

Glare of the Diamond; Botswana

Why AIDS Corporate Social Responsibility Initiatives are not successful

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CSR- Corporate Social Reliability

CKGR- Central Kalahari Game Reserve

ARV- Antiretroviral drug program

WHO- World Health Organization

NGO- Non-governmental Organization

Basarwa- traditional name for the San or Kalahari bushman of Botswana

Batswana- name used to define citizens of Botswana

SI - Survival International, Organization that deals with conflict/blood diamonds

DA - Development Assistance

1 Introduction

To understand why something is broken or no longer functioning at its fullest potential, one has to look to history to gain insight into how, why and what could be the reasons behind the breakdown. History plays out in all aspects of daily life, a notion that is especially true when researching AIDS/HIV and why the mining corporations' corporate social responsibility CSR programs have been less than successful in Botswana. Mining corporations such as De Beers have a long and sordid history in Botswana and with its people, the Batswana. Mining and Botswana goes back almost sixty years, and corporate social responsibility CSR initiatives in regards to AIDS/HIV are just in their infancy stage, about eighteen years. The definition of corporate social responsibility CSR program is essentially "a concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a better society and a cleaner environment" (Hamman and Kapelus 2004, p85). AIDS/HIV and the social issues and structures that have been created by mines in surrounding villages have a longer history in Botswana, a history that is so ingrained in the lives of Batswana that when it is compared to any CSR programs a solution or resolution seems unattainable.

It is no surprise that corporate social responsibility CSR programs have fallen short in Botswana, and that is the point of departure for my paper. What is missing is the context, the lived context of how AIDS/HIV has gotten to be such a devastating impact on Botswana, and that is what drives my thesis/research.

1.1. Thesis outline

In this introduction I will firstly outline my research aim and break-down my thesis into three relevant portions that I'll address in chapter 1. Chapter 2, I will describe my theoretical framework and why I believe Ground Theory will help in analyzing my research results. In chapter three I will outline my research design and show how the research methods I have chosen are well-designed for this study. Literature is reviewed in detail in chapter four, and I cover both A. Carroll's CSR pyramid model and Visser's CSR Invert Pyramid Holistic model. In chapter four I detail what is corporate social

responsibility today and what it means in the mining industry/corporation. In chapter five I give a synopsis of how I arrived at my thesis, and outline my case study. Chapter six I explain mining in Southern Africa, and breakdown why mining in the Central District of Botswana has a direct connection to my thesis/research aim. Chapter seven offers a case study of Botswana and the impact of AIDS/HIV, mines, and Mining Corporation have on its people. In chapter eight I assess my research concerns in parallel with my case study data. In chapter nine I summarize my argument and offer some conclusions, and implications regarding AIDS/HIV CSR programs in Botswana. Finally, chapter ten is where I layout why a need for further studies are required on mining corporations AIDS/HIV CSR programs during this time of economic crisis.

1.2. Research Aim

The research aim in this paper is to outline, detail and come to a deeper understanding as to why AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility CSR initiatives have not been truly successful in the Central District of Botswana. I will focus on the following aspects in the analysis; history, stigma, gender and traditional values, and the corporate refocus on the blood diamond movement.

Botswana is a mineral rich country, and in my scope of research I look to the mining corporations that have mines in the Central District of Botswana. De Beers, Debswana are the two larger mining corporations that I draw up in my paper, but the Tati Nickel Mine and the Soda Ash Botswana mine are also mentioned within this paper due to their location, and their parallel history and social structures to De Beers and Debswana.

De Beers, like many other global corporations, has had to stand up and face their involvement with the spread and continual spread of AIDS/HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, in Botswana De Beers faced many other issues that limited or side-tracked them on how much public ‘push’ and power they could exercise when they initiate corporate social responsibility CSR program(s) at their mines. To understand how Botswana and its’ relationship with De Beers [and other mining corporations] and how that relationship has been involved [and influential] in the development of/with AIDS/HIV, a historical review is required. For one has to understand these relationships

in connection to the social structures of mines, mining communities and out laying towns, which have been created under a perpetuating historical ‘mining’ social structure. The second important issue in understanding CSR and how limited it is, [in regards to De Beers, Debswana and other mining corporations], in Botswana being that it has a high level of social issues such as stigmatization, traditional and gender issues/values that AIDS/HIV individuals, [and non infected] and government bodies have to deal with. The third and present issue that limits how De Beers deals with AIDS/HIV and their CSR response is conflict diamonds or blood diamonds and SI survival international. SI [survival international] organizes and runs campaigns to end the trade in Blood Diamonds, and with new mining exploration into the Gope area of the Kalaharia desert De Beers has redirected their CSR attention to something they can change and re-solve now.

1.3. Break down of Research Problem

Mining corporations in Botswana, such as De Beers and Debswana, have their own corporate social responsibility CSR AIDS/HIV programs, which are outside of the Government funded MASA program. The MASA program started in late nineteen nineties and supplies free ARV antiretroviral drugs for all Batswana (www.gov.bw; www.debeersgroup.com & www.debswana.com). De Beers and Debswana’s CSR programs are aimed at educating, dispensing of condoms at the mine gate, safe sex education, health check-ups and ARV treatment for workers, legal spouses and children under a given age (www.debeersgroup.com; www.debswana.com & Arensen 2008). These CSR programs were in response to the cost of re-training labors that where to replace died or leaving employees that had to care for sick family members; and this is were the failure of CSR becomes crystal clear. (www.debeergroup.com & www.debeers.com). Mining corporations in Botswana were driven to develop AIDS/HIV initiatives out of cost efficiency, for the cost to recruit and retrain new staff is higher than it is to treat already trained and productive employees (Pramualratana & Rau 2001; passing). This cost efficiency realization was slow in coming, and by the time mining corporations in Botswana realized the reality of what AIDS/HIV was going to do to their profit margin, corporate social responsibility CSR programs were ‘thrown’ together. The

failure of the many CSR programs in Botswana in the last two decades, is directly linked to the lack of mining corporations understanding of their own history, for instance mines + migration= AIDS/HIV, in Sub-Sahara Africa, and their over looking of underlying social issues. These social issues, such as stigmatization towards infected individuals, gender and traditional values, have not been recognized as a social structure that has been migrating with the set up of each and every mine that has been operating in Botswana, [and in fact Sub-Saharan Africa, since diamonds were first found mid 1900s]. CSR corporate social responsibility programs run on their successes, which they can spin into positive public relations campaigns. Hence, CSR programs that deal with conflict or blood diamonds are much easier to facilitate, for the end-result can be promptly obtained through the selling of any holdings that are linked to conflict diamonds or conflict zones [mining of blood diamonds]. This end-result is swift and the action gives way to a public relations dream campaign that spins the 'good' global citizen light over the corporation, while shadowing the tougher social issues that are less 'sexy' and much harder to resolve like AIDS/HIV. Without coming to an understanding of the above [three] issues, corporate social responsibility CSR programs will never be a true success in Botswana.

Firstly, what is required is the definition of what corporate social responsibility CSR is? Simple enough questions with an easy definition, right? Wrong, for there is no guideline to what is a good CSR; the one consensus that is agreed upon is that in order for it to be adopted by a corporation it has to be a good business plan (Hamann, 2004; passing). A business plan that demonstrates that profit can be made by taking on a corporate social responsibility CSR program and at the same time create a good public image. Mining corporations, like any other corporation, has its first priority to their shareholders and the bottom line in any CSR program is that it has to be profitable, lessens manufacturing costs, cost efficient and beneficial (Hamman, 2004; passing, Visser, 2006; passing & Carroll, 1991; passing).

De Beers is one of the largest global diamond mining corporations and even though they have AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility CSR programs, they are still one of the main contributors [facilitators in] in the spread of AIDS/HIV throughout Botswana (and Sub Saharan Africa, refer to Appendix 1 and 2 of Botswana) (www.debeers.com &

www.debeersgroup.com). In Botswana, the major mining exploration area is in Central Botswana (refer to appendix 1-2 and 3), which is where the highest numbers of AIDS/HIV infected individuals reside, Francistown has seen a continual rise in infection rates with a stated forty five percent in 2007, and Selebi Phikwe has the largest percentage of infected individuals in all of Botswana at twenty three percent [Botswana's total infection rate about thirty seven percent]. Selebi Phikwe, also has the dubious acknowledgment of having the largest number of pregnant women infected with AIDS/HIV at almost forty nine percent ([www:mothers4all.org](http://www.mothers4all.org)).

De Beers is one of many diamond mining corporations in Botswana, but De Beers is also the world's best known diamond cartel and has its hands in almost all, [or at least a strong share interest], diamond exploration or prospecting in Botswana (www.debeers.com & [www:mineweb.net](http://www.mineweb.net)). That is why De Beers is one of the main 'subjects' of my study, along with Debswana Mining Corporation, and to a lesser extent Tati Nickel Mine and Soda Ash Botswana. All of these corporations have directly affected the environment, economics, social structure and health of Botswana and its' people. This makes them accountable to Botswana, but it is their failure in understanding why they have failed that makes their AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility attempts sadly inadequate (see appendix 4 and 5).

I believe that when a corporation defines their CSR program without consulting those it is going to help and effect, the program is bound to fall short from the onset. Being that, no matter the name a corporation uses when introducing a AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility program, the need to be socially aware of how their actions, policies and practices effects/affects the societies they operation within is paramount. This is a global issue and problem that has to be constantly defined and redefined within the context of the people it is effecting and affecting.

2. Theoretical Framework Used In Analysis/Research

2.1 Grounded Theory as a Research Method

The starting point for deciphering the elements behind the research question, I am in fact guided by the work of Glaser and Strauss (Flick, 2006; passing) and their grounded theory was seen as a research method; from the late nineteen sixties. Glaser and Strauss (2006) perfected this theory by defining the research method based on the theme that the 'subject(s)' being studied should not be bounded up in any pre-set theory, but instead studied within their lived contexts (Flick, 2006; passing). Glaser and Strauss believe that this lived context should reveal what theory or theories would aide in the analysis of data, and what empirical, secondary and primary documentations would also aide in gaining a better understanding of the research problem (2006).

The main goal behind grounded theory as a research method can be summed up in the first lines from Glaser and Strauss' book on the same (published in nineteen seventies);

The general goal of grounded theory research is to construct theories in order to understand phenomena. A good grounded theory is one that is: (1) inductively derived from data, (2) subjected to theoretical elaboration, and (3) judged adequate to its domain with respect to a number of evaluative criteria. (Flick 2006;passing & www.ed.uiuc.edu)

According to Glaser and Strauss (2006) the goals of grounded theory research can benefit qualitative research if one looks at what this method has in common. They also believed that grounded theory can deepen the understanding of the data that has result from other forms of research (Flick, 2006; passing). Grounded theory will be a useful framework throughout my research, for it allows my thesis/research concerns not be driven by any particular theory, but instead it allows my data results and analysis to be an aide in revealing a theory or the creation of a new theory to help understand this particular phenomenon (Flick, 2006; passing). In this research form, the 'subjects' [corporations, miners, groups, etc.] chosen for the study, [and in this paper in the form is a case studies] are chosen due to their relevance to the research concern, not the other way around (ibid). . In addition, grounded theory will allow me to allow the 'subject(s)', such as shareholders of mining corporations, [governmental agencies, mining community residents], AIDS/HIV infected workers, non infected workers, family members and children to come out of the data through their lived context.

2.2 Durkheim

The second theoretical perspective that will be used to strengthen my foundation and my use of grounded theory is the work of Emile Durkheim; mainly his research on social solidarity. Durkheim's work on defining what mechanic versus organic solidarity will come into play when I being to analysis how and why individuals act, and where they are placed contextually within their society (chapters 7 and 8) (Thome, 2007; passing & www.bolender.com/sociological). It is of importance to understand how individuals within a society [at either the local or the state level] are nothing without the solidarity of other individuals, within their society and social group (ibid).

Man is more vulnerable to self-destruction the more he is detached from any collectivity, that is to say, the more he lives as an egoist (www.Durkheim.itgo.com).

By combining Durkheim concept of solidarity with ground theory, an inductive method of research will be achieved. What this allows me to accomplish is two things; a) stronger foundation in using grounded theory, b) with a deeper understanding of individuals within a society, my analyses in chapters seven and eight will be deeper and better-rounded.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design: Case Study

The strength of the case study method is that it allows a combination of various different data collection techniques, such as archival records, social and scientific journals and so forth (Yin, 2003; passing). The use of multiple sources of evidence can further increase the quality of the study (Yin, 2002; passing Seale, Giampietro, Gubrium & Silverman 2004; passing). Moreover, I believe that multiple sources are highly beneficial to this study being that the majority of the sources are secondary. This strengthens both validity and reliability, since it provides opportunity to find consistency of the research material

in more than one secondary source. According to Seale et al. (2004), the case study method produces context-dependant knowledge, which I believe suits the nature of my outlined research concerns [refer to aim of my research]. It has been stated in above sections that when defining corporate social responsibility CSR programs, and how my three concerns can be linked to why these CSR programs have fallen short in Botswana, context is needed. Context is what allows for one to gain a further understanding of the underlying reasons that have been over-looked for decades by mining corporations, when looking at AIDS/HIV CSR programs. The lack of context has indeed influenced the choice of research design for this study. I believe that to neglect the importance of context would in this study affect the results negatively, since a significant analytical dimension would be disregarded. However, one has to be aware of which techniques can be valuable in terms of answering the research question and not simply use several techniques haphazardly (Seale, et al. 2004; passing).

3.2 Sources to be utilized

1) *Empirical literature analyses*- to use a wide range of academic literature from several disciplines that have an insight about my research concerns. A few examples of the variety of literary sources that I am accessing during the my research are as follows;

- a) Corporate Social Responsibility in Mining in Southern Africa: Fair accountability or just greenwash? Ralph Hamann and Paul Kapelus. Development 47(3) (2004).
- b) The changing political economy of sex in South Africa: The significance of unemployment and inequalities to the scale of the AIDS pandemic. Mark Hunter. Social Science and Medicine 64 (2007).

Other articles and books that I will be using are theoretical and methodologically bases to aid me in my analysis, such as Contemporary Field Research by Robert M. Emerson, History of Anthropological Theory by Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy, and Case study research. Design and methods by Yin, R.K.

2) *Phone Interviews*- phone interviews will be utilized in my study, in order to achieve internal reliability of my research and resulting data (Flick, 2006; passing). Due to the

simple fact that the majority of data in this study comes from secondary sources, interviews become very beneficial for it allows for first hand information and insight from individuals who have worked and lived in Botswana. I will be interviewing;

- a) Professor John Holms; University of Botswana
- b) Dr.Trude Arnesen; worked for Mothers for All, no child left alone in Selebi-Phikwe.

3) *Archive analysis*- to use a ‘diachronic’ approach to my research concerns I have to look at historical records and newspapers that document social, community, legal, economical and daily life that aid in giving me a deeper insight of Botswana. A few example archival data bases are;

- a) Francistown Voice; Mmegi Online News network.
www.mmegi.bw
- b) All Africa journals, articles, commentary website.
www.allafrica.com
- c) The Botswana Gazette; www.gazettebw.com

Along with the above sources, I will be accessing the homepages of Mining Corporations that are operating in Central Botswana. The need to use these websites is so that I may gain access to their current and archived Annual General Statements, their business history in Botswana, background on investment locations and corporate social responsibility CSR programs. With two of the mines, Debswana and Tati Nickel Mine, access to the Government of Botswana’s homepage is required; due to the fact that the government owns shares in the company. In regards to the use of secondary sources [as listed above], multiple sources will be used to strengthen both validity and reliability, since it provides opportunity to find consistency of the research material in more than one secondary source (www.curriculumsupport.education.nsw.gov).

3.3 The field of Actors

Pierre Bourdieu’ article *Structures, Habitus and Practice* emphasizes the importance of studying agency [actor] in any phenomenon, for it is each agency actions and works that is the product of a ‘modus operandi’ (Erickson and Murphy 2001; passing). The ‘modus operandi’ is not a conscious one and has to be related to the structure that is defined by

the social conditions of the work(s) or action(s) that each agency [actor] is active in (ibid). Each actor comes to the field with as Bourdieu believes "...in each of us, in varying proportions, there is part of yesterday's man, it is yesterday's man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the long past.."(Erickson and Murphy 2001, p.533). The context of each actor's action(s) and practice(s), both present and past, have to be taken into consideration within the social structure that it occurs in order to come to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. In regards to mining in Botswana, the two big actors both past and present are De Beers and Debswana, [with De Beers being the larger actor [and cartel] in the diamond industry in all of Africa and the world] (www.gov.bw & [www: debeers.com](http://www.debeers.com)). It is De Beers' actions from the past that have not been placed into context, when looking at Botswana's HIV/AIDS crises.

De Beers is encompassed in a lot of the my research being that it owns and holds shares in almost all mining conducted in Botswana, and it also has the longest history of exploitation and AIDS/HIV CSR programs. This is important for as Bourdieu states in *Structures, Habitus and Practice*, the past is entrenched in all of us and that is what leads us to produce actions and practices that give way to present day [current] end product(s) (Erickson and Murphy 2001; passing). Yet, it is easy to leave or forget the past, but as detailed above the past is forever a part of one's unconscious make up, and that cannot be avoid or altered for past actions or practices are set and unflinching (Erickson and Murphy 2001; passing). It is the history, actions and practices of the mining corporations such as De Beers, Tati Nickel Mine and Debswana that I follow through the field (Central District of Botswana) and history being the first section of my thesis that I address.

3.4 Reliability

Since this study relies on qualitative methods, the concepts of validity and reliability will be utilized. However, I am aware of the critique towards using these concepts within qualitative research, and they will therefore be defined in a slightly different manner in order to better suit the qualitative design.

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Hammersley in Silverman 1995, 145).

The aspects that can be considered relevant for this study will be treated in the following way. In texts, such as transcripts from interviews and so forth, issues of reliability arise through the categories of analysis that are chosen (Silverman, 1995; passing). The categories used in this study were relatively standardized, enabling me to analyze the data on its own firstly, and then to re-analyze and compare too other sources.

Internal reliability refers to how the data is interpreted and analyzed (Bryman, 2002; passing), and Flick (2006) states that in order to achieve internal reliability one should maintain and strive for a high level of quality when documenting data. One way of achieving internal reliability in the documentation of data is to standardize the notes that are taken during, for example, interviews and research note taking. Reliability is particularly increased when more than one researcher takes notes, however with only me, the re-analyzing and comparing to further sources becomes even more important. In this sense, the comparability of notes from different sources will increase, which allows for reinterpretation of the data and in turn allow for a much higher degree of internal reliability.

3.5 Validity

By validity, I mean truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers (Hammersely in Silverman, 1995, p.149).

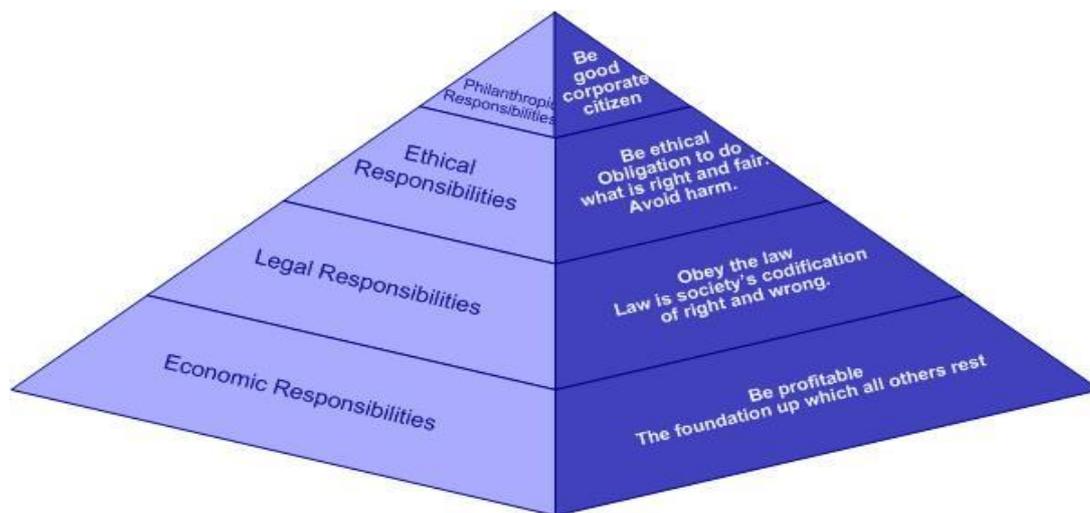
According to Flick (2006), validity in qualitative research can be understood as a question of whether the researchers see what they think they see. However, I would like to extend this definition by applying internal and external validity (Bryman, 2002; passing). Internal validity involves a satisfactory correspondence between the empirical results and the theoretical ideas that are developed. This can be ensured through the varied data [collection] sources that are used in this study. External validity involves to what extent the results can be generalized to other social environments and situations (Bryman, 2002; passing). This criterion is difficult to fulfill in qualitative research

because of the strong connection to context. However, I believe in my case study it will provide a basis for further investigation, and if a field study had been conducted I would have been able to generalize the results to a fuller extent. I indeed promote diversity within the case which can increase the external validity. However, it is important to remember that the results from the qualitative part of the investigation can only be generalized in a restrictive manner (ibid).

4. Literature Review

4.1. Corporate Social Citizenship CSR Pyramid

The first model of CSR that other researchers have built on and more recently diverge from is Archie B. Carroll's (1991) *The Pyramid of Social Responsibility: Toward the Moral Management of Organizational Stakeholders* that was widely used in the late nineties and early two thousands. The Carroll's pyramid model is as follows (www.csrquest.net):



Carroll's CSR Pyramid

Carroll's (1991) model of CSR is based on a corporation being profitable, law abiding and socially and ethically supportive via donations of money. However, above all Carroll (1991) sees the way for a socially responsible corporation to do business is by placing the foremost importance on being economically profitable and law abiding. Being ethical

and socially supportive is important but is seen as only a small portion of what makes a corporation socially responsible (ibid). The economic components of Corporate Social Responsibility CSR are based on being profitable and strong in the world market, and that is where this CSR Pyramid developed by Carroll (1991) does not suit Botswana. The need for mining corporations to initiate corporate social responsibilities CSR programs that are defined and modeled upon the culture, communities, and people they affect is what is lacking in the Carroll's above model. The legal and economic (is detailed in 4.3) components of a good corporate social responsibility CSR initiative is hollow when the definition is not defined within the context of the community, country, and inhabitants that are going to be draw to the mine or already live in the area of the mine.

Work by Visser (1995 &2006) and Hamman (2004) began to see Carroll's pyramid model as limiting and unsuitable for countries such as Africa. Wayne Visser's (1995 & 2006) *Holism approach to CSR* has become the new CSR model, one which is not based on Carroll's limiting Western definitions of what elements make up a good Western CSR pyramid model.

4.2. Holistic, invert the CSR Pyramid

Wayne Visser (1995 & 2006) worked on Carroll's CSR pyramid and came up with a more holistic framework that saw an inverted pyramid as more suitable to understanding and explaining CSR programs. Visser's (2006) inverted pyramid model was altered in a way that it allowed corporations to understand how their corporate social responsibility CSR programs have to be structured if they plan to or are already operating in developing countries; such as Africa. As stated above, Carroll's four level pyramid places the greatest weight on economic responsibilities for in Carroll's view corporations should concentrate on this element when planning any CSR program (Visser, 2006; passing & Carroll, 1991; passing). Visser argues that Carroll's pyramid model does not deal with the many complexities and vexing issues that a corporation in Africa has to deal with on the path to becoming good Corporate Citizens. Visser (2006) states, that doing business in Africa "...involve messy on the edge of chaos' scenarios" and Carroll's pyramid model does not fit for there is no room in his classification system for ambiguity, and that is

what corporations deal with when operation in Africa (p.13). Vissers (2006), like other researchers in the field of corporate social responsibility, believe that the research coming out of this area covers only the ethical portion and moreover most of that research is only done in South Africa. Visser (2006) feels that the research scope needs to be expanded to other countries in Africa, and also to other continents in order to give a more holistic view of what elements [economy, ethics, philanthropy..] are more important than others when designing a CSR program.

Africa is the picture perfect place for corporate social responsibility CSR programs, since Africa in all senses embodies all of the dilemmas that CSR programs face when dealing with ethical, social, environmental responsibilities (Visser, 2006; passing). However, it is these dilemmas that corporations have to define their CSR programs in, and it is this definition that Visser (2006) feels should be the main focus of debate when researching and discussing if corporate social responsibilities in Africa can be affective and successful. It is the definition of corporate citizenship or corporate social responsibility CSR that is the vex part, for who defines it; the corporation setting up a mine or a manufacturing business in a village or the people that are affected by the corporation? Visser (2006) also sees that once the definition is clear, when does the traditional and cultural practice take precedent over global and CSR standards, practices and polices?

4.3. Corporate social responsibility in Mining; rights vs. moral

First of all, an issue that needs to be defined and dealt with in regards to corporate social responsibility CSR is the difference between social responsibility and moral responsibilities\moral imperatives. The line between social responsibilities rather than the legal obligations that a corporation is obligated to provide to their employees and board of directors is very different to how they define 'moral' obligations/responsibilities.

Carroll (1991) defines the two areas of corporate rights or responsibilities; economic and legal, in his article "*The Pyramid of Corporate Social Responsibilities; The Moral Management of Organizational Stakeholders*". The two areas of corporate rights, legal and economic, have very different components, even though both have the same underlying theme of profit to the stakeholders, but true responsibility? Profit

responsibilities towards the stakeholders yes, but to the employees who are working on the floor helping to generate profit is unclear?

What follows are Carroll's (1991) definitions of Legal and Economic Responsibilities, the following exemplifies how important profitable or responsibility to shareholders is;

Legal Components
(Responsibilities)

1. It is important to perform in a manner consistent with expectations of government and law.
2. It is important to comply with various federal, state, and local regulations.
3. It is important to be a law-abiding corporate citizen
4. It is important that a successful firm be defined as one that fulfills its legal obligations.
5. It is important to provide goods and services that at least meet minimal legal requirements.

Economic Components
(Responsibilities)

1. It is important to perform in a manner consistent with maximizing earnings per share
2. It is important to be committed to being as profitable as possible.
3. It is important to maintain a strong competitive position.
4. It is important to maintain a high level of operating efficiency.
5. It is important that a successful firm be defined as one that is consistently profitable (Carroll, A 1991; p2-4)

The long-term affects of a lack of moral responsibilities, in the case of mining in Botswana, can be traced in the breakdown of the family unit that is at the roots of African culture. The migration of men and boys to areas of work, leads to a family disconnection between the women, children and other families members that have to be left behind (Hertz 2001; passing). The displacement of a male figure has placed African women in a position of bread-winner and authoritarian, but still they lack the rights they need to take on their new roles from social, community and governmental. Furthermore, these rights remain in the hands of their husbands or fathers, leaving these women in an ambiguous place of power = no true power (ibid & Plantive, 2007; passing).

Over the decades of Botswana's mineral resource prosperity, more mines have been erected, and more males [and females] of all ages have migrated away from their homes. This migration can be seen as a link to the new culture of individualism that has begun to develop in Botswana (Hance, 1970; passing). Botswana's culture of collectivism has been challenged by not only the movement of men [and women] away from families, but by the AIDS/HIV pandemic that has ravaged Botswana, and the stigma that accompanies those that are infected. One has to look at how the birth of the mining culture and its social structure were developed, and how the government of Botswana and mining companies [such as De Beers and Debswana] has reinforced these decade old out of date social structures. Where is the responsibility of mining corporations in regards to the latter issues?

4.4. Backdrop to CSR programs

Corporate social responsibility CSR has become a standard policy practice in most global corporations and mining is no exception, especially in Southern Africa [South Africa, Botswana] (www.mineweb.net & www.miningreview.com). Mining corporations in the last decade have stepped up their keenness in incorporating corporate social responsibility CSR programs into their operational practices around the world. It is their way of publically responding to the many voices that see them as mainly responsible for the significant negative social and environmental damages that their operations impose on the communities and countries where their mines are located (Hamman and Kapelus, 2004; passing). Mining corporations have been hit hard publically by NGOs, local community organizations, and governments in the last decades, not just because of the start up and running of mines, but also the forecasted closure phase(s) and void they leave behind [economical, medical, social....] (ibid). It was the latter that made mining corporations and the European Commission help define what corporate social responsibility CSR essentially is "a concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a better society and a cleaner environment" (Hamman & Kapelus, 2004; passing).

The bottom line of the initial corporate social responsibility CSR programs where to bring corporate policies and practices in line with sustainable development and to ensure

a public image as a good corporate citizenship, which is what gives them direct access to capital, land and markets (ibid). This is here where the issue of corporate social responsibility and mining becomes cloudy, for in order for a corporation to take on a CSR plan it has to have more than a moral component. CSR has to be profitable or at least lead to a decrease in production or manufacturing [overhead] cost. As stated by Pramualratana and Rau (2001), it is more cost-efficient to educate and treat existing employees than to recruit and train new staff. For example, in the case of Harmony Gold, a South Africa Gold mine, AIDS/HIV expenses were starting to directly affect the profitability of mining, for the cost of AIDS was \$6.00USD per every ounce of gold produced (Bendell, 2003; passing). Mining corporations initially came up with *ecomoderization* theories that would give them the ability to manage environmental concerns, while at the same time overlooking social concerns (Hamman and Kapleus, 2004; passing). This new eco management made it possible to increase productive process via less energy and materials needed, which made shareholders happy due to an increase in the bottom line (Hamman and Kapleus, 2004; passing). Hamman and Kapleus. (2004) argue that some of the mining corporations' CSR programs are just a way of overshadowing or 'greenwashing' the public nay sayers. Greenwashing is a marketing or public relations method of claiming a corporation's environmental record, while covering up other misdeeds (www.merriam-webster.com). This ambiguity still fuels the debate on corporate social responsibility CSR programs, especially in the mining industry for their relationship with their investments, such as diamonds, is highly location specific (Hamman and Kapleus. 2004; passing). It is this location specificity that makes it hard for corporations, shareholders and other investors to define and commitment to corporate social responsibility CSR programs, and that's is what makes the relationship between CSR programs and profitability unsure. Therefore, the main driving force behind why a corporations would see initiate a CSR program as a good business decision [plan] would be the direct link to an increase in profit and a decrease in production/manufacturing costs, and that has to be crystal clear to shareholders and investors alike (Hamman and Kapleus, 2004; passing).

4.4.1 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Today

Corporate social responsibilities CSR has become a catch phrase in the last decade, and the forefront of many corporations' mission statements, especially in the mining industry (Hamman, 2004; passing & www.miningreview.com). Why?, researchers such as Hamman (2004) and Visser (2006) see it as a response to the increase in the globalization of corporate investments, that lead to a global 'publicization' of their international operations. This is especially true the last few years in Sub Saharan Africa, for the damages that decades of environmental, social and labor exploitation by mining corporations have become a global disgraces and a public relations image nightmare. The increased debate over the need for global mining corporations to reassess themselves through the defining of what makes them good global citizens, is the use of a well laid out corporate social responsibility CSR programs (Visser, 2006; passing). In the mining industry the catalyst for the latter was AIDS/HIV infection rates rising and the direct affect it had on profits, and rising production costs. De Beers is an excellent example of why a corporation changes their operations globally to include good corporate social responsibility CSR regulations, such as ARV [Anti Retroviral] programs (Bendell, 2003; passing). In the late eights, early nineties, De Beers experienced a dip in their profit, which was directly linked to the rise of health care issues in their mining business in Southern Africa [Botswana, South Africa] (Bendell, 2003; passing). A few global corporations took up the gauntlet and began to define their role in the fight against AIDS in Africa. Their involvement filled the hole where government bodies had seem to have fallen behind in combating or overlooking of the rising social and economical cost of AIDS/HIV (Nattrass, 2004; passing). Corporations such as De Beers, [Debswana, AngloGold, Harmony Gold, Tati Nickel Mine] took over from the state in treatment and as supplier of ARV antiretroviral drugs to their employees and in some instances family members under the CSR program called Vision of Zero (Nattrass, 2004; passing & Bendell, 2003; passing). Vision of Zero was De Beers and it's partner corporations program to offer treatment and educated to their workers [and to limited family members] on AIDS/HIV in hopes to achieve a zero infection rate at all of their mines (www.debeersgroup.com & www.debswana.com). I do not believe that these corporations took on the role of health care provider and AIDS warrior out of social

responsibility but instead they needed to fulfil their economic responsibilities to their shareholder and investor.

4.5 AIDS/HIV and mining

An immense amount of research, (such as Hamman, 2004; passing, & Visser, 2006; passing) has been done on the effects of mines on the spread of AIDS/HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa. Mark Hunter's (2007) article, "*The changing political economy of sex in South Africa: The significance of unemployment and inequalities to the scale of the AIDS pandemic*" introduces areas that need to be refocused on in order to gain a better insight on how AIDS/HIV is moving. Hunter (2007) feels that female migration is an area that social forces are the most vividly over looked in informal settlements or mining towns where AIDS/HIV rates are the highest. Hunter (2007) focus on women comes at a time where unemployment, civil war, globalization, and the already changing social and cultural roles for women can be seen in the rise in women migrating out of rural areas in search of jobs; areas such as mining towns, or informal settlements. Hunter (2007) believes that male migration has been a cliché since the nineteen forty's and now with political and social changes, sex work and female migration needs to be studied in greater detail in order to come to a understand the scale of the AIDS/HIV pandemic that is ravaging Sub-Saharan Africa. The last decade more researchers, (Visser, 2006; passing) have seen a connection between globalization and the increase of the informalization of certain jobs, such as sex for money, that draw women to mining towns or informal settlements;

...from the Third World, for instance, demonstrates how global trade and the informalization of work can propel women into the sexual economy (Hunter 2007; p691).

The change in informalization of jobs as discussed above, has allowed women to either stay at home in their rural settings or move to areas where men, tourists, truckers and other forms of workers converge. That can be seen in mining settlements, and towns such as Francistown. Hunter (2007) explores the issue of why women would choose to stay behind, for example in places such as Selebi-Phikwe in Botswana, where the infection rate amongst these women can be as high as four out of every ten. This finding can again

be linked back to the issue of how mines and mining towns have allowed women to stay close to their rural homes, but still make money, by working [commercial sex work, or survival sex] the truck and/or train line that lead out and to the mine and town (ibid). This can be seen in Francistown, and out laying towns such as Orapa and Selebi-Phikwe, that serve as a rest stop, work spot or a hub of all manners of transport from mines in the area.

5. Thesis development

When is corporate social responsibility CSR just not enough to stop the spread of AIDS/HIV? Is it up to the communities alone then [local and family based] to fill the need where CSR programs have failed, [or disregarded]? Is it up the community level and family level to try and change decades of the social structure that mine migration and mining companies have created? The latter has helped change the face of the family unit and rural family life, a switch from collective to individualistic bonds. These changes have lead to the re-defining of gender roles, and stigmatization towards AIDS/HIV infected individuals, therefore is it up to the communities to adapt or is it the mining corporations job to change how the operate their mines and towns? Corporate social responsibility transcends from the Board of Directors and CEO's to their employees in forms of practices and policies. *Therefore, why are AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility CSR programs are not successful in Botswana?* The dilemma is apparent and the vicious circle begins between social, moral corporate responsibility and community, family and local responsibility. Global mining corporations have a moral, legal and social accountability to take responsibility for the devastating effects and affects their mines have had the people and communities they have forever change.

5.1. Restating of Thesis

Botswana has been a democratic country since 1966, and is one of the more mineral rich African countries. It is this mineral resource that has made Botswana a 'have' country, but it is also these resources that have also allowed Botswana to hide social issues behind the profit of the mining industry (Warhurst, ND; Visser, McIntosh and Middleton & Holm 2007 and 2008; passing). One could assume in the era of AIDS/HIV, Botswana is

one of the countries with the highest infection rates in the world/Africa, that since Botswana has a wealth of resources AIDS/HIV treatment would be the highest and infection rates the lowest in Africa. Corporate social responsibility CSR can be seen as one way that Botswana's government and the global community has pressured global corporations working in Botswana [to repairing] to aide in stopping the spread of AIDS/HIV. However, *AIDS/HIV CSR have not been as successful in Botswana and Why?*

1. History of labor migration in Africa
2. Botswana's cultural and traditional Values; stigma, gender, AIDS/HIV, individualism versus collectivism
3. Corporate social responsibility CSR, greenwashing and need to focus on what can be dealt within in the now and produce results; conflict diamonds; Survival International [SI] program against 'blood diamonds'

Within my paper the above three aspects will be explored, examined and analyzed in order to come to understand why they are so important in regards to AIDS/HIV CSR programs.

6. Background

6.1 Mining

With hundreds and thousands of African men leaving their homes to work for De Beers and many of their mines in Botswana and also Sub-Saharan Africa, women are left at home to feed and maintain a crumbling family structure (Hertz, 2001; passing). The trek that these men take can be hundreds of miles, if not thousands that lead them to shanty villages filled with more then mine dust. These shanty towns can be split imagines of what the lives of their loved ones back home are living through and in. As the women in mining shanty townships are drawn to the ready supply of paying men, the women left at home are also drawn to mines in their area, other towns and in the case of Botswana the railway line to men ready to pay for sex (ibid).

Poverty and AIDS/HIV go hand in hand, and it is these connections that are directly linked to the way mining corporations in Africa, treat, pay, and respect their employees. If we look at just one mining in Sub-Saharan Africa the estimated number of miners, and

just miners not casual sex partners, wives, or girlfriends, that have AIDS/HIV it is in an excess of forty percent (Hertz, 2001; passing). In total numbers that is 50,000 workers that have contracted and in most instances passed on AIDS/HIV to their sexual partners in one or more mining townships and then to their wife when they go back home (Hertz, 2001; passing).

6.2 Mining in Botswana

Botswana is a mineral rich country and the gross domestic product (GDP) reflects that with over one third of its GDP coming from mining resources, such as coal, nickel, copper, soda ash and salt (refer to appendix 1, 2 and 3) (www.gov.bw). The abundance of salt and soda ash has made Botswana's Sua Pan mine the largest supplier of this product in Africa, and the four mines in Selebi-Phikwe are one of Africa's largest nickel and copper mines. The high infection rates in these mines and surrounding towns highlight my research concerns that understanding the history behind demographic mobility [migration to mine], stigmatization, and the traditional values is so important when mining corporations initiate CSR programs for AIDS/HIV.

Mining exploration began in the late nineteen fifties, where geologies hired by De Beers began to search for diamonds in the Tuli Block, in the Central District of Botswana; (refer to appendix 1,2 and 3) (www.debswana.com & www.debeersgroup.com). However, it was not until nineteen sixty seven that geologists from De Beers found small caches of diamonds in the Motloutse River, and during the same period large computations of garnets and elmenite were also found in the Mopipi Pan (ibid). It was this finding in the Mopipi Pan of the two chief indicators, garnet and elmenite a diamondiferous kimberlite, which stimulated a diamond rush in the Central District of Botswana. With the discovery in the Mopipi Pan, exploration continued further into central Botswana and that in turn lead to the discovery of the Orapa diamond pipe (ibid & www.debeersgroup.com). The diamond rush and mining exploration exploded after the discovery of the Orapa pipe, with the formation of the Debswana mining corporation a joint partnership with De Beers that propelled Botswana's government into the diamond exploration, mining, and sorting business.

By 1971 De Beers had opened the Orapa mine in central Botswana, 1975 Letlhathane and in 1978 with the equal partnership union of De Beers and the Government of Botswana to form Debswana Diamond Corporation, came at the same time of the third mine, Jwaneng 150km outside of Botswana's capital city Gaborone. (ibid & mineweb.net). Mining towns slowly began to spring up around these three mines, and Francistown also became the hub that was intertwined with the mines and the mining community that became to flourish. In the case of Jwaneng mine, the small town of Jwaneng was established, out of the profit of the mine, and to-date the population is approximately fifteen thousand (www.debswana.com; www.mineweb.net & www.gov.bw). Within my paper three mining communities and the central hub town [Francistown, the second largest town in Botswana] are detailed due to the fact that they are largely affected by labor migration. Three of the towns are made up of mainly migrate workers, both male and female, they are listed below;

1. Selebi-Phikwe; population 70,000 [1971] A nickel-cooper mine [Tati Nickel Mining Corporation] in the central district of Botswana and just outside of Francistown. (refer to Appendix 3).
2. Orapa; population 15,000 [1971] A diamond mine (Debswana Mining Corporation) in the central district of Botswana, about 15km outside of Francistown, and is a fenced off town for the workers of the mine. (refer to Appendix 3)
3. Sua Pan; [1991] A soda ash mine located in the eastern central portion of the Makgadikgadi Pan, in the area of the Orapa and Letlhakane mines. (refer to appendix 3)
4. Francistown; population 113,000. Francistown was first established as a gold mining towns back in the late eighteen hundreds when gold was found along the Tati River in the eighteen sixty seven which start Botswana's first 'Gold Rush' (<http://www.botswanaturism.co.bw>; www.gov.bw) and is now the second largest towns in Botswana; located in the central district (refer to appendix 3). Francistown's population is one of constant flux; due to the fact that it is a hub for mine workers, mine companies and other manufacturing companies that operate within this district. Francistown is the hub of transportation access, via train, plane and paved roads to other areas in Botswana and beyond; Southern and Northern Africa (ibid).

All of the above mining towns are located in the Central District of Botswana, and all are located in the vicinity of Francistown. Their influx and dwindle of inhabitants are tied to

the mines and their needs (www.mineweb.net). Other industries that are drawn to set-up near the mines to create an infrastructure that eases the mines overhead costs such as hospitals, banks or hostels (Hance, 1970; passing). The influx of migrating workers to these towns can be seen as one of, it not the main, reason why the infection rate is so high in this district of Botswana (World Health Organization, 2005). Below the four main mines are listed, and synopses are provided to lend a better understanding of why HIV/AIDS infection rates are so high in central Botswana; a) De Beers, b) Debswana, c) Tati Nickel Mine, d) Soda Ash Botswana.

A) De Beers Diamond Company

De Beers is one of the leading diamond exporters and mining corporations in the world, and at the end of 2007 it reports to have employed nineteen thousand three hundred workers in Africa alone (www.Debeersgroup.com & www.debeers.com). The workers are mainly in three countries in Sub Saharan Africa; Namibia, South Africa and Botswana. That constitutes ninety three percent of the De Beers family's entire workforces (ibid). De Beers is not only connected to diamond mining in Botswana, it holds a fourteen percent ownership in the Botswana Ash Corporation that mines for soda ash and salt in the Sua Pan (ibid & www.mineweb.net). Most of the mining that is done in Botswana by De Beers is done in partnership with Botswana government. This partnership corporation Debswana owns four of Botswana's largest diamond mines; Orapa, Jwaneng, Letlhakane and Damtshaa (www.Debeersgroup.com & www.debswana.com). De Beers has recently announced their newest mining venture in Botswana, a venture in which they have partnered up with Boteti Exploration Company, a new corporation that was formed with De Beers owning fifty one percent and African Diamonds owning forty nine percent (ibid). De Beers further holds over seventy percent of shares in the Boteti Exploration that has been granted a mining license to begin production at the AK06 mine site, located just south of the Letlhakane mine in central Botswana, in 2008 (www.debeersgroup.com). De Beers until recently was also in partnership with Gem Diamonds [a company run by former De Beers executives] in the exploration for diamond pipes in the Gope a highly controversial area in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve CKGR. This partnership has ended due to the public campaign by

Survival International [SI] that began to mar De Beers public image of being a conflict diamond free corporation, and in the end they sold all of their shares back to Gem Diamonds in 2007 (Diamond and Gems; www.mineweb.net).

B) Debswana Diamond Company

In nineteen sixty seven the Orapa pipe was found and after two years of sampling and exploring the pipe the results showed that the pipe held the potential of producing a large quantity of diamonds and production began (www.Debswana.com & www.Debeersgroup.com). De Beers and Botswana governments jointly owned Debswana mining company was founded in ninety sixty eight with De Beers and the Botswana Government both owning fifty percent. Today Debswana has four mining operations in Botswana, with Orapa being the oldest and two others in the same district as Orapa, (being central Botswana appendix 1, 2 and 3) Lethakane Mine and Damtshaa mine (www.khulsey.com). The fourth mine is the worlds richest mine and is located about one hundred kilometers outside of Botswana's capital city Gaborone, Jwaneng mine (refer to appendix 1, 2 and 3) (ibid).

The drive behind why Botswana's Government became partners with De Beers came out of the progressive thinking government, of the time, who saw the future of Botswana's development tied to diamonds. The Government of Botswana wanted that exploiting to be done under their terms and watchful eye. The Minister of finance, Baledzi Gaotathe sums up why Botswana was one of the first governments to become partners in utilizing of their resources (Hanson, 2008; passing);

It wasn't just the minerals, it was also the way in which these minerals were exploited and the way the benefits of exploiting these minerals were shared between the government and the private sector (Hanson, Stephanie 2008; p1)

Debswana was born and today they are largely accredited for changing Botswana's once agricultural based economy into a mineral based economy (www.debeergroup.com & www.Debswana.com). Is this partnership success? Unclear, for with a countries economy highly dependent on diamonds, [which makes up one third of Botswana's gross

domestic product], and with their depletion forecasted to be in roughly twenty five years a unbalance economy is a sure sign of a crack in their record of economy stability and strength (Hanson 2008)

C) Tati Nickel Mine

Botswana is further one of the world's largest copper and nickel producers and Selebi-Phikwe's is the location of the one and only large copper/nickel mines and smelter complexes (<http://www.mbendi.com/indy/ming>). Similar to the joint ownership of Debswana, Tati Nickel Mine a subsidiary of Norilsk Nickel mine in Selebi-Phikwe is partially owned by the Botswana government, at fifteen percent. The majority of shares belong to Anglo America at forty three percent and Canadian Lionore Mining International owning forty one percent (ibid). Mining began at the Tati Nickel mine in the early nineteen seventies; the mine consists of four mining hubs, Phikwe Central, South East Extension, Selebi North and Selebi. It is Botswana's largest employer within the private sector, numbers roughly four thousand eight hundred employees (ibid). Due to the large numbers of miners and other casual laborers, the town of Selebi-Phikwe was created around the mine, and the funding to build infrastructure came from the Botswana Loan Selection Trust (www.mbendi.com/indy/ming). In the beginning of the twentieth century it was known as one of Botswana's fastest growing towns [circa 35,000]. Today its reputation is still linked to being one of Botswana's fastest growing towns, but in the area of the alarming numbers of individuals infected HIV/AIDS is over twenty three percent (www.mothers5all.org & Hanson, 2008). However, it does not stop there, for Selebi-Phikwe is also known for having the highest percent of pregnant HIV/AIDS infected women at about forty nine percent (ibid & www.gazettebw.com).

D) Soda Ash Botswana

The Sua-Pan, which is located north-east of Francistown in central district of Botswana (refer to appendix 3), and is the site of Africa's largest soda ash and salt mines (Mining Review Africa 2003). Mining of soda ash and salt began in nineteen eighty eight, by Soda Ash Botswana as joint ventures between the Botswana government, AECI, Anglo American Corporation and De Beers (ibid). However, in nineteen ninety five Soda Ash

Botswana was restructured due to financial troubles and Botswana Ash emerged with a new majority shareholder. Today the Botswana government is the major shareholder at fifty percent, AECL, Anglo American Corporation and De Beers hold fourteen percent and the remaining percents are held by various financial institutions (Mining Review Africa 2003).

As stated above these four mines companies have been discussed and detailed due to their location in the Central District of Botswana. However, the majority of analysis and discussion from here on will center on De Beers and Debswana, with Tati Nickel Mine being detailed in Chapter 7 Case Study of Selebi-Phikwe. The reason being is due to their history of employing large numbers of male [migrate] workers, the location of their mines, the high infection rates in and around their mines, and lastly their AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility programs.

7. Case Study

7.1 Botswana: A case study

Botswana a land locked country situated between South Africa, Zambia, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. It gained its independence in 1966 and as of 1995 has been categorized as being a part of the bilateral Development Assistance [DA] program. This is a credit to the hard work of Botswana's government's commitment to becoming a self-sufficient country that has control over their natural resources (World Health Organization, 2005). Even though Botswana has been categorized as a prosperous and mineral rich country, thirty percent of its people live under the poverty line (ibid). Furthermore, over twenty four percent of their population between the ages 15-49 is infected with AIDS/HIV (NACA & ACHAP, 2008). Women between the age of 30-35 have been classed as one of the most vulnerable groups in Botswana with an average infection rate of forty nine percent (refer to appendix 4 and 5) (World Health Organization 2005). World Health Organization (ibid.) in 2005 estimated that out of 1.8 million people living in Botswana, 330-380,000 individuals are estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS, and only 100,000 are receiving antiretroviral therapy ARV. As a response to the pandemic Botswana was one of the first countries in Africa to establish a national ARV antiretroviral therapy program

(UNAIDS 2008 & WHO 2005). Botswana also has international corporation ARV antiretroviral programs MASA that is not reflected in the above statics.

Women in Botswana make up the majority of infected individuals, and the largest percentage of infected women live in the north part of Botswana in a town called Selebi-Phikwe (WHO 2005). Selebi-Phikwe is a small mining town with a population around thirty thousand, and along with it having the highest infection rate, it also has the highest number of women, pregnant women, infected with HIV/AIDS at forty nine percent (Kolantsho, 2008 & [www: gazettebw.com](http://www.gazettebw.com)). Francistown, along with both Selebi-Phikwe and Gaborone, has seen a rise in the percentage of AIDS/HIV infections in 2005. The World Health Organization (2005) reported that in Francistown, forty seven percent of the population was infected with HIV/AIDS. However, out of the latter three, Selebi-Phikwe becomes the focal point of the short falls of corporate social responsibilities CSR for it has the largest prevalence rate at twenty three percent, in all of Botswana (WHO 2005).

7.2. Corporate Social Responsibility; success or failures?

Most of the work done in the regards to AIDS/HIV and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) consists of how Antiviral Programs (ARV) has helped to stabilize employee health absentee records. This can be seen in De Beers “Vision of Zero” program, which is to maintain a zero infection rate in employees, a zero infection rate in new born babies via treatment of the pregnant mothers and zero death from HIV/AIDS ([www: debeersgroup.com](http://www.debeersgroup.com) & www.debeers.com). The Vision of Zero program by De Beers is a CSR program that is not only for De Beers, but includes all of their partner corporations, governments and trading companies (ibid). Research on the latter program is rich but little research has been done on why Corporate Social Responsibility CSR is not enough in Botswana. Corporations have been coming into Africa and ‘raping’ the resources for decades now, but some positive results has been seen through CSR programs over the last decade(s), such as Antiviral Program [ARV], hospitals that corporations have built [Orapa’s hospital], roads and educational programs. However, it is easy to get caught up in the mine corporations practice of ‘greenwashing’, for these positive elements came

about out of the corporations need to be cost efficient (Visser, 1995/2006; passing). Such as roads that led out of mines to hub towns, such as Francistown, they were paved by mining corporations [yes it does benefit the local communities in the area] so that mines could be ensured that their minerals were quickly and easily transported out to towns with access to bigger transportation links (Visser, 1995/2006; passing).

It is important to point out that mining corporations have indeed initiated AIDS/HIV CSR programs that have provided benefits to their present and retired employees, and to one legal wife; such as De Beers and Debswana (www.debeersgroup.com & www.debeers.com). De Beers and also the jointly owned Debswana have [corporate social responsible] ARV programs, and in the case of De Beers it also has a development program called DDI Diamond Development Initiative (ibid & www.debeersgroup.com). The aim of Diamond Development Initiative [DDI] is to bring together governments, non-governmental organizations [NGO] and the private sectors to work together to make diamonds a driving force behind development. Diamond Development Initiative [DDI] is also a forum that helps facilitated global agreements over how mining of rough diamonds are not to be used as tool for development in conflict areas such as, Angola, Sierra Leone, and it is continually fighting for the end of conflict diamonds or blood diamond (ibid). These programs are great in theory but they overshadowing other concerns and that are a cause for criticism, such as the Anti Retroviral ARV programs by De Beers, it was not until 2003 that spouses, and retired, and retrenched employees became included in Anti Retroviral ARV benefit program (www.debeersgroup.com & www.debeers.com). Further more, Debswana's ARV program did not include children [up to twenty five] until 2006. Since that age group is one of the larger growing infection groups, it seems to be a rather detrimental oversight; (refer to appendix 4, 5, 6) (ibid & www.debswana.com). The numbers given by De Beers from one of their own case studies stated that they have nineteen thousand employees working in Sub-Saharan Africa, but only thirteen hundred employees and two hundred and ninety four spouses were registered in the ARV program (www.debswana.com). With their partner company Debswana and along with the clinics run by the Botswana government's MASA program, the Orapa and Jwaneng mines were part of the mentioned case study, and the studied

stated that close to three thousand people working for Debswana were being treated (www.debswana.com). These numbers speak for themselves; too many employees, spouses, children and girlfriends are not being treated or are overlooked by De Beers or Debswana. These ARV Anti Retroviral Programs have to be recognized for their success, but their shortcomings are a clear and should be a reminder to these corporations that they still are continually overlooking the underlying social issues that Botswana has in regards to AIDS/HIV; gender, cultural and traditional values, stigmatization and male migration.

However, in the last few decades the critical lens of research has begun to be pointed at why mining corporations efforts in the corporate social responsibility CSR realm have not been sufficient at alleviated the rising AIDS/HIV infections rates (Hamann ,2004; passing).

7.3. Snap-Shot of Selebi-Phikwe, Corporate Social Responsibility a failure?

In nineteen seventy one, the town of Selebi-Phikwe was created to support the newly opened BCL [Bamangwato Concessions Ltd] mine, making Phikwe no longer a cattle post (Goodmen, 2002; passing). The BCL [publically owned] began mining in Phikwe for nickel and copper, and the mine complex grew over the years to include four hubs [Phikwe Central, South East Extension, Selebi North and Selebi]. In nineteen ninety one the mine and quarry employed roughly five thousand and four hundred employees. The majority of these employees moved to live in or around Selebi-Phikwe.

The nickel and copper mine in Selebi-Phikwe has under gone several changes and owners over the last several years since it first opened, and today it is privately owned by Tati Nickel Mining a subsidiary of Norilsk Nickel, with the Botswana government only owning fifteen percent (Goodmen, 2002 & www.mineweb.net). Tati Nickel Mine is one of Botswana's largest private sector employers; therefore it is not surprising that Selebi-Phikwe has the largest population of migrate male workers (ibid). With that large influx of male laborers it is not hard to understand why Phikwe has the highest infection rate in all of Botswana among its thirty thousand plus population (ibid; www:mother4all.org &

[www:gazettebw.com](http://www.gazettebw.com)). At twenty three percent of the population being infected, and a forty nine percent rate of infection among women, one can see that Tati Nickel Mine's AIDS/HIV CSR program is inadequate. Tati Nickel Mine's AIDS/HIV CSR program targets their employees, direct family, and outline community through public awareness events to help promote AIDS awareness and healthy living (www.mmegi.bw). The program also includes education, a mobile outreach clinic, condom and information distribution and voluntary counseling and testing. These activities and programs are in line with Tati Nickel Mine's CSR program, which is aimed at promoting a healthy well educated and well skilled community with enhanced business and employment opportunities (www.sundaystandard.info). Further, Tati Nickel Mine has recently taken over the government-funded MASA ARV program (Arensen, 2008). So, the question here is why is Tati Nickel Mine's CSR program for AIDS/HIV still not adequate enough? History, underlying social issue, gender, and stigmatization has been left out of how Tati Nickel Mine structured its' AIDS/HIV CSR program.

I believe that two of the main reasons why Tati Nickel Mine's AIDS/HIV CSR program is not succeeding in reducing the infection rate in Selebi-Phikwe are, 1) their use of casual (temporary) laborers (Arensen 2008), and 2) the lack of awareness of how women from outside villages depend on the mining circuit for work as a way to support themselves and their families (Hance 1970; passing & Hertz 2001; passing). The issue of casual laborers in Selebi-Phikwe is a spitting image of the early mining camps in South Africa and the Jwaneng mine outside of Gaborone Botswana. In mid two thousand seven the mine in Selebi-Phikwe was forced to lay off all but a few casual workers, due to the drop in nickel and copper prices. The gap in Tati Nickel Mine's AIDS/HIV CSR program is how they handle casual laborers, since they are migrate workers who move from mine to mine they are not covered by active AIDS/HIV CSR programs at the mines they work at. Instead, what casual workers receive as they leave the mine is literature and perhaps a condom just before they are met by women who work the gates (Arensen, 2008). As a result of this gap two things occur, firstly a further spread of AIDS/HIV to other areas in Botswana and Southern Africa, and secondly a large lapse in receiving of free ARV drugs that are available at the mining towns where these casual workers stay during their

layovers. Another concern is that since Tati Nickel Mine has taken over the ARV program from the government, what is going to happen when Tati Nickel Mine has to shut down again due to copper prices or is completely closed? This is a concern for how fast can the government of Botswana or a NGO take over the ARV program, being that once an infected individual starts ARV treatment, stopping and starting is ill-advised (ibid).

The second reason why Tati Nickel Mine's CSR program is not succeeding centers around the women who work the gates of the mine or the pubs in Selebi-Phikwe, these women come from out lying villages (Arensen, 2008; Hanson 1970; passing & Hertz 2001; passing). The villages around Selebi-Phikwe are a carbon copy of many other Southern African villages that are directly affected by the nearby mines. These surrounding villages offer little employment for women and the nearby mine(s) become a cash generating allure. Mining towns offer two real sources of income, since the town of Selebi-Phikwe has limited jobs in manufacturing plants [last one closed in 2007], restaurants or shop, women are often left with the sex trade or entering into a relationships (ibid; Wojcicki 2002; passing). Wojcicki (ibid.) refers to the latter relationships as informal sex, a form of sex where money may not be exchanged, but instead survival/everyday needs are met; which is detailed in the following section (7.4).

7.3.1. Greenwashing; a corporate practice in CSR programs

Lastly, when looking at why Tati Nickel Mine's CSR program is less than successful the practice of corporate '*Greenwashing*' has to be discussed. '*Greenwashing*' provides a shadow for a corporation, through a created PR hype, and many organizations use this 'washing' when 'displaying', explaining and toting their CSR initiatives (Hamann, 2004; passing). Hamann (ibid.) argues that '*greenwashing*' is a notion that is included in most if not all CSR-related initiatives that mining corporations create. Greenwashing is the mirror image to its predecessor whitewashing which is the covering up of misdeeds and greening is the same common term but the acts that are done in covering up misdeeds are usually refers to as environmentally sound or clean practices, policies or initiatives (Hamman & Kapelus, 2004; passing). Even the mere act of re-wording corporate social

responsibility to corporate citizenship is in away a form of ‘greenwashing’ for by using the word citizenship or good citizenship gives the illusion of a one to one relationship with the shareholders (ibid). An historical example of greening that gives a clearer understands of how it can be seen in similar programs or initiatives today is the uprising in Soweto in nineteen seventy five. In Soweto mining companies helped start up the Urban Foundation, but human right violations continued and the ‘smokescreen’ of setting up the Urban Foundation was seen as another CSR initiative that did not deal or want to deal with the underlying social issues (Hamman, 2004; passing). Social issues such as, AIDS/HIV [at the time was being to show its ugly head], poverty, gender and traditional value structures that have been perpetuated by mines, and government policies where just a few of the underlying social issues that where overlooked, miss-understood and ignored. Ignored, yes for when planning a good business plan for a CSR program, an end result is needed and by taking on some of the latter social issues that would stale the ‘end results’. Thus, it is easy to deal with the immediate visual needs such as building low-rent housing units, roads or a school instead of tackling the truly difficult issues at hand. In the case of Tati Nickel Mine, I believe that the focus on ‘public’ AIDS awareness events (www.thesundaystandard.info), and the handing out of condoms and sex education brochures to casual laborers (Arensen, 2008) can be seen as a corporate greenwashing practice. By focusing the public eye on actions like this Tati Nickel Mine can avoid dealing with the more socially and politically sensitive issues that have a true impact on AIDS/HIV as outlined in the previous section.

7.4 Left out of the Corporate Social Responsibilities sphere

Left at home by migrating males are the women, children and other family members that are left outside of the corporate social responsibility programs of education, condom distribution, ARV drug programs and financial services. As stated by Hamman and Kapelus (2004), CSR involves the voluntary act of a corporation to contribute to create a more sustainable and better community. Thus, these groups are highly relevant the AIDS/HIV CSR programs of mining corporations. When a mine is set up it has a large impact on, not only the employees, but also the surrounding townships that are created around the mine, as well as the villages the mine workers come from. There are many

reason to why they are left out of the CSR loop, below are listed a few of them (Baker & Aina 1995b; passing, Hance 1970; passing & Hertz 2001; passing);

- Distance; lack of fast access, no access to drugs, which can only be gained through the family member who works at the mine that has direct access to ARV treatment. Also distance decreases access to the pay-cheques
- Lack of transfer of knowledge; that is given to the infected worker at the site of their job
- Lack of money or lack of ability to stretch the money and ARV Anti-retroviral drugs to all infected family members, (typically women do not get drugs due to caring for and treating of others in the family, ie/children, spouse) Selebi-Phikwe
- Women progress to AIDS faster, not due to biology but due to all of the latter, socio-economical and household conditions.

The failure of AIDS/HIV CSR of mining companies can be seen in the eroding of the family unit and how corporations such as De Beers, through the migration of male mine workers are still one of the main templates that contribute to its continual spread in Botswana. AIDS/HIV CSR programs came on to the scene too late and they are still struggling to catch up with a pandemic that has had a head start for over a decade.

7.4.1 The male breadwinner?

As mentioned above one of the primary reasons for migration out of rural area is that these areas have sparse job opportunities, meager to nil income and unstable socio-economic conditions (Baker & Aina 1995b; passing). In Botswana labor migration is done mainly by males, usually between the ages of fifteen to thirty nine, alone without their families to cities/townships where jobs are seen as more obtainable. Consequently, one of the major social affects of this male migration is how women and children left behind cope with the absenteeism of the 'male breadwinner'. The use of 'breadwinner' is an ironic statement, for in many households in Botswana [indeed Sub-Saharan Africa] it is not the male who brings home the income that is used to support the family it is the woman (Baker and Aina 1995b; passing & Hertz 2001; passing). One reason is that most male migrant laborers do not or cannot go home for long periods due to distance between job and family, lack of transport and/or money to spend on transportation costs. In areas such as Lesotho, Botswana and South Africa, men re-locate is not just their 'being' but

also their main living quarters for long periods of time or until work dries up; hence shanty mining camps/towns (ibid). The main goal for most migrating men is to find a job where a stable income can be made, and some income can be accumulated so the family back home can live a better life. In reality this is not always the outcome, for many families at home do not see the savings or wages from their male breadwinner (Hertz 2001; passing). What this accomplishes is the thrusting of women into limited rural job opportunities, seeking out a way to supplement what they hoped would be coming from their spouse. Sadly, the women left behind are not the only women propelled into a new realm of subsistence work, women in the areas where the newly arrived male laborers set-up camp are also forced into the system of subsistence work.

Ironically, migration is driven by the search for jobs and the hope of a better income to support ones' family is seldom obtained, as David Ndachi Tagne (2003: p.96) states;

Whether fleeing a conflict, drought or flood, or traveling in search of a job, all of these migrants are chasing after survival. 'Searching for survival or chasing a mirage'?

How accurate, for the men who seek out the jobs for survival leave their women at home in a state of limbo that ends up driving them into seeking out survival. In Botswana the 'selling of one's' body plays out in almost every aspects of a woman's life. The lives of wives left at home to run a household without the support of their migrant working husbands, have found themselves in a new category of women's work. While male migrant labors maybe exposed to both positive and negative effects of the Africa's migration system, it is the women that are bearing the brunt of the worst effects of this male-dominate migration system (Baker & Aina 1995; passing). Women in Botswana are a great example of this 'worst case-scenario' effect, here women are exposed to permanent rural poverty and underdevelopment, which again can be a directly linked to why many women look for work in the one area that does not require a high-school or university degree, or even work experience; survival sex (www.FAO.org).

It is not only dire because of the lack of development, jobs and poverty it is also the ideologies set by the 'male' dominated world they live in. A world that has placed them

in a dichotomy of feeding and tend to their family no matter what, but they have to do it in a way that does not shame their family, especially the male of the family. The method by which women feed their family must also fall within, what was defined in the above section, an 'appropriate' line of 'work'. Hence, what this means is that the 'job' women engage in has to be seen not as a 'commercial' transaction, but an 'exchange' transaction for the financial stability of her family. Truly, what this boils down to is a three-fold mandate of responsibilities and work requirements that women in rural Africa have to live by and meet. The first fold is to take care of all household duties; secondly they are expected to tend to all subsistence work, such as gardening, live-stock maintenance that feeds the family and, thirdly find a job that can generate some income (Baker & Aina, 1995; passing). This new category of 'women's work' also encompasses the women who have found a place in the labor camps, road stops or bars where male migrants spend most of their 'family' wages. The wages that are spent these latter places are paid out from gold and diamond mines that are strewn all over Sub Saharan Africa, and these mines are one of the largest employers of male migrant workers. Due to the large number of migrant laborers most of these mines have camps, hostels or even shanty villages near their work (Hertz 2001; passing).

Many rural areas in and around Southern Africa are totally dependent on mine worker remittances, and mining is the country's major source of foreign exchange. Black African migrant workers travel to the mines, where they live in single-sex hostels, leaving their wives and families in their rural areas of origin. The hostels, with up to 18 men in a room, far from wives and families, offer scant opportunities for intimacy. Within this all-male context, a thriving commercial sex industry has sprung up, with impoverished women finding accommodations in informal shack settlements on mine perimeters (Campbell & Mzaidume. 2001:1981).

7.4.2. Survival versus commercial sex

A new industry that has well defined categories on what is seen as, 'survival sex', or 'informal/transactional sex' or 'commercial sex-worker', and the location where these women work range from, shacks outside mines, trucker stops, bars or road side stop routes (Nattrass 2004; passing & Wojcicki 2002; passing). The lines are blurring for the

location where a woman may sell her body does not always define what type of 'sex work' she is doing. Through the work done by Wojcicki (2002), who conducted an extensive study on what constitutes 'Sex-For-Money' in the townships of Soweto and Hammanskraal South Africa, the concept can be explored. The phrase 'sex-for-money' is an all encompassing one, for in Soweto and Hammanskraal it is used to describe women who engage in 'informal sex'. This structure of sex work takes on different forms, such as sex in trade for food, drink, rent, child support or just cash and can be for just a few hours, one night or even a short period of time (Wojcicki 2002; passing). In Wojcicki's (2002) study, she found that one of the reason that women fall into 'informal sex' [sex-for-money] is that they have been left at home without support from their male-partners and with jobs being scarce, it makes this line of work one of the limited sources of income in rural townships.

This is where sex-for-money parallels commercial sex, for most women are driven into this line of work due to socio-economic conditions; poverty. Whether women are selling their bodies for food, drink or money, and whether it is in a tavern or in a shack on the perimeters of a mine, women are doing the same job. What defines it is how the patriarchal society they live in desires to acknowledge it. In Johannesburg South Africa the definition of sex-worker is broken down into two compartments, commercial sex-worker and '*Ukuphanda*' (Wojcicki 2002:p.147). '*Ukuphanda*' is a Zulu word that is used to describe women who have been driven into sex-for-money due to dire poverty, and any income generated is used to stabilize their families in time of economic desperation. Women who practice '*Ukuphanda*' move in and out of sex-for-money without being stigmatized since as Wojcicki (2002) found, it is seen as 'survival'.

Informal sex workers commonly help their families financially or become household heads, and are often their families are aware of their activities; their work is viewed as functional and economically instrumental (Wojcicki 2002: p. 341).

The second compartment of sex work is the commercial sex worker, and it is this line of work that is looked upon with condemnation. In some areas of Botswana and Sub-

Saharan Africa where some forms of sex-for-money is deemed acceptable, commercial sex workers are not and they are commonly faced with 'physical' violence when they try to secure funds from a 'john' (Wojcicki 2002; passing). Why is the distinction so strict? Wojcicki (ibid.) found that sex work that is seen as 'commercial' exchange of body for money is connected to the West's ideology of prostitution, and it is that context that makes this form of sex-work seen as a direct attack on the prestige, honor and power of the African male. Sex-work in Botswana is a precarious venture, one that African women have been catapulted into due to the local affect of globalization. Again, this is a group that the AIDS/HIV CSR programs do not include, but nevertheless the commercial sex worker is directly affected by the mine set-up, since the structure provides a potential source of income. I believe that if these programs were expanded to include both commercial sex workers and sex-for-money women, these groups would have a better understanding of AIDS/HIV and how to protect themselves in their line of work. Further, I believe that this act of acknowledging the mines mere presence generates a draw for women in their search of income.

As stated in the being of this section, the failure of CSR programs can be seen in the eroding of the family unit [from collectivism to individualism], the spread of AIDS/HIV, and how mining corporations have a large role in both (Baker & Aina, 1995; passing). It is not hard to see how the mining culture and the social structures of the mines have a lot to do with how male migrant workers view sex with the women that work in and around these mines. Mining corporations have set up AIDS/HIV CSR programs for their employees, legal spouses and family, but their scope of treatment and education does not reach all the people who are affected by the mining operation (ibid). Nor does the CSR programs include casual [temporary] laborers that work for a short period of time, and then move on to the next mine site or job, while infecting a new group of casual partners, or girlfriends (Arensen, 2008 & Unknown, 1994; passing) as will be further expanded on in the following chapters.

8. Analysis of Research Concerns

8.1 The History of Migration in Southern Africa

To deepen the understanding of why AIDS/HIV CSR programs fall short I would argue that mining corporations have forgotten their involvement in the history of labor migration. Interestingly the largest transportation of slave labor was not to the western worlds, but to the Middle East and North Africa (Hance, 1970; passing). This is important when understanding why male labor migration is still a large aspect in Southern Africa, and Botswana continuous to be a large part of this migration pattern.

Population movement has been something that has been occurring in Africa since ‘time immemorial’ (Hance 1970; 128). There are many reasons behind why populations in all parts of Africa have migrated in some form or the other and all are complex; war, famine, slavery, and in South Africa the forced relocation and system of relocation to ensure large surplus of black labors (Clark, Collinson, Kahn, Drullinger and Tollman 2007; passing). Migration and population settlement patterns have a strong correlation with the rise of mining exploration and development in Africa, beginning in the nineteen forties. Migrations of black labor supply was tied to the apartheid system of influx control and group areas act, that was a process of ‘urbanizing’ of the black South Africans into ‘villages’ that were ethnically defined (ibid). These ‘villages’, at best shanty towns, were in areas that gave mines access to cheap labor, and at the same time got the black South Africans off their land. It further gave access to the government and mining companies to exploit the land since it was known as ‘empty’ (ibid). The first product of this ‘urbanization’, which continues to date, is the rural poverty that occurs in these dense settlements that were created at the time of apartheid as both a segregation act, and a resource for cheap male mine labors (Clark, Collinson, Kahn, Drullinger and Tollman 2007; passing). The second by product of ‘urbanization’ is the change in family structure and economy, where the collective family unit was slowly altered to single family units that had no male influence and women were set in roles of finding cash to support the family unit. Economy; was the second by product for these new single family units for no longer was their livelihoods [economy] agricultural based, but instead a cash-based economy was introduced that placed a great emphasis on migration not land.

However, these numbers are pale in comparison to the population movement that was caused by migrant labor; forced or voluntary. Hance (1970) notes, “that the movement of

people not associated with slaving affected larger numbers than were involved in slaving and no doubted influenced the present distribution of population and of ethnic groups more significantly” (p.130). It is important to remember that migration in Africa was not only influenced internally, the major influence came from external forces that had its own reasons for re-shaping and re-defining Africa; global capitalism (Baker and Aina, 1995; passing). Migration in Western nations that were spurred on by capitalist forces was to high migration occurred had a parallel in earning potential, growth and development such as Detroit and Los Angeles. This is not the case in Africa, migration did not parallel an increase in progress, development or earnings, but instead what did follow was a degradation of peoples and resources. Not to mention what occurred back in the home that these migrant laborers left behind.

I believe it to be of great importance to understand the history of migration in Southern Africa, its relation to the spread of AIDS/HIV and the role that mining corporations has had in this process. This is important since throughout history the structure of how a mine operates within the community has been repeated over and over again, giving AIDS/HIV a template to thrive. To change this destructive behavior I believe that mining corporations have to acknowledge their past mistakes and implement CSR programs that include this aspect. However, AIDS/HIV CSR programs have to be flexible since minerals are a finite resource and the mining corporations should ask the question of what will happen when they leave. How can their AIDS/HIV CSR programs be continued when the resources have been used up?

8.2 Stigma and Traditional Values

Cultural and traditional values play a large part in how the social structure of a mining culture, its workers and the towns or communities that these workers come into contact with will develop (Holm, 2008; passing). Botswana is a socially conservative country and has deeply ingrained traditional values and views on family and gender. It is these cultural and traditional views that have largely kept AIDS/HIV a dirty, dark and private issue. Botswana do not talk openly about AIDS/HIV and most do not feel the need too, for if they are not infected or affected (by a family member who is infected and needing

care) their concerns lie in the day to day cycle of finding and keeping work, paying bills and living (Holm, 2008; passing). Most Batswana will not publically refer to AIDS/HIV, instead when someone has died and it is know that he or she has died of AIDS Batswanas would say that he\she died of a “long disease” (ibid; PBS Organization & www:allafrica.com). The stigma of being infected does not end at death, for family members and friends play along with the ‘charade’ of secrecy. The need to be secret and to distance oneself from AIDS/HIV is important, since being infected can cause personal damage, loss of job or rejection from family and/or community (Modibedi, 2008 & www:allafrica.com). The stigma and personal attacks against AIDS/HIV infected Batswana can be seen in the suspending of an educational worker that was publicly ‘outed’ as being AIDS/HIV infected (ibid). In Francistown in 2007 the latter was reported in *The Francistown Voice* newspaper, when a teacher in an elementary school was terminated after her condition was publically announced as HIV positive at a general meeting by the Head Master (Modibedi, 2008 & www:allafrica.com). The teacher’s condition was made public by the Head Master out of the concern for the students she taught, which was fueled by the stigmatization of having an infected teacher on staff, and the miss-leading understanding of how AIDS/HIV is transferred from person to person (ibid). The co-worker who supported the infected teacher was transferred to another school by the Head Master, for not giving the names of other teachers that supported the infected teacher (ibid). The transfer of one of the supporters was not just due to the fact she did not give up her fellow co-workers, but also because she told the infected teacher that she was publically branded as a “fuckn bloody slut” (Modibedi, 2008 & www:allafrica.com). The Minster of Ethics, Law and HIV/AIDS in Botswana Mr. Uyapi Ndadi (www:allafrica.com & Modibedi, 2008) states the following;

HIV/AIDS stigma in the Botswana workplace is worsening and it manifests as discrimination. The workplace is made intolerable, employees are denied leave for health issues.....and sadly this issue is not unique.

Botswana’s government has not come up with a plan to make workplaces more tolerable, as one can gather from the above quote, and with no solution in the near future this sad saga is going to get worse over time (www:allafrica.com & Modibedi, 2008). What this translates into is that if stigmatization continues in Botswana the number of those who do

not know or are too scared to know their status is going to continue to rise. Today, less than thirty percent of Batswana know if they are infected, and the chances of the AIDS/HIV spreading even more due to the low percentage of 'knowers' is extremely high (Plantive, 2005; passing). The mere act of standing up against discrimination, as shown in this case, demonstrates the hard line that is drawn between those who are infected and those who are non-infected [even if they do not know]. This case has more to do with just AIDS/HIV it also has to do with gender; for Botswana's long history of patriarchal-ism is what allows for such public branding, secrecy and shame in infected female Batswana (is detailed further in 8.3).

Traditional values that are disrupted by mining camps/towns and migration of both men and women are linked to the break-down of a society that was once very collective to a society that is more individualistic. Botswana has been fighting this change, but the stigma of AIDS/HIV has re-enforced the individualistic tendencies that began to grow with the numbers of migrating family members to work at mines or mining towns/camps. Yes, the family unit has been under pressure due to the influence that mines have had on rural migration of whole or just male members of families (Unknown, 1994; passing). Urbanization is also involved in changing traditional family unit patterns [collectivism], because a greater emphasis is placed on making money, keeping ones' job and looking out for oneself due to the fact that family members are no longer in close vicinity or have died (Unknown, 1994; passing). This reverberates Durkheim's work on organic solidarity vs. mechanic solidarity, being that when one loses connection to one's 'group' an opening for self-destruction arises; "Man is more vulnerable to self-destruction the more he is detached from any collectivity, that is to say, the more he lives as an egoist" (www.Durkheim.itgo.com). Mining corporations have not come to an understanding of how much influence they have had on the break-down of family units and lives in Botswana. Without this context any of the AIDS/HIV CSR programs these mining corporations initiate are empty, for they have not been defined by people they affect.

8.3. Gender and Legal Systems

In relation to AIDS/HIV, gender and traditional values have to be carefully scrutinized since they are some of the underlying social issues that mining corporations do not deal with or come to understand when setting up AIDS/HIV CSR initiatives in mining towns, camps and outlying areas around mines (Plantive, 2005; passing). For instance, in most (www.debeers.com, www.debswana.com) AIDS/HIV CSR programs only recognize one legal wife and children, not girlfriends and sexual partners. However, as discussed in chapter seven, males migrating in Botswana are prone to have several long-term girlfriends in different areas whilst the wife is still back in the home village (Baker & Aina, 1995; passing). Further, these girlfriends, and sometimes wives, have to engage in other sexual relationships in order to survive, as has been elaborated above. It is the continual sexual relation with different partners that pushes up the rates of AIDS/HIV (Hertz, 2001; passing). Moreover, in divorce women are left with nothing, and so if they are on the ARV program of a mining company they are cut off from it and have to seek treatment from the government (Unknown, 1994; passing). The problem is that ARV treatment has to be a continuous process, and this may be broken when changing from company to government (Arensen, 2008). It is this lack of understanding of tradition and gender roles that leaves a large section of women cut out of the CSR sphere and allows AIDS/HIV to spread outside the mining camps.

Botswana has two separate legal systems; traditional or customary, and general (Unknown, 1994; passing). The consequence of this is that women in Botswana have an ambiguous status and that ambiguity affects their roles in their family unit, both economically and legally. It has been detailed in this paper that women are usually left behind in rural setting to care for and support their family due to males migrating to areas of work. However the ambiguous status also applies to women who migrate away from their rural homes in search of work. This zone of ambiguity for women can be explained in the way married and single women are given legal rights;

The customary law assigns all women (single or married) minority status under the guardianship of men, but some groups allow single women to conduct legal affairs independently. Thus under the customary law married women do not have the right to own property. Under general laws, single women have majority status, but the status

of married women depends on the type of marriage arrangement they contract (Unknown, 2004, p.3-4).

I would argue that this is one of the key elements that mining corporations have overlooked or did not understand when developing AIDS/HIV CSR programs. Without an understanding of traditional values and gender roles, and how these two legal systems affect it, AIDS/HIV CSR programs overlook women in ambiguous status. This group of women, such as girlfriends, has no right to access mining corporations' AIDS/HIV CSR program, which limits the reach of testing, education, counseling and treatment (Unknown, 1994, p3-6). These are crucial elements in order to truly fight the pandemic that have to encompass all individuals that have direct contact with mines, mining camps, and mining workers. This is where the structure of customary and general law becomes important for the mining corporations to understand, since these two systems are based upon traditional gender values in Botswana. With mining corporations' lack of understanding of the latter, their AIDS/HIV CSR programs are set out to be less successful. I believe that Western ideologies of relationships dictate these CSR initiatives.

Furthermore, the lack of understanding of the customary legal systems and in fear of offending groups of people that still hold hard and true to traditional Batswana values is also a reason as to why mining corporations are not publically vocal on the corporate stance in regards to AIDS/HIV (Holm, 2008; passing). It can also be seen in why the Government of Botswana has been slow in making any public political stances or frank debates on where they stand on the issue of AIDS/HIV. The latter is demonstrated in the legislation that was passed in two thousands four, the Opt-Out Program that made HIV/AIDS testing a routine part of medical visits, but in accordance to the social stigmatization that accompanies being infected the program is not mandatory (www.gov.bw). I believe that the slow response of the government in relation AIDS/HIV is what allows mining corporations to be less than bold when initiating AIDS/HIV CSR programs. What more could they have done? Understanding how they got to where they are and their role in the spread of AIDS/HIV.

This is a prime example of the wire walk that mining companies and the Government of Botswana traverse, for being too public can cause lose of votes or in the case of mines

public outcry or reprisal from individuals who are not infected and feel that their human rights have been violated. That would be come a public relations nightmare for both Botswana's Government and mining corporations.

8.4 Conflict Diamonds; Public Image SI

The last of my three research concerns in regards to why AIDS/HIV CSR programs in Botswana have not been fully successful, is the issue of conflict diamonds. In order for a CSR program to be successful in the corporate world it has to be cost-efficient, enable a swift resolution, and providing a good corporate image as discussed in the literature review. The issue of conflict diamonds is nothing new to De Beers or any mining corporation that mines for diamonds in areas that where and still are inhabited by ancestral populations; such as the Kalahari Basarwa where mining corporations have taken a 'image' hit due to conflict over who lives and owns the land and the resources found in the ground. SI is a NGO [non-governmental organization] that stands for Survival International and its job is to ensure that all diamonds that come onto the market are clean and clear of any connection to areas that are labeled as a conflict area (www.survival-international.org). This refers to diamonds that are mined in areas of civil unrest, war, or where labor is done by force and/or by children, and where land has been 'charily' taken or inhabitants have been relocated against their wishes (Hamman, 2004; passing). It further entails rebel action that can be linked to the mine and the mining corporation, and/or where government policy or offices have ties to rebel action. As asserted by Hamman (2004) corporations may be involved in corrupt practices such as connections with rebel action, government policies whilst jumping on the band wagon of SI and its fight against these practices. In this sense the corporation can keep a status quo and still quickly move away from a politically hot issue, but in actual fact nothing has really changed (Holm, 2008; passing). Since AIDS/HIV is a cultural issue with strong ties to history and social structure it will not obey to a short-term commitment unlike SI blood diamonds where one can stop mining in that area or greenwash one's way out. AIDS/HIV requires a long-term commitment and investment, which is difficult for mining corporations since the resources of mining are finite.

Botswana's mining corporations have been forced in recent times to confront and redefining what constitutes a conflict diamond in Botswana, due to the public confrontation and outrage [and campaign] by Survival International and other a NGOs working to ban and eradicate the exploration of conflict diamonds. Botswana has been a diamond producing country that has been able to run under the radar of what defines a conflict diamond, even though since the nineteen seventies the forced relocation of the Basarwa form the Central Kalahari Game Reserve has been occurring and has been 'greenwashed' by the Botswana's government campaign of saving the Basarwa from extinction (Mukummbira & Kosich, 2007; passing & www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/Ajhr/2002). The relocation of the Basarwa can be seen as a mirror image of the apartheid influx control and relocation act, that allowed mining corporations and governments to access land without confronting or confirming land ownership and as well as gaining access to cheap black labor that is settled into near by areas (Clark, 2007; passing). De Beers's public image was hit hard when it was revealed that they had mining licenses to explore for diamonds on the lands of the Basarwa tribe, as well as holding shares in Gem Diamond Corporation that was given an exploration license in 2008 to begin mining in the contested area (www.austlii.edu.au/au/journal/AJHR/2002 & www.mineweb.net).

The link to SI conflict diamonds was a big dent in De Beers image and all CSR initiatives had to be focused on saving their image, out of fear of public outrage against them for mining conflict diamonds, which could translate in a significant hit to De Beers diamond sales world wide (www.austlii.edu.au/au/journal/AJHR/2002 & www.mineweb.net). Swift action was taken and De Beers sold back their shares to Gem Diamond Corporation, ending their connection to the controversial mining in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. The mere act of distancing themselves from the CKGR controversy of the relocation of the Baswara demonstrates one of the reasons why CSR programs do not work. The swift action of selling off their shares was easy and solved De Beers' problems with having any connection to conflict diamonds and made their image stronger in the global market for it showed that they are fighting and winning the war against the selling of conflict diamonds. Even before the last share was sold, De Beers PR department had

quickly moved the spotlight away from the controversy in Botswana and ‘greenwashed’ it in the media by toting their mining record of no exploration in conflict areas and their human rights record of fighting against blood diamonds. However, to this date they still hold no less than eleven mining licenses in the Kalahari (www.mineweb.net; www.survival_international.org & www.gov.bw)

At the opposite spectrum we have the issue of AIDS/HIV CSR program, and the role De Beers has had in the spread of this pandemic in Botswana. AIDS/HIV is a deeply controversial issue that is profoundly rooted in the social and cultural make up of Botswana and its people. Due to this mining corporations are reluctant to be vocal about AIDS/HIV and their CSR programs in relation to this issue. By not being vocal and shifting the focus to other less sensitive issues such as conflict diamonds the mining corporations are in fact crippling any head waves AIDS/HIV CSR programs could achieve. Mining corporations in Botswana indeed have a strong influence on the government to make AIDS/HIV a vocal matter, but in doing they would be forced to face up with their own historical contribution to the spread of AIDS/HIV in Botswana.

Indeed historically, one can look back to when mining became one of the main driving forces of labor migration, ninety forties in Southern Africa, to see how AIDS/HIV became a ‘mining camp’ issue because of the social structure and mining culture that these mining camps breed. The ignorance or planning blindness to this social structure and culture that has allowed for AIDS/HIV to ravage Sub Saharan Africa for decades before De Beers was forced to response out of reduced profit and rising labor cost. However, the response by both the mining corporations and government was slow in coming and both highly under estimated in the demands that would be placed upon them (Holm, 2008; passing). The actions taken by De Beers were limited, for the needed for an all encompassing CSR program was great but an end solution was not within reach.

9. Conclusion

De Beers has begun to develop a new mine in the central district of Botswana, the AK06 mine, which lies between the Letlhakane mine and the Orapa mine and towns. In my opinion this is an opportunity for De Beers to break the chain of past behavior and all the

above aspects into account when implementing the AIDS/HIV CSR program. The AK06 mine is in its infancy stage, in the sense that the workers that are required are for the first phase, construction. The workers are migrating from near by mining towns, or countries [South Africa and Zimbabwe] and no plans have yet been announced, in regards too, if a town is going to be built up around the mine site when the operational phase begins; approximately in two years (www.debeersgroup.com & www.debeers.com). This mine has the potential like all of the other mines in the area to have a mining town, which will also become a breeding ground for AIDS/HIV. This vicious cycle can be seen over and over again in Botswana's mining community, because no mining CSR initiatives have been developed to help avoid this from occurring. Mining in Botswana has been going on since the early nineteen forties and the first AIDS/HIV case was in nineteen eighty five in Selebi-Phikwe, but it took almost ten years for mining corporations to begin to initiate CSR programs that dealt with AIDS/HIV (Arensen, 2008 & www.debeersgroup.com) Moreover, mining corporations, such as De Beers, Tati Nickel Mine and Debswana, still have not dealt with the social structures [and culture] that are created in their mining towns that aid in the spread of AIDS/HIV, for it is much easier to give the blind eye to these underlying social issues. To repeat Pierre Bourdieu, the future is destined to repeat itself until the past is recognized and understood in the present (Erickson and Murphy 2001; passing).

AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility CSR initiatives in the mining industry are not a set of easily incorporated policies and practices that can be defined, altered, ceded or in that matter understood. This is especially true in the case of AIDS/HIV, for as detailed in the body of this essay, defining of a good CSR program several issues have to be taken into consideration, such as social and traditional values, gender issues, public relations campaigns, history and stigmatization. All of the latter 'issues' are what limits how well accepted a mining corporation's CSR program is going to be in Botswana. It is also these issues that are going to limit how vocal and 'pushy' these corporations are going to be publically about their AIDS/HIV programs. Stigmatization and history are the two research areas that I believe are the most challenging to any AIDS/HIV corporate social responsibility program. For, AIDS/HIV has to become a social and public outcry that all

peoples of Botswana can come to together collectively to fight. The more vocal government bodies, corporations, and people are about AIDS/HIV the less stigmatization and fear will grow, and soon the need to keep one's infection secret will become obsolete. Botswana fought for independence from Britain in 1965 with their first election; Botswana's people collectively elected their first democratic President Seretse Khama in 1966. That was only forty three years ago, and they fought and won their freedom and right to live as proud and fearless Batswana. This collective passion has not died it has just been covered over by so many years of struggling to live and survive.

In the beginning of this paper I set out to explain and understand why AIDS/HIV CSR programs in Botswana have been less than successful, and I believe I have done just that. Through the use of my research methodology, grounded theory, it allowed me to studying my "subject(s)" without any pre-set theory, and to define them within their lived contexts (Flick, 2006; passing). Through the defining of a lived context, it has illustrated to me the link between my three research concerns behind AIDS/HIV CSR programs failures in Botswana. For without the taking into account the history, social, cultural, traditional, and gendered values of the people involved, and greenwashing practices the context of any CSR program initiated in Botswana will be empty promises based on the 'unreal/unlived' reality of the corporation and not the 'lived' reality of the people it is meant to help.

As Stephen Lewis, the past special UN Envoy to AIDS/HIV, states that the gap between vision and reality in Africa is appalling, and that has to be realized both by Africans and the world (www.stephenlewisfoundation.org).

10. Further Research

In the face of the global economic crisis that has hit the mining industry a new window of research has opened. With thousand of workers being laid off due to mines closing down for an undetermined period of time, the CSR programs become increasingly important, especially for those on ARVs. Depending on how the CSR program defines stipulations of termination (retrenchment, separation, layoffs) in relation to the provision of ARVs, the CSR program has the ability to limit who is going to receive treatment after termination of contract. If the company will not provide ARVs to former employees, they

will have to turn to the government [MASA] and hope that the lag-time is not too long. In this sense the economic crisis will reshape the mining industry in regards to how they structure AIDS/HIV CSR programs, which opens up an interesting field of study. What will happen to these individuals? How will AIDS/HIV CSR programs develop during a time of cost-cutting and downsizing? How will this affect the AIDS/HIV infection rates?

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<http://www.mapsofworld.com/botswana/botswana-mineral-map.html>

<http://www.odyssei.com/images/maps/big/botswana.jpg>

Appendix 1:



Orapa Mine



Damtshaa Mine



Jwaneng Mine



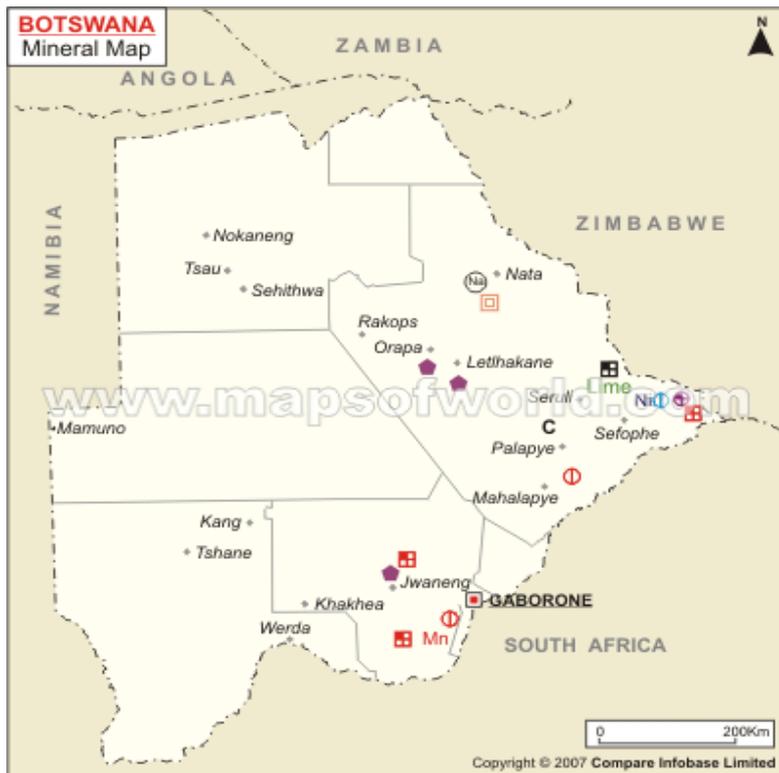
Letlhakane Mine

AK06 Debeers (70.27% shares) joint venture with Diamon Plc (28.38% shares) and Wati Ventures (1.35% shares). First to be mined by Boteti, Production begins April 2011, construction begins late 2008-2009.

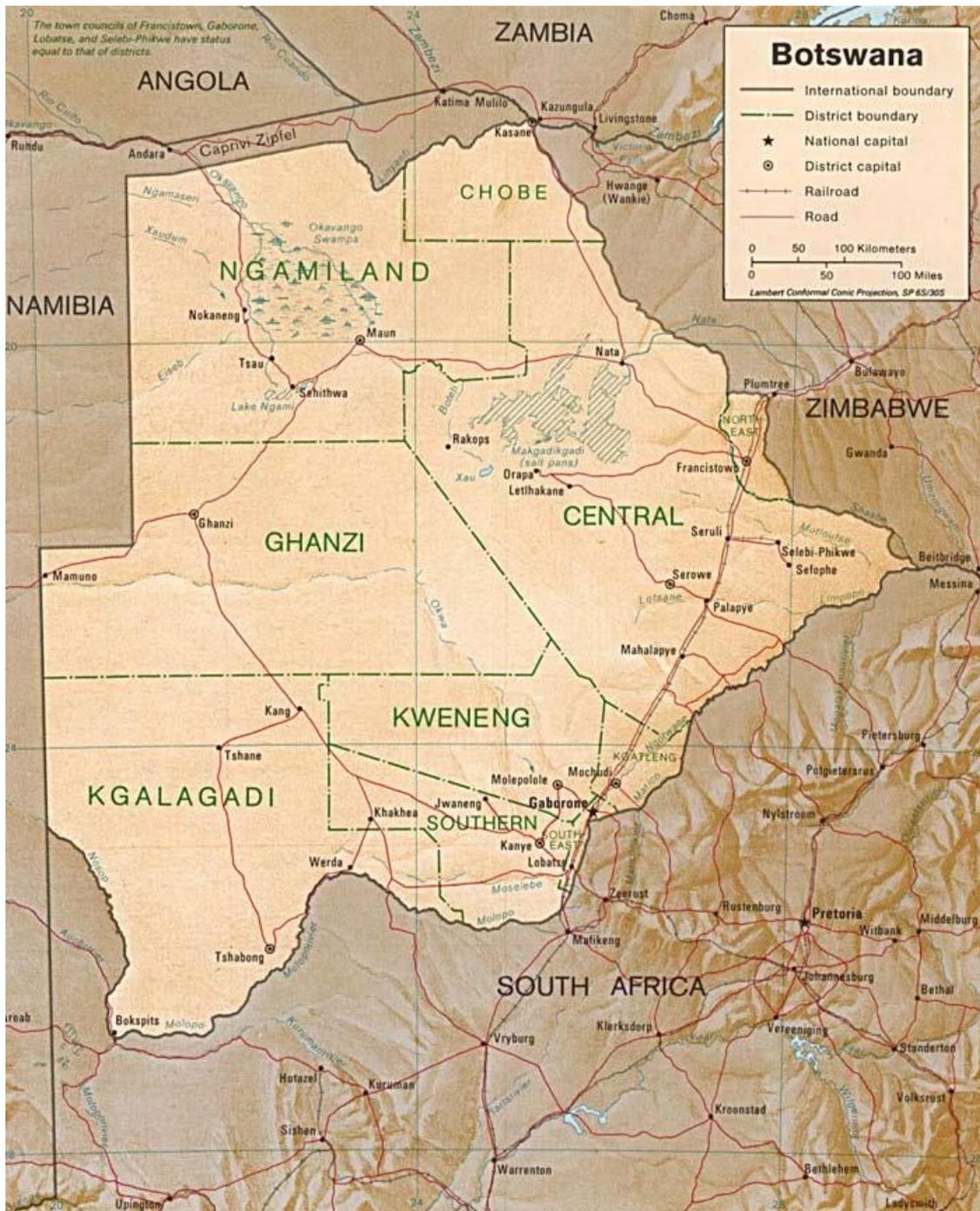


AK06 Mine

Appendix 2:

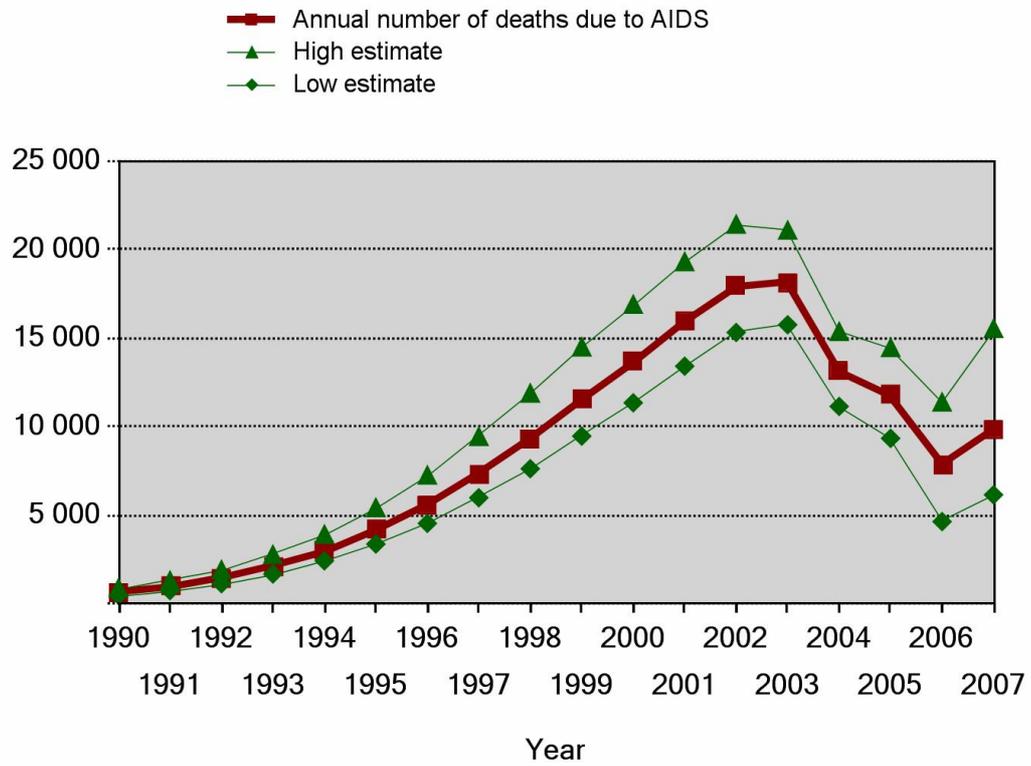


Appendix 3



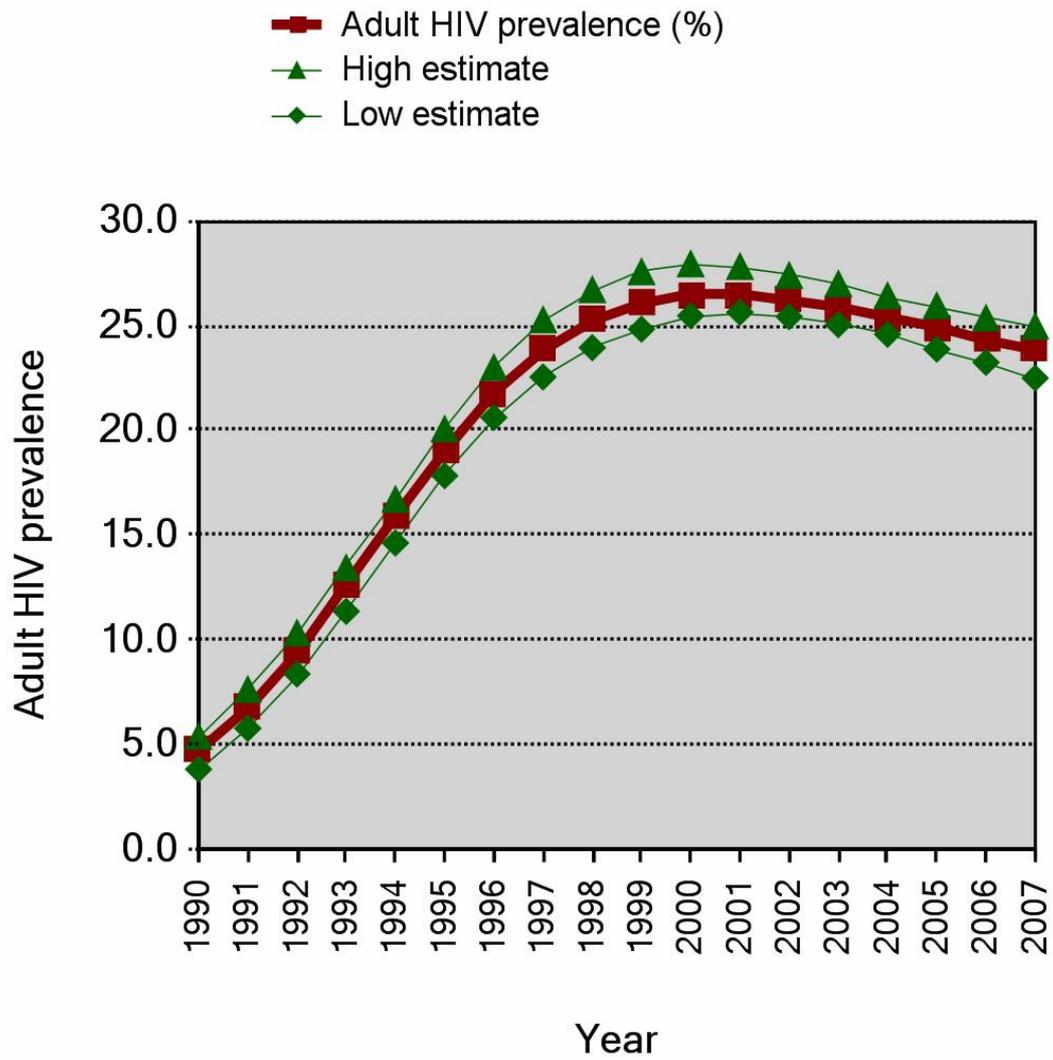
Appendix 4:

Estimated number of deaths due to AIDS 1990-2007

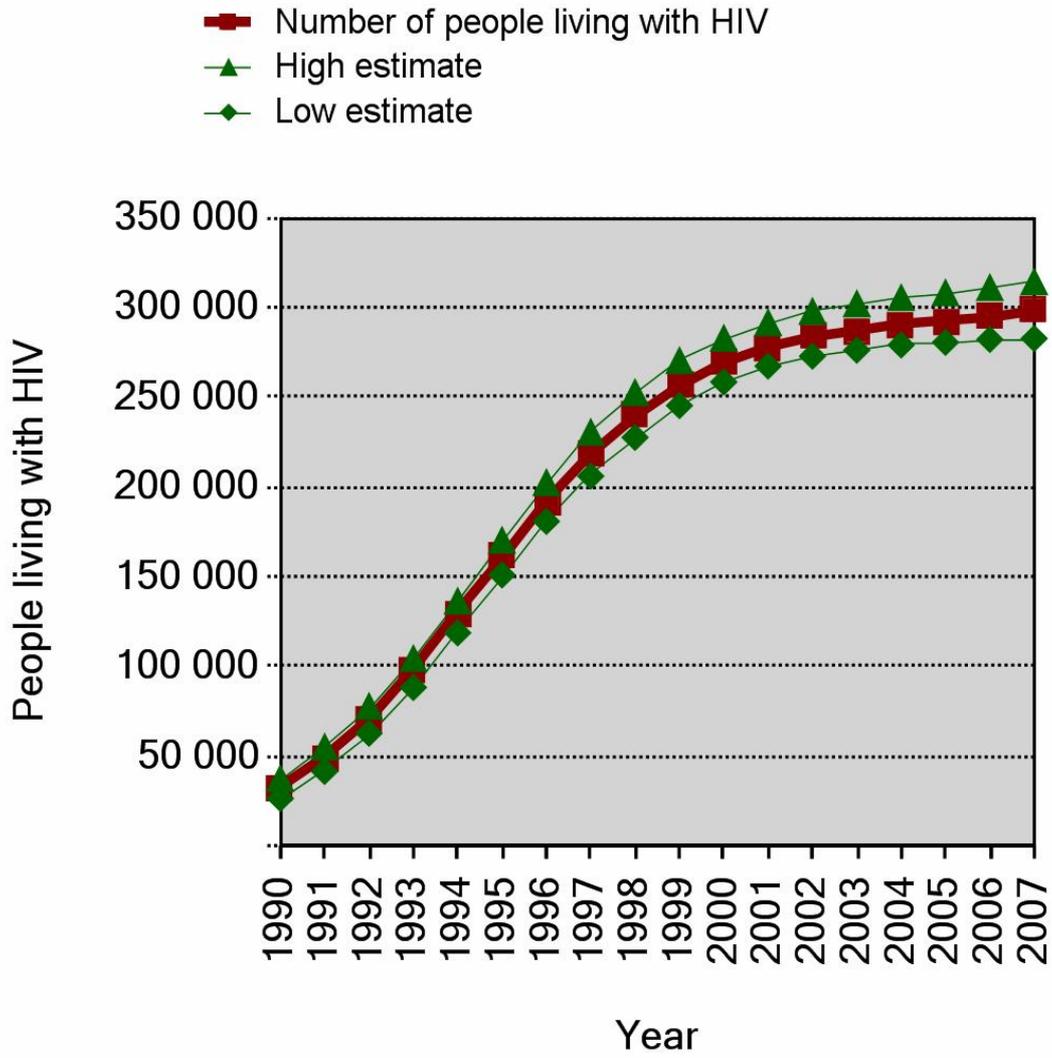


Appendix 5:

Estimated adult HIV (15-49) prevalence %, 1990-2007



Number of people living with HIV, 1990-2007



Appendix 6:

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3) Godfrey Ganetsans, is the reporter on all of the articles on Sunday Standard online news (www.sundaystandard.info) that I used.

4) Sello Motseta and Janet Fleisohman, are just two of the named reporters on All Africa online news (www.allafrica.com) that I used.

5) Duma Gideon Boko, was the author who wrote the article on (www.auslii.edu.au/au/journals/AJHR/2002) that I used.

6) Oggie B. Maruapula, is a reporter who wrote some of the articles on Mmegi news website (www.mmegi.bw) that I used.

7) JFG is a reporter who wrote some of the articles on Botswana Gazette news website (www.gazettebw.com) that I used.

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