do?" (2006:213). The corporate-driven CSR agenda has been identified as both a potentially positive strategy for addressing global poverty and development challenges, and as a drawback, due to its conflicting motives and unintended consequences (2006:216-222).

CSR has become a global business that is a prominent player in South Africa’s private sector and, for Sharp, an important topic for anthropologists to study. Sharp states that anthropologists are best suited to explore the multifaceted dimensions of CSR in South Africa by applying methods that do not simply focus on the successes and failures, the whys and why nots, but instead unravels the unintended as well as intended consequences of CSR endeavors and their relation to projects of poverty alleviation, social improvement and economic development (Sharp 2006:213-214). By applying discourse analysis and participant-observation methods, Sharp believes that anthropologists can better explore CSR in a more nuanced way to contextualize more effective CSR agendas (2006:213-214).

In a 2009 publication Marina Welker adds a deeper and more rounded anthropological analysis of transnational advocacy networks that seek to defend Indigenous rights and environmental agendas against the forces of capitalism (143). Examination of the coherence of moral obligations of corporate elites, government elites, and local and NGO elites who defend capitalism lies at the core of this anthropological, critical account of how, in the face of intense social and environmental pressures, global capitalism is sustained and constructed (Welker 2009:143-145). Welker achieves this by distinguishing environmental activists from the local elites who, for security reasons, are enlisted as partners or as a first line of defense in local communities.
The article provides a brief background to CSR before launching into a discussion of CSR and corporate security at Batu Hijau in Indonesia. CSR has become an industry employing journalists, PR firms, and non-profit and for-profit organizations that provide classes, courses, guidelines, and workshops on how to write and construct CSR programs. This drive for corporations to embrace CSR programs, and hence discourse, was spurred in large part by the transnational social movements that named, shamed and targeted corporations and industries that were seen as conducting questionable human rights violations, inflicting environmental damage, and promoting undemocratic behavior in developing countries (Welker 2009:145).

Welker (2009) divides CSR into three components, the first being the issue of voluntary corporate self-regulation as opposed to nationally or transnationally mandated forms of regulation (145). It can be said that the industry has produced a large number of corporate and trade association codes, standards, social auditing bodies and socio-environmental and financial principles. It has to be stressed that a CSR discourse has also drawn attention to the fact that these piecemeal approaches to corporate behavior impede needed structural changes and external and independent regulations of corporations (Welker 2009:145-146).

According to Welker (2009), the second important feature of the CSR industry is the business-case concept that is so important to corporations engaging in CSR (145). With regard to this component of CSR, Welker argues that there is no contradiction between corporations’ obligations to their stakeholders and their generation of maximum profits for shareholders (2009:145).

The third and the final CSR component involves the industry’s tight connection to development and corporations’ multifaceted relationship with it. This relationship between the CSR industry and development is one of forming extensive partnerships with corporations that
have a strong belief that on their own, they have the power to drive development (Welker 2009:146). This results in mining corporations taking on the de facto state role of leader in development, but, however, corporate lead development in such a way that only a few benefit, such as the country’s socioeconomic elites and of course mining managers who are all defined and chosen by the mining corporation (2009:145-146).

At this juncture, the work of Hevina Dashwood is important, for it traces the path that many Canadian mining corporations have taken in constructing CSR policies over the past few decades. In the 1990s, Canadian mining companies were actively seeking a method to change their environmental and social practices, and Dashwood believes that the concentration of mining corporations in Canada was a key driver behind mining corporations adopting CSR policies. Noranda and Placer Dome were two of the leaders in developing new CSR policies which set the precedent for other corporations to move closer to global societal expectations (Dashwood 2007:132). However, Couman's draws attention to the fact that by looking at mining corporations as actors/agents in the CSR discourse and even in unraveling the concept of the resource curse, we can begin to understand how CSR polices are only products that are sold, hence she argues that CSR polices are nothing more than "snake oil and myths" (Coumans 2010, 2011). Mining corporations during the 1990s, worked, internally at first, to develop their own codes of conduct, and then reached out to the CSR industry, such as NGOs and consultants, to create the International Council of Mining and Minerals(ICMM). ICCM was created in 2001 to help improve the performance of mining and metal industries globally (Dashwood 2007). NGOs began to work with ICMM to develop a standard of practice for the mining sector, and at the same time private mining corporations and the ICMM have worked together with states in international organizations to develop CSR standards that relate to mining (Dashwood 2007).
However, this was internationally driven, and what it overlooked was that many of the mining corporations that were working to create CSR standards were located and operating in the Global North, where certain North Americanized CSR policies or practices do not fit. Hence, the discourse of a one-size-fits-all model that many mining corporations adopted in the 1990s.

Catherine Coumans and Stuart Kirsch (2011) expands on Dashwood’s analysis with a more anthropological look at why mining corporations, specifically Canadian owned mining corporations, adopted CSR polices in the 1990s. Coumans notes that Canadian mining corporations operating in less affluent countries have often ended up in conflict with community members and stakeholders. Realizing this, mining corporations have begun to speak to the need to obtain social license and community support to avoid costly conflicts that directly affect the bottom line (Owen and Kemp 2012; Coumans 2011; Coumans and Kirsch 2011). Conflict is not confined to the community level: media, regulators, investors and a multitude of stakeholders add pressure to mining corporations to meet social and environmental rights (Coumans 2011; Coumans and Kirsch 2011; Dashwood 2007). This pressure can be seen in how mining corporations embraced CSR policies in order to demonstrate corporate responsibility and good citizenship. Coumans (2011) and Dashwood (2007) explain that even though national and international mining corporations responded to the increased pressures and conflicts for corporate accountability by promoting their own CSR policies, these policies are still not sufficient. There is still no global regulatory system or legal system that can hold multinational corporations to account for their operations in less affluent (Coumans 2011; Coumans and Kirsch 2011). Coumans (2011), in *Alternative Accountability Mechanism and Mining: The Problems of Effective Impunity, Human Rights and Agency*, argues that mining corporations’ CSR policies do not provide enough protection or remedies to ensure protection of human and environmental
rights. These policies are not always constructed in a way that allows for community voices to be heard, nor do they provide a channel for communities to be consulted or grant consent for the implementations of CSR projects within their community (Coumans 2011).

Summary

The literature clearly demonstrates the paucity of anthropological research grounded in both community connections and in a study-up approach to corporate mining elites. Much of the Canadian research is based on how and why Canadian mining corporations developed CSR policies in less affluent countries, a fact that clearly demonstrates the need for more research on mining operations in the Global North.

Corporate social responsibility has become a catchphrase in the last decade, and is now prominent in many corporations’ mission statements, especially in the mining industry (Hamann 2004). Why? Researchers such as Hamann (2004) and Visser (2006) see it as a response to the increase in the globalization of corporate investments, which has led to a global ‘publicization’ of their international operations. This has been especially true over the last few years in Southern Africa, where the damages caused by decades of environmental, social and labor exploitation by mining corporations have become a global disgrace and a public relations nightmare. The increased debate over the need for transnational mining corporations to reassess themselves through the defining of what makes them good global citizens, has thus generated well laid out CSR programs (Visser 2006). One of the main catalysts, alongside environmental rights, has been the rise of AIDS and HIV infection rates and the direct effect this has had on profits and production costs. De Beers is an excellent example of why a corporation changes its operations globally to include good CSR regulations, such as ARV (Anti-Retroviral) programs (Bendell
2003). For example, in the late eighties and early nineties, De Beers experienced a dip in its profits, which was directly linked to the rise of healthcare issues in their mining operations in Botswana and South Africa (Bendell 2003). A few other global corporations also took up the gauntlet and began to define their role in the fight against AIDS in Africa. Their involvement filled a gap where government bodies had seemed to have fallen behind, when it came to combating (and at times overlooking) the rising social and economic cost of AIDS and HIV (Nattrass 2004). Corporations such as De Beers and Debswana took over from the state in the treatment and supply of ARV (antiretroviral drugs) to their employees and, in some instances, family members under the CSR program called Vision of Zero (Nattrass 2004; Bendell 2003). This was De Beers’ and its partner corporations’ program to offer treatment and education to their workers (and limited family members) on AIDS and HIV in the hope of achieving a zero infection rate at all of their mines (De Beers Group 2011). This was a positive initiative, but it should be kept in mind that these corporations were not chiefly motivated by ethical concerns, but by the concerns of their shareholders and investors in regards to profits.

Alternatively, as Porter and Kramer (2006, 2011) state, CSR approaches and programs could be based on the mutual dependency and common shared interest of companies, communities and the state. Ultimately, for a corporation to be successful it needs a healthy society and a healthy society needs successful corporations, hence the need to identify common shared value threads.

In order to understand mining cultures at all levels—those of corporation, mine site and community—a flexible and eclectic methodological approach is required. To this end, I accepted the challenge issued by Laura Nader over four decades ago, and more recently in Coumans’ injunction to study up the mining corporate elites whose decisions affect
communities’ livelihoods, health, and social and environmental rights. My strong family connection to mining helped me accomplish this goal and also helped me develop constructive and long-lasting relationships with people at all levels of the mining industry, from boardroom to mine site to individual household. In the following chapter, I describe my methodological approach in greater detail. I also outline the specific methods I used to document the CSR and CR programs in place at the Hemlo mine, and the diverse mining cultures that exist in the town of Marathon, the mine site, the management floor, and a glimpse into the corporate office of Barrick Gold, in Toronto Ontario.
Chapter Four: Methodology

My methodology is grounded in the study-up approach of Laura Nader, one of the pioneers in ‘calling-up’ anthropologists to study the powerful, the bureaucracies and elites that wield such influence and power. I rely heavily on Edwin Ardener’s muted theory for the same reason. In my field of study, very little research has been focused on the power elites in mining, unless as part of a well-choreographed public relations ‘show’. I began to see mutedness through the lens of muted discourse theory, which helps to explain the difficulty outsiders and subordinates experience in being accepted into an institutional dialogue in which rules have been constructed and coded in private, primarily by elite white, predominantly male actors (Baer 1998). As a result, points of view that diverge from the elite rules are muted in the boardroom, and throughout the mine site and mining communities. Thus, my methodological and theoretical engagement involves connecting the ‘muted’ voices of mining elites at the boardroom level and ‘muted’ voices on the ground level in mine sites and enclaves. I marry this latter theory with the study-up theory of Laura Nader (1972), Hugh Gusterson (2006), and J. McC. Heyman (2004) through the application of a form of participant-observation described by Barbara Czarniawska (2012, 2014) as ‘shadowing’. Also, as these authors emphasize, the study of elites and the power structures they dominate requires that we study ‘across’ and ‘down’. My approach thus accommodates all hierarchical levels involved in creating and implementing mining CSR policies.

In addition to my use of shadowing and other forms of participant-observation over a fieldwork period of eighteen months, I interviewed mine workers, miners and other members of mining households, general foremen, and mid-level and senior corporate personnel employed at Barrick’s Hemlo mine site. I also examined corporate and government documents relevant to
CSR policy and implementation. However, before explaining my research methods in detail, I first discuss the methodological considerations that led me to adopt the eclectic mix of methods I employed for this study. I begin with a discussion of study-up as both theory and method, focusing mainly on the contributions of Nader, Gusterson, Ortner, Heyman and Pruyadharshini. I then describe my application of muted discourse theory, based on the theory of Ardener, and shadowing, based on the work of Czarniawska. I conclude with a detailed explanation of my research methods, data analysis methods and the ethical issues I encountered in the field.

**Study Up as Theory and Method**

The need to penetrate beyond the facelessness of a bureaucratic society, to get to what runs international corporations and large scale industries that direct everyday aspects of our lives, is imperative. To study such bureaucracies raises very important questions of access and ethics, having to do with professional responsibilities, self-portrayal, and the nature of participant-observation as a research method (Nader 1972:5).

However, the existing literature on studying up tends to focus on methodological challenges and theoretical issues rather than detailed, concrete case studies in which researchers described the outcomes of effective study-up research. I believe that this issue is grounded in the lack of academic support and validity for studying up as a viable anthropological approach to fieldwork. I feel the following quotation explains why the comprehensive, eclectic methodological approach I have adopted in this study is necessary: "if the anthropologist is going to make a contribution to the understanding of the institutions which in a complex way affect the lives of many people, he must take a methodologically eclectic approach...." (Heyman 2003:23).

Laura Nader (1972) draws attention to the work of many anthropologists that cling to participant-observation as the be-all-and-end-all of fieldwork. She addresses the power issues
and 'comfort zone' that inhere in studying the disadvantaged as opposed to the messier field of research on the middle class, the upper class and the bureaucracies. Nader directly asks: With the safety net of their entire fieldwork approach being locked into a power relationship that favors the anthropologist, does this dominant-subordinate relationship, fostered in the field, not directly affect theorizing and what one sees in the field? (1972:5). This famous call to reinvent anthropology (Hymes 1974) stems from the latter discussion, asking: what would happen if anthropologists were to study the colonizers, not the colonized, or the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless, the affluent rather than the less affluent? Would the discipline collapse, or would anthropologists begin to create policies that would see a new focus towards anthropologists conducting research at 'home'.

As anthropologists reinvent themselves to study-up, the natural progression is to study down and sideways at the same time (Nader 1972:8). Studying problem-research questions across class and social structures, or through what Nader calls "a vertical slice" of a given hierarchy, provides a dynamic way to test hypotheses about class relations, rather than simply describing particular behaviors as 'upper or lower class', 'elite or non-elite', or characteristic of 'affluent or less affluent' groups (1972:9). By posing the problems of research in a comparative frame, we have a better chance of understanding the forces that generate excessive wealth or poverty, whether they derive from external factors, the society as a whole, or from cultural transmission within a specific network or sub-culture (1972:9). As Nader explains, "depending on one's view of the processes that generate behavior one would see solutions to social problems either by a policy directed at reforming the society as a whole or one directed at modifying the behavior of the subculture or both" (1972:9). Hence, by incorporating both of the latter views,
generated by employing the study-up, down and sideways approaches, a solution is found that is multilayered and multifaceted (1972:9).

Nader's view of studying up as a parallel study is backed up by the need to educate not only research managers or elites, but also those being managed or those affected by the actions and policies of elites (1972:11). Citizens, workers or those being managed need to know things about the major institutions, government bodies, and organizations that affect their daily lives (1972:11). Nader believes that anthropologists are well suited to applying their wealth of knowledge and experience to the analysis of major problems, such as how to 'plug in' citizens to the process-policies that affect them, and to assume their role as active citizens. However, what is required first is a description of the bureaucracies, organizations, corporations, and their cultures (1972:11).

Through this ethnographic process, information gained through a vertical slice of corporations would provide a deeper and multifaceted insight about the structures and sub-group cultures that work under the umbrella of a corporation (Nader 1972:12-15). Understanding these latter levels of a corporation can help gauge where communication has broken down, and where policies and practices no longer work or do not fit (1972:12).

I believe a very important aspect of Nader's call to study up is her reference to Sutherland's book *White Collar Crime*, which was an example of how not just the poor, but also white-collar individuals, commit crime. So, for scientists and researchers who are interested in understanding the determinants behind why one commits a crime, there is the need to study up, not just down, if the goal is to avoid over-simplistic theories of criminal behavior and arrive at a well-rounded understanding of why crimes are differentially prosecuted and stigmatized according to class (Nader 1972:15-16). The conventional anthropological attitude is that study-
up research is "journalistic" or and results in mere "political diatribe" (1972:17-18). However, study-up is not journalistic; it is a relevant, viable and, in today’s world, imperative approach, given that the modern world is full of bureaucracies and corporate influences on every aspect of individuals’ lives (1972:17-18).

Nader addresses the many obstacles that anthropologists have to deal with even before fieldwork begins: issues of access, attitudes, ethics and methodology (1972:17). The most common obstacle that one encounters when studying up is access, for the powerful are out of reach on numerous planes, and do not want to be studied or made to look bad. They are busy, very mobile and at times dangerous to the researcher or the ones being directly managed or affected by the practices and policies of the elites that run corporations (1972:18-9). But such problems of access are not completely alien to anthropologists, who encounter these problems almost everywhere they go, in one form or another. According to Nader, the more fundamental reason anthropologists fail to study-up is that, in general, they prefer to study what they value and like, and generally that is the perceived ‘underdog’ (1972:19).

With regard to ethics, there is a double-standard issue that plays out when deciding whether or not to engage in study-up research: the issue of whether one believes there is one ethic for studying up and another for studying down (Nader 1972:20-1). The distinction here hinges not just on what the researcher believes, but also on the definition of accessibility, the size and scale of the research area and the elements of researching at home and/or abroad (1972:21). Nader does not call into question the ethical standards of anthropologists; she is not challenging conventional practices such as the need for anonymity of interviewees in all research settings. But she does emphasize the need to develop ethical practices that are suited to the context and scale of the research subject, whether a global corporation or a fishing village in Costa Rica
(1972:20). Another area seen as an obstacle is methodology, since in traditional anthropology, participant-observation is the backbone of research in the field. Participant-observation is what provides researchers with such rich contextual information, but when using study-up, observing and living among one’s subjects is tricky if not downright impossible. Nader sees this commitment to participant-observation as a determining factor in how anthropologists choose their field of study (1972:22). She goes on to explain why study-up and traditional participant-observation can be at odds, for why would one study-up a corporation when access is denied or tightly controlled? If one cannot engage in participant-observation, how can one identify the social or hierarchal structure of an organization? To Nader, this is where anthropologists need to engage with and explore many of the alternative methodologies available to them, such as archival reports (1972:23). Nader draws on anthropologists’ ability to be flexible in many different settings, and asks how this can enable the anthropologist to engage in more eclectic methodologies when researching fields that cannot accommodate traditional participant-observation (1972:23). In defining participation, it becomes clear that no matter what definition is used, the term ‘participant/observer’ does not and cannot be applied to the types of situations that ethnographers engage in when studying up large-scale institutions and corporations (1972:23). Nader does point out the one context in which this would work: if the ethnographer can become or is a part of the group being studied. But this poses another range of ethical as well as methodological issues (1972:23-4).

Nader (1972) ends her drive to engage anthropologists in study up with reference to the work of Marian Eaton' and her "self-analysis" process that Nader believes anthropologist-researchers-ethnographers need to engage in before choosing a field to study. "Self-analysis" refers to a researcher’s awareness of how their role as a social scientist-anthropologist is
perceived and revealed, or not revealed, in encounters with informants and organizations (1972:24). Self-analysis is an important step toward reinventing anthropology so that it focuses more on what is driving today’s world (1972:24).

My understanding of the importance of elites would be less then complete without referencing the work of Hugh Gusterson (1997, 2003). Gusterson explores the progress that has been made since the late 1960s in the study of power and elites, through discussing the failures, advances and methodological and writing concerns that arise when engaging in studying up (1997:1). Gusterson also draws on his own work to show just what sites or fields merit more study-up (1997:1). Much of his research and writing is based on his ethnography of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (Gusterson 2003), and he states that his research site is emblematic of the kinds of sites that more anthropologists should study.

Gusterson confronts the obstacles of doing ethnographic studies on the elite, or power holders’ culture-subculture, through the question that guided his research: "How does an anthropologist study corporations, and in the author's case, institutions such as weapons laboratories?" (1997:115-17). As noted previously, participant-observation does not travel well up the ladder of social structure (Gusterson 1997:115). It is designed for long-term field studies in small, face-to-face societies, where an anthropologist can easily be “absorbed” into the flow of daily life; this technique is not readily portable to the elite context of corporations (1997:116). Gusterson conducted much of his fieldwork via e-mails and telephone conversations, as a way to circumvent the obstacles that present themselves as one moves up the social ladder in a corporation – in the author’s case, the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. The unmooring of anthropologists from the long research stay in a geographically defined field site is in order, he argues, for it is time to study “at home” and at new sites where long-term ethnographies are
possible (1997:116). The study of power elites and complex global systems also requires “multi-sited ethnography” (Marcus 1995) and the lines between social science disciplines are being blurred as an eclectic mix of research tools developed for that purpose (Gusterson 1997:116-7).

Throughout Gusterson’s fieldwork at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, full participant-observation was impossible, even though he did engage in some component of it with scientists and other workers at local churches, social clubs, bars, meetings and so on. But the application of what Gusterson calls “polymorphous engagement” allowed him to trace the evolution of nuclear weapons across the United States. “Polymorphous engagement” preserves the pragmatic participant in observational research that has defined the anthropologist’s role, but switches the focus from a single method of research towards engagement with other methods that are more suited to studying the elite of a corporation-organization (1997:117). Such approaches highlight the need not just for “polymorphous engagement”, but for multi-site ethnographies, because communities are no longer fixed but dispersed and linked across borders and globally interconnected (Gusterson 1997:117). Elites are also dispersed internationally, and anthropologists need to develop new research strategies that push the boundaries of their traditional understanding of field sites and the discipline as a whole.

Gusterson stresses both the importance and the difficulty of writing critical repatriated anthropology, which is linked to the fact that the subjects being written about are powerful, literate and read what is written about them and can take action in response to the words they read (1997:117). This is illustrated by Gusterson's work in the nuclear weapons industry. His first publications about laboratories as ritual societies were not taken as seriously as he had hoped by those he was researching. As a result Gusterson realized that objectifying and exoticizing language is even less likely to be tolerated by the powerful than are traditional
ethnographies by their subjects (1997:117). Gusterson eventually refocused his anthropological style in a manner that allowed for the subjects to speak back, and that is what slowly opened the door for him (1997:117).

I believe it is important to reiterate Laura Nader’s main arguments about the need to study up, to reinvent anthropology, and to study powerful institutions and bureaucratic organizations because of their demonstrable effects on our lives, as well as on the people that anthropologists traditionally study (1972:9). To Nader (1972) this is an appropriate step for anthropologists, reflecting core characteristics of the discipline, such as an eclectic approach to methods; a vision of humanity and its past and present, and the call for a deep understanding of principles of reciprocity and networks of power. Since Nader’s approach involves studying down at the same time as up, the less powerful are also revealed. So even though study up may be difficult to describe in written text, it can be observed and, hence, described (not labeled) by reference to customary or everyday behaviors (Nader 1972:10). To Squire and Briody, the basic concepts that guide anthropologists when conducting fieldwork and ethnographic studies, are concepts that are “transferrable" to other non-traditional field sites or work (1972:1).

Sherry Ortner's (2010) research parallels both Gusterson’s and Nader’s in her description of the obstacles one encounters when studying up the powerful who run Hollywood. Ortner (2010) details how she was able to mitigate these obstacles and come to terms with the limitations of studying up. She begins by reviewing the pioneer work of Hortense Powdermaker, who in 1946-47 was the first anthropologist to study Hollywood elites. Powdermaker’s work has been largely forgotten, but Ortner's article touches on all of the issues that she encountered 60 years ago, for they are still relevant today in anthropology and in fieldwork accessibility. Ortner does not examine why anthropologists have not returned to Powdermaker's work, but instead
focuses on the ongoing accessibility problems that make Hollywood and fieldwork at home so daunting (2010:212). Ortner believes that Hollywood is arguably still the paragon of the culture industry, and its products remain important subjects for anthropologists to study. Hollywood, its elites and their products, can provide important insights into the forces shaping American, and even global, discourses, identities and subjectivities (Ortner 2010:212-14).

Ortner's work is important in identifying distinct aspects of elite culture in Hollywood on the basis of the difficulties she encountered when trying to break the secrecy 'dome' that surrounds not just the studio or corporate headquarters but also the Hollywood production network, which spreads discontinuously across and beyond the city of Los Angeles (2010:213-14). The first aspect she addresses is the role of secrecy in maintaining strong boundaries that exclude outsiders. Hollywood, can be likened to my field of mining corporations since it invests deeply in discourses and practices that both define and construct insideness and outsideness. Ortner, as for most anthropologists, studying up falls into the outsider realm (2010:213).

The second aspect of her work with elites is further divided into two distinct issues of access for anthropologists. The first has to do with what makes an anthropologist able to conduct 'traditional' participant-observation, and the other with obtaining interviews (Ortner 2010:213-14). While in traditional fieldwork these things go hand and hand, in Ortner's case they are distinct, and Ortner addresses them separately. With regard to participant-observation, Ortner responds to the problems of gaining access to the Hollywood elite through an approach she terms 'interface ethnography' (2010:213,219-221). Doing 'traditional' participant-observation in a closed community, organization or corporation is impossible. Ortner discovered that by using 'interface ethnography' she was able to observe from the border areas where Hollywood's closed community members, organizations and institutions interacted with the public (2010:219-21).
Observation and rapport-building were achieved by attending events such as movie screenings, general meetings, and parties given by friends of friends in the closed community of Hollywood (Ortner 2010:222-23).

Interviewing, like participant-observation, is not achievable in closed communities, corporations or organizations, and Ortner discovered that what one engages in when studying up is really 'studying sideways' (2010:213). This means that sometimes the only way to gain access to elites is to study the people who work in constant contact with the elites being studied, such as scientists, Hollywood reporters, filmmakers and journalists. These people are not much different from anthropologists - hence 'studying sideways' (2010:223).

The most important contribution of Ortner's work lies in her description of how she continually battled the obstacles of studying up, and the importance she placed on contextualizing her study within the bigger picture of culture, global discourse and identities. Study-up provides critical insight into dominant institutions, or what Nader later called "controlling process" in powerful nations, such as the United States (Ortner 2010:221). Powerful individuals, organizations and corporations are out of reach for many reasons; they don't want to be placed under the microscope, are not located in one place, and at times can be dangerous to those studying them (2010:221). Ortner, like Nader, Gusterson and Heyman, states that this is why the powerful need to be studied at home and abroad in order to understand the forces at work in them.

The challenges of studying at home become glaringly obvious when discussing the psychological and ethical issues, as pointed out by Gusterson, that are connected to writing critically about those who have consented to be studied (2003:62). Gusterson begins his quest for answers to his question about why anthropologists so rarely study up by analyzing the reasons
why it is easier to study anti-nuclear groups – i.e., studying down. One can argue that studying the ideologies and culture of nuclear elites does nothing more than focus attention on understanding an interest group that already has hegemonic status, and all that researchers and ethnographers achieve is amplification of what Foucault (1980) labeled 'subjugated knowledges' (Gusterson 2003:63-64). Gusterson can see why ethnographers engage in studying down, for it legitimizes their research as it draws attention to the 'subjugated knowledge' of the ‘underdogs’ that are fighting the ‘big bad elites or corporations’ (2003:63-64). There is no dearth of precedents for studying down in the history of ethnography - this 'honorable' role of ‘fraternal’ spokesperson for the marginalized has deep roots in ‘traditional’ anthropology. It began with Henry Louis Morgan and his work with the Iroquois (Gusterson 2003:64).

Studying down in the nuclear industry had two unintended consequences according to Gusterson. The first is that the asymmetric focus on antinuclear groups contradictorily helped perpetuate a dual marginalization of both the antinuclear culture and anthropology (2003:63-5). By doing this anthropologists implicitly place antinuclear activists in a position of powerlessness and otherness by singling them out as 'subjects' of study (Gusterson 2003:64). At the same time, we reinforce the traditional stereotypes of anthropologists as the spokespersons of the periphery of ‘underdogs’ (2003:64). I believe the following quote from Renato Rosaldo, in this article by Gusterson, sums up the unintended consequences of focusing so narrowly on the perceived 'underdog': "…by focusing their inquiring gaze only on certain kinds of cultures, ethnographers make these cultures appear particularly problematic” (2003:65). The second unintended consequence of studying antinuclear groups is that it legitimatizes antinuclear activists as knowing subjects and at the same time as known objects (Gusterson 2003:66).
In any research relationship with elites, one has to remember that they can speak and write for themselves, so there is usually little room for negotiation, and interviews often consist of highly choreographed self-representation (Lotter 2004:2). Lotter (2004) argues that there are two ways to gain access to elite culture other than formal interviews. The first is to disconnect our need as anthropologists to conduct formal interviews or personal observations and to look to other means of access and interaction. Secondly, Lotter argues that from the outset we need to understand the potentiality of self-representation choreography by the elites, and to see such actions as a specific discursive form that can be more valuable than the limiting option of participant-observation (2004:2-3). By using the work of Spivak and a subaltern studies approach, two discursive forms of representation can be distinguished: 1) proxy (vertretung) and 2) portrait (darstellung) (2004:2). Lotter used these terms to distinguish two forms of discourse practiced by the Rana clan that ruled Nepal for one hundred years but lost power as a result of the 1951 revolution. Such elite groups sometimes act as proxies for other groups in the political arena, but they also develop discourses to portray themselves in a favorable light. The importance of understanding the different forms of elites and who they represent and speak for is especially relevant when researching local and tribal governance.

Pruyadharshini (2003) argues that a post-structuralist approach can help us think through matters of power and subjectivity in research. The author’s focus is on educational anthropology; however, she notes that the tendency of social science researchers in general to study down has begun to shift towards a greater interest in studying the notion of power and powerful organizations, corporations and structures (2003:420). Nevertheless, the author’s review of educational anthropology in the United States demonstrates that anthropologists still mainly
conduct ethnographic studies with marginalized populations rather than study privileged educational cultures and higher educational structures (Pruyadharshini 2003:421).

Pruyadharshini (2003) extends her argument by using her own experience of studying up while researching Master's of Business Administration programs in three schools in India (420-21). Pruyadharshini distinguishes the study-up from study within; she notes that through her research, studying up did evolve into studying within, which is the natural progression of the study-up approach when applied to the understanding of powerful organizations and corporations, in this case academic ones (2003:420-21). Pruyadharshini explains why engaging in post-structural thought that directly questions issues of perceived integrity and researcher identity, both within and beyond the field, can help us think through the obstacles or “stuck places” that emerge when studying up (2003:422). Following Foucault, Pruyadharshini emphasizes that study-up is best understood as a means of “excavating power” in all of its operations (2003:420).

As noted previously, publications based on study-up research continue to stress the importance of studying the powerful, but still tend to focus on the obstacles to such studies, and that is where it ends. Pruyadharshini notes, for instance, that the first three universities she approached for her study of MBA programs declined her requests, but that through personal contacts she was able to secure “cautious” permission at three other institutions (2003:422-423). These institutions placed restrictions on where she could go, but the obstacle of access was overcome by redefining what access meant to her and the school. The author then reiterates the often-made point that limits to access can compromise one’s professional self-image or identity, and that it is easier for researchers to study those whom they like and are willing to provide ready access, the underdogs. I feel that a major component is missing in this and many similar
analyses: the elite and non-elite actors are intertwined in a network of miscommunication, disrespect of each other’s culture, situation and community. What is needed is a combined approach that focuses on all levels of the bureaucracies being studied, that is fine-tuned to the politics of internal relations, and that queries the nature of bureaucracy itself. In my concluding discussion of study up, I rely on the work of Heyman (2004) who has focused specifically on this issue.

Heyman (2004) identifies two analytical approaches to bureaucracies, which he compartmentalizes into two rough schools of thought. The first is the “broad brush approach [that] characterizes all bureaucracies and corporations as having similar tendencies, modes of thoughts and actions” (490-91). Max Weber developed a similar theory about bureaucracies, understanding their actions as rational, as a means to an end. The second approach, which Heyman describes as “particularistic”, stresses that qualities differ from organization to organization, and according to circumstances and settings (Heyman 2004:490). This approach begins with unraveling the variations, segments and political contests within an organization or corporation, through how they manage and divide labor. (2004:491).

Heyman (2004) draws particular attention to the relationship of internal connections or alignments to wider social-political contexts and processes. The reasons behind the need to pay particular attention to how internal alignments are made and how they play out is that any particular bureaucracy is not just composed of its internal characteristics but also of the complicated external interactions that are at times outside of the “official control” of the bureaucracy(2004:491). Through organizational analysis, a particularistic approach helps to outline the division of labor, such as distribution of tasks, communication of policies, implementation of practices, and social divisions up and down the corporate ladder that
determine who achieves specific forms of power, communication, duties and status (Heyman 2004:491). It is these divisions regarding pay, status, power, career level etc. that lead to “cleavages” in different groups (2004:492).

Heyman’s analysis of the interface situation when applied to bureaucracies is important to understand. Norma Long in 1992 used a similar approach to draw attention to how researchers should be careful not to categorize whole bureaucracies in neat separated pockets; when looking at a strong organization with well-defined domain(s) of activity, formal rules, policies, activities and styles of action are rarely applied evenly to every single relationship or action-issue that arises on a day-to-day, week-to-week basis (2004:492).

I also find valuable Heyman’s discussion on "thought work" which grew out of his study of how migrants are classified. This work led him to three analytical points about bureaucratic thought (2004:493-96). Firstly, applications of bureaucratic rules and policies by those responsible for their application always involve interpretation which is not omniscient and perhaps not even perceptive, but may be rigid and at times blind in ways that can reveal wider power relations. In other words, the application of rules and policies is not just a random byproduct of bureaucratic mindlessness, but is based on specific interpretative frames. Secondly, bureaucratic rationality is “bounded,” limited and flawed in its information, for it is guided by past trial and error, lessons and entrenched patterns. It is important to understand these boundaries of bureaucratic rationality, for each social setting tells us much about conflict, inequality and power. And, thirdly, the study of bureaucratic thought cannot be isolated as a standalone idea system or even discourse; instead, it has to be observed in performance. Heyman makes points about bureaucratic behavior that I believe fit exceptionally well with my approach

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6Heyman's use of 'thought work' refers to how bureaucratic work involves specific time tasks to think through complex issues and reduce them down to simple binary answers or solutions (493).
to study-up. I discuss this in the following two sections of the chapter, where I describe my reliance on muted discourse theory and my use of shadowing as a research technique. I believe the following quotation sums up the underlying aim of Heyman’s article. "....it is important to explore and discover the moral framework of power actors, even though at times one may not agree with them; it is a necessary step in being an engaged anthropologist”(2004:493).

Muted Discourse Theory

Muted group theory was developed by Edwin Ardener (1975) in his study of the rituals of the Bakweri women in Cameroon in the 1970s (Wall and Gannon-Leary 1999). It was Ardener's attempt both to explain the lack of anthropological study on women and to "encourage" anthropologists and others to pay more attention to the ways in which women and those with less power communicate and employ expressive forms that may not be heard (Wall and Gannon-Leary 1999). In other publications, both Edwin and Shirley Ardener argue that the dominant sphere of expression and communication in any society is formed by the dominant structure within it; hence male voices are typically privileged over the 'individual' mode of expression (Wall and Gannon-Leary 1999). To the Ardener's, the 'individual' mode that was not heard in their studies was directly correlated with gender, and women therefore were the muted group. It is important to stress that muted does not mean completely silenced. It means that the individual(s) or (groups) do have the ability to say what they want to say, when and where they wish to say it. However, they cannot control how what they say is heard or how others choose to make sense of it. Nor does it mean that they will not be over-shadowed and even muted by the dominant structure in one's society (Ardener 1975; Wall and Gannon-Leary 1999).
Cheris Kramarae (1999) has taken muted group theory and applied it to the field of communication and gender studies. Since communication and expression are determined by power and gender relations, and women's voices or voices not considered 'male' are deemed less powerful and more emotionally driven, those voices are placed at a disadvantage. Wall and Gannon-Leary (1999) re-enforce the idea that in order to conduct business or be heard, participants must use the dominant mode of communication. This is not to say that one could not express oneself in one’s own mode of communication, but simply that one’s voice will be muted by the dominant mode. In mining, as I will discuss in more detail in the following chapter, that dominant voice is masculine.

Muted group theory as utilized by the Ardeners, Wall and Gannon-Leary and Kramarae is limited in application to gendered populations that need to be heard in order to make changes in their communities. This approach, though valid, narrows the application of muted group theory and sets limitations on its use. Muted group theory, I believe, encompasses more than just gender differences in communication and expression; it also helps to explain differences in communication within gender groups, including male corporate elites, and this perspective fits especially well in the field of studying up.

Shadowing
The benefits of using a relatively new methodology, shadowing, were first confirmed for me by insights gained during an early morning commute to the mine site in the company of the mine superintendent of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), Community Relations (CR) and Human Resources (HR) at the Barrick Williams Hemlo mine site. The site itself is thirty eight kilometers outside of Marathon, Ontario on Highway 17. The drive to the site became a familiar
trek over the twelve months of my research, as familiar as the glow from the mine site that welcomes all drivers on Highway 17. The glow has become the familiar sign that the mine site is only a few minutes away, and as soon as the mine’s head frames pop into the horizon, the entrance to Barrick’s Williams mine site is upon us. The glow and the head frame growing in the horizon are just two of the realities that greet miners and mine workers on their trek to work. They are also greeted by a line of trucks and cars racing past each other to get to the site first in order to grab a parking spot in the small lot that is to manage hundreds of employees coming and going at different times of the day.

There are many types of observational techniques but they all begin to blur once in the field, and I was seeking one that did not exist separately from the other methodologies that guided my work (Bernard 2006; Czarniawska 2014:43). I had to ensure that all ethical concerns were met, but I also needed to be flexible in the field and able to respond to unforeseen circumstances. I therefore decided to blend traditional ethnographic methods with ones that are more eclectic and fluid. I conducted mainly direct observations, which can be divided into two sub-fields, participant and nonparticipant-observations (Bernard 2006; Czarniawska 2014:44). I am aware that there has been a long debate over what is and is not participant-observation, and in my research I use the definition provided by Barbara Czarniawska (2014). Czarniawska states that participant-observation involves observers doing the same things as the people or peoples (actors) they are observing (2014:44).

Shadowing has a long history, albeit mainly in management and consumer studies, but the term was first coined Harry F. Wolcott in his 1972 ethnography, The Man in the Principal's Office. During Wolcott's research, his subject was a principal that he followed to school meetings, events, conferences and also accompanied to non-school settings in order to reach a

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7 A head frame refers to the structural frame that sits above the underground mine shaft.
deeper understanding not just of what he did, but of how he interacted, behaved and saw the events of his day (1972). This method of research led to his nickname "the shadow", taken from late 1940s-1950s radio character of that name (Wolcott 1972). Wolcott wanted the actors in his study, in this case Ed the principal, to be able to reflect on his actions through the eyes of an outside observer. Even though Wolcott was seen by others as the principal’s shadow, the ethical considerations of this method were thoroughly explored by both parties involved (Wolcott 1972). The term ‘shadowing’ suggests an unethical level of intrusion into an individual’s life, but as Wolcott demonstrated in his research, it was possible to achieve high ethical standards as long as both parties had control of their work, and Wolcott's research never took priority over school or personal issues (Wolcott 1972). Ed and Wolcott laid out ways of conducting this research in an active field site, such that Ed always introduced Wolcott at meetings, even one between a second-grade student and a superintendent (Wolcott 1972). Wolcott ensured that all the actors he encountered during his research were kept in the forefront of his mind to ensure encounters were rendered in a way that all involved would consider accurate (Wolcott 1972).

Very few anthropologists followed Wolcott’s lead, but the current work of Barbara Czarniawska has brought shadowing back to the field. She argues that, while there are many different observational techniques, in the field they blur together. Shadowing allows for a smooth transition from field to desk, for "most of the knowledge which people have about social relations is derived from uncontrolled observation, whether participant or nonparticipant" (Czarniawska 2014:44-5). Shadowing is a form of nonparticipant-observation that focuses on the everyday life, the mobility of individuals through their working day. Czarniawska believes that shadowing allows for this needed mobility in the field. This allows for a fluid observation that is not broken down into hours of interviews or moments of time. Thus a dialogical relationship is
created that allows for the outsider (the researcher) and the actor (insider) to engage in a dialogue about the differences they perceive in the same situation under observation (Czarniawska 2014:45). Shadowing is not the answer to all observational research; it is, though, a way to research aspects of contemporary society that enables a deeper analysis and a dialogical relationship (Czarniawska 2014:45). My shadowing in the field became a form of ‘dance’ that generated reflexive experience for all involved. This process deepened my understanding, granting me access to an everyday rhythm that I would otherwise have missed.

**Methods**

Since my intention is to study the global characteristics of mining enclaves such as Marathon, as well as the specific relationships of this community to Barrick and their only Canadian-owned and -operated mine site, I employed a multi-sited case study approach in order to access all of Barrick’s management levels. Merging study-up techniques with muted discourse theory and shadowing facilitated a multi-sited approach, and also allowed me to achieve a more polymorphic and multi-disciplinary perspective. I utilized a blend of traditional ethnographic methods - semi-structured interviews and participant-observation - with the shadowing technique described above. I also analyzed the discursive characteristics of both the ‘texts’ gathered by these methods and the policy documents gleaned from corporate offices and websites. Discourse analysis was directed specifically towards the ways in which CSR policies are constructed and deployed, and towards the relationship of mining culture, in both corporate and community settings, with CSR policy.
Observations and Shadowing

I conducted the main portion of my fieldwork in traditional anthropological participant-observation mode in the participants’ home and work settings in order to provide context for my more focused studies of individual employee experiences (Brewer 2000; Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007). Context was important not just for mining employees, but for all the mine community members. In the case of mining executives at Barrick Corporate Office, context provided insights into how they saw themselves within the mining community and mine site. In situations where participation was not possible, such as at the mine site, I arranged to shadow two senior management employees. In other situations, such as my living arrangements in Marathon and daily interactions with residents, I was able to participate in as well as observe household and community activities. All of my observations were written down in a notebook that was with me at all times; throughout the day I coded written observations that I wanted to triangulate with my interviews and shadowing.

Participant-observations enabled me to constantly cross-check and interrogate the data that came from my interviewing and shadowing to overcome potential bias in my findings (Brewer 2000). Participant-observation and shadowing at Hemlo facilitated my access to and acceptance by the mining community, which was of utmost importance to my research; in order for me to obtain the large number of participants that I interviewed, rapport and trust had to be built and maintained. I began my fieldwork in August 2012, with my first set of onsite interviews in September, and I began shadowing at Hemlo in January 2013. I made my last visit to Marathon in January 2014. I traveled every 6-8 weeks to Marathon from Kelowna, and I stayed
for two to three weeks on each visit, with my January 2013 stint being a month long and my summer visit in July 2013 being over a month and a half.

I shadowed two superintendents of CSR polices and Community Relations (CR), the first of whom (S1) held this position when I began my research in 2012 but who was promoted to another position in 2013 and replaced by S2. S1 was my first key interviewee and he acted as a gatekeeper to the Hemlo mine site and also to Barrick's corporate office in Toronto. S2 turned out to be a particularly important key interviewee because of her generosity to me during and after my time in the field, but also because her perspective and knowledge were those of a woman, a single mom and an Annishinabe Ojibway of the Pic River Nation. Over a period of twelve months, I spent approximately four to five weeks accompanying S1 and four weeks accompanying S2 during their working hours. I also visited the closing David Bell mine site, which is part of the Barrick Hemlo Mine operation, with both mines being run out of the Williams mine site office. All my observational and shadowing data was constantly being juxtaposed and coded, during my time in the field, with my interview data. I would take time at the end of the working week to compare my interview data and the observational data so that I would maintain validity in my findings (Fife 2005:72). To maximize observational study opportunities, I spent full working days at the Hemlo mine site whenever I was shadowing either S1 or S2, which made it easier for me to take the time to walk the halls of the administration floor and observe lunchtimes, meetings, shift changes, community events, and other daily activities. My time spent wandering the hall alone was filled with 'aha' moments, for I was able to reflect on data I had collected during the day and see how I was received when I was not with S1 or S2, or when I was conducting interviews. Conducting my observations and shadowing at

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8 I will refer to these individuals as S1 and S2 throughout the dissertation in order to maintain their anonymity.
the mine site allowed me the greatest opportunity to engage with a large number of mining management employees and both male and female mine workers and miners.

A prime focus of my observational study was my interactions with mining company employees, mostly male, and their interactions with women, mine workers, miners and community members in Marathon. S1 was very involved in Marathon and with the Marathon town council. He was also the visible representative of Hemlo, and I might say Barrick, in the mining communities. During my shadowing of S1, we visited schools in Marathon, town council meetings, and promotional photo opportunities for donations given by Hemlo. I was also along for several monthly CSR and community-based meetings at the Indigenous communities of Pic River and Pic Mobert. On my own, I visited Pic River and Manitouwadge several times to interview participants.

The participant-observation part of my study occurred mostly in the main mining community for Hemlo mine site, Marathon. When in Marathon I resided on one of the main 'miner' roads, Nicolet Drive, in one of the housing developments that was built by David Bell Mining Corporation to house their workers when the whole of the Hemlo mine site was under construction in the mid-1980s. This street today is no longer connected to Hemlo, but many of the residents, such as the Mine Manager, and many miners and mine workers still live on it. During this phase of observation, I had my three-year-old daughter Kayja with me (Figure 3). This increased my social acceptance, and allowed me to gain access to areas of Marathon I may not have if I did not have a child in the field with me (Cassell 1987). I was able to spend time at playgrounds, for instance, where I might discuss child-rearing issues with other mothers. S2’s daughter and Kayja also got along famously and that allowed for a deeper relationship with S2 (Cassell 1987).
This is not to say that I was unaware that bringing my three-year-old into the field could create some logistical issues and even, at times, ethical concerns. But it is important to remember that I lived with my in-laws during my time in Marathon, and took on the role of caregiver when I was not researching and interviewing. I would say that being a parent during fieldwork had more of an effect on me than any other aspect of my personal life. I was constantly aware of the dilemma many people in Marathon face when living in a one-resource town and raising a family. The boom-bust life style of a mining family weighed heavily on me, for as a parent you want to provide for your family, and given the trajectory of mining in recent years, this can be tenuous. Many Marathon community members still remember how tough times became when the one mill
closed, and how many families lost everything and had to move; house prices crashed and there was a noticeable increase in social issues such as drinking, depression, and domestic abuse (interview 23).

Both of my in-laws, Mr. Victor Kowalke and Mrs. Lorraine Kowalke, are retired mine workers and have lived in the community for thirty-plus years. They acted as gatekeepers at times, but also gave me access to community events, and fostered my daily contact with community members who became not just participants in my research but also friends to me and my daughter (Figure 4). I ran everyday with my daughter in her stroller, which allowed me to observe daily happenings in Marathon, and also enabled me to quietly and naturally become part of the community. This became one of the most fruitful parts of my observational experience in the community.

Figure 4: The Kowalkes and Kayja.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
The characteristics of the social interactions that occurred during my observational and shadowing experiences were of vital importance for my research. Miners and mine workers live within webs of families whose emotional bonds extend throughout their communities, and it would be very difficult to understand northern mining culture merely through focus groups and interviews. Observations allowed me to see the aspects of daily life that the individuals may have considered banal, but to me, the observer, revealed inter-subjective meanings and patterns that would not have been easily discerned in interviews.

*Interviews*

I conducted a total of 106 interviews over the two-year period of my field research. Many were conducted during my periods of shadowing; however, most took place during my participant-observation periods in Marathon. I also reviewed an extensive body of past and present press releases, reports, museum exhibits, archival materials and government documents during these periods. I conducted mainly individual semi-structured interviews, but also one group interview with my in-laws and their family members (Fife 2005; Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007). All my interview subjects were selected through a snowball sampling technique, and in such a close-knit mining community I found that word-of-mouth contributed significantly to boosting the number of interviewees. Since I was in Marathon for such a long time, I got to know people through my daily activities with my daughter and through events that I went to with my in-laws. However, I performed due diligence to ensure that I interviewed at all levels within the mine site corporate hierarchy and diverse categories of mine workers and mining enclave populations (e.g. by age, gender, ethnicity, length of employment). Each interview was driven in large part by the participant, since I wanted participants to feel free to talk about their experiences with mining
communities, mining enclaves, mine sites, mining CSR policies, mine workers, gender relations and any other elements that they felt were important. With the permission of participants, I audio-recorded all interviews and took notes so that I could code each interview in the field and begin to develop links to what I was also recording during my participant-observations and shadowing. I took notes during the interviewing process in order to help me recall the interview experience and to 'pin print' minutiae that I could use to stimulate connections when I went back and began transcribing (Wengraf 2001:209-11).

Since I had such a large number of recordings, I transcribed selectively, based on my memories and the notes I took during the interviewing process. I transcribed as wide a cross-section of interviews as possible, either completely or partially, making certain that each category of participants was proportionately represented: miners, mine workers, community members, management and mining managers, and both men and women. I only partially transcribed interviews that were extremely lengthy, selecting the richest material on the basis of my review of notes and the audio recordings themselves.

During the transcription process, I utilized both line-by-line and selective detailed coding. I re-read all the notes that I took during interviews and then triangulated with my notes from shadowing, identifying all discussions of CSR, how it was understood by each participant, how my shadowing participants navigated the contradictions between corporate Barrick's muted discourse, and how they saw CR and CSR actually working in their communities and at the mine site. I also paid close attention to how gender attitudes and mining culture influenced responses to social issues connected to mining, such as the role of women in mining and, again, perceptions of CSR and CR policies and programs.
**Ethical Issues**

My research project is grounded in the “ethical code and guidelines” of the Behavioral Research Ethics Board (BREB) of UBC Okanagan. All the participants in my research project participated entirely voluntarily, and each individual who agreed to take part in my research had the right at any time to withdraw from participation for any reason.

Since I invited mine employees to share opinions about their employer during interviews, I provided assurances regarding the confidentiality of all information collected. This was made clear at the outset to all who agree to participate, and they were given every opportunity to inform me of any concerns they may have had. As it transpired, I never encountered individuals who felt uncomfortable during the interview process; instead I found they welcomed the opportunity to express in their own words how they felt about being a miner, mine worker, and Northerner. Most participants just wanted me to know about them and their life story. I felt honored by their trust and openness, and took care to ensure that if participants did not want their names divulged, these (along with other personal identifiers) would not appear in my notes and transcriptions, or the titles of audio recordings.

Living and researching in my partner's home town where his family members still reside, work, and are linked to Hemlo, I had to come to terms with how I felt about mining and my deep connection to it. The loyalty Marathoners feel for Hemlo was visible, and even though they are fully aware of the curse that comes with being a mining town, the majority supported the mine, with a few having issues that they openly discussed with me. When I say “mining,” I mean Hemlo, for mining is Hemlo to Marathoners, creating a high level of loyalty to the corporation. This was a challenge at times, for I was not just a researcher from the West coast, but also a family member of one of the first miners at the Hemlo Site. I found myself spending time at the
beginning of my interviews talking about my partner, his family, and where I stood on the issue of mining. My stance has always been a source of tension, for I am neither anti-mining nor pro-mining; but I am sympathetic to the cultural values of the workers, families, store owners and other residents of Marathon who depend on a mining company for their livings, and I believe their points of view should be fully understood and communicated to those in power. However, in the course of interviewing over a hundred participants, I too began to see how Barrick could be seen as a stellar corporate citizen in Marathon, a perception that stood in direct opposition to my personal and professional knowledge of their exploitative and unethical practices overseas (MiningWatch Canada; Coumans 2011). I thus came to realize that a mining corporation may indeed have elements of both good and bad, and in Chapter Six I explore that contradiction in greater detail. Despite the fact that social issues and tensions existed with regard to some of Barrick's employment and/or corporate policies, most participants did not object to me using their real names. I struggled with this issue, and eventually decided not to use names, for I felt anonymity did not add to or detract from the data that I gathered through interviewing or shadowing. However, I do use the real names of my in-laws, in order to honor their commitment and dedication to my family and my research. That said, unless the participant was a senior executive from Barrick's Corporate Office, which would make anonymity impossible, I avoided names, instead assigning an interviewee number to each participant, or in the case of shadowing, using an abbreviation based on their employee job title, such as S1 and S2 for the two CSR superintendents. I do feel it is important to emphasize that the willingness of most participants to allow their real names to be used attests to the culture of Marathon and the pride felt in being from the North and working for Barrick Hemlo operation.
In the following chapter, I describe my research findings in the form of a personal as well as ethnographic narrative of my time in the field. I begin with an account of my own position in the field, my motivations for conducting the study, and the personal journey that led me to study Marathon, Ontario. I then provide a brief review, from previous chapters, of some of fundamental characteristics of Marathon and the Hemlo mine site. This is followed by some background discussion of Barrick and its illustrious founder, Peter Munk. The remaining sections of Chapter Five are eclectic in form, as I interweave my interviews, Barrick's documents, my participant-observational notes, my time shadowing, and my analysis into an ethnographic account of the relationship of mining town to mining company, and the role of corporate social responsibility policies in shaping that relationship.
Chapter Five: It Is What It Is - Ethnography of a Mining Community

A dominant theme has guided the writing of this chapter, a theme that is nicely captured by the expression 'it is what it is'. I was first introduced to this expression during my shadowing of S2, but it is ubiquitous in Marathon mining culture and in the discourse around CSR. That said, this expression came to hold two distinct, yet parallel, meanings for me during my time in the field. On the one hand, it means that some things are out of the personal control of the speaker, so why get upset? You work with what you can control. On the other hand, underlying this benign definition is a powerful form of muting, for when one takes the expression literally, 'it is what it is', you move on, accepting that nothing is going to change. The latter, more negative meaning, I find, has become entrenched in mining culture at all levels and underlies, from my perspective, the consistent failure of CSR policies.

Me, Myself and I on the Journey of Ethnography

This research journey has been one of discovery, of learning to go with the flow and of coming to terms with 'it is what it is'. My journey to Marathon started in Botswana, where I conducted Master's research on mining and CSR in the Global South, and where I hoped to return for my PhD. However, it became apparent, rather quickly, during a preliminary field trip to Botswana, that I would not get the access I needed. I therefore adjusted my focus in keeping with what study up approaches have taught me - to look for another way in, be eclectic, flexible, and seek out another approach that would provide access to a mining corporation! So, before I even landed back in Canada I reached out to my in-laws in northern Ontario to secure my access to Barrick and the community of Marathon. My new work was in the making. The access I quickly obtained to Barrick and their only Canadian-owned and -operated mine, Hemlo, was greater than
I could have imagined, but it did not come without causing some apprehension. Northern Ontario towns, especially Marathon, are resource towns and Hemlo has been in operation for over two decades, exceptionally long for a mine. Many workers at this mine site have been here for almost as long. These workers therefore have experienced much greater job security than most mine employees, and the deep commitment and connection of employees and community members to Hemlo made me nervous about how my research would be seen and whether it would be accepted. But all of these apprehensions dissolved once I was introduced to the community by my in-laws. S1 was also instrumental in making me feel part of the Hemlo community and helping me meet many members of the Pic River community. Mining was not just a job, I soon learned; it was a way of life in the North, and the two were closely intertwined.

I did my research with my three-year old daughter Kayja on my hip, and we stayed with my in-laws, the Kowalkes, during the whole time I was in Marathon. My decision to stay with my in-laws and near my sister-in-law and her family was an easy one, since I had visited Marathon many times with my husband and three children, and knew that staying with family would allow me to feel at home, part of a bigger network of miners in Marathon. As a mother in the field, I needed a daycare provider, and Papa and Nana Kowalke were more than willing to fill that role. That became the most important thing for me, for when I was shadowing at Hemlo I was up and out before Kayja was awake, and to know that she was safe and loved made it all the easier to focus on my research. My in-laws became my guides and they opened their home, their lives, their minds and their friendship network to me wholeheartedly.

The Kowalkes also provided daycare for my twins when they accompanied me. I was apprehensive at times, for my in-laws all worked or are still working in the mining field, and I was always aware of the tension between my research and my physical presence in the family.
home. This tension haunted me whenever S2 and others stated, as issues arose, that 'it is what it is', for this saying came to signify what all of us need to confront when looking at mining and CSR. I encountered this framing throughout my time at Hemlo and Marathon; acceptance of 'it is what it is' pays the bills for those who live in the North and have to cope with the limited job market. ‘It is what it is’ signifies acceptance of the boom-and-bust model that dominates mining communities and generates the muted discourse of mining corporation employees when they discuss CSR and CR policies.

Shadowing onsite during the early mornings was a great way to feel like I was a part of the mining culture. S1, the Superintendent of Human Resources and CSR/CR at Hemlo when I began my study, was my first commuting partner. The drives to and from the site were, in the beginning, stilted and measured for both of us. But, as time went on, we became more comfortable with each other, and he began to seek an understanding of why I was doing what I was doing. At times, he would try to push me into taking a side on many of the issues that mining corporations deal with, such as how donations are made to local communities, attitudes towards artisanal mining, and more pointed issues such as Indigenous rights and Barrick's role in CSR globally. When the new Superintendent of Human Resources and CSR/CR(S2) took over, my commute was very different, since we had met and spent time together prior to her taking over from S1. My early-morning commute with S2 felt like we had known each other for decades, and we fell into a comfortable rhythm. S2 never asked me to explain my views or take sides on issues; our time together was focused more on how she saw her role as Superintendent, and how she saw my role as her shadow and friend. S2 wanted me to see it all, but I have to say she also lived the phrase 'it is what it is'.
Barrick only purchased this mine site in 2009, so this attitude did not arrive with them but was already engrained in the community. Even though Hemlo’s population is a patchwork of people from many different places, backgrounds, and life experiences, they all seemed to have a bit of the ‘it is what it is’ in them. This attitude can be seen in how women accept the culture of maleness that dominates their community; it can be seen in how policies from above are accepted by workers with an attitude that all is good; it can be seen in how outdoor life is revered in northern Ontario despite the environmental damage caused by mining – the damage is accepted as just a part of life.

Arrival

The journey from Kelowna, BC to northern Ontario begins with a three-airplane journey to Thunder Bay, followed by a four-and-a-half-hour drive to Marathon. Kayja came with me on my first research trip, but my heart ached for my two older children who I left at home with their father. Despite all the hours of researching, reading, and learning, my steel-eyed confidence abandoned me. Instead, I was in a cold sweat sitting in my in-laws’ jeep ready to undertake the twenty-five-minute drive to Hemlo. Is this culture shock, I wondered, or am I experiencing the famous imposter phenomenon that several of my fellow PhD colleagues have talked about? No, I began to realize I was experiencing the tension between emic and etic views, atopic that I cover in the introductory anthropology classes I teach. It has come to life; I will be working within a close-knit community where I am both an outsider and insider. I can see how my position as one who can see all sides of an issue may be a struggle when trying to ensure voices do not get muted: not just my own voice on the topic of mining, but the voices of those who want to be heard or at times just share their knowledge of life in a mining town in northern Ontario. As I
enter the field and begin interviewing, shadowing, participant-observation and living my life, day in and day out, in Marathon, these two views will become even more juxtaposed.

Early morning drives on Highway 17 became a ritual and the soon all-too-familiar glow of the headframe\(^9\) lights of Helmo mine became my sign to begin my daily round of research activities (Figure 5). I began my research in August 2012, focusing initially on interviewing and participant-observation; however, by spring of 2013, I had also completed three separate shadowing experiences with two very different CSR superintendents.

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\(^9\) Headframe is the structural frame above an underground mine shaft.
At the time I began research, S1 was more than willing to set me up in an office on the third floor of the Williams mine site office (Figure 6), which is where the mine site management and operations are run from.

![Figure 6: Barrick S1 and S2 office. Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.](image)

Even though these interviews were conducted onsite, they gave me the chance to build rapport and conduct further interviews outside the mine. This time also allowed me to get to know both S1 and S2 and also build a relationship with the General Manager of the mine site, SM\textsuperscript{10}. Over the weeks I interviewed onsite, I interacted with all levels of management and spent time explaining my research and its importance to understanding how Barrick's CSR policies filter down from corporate office and directly impact the lives of employees, family members and mining enclave residents. This allowed me to enter the world of Barrick's Hemlo mine site by

\textsuperscript{10} SM is the acronym for Site General Manager
shadowing first S1 and then S2 over a period of six months. What shadowing enabled was a clearer understanding of how much of an impact mining development and mine site activities have, not just on the health of miners, but also on their well-being and that of their families and communities.

However, before providing a full account of the insights I gained through shadowing and participant-observation, I will first review some of the historical information presented in chapter two, information essential to my interpretation of events and re-contextualized in this chapter in relation to the issues that arose during the fieldwork period. This history will also help clarify which communities in the Hemlo region qualify as ‘communities of interest’ in relation to Barrick’s CSR policies, and will provide details about the physical layout of the mine site necessary for an understanding of the risks and working conditions that shape the attitudes of mine workers.

**A Quick Glimpse Back in Time**

This is not just a narrative about mining in the Global North, or a tale about Barrick and all its flaws, both locally and globally. It is also a narrative about the lives of the miners, mining employees, spouses, ex-mill workers, store owners and other residents of the mining enclave and community of Marathon. It is about the gritty day-to-day reality of their lives, a reality we often neglect when talking about the pros and cons of mining in Canada. The culture of Marathon today, as noted in chapter two, is rooted in the fact that it is a town built on paper and surviving on gold.

It is a town with a long history of natural resource dependency. Its history as a resource camp dates as far back as the 1880s. Marathon was well established as a significant early link in
the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. At this time, Marathon was known as Peninsula Harbor, and it was the base of operations for a very difficult and costly phase of the CPR construction. In 1883, the Peninsula was noted as a bustling, lusty town, which resembled a ‘typical’ resource male camp/enclave, consisting of shacks, tents and hovel-like houses. During this period, an estimated 12,000 men worked out of this camp while construction of the CPR took place. It was known up and down the line as the place to get whisky. As noted previously, the little island just a few hundred meters from the shore took form as the floating rock fortress of release and lusty encounters, and the island today is still known as Skin Island. With the completion of the railway, the once-bustling Peninsula Harbor became just one more section on the railway line, with a small station, section house and a couple of leftover outbuildings (Boultbee 1981). But the masculine-dominated culture of the boom period continued in force during the bust period that followed it. The population in 1935 sat at 35, with few children: there was no school, so many children were sent to live with relatives so they could study in a school setting (Boultbee1981:20). The trains’ constant coming and going provided contact with other towns down the line. It was not just a transport line, but also a social link for many individuals from other towns who would visit each other's communities for dances, sports events and other social activities. This aspect of community life on the line continued for several decades until the opening of the north shore highway in the 1950s and then the slow death of the passenger railway. The last local passenger train ran in the late 1980s.

The early culture of Marathon was both masculine and transient. The Marathon Paper Corporation mined the forests in the early 1900s with transient resource workers who, as soon as the work dried up, would move on to the next work location. During this lumber boom, the peninsula was once again filled with male lumber workers, but few families or women came to
set up a homestead. It was not until the construction of the mill on the peninsula was completed in October 1946 that a permanent community began to take form - the soon-to-be-named resource town of Marathon.

Mining exploration began well before the railway construction boom, but mining did not become a major industry until the period of the lumber boom. The first report of mining exploration appeared in the 1846 Report of the Geographical Survey of Canada, which stated that a nepheline-bearing rock had been found in the Port Coldwell-Heron Bay area in North Ontario (Boultbee 1981:26). In 1872 a mining syndicate was formed, and it found gold near Heron Bay, but it did not continue any further due to a quarrel among the syndicate members. It was a few years later, in the 1920s, before interest in the area arose again. During this period, lumber prospectors also began to stake mining claims in more accessible areas in the Peninsula and Heron Bay areas, such as Playter Harbour (gold) and Peninsula Harbour (syenite-commercial granite) (Boultbee 1981:27-8). In 1931-1932 a geographical survey was undertaken by the Ontario Department of Mining that led, in 1953, to the large and profitable Geco Mine in Manitouwadge (Boultbee 1981:27-8). A few years later, the Wilroy mine began operations in the same area. Thus, by the 1950s, mining and lumber booms were both underway in this region of northern Ontario. There have been significant upturns and downturns in the regional economy since that time, as old mines closed and new ones opened, but the mill continued in operation in Marathon until 2009, and since its closure the town has been sustained by gold.

Marathon residents and many mine employees see the Hemlo mine site as having an identity of its own, separate from Barrick Gold. This is because Barrick only became the sole owner and operator of the mine in 2009. Given the fact that Hemlo was formerly the site of three separate gold mines, it is worth reviewing this history in greater detail.
In 1980, two prospectors, John Larche and Don McKinnon, along with geologist David Bell, staked promising ground at the Hemlo site (Coulson 2012:215). During the construction of the three mines, Marathon and the camp at the Hemlo site depended on a large transient worker population. This large influx of male workers spurred an increase in bars and even a 'stripper' bar in Heron Bay. As one of my interviewees stated, "during construction time of the mine at the Hemlo site, people in Marathon, community members, locked their doors … and it was not wise for women to walk around at night” (interview 18, 19).

The ore body is relatively narrow with a strike distance\(^{11}\) of around two kilometres and a depth of about 1500 meters (Coulson 2012:215). Initially, the Hemlo site consisted of three mine sites: 1) Page Williams (today Williams), which was originally owned by Lac Minerals but eventually awarded to Teck-Corona after a long legal battle; 2) Noranda's Golden Giant, which closed in 2006; and 3) David Bell, which was also originally owned by Teck-Corona and was closed in 2014. Up until the early 2000s, Homestake and Teck each owned fifty-percent shares in the Williams and David Bell mines, and in 2001 Barrick bought out Homestake's share. By 2009, Barrick had bought the remaining fifty percent from Teck, making Williams and David Bell mines their only fully-owned and -operated Canadian mines. Since my research began before the David Bell mine closed in 2014, both mines figured in my research, but I focus mainly on the still-operating Williams mine. In the remainder of the dissertation, I will use the term ‘Hemlo mine’ to refer to Barrick’s entire operation, and ‘Williams’ or ‘David Bell’ to refer to the individual mines.

The David Bell mine was an entirely underground operation, smaller than Williams with a production shaft depth of 1,160 meters. The Williams site has both an open-pit mine, which is

\(^{11}\)Strike distance refers to the length of the underground ore body.
about 200 meters deep, 900 meters long, and 600 meters wide, and an underground mine that has a production shaft depth of 1300 meters. The Williams mine originally was not expected to endure beyond the early 2000s, but Barrick now expects several more years of production. However, like all mines, its survival depends on the price of gold, and whether the longstanding hope of striking a mother lode finally comes to fruition. In recent years, the price of gold has fluctuated and has hit some lows, but currently gold sits at about $1257.08 CA per ounce (Barrick Gold Corporation 2017; Gold Price Organization 2017).

The now closed David Bell mine is just a few hundred meters down the road from the Williams mine and had a reputation for mining a higher grade of ore than Williams. This, alongside the fact that David Bell was unionized, caused an underlying tension between the two sites, and I was able to see this tension first hand when I accompanied S1 to meetings at David Bell. It was also evident in the workplace comments of both mine workers and miners at Williams. Those at David Bell were very open in verbalizing their feelings about Williams and their alleged lack of a work ethic, and Williams’ workers had no problem giving it back. While I was touring the shaft at David Bell, a visiting Williams electrician, took a jab at one of the David Bell electricians by telling me just how little work they do at David Bell, drawing my attention to how clean the David Bell electrician's coveralls were. This 'tit-for-tat' was what I would equate to one form of 'miner talk', which I detail later in this chapter.

Communities of Place, not Communities of Interest

Barrick literature about the Williams Hemlo site states that the company “works with a wide range of communities of interest, including two First Nations, three municipalities and a national park” (Barrick Gold Corporation 2011, 2012, 2013). The term ‘stakeholder’ is also prominent in
their CSR discourse, in both online publications and day-to-day management interactions. The terms ‘stakeholder’ and ‘communities of interest’ reveal the hollowness of CSR policies and water down the level of social and financial responsibility that Barrack exercises in relationship to the physical communities that are directly affected by their mining operations. For today, in many of the areas in which Barrick operates internationally, the classification of who qualifies as a stakeholder or community of interest has become a battleground. The communities near the mine operation have a lot at stake, and community members as well as mine employees have more than a passing ‘interest’ in the place where they live and raise their children. The alternative term, “communities of place” (Newenham-Kahindi 2011:255), by contrast, refers to a physical and social ‘place’ and everything that goes on at the mine site and around it. Hence, for mining corporations like Barrick, using the term 'communities of place' implies real and tangible financial and social responsibilities for what happens to the places near mine operations. In his case study of Barrick’s Tanzania mine, Newenham-Kahindi (2011:254-55) proposes the term 'communities of place' as a way of overcoming the exclusions made possible by the concepts of ‘stakeholder’ and ‘community of interest’. For the purposes of this study I define 'community of place' as any community that is directly or indirectly affected, socially, economically or environmentally, by the mining operation. Today 'communities of place' anchors much of the discourse around mining, and shapes how Barrick views these communities as physical places. If they were to view ‘communities of place’ as physical locations with their own specific needs, corporations like Barrick would have to take a more hands-on, long-term, and common shared-values approach to these communities’ specific economic, environmental and social needs.

But despite the fact that Barrick appeared, from an outsider’s perspective, to be taking only minimal responsibility for mining impacts, I never heard more than occasional rumblings of
dissent from a few individuals in Marathon and Pic River concerning the Hemlo Williams operation and the pit extension that was undergoing feasibility studies, or the environmental assessment of a proposal by Stillwater for construction and operation of a new platinum mine. The adage 'it is what it is' echoes here, for the acceptance that mining is at the heart of these communities, and the perception that employment and stability depend on it, have created a level of apathy that makes it difficult to even talk openly about many local issues. One of the things that drew my attention early in my research was the fact that, despite the economic prosperity that has resulted from having an abundance of natural resources and an active mine site in the area, there is a notable lack of community planning and foresight in Marathon. Mining is finite but communities are not, and that fact needs to be at the forefront when planning for a community's sustainability after the mine site closes. Challenges include how to deal with the loss of a large tax base, decrease in population, and a shrunken economy. Again, mining is not sustainable, but the 'communities of place' they leave behind are, or should be. Without the taxation coming from the mine site, coffers are left empty, and the struggle to stay afloat is very real. This is a situation Marathon experienced when the mill closed down in 2009. During my interview with Marathon's Mayor (interview 76), the lack of foresight was notable. His concern was not with the plan for life after Barrick Williams but with preserving the status quo. Marathon has no residences for seniors, and with an aging population this is a concern, but not for the Mayor or town planners or Barrick. The lack of seniors’ residences and/or complexes was noted in the Social Impact report on Hemlo conducted by the Lakehead University Department of Social Work prior to the construction of the Hemlo mines. The first submission was completed on December 19, 1982 and further revisions were submitted by the Hemlo Human Services Sub-Committee, with final release and publication of the social impact study on November 9, 1984.
Yet still this issue has not been addressed. It is even more imperative now that it be addressed in Barrick's CSR/CR program, for the average age of their workers onsite is 51, and only about 25-35% of them will be able to retire at age 65 (interview 68). Barrick has made significant donations to the Wilson Memorial General Hospital, Penn Lake Park, the ice rink and the local ski hill (now defunct), but none of these are going to sustain Marathon or its population once the mine closes.

I also became aware that during my interview, and my time in Marathon, that the Mayor, as well as S1 and SM, appeared to be neglecting other critical social issues such as drug use, economic dependency, and poverty. When discussing social issues, such as the poverty issue in Marathon, where 24% of the population are reported to be living below the poverty line (Marathon and District Community Adjustment Committee 2012), the Mayor claimed this number was inaccurate: "It is not that high. That is not much in the forefront right now for the town, in regard to economic stability" (interview 68). When it comes to poverty in Marathon, the Mayor offered the opinion that the critical issue was housing. As it turned out, the Mayor himself works for the Marathon Private Housing Corporation that owns eighty low-income housing units. All are full, he reported, with long term renters, and a large percentage of the tenants are seniors, making him feel that the seniors’ housing needs and the poverty issue are being dealt with, at least in Marathon. On this basis he believes poverty figures are not really as high as reported by the Marathon and District Community Adjustment Committee in 2012.

However, when I discussed the Everest Hotel with the Mayor, which I believe to be the symbol of Marathon’s social and economic state, he brushed it off as an absentee-landlord issue. The Everest Hotel was the first hotel built during the lumber boom in Marathon, and over the years it fell into disrepair and became the last rung of low-income housing, with a total of 32
units. During my time in Marathon, I visited the Everest several times; the first time the hotel was in such horrible disrepair that I came to the conclusion that perhaps more than 24% of the population in Marathon were living below the poverty line. The second time I visited the Everest was just before I left Marathon for the last time. By then, a new owner had purchased the hotel and made some modest repairs, such as a new coat of paint and replacement of burnt-out light bulbs. These surface renovations still did not address the moldy smell that was embedded in the carpet, and the landlord was still from Southern Ontario and clearly not invested in the well-being of the community.
Working Conditions at the Pit and Underground

The Hemlo Williams site, as stated previously, has both an open pit and an underground mine that are both actively mined (Figure 7). The pit is 200m deep, 900m long and 600m wide, and there is one roadway into and out of the pit (Figure 8). The ore in the pit is extracted by drilling, blasting and loading onto haulage dump trucks. The pit is an area of the mine that is open to the environment, as becomes readily apparent when one takes the road down into it (Figure 9). The massive roadway built in a spiraling-terrace method reveals that open-pit mining is just as dangerous as underground mining. Danger comes in different forms, such as landslides, but is just as deadly; in 2013 a serious slide occurred at the Rio Tinto Kennecott's Bingham Canyon open-pit mine. It was amazing that no one was killed, for this was one of the largest non-volcanic slides in history (Frik, 2014).

Figure 7: Aerial of Hemlo Williams Mine Site.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Figure 8: The Hemlo Williams Open Pit.  
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.

Figure 9: The Hemlo Williams Open Pit.  
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Access to the underground is by the 1,300m production shaft. The ore is extracted by longhole stoping\(^\text{12}\) methods, and the voids are stabilized by utilizing paste backfill\(^\text{13}\) (Kowalke, a personal conversation 2013) (Figure 10). One of the important challenges when working and extracting ore underground is to ensure that the atmosphere is wet or damp, not dry. At Hemlo, a system of roof misters is set up to ensure dust particles are reduced in the air that miners breathe. The men that work underground are a special breed, but the exaltation of ‘hitting it hard’ and surviving the underground is seen on their faces as they end their shift and ascend up the shaft.

\[\text{Figure 10: Underground sign for where to stope.}
\text{Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.}\]

\(^{12}\)Long hole stoping utilizes accurately placed drill holes patterns into the ore bodies by an access drift in waste rock. Only the portion of the hole in the ore body is blasted, the resulting broken ore is then extracted using “generally remote controlled LHD” - which load haul dump-scoop tram.

\(^{13}\)Paste backfill is the filling in a mined out void with a toothpaste consistence cements- a sand mixture.
I had the honor of being taken down and given a tour by one of the many shift supervisors that keep the underground running smoothly. I met up with my tour guide D\textsuperscript{14} first thing in the morning during shift change at 6:30am, as the night-shift miners were heading home and the day-shift miners were getting their instructions for the day. I was asked to remove items such as rings, necklaces, and earrings before I was suited up for my tour (Figure 11). I had been to the shaft room before, when I was doing rounds with S1, and this was one of the places where language use was stereotypically masculine.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image11.png}
\caption{Eva-Marie and my Underground tour guides D and D2. Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{14}D is the acronym for the mine underground supervisor who was my tour guide.
But as I entered the area the language softened and the miners behaved in a welcoming though reserved manner. Although I was welcomed, I noticed when pictures were taken of me in the shaft room, the men made fun of those who wanted to have their picture taken with me. Slowly the men began to relax around me, and the softer versions of 'miner talk' resumed. Once settled down, the miners and I in all our safety gear and required equipment entered the cage in the shaft. The cage fits roughly 52 men in their gear. It was not as dark as I thought it would be, but it was packed with miners of all sizes and ages, and I was squeezed into the corner by the front cage gate (Figure 12). The descent was quiet despite our numbers, but this did not seem to be about my presence; it felt like these men were making peace with their journey down into the earth (Figure 13 and 14).

Figure 12: Miners in the Shaft going underground.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Figure 13: Miners underground lights and battery packs on their recharger stands. Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Figure 14: Miners gear and lunch kits.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
The underground is void of natural light and the dank smell of diesel, dirt and heat hit me as soon as I stepped out of the cage into the shaft (Figure 15).

Figure 15: The first look as I came out of the Shaft.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
My eyes gradually adjusted to the low overhead lighting, but the absence of the usual noises of
day-to-day life was overwhelming. The heat became more intense as we continued along a series
of “drifts” (roadways), that take you another 1 km deeper into the earth, which is an area about 2
km across. The Williams mine is crisscrossed by about 100 such drifts, and as I was chauffeured
around by D in a gater-like all-terrain vehicle, the vast emptiness of the underground hit me. We
would go this way and that on drifts, and come across no-one for long periods of time. The air
was misty, and as we came closer to areas of active mining the mist got heavier. Despite the
health risks associated with dry mining, it is practiced for a few reasons: one, the underground
is a vastly isolated place, and many miners work independently or in teams with little or no
supervision. Secondly, Barrick gives their miners a bonus based on tonnage, so faced with a time
 crunch, many miners resort to less than safe mining practices, and even employ dry mining to
save a few minutes. Bonuses are based on tonnage and team effort, so the pressure to meet the
bonus is intense and competitive, and the pressure from fellow team members is high. The
consequences for health and safety are barely considered by some of these miners. However,
when talking with D, he did hold to Barrick's workplace safety line that no dry mining occurs,
and bonuses are great incentives for miners to regulate each other in order to maintain mine
safety. As discussed by Sommerville and Abrahamsson (2005, 2007) the disjuncture between
work safety training and actual work practices derives from the fact that miners and those who
train them have very different attitudes about health and safety. The miners live in a world where
masculinity, even hyper-masculinity, is continually being constructed and re-constructed through
what I call 'miner talk'. The competitive nature of mining as a result of the bonus structure
reinforces risky behavior underground. Miner talk thus functions as a way for miners to shame or

15Dry mining is link to an increase in silicosis disease, which is an occupational lung disease seen in miners who
inhale crystalline silica dust (American Lung Association).
push each other to complete a task, regardless of the possible damage to their health and risk to their lives.

The Implementation of CSR Programs

The study-up approach I applied in my fieldwork required that I shift my frame of reference as I moved from one context to another, from miner to mine manager to corporate boardroom, and into the communities of Marathon and Pic River. A firsthand experience of these multiple frames of reference is necessary to bridge the gap in understanding between those who have power and those who do not. Applying a study-up approach in mining is daunting, not just because it can be challenging to gain access to elites, but because, as Laura Nadar pointed out, it is about establishing connections between groups of people at different hierarchical levels and using those connections to inform change (Nader 1972, 1997; Bowman 2007).

Members of the elite may pretend to be on the same level as anthropologists during the course of an interview, but in actuality, they see anthropologists as inferior and may not disclose the full truth in an interview setting (Lotter 2004). It thus becomes important to interact with elites in non-interview settings and those involving mixed audiences, so that a more inclusive understanding can be achieved (Lotter 2004). This is what I attempted to do during the time I was living in Marathon. I went with my daughter to parades, markets, July 1st and Christmas celebrations, and as many other ‘normal’, day-to-day social settings as I could. Having my daughter with me allowed me to go to mixed events such as playgrounds and libraries, and since I was living with my in-laws I could also attend town council meetings and other events as simply one more member of the community. These activities allowed me to observe mixed audiences on a regular basis, and provided an important point of comparison with the more focused but still complex social interactions occurring at the mine site.
By spending an extensive amount of time onsite, I was able to observe and interact with individuals at every level of the workplace hierarchy and trace networks of connection to corporate policy. My time spent shadowing S1 and S2, both mine superintendents in middle-management positions, was especially valuable. Accompanying them on their daily rounds, or simply hanging out in the office buildings where they spent much of their time, meant that I could study up, down and sideways at the same time. In the paragraphs that follow I describe the ways in which three senior management officials approached their work and interacted with employees and local communities in order to implement CSR and CR policies. I also provide a detailed description of the actual policy documents that are supposed to guide CSR and CR programs. In the closing sections of this chapter, I turn my attention to the miners, mine workers and their families, describing the social practices and cultural values that inform their relationship with corporate mining culture and CSR programs.

*The Mine Site Manager (SM)*

Following the connections among employees in this manner led me to realize that the mine manager was somewhat removed from the community and even the mine site, in the way that elites within corporate hierarchies generally are. The General Manager of the Hemlo mine site, who I refer to in this dissertation as SM, was a company man and an engineer through and through. He was not a man to make knee-jerk or snap judgments, which brought a sense of calm to those he encountered onsite and off. SM thought a lot about what he would say to me and to others; during our encounters and interviews he would take time to ensure he found the right word at all times. He did not spend time at shed parties when off work, nor did he have a shed; instead he lived in the mine manager house, one reminiscent of the colonial era, a house well
suited to his manner both onsite and off. During our many personal contacts, SM always presented in his role of engineer, rather than miner, consistent with his education and status. SM did not appear self-conscious of the role he played or the mannerisms he adopted as part of that role, but as an observer I was able to reflect on his mannerisms, which were consistent: calm, thoughtful, educated, calculated and articulate, kind and a company man. SM remained constant in his demeanor with me and his workers; he was the manager of Barrick's Hemlo mine site, and that was his persona at all times. In our lengthy interview (34) and through our many interactions during my shadowing time onsite and off, SM was always a proud company man whose main concern was to ensure Hemlo was viewed in a positive light at Barrick's regional and corporate office. This meant he had a steel-eyed focus on meeting tonnage, while the community and worker side was left to S1 or S2. It is important to understand that SM is a mining engineer by training, and was drawn to the operational engineering side of mining.

SM was proud of Hemlo and would share with me that Hemlo had a large number of women that worked in both the pit and underground, not just on the management floor. At the now-closed David Bell mine, the main trainer was a female, and at Williams the shaft, the mill and even the pit had female workers. One of the foremen in the pit was a female, and on the management floor at Williams the superintendent of Engineering was a female, so yes, gender diversity was visible, though certainly the dominant presence onsite was still male (interview 34). SM perceived this situation as one of gender balance; women worked in the mine, so that was that, and the fact that the Superintendent of Engineering was a woman proved that gender was not an issue at Hemlo. If I challenged him directly about masculinity in mining, SM would insist that balance was achieved now; only males had worked in the mines in the old days when work was backbreaking, but now that mining had become so mechanized, masculinity was a
thing of the past: "take the physical aspect out of mining, then there is no reason for it” (interview 34). So, balance has been achieved and mining has become highly safety-conscious, and all the factors that make mines safe now, such as smarter mining practices and new technology that was made to work for the people, are in place “behind the scenes” (interview 34). Mines in Canada are run safely, SM insisted, and the issues of masculinity and gender are not something a "Canadian mine experiences, not like South Africa where the culture of mining is hard and very masculine, for Canadians are more rounded and see different views” (interview 34). The lack of insight that SM may have demonstrated when it came to masculinity and certain issues onsite may have more to do with his job title and need to ensure that tonnage targets are met and costs kept down. Also, when S1 was in control, these issues were buffered before reaching him. I also believe that SM’s educational background and his comfort level with being on the third floor and in the engineering department may also have distanced him. This can be seen in the following section.

For SM, attention to safety appeared to be the first priority, for accidents trigger WCB reviews that can close a mine down, which cuts into the profit margin. One example of how SM applied the health-and-safety principle was his huge initiative to change all the office lighting on the management floor of Hemlo Williams in order to ease office workers’ eyes and increase productivity. This cost the company one hundred thousand dollars (interview 34). The focus on safety also carried over to management's monthly governance meeting, and it bled offsite too, as I witnessed neighbors on my street in Marathon wearing ear and eye protection when cutting the lawn, as well as fluorescent safety vests and helmets when driving quads or snowmobiles. The safety-first rules that governed the lives of workers onsite had thus become a part of day-to-day life to some extent. However, they were not always applied onsite when no one was watching,
such as underground. Underground was a place where running a bit close to the line was accepted, for again, tonnage was the basis of bonuses, and teams would push each other to reach their targets.

Even if Hemlo is considered a glowing example of a safety-first mining operation, it does not provide a sufficient basis for Barrick’s larger global claim of good corporate citizenship. At their only wholly-owned and -operated Canadian mine, the company follows Canadian law and the WCB policies created to ensure workplace safety for all workers in Canada. But in places outside of Canada, safety issues are not emphasized to the same degree, as indicated by my interview with mine worker 69, who explained that when miners and mine workers from the United States come here, they are always amazed at the level of safety and health practices at Hemlo. Another interviewee (56), a tradesman, who did some work in Africa, remarked about the lineups outside the gates of the African mine he had worked at, and when we talked about what the lines meant, he responded: “people waiting for work”. I was surprised at his refusal to draw a connection between the lines of waiting workers and the rapid turnover of workers due to injuries. This worker was slowly becoming aware of just how lucky he was to work in Canada, but did not appear to notice the disconnection of corporate safety policy in the two locations.

When S1 was Superintendent of CSR and HR at Hemlo, SM was hands-off, allowing S1 to deal with all employee issues. That is how S1 evolved into the symbol of Barrick and Hemlo in the nearby communities. SM attended three formal meetings a year with those Barrick had designated “communities of interest,” but any other meetings were left to S1 (interview 34). However, this changed when S2 took over, at which point SM became more involved in CSR decisions. This was not an indication of his lack of confidence in S2’s capabilities; by the time S2 took over from S1, Barrick had changed its policies on how to distribute CSR and CR
donations, and all site managers needed to be involved in the decision-making. The creation of Community Relations Management Systems (CRMS) and their rollout in 2014 can be seen as the main reason site managers were now involved. The goal of the CRMS was to bring into line all sites with the minimum performance requirements in 18 areas that are aligned with international best practices, such as stakeholder engagement, community development, relations with Indigenous peoples, and local employment and procurement, to name a few (Barrick Annual Information Form, 2014). Also, Barrick recently introduced anti-corruption policies to ensure that no bribery or corruption occurred onsite with regard to donations, and this required greater transparency.

Barrick’s CSR Policies

Before describing in detail the manner in which CSR policy was implemented at Hemlo by the CSR Superintendents, I will first describe the patchwork of documents that constitute that policy. It is important to note at the outset that attempts have been made in Canada to create and pass effective bills that ensure that Canadian extractive corporations operating overseas follow human rights and environmental practices. But in 2010, Bill C-300, “Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas Corporations in Developing Countries”, was introduced but defeated in the House of Commons, and to date no other bill has been passed. This leaves Canadian extraction corporations operating overseas in a position to police their own behavior and operations (Tahir 2012). In 2009 the Conservative government created the Office of the Extractive Sector Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Counsellor, but to date this office has been ineffective, as stated by Miningwatch Canada:

…The CSR Counsellor is supposed to mediate solutions for people claiming they had been harmed by the activities of Canadian mining companies operating overseas. The office did not manage to mediate a single resolution in any of the six cases brought before it. Then in October,
2013, CSR Counsellor Marketa Evans quietly walked away from the job, leaving the Office without a Counsellor for 16 months. In 2014 alone, the inactive and Counsellor-less office cost Canadian taxpayers $181,600 (2016).

There is also no one body of “Canadian Mining Law”, for mining is largely ruled by provincial and territorial laws, thirteen different sets in all¹⁶ (Kuyek 2005). Federal authority was further weakened in 1998, when the federal government signed the Canada-Wide Accord for Environmental Harmonization, which basically gave more responsibility to the provinces with regard to environmental assessments (Kuyek 2005). As Kuyek has argued, federal and provincial laws favor the interests of mining companies and “were never intended to control mining or its impact on land or people, and we have to look to other laws to protect those interests” (2005). The Canada-Wide Accord could have been used to ensure that all stakeholders had an influence on environmental management processes, such as environmental assessments. As a result, there are no laws in place in any domain to ensure that mining corporations uphold the CSR obligations that they claim are an integral part of their operational, business, and social plans.

That is why the importance of Bill C-300 cannot be overlooked, for Canadian corporations are seen as mining heavyweights overseas, which has allowed them to develop a cowboy-like approach to extraction globally. What this means is that since there is no legally enforceable CSR policy, nationally or internationally, mining corporations such as Barrick become pseudo-government entities in some of the countries in which they operate. This pseudo-power over time

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¹⁶ Ontario’s provincial mining law, which falls under the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines, states the following with regard to mining in the province; “The Mining Act is the provincial legislation that governs and regulates prospecting, mineral exploration, mine development and rehabilitation in Ontario. The purpose of the Act is to encourage prospecting, staking and exploration for the development of mineral resources, in a manner consistent with the recognition and affirmation of existing Aboriginal and treaty rights in Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, including the duty to consult, and to minimize the impact of these activities on public health and safety and the environment” (Ontario Ministry of Northern Development and Mines 2017:1-2). Under this act all mines operating in Ontario must follow the Mine Rehabilitation Code.
generates ‘palm-greasing’ behavior, since rules and policies in some of the countries they operate in can be influenced by their economic power and the short-term benefits they can bring.

Barrick’s Corporate Social Responsibility Charter was adapted from the World Bank’s proposed definition: “Corporate Social Responsibility is the commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development - working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve the quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development” (Barrick Gold Corporation 2016, 2017). Barrick added “four pillars”, which guide their practices globally: employees, community, ethics and environment, and safety and health (Barrick Gold Corporation 2016, 2017). Barrick provides public access to this charter, to responsibility reports and to the mandate of a CSR advisory committee that was formed in 2012. It is located in the “Responsibility Hub” on their website, but presents this information as part of a public relations discourse (Barrick Gold Corporation 2017a). Negative impacts are discussed in relation to the economic benefits they bring to mining communities, with a focus on how they contribute to national and local employment: “We do not see the good things that we do as offsetting all the negative impacts we may have. For this reason, we work as hard at mitigating potential negative impacts as we do at leveraging mutual and sustained value for all of our partners” (Barrick Gold Corporation 2017a).

Rather than providing a specific set of actionable guidelines, Barrick’s CSR charter devolves into a presentation of their governance framework, visions and values, safety policies, a statement of core values and community relations policies. The company publishes an annual “Responsible Mining Report”, dropping the term “social” in order to deflect attention from the social issues they consistently fail to address. This serves as yet another effective muting mechanism, but it also displaces responsibility from the corporation onto mine employees.
Workers now come to hold a significant portion of the responsibility for Barrick as a whole, for they need to honor Barrick’s core values and governance policies.

All the Hemlo employees I interviewed acknowledged that they were aware of Barrick’s Code of Business Conduct and Ethics, and a few could even name one or two of them. In the 2012 handbook, the five codes were short and to the point; “Behave Like An Owner, Act With A Sense Of Urgency, Be A Team Player, Continually Improve and Deliver Results” (Barrick Gold Corporation 2012). The code also came with a mission statement for Barrick: “Our VISION is to be the world’s best gold company by finding, acquiring, developing and producing quality reserves in a safe, profitable, and socially responsible manner” (Barrick Gold Corporation 2012). It is made clear that “All Barrick employees and directors are accountable for adhering to the Code, and we are responsible for reporting behavior that violates the Code” (Barrick Gold Corporation 2013). I was not aware if this policy had ever been executed onsite, but it does provide cause and a rationale for firing someone. Below are the 2013 Code of Business Conduct and Ethics in detail (Barrick Gold Corporation 2013):

People- Attract and develop strong people who act with integrity, are tireless in their purpose of excellence, and inspire others to be their best.

Urgency- Act with urgency. Seek out opportunities and determine how to capitalize on them.

Responsibility and Accountability - Act as an owner. Take initiative. Own up to mistakes and learn from them. Drive Change. Always look for ways to make things better.

Partnership – Earn trust and create transparency to build enduring partnerships between our people and with the countries and communities in which we operate.

Operational Excellence – Lead the Industry in safety and environmental practices – all while unleashing the full potential of all our assets through ingenuity, drive and innovation.

Shareholder Value – Allocate money and people to opportunities which grow our free cash flow per share while maximizing our net asset value.

Execution – Do what we say we are going to do.
Even though all employees and directors are responsible for reading and adhering to the stated values, I did get the feeling that, as with the safety and health dogma displayed on office and worksite posters, the impact and meaning of these values declined over time (Figure 16).

Barrick’s ethical values discourse employs the same oxymoronic characteristics reviewed previously, and tends to silence employee doubt or criticism. Words and terms such as ‘innovation’, ‘partnership’, ‘free cash flow per share’, ‘drive’ and even ‘ingenuity’ ring hollow, but still demonstrate Barrick’s desire to be the ‘best’ mining corporation in the world (Poerksen

Figure 16: Barrick CSR and CR Framed Policies. Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Juxtaposed with the Code of Ethics, Barrick has also developed a “Vision & Values” statement:

Our vision is to be the world’s best gold mining company by operating in a safe, profitable and responsible manner. In everything we do, we are guided by the following core values: • Integrity • Respect and Open Communication • Responsibility and Accountability • Teamwork • Create Shareholder Value (Barrick Gold Corporation 2013:46).

These value systems were often discussed at governance meetings, but gold prices dropped during my study period, and Barrick was facing cash-flow issues. The dominant themes during governance meetings were thus cost control, profit maximization, discipline and efficiency. These factors need to be considered when evaluating Barrick’s Code of Ethics, values, and visions. A corporation, above all, needs to be profitable and accountable to its shareholders, and I believe that goal is evident in all of the creative but hollow and muted acronyms created under their CSR umbrella.
The First CSR Superintendent (S1)

The days I spent shadowing S1 typically began with him picking me up each morning in his red mine truck at 5:30am (Figure 17).

Figure 17: So it begins, my first day shadowing S1.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Shadowing S1 was often a roller coaster experience, even though most days were filled with routine office work (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Barrick onsite, walking to security office. Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.

Despite the heavy load of paperwork that the job required, S1 was able to impose his own agenda and personal style on his role as Employee and Community Relations Superintendent, something that was particularly apparent in the way he handled his combined roles as CSR, CR and HR 'leader' for the Hemlo mine. S1 managed CSR, CR and HR programs as if they were one and the same, and as if all three were primarily public relations exercises. I think that the essence of the CSR debate in Marathon and in Barrick's policies parallels Wayne Visser's argument about CSR policies in Africa, in that one of the main questions that needs to be addressed is: which (or
whose) definition of CSR is being applied? (2006:12-13). Under S1, CSR was implemented through a combination of Barrick polices, his own vision of how CSR should work at Hemlo and his need to clearly demonstrate just how influential he was by making it known he had directly contributed to creating Barrick CSR and CR policies. S1 needed to be seen as a big man onsite and offsite, and also in the elite circles of Barrick's corporate office - in order to further his own career. He began his career at Barrick as an underground miner, then became a mine worker, and finally joined the upper management at the same mine where he began. During the time of this research project, he received a further appointment as Manager of Human Resources at Barrick’s Goldstrike mine in Nevada, and he is now the Director of Corporate Social Responsibility and Security, in Canada and United States, for Goldcorp.
When interviewing S1, I found him to be well-versed in Barrick's CSR polices and terminology. At times, that caused him to be overly careful when choosing his words or giving his opinion. S1 often used words such as “our”, “us”, “we”, and other corporate talk that was meant to mute his personal opinions, but also to demonstrate that he was contributing to the writing of Barrick's CSR policies (interview 30) (Figure 19 and Figure 20).

Figure 19: Barrick Core Values sign. Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
Figure 20: Barrick Community Relations Policy.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
For example, when asked to define CSR, S1 responded: “Our… CSR is being an environmentally and socially responsible company. Giving back, being the good community…, good corporate citizen… our process is open and transparent” (interview 30). When I revisited these questions a few weeks later on one of our early-morning drives, S1 did finally define what CSR meant to him personally: it was helping and assisting communities, a simple but direct summary of what he believes he is doing. S1 truly believes in his particular application of Barrick's CSR/CR policies, and stated that "without us around a whole bunch of groups would suffer" (interview 30).

S1 arranged for posters of Barrick’s corporate vision statement, community relations policy and safety and health policy to be hung in his office and others around the time I began my research (Figure 21).
During my shadowing and participatory research at Hemlo, CSR was not a well-known term, and it was noted by some of my interviewees that prior to my arrival, they saw a lot of Barrick's CSR policy posters being hung onsite (interview 80). I became aware of this when I asked one of my onsite interviewees if he could define what CSR was and if he knew Barrick's policy; he pointed out that right behind me he could read directly from the Barrick poster. These newly hung posters spoke volumes about the way S1 saw my presence onsite, and how he wished for me to see his role of superintendent.
The concept of a ‘big man’ applies to S1 in both a literal sense and in the sense that the term is commonly used in anthropology. The benefit of being seen as a big man in mining is twofold: being a physically big man is important for the job itself; being a big man in one’s behavior allows one to help shape the working environment (Rajak 2010; Welker 2009). In the case of S1, he occupied the role both physically and through his behavior at work and at home. The lines between his job and his personal life were blurred, making him seem always bigger than life. He was known for having a rather extensive man-cave; he was known for his Mustang; his voice and presence were felt in town politics, where he served as a councilman; and his image was larger than life in Marathon's newspaper, the *Mercury*. Ardener contends “that there are dominant modes of expression in any society which have been generated by the dominant structure within it…to be heard and heeded an individual must use this dominant mode of expression” (1975). S1’s mode of expression was clearly shaped by the attitude of ‘once a miner always a miner’, and by the culture of heightened masculinity integral to a miner’s life. I witnessed a telling example of S1’s hyper-masculine big-man presence during a meeting of foremen and superintendents to discuss a discipline issue in the pit. S1 positioned himself in the doorway as the room filled, and once the meeting began the tension rose immediately. The issue, I quickly realized, was not about just any two employees; it was about a female pit supervisor disciplining a male electrician for not following safety protocol. S1 was leaning on the doorframe, arms crossed, as the Superintendent of the Pit began to defend the disciplined employee, claiming he had, in fact, followed safety protocols. As he continued and became more emotionally invested in his argument, S1 stepped into the room and told him to stop being emotional. S1 made it clear that the issue was just a male ego thing as far as he was concerned, and that it should be dealt with head on, by cautioning the male electrician but also by directing
the female supervisor to stop being so hardnosed and confrontational. S1 was not pleased with the behavior of the electrician, who did not follow protocol in his opinion, but in the end, it was the female who had to learn to play nice. This complex scenario demonstrated that, even while lip service is paid to gender equality, and men can be criticized for having overly sensitive ‘male egos’, discipline can still be enacted through physical intimidation and a hyper-masculine discourse critical of ‘emotion’.

Mine workers themselves, however, did not tend to interpret S1’s behavior in this way. As stated by one of my interview subjects:

…it is not male or female that make S2 and S1 different in their CSR and CR superintendent roles, it is politician and non-politician for S1 and S2. S1 was or had an agenda underlying things he was trying to accomplish, right or wrong. And that was what he was going to do. S2 doesn't seem to be like that (interview 55).

While this worker’s comments are insightful with regard to the political approach of S1, they also illustrate the way in which gender issues are consistently muted within mining culture. ‘Miner talk’ is a prominent characteristic of mining culture, and the talk can be pretty rough and masculine in tone. At the beginning of my time onsite, when I walked into a room the tone would change to less 'blue', but after a while, as my presence was normalized, everyone became comfortable and fell back into their normal way of talking. Miner talk serves a dual purpose: it provides a way to manage and release stress or tension with fellow miners in the shaft room, the pit, the mill or underground; but it can also be used to discipline, shame, and mute a fellow worker or employee. This form of ‘miner talk’ was used regularly by S1 to control meetings by, for instance, shaming and hence muting another male for being less masculine, as described above. However, it is important to remember that this talk is a part of working in the industry. As Wynn discusses in her article *Women in mining*, one does not just need the skills and ability to work in mining, one must also be comfortable with the lifestyle and, I suggest, with the language
that comes with it (2001). Why is this important? It is vital to remember that mining is not
conducted in large urban settings, so social groups and activities may be limited. Acceptance and
flexibility are needed to gain acceptance in the close-knit mining community (Wynn 2001). A
climate of general acceptance of mining culture and mining talk thus inevitably informed how
CSR policies were implemented, which was almost exclusively in the form of donations to
‘communities of interest’.

During my time at Hemlo, Marathon tended to be the first choice for CSR donations.
Donations were made to help purchase T-shirts for the youth hockey club and even to charter a
plane to fly the junior hockey team to Windsor. The mining rescue team from Hemlo, on the
other hand, had to drive themselves to their games, which, to one miner I interviewed, reflected a
tendency for CSR/CR donations to favor the interests of the individuals who made donation
decisions (interview 69). Secondly, Pic River was a frequent recipient of funds, receiving money
for their annual Pow Wow. That donation became a big issue when I was shadowing S1, for the
Pow Wow in 2013 was to be cancelled due to a lack of money in the community; but S1 wanted
the event to take place, and took it on with all his vim. In this way, his personal agenda, rather
than Barrick's, shone through. His need to be seen as the 'hero' to Pic River and to receive public
recognition overshadowed Barrick Hemlo as the entity that made the donation. A twenty-three-
year veteran of mining at Hemlo offered the opinion that Barrick Hemlo donations were
understood by all as short-term and philanthropic in nature, and focused on events where S1
would be seen again as the face of Barrick, with his picture in the paper (interview 69).

My observations over a period of several months largely confirm the analysis of the
above interview subject. Whenever Barrick sponsored a community event or gave a CSR/CR
donation, there was invariably a photo opportunity and an article in the local newspaper, with S1
front and center. When Barrick Williams donated new emergency-room equipment to the
Williams Hospital in Marathon, the local paper came and took pictures of S1 donating the
equipment. In some cases, donations could also be considered a 'greasing of the palm', especially
when S1 was dealing with Pic River and Pic Mobert, so S1 could remain the ‘hero’ and ‘good
guy’ in their eyes. I use ‘palm-greasing’ in the sense that donations at times were a muting
mechanism, an active process to silence critics or rumblings for awhile.

Having S1 as the local face of Barrick’s CSR policy thus created its own set of issues,
muted by his larger than life personality and big man style. These characteristics came to the fore
during meetings when emotions ran high, or when S1 felt the dialogue was not being conducted
in a manner or direction he agreed with. In theory, most decisions about donations were made by
a mine site committee composed of three members of the management team, while larger
donations were decided on at the corporate level with mine-site committee input. No
communities of place were involved.

During my time shadowing S1, I came to the conclusion that the community donation
approach to implementing CSR policy is best understood as a ritual of gifting. In the seminal
publication *The Gift* (1954), Marcel Mauss argued that when someone gives an item or resource
to another person, it is not merely the item that is gifted, but also the spirit of the giver. The
giver’s spirit makes the gift inalienable from him or her, establishing a durable social
relationship between giver and receiver. As enacted by mining corporations, however, gifting
creates dependency and indebtedness, and serves as a way of muting dissent within mining
communities. The true nature of the corporation's gift is not recognized, dependency intensifies,
and sooner or later tensions arise because of the unequal power relationship and the fact that the
amount of the gift is determined by PR considerations first, and community well-being second.
When I accompanied S1 to community meetings with Pic Mobert or Pic River, he would give tobacco to the Chief before the dialogue would begin, but this gift is best understood as a mining ritual that mimics Indigenous practices without truly respecting them. It becomes robotic in manner and lacks reciprocity or the capacity for genuine relationship-building. During an interview with the Pic River Economic Development Officer, the issue of monthly meetings with Barrick came up, and she indicated that all S1 wanted to do during these meetings was to “tick off boxes” on his checklist, and then “he would cut [us] off” (interview 89). To her, what was missing was an ability to listen: “....Employer does not listen. Over three years they have more pull. We say something, but they don't listen” (interview 89).

This theme also emerged in my interview with an individual who was subsequently elected as Chief of Pic River. He expressed the opinion that corporations like Barrick are not out to make people happy; they seek to make money, and as long as the workers get huge salaries and benefits, they think that the corporation is doing its job and CSR is working (interview 91). He saw Barrick’s donations to Pic River as "forced"; CSR was not having a lasting impact, since the expenditure was always based on short-term thinking (interview 91). This is one of the main reasons, according to Welker (2009), that CSR discourse has achieved its current form in most corporate settings. CSR policies are created as a voluntary act of corporate self-regulation, as opposed to being required by mandatory national or transnational regulations. But they have led not to genuine engagement or meaningful self-regulation, but instead to a huge CSR industry that generates corporate and trade association codes, standards, social auditing bodies, and the articulation of socio-environmental and financial principles that inform corporate rhetoric but not corporate practice. This type of CSR discourse reveals the broken nature of the CSR industry itself, for these piecemeal approaches impede structural change and external and independent
corporate regulation (Welker 2009:145-146). The new Chief of Pic River, by contrast, suggested that “Mining companies need to ensure employees are trained and have transferable skills” (interview 91). Rather than a financial gift directed towards a one-off project, what is needed is a gifting of a relationship with their workers that would demonstrate a commitment to them after the mine closes. That approach would be consistent with what Mauss describes: gifting as a way of creating of a durable bond between giver and receiver.

Gifting in its current form is not working. S1 appeared to believe that by gifting his time, tobacco, and CSR donations, he was engaging in a meaningful way with local communities. In fact, his actions were perpetuating the disconnect between the mining corporation and communities of place.

The Marathon hospital provides a final and compelling example of the inadequacy of Barrick’s CSR policy at Hemlo. Even though their stated policy emphasizes long term goals, short-term planning dominated hospital donations. Many communities in the Hemlo region benefited from the hospital donations, but they were also self-serving, since the hospital provided government subsidized medical care to mine employees. These benefits will disappear once the mine closes, but the dependency on outside support will remain. If Barrick is serious about realizing the positive social and economic outcomes described in their CSR policies, it needs to work in partnership with the Marathon town council to plan for the long-term sustainability of hospital services.

As one long term Hemlo miner stated, “with money comes considerable sin” (Anonymous, a personal conversation, 2013). That statement applies in numerous ways in Marathon, where mining has created a deep dependency on a corporation with no long-term interest in local communities, and where considerable economic inequalities exist between those
who are employed by the mining company and the many who remain unemployed. In the case of Marathon, without the mine many of the stores, businesses, school services and even the hospital would either close or offer fewer services, house prices would decline, and taxes would increase. This is what happened in Manitouwadge and briefly in Marathon when the mill closed in 2009.

*The Second CSR Superintendent (S2)*

I was fortunate to be able to shadow first a male superintendent, S1, and then a female superintendent, S2, since the difference between the two indicates that, while masculinity is still deeply embedded in mining, its hold may have loosened somewhat over the past couple of decades. Gender still played a large role, however, in how these two superintendents ran their department, walked the halls of the third floor, talked and interacted with miners and mine workers, and saw themselves within the mine culture and their communities.

Even though S1 provided me with my first introduction to the CSR implementation program at Barrick, S2 taught me the most about what it means to work for Barrick and at times struggle with the responsibilities of the superintendent role (Figure 22).
I first met S2 when she was HR Manager at the David Bell mine, and I conducted my initial interview with her before Barrick announced that S1 would be leaving for a position at Barrick's Goldstrike mine site in Nevada and that S2 would take over from him. One of the most encouraging comments she made during our almost two-hour interview concerned her view of Barrick’s relationship to local communities. She thought the company could:
...take more of an active role, become part of the community, part of the region, however that might come about... supporting the area. They understand that their role in the community is not just about jobs, but that they have a bigger role that they can play in helping communities and just be more responsible for the overall quality of life (interview 68).

This connects to how communities of place, such as Marathon and Pic River, to name two out of five, are defined within the limited scope of Barrick's CSR policies, which were created without consultation with affected communities. Each community of place has its own needs and definitions of what CSR and CR means to them, and the Hemlo mine site is also a community onto itself, though that is left out of Barrick's definitions.

My time with S2 was not what I had expected. From the moment we met onsite, before she became CSR Superintendent, we became friends; our friendship had many dimensions, including a mutual desire to understand how mining companies and communities might work together more effectively. As with S1, my days shadowing S2 would start when she arrived at 5:45am at my in-law’s house to pick me up to begin our 30-minute drive to the Hemlo site. Early mornings were not new to me, but being in the field with my three-year-old daughter continued to pose some issues for me. I was lucky that my in-laws were able to take care of Kayja during the day but the guilt of leaving her sleeping alone in the big bed we shared was not one that I easily forgot or embraced. I think that was one of the things that S2 and I first bonded over, for S2 has a little girl that she also had to leave with her parents or partner every morning.

Both S1 and S2 allowed me to shadow not just the meetings they had onsite, but also the community engagement meetings and community PR events that they attended. I was also able to go with them to lunch outings and converse with them at length during the drives to and from various locations. S1 lived in Marathon for majority of his life, and he raised all three of his children there too. S2 is from the Anishinabek Nation of Pic River. From 2008 to 2010 she served as band administrator for the Pic River First Nation community; prior to that she had lived
in the United States for a few years, where she worked for the Newmont Mining Corporation. In 2010, S2 came to work at Barrick Hemlo as the Employee Relations Coordinator for the David Bell mine site. S2 now lives with her young daughter in Marathon, not far from her parents.

The rhythm of the working day changed once S2 took over as CSR superintendent. I found that the office was calmer, with less of a ‘rush-push’ attitude. I refer to the way S1 presented himself each day, a big, dominating man whose personality was shaped by several decades of hyper-masculine mining culture and the need to hit those bonus ore thresholds every day. S2 had never been a miner, so her approach was not to be seen and heard from the get-go; instead she approached the day with the need to check off her to-do list. S1 and S2 were quite different in other ways as well. While S1 made a point of connecting daily with mine workers through his morning walk around, and by going to shift change meetings, S2 was less comfortable outside the second-floor office area. She also did not feel the need to go to shift-change meetings, and did not feel that she needed to be seen as much as S1 did. She believed that if any issues arose they'd come to her. The latter belief stems from the fact that S2 was never a miner, so her connection to the process of mining is not as well developed as S1; she feels that she will see the miners only if they come to her with a specific need or request.

The manner in which monthly CSR/CR meetings were conducted began to change immediately once S2 became superintendent. Meetings ran on time, everyone was treated as a member of a team, she allowed the others to have their say, and she would take time to think before she responded. I found that I was more comfortable, and had more time to digest what was happening. The other women who would attend these meetings certainly recognized and welcomed the difference it made to have a woman in the superintendent position. The Economic Development Officer at Pic River, for instance, indicated that many of the women working at the
mine site had had issues with S1 in the past, and that she expected that to change rather quickly with S2 taking over (interview 89). This is not to say that S2 did not use some of the same corporate discourse as S1, discourse that tended to mute certain points of view when she was in monthly meetings with Pic River, Pic Mobert, and Marathon community leaders. What she did do differently was avoid cutting off other speakers or jumping to respond when a criticism, question or concern was raised. A good example of this was when S1 announced that S2 would be replacing him in the superintendent role. The Pic Mobert Chief had major concerns over the fact that S2 was from Pic River and lived in Marathon, and S1’s response was to go into battle and 'solve' the problem. However, S2 did not jump in; she allowed time to pass, and once she was in the position for awhile, without S1’s presence onsite, she scheduled the usual monthly meeting with Pic Mobert and quietly and professionally went about her job.

One of the first meetings S2 ran was the monthly gathering of the committee that helped decide where donations were to go. Under S1, these meetings were limited to two other second floor staff members, and there was very limited transparency around how funds were allocated. During the meetings run by S1, I never felt like I could question why no community members or miners sat on this committee. However, during the first committee meeting with S2, I was able to ask that question, though, sadly, the answer was not satisfactory at all. It was explained to me by the two other committee members that they knew what was going on, and that they felt that they did represent the community and even the miners, so why have them in the meeting? The way these donations were made was so entrenched in the ways of the past that the answer only raised more questions. A policy change, after S1 left, was that SM was involved in seeing who requested donations and where the monies were allotted. Again the 'it is what it is' mentality looms in the answer that was never given, but alluded to through the muted phrase I had begun to
see as a part of the resource curse. This exchange demonstrated the apathy that I argue continues
to be embedded in the expression, an apathy in which CSR mining policies have been entrenched
for decades. Social responsibility programs do just enough to keep the profits coming in, just
enough to keep the critics at bay, enough to allow for smoke-and-mirrors rhetoric about change
in the mining industry. But 'it is what it is' remains the acceptable normal, and provides an
excuse for not pushing and challenging existing policies.

Based on my observations and the comments of more than one interview subject, the
Barrick governance system at Hemlo can fairly be classified as an old boys’ club, at least in part.
Under S1, negative issues could not be talked about openly onsite, but over time it became clear
to me that some of these issues were being dealt with offsite. When I say offsite, I am referring
to S1’s man-cave. It was general knowledge that sometimes it was better to drop in on S1 and
have a chat about things that one did not feel comfortable talking about onsite. It was also well-
known that when donations were being sought, going through the back channel was acceptable
and fruitful at times (Anonymous, a personal conversation, 2013). A good example of this was
the year S1’s children’s hockey team received money to fly to a provincial competition. Like
business done on the golf course, S1’s man-cave provided a venue for that request. Employees
who belonged in the old boys’ club, in S1’s estimation, also gained protection against complaints
from supervisors if their work was inadequate. S1’s hyper-masculine approach also dictated who,
other than him, could have the floor at meetings. This pattern changed somewhat, but not
entirely, with S2. She was not one to deal with work issues off site; they needed to be dealt with
onsite and within company guidelines. Under S2, issues of negativity or complaints were dealt
with onsite in a carefully-planned manner; she took time to understand the issues and policies.
before setting up a one-on-one meeting. But the remnants of the old boys’ club could still be seen in who would occasionally talk over S2 in meetings.

The relationship between SM and S2 was still new during my period of study, and S2 was engaged in a delicate dance to find her footing. The management floor is highly male-dominated, and even though SM was progressive when talking about gender issues in mining, and Barrick was active in the PR campaign of "Women in Mining", Hemlo did not have a lot of women holding Superintendent positions. Beside S2, the only female holding a Superintendent role onsite was in the engineering department, but she was on maternity leave during my time there. Changes to the style of Barrick Hemlo’s Governance Committee meetings offered an early glimpse into how things might change with S2 in the role of CSR Superintendent. SM had always chaired those meetings in his office, but S1 had formerly been the presence that ran the meetings. When S2 took over the superintendent’s position, SM assumed the level of authority one would expect from the formal chair, and his calm demeanor changed the atmosphere, allowing more voices and opinions to be heard. Neither SM nor S2 interjected, nor did they impose their physical presence. This made for a more tranquil and freer flow of conversation, beyond what was on the agenda. In this instance, then, S2’s presence led to a significant difference in how the meeting proceeded, and it is interesting to note that both her approach and SM’s approaches were actually very similar.

In the context of CSR/CR meetings, however, where decisions were to be made about community donations, S2 attempted to change the discourse in a way that reflected her point of view and was not necessarily consistent with that of SM. SM is an engineer and a numbers man, so his focus is directed to production and to engineering efficiencies. The dance S2 engaged in was directed towards having SM acknowledge the importance of engaging more deeply with
communities and acknowledging the human face behind the professional roles. S2 came into her new role with the belief that Barrick Hemlo did not really have a legitimate CSR program. She defined CSR as focused on the long-term well-being of communities of place, whereas the Barrick program was focused entirely on short-term donations and contributions, occasionally philanthropic in nature but other times designed as public relations exercises. She was much more sensitive, for instance, to the fact that mining inevitably causes environmental degradation through construction of mining pits, underground roadways, tailing ponds, and the impacts of these operations on both surface water and groundwater. S2 therefore began to include SM in all decisions about CSR/CR donations, partly because of her more inclusive governance approach, but also to draw him, and thus Barrick, into a deeper relationship with local communities. This change was made easier by virtue of the fact that Barrick’s had been rewriting its CSR policy so as to avoid any perception of bribery within their company and/or CSR/CR programs. The change of policy began with the company’s Responsible Mining Annual Reports in 2012 and 2013, when it first included anti-bribery principles within their core-values statement. This was also in line with the Community Relations Management System (CRMS) rolled out during this period, as I detailed in the previous section of this chapter.

S2 is a strong woman in a field run mainly by men, and one way in which she expressed her strength, very differently from S1, was through her choice not to be front and center whenever CSR or CR donations were being decided or announced. S2 began to allow others onsite, including SM, to take the lead in giving donations, rather than have just one person represent the company. Partly as a result of new corporate policy, and partly reflecting S2’s initiative, all large donations now had to be approved by the Senior Vice-president of Barrick North America, thus providing greater oversight and transparency in the CSR process. As before,
the CSR committee continued to be composed entirely of senior HR staff, an Environmental Superintendent, S2 and SM, but nevertheless the old boys' club approach had diminished to some extent, along with the muting of less powerful voices, including women’s.

During the time I shadowed S2, she worked hard at being neutral when dealing with all communities of place so she would never be seen as playing favorites. This put her in a particularly difficult position with Pic Mobert, since S1 had previously tended to emphasize donations to Pic Mobert than to Pic River. S1 had attempted to take on the role of ‘knight in shining armor’ in relation to Pic Mobert. He held the floor more often during monthly meetings with Pic Mobert, and the Band Council allowed him to stand out more as a leader in their community than was the case in Pic River. To his credit, S1’s approach was based, at least in part, on his view of Pic Mobert as the community most in need. However, his approach was oriented to the short term, and had the effect of consolidating his own authority.

The modest changes brought about by S2 within a relatively short time, while promising, did not touch on some of the deeper issues associated with Barrick’s CSR approach. Their approach to CSR, as with other issues, is often to develop a one-size-fits-all policy and attempt to apply it uniformly at all their mines. This can be seen in how they attempted to address issues of theft by workers of mine site resources. They mandated restrictions, for instance, on access to all gas filling stations on Barrick-owned and -operated mine sites, in order to prevent unauthorized use and pilfering. This regulation was enforced at Hemlo even though it had never been an issue there, and it caused serious issues during the frigid northern Ontario winters, when access was sometimes needed urgently. Genuinely transformative change, if it is to occur, will require a change in approach by those working in Barrick’s corporate headquarters. In the next chapter, I will describe my attempts to study-up at Barrick’s Toronto headquarters, and analyze the
discourse with which they portray current CSR programs as a win-win arrangement for both corporation and mining communities. But first, to conclude this chapter, I discuss the relationship of Barrick’s CSR policies to the culture of mining as experienced by mine employees and residents of Marathon. Mining culture, viewed from the bottom up, is supportive of the status quo in many ways, but nevertheless demonstrates where and how positive change could be effected.

**Miners, Mineworkers and the Culture of Canadian Mining Towns**

During my time in Marathon I was received with open arms by each person I met or interviewed. I interviewed twenty-three key community members in three of the communities of place (Marathon, Pic River and Pic Mobert), thirteen upper management employees at Barrick Hemlo, one CSR Manager from corporate office in Toronto, and over seventy miners and mine workers. All interviewees expressed pride in being a Northerner living in a resource town. Marathon residents also consistently expressed a sense of closeness and solidarity with other members of the mining community. Despite the many contradictions involved in this particular construction of identity, pride of place and a sense of being part of a close-knit community must be considered essential to how Marathon residents view themselves and experience their lives. I do not attempt to address the relationship of non-Indigenous to Indigenous residents and mine workers, a topic beyond the scope of this research. Needless to say, these relationships are fraught with the same tensions as elsewhere in Canada. The cultural portrait I present below is as inclusive as possible of multiple points of view, but must be understood as mainly a portrait of Marathon, the town most deeply connected to and dependent on Barrick for its very existence.
Friendships run deep in the mining community; miners and mine workers have each other’s backs, and that can be felt both onsite and off. Hockey teams, golf, hunting, fishing trips and shed parties keep these bonds firm. Even though the mining industry and miners tend not to stay in one place for too long, Hemlo is an exception, with many miners and mine workers clocking over twenty years at this one mine (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott 2010:399). This again speaks to the deep bond miners have with each other and with Hemlo itself. During my time onsite, few miners or miner workers talked about Hemlo or even Barrick in a bad light; their loyalty was first to each other, then to Hemlo, and then to Barrick. However, they were not shy about expressing their opinions, both positive and negative. When I asked, “Is there a mining culture in Marathon, and can you define it?”, the answer was usually a resounding ‘yes’. No matter how they described it, the felt experience of living in Marathon was always prominent. I would have to agree with them that the feeling one gets in Marathon is not something I have experienced often in my life. The feeling of family, the overwhelming sense that one is welcome, is something that rings true in how Marathoners define their mining culture:

…Geez, ah… It is….. I cannot really answer that. Mining culture would be, is a lot of feeling. We do look after our own, so we all stick together. Like a big family… like if someone gets hurt in Sudbury we feel it over here, we know what happened…a connection. As a culture there is a big culture here for, that, a lot of people understand each other. Hum… you go up, let’s say one of your friends lives up in BC, somewhere like that and you start talking, you have nothing, you know… [they] don’t understand. You say one word around here and you know what they are talking about right away (interview 44).

This quote encapsulates how mining culture is experienced in Marathon, as a big close-knit family, but a family that, at times, is willfully ignorant of what is happening around it, and resigned to ongoing problems such as drug and alcohol abuse. For with mining culture come issues of addiction and domestic abuse, and Marathon is no different from other mining towns in this regard. My interview with the Victims Services Program Manager in the Marathon Social
Services Office revealed a darker view of mining culture, one that emphasizes its more transient nature: “…sometime people do not refer to this as home... [they] come for a period, this is not their permanent home...[they don’t] see past today, they don’t plan for the future, that is very difficult. Very discouraging” (interview 43). Living for the moment has huge pitfalls and, according to this interview subject, Barrick reinforces this attitude by supporting projects like the development of a ski hill which the town could not and did not keep up. She also pointed out that Marathon has no retirement homes which, with an aging population, it badly needs. And then there is the undeveloped marina that has a road, thanks to Barrick, but accessing the marina is still challenging (interview 43).

The white-hand miner\textsuperscript{17} may be a thing of the past due to technology and automation, but miners are a special breed, and this was something I learned right away. Miners must be distinguished from mine workers and tradesmen, for instance, something I was made to understand every time I conversed with or interviewed miners onsite or off. Even though new technology has changed the way ore is taken from the earth, the wear and tear on the bodies of those who work the face or underground is still distinct and noticeable (interview 45). Miners were defined by one interview subject as: “the employees involved in the process of extracting the ore, blasting, drilling, removing ore… [the] physical end of it…” This is the role of the development and prospect miner, the special breed of men who actually handle the ore (interview 44). The most succinct definition I was given came from a number three miner, the first level on the way to becoming an underground miner: “…the miner is the individual who has to go do it” (interview 44). The all-encompassing term ‘mine worker’, by comparison, can include anyone working at the Hemlo mine site (interview 48). Some took the distinction even further, by distinguishing miners from trades people, engineers, and geologists, all of whom were

\textsuperscript{17} This refers to miners who used to mine with a pick and axe; hard manual labor.
encapsulated by the trades title (interview 55). But regardless, Marathon, its miners, mine workers and all those connected to the mine, share the sense of being a family, a network that is strong and enduring.

Historically, miners are known to share a number of superstitious beliefs: a few still consider it bad luck for women to be underground, for instance, especially redheads. It is also bad luck to whistle, and many believe that tommy knockers (ghosts) walk the roadways underground (interview 54, 40). Tommy knockers are believed to be the harbingers of accidents, such as gravel suddenly hitting you on the shoulder or wind suddenly appearing from nowhere. These superstitions may be one of the reasons that relatively few women miners work underground.

Miners who work underground are usually given a nickname that is linked to the first mistake they make on the job, and that nickname sticks throughout their career. All new miners are labeled ‘greenhorns’ until they prove their worth underground and in their crew. Crews are tight-knit units that not only work together but also socialize outside work. Crew members work hard together not just to ensure all miners go home to their loved ones each night, but also reach the tonnage quota that is directly correlated to the bonuses they receive beyond their standard pay.

**Masculinity, Mining and Being a Northerner**

The word ‘miner’ is historically associated with a wide range of negative stereotypes: with black faces, for instance, with associated illnesses like black lung, and with low levels of education. Hyper-masculinity is also strongly associated with mining culture wherever it has occurred, at least in industrial societies. But the image of miners is changing as new technology makes the job of a miner less physical and more mechanized. For example, Hemlo Williams has a fully
automated dump truck underground that runs via an 'Atari'-like game controller from a room on the third floor of the mine site office. This new automation decreases the need for miners, and also the risks that have always been attached to mining. But even with this change, a high level of risk is still a part of a miner’s daily life. I think that the historic miner stereotypes continue to reinforce some of the risky behavior that some miners partake in and masculinity is always lurking in the shadows. However, there are several factors in addition to masculine stereotypes that encourage risky work behavior onsite, such as the push to fill production limits and reach tonnage goals that are directly connected to bonuses (interview 69).

Shed parties provide another important perspective on masculinity and mining culture. The ‘work hard, bigger toys’ attitude has become prevalent in Marathon as in many other resource communities in Canada. The tendency to flaunt one’s toys, or one-up a buddy, has become common. “Some are freaking… I have a small shed…. It is my bottom basement… it is my man cave… a man place… we got TV, dart boards, [a] table to play cards” (interview 53). For this mineworker, the shed was a place to shoot the shit and have a couple of beers, but some sheds or garages are bigger than houses: “[it’s a] way of life, part of life… and some are exorbitant around here. Some have a garage worth more than some people’s houses around here” (interview 57). “I got buddies who want their shed a little bit better than some of their buddies… it is a male thing, you don’t see many wives out in the garage parties with their husbands… it is a male thing for sure” (interview 57). This harks back to S1, whose shed/garage was considered by all as ‘the’ one to see.

When I asked interviewees directly about the place of masculinity in mining culture, I received varied responses. The Pic Mobert Contract Supervisor at Hemlo believed that the male attitude onsite has softened; however, he did not feel that women onsite had anything to do with
the change he noted (interview 61). Others believe that age is the main reason that the male attitude onsite has changed - the average age of miners is now 51, and "with age, values change and older [workers are] looking to pensions" (interview 69). According to the Hemlo Relations Coordinator, the presence of women has changed the male attitude onsite, for "women change for the better if we compared with treating people more equally and fairly and being politically correct. Women would probably not stand for stuff that men do, like inappropriate comments” (interview 68). However, she did admit that mining culture is still male-dominated, saying that “when it is men...just men, they behave differently, I think they just spout off and don't think about that they are saying” (interview 68). This is an important point, for the majority of underground miners are males, and they are under-supervised for most of the time they are on shift. When I went underground, I would smell cigarettes at times, even though the health and safety policy onsite decrees no smoking underground, and on the surface only in designated areas.

Two of the women I interviewed have worked underground in various positions. One still works underground as a shaft operator, and the other, who now works as a training coordinator, previously worked as a development miner and ran the jack leg\textsuperscript{18}. These women seem to work harder than their fellow male counterparts to ensure that the gender stereotype does not hold them back. However, a few older miners were nevertheless of the opinion that females are not built for the job, so it is tough for them to keep up (interview 57; Anonymous, a personal conversation, 2013). Mining underground is still dominated by men; at the moment, there are no female development miners (interview 57).

Interviewee 49 is a female shaft worker who has worked hard to build up her strength through an exercise routine. She saw her fellow male workers as her “buddies,” and felt that they

\textsuperscript{18}A mining percussion drill that is used for drifting or stopping and it is mounted on a telescopic leg.
toned down their language in her presence and would be there for her if she needed help (interview 49). This was confirmed by a fellow miner: “Yes, you are not use to hearing women on the radio… you want to support them… they are green, new to the environment… Yes, it does, it softens it up” (interview 57). This statement by a male subject was consistent with what the female training coordinators at Hemlo suggested; women do change the work environment.

Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) studied the relationship of masculinity to various social issues including levels of violence in resource communities in Australia. Their work has many parallels with what I observed in Marathon and other communities of place around the Hemlo mine site. Common in resource towns is the rapid growth that mining or resource sectors bring to a community, which in turns brings rapid economic growth and then dependency (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott 2010:395-7). Violence tends to increase, especially in fly-in/fly-out mining communities in remote locations, where workers are responsible only responsible for their onsite behavior. This can mean that corporate responsibility and capital overhead decrease along with social responsibility (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott 2010:395). Mobility, instability and lack of gender balance results in the entrenchment of a rougher masculine culture and engagement in negative social behavior such as drinking, drugs and violence (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott 2010:398-9).

However, while certain aspects of the violent male culture described by Carrington, McIntosh and Scott (2010) are visible in Marathon, the average age is now, as noted, fifty-one, and that seems to have a softening effect on how masculinity is expressed. A female trainer who has worked in mining all her life, and has worked underground for thirteen years, has noticed this change: “[it’s] not as bad as when I started, but you still have to …work harder than everyone else” (interview 51). She was shaped by the male culture of mining; she earned her miner title,
and more recently her trainer title; she worked the jack leg, and that is now a part of her role as trainer. But she also reinforced the idea that miners are family, an idea that resonates particularly for the older mining population in Marathon. One of the female shaft workers described maleness simply as doing the job: “if they know you can do your job… that makes a difference to the men” (interview 70). So women have had to conform to masculine stereotypes in order to be accepted, but once accepted their presence ‘softens’ the expression of masculinity: “probably… yep… it depends on… I am only going on my experience. But I know that guys would come up to me and say it is so happy now that you are here, or you lighten the, whatever, the atmosphere deal” (interview 70). The evidence, however, is somewhat contradictory; despite the number of interviewees who spoke of softening, the rougher male competitive attitude lives on, as indicated by this same interview subject:

…it is ... sometimes well… yeah, when the guys are getting trucks from the chute… they bring it to me to break it up. A lot of guys will say how many trucks did I get? So pressure to get more trucks… um they just… they’ll say something to see if you can take what they are saying. And I am sure if you said ‘smarten up’ they would back off. But they like the surprise of what they say (interview 70).

The contradictory nature of the evidence was also revealed by the comments of a younger mine worker who did not see masculinity as an issue on the mine surface. “Maybe a hundred years ago”, he suggested, but “underground more so, the underground miners are hard rock miners, but up here in the pit we don’t see any of that’ (interview 35).

Historically, mining culture has been male-dominated, and men still outnumber their female counterparts at Hemlo and elsewhere. Masculine attitudes may be muted at times, but ‘miner talk’ is pervasive. Miner talk is distinctly rough, and from the open pit to the mill to the underground, it remains a part of mining culture (interview 55). Hemlo is an older mine with an employee turnover of around 4% per year, so it bucks the masculine image of mining in some
ways, demonstrating a slowing down of the 'masculine overdrive' attitude that tends to prevail in mines where the average worker is much younger.

Social Issues

Miners and mine workers make a decent living, and with that comes the ability to buy, spend and live a lifestyle that is not necessarily healthy, despite the outdoor physical activities that are intrinsic to it. As in many other high-paying resource towns, such as Fort Mac, Sudbury and Timmins, social issues such as alcohol and drug abuse, domestic abuse, road rage, poverty and economic dependency become entrenched in the local culture. In the following pages, I describe how the most important of these issues find expression in Marathon.

Drugs and Alcohol Abuse

Social issues, such as drugs and alcohol, were at times a sensitive subject in interviews, and I felt community members, especially Barrick Hemlo employees, would employee self-comforting and reassuring forms of selective perception and willful ignorance concerning some of the curses that a mining community brings with it. A good example of this would be the Mayor's response to social issues beyond poverty in Marathon: his claim that drugs are not an issue, for there is no one stumbling or selling on the street (interview 76). Since it is not overt, it is not a problem. Have, have drug issues become so embedded in mining culture, or is it that the Mayor honestly feels that there are no drugs in Marathon? I learned during my time in Marathon where to buy drugs, such as one local pub and another location in one of Marathon’s modular home parks. During an interview onsite with an upper-management employee, he too displayed a selective perception of social issues: “nothing I can see jumps out.” As we continued, drugs were discussed, and he stuck to a very deflective response: “As much as there is drug use in the communities … All five of them, how much of it is attributed to …hum… the sites contributing
to it… I don’t …. I am not sure. Demographically, I don’t know who is a drug user” (Interview 27). This encapsulates how individuals frame, define and select what they want to see, and also reflects the role he holds onsite: he is not a miner, he is management and therefore removed.

The issue of drugs was nothing new for a tradesman who has worked at Hemlo for twenty-three years. What was new was the aging population, and that affected values and social issues, such as older workers looking to pensions (Interview 69). “Drugs all over…”, he said; weed was noted, but he had not seen coke, and in his opinion tougher policies were required (Interview 69). Barrick has a Fit for Duty Policy and they have for cause reasons to sanction drug testing; one is random and the other is ‘for cause’ testing, which is detailed below:

Barrick North America further sanctions the use of both “Random” and “For Cause Testing” at its operations and offices within North America where federal, state, and/or local laws recognize these practices. Pre-employment testing will be conducted as a routine part of pre-employment examinations and offered for all prospective hires, full time, temporary and summer. For Cause Testing drug and/or alcohol test will be conducted as part of the investigation for all vehicular accidents and accidents involving injury. Other for cause testing will be conducted at supervisor’s discretion for: 1) “near misses” incidents (vehicular or personal), 2) irrational or unusual behavior, 3) reporting to work in an apparent unfit condition; or 4) clear observations concerning behavior and/or alcohol odor (Barrick Gold of North America Fit for Duty Policy 2007).

The issue of drugs onsite and off was addressed by one of the upper management employees, who referred to the fit-for-duty policy used onsite –how often, he wasn’t sure (Interview 27). Pre-testing, he stated, is conducted on all new hires and contractors, and the ASPIRE program is part of Barrick’s health insurance coverage, giving employees access to drug and alcohol programs (Interview 27). The Pic Mobert First Nation Contract Supervisor, who has worked at Hemlo for nearly twenty-eight years, described the lack of education and the feeling of being stuck as explaining why drugs have such a negative impact (Interview 61). But onsite drug usage was not something that was witnessed by the majority of my interview subjects. Many stated that they have not seen it onsite but also stated it was hard to believe drugs were not there (Interview 61, 89, 58). What was interesting was the difference in how miners and community
members saw the issue of drugs and alcohol. Miners would say, “drugs…. well all kinds, mild drugs” (interview 54); or “Yes… you still find it, but… well for me… oh yeah, don’t know. Oh yeah, you always hear it, someone got busted…” to “it is a little weed, coke… [a] bit of both” (interview 58); to not having a clue at all: “Drugs?… no idea…weed, heard a rumor. Had the cops here,” to again “I have not seen or smelled marijuana underground for years”, and as for coke “No idea of coke, prevalent in town as much as it always has been… younger crowd” (interview 57). The latter comment is echoed by my interview with one of the social service workers in Marathon, who has been in this position for over nineteen years. The worker stated that addiction is very high: “weed, cocaine, crack and crystal meth is here. I think cocaine is the miner’s choice for those that use it. They can afford it. It affects the families and everything around …” (interview 18). This speaks to the issue of addiction to drugs and alcohol, and it was explained to me by the same social service worker in the following way: “In certain aspects, in certain groups, but not in the community as a whole. Everyone is aware, but no one is talking about it as a whole” (interview 18). The insight that this interviewee has into the darker part of living and working in mining, or resource industries as a whole, has become a part of the ‘it is what it is’ - miners work hard, and they make high wages, so they need to relax. In my interview with two key community members that work for the OPP, the issues that were addressed speak to how a community can be blinded to the prevalence of drugs in the community. As this key member of Marathon stated, if it is onsite, it is in the community:

…the way I look at it is that miners make a lot of money. They are paid very well… hum, you can see it in their driveway with their toys and all their RVs and accessories and trucks and so on and so further. They have all been here, I know not all, but the majority has been here for 20… 25 years, so the majority of them… their houses are paid off, so they are left with a lot of liquid cash. Um… there are rumors of prevalent of cocaine, hum… marijuana use, hashish use… but then we have heard of more lethal drugs, hum… ecstasy and crack and that sort of stuff. Whether it is prevalent and that, is not really the issue because… hum… if someone… if we don’t hear about it to us it is not a problem, or if people are not dealing to the youth or outside of their own little network, a lot of the time it is not an issue to us. I think we’d be surprised at
some of the drug users, individuals that work at the mine that are drug users within our community (interview 82).

I asked if this was because users are functional, or is it due to the fact that miners and mine workers work shifts? He agreed: “I think that is exactly what happens. They are functional in the community, or they keep to themselves, they don’t go out and about much. I think that has changed, whether it is because of the age difference” (interview 82). Age and the maturity and stability of Marathon seems to be connected to how the community can be willfully ignorant of the issues in town, and since there is only one bar left, there is no place to hang out anymore, with the exception of the Brews and Cues pub. This is an issue for young people who come into work as contractors:

…these local contractors, 20 to 25 years old… that are coming in being hired by these contractors out at the mine… that are paying these guys over a hundred thousand dollars, and these kids are experimenting with drugs and selling drugs. Because they … and they have the money to buy it, resell it or use it (interview 82).

It is important to reiterate that the issue of drugs is not unique to Marathon. Access to large amounts of cash, free time, high-stress and a resource job that is physically demanding and male-dominated, combine to make this a common issue in resource towns. Research done by Parkins and Angell (2011) explores the social and economic context of substance abuse in resource-based communities in rural Alberta. Several of the five key thematic areas that their study suggested could lead to substance abuse I found paralleled in my research:

● shift work which impedes families and community relationships,

● an economic base that creates social and income inequality and disparity,

● a heightened sense of financial security that can give rise to material competition, leading to financial stress and dependency on maintaining a high income (Parkins and Angell 2011).
The issue of shift work and its impact on families and community relations has a direct impact on worker’s lives. This was explained to me by a twenty-year veteran of mining: “shift work can be seen as the company controlling and owning you for the four days you are onsite working ten plus hours, there is not a lot to do but come home and sleep then back to work” (interview 48). He felt that the company owned him: “they can exercise some control over your habits and behaviors for those short periods and then on your days off, you own your own time and have a reprieve for three days to let loose and relax” (interview 48). Shift work requires very early mornings, which in my interview with a female mine worker was cited as a damper on bad habits: “[it] absolutely does... I get up at 4:00am and I don’t party, but I want to go to the gym...difficult to do this” (interview 51). She also addressed the issue of families and how even her mother had concerns about the mining culture and the side effects of shift work (interview 51). Another aspect of shift work was road rage during the change of shift timeframe: “it is a stressful job... all a part of the aggression” (interview 54). What this miner is referring to is the masculinity that he believes still plays a large part in mining and spills out into the community, even into the commute home (interview 54). This was also addressed in my interview with one of the OPP officers in Marathon and how shift work affects mine workers: they keep to themselves and do not get out and about in the community (interview 82). This speaks to Parkins and Angell’s (2011) research into how personally fragmenting shift work can be for individuals, increasing their susceptibility to substance abuse.

To expand further, many miners stated that age, maturity and the fact that the ‘boom’ is over has had an effect on how hard they play now. The disjointed views about social issues, such as drugs and alcohol, connected to the Hemlo mine site can be juxtaposed to the economic benefit of having a mine nearby. Many of the interviewees were willfully ignorant about the issues in
Marathon. One issue that has been mentioned above is that miners are a close-knit group or as an interviewee stated “a clique, you have to fit in” (interview 56). Even though many interviewees and miners were willfully ignorant about some of the social issues onsite and off, since they feel that “… it has changed too, society has changed…” They explained this by pointing to the fact that at one time one would pop a beer and drive home after a shift, but not anymore. They felt that an aging and a maturing workforce has slowed down the community and that many have passed that stage in life (interview 55, 56). Seventy percent of my interviewees acknowledged that drugs were still around, and one even stated that “if I was an officer I would have no trouble focusing in on the trouble ones” (interview 57). The phrase that has been associated with miners is work hard play hard, but as many of my interviewees stated, times have changed: “play hard not so much, more toys now”. But like everything in life this was a phrase that did not fit all. Interviewee 44 for instance, did not have a lot of material possessions growing up and he was content with that. To him the need to constantly buy new toys was just a “frame of mind” (interview 44).

In interview 51, a female trainer at Hemlo stated that play hard work hard was still around: “Yes, it is... absolutely. I was not a part of it, my family was my life”. This individual did not discount the importance of toys, but emphasized that the younger aged workers/contractors seemed to buy into the attitude of play hard work hard even more than older workers (interview 51). Similarly, in another interview, when I asked if there were drugs in Marathon the individual commented on the habits of some contract workers at Hemlo:

…oh for sure there is coke in Marathon and I think of the people that I know in town who are, I don’t know if they are 100% drug dealers, but if people go to their home for a minute … all the time. There is one right here, now he works as analimak contractor (coded name of company)

19In underground mining a raise refers to vertical extraction that leads from one drift or level to another. A raise can also lead to the surface.
so I would guess that he is not going to stop for ten hours [for his work shift]. Maybe he is… (interview 70).

The play hard work hard attitude has been affected by the stability of the workforce, age of the workers and community members and societal laws, such as drinking and driving that have changed the after shift-drinking pattern. To some this is where the shed party or garage party became even more predominant in Marathon, and has become the place to go to socialize with friends and drink. Also, since there is only one bar in town, Brews and Cues, the shed and garage parties become the only place to let off some steam after work, a safe place to gather and socialize with friends. However, shed parties have ebbed and flowed also: “I believe they still go on with some. Probably not to the degree that it did when it was booming. Oh, I still think they happen” (interview 51).

The issue of drugs onsite and offsite is again nothing new to resource towns such as Marathon, but what is an issue is the onsite safety of workers. An interesting point was the car share program at Hemlo where “lots of carpools drink on the way home” (interview 70). This points to the fact that drugs are onsite, and it was pointed out to me during my time at Hemlo that “well…. they just found a bag of weed at the surface crusher” (interview 70). Onsite and under Barrick Gold North America Fit for Duty Policy, there are firm procedures on how they’ll deal with drugs and alcohol issues and all are centered on having zero-tolerance onsite for contractors, employees, consultants, vendors and visitors. Along with this drug and alcohol policy, Barrick has in place an Employee/Family Assistance Program. This helps workers in need of treatment before their issue(s) move to a problem level that needs to be addressed by Barrick. Employees that seek treatment will be allowed receive it without jeopardy to their employment (Barrick Gold of North America 2007). But how do these policies translate into reality onsite? The following is a part of an interview I had with an underground mechanic:
Interviewer: Are you aware of any social issues that come into the mine and any off the mine site?

Interviewee: I would say. Both on and off. Both weed and coke.

Interviewer: Do you think it is an issue that needs to be addressed onsite?

Interviewee: In my opinion yes. I think they are one of the last sites to drug test.

Interviewer: And they need to drug test?

Interviewee: I think so, yes. You are dealing with explosives. That was my big thing when I came onsite. I have never seen it onsite.

Interviewer: But you know it is happening?

Interviewee: Yes, Some yes (interview 37).

Interviewees in general did acknowledge that drugs were around whether or not they had seen it, or whether they have only seen only weed not coke. But many referred back to an aging population, suggesting it was not as bad as it was years ago. This tendency to downplay the nature of the problem ties back into the ‘it is what it is’ attitude. When I interviewed Pic River’s Economic Development Officer (interview 89), she pointed out that the underground is a place where anything can happen due to the fact it is an isolated working environment. Supervisors make their rounds but can be blind to what is happening. According to the Development Officer, solutions to these issues are complex and if drug testing was done half of the workforce could be lost. This harkens back to the willful ignorance of the Mayor of Marathon in our interview: unless it becomes visual on the streets and people are falling into the gutters then it is not a big problem and ‘it is what it is’ (interview 76).

Domestic Abuse

Like many Canadian towns, Marathon has issues with the under-reporting of domestic abuse. However, rather than try to assess the actual level of domestic abuse in Marathon, I prefer in this section to focus on how economic instability and stereotypical masculinity play out on the
domestic stage with regard to violent abuse. The one thing that has been an economic stabilizer in the town can also be a factor in domestic abuse cases. The rumors and silences that I have been privy to about domestic abuse in Marathon were not shocking to me, since they are not uncommon in rural communities. Such was the case with one of the social service workers/managers I interviewed, who emphasized a concern for “lots of domestic violence not reported” (interview 43). And even though Marathon is a close-knit family, all families have dysfunctions and dark secrets that are only shared in certain circles. It was shared with me that when the mill closed in 2009, the number of domestic abuse cases increased together with the consumption of alcohol and drugs (Anonymous, a personal conversation, 2013). Economic downturns or economic instability have often been seen as triggers, such as was reported in 2016, when there was a downturn in the oil sands. Economic stressors caused ripple effects through families’ lives, and some paid a high price. As stated in the report by Canadian Women’s Foundation, “Calgary police report that domestic violence has increased in the wake of Alberta’s economic downturn. A similar link between an increase in domestic violence and the provincial economy has been noted in Newfoundland” (Canadian Women’s Foundation, CBC, CTV 2016).

Marathon is not immune to this downturn, as demonstrated by the previous mill closure. But now, with over sixty percent of Marathoners working for Hemlo, the decline will be felt more deeply, for longer, and with greater force than ever before. However, Marathon has an active women’s network, starting with Marjorie House and the people who work there to ensure the safety of women along the North Shore. Even without a downturn, the women’s shelter is full the majority of the time, and signs about abuse are posted on the road into Marathon and even in Manitouwadge. The decision to place a women’s shelter in Marathon came down to it being the most central location for the catchment area from Sault Ste. Marie to Thunder Bay (interview
18). When the need to address the issue of placement - the “not in my backyard issue - came into play, Marathon stepped up and provided support for women in need in the area (interview 18).

Environmental Issues

The fragmentation of miners lives became apparent when I asked them about mining impacts on the environment, for most of the miners I interviewed and associated with during my time in Marathon are avid fishermen, hunters, quad and snowmobile enthusiasts. The environmental issues tied to mine production are numerous, but were not the focus of my research. However, when asking about possible negative issues associated with mining, I would always ask about the environment. Many interviewees saw the positives outweighing environmental or social issues. Onsite, one of the issues that I found to be overlooked was that no one drank the tap water. Bottled water was brought in for coffee, tea, and drinking. To me this was a major issue. However, more serious still, from my perspective, was that onsite it was seen as normal: ‘it is what it is’. The bottled water issue was brought up to me in personal conversations off site with one of my guides in the field. I was never given an answer that addressed this issue, and when I pushed about the lakes and creeks nearby and if one could fish in them, I was told people do. Is this selective perception or corporate framing? I think it is both.

In my interview with the Barrick Hemlo Environmental Superintendent (interview 27) the environment did not take center stage in a forty-three-minute sit-down discussion, but we did dance around it with reference to mining culture, CSR and how more “voices” are now insisting that mining development and operations behave more responsibly (interview 27). When we discussed mining culture, we slid into a conversation about how mining communities like Marathon, Timmons, Red Lake and Sudbury are all old mining cultures that do not work anymore. When I asked why, the following answer was given: “hard to work cause now you
have more NGOs that are now voicing their opinions based on past practices of mining. There is still a black eye on mining from historical… you know from fifty or a hundred years ago” (interview 27). I asked what ‘old mining culture’ is, and this is where I could see the environment coming into play for him: “… you came in, you mined, you polluted and you left and you made huge eyesores on the land or the lake…whatever… now you have more voices challenging to ensure the mines are being developed and operating… in places responsibly” (interview 27). When I continued this line of conversation, we began to talk about how CSR policies need not take a cookie-cutter approach to sites and communities. I asked if a common shared approach to CSR policies would be more beneficial: “I believe it would be more beneficial. You know other operations sites have their own issues, challenges in regards to their workforce and communities. Yeah, from a regional perspective, instead of a whole blanket approach” (interview 27). I believe this reluctance to define social issues as environmental ones had to do with two things. First, I did not directly name or push social issues in any direction; I gave the interviewee room to define social issues, even though I did list some possible ones. When asked about social issues, the interviewee stated that none jumped out (interview 27). Secondly, the reluctance spoke to how entrenched is the phrase ‘it is what it is’, and how it allows for selective perception to give way to willful ignorance when looking at many social issues and environmental concerns.

In one interview with a miner who has been on the Hemlo site since 1985, the issue of environment as a negative consequence of mining came up. “I believe they tend to be [in] the nature of blasting… the dust storms come across the highway,” he responded, but claimed that Barrick nowadays inflicts less harm on the environment : “I believe we don’t… as much as we try we’ll affect the waters around. We put dust chemical sulfates, silica into the water, it is a
negative effect… they try to minimize it but it is still there” (interview 54). This is an excellent example of selective perception leading to willful ignorance. It comes into play for both mine workers and community members, for they have had to come to terms with environmental and social issues so they can still feel good about what they do. In an article by Norgaard (2011) on the communities tied to Norway’s oil industry, willful ignorance or ontological self-care becomes the way of benefiting from an industry while being fully aware that it has a detrimental impact on the environment. To Norgaard (2011), this does not make these community members, miners and mine workers bad human beings, just people who, despite their knowledge of environmental harm, employ self-regulating mechanisms to continue to function. I found that this was what many interviewees employed when talking about mining issues in Marathon, but some did directly address the environment as a social issue. One miner addressed the issue head on by stating there are negatives when looking at access to fishing and hunting trap lines near the tailing at Williams: “we get access but limited” (interview 44). Yet, by combining cognitive dissonance and ‘it is what it is’, he highlighted the positive aspects of mining activities: “Positive outweighs the negative … [for] this is a small town….it boosts our economy” (interview 44). In another interview, the positives were seen as reflecting mining culture in Marathon: “oh yes, definitely… well Marathon is a good place to live because of the mine” (interview 35). This is not to say that during my time in Marathon there was no awareness of environmental or social issues, just that as the interviewee 35 stated, the positive outweighs the negative.

**Economic Issues**

Of all of the issues under the heading of social issues, economic issues weigh most heavily. The economic dependency that Marathon has on a single industry, mining, plays a large role in how CSR and CR policies are shaped and misshaped in a town that has had three decades of a
relatively stable economy. The boom-and-bust cycle of mining has touched Marathon, with the closure of two of the mines on the Hemlo site. But Williams has stood strong and steady during these closures. Even when the mill closed down in Marathon, many mill workers were able to wait out the wave of instability with employment at the mine, or with jobs that required them to fly in and fly out. But still, Hemlo was a constant, and after the shutdown of the David Bell mine, Williams absorbed many miners from that site. Williams has provided economic stability, and the bust part of the cycle that is all too common in resource towns has been postponed. What differs is how the bust will affect Marathon. This cannot be predicted from the outcomes in other mining communities of place. There is a growing need to study the corporation and its impact on a community, because that community should not be left worse off after the closure of the mine (Kemp 2010). The common ‘boom-and-bust’ economic life-cycle of mining communities around the globe is characterized by fast expansion and ‘development’ when the mine is present and investing, followed by the ‘bust’ when the mine, along with all the economic benefits it contributed, closes and leaves (Mawhiney and Pitblado 1999; Kemp 2010).

In the following chapter, I switch my focus from Marathon and the mine site to Barrick’s headquarters in Toronto, beginning with a brief history of Peter Munk, the founder of the company. This portrait serves as a backdrop to my interview with Barrick’s CSR Manager and my personal experience at Barrick’s corporate head office. In the remainder of the chapter, I provide more analysis of CSR policies and the characteristics of the corporate discourse deployed in CSR documents. Additionally, I expand on how disconnected policy makers are from their ‘sites’, and how hollow CSR and CR policies are in relation to the needs of the communities of place they are supposed to serve.
Chapter Six: The Cathedral of Capitalism

The Brief but Glittering History of Peter Munk

Peter Munk and his family were Hungarian-born immigrants who came to Canada in 1948, at a time when many Hungarians, including my father and his family, were fleeing the communist takeover of the country. Munk arrived in Canada with the drive to live the Canadian dream and succeed in the business world. He was a man with a vision who ended up changing the way Canada and mining are seen globally today.

Munk attended the University of Toronto to study electrical engineering, but this was cut short when he ran out of cash and had to move out of Toronto to Ajax, Ontario. Munk had many jobs and started several businesses before he and his partner, David Gilmore, founded Barrick Petroleum Corporation in 1980. It became the foundation for one of the biggest mining corporations in the world. It was not until 1983 that Munk and Gilmore ventured into gold and started their rise to global domination. This is also when they changed their corporate name to Barrick Resource Corporation. On May 2nd, 1983, Barrick went public on the Toronto Stock Exchange, and Barrick began purchasing operating mines in Canada and United States. One of these purchases marks the beginning of their rise: the Quebec-based Camflo Mine Ltd. Then came stakes in two mines in the United States and one in Ontario at Kirkland Lake. One of the stakes in the US was in Goldstrike, Nevada, a mine that placed Barrick on the road to becoming one of the most profitable gold producers in the world. During this period, an ounce of gold was worth, on average, $450.00, spiking at $850.00 in 1980 (Phillips 2008). The early ’80s were also a time when gold mines were being closed, not opened. However, this risky behavior directly reflects the persona of Barrick's founder and CEO. Peter Munk saw the need to expand beyond gold mining in places like South Africa that were under political and economic pressures. These
pressures were reflected by how many investors were pulling out of politically risky investments, but who nevertheless wanted to keep a large portion of their assets in gold (Phillips 2008). Munk embraced these pressures: "I have always preached that the greatest opportunities in business arise from major changes in the political and economic arenas" (Phillips 2008:7). With Canada being heavily reliant on resources, Munk saw a new arena to play in: northern Ontario.

In the rough times of the late 1980s, when gold prices remained low, Barrick’s profits were still growing. Peter Munk looked like a champion to his shareholders, and became the man to watch and beat. In 1993 this immigrant became the hero of gold capitalism, and was awarded one of Canada's highest honors, becoming an Officer of the Order of Canada. In 1994 Barrick purchased Lac Minerals Ltd., one of the biggest gold corporation purchases in the Americas at that time. Lac Minerals Ltd. owned several properties at the time of acquisition, but one property in particular, the El Indio gold belt in the Andes Mountains, showed signs of being another huge gold strike. By 1995 Barrick had weathered the ups and downs of the gold prices, and had ten working mines and four in development. One of those mines was Hemlo in northern Ontario.

The Andes gold strike has remained elusive to this day. Barrick’s Pascua Lama mine site in the eastern El Indio gold belt has become one of their most challenging projects. This mine site, in fact, has caused Barrick to lose their status as the world’s leading gold corporation. Barrick seriously mismanaged this project, and also their North Mara mine in Tanzania, and this mismanagement brought to light some of the company’s corporate shortsightedness, especially with regard to their CSR, CR, environmental and social policies. Barrick’s CSR policies were falling short and so were their stocks.

In recent years Barrick has sold off properties, and laid off miners and mine workers at many sites to stem the bleeding from their Pascua Lama mine site. In 2014, a major re-
structuring of Barrick Corporation occurred, as Peter Munk stepped down as CEO, to be replaced by James Thornton. Shortly after that appointment, Jamie Sokalsky was replaced as Barrick’s president by Kelvin Dushnisky. These shake-ups were no surprise, since the Pascua Lama disaster and the shrinking of Barrick's operations had made them stumble on the global gold market. But not all of Barrick's unsteadiness is financial, nor is it the only reason that they have lost their status as leader of the global gold market. For that would downplay some of Barrick's worst-held secrets, the failure of their CSR and CR policies globally, as illustrated especially by the Porgera Gold Mine in Papua New Guinea and the North Mara mine in Tanzania. Both mines have been under investigation for unethical treatment of workers and female villagers. These two mines provide a glimpse into Barrick’s lack of emphasis on understanding the history and the culture of an area, and their failure to implement CSR and CR policies that are responsive to local traditions and conditions (Hamman 2004; Rajak 2010).

The Cathedral of Capitalism

During my field research, Barrick had interests in one pipeline project and 25 mine operations on at least five continents, and was looking to expand its influence around the globe. Given that Barrick's only mine in Canada is Hemlo, located only a short distance from the company’s headquarters in Toronto, one would think that the Toronto CSR department was well versed in conditions there, and would have ensured that their policies and programs were disseminated to all employees. This turned out not to be the case, as it will be described in further detail below. It was not easy to gain access to Barrick headquarters, and it was not until I began my descent into Pearson Airport in Toronto on March 6, 2013, that I realized I was finally going to get my chance to see the inside of Barrick Gold's Corporate Office, the threshold of capitalism and
mining in Canada. My access to corporate headquarters resulted from my shadowing of S1 and later S2. As a result of those contacts, I was initially granted an interview with Barrick's Vice-President of CSR, but as the date of my interview approached, he became unavailable and I was passed onto the Manager of CSR. The journey to the Barrick's Corporate Office on Bay Street was not without a few bumps along the way (Figure 23).

Figure 23: TD Canada Trust Towers.  
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
For the day that I landed in Toronto, which was the day before my 10:30am interview on March 7th, I opened my email to find a message from the CSR Manager that she had to cancel. I was not surprised by this email for during this time Barrick was embroiled in controversy as a result of reports by MiningWatch Canada and Human Rights Watch about events at their Tanzania and Porgera mines. I believe that they saw me as a bother rather than a threat, since neither of the headquarters’ administrators, as it appeared, had been briefed by S1 when he arranged the initial interview. Even though I provided Sinclair with a synopsis of my research prior to our scheduled meeting, it became obvious during my interview with the CSR Manager that she had no idea what kinds of questions I would be asking about the Hemlo mine, or that I had already been onsite at Hemlo for several months. Once she became aware, Barrick took swift action to block any further access on my part to the corporate office and to the regional office in Salt Lake City, Utah. All my subsequent emails asking for further meetings were returned with curt but professional responses indicating that they were too busy to meet with me. I also began to see that my Academic and LinkedIn web-accounts were being checked monthly by unidentified sources in Toronto. Call me suspicious, but my senses told me that, by this time, Barrick had me on their radar.

That said, the CSR Manager did keep our first appointment, and I believe it was mainly because I was already in Toronto when I received her email cancelling our interview, and when I called she felt bound to keep it. However, she did make it clear on the phone, and then again in person, that she was very busy and could only give me 45 minutes of her time.

The next morning could not come fast enough, and as I began to unpack my clothing for the interview, I realized that during the last several months my wardrobe had changed. When I was on-site, the people I shadowed, mine workers, dressed for their relaxed and industrial
setting, not at all in Bay Street attire. The change in dress was noticeable from the moment I entered the TD Canada Trust Towers, the cathedral on Bay Street (Figure 27). I refer to the TD Canada Trust Tower as a cathedral, for the entrance was a tower of glass that led me into the epicenter of the financial district in Toronto. The Towers consist of the TD Canada Trust Tower and The Bay Wellington Tower, which house a large number of financial businesses such as TD, Royal Bank, CIBC Wood Gundy, CIBC World Markets, and Morgan Stanley. Barrick's Corporate Head office is located on the 37th floor of the TD Canada Trust Tower. As I approached the elevators, out of the corner of my eye, two well-dressed men caught my attention, one being supported by the other. My heart raced, for the white-haired and small, frail man was none other than Peter Munk himself. I quickened my pace to intercept them, which I did, and to my surprise both Peter Munk and the now-replaced CEO Jamie Sokalsky greeted me with a smile and an extended hand. The frail Peter Munk wished me well with my research, and Jamie Sokalsky took his elbow and guided him away. The image reminded me of The Christmas Carol and the ghost of Christmas past (Figure 24).
I finally arrived at the Barrick private office floor and was greeted by a secretary who took my name and waved me to the chairs in front of her. On the shelving units around the waiting area, awards were laid out like an offering to all who come; proof in nice glass, wood and metal effigies of all the good Barrick does globally and in Canada. I waited for what seemed like hours, until finally the CSR manager of Barrick came, we quickly greeted each other and I followed her down the hall towards the locked private lunchroom. She quickly addressed why
she had kept the meeting despite her preference to reschedule - because I had already arrived in Toronto last night - but emphasized she did not have a lot of time. Off to a good start, I thought!

Finally, we sat down at a table by the window and I began the interview, and without any small talk I quickly got to the main questions. First, we went over the consent form, I gave her time to read and sign it, and as she handed it back to me she asked, in a half-hearted way, if the company’s lawyers could read my report. I said, “Yes, of course, as soon as I have defended they’d be welcome to read the whole dissertation”. We moved on and I began, asking first how long she worked for Barrick. She replied, "Seven years," and then, when asked how many times she had been to Hemlo, she stated: "I have never been into Hemlo". But she explained that she has been to other mine sites globally, such as in Africa (interview 75). She had the sense that all mines in Barrick's fleet ran the same with regard to CSR and even mining, so there was really no need to go to Hemlo, for no problems there drew attention. Though she had never been to Hemlo, she was convinced that employees there were well-versed in Barrick's CSR policies.

When I asked her to define what CSR meant to her, her response was muted and less scripted then I had expected: “It is a company’s responsibility to society, I think it is about win-win situations… I think it is about what is good for poverty mitigation is good for business… so I think that corporate social responsibility is something that is good for society and for business” (interview 75). Right away, the “win-win” phrase caught my attention, since over the last several years the company has not been remembered for bringing ‘win-win’ situations to the communities in which they work. Their Tanzania and Papua New Guinea mines jump to mind. In 2008, MiningWatch Canada, and in 2011 Human Rights Watch, for instance, both detailed the serious abuses at the Porgera mine. In 2008, MiningWatch released the following statement:

…Concerns about killings by security guards at the Porgera Joint Venture (PJV) mine, as well as about serious public health, environmental and socio-cultural impacts of the
mine have continued since Barrick’s purchase of the mine two years ago. Neither the PNG government nor Barrick have responded effectively to these concerns.

For more than a year, MiningWatch Canada and the International Human Rights Clinic at the Harvard Law School, together with the Mineral Policy Institute in Australia, have been documenting allegations of abuses, as well as concerns about the lack of adequate information on human rights abuses and on mining-related sources of contamination.

Since the 1990s, primary concerns surrounding the mine have included: killings and rapes of local community members by PJV security guards (a PNG government inquiry into these allegations has yet to be released); impacts on riverine ecosystems and downstream communities as a result of the dumping of toxic mine waste (tailings) directly into the river system; loss of agricultural land and food security through encroachment of the mine and its massive waste dumps; health and safety issues as the community lives on the edges of the mine and its waste dumps; lack of adequate information on human rights abuses and on mining-related sources of contamination in the community; lack of an equitable plan to relocate all of the affected Indigenous communities (MiningWatch Canada 2008).

This did not seem to be a win-win situation, and since I was facing a time crunch, I tried to maximize my limited interview time with her. What consumed the remaining portion, twenty-six minutes, of our thirty-five-minute sit-down interview was her need to clarify to me Barrick’s CSR policies, how they are not philanthropic in nature, and that donations are a “very, very small portion of what we do” (interview 75). It was important that she explained how long-term community investments come from long-term community development in which the community is involved in the discussions: “it is through engagement of the community to understand the needs and result of social impact assessments so the bulk of those dollars come from those processes” (interview 75). Community engagement seemed to be a missing link at Hemlo when it came to Marathon and communities that Barrick had defined as communities of interest, for the majority of community dollars were decided on by three mid-management level employees onsite. In some cases, money was given through S1 in response to requests received through his networking. However, it was brought up in an interview with a social service worker in Marathon that many community programs did not receive money, for they did not reach out
directly to Hemlo, and Hemlo management staff did not directly seek out all those in the community who needed support and ‘engagement’.

The dogma that Barrick CSR policy, as currently enacted, creates a win/win situation for all involved, is clearly not supported by the evidence, but does provide another example of oxymoronic corporate wordplay. Win/win situations cannot be documented to date at any of Barrick’s non-Canadian mine sites, and even though Marathon residents and Hemlo workers express mostly positive views of the Hemlo operation, this does not mean that Barrick and Marathon are in a win/win relationship. As documented above, Hemlo has also had a negative effect on the environment, the economy, and society as a whole. Resource towns like Hemlo continue to be caught up in the boom-and-bust cycles characteristic of single-resource towns. Manitouwadge, next door to Marathon, is a glaring example of such a cycle, one that Marathon will need to confront and deal with if it does not want to be in the same situation in a few short years. Barrick's Corporate CSR team is far removed from the realities of Marathon, largely because they are focusing on the mine sites with the most troublesome human rights issues, where local communities are far less respectful of their operations than is Marathon.

During my time at Hemlo, Barrick Corporate CSR executives did schedule a visit by Peter Sinclair, the Vice-President of CSR. However, the visit never occurred, and a rescheduling did not take place during my remaining time at Hemlo or my stay in Marathon.

Barrick's one-size-fits-all CSR model, which Visser (2006) has argued in the African context does not match well with local priorities, is also not a good fit in the Global North. Visser also argues that the classic American-based four-part CSR pyramid structure (economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic sections) that Carroll introduced in 1991 continues to be applied globally, but is an antiquated model (Visser 2006:13). The CSR industry, led by the Global
Mining Initiative, has contributed directly to these misunderstandings. Many if not most of the largest gold mines in the world – the Rio Tinto project in the Mongolian Desert is another prominent example-- create CSR policy at their corporate headquarters that is almost completely disconnected from local conditions and local communities (Anonymous, a personal communication, 2013). I estimate that this disconnect of location and the lack of understanding of cultures and communities of interest displayed by the creators of such disjointed CSR policies and programs has helped to perpetuate the current CSR discourse. This basic misunderstanding can be seen in how the Barrick CSR manager placed more importance on visiting mine sites in Africa, and how those areas guide how polices are created and disseminated. A fine example of this was shared with me when I was on my pit tour at Williams. Onsite gas filing stations are key-locked, I was told, because of the theft of gas at some of their African mines, which led Barrick to make a blanket policy that all gas filling stations were to be locked. To Barrick, this meant the problem was solved, but what they did not take into consideration was that some mine sites were located in areas where this was not a problem. Also, this policy did not consider areas such as Hemlo, in northern Ontario, where the winters are bitterly cold, making working outside dangerous - such as handling metal in below-freezing temperatures. Mines and communities have very different structures, issues and priorities that require local, eclectic, common-shared thinking when creating CSR/CR polices. A final problem with the one-size-fits-all approach is the fact that it is being developed mainly in response to mines that become media or human rights disasters, which explains why the Manager of CSR for Barrick places more importance on going to mine sites in Africa than in Canada.
The Evolution of Barrick CSR Policy

Today Barrick fights to remain one of the largest mining corporations in the world, but with gold prices staggering and a few ill-advised investments, Goldcorp has challenged its position and influence on the gold mining world stage. Barrick has also suffered from several well-publicized CSR failures and associated public relations disasters.

Barrick's adoption of CSR policies followed the trajectory of many other mining corporations that adopted such policies in response to the large number of mining accidents in the 1990s that garnered public attention. These were brought to light largely due to the rise in global NGO activism against the mining industry (Dashwood 2012). Barrick's CSR policies took many years to find a clear direction, and it was not until 2003 that CSR global standards became embedded in the CSR policies it wrote and implemented (Dashwood 2012). For Barrick, the former CEO Aaron Regent's one legacy, beyond his enormous payout in 2012, was his drive in 2009 to make further major changes to the company’s CSR polices and standards (Dashwood 2007, 2012). These changes may have altered the culture of CSR in Barrick's corporate office, but at the mine site level, at Hemlo for instance, CSR is still a vague concept that has not put down roots. The accidents and social/environmental crises that prompted a global CSR initiative in the first place continue, especially in less affluent countries, such as in Southern Africa, which continue to experience horrific mining accidents, social injustice and environmental degradation even under well-defined CSR policies. CSR policies in areas such as Southern Africa are what NGO activists draw on when protesting and fighting the actions of mining companies globally.

During my Master's research in the 1990s, I came to understand just how relevant CSR policies were to mining enclaves in Southern Botswana, where HIV and AIDS were causing many mining corporations to bleed red. Corporations such as De Beers initiated CSR policies as a way
to stop the bleeding, and in response to the cost of retraining laborers to replace those who had
died, were too sick to work, or who had to leave to take care of sick family members. This is
when it became crystal clear that the CSR policies and programs were piecemeal and patched
together in a way that doomed them to failure (Kowalke 2009).

*The Global Mining Initiative*

The Global Mining Initiative (GMI) began in 2000 as a collective response by the mining
industry to damaging public criticism. One of its first actions was to commission an independent
study of the industry titled “Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development” (MMSD). This
study brought CSR discourse into closer alignment with the discourse of sustainable
development, and shortly after it was published the GMI group created a new body, the
International Council of Mining and Minerals (ICMM), to carry forward its initiative. Mining
corporations during the 1990s worked, internally at first, to develop their own codes of conduct,
then reached out to the CSR industry, such as NGOs and consultants, to create the International
Council of Mining and Minerals (ICMM). ICCM was created in 2001 to help improve the
performance of mining and metal industries globally (Dashwood 2007). NGOs began to work
with ICMM to develop a standard of practice for the mining sector, and at the same time private
mining corporations and the ICMM combined with states in international organizations to
develop CSR standards related to mining (Dashwood 2007). ICMM consists of 23 mining and
mineral companies, along with 34 national and regional associates and 58 countries of operation.
Its stated purpose is to work with communities and governments to find ethical ways of
extraction and to maximise the contribution of mining, minerals and metals to sustainable
development (ICMM 2017). However, this was internationally driven, and what it overlooked
was that many of the mining corporations that were working to create CSR standards were
operating in the Global South where certain North Americanized CSR policies or practices do not fit. Hence the discourse of a one-size-fits-all model that many mining corporations adopted in the 1990s.

The sustainable-development discourse in mining builds on familiar concepts such as those articulated in *Our Common Future*, the Brundtland Commission Report of 1987. Many of these concepts are fundamentally sound, and could provide the foundation for robust CSR policies in the mining industry - the concept of a sustainable community, for instance, as one that is able to deal with future change without hurting future generations and while providing for the people that live in it (Jenkins and Obara 2008). In order for a community to be sustainable, there must be a dialogue between the people and the company to ensure that the community is prepared for the long-term goals and effects of having the mine close by. Appiah (2014), in a similar vein, has noted that environmental monitoring is not just important for the company inflicting the damage; it is important that the communities understand what is happening to their environment. It should be their decision to allow the operation to continue or determine how much the operation is responsible for paying for clean-up if an infraction does occur. This can only be attained through a community's informed consent. It is often not brought to the attention of the public that there is a problem in the functioning of the mine until after disaster has already struck. If the environmental reports were broadcast to more people who are directly affected and live in the mining community, the community could fully understand the risks they are being asked to take. If the mining industry truly began to incorporate this type of thinking into its operations, significant improvements could be made, but unfortunately the industry appears to be falling short of that goal, for various reasons. Dashwood (2014) has suggested that companies that are struggling to make a profit, or are in highly competitive situations, are more likely to cut
corners in their CSR and environmental management policies. She also suggests, though, that a good way for the mining industry to improve would for the companies to work together, whether through the ICMM or other mechanisms, rather than compete with each other to see who can create the best CSR.

Barrick is part of the Global Mining Initiative (GMI) and a member of ICMM, and has agreed, with other members, to follow ten main initiatives/principles that foster ethical and responsible practice. The ten principles that were established in 2003, and updated in 2015, were created according to a best-practice framework for sustainable development in mineral and metal industries (ICMM 2016, 2017). Corporations like Barrick are to fully implement these ten principles, such as principle one: “Apply ethical business practices and sound systems of corporate governance and transparency to support sustainable development”. Principle two applies to enhancing stakeholder values to “Integrate sustainable development in corporate strategy and decision-making processes” (ICMM 2015, 2016, 2017). All ten principles are tool kits for mineral and metal corporations to apply to their practices both globally and locally.

Barrick has incorporated ISO 14000 standards in its CSR and Environmental policies, and is committed to having all their mines ISO 14001 certified, which is the world's most adopted environmental management standard (EMS). ISO 14000 was created by the International Organizations for Standardization (ISO) for organizations globally. The ISO 14001 is a standardized checklist of appropriate policies with regard to environmental issues. The Mount Polley copper and gold mine in central British Columbia, which experienced a breach in its tailings pond in 2014, resulting in contamination of local surface and groundwater supplies, is also ISO 14001 certified, however. This indicates that the checklist does not require real-world compliance. Human error is still the unknown quantity in this mix, and no matter what checks
and balances a corporation has in place, mistakes, overestimating one's ability, and the need to keep to a budget, produce a profit, or receive a CSR award, shapes how environmental issues are truly dealt with. ISO 14001 and ISO 9000/9001 are woven into Barrick’s CSR promotional agenda. ISO, like many of these organizations, are cash grabs that provide toolkits, awards, and research findings to their membership for a cost. These two standards may not mean anything to the general public, but they have been widely adopted by mining corporations globally. In Peter Benson’s and Stuart Kirsch's (2010) article Corporate Oxymoron, we see how such awards, standards and policies are truly window-dressing, a way of muting the rumblings of concern by drowning the naysayers in PR packages, advertising, and awards from such agencies as ISO and CDP (the former Carbon Disclosure Project). Benson and Kirsch (2010) draw attention to the frequent use of terms such as ‘sustainable’ and ‘safe’, the claims that all standards are being met, and the use of contradictory words, or oxymorons, as well as phrases that are hollow yet still impart a sense of meaning, such as sustainable mining, responsible mining, and environmental and sustainable mining (Poerksen 1995). This discourse conceals corporate agendas, lends plausibility to these terms, and, as stated above, mutes opposing viewpoints (Benson and Kirsch 2010:46). In mining, the lexicon attached to social responsibility has become a tool to mute the negative impact that mining has on workers, communities of place (mining enclaves) and environments (Benson and Kirsch 2010). This lexicon informs Barrick’s media releases, its

ISO 9001 is a standard under the ISO 9000 family of standards: a set of international practices indicating how to manage quality and help provide quality assurance for companies, so that they can implement effective documentation and maintain an efficient quality system. This is not specific to one industry; it can be applied to any organization no matter its size. “ISO 9000 can help a company satisfy its customers, meet regulatory requirements, and achieve continual improvement. However, it should be considered to be a first step, the base level of a quality system, not a complete guarantee of quality” (ISO 2017). The ISO is a nongovernmental international organization with a membership list of 164 national standard bodies that states: “Through its members, it brings together experts to share knowledge and develop voluntary, consensus-based, market relevant International Standards that support innovation and provide solutions to global challenges” (ISO 2017).
annual responsibility reports, and especially its *Beyond Borders* magazine, which uses glossy pages and socially responsible terminology to misrepresent its operations. Through the placement of ‘responsible’ and ‘mining’ together in the title of their annual responsibility reports, readers are led to assume that mining can indeed be responsible. For eight years running, Barrick has been awarded the Dow Jones Sustainability World Index, demonstrating the persuasive power of this language.

**Corporate Social Responsibility: Sort of Working...?**

Like many mining corporations, Barrick has a seemingly credible CSR policy that has been professionally written by one or more of the many CSR agencies that have cropped up since the CSR boom in the mid- to late 1980s. Barrick releases carefully crafted annual reports each year with the term 'responsible' taking pride of place on a glossy cover that features an environmentally or community friendly image to support its claim of being socially responsible while at the same time being economically responsible to its shareholders (Barrick Annual Report 2013; Barrick Responsible Mining 2013). These reports are rarely read by the people who most need to be aware of Barrick’s actions and PR maneuvers - its workers and community members. Very few of my interviewees had read these reports or even knew of Barrick's CSR policies, even though each employee receives a *Beyond Borders* newsletter every few months highlighting Barrick's CSR ventures at, mostly, international mine sites. Meanwhile, as corporate offices disseminate rhetoric, local mine managers ignore even the most basic rules about how to systematically develop local CSR policy. L.E. Preston long ago produced a matrix that allowed for a narrowing of the range of social issues that mining corporations, and hence site managers/superintendents, should be responsible for:

1) awareness or recognition of an issue,
2) analysis and planning,

3) response in terms of policy development; and

4) implementation (Clark 2000).

This matrix provided a way for corporations to understand and act on the fact that business and society are interconnected, and that businesses bear some responsibility to address social issues (Clark 2000). However, during my time at Hemlo, I did not see these steps being applied, or even understood. Instead, as documented previously, I saw an approach based on handing out donations, usually with only short-term goals in mind, that tended to silence discussion of underlying social issues, such as housing for seniors or long-term economic sustainability for Marathon. During one of my interviews onsite with a millworker, he compared CSR when Teck owned Hemlo to how it operated now under Barrick. "CSR sort of works”, he stated.

Teck only did what they thought was enough. Barrick has improved on that, but they still only do what they think is necessary. Barrick's philosophy is that they are only going to match [it], not improve on it. Now they are doing this global mining thing, making sure they don't have to do too much. Vern Baker (former Hemlo site Manager) was proud to stand up in front of us in a meeting and say in South Africa we only pay our workers $2.00 a day (interview 36).

The understanding of the limits and misuse of CSR was apparent in this interview and many others. When I asked this worker for his opinion about the relationship of CSR to philanthropy, he stated:

I believe [in] a little of both. Barrick could do a better job. They fund a lot of stuff but... A little boy needed medical help and could not get it in Canada. They did not work for the mine, so they did not get help. They have it posted all over the mine that they will help people, but they have had the opportunity to help people other than mining people, and they do not (interview 36).

His “posted all over the mine” comment refers to the Barrick CSR policy posters that went up prior to my first interview. CSR and philanthropy are two terms that many of my interviewees did not separate, though the Manager of CSR at Barrick Head Office spent a lot of time during
our interview explaining just how different Barrick feels the two terms are. While it is true that Barrick's written CSR policies are not philanthropic in nature, the evidence clearly indicates that their practices are. This is especially true if one uses the term philanthropy, as I do, not to refer to genuinely altruistic behavior – the traditional definition – but rather to a colonializing and paternalistic form of philanthropy that mining corporations, such as Barrick, typically engage in when dealing with communities of place and stakeholders.

The debate over CSR is highly polarized, but Visser notes a general agreement that the private sector remains well situated to make a significant contribution towards improving the social, environmental and economic conditions of Africa (Visser 2006:12-14). This argument applies, in fact, to all countries where the mining industry operates. However, the evidence to date indicates that this potential remains unrealized.

**Corporate Oxymorons, Sustainability and the CSR Media Awards**

As noted previously, the use of idioms such as _ethical, sustainable, socially responsible_ and _sustainable development_ have taken over mining corporations' language as a way to mute voices that are drawing attention to the negative social and environmental impacts of mining operations (Selmier, Newenham-Kahindi and Oh 2015). Ivan Illich states that the latter “class of words” ceases to generate meaning or utility: “Like an amoeba, [such words] fit into almost any interstice of the language” (1971). Benson and Kirsch (2010) have been particularly insightful in their extensive discussion of this issue. Rajak (2011) also addresses the issue of corporate oxymorons, which she describes as the “new orthodoxy” of CSR. The very same corporations that only recently and grudgingly began to engage in CSR initiatives are now competing for prizes and index-rankings for the title of top corporate citizen in national and international
forums (2011:91). Mining corporations are attempting to reinvent themselves as the champions of sustainable development, as opposed to irresponsible and exploitative capitalist enterprises. They have managed, in some cases, to shift the burden of responsibility to the governments of Africa that have been guilty of misusing resource revenues at the expense of their people (Rajak 2011:92). Meanwhile, the documented cases of communities and countries besieged by the curse of conflict and human rights and workplace violations continue unchecked (2011:92). This new orthodoxy of CSR is not entirely able to mute public criticism, however, and the more repetitive and predictable it becomes, the more it draws attention to the fact that CSR is just window-dressing.

Kirsch (2010) has drawn attention to the ways in which the word *sustainable*, in particular, has entered the mining industry’s CSR discourse. US mining corporations are the leading source of toxic pollution throughout the world, and mining operations move more earth than any other human activity, with devastating consequences for local ecosystems and water supplies. But mining corporations nevertheless aggressively promote the idea that mining is ‘sustainable’ (Kirsch 2010:88). Barrick’s public representation of its Hemlo mine certainly follows this pattern, and, as noted, this completely overlooks the fact that mining inevitably follows a boom-and-bust cycle that leaves people and communities behind when a mine closes. The concept of sustainability is what Kirsch, relying on Nowotny et al. (2001), calls ‘mode 2 knowledge production’, based on a 'novel' relationship between science and society (2010:88-89). Whereas mode 1 knowledge production assumes that science and society are separate domains, mode 2 knowledge “is more heterogeneous, reflexive, and socially accountable” (Kirsch 2010:88-89). Because the term ‘sustainable’ is used in so many different contexts, its meaning has become obscured and muted by virtue of the fact that everything from sustainable
farming to sustainable clothing, sustainable coffee, and sustainable development is tied to this concept. In the context of mining, it is nothing more than a platitude.

**Social License**

In Marathon, social license was not something sought at the time the Hemlo mine site was developed. In the 1970s, when Homestead began construction on what is now the Williams Barrick mine, social license was not a requirement anywhere in Canada. However, in the highly charged world of today, the need to obtain a social license has changed the power relationship of many communities with mining corporations (Jenkins and Obara, 2008; Owen and Kemp 2012).

Social License concerns the perception of legitimacy and the right to operate; it is not to be confused with consultation. This term took hold about fifteen years ago, and became part of how the business case was made for mining corporations and their shareholders. Engagement was to be transparent, lending legitimacy to exploration and operation in shareholders’ ‘backyards’. Prino (2013) addresses how social license came about as a response to the increasing demands of mining communities for greater say and community benefits from mining, and for reassurance that mining companies will behave in a safe and socially responsible manner. In the case of Hemlo, due to its age, this was never an issue, but today obtaining a social license to operate has become one of the major obstacles for mining corporations, both locally and globally. In the case of Canada, since we have no federal mining act\(^{21}\), and each province has its own policies, the issue of full compliance by mining corporations with communities’ expectations remains unenforceable. Despite its promise, then, the term ‘social license’ has also become part of a discourse that mutes criticism.

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\(^{21}\) While it is correct that mining falls within provincial jurisdiction, there are key Federal legislation governing mining, such as in the Fisheries Act, which regulates the protection of water bodies in Canada.
In the concluding chapter, I address how words could be used, instead, to inform a common shared value approach to mining, and a more socially responsible and community-based set of policies.
Marathon, like many resource-built and -based towns, has weathered many booms and busts during its history. However, Marathon has settled into a comfortable dependency in the shadow of the false sense of sustainability that the Hemlo mine site has provided for the last three decades. Yes, the mill that built Marathon closed years ago, but the mine had already begun to operate, and residents therefore have yet to feel the bust that comes with the closure of their main employer. But that bust will come, and what this highlights is the need to see corporations, such as Barrick, in the harsh light of dependency. Mining corporations are not guardians of social order, or leaders of sustainable development through their ‘insubstantial’ CSR policies (Rajak 2011). Mining corporations are money-making entities, and their CSR policies never provided the formula that would allow mining corporations and communities of place to become socially bonded together in ‘win-win’ relationships (Rajak 2011). Instead, CSR policies have become a smoke-and-mirrors act that has allowed mining corporations to appear socially responsible and engaged in building community relations, while still going about business as usual in a new guise (Rajak 2011). A discourse has been created and over time has become embedded in the mining industry. It has become the window dressing that has muted the critics through the application of oxymoronic corporate language. This can be seen in the use of word pairing: mining and development, mining and sustainability, mining and transparency, mining and good global citizenship. Such pairings employ the use of muting through the choice of words that give the illusion of ‘all is okay’ or ‘they are trying’, which in the end silences the critics for a period of time (Kirsch 2010, 2011). The evidence I gathered during my research demonstrates that CSR discourse is largely a public relations exercise, and that one-size-fits-all CSR policies are seen by corporations as ‘quick fix’ and ‘cure all’ solutions for the communities in which they operate.
CSR policies have allowed for the deconstruction, abstracting, and de-contextualizing of what ‘local’ means from a global mining perspective. This is apparent when we look at how Hemlo is the only Canadian mine in Barrick’s international and North American mining portfolio. Rajak (2011) states that this allows for the ‘local’ to become representative of the global (7). The issue that arises is that each mining site and community has specific issues, needs, and worker demands.

In the remainder of this conclusion, I first summarize some of the inherent conflicts associated with the idea of corporations as socially responsible entities. I then discuss how a common shared-value approach to community relations offers at least the possibility of a win-win approach to mining, and outline the factors that could conceivably lead corporations in this direction, despite their inherently exploitative nature. I conclude with some personal reflections on what this research project has meant for me.

**Can a Mine Be Good?**

Rajak (2011) has argued that mining corporations should not and, indeed, cannot be the guardians of social order. Additionally, she does not see them as potential leaders in sustainability or development. For my part, I believe that we need to strive to see the good and the bad aspects of corporations and mining. Corporations are money-making entities that, even when run by well-intentioned people, are dominated by the lure of money, power, and market competition. CSR policies will never provide the formula or moral compass by which mining corporations and communities of place can become socially, environmentally, and morally bound together in a win-win relationship.

Nevertheless, many of the individuals I interviewed felt strongly that Barrick had done and continues to do their best for their workers and Marathon. The CFO at the Marathon
Williams Regional hospital had nothing but accolades for Barrick and all that they have done for the hospital, from new medical equipment for the ER to the new EKG units that Barrick helped purchase (interview 39). However, what many overlooked with respect to Barrick’s funding for the hospital was that it was in their best interest to have an up-to-date medical facility for their workers- a healthy workforce keeps the ore flowing. Also, it is a good business plan to keep the closest hospital running, for mining can be dangerous, injuries do occur and a hospital close by can mean life or death at times. Also, it is important to note that injuries and deaths impact a mining corporation’s insurance rates and reputation.

Other interviewees pointed to the new Penn Lake Park and Campground to which Barrick contributed about $100,000 for development. A longtime community member saw the future of Marathon, after Barrick, as symbolized by this park (Anonymous, a personal conversation, 2013). The park is an example of the mining culture of philanthropic donation, placing a corporate brand on a big-ticket item. The park and campground project was not created as part of a comprehensive economic sustainability plan, however, and on its own could never replace the employment opportunities offered by the mine. But the park/campground donation does serve to mute dissenting voices and disable the long-term planning that should inform CSR policy in this and all mining community settings.

**CSR and Willful Ignorance**

The muting discourse embedded in CSR policy creates a form of willful ignorance among the general public and the consumers of mining products. One reason that corporations like Barrick sidestep the label of ‘worst corporation ever’ is that we as the general public look away: we want our cell phones, computers, gold bangles, and diamonds. Barrick is a master at oxymoronic
corporate talk as a way to mute critics, and until we see that our backyard is globally engaged, that the mine in northern Ontario represents global corporate policies, this will not change.

Norgaard (2011), studying Norway’s dependency on oil, found that the individuals who make their living through extraction industries are not bad people; they are just people doing the best they can to make a living within an industry that has contradictory outcomes. But the benefit of mining for Marathon has ebbed and flowed over the many decades since Hemlo has been in operation. The ebbs have been waited out and rationalized as part of a resource-town economy, such as during the mill closure and two Hemlo mine site closures, although they are still visible when you visit Marathon. But they have become ‘it is what it is’ to those who live in Hemlo’s shadow. This can be seen in the restaurants, bars, and empty store spaces in Marathon’s one and only mall. These are economic issues that I see as social issues and they are some of the biggest issues facing mining communities not only here in northern Ontario, but anywhere a mine is in operation. Mining is not sustainable as it is currently practiced. The communities that mining corporations leave behind continue on, in the shadow of the dependency that these mining corporations have fostered. This is at the heart of where CSR and CR policies fall short; short-term vision and lack of community direction and input.

I return once more to the fact that Barrick is great at redirecting the public and critics with the use of oxymoronic corporate language that creates a muted discourse from the top down. This can be seen through Barrick’s introduction of new technology and software that through mine operators promotes a safer work environment. So Barrick muted safety discourse by showing how technological improvements made things ‘better’. At the corporation level, this redirects and mutes the discourse on, in this instance, safety. Critics may choose to keep silent as they look at the pictures, and hear the ‘special’ words that make them feel better, or at least
hopeful that mining is not as bad as it is. The longer I was in the field, the more I noticed that even though some of the miners and mine workers I interviewed and interacted with onsite may have had issues with Barrick, they always kept an ‘understanding’ or an “it is what it is” tone when discussing the mine’s negative impacts on the environment, their workforce and their communities of place. Willful ignorance comes into play here too.

The Need for a New, More Innovative CSR Model Based on Common Shared Values

The social issues in the study area are not new. However, one of the underlying issues for resource-based communities, as noted previously and addressed by Parkin and Angell (2011), is the crippling effect of being a single-industry town. Sustainable economic development requires a refocus on how to come up with a common shared perspective on planning for the future, and what will happen once the mine is gone. What happens when the communities involved are without the mining cash injections and mine workers?

CSR programs could be used to help communities identify what they need for stable, long-term economic development, rather than provide short term patronage in the form of gifts. Gifting does operate as a genuine form of reciprocity at times; the communities gift back to the corporation in many forms, through labor and expressions of gratitude. But although the town is grateful for the economic support, I would say that all this plays into a form of ontological self-care that is so embedded that anyone who may complain does it in a muted manner. The understanding that all communities have specific long-term needs is not being addressed through this approach, but could be addressed if a more common shared values approach were taken. It is time for Canadian mining giants like Barrick and GoldCorp to move beyond 'just meeting' CSR policies, and to be true leaders. Barrick and Goldcorp should take the lead in CSR policies that
are based on community and corporate common shared values, not because they have to, but because we need them to.

Mining corporations and the communities affected form an outside-in linkage, which strengthens the need to develop a strong partnership and well-defined community (Porter and Kramer 2006). The outside-in linkage is defined as the reciprocal effects that mining corporations and communities have on each other, and it is also where common shared values can arise. Communities, local governments, and mining corporation leaders have focused too much attention on the issues and tensions between them, and not enough on intersections and mutual dependencies (Porter and Kramer 2006, 2011). As Porter and Kramer (2006) state, it is this mutual dependency and common shared interest that should direct the creation of business and social decision models, policies, and CSR programs. Ultimately, for a corporation to be successful, it needs a healthy society and a healthy society needs successful corporations hence the need to identify common shared value threads.

I agree with one of the eminent scholars in the field of CSR and mining, Ralph Hamann (2004), who argues in favor of tri-sector partnerships among mining corporations, communities, and government. Mining companies tend to appoint low-ranking employees to be their representatives at multi-stakeholder forums, a demonstration of their lack of commitment and ‘seriousness’ in engaging with local communities, governments, and tribal officials/leaders (288). Local government officials, by contrast, often send ‘mid-to high-level’ representatives to stakeholder forums, since they want to have social and environmental issues addressed by mining representatives. However, address/redress does not occur at the stakeholder forums, and more often than not, the issues do not get relayed up the corporate ladder to the individuals who have the power to make real change. To Hamann (2004), this is why building a strong tri-sector
partnership is paramount if mining corporations are to create a strategic and effective CSR program (288). The unified ‘tri-sector partnership’ approach integrates strategic CSR program objectives into a field of common shared values. This is counter to the current ‘philanthropic’ CSR approach usually focused on three main areas - education, health and environment (Forstateer, Zadel et al. 2010). This is not to say that education, health and environment issues are not of great importance; rather, the problem lies in ‘throwing buckets’ of cash at such issues while not really making a sustained impact on any of them.

I think that my research has contributed to a deeper understanding of the apathy that governs how CSR programs are seen locally and globally. This has a direct link to the reason CSR programs have become to be seen as nothing more than glossy brochures with muted critics and muted discourses. There is currently a general lack of understanding of how mining and its history continues to play out in all aspects of life - such as how individuals construct a mine’s place in their community. Opening the process will result in the development of a CSR model that will be based less on an ‘arm's- length’ approach that focuses exclusively on voluntary philanthropic initiatives, to one based on common shared values and well-structured commitments to clearly defined communities (Porter and Kramer 2006).

How a mining corporation operates can increase the susceptibility of its employees and nearby communities to diverse forms of risk. By making changes in its CSR policies, based on a better understanding of the affected communities and individuals, the vulnerability of workers and communities to environmental, economic, health and social risks could be significantly reduced. There is a need for a more effective CSR model based on the common shared values of miners, mine workers, mining communities, mining managers and elites. In the Global North, we see a parallel to the historical context of CSR and mining development in the Global South, with
the exception of the fact that over 75% of all mining done globally is done by Canadian-owned mining corporations. Through the merging of common shared values, mining corporations, including Barrick could begin to realize the importance of hiring inspired individuals from other sides of the mining debate. By engaging with anti-mining and pro-mining factions, a better understanding of where and how a CSV approach can be achieved could, in the end, have a ripple effect on how corporations change and relate to their communities, their critics and each other.

What is required from the outset, when creating an effective CSR model, is for the mining corporation to assess and analyze the specific needs of each community of place. To be considered are economic, financial, and social issues and, in the Global South especially, the effects of HIV and AIDS on its workforce. Of course, this needs to be considered in the context of the bottom line, as profits keep jobs in place. The lack of awareness about the specific needs of each community has allowed mining corporations to remain focused on the healthy bottom line without considering the direct impacts that may affect a healthy workforce and community. This disconnect can lead to a breakdown in how things are understood within a corporation’s chain of command and CSR/CR policies. This breakdown in understanding does not just directly affect the bottom line, but also day-to-day operations. This can lead to devastating results.

Stakeholders want corporations to make money, and to me this is one of the common shared values among corporations, workers and local communities.

**So Why Would a Mining Corporation Adopt a Common Shared Values Approach?**

In the current culture of social media and technology, mining corporations and their operations have come under close media scrutiny. Social media enable concerned individuals and organizations to share violations, protests, and actions with a vast online community in minutes.
Recently, Barrick has been caught in the crosshairs of intense media scrutiny regarding anti-mining movements. In response, mining corporations have begun to address their image and to move the responsibility from corporate level to onsite level, hence the new responsibility buzzword that has replaced CSR on Barrick’s website. Barrick, like many Canadian-owned mining corporations, spends a lot of time re-focusing its negative social media attention onto North American mine sites that it can show ‘are getting it right’ and where no overt issues have been cited. Barrick has also attempted to rebrand itself as a response to having come under fire for human rights violations in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere, by NGO’s, human rights organizations, and environmental groups such as MiningWatch. It has done so by borrowing common shared value concepts and terminology, as in the following statement (Barrick 2017):

A company of owners…We make this commitment with a firm belief that our mining activities can create sustained progress and prosperity when we manage our social, economic, and environmental impacts with our stakeholders’ interests in mind.

To do this, we put a priority on creating mutually beneficial and long-term partnerships—with our own people, with the countries and communities where we operate, and with our shareholders—treating their interests as our own.

When we get this right, we earn the trust of our partners and maintain our license to operate throughout the life of a mine. In turn, this helps ensure that our mining activities create mutual and lasting prosperity for all of our partners, so that we can all advance, together.

Barrick, like many other mining corporations, has been successful in hiring wordsmiths to revise its corporate policies and statements, but has consistently failed to institute real change on the ground (e.g., hiring individuals to institute these policies). Nevertheless, a substantive movement towards a common shared values approach would garner a great deal of positive social media coverage, and must therefore be considered a significant incentive for real as well as rhetorical
change. Social media pressures are not the same as common shared values, however, so the question still remains is to what values mining corporations and communities actually share.

What is overlooked in the framing of this question is the obvious fact that company and community are mutually dependent. As stated by Porter and Kramer “the mutual dependence of corporations and society implies that both business decisions and social policies must follow the principle of shared value” (2006:7). The alternative path is one of deceit and exploitation by corporations, and intensified resistance by victimized communities and watchdog NGOs. Building a more positive approach will take time, but can begin simply by focusing on shared values concerning a safe workplace, healthy workers, and healthy communities. If Barrick has a safe and healthy workforce, located within safe and healthy communities and physical environments, the corporation can benefit by way of fewer sick days and fewer workplace accidents, which can help create a more productive work site (Porter and Kramer 2006).

Given the inequitable distribution of financial benefits between corporations and communities, the economic domain often seems more like a source of conflict than of shared values. But both Barrick and their communities of place need a solid economy; both want to prosper and sustain themselves. Both must identify mutually beneficial outcomes if they decide to pursue a common shared values approach. If one side benefits over the other, a dangerous path arises – one that Barrick has travelled for several years. Recently, Barrick’s weaknesses with regard to their CSR and CR policies have been exposed, complete with oxymoronic corporate language, PR overspending, and whitewashing to cover up shortcomings in, for instance, Papua New Guinea. Instead of focusing on the common shared values of each community of place, and looking towards the longitudinal needs of both corporation and community, Barrick has repeatedly engaged in PR whitewashing and knee-jerk reactions when its inefficiencies with
regard to mines in Tanzania, Guatemala and Andes have been exposed. This can be addressed with healthy communities and societies that are more willing to mutually promote and support healthy business in their ‘backyard’. Porter and Kramer sum up common shared values and why mining corporations, such as Barrick, need to embrace this approach: “Virtually every activity in a company’s value chain touches on the communities in which the firm operates…” (2006:7-8). I can see the foreshadowing of this quote on Barrick Hemlo’s wall of Achievements and Community Relations policies (Figure 25). The wall is littered with shiny plaques that say thank you to Hemlo, S1 and Barrick for donations of both time and money; it also has many awards for CSR donations to Penn Lake, schools, and even the mine rescue team’s achievements.

Figure 25: Hemlo Achievements Wall.
Source: Eva-Marie Kovacs-Kowalke.
I would be remiss not to mention that, as things stand today, many communities of place are not willing to give social license or consent to mining corporations unless forced to do so by their own government. A refocus towards a common shared values approach could change this situation in the long run; however, in the short term, corporations also need to honor the decisions of local communities.

Lessons from the Field

This journey has been one of the most challenging aspects of my life so far. Even with intense personal struggles (e.g., surviving an eating disorder, entering into recovery while in the field and the death of my father), this journey has challenged me to my core. I went into the field with a fierce loyalty and sense of protection for my family and their connection to the culture of mining and all that it represents. My personal connections to Marathon and Hemlo mining motivated me to examine how a common shared values approach – including both the mining communities and the mining corporations – can work if both sides are willing to invest in the potential long-term benefits. The economic dependency that Marathon is locked into is a true example of how mining corporations, such as Barrick, have failed to sustain a culture of responsible mining. The pseudo-governmental role that many mining corporations take on in these communities (e.g., the bureaucracy of Barrick Hemlo) creates both tension and boom-bust cycles – globally and locally. Marathon is no exception. During my time in the field, tensions began to build for many miners and locals who have become dependent on Barrick’s short-term CSR and CR donations. I witnessed just how entrenched Barrick and their donations have become in the lives of Marathoners. The loyalty that Hemlo employees, and the community at large, demonstrate to the corporation has had an immeasurable impact on my research. These
observations have challenged my conceptualizations about the role of mining corporations, and have made clear the inextricable links between these corporations and the communities in which they function.

My family members in Marathon were not immune to these feelings of loyalty. Feelings of fierce loyalty were observed among all the individuals I met in Marathon and at Hemlo. I have not been able to fully reconcile these tensions, even though I challenged my own willful ignorance, or, as Norgaard calls it, ontological self-care (2011). At the start of my time in Marathon, I caught myself saying, “Look at what they are doing for the community,” and I could see how Barrick was attempting to be a ‘good’ mining corporation. However, as I spent more time in Marathon, I observed how this resource town has been in a state of relative stability for over 30 years. Even with minor ups and downs, this stability has given way to a silent complacency, in that Marathon has come to feel it will always have Hemlo to fall back on. It was then that I realized that behind the curtain lay issues that have become sustained and normalized by mining culture. This willful ignorance allows the community of Marathon to avoid addressing issues that hide in dark places, in whispers, and are fed by unspoken fears. Marathon is a town that needs to address social issues common to resource towns. Failing to preventively recognize and address these issues in a time of boom will mean a potential rude awakening when Marathon faces a bust, as it is in such times that these social issues become visible and impossible to ignore.

In 2009, when the mill closed in Marathon, many social issues such as drinking, depression and abuse spiked. But Hemlo was still operating, so a failsafe was in place to soften the impact. If and when Hemlo closes, there is no remaining failsafe for Marathon. As Wayne Visser (2006) stated, “CSR is not about what you do with your money once you've made it, it's
about how you made your money in the first place”. Mining corporations such as Barrick will continue to fall short from a community and social- responsibility perspective if they fail to plan for the dark days when the main industry that a community relies on closes down.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to propose what the Town of Marathon would look like as a sustainable community once Hemlo closes. Given the limited options for an alternative economy the healthiest and most prudent option for the community might be to rely on a combination of recreational tourism, limited forms of resource extraction and some, fly-in fly-out mining. Even though fly-in fly-out mining, as practiced today, has negative impacts on community, workers and their families, this form of mining may have to be part of the solution to avoid economic collapse. If a common shared value approach can be applied to planning for the future of Marathon, as it should, the negative effects of fly-in fly-out could also be mitigated.

In summary, it is time for us to spend more time measuring what mining corporations actually do, as opposed to simply reading the words they disseminate in an attempt to silence criticism or concern. After my time in Marathon and Hemlo, I see just how easy it is to become trapped into the resource cycle, and the allure of viewing mining and mining corporations as an economic lifeline.

At the completion of my research and PhD, I will be generating reports for Barrick's Hemlo mine and presenting my research in Marathon for the community to consider. I plan to publish my findings in Canada, in peer-reviewed journals, but also on websites such as MiningWatch International, as well as in other academic publication venues. I will also create a course and a public lecture on the Anthropology of CSR and Mining in Canada so I can continue to challenge the attitude of ‘it is what it is' with an attitude of increased public engagement that does not regard mining discourse as ‘too big’ or ‘too far from my backyard.’ We need to educate
and pressure those in power to become engaged in making changes that are based on the common shared values of all of the players, not only those at the top.
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