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Human Development through Fair Gold Mining?

A case study of the *Fairmined* certification

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Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate to what extent the principles of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA) are reflected in Fair Gold Mining (FGM). The *Fairmined* certification of the Alliance for Responsible Mining (ARM) is taken as a case study. The principles of the HDCA are based on the idea of achieving people-centered development by promoting capabilities and a better quality of life. By using the HDCA as an analytical tool, this thesis feeds into on-going discussions on development and Fair Trade, among others. The empirical material was gathered through a content analysis of three texts written by ARM. The author established ten codes based on the HDCA to analyze the discourse that ARM uses in the context of the Fairmined certificate. The outcomes show that there is a high coherence between the principles of the HDCA and the Fairmined approach, as ARM states in their work.

Key Words: Human Development, Fairmined, Gold Mining, Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining, Fair Trade

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List of Abbreviations

ARM	Alliance for Responsible Mining
ASGM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Gold Mining
ASM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining
ASMO	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining Organization
ATO	Alternative Trading Organization
FGM	Fair Gold Mining
FTO	Fair Trade Organization
HDCA	Human Development and Capability Approach
ILO	International Labour Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SWOT	Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities, Threats
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WFTO	World Fair Trading Organization

1 Introduction

This thesis is about fair artisanal and small-scale gold mining. It investigates whether the *Fairmined* certification can be considered as human development by making use of the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA). In this thesis human development is understood as development that provides opportunities and capabilities for people so that they can live a life they have reason to value. (Sen 2001: 18, 36-38, 293). The certification Fairmined was created by the Alliance for Responsible Mining (ARM) in 2009. It was mainly developed for fair mined gold but is also being used for other precious metals like silver and platinum, which are all mined by artisanal and small-scale miners. (ARM 2017a).

Artisanal and small-scale gold miners all over the world are often exploited, as they are working under hazardous conditions and for very low wages. Fair mining certifications provide the mining organizations, the miners and their communities with opportunities to improve their livelihood situations and working areas. (ARM 2017d). To examine to what extent the Fairmined certification could be considered as human development, a content analysis of three texts, which were produced by ARM, is conducted. The thesis presents the outcomes of this analysis.

The research question is: How are the principles of the Human Development and Capability Approach realized in Fair Gold Mining? Answering this question through a content analysis, and a brief case study of the ARM and the certification Fairmined, helps to understand how ARM and the Fairmined approach work, what ARM wants to achieve, and what they claim to have achieved through their work. This thesis ties the Fairmined approach to a specific theoretical background, namely the HDCA. At the same time, the HDCA and its criteria are highlighted with a concrete and practical example – if those criteria are indeed implemented by Fairmined. Future studies could review: whether the theoretical propositions are indeed translated into practical matters, meaning whether the claimed changes occurred; if the miners are of the same opinion about these changes; and which flaws the approach brings with it; and what still needs improvement.

1.1 Background of Study

Gold, a material that in its pure form is nearly indestructible and which is very easily recyclable multiple times, is nowadays a highly demanded commodity. It is mainly used in the jewelry and technology sector, but also in the investment sector since its value is relatively stable. Over 3,000 tons of gold were produced annually in the last decade and the demand for more gold is unlikely to fade because the demand for jewelry and technology is increasing. (Reimers 2016: 55-57; Fairtrade Foundation and ARM 2011: 2).

The general gold supply chain is quite long since gold is never sold directly from the mining stage to the retail stage. After being physically extracted by miners it is sold to local, regional and international middlemen then to refiners, traders and exporters who sell it to bullion dealers, investment banks and manufacturers from where it finally reaches the retailers who sell it to the consumers. As every involved actor wants to profit, the gold is sold to a higher price to which it was bought leaving the mining stage exposed to the lowest price. (Reimers 2016: 56).

Artisanal and small-scale gold miners are especially vulnerable to this unfair profit distribution. With a lack of alternatives, miners often have to sell to the closest buyer, which leaves them exposed to low prices that barely meet their living and production costs. (Fairtrade Foundation and ARM 2011: 10-11).

1.1.1 Definition of Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM)

The meaning of artisanal and small-scale mining often depends on the regional context. The word 'small' can create confusion, as it could refer to the number of people being involved or to the area size of the exploited mines. Neither is accurate, nor incorrect. The mining area often depends on the size of the mining group. One single miner can only exploit a very small area, but if miners pool their resources, areas and work power the area becomes bigger. On an operational level four to ten people, mostly families are working together and on an organizational level this can extent to 30 to 300 miners. Those smaller sized mining operations are mainly worked manually and non-mechanized, or sometimes with small and older machines that are often insufficient and poorly maintained. (Hruschka and Echavarria 2011: 2-4).

In general, there are four different forms of artisanal and small-scale gold mining (ASGM): the permanent, the seasonal, the rush-type and the shock-push artisanal mining. ASGM is considered permanent when miners are generating their annual income mainly through mining, despite some supportive activities such as agriculture. Contrastingly, in seasonal ASGM miners are only working at mining sites during certain seasons to gain an extra income, while performing further activities in the remaining seasons. Either people live on site or they migrate to the sites in the mining seasons. In rush-type mining people migrate in masses to mining sites, when expecting a higher income through increasing gold prices or from newly discovered sources. Rush-type miners often settle down and become permanent miners. Through poverty, disasters or by losing their work people are forced to seek other income sources in shock-push artisanal mining. ASGM is often an option for those people, since it creates many jobs and is lucrative enough to support many families. (ARM 2014: 17; Hruschka and Echavarria 2011: 3-4).

1.1.2 Challenges in ASM

90 percent of the overall workforce behind gold extraction is employed in ASGM, which produces 20 percent of the entire gold supply. There are around 16 million artisanal and small-scale gold miners worldwide and over 100 million people benefit indirectly from the gold production. Yet there are many issues throughout the whole sector, of which many are violating the miners' human rights. (Reimers 2016: 57-60; ARM 2017a).

Since poverty is one of the main reasons why people are engaging in ASGM, forced labor and child labor are two common issues. Forced labor in ASGM often includes situations in which people are bond to someone through debts and servitude, which are many times nearly impossible to pay back. Many forced laborers are mentally or physically abused, manipulated or threatened. Men and boys are often forced to work in the mines, while women and girls are often forced to prostitution and domestic labor. Gender discrimination is another very common phenomenon in mining, as women are often not allowed to work inside the mines due to cultural, religious and/or social taboos or beliefs. Instead, they have to work in supportive and domestic tasks. (ARM 2014: 8, 20-30). Child labor can occur in the forced labor context, but most commonly in a family context. When parents do not earn enough money to support the whole family, children must contribute to the family income. Worldwide there are about one million children working in gold mines. (Hruschka and Echavarria 2011: 13; Reimers 2016: 62-65).

Additionally, the overall working conditions in ASGM are often highly dangerous and hazardous, since machines are in poor technical conditions, stabilization systems in the mines are poorly constructed and toxic chemicals like mercury and cyanide are improperly used. Not only health risks to the miners and their communities are an issue but also environmental pollution. Mining and chemical waste is dumped negligently into the surroundings causing water and soil pollution and creating toxic environments for humans and nature alike. (Hruschka and Echavarria 2011: 14).

Yet, the biggest issue in ASGM is the informality of the sector. Meaning that artisanal miners often do not have the legal permissions, documents and rights to mine on the mining sites they are using, due to a lack of financial resources. Furthermore, many countries only have laws and regulation criteria for bigger formalized mining operations and therefore ASGM is yet in need of its own set of regulations and requirements based on the sector's characteristics. With informality comes also the high risk of staying trapped in the poverty cycle, as miners cannot receive any governmental support, neither technical, financial nor social. Since ASGM is often not acknowledged as a legitimate economic actor, a restricted market access excludes ASGM from the national economy. From which also the national economy suffers by losing many financial resources since no taxes are paid by anyone involved in informal activities. (Echavarria 2014: 14; Reimers 2016: 61).

1.2 Study Relevance

It is important that attention is being devoted to Fair Trade initiatives like fair mining. As has now been widely acknowledged, at least in academia, dominant neoliberal capitalist structures in the international political economy create unequal positions in the market system to the disadvantage of many workers and producers in developing countries[1]. (Archer and Fritsch 2010: 118). The main proportion of all goods are produced in developing countries, while developed countries consume most of these products. Through the unequal distribution of these goods, one can argue that the people in developed countries are over consuming, while the people in developing countries are struggling to survive. Of course, this is overly generalizing. Yet, the wealth of academic literature on this topic testifies that there is truth to it.[2] Many people in developing countries produce goods, especially food, which are exported, while they are barely able to sustain their livelihoods. This is often due to very low prices they receive for their produce. (Valiente-Riedl 2013: 39).

To stop this injustice and to improve the producer's lives many different approaches have been developed in the last decades. One of them is the Fair Trade approach which acknowledges that there is a "failure of the conventional trade to deliver sustainable livelihoods and development opportunities to people in the poorest countries of the world" (*original emphasis removed*; WFTO and Fairtrade International 2009: 5). Fair Trade wants to change this by creating a transparent supply chain, including paying fair wages that reflect the economic needs of the producers, providing an additional premium with which producers can invest in business and livelihoods and excluding middlemen as much as possible. A fairer and alternative route to the common market system is supposed to be achieved.

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[1] The issue of how to define developing and developed countries will not be further discussed, as it is not the purpose of this thesis, therefore the rather narrow but for the thesis' purpose sufficient definition of 'low and high-income countries' is used. This 'definition' is very narrow and does not include all aspects of these highly complex categories. It is merely one way of categorizing countries and it was used by authors referred to throughout this thesis, as Archer and Fritsch (2010), Raynolds and Bennet (2015), or Valiente-Riedl (2013).
[2] See for example ul Haq 1995; UNDP 2017

(Valiente-Riedl 2013: 14; Archer and Fritsch 2010: 118). Fair Trade underlies different understandings of the concept, two of which are based on value distribution and ethical consumption.

Value distribution emphasizes "fair prices [,] a margin for producers [to invest] in […] business and livelihoods [,] direct purchasing from producers, a transparent trading system, equal partnership and exclusive contracts [and environmental sustainability]" (Valiente-Riedl 2013: 14). Alternative Trading organizations (ATOs) and Fair Trade organizations (FTOs) are the practical translation of this understanding and are operating "under a different set of values and objectives than traditional trade, putting people and their well-being and preservation of the natural environment before the pursuit of profit" (IFAT (International Fairtrade Association) cited by Valiente-Riedl 2013: 51). They started selling mostly handicrafts in the US in the 1940s and in Europe in the 1960s, both independently from each other but with the motto 'trade not aid' at heart. Over the last decades the movement grew enormously, from selling handicrafts to selling many different agricultural products, like coffee, tea, nuts, dried and fresh fruit, cacao, cotton and rice. (Redfern and Snedker 2002: 5-8; Raynolds and Bennett 2015: 6-7).

Ethical consumption plays an important role in the expansion of the Fair Trade sector. It can be defined as "personal consumption where the choice of a product or service exists which supports a particular ethical issue" (Cooperative Bank cited by Valiente-Riedl 2013: 127). These issues can consider human, animal and/or environmental welfare. Fair Trade is seen as a social contract between consumers and producers helping consumers to identify themselves more strongly with the global community and therefore creating a concern for ethical products (Reese and Kohlmann 2015: 98).

Within the Fair Trade movement producing gold under fair conditions is a relatively new phenomenon which only exists since the beginning of this century. Oro Verde, a grass root initiative from the Chocó department in Colombia, started the wheels of certifying gold in the late 1990s. ARM was created out of this initiative in 2004 and implemented its first certification, the *Fairtrade & Fairmined* certification, in cooperation with Fairtrade in 2010. After ARM and Fairtrade ended

their cooperation in 2013, both organizations carried on with their own individual certification, Fairmined and Fairtrade respectively. The Oro Verde initiative does not exist anymore, which makes Fairmined and Fairtrade the only two remaining certifications for fair gold. (ARM 2016a, 2017a, b).

In those roughly 27 years not much research has been conducted about FGM in general or about Fairmined in particular. Which creates a lack of literature about this field especially from a critical academical standpoint since most existing work was conducted by ARM itself or people related to it, like members of the board. Therefore, combining the HDCA with FGM is an innovative step to discuss the topic of Fair Trade and FGM, linking a concrete example, namely the certification Fairmined, to the principles of the HDCA. This helps us to understand Fairmined and the HDCA in a deeper way. This thesis is therefore a starting point of filling the existing research gap on FGM. Since it is a theoretical and not an empirical study based on on-site research, the need for further research from an emic perspective remains. This study should be seen as a first step in this direction.

1.3 Structure of this Thesis

Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical framework. It outlines four discussions, on development, human development, Fair Trade and gold mining. These provide vital contexts to this thesis and indicate the gaps that this thesis seeks to fill. There are especially gaps existing in the literature about FGM, since it is a relatively new phenomenon that has not been investigated thoroughly. Additionally, literature about the HDCA rarely deal with a concrete and practical example on which the principles of this approach are explained.

The methodological framework is discussed in **Chapter 3.** The methods of case study and content analysis are elucidated and the reasons for using these methods are explained. Additionally, the research design on which the thesis is based on, is described, as well as the structure and execution of the content analysis. As the content analysis is of deductive nature, this chapter will describe how codes based on which the analysis was conducted were established. The HDCA is used as a methodological tool for analyzing the texts and the codes are based on its principles. Furthermore, limitations of the research design and my positionality are discussed.

In **Chapter 4** the case study is performed. ARM and Fairmined are described by using existing literature and research. Afterwards, the results of the content analysis are elaborated while describing content of the three examined texts. Within this chapter the links between the HDCA and Fairmined are made visible by indicating which codes were used in which context.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings of chapter 4. Criticism against FGM and Fair Trade are discussed with connecting them back to the analysis. Additionally, it is discussed why further research is needed to the FGM, especially from an emic perspective of the miners.

Finally, the findings of this work are summarized in **Chapter 6.** Furthermore, a prospect for future work on this topic will be explored.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of this thesis. In order to understand the conceptualization of the HDCA it is important to shed light on the discussion within the development field about development theories and their understanding of development. Therefore, the term development and its commonly underlying concepts are discussed, mainly from an anthropological point of view. Further, the HDCA, its origins and its focus are discussed. Lastly existing research, or rather the lack of existing research about FGM is elaborated on.

2.1 Development

What is *development*? This question appears to be a never-answered question as it has been frequently asked over the last centuries and answered in many ways. Gilbert Rist argues that there is one common idea that all development theories and approaches underlie, namely the 'belief' in the phenomenon development and the improvements it brings to countries. He even goes so far as to call development a modern religion because "[i]f 'development' is regarded as an element of modern religion, this explains not only the discrepancy between the sociologist's definition and the believer's vision, but also why it does not threaten the existence of the belief in any way" (Rist 2008: 23).[3]

With other words, Rist sees development as a collective reality that has existed for decades or even centuries, and in all this time the phenomenon itself has never been doubted or disregarded, only its elements and foci. Meaning the debates that exist, are often more concerned with the question what development should focus on and whether elements as for example economic growth or good governance are

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[3] This claim underlies the definition of religion by Durkheim, which entails that religion is socially constructed and contains "collective representations that express collective realities" (Durkheim 1995, cited by Rist 2008: 20).

more important, than discussing whether the whole concept of development is a vital concept that should be further pursued. (Rist 2008: 21-24).

Murray Li argues that trusteeship, "the intent of one to act on behalf of another" (Cowen and Shenton 2003: i) or "the intent which is expressed, by one source of agency, to develop the capacities of another" (Cowen and Shenton 2003: ix) is deeply embedded in the development sector. It always implies certain power relations between the trustee (A) and the 'truster' (B). A is of the impression that B needs empowerment and wants to help achieve for B. Yet, this indicates that A assumes that B has no the power and that A is the 'expert' in knowing how to empower B (Murray Li 2007: 275).

Murray Li points out that these kind of power relations are very problematic, especially because "what trustees deem appropriate for poor people does not necessarily match their own assessments of what is possible desirable, and fair" (Murray Li 2007: 281). Additionally, trustees often link a problem to an available solution, which means if they do not already have a solution to a certain problem in mind, they often do not concern themselves with other problems to which a solution yet has to be found. Meaning development projects are many times chosen based on the solution the organization has to offer. (Murray Li 2007: 7).

How is it, though, that such a diverse and multi-layered field has been commonly excepted for so long and without being rendered very problematic by critics? And why are concepts as intentional development and trusteeship commonly present until today in development theories and practices? One answer to that might be the adaptiveness of the field to current streams in academic discussions. No matter what theory and discussion, the main principle of development, *the will to improve*, how Murray Li (2007: 276-277) puts it, is immanent. This *will to improve* comes in different forms and shapes, but it always sustains itself. When one approach is found insufficient, deficient or improper, another approach takes its place. (Sumner and Tribe 2008: 17-19). From modernization theory, over dependency theory, ecofeminism and sustainable development to the human development approach, all approaches have this *will* at their core without ever "been rendered radically problematic" (Escobar 1997: 501).

The questions whether this *will* is something to strive for or to abandon; who is to say what needs to be improved and under which conditions; and how can someone assume that others need improvement, are rarely asked question in the development sector. There are only few discussions in some fields, the anthropology field being one of them.

2.1.1 Anthropology and Development

Olivier de Sardan (2005) points out that the field of anthropology acknowledges that development is not a one-sided coin, but a coin with a complex structure. This structure needs an adequate and holistic analysis in order to create a development plan accordingly to the situation at hand. (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 4-6; 24). Additionally, Escobar (1997) argues that "anthropology [remains] an instrument of critique and contestation of what is given and established" (Escobar 1997: 497). Through thorough anthropological analyses of for example development projects, discrepancies between theoretical conceptions and practical implementations are often brought to light. Those exist because the complexity of the situation in which development projects take place, are frequently not as acknowledged as they should be, or as anthropologists would like them to be (Murray Li 2007: 28).

Within the field of anthropology two major opinions towards development have manifested in the last decades. On the one side one can find the *development anthropology* and on the other side the *anthropology of development.* Both are engaging in the discussion whether anthropologists should be involved in development. While development anthropologists are applying anthropological theories and methods in development organizations, anthropologist of development are more concerned in engaging in a discourse about the concept of development.

The goal of development anthropologists is to achieve a better development on an anthropological base. They see themselves as "cultural intermediaries […] between the worlds of development and […] the local […] point of view [by placing] local communities and projects in larger context of political economy; and [viewing] culture holistically" (Escobar 1997: 500). Yet, critique from anthropologists of development is raised about the lack of engaging in discussions about the necessity of development or the problematization of "anthropology's ability to represent cultural differences [adequately]" (Escobar 1997: 501). The familiar should be defamiliarized by discussing the history, the different perspectives, the power relations and the consequences of development.

The self-evidently argued structure of development is loaded with problematics anthropologists of development want to shed light upon. Of interest to them are questions like: Which role does eurocentrism play, how are non-westerners represented by western development organizations, is development an invention or natural, which power relations exist and how are they constituted? However, development anthropologists criticize anthropologists of development for the lack of turning their critique and discourse into a plan for going forward, meaning going beyond theoretical criticizing to proposing practical solutions for an alternative concept of development. (Escobar 1997: 501-505).

Going forward is only possible when "accepting the discursive critique as valid and essential [but] nevertheless insist[ing] on the possibility of subverting mainstream development 'both by supporting resistance to development and by working within the discourse to challenge and unpick its assumptions' "(cited by Escobar 1997: 506).

Additionally, there is the need for a general definition of development, not only among anthropologists but in the whole development sector. Yet, a definition from a more anthropological view point could be of interest, since it might be more holistic and including the social aspect of development. Olivier de Sardan (2005) proposes a definition that might suit the side of anthropology of development as well as the development anthropology's side. He defines development as social processes that were established through actors to transform a certain social milieu. Development, therefore, only exists because there are actors that want to bring change to a specific field. This change, and its intent, can be studied like any other social phenomena by anthropologists. That is, it can be studied from every angle, to receive a full picture that is not limited to only one issue. (Olivier de Sardan 2005: 24- 25).

This definition acknowledges the *will to improve* that is eminent in the development field and which is important to development anthropologists. Furthermore, it also sees the importance of anthropological analyses, so that the complexity of a local context is studied adequately and in detail. Most importantly, this definition is far away from common definitions that entail economic growth,

industrialization and propose only 'one' way to achieve the same development in all countries. The paradox that "development entails the simultaneous recognition and negation of difference" (Escobar 1997: 497), becomes resolved. Every situation needs detailed analysis to achieve social processes that are embedded reasonably into local contexts.

2.2 The Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA)

The underlying theoretical approach of this thesis and aspects under which it is analyzed is called the Human Development and Capability Approach (HDCA). This approach is also known under other names, as the Capability (or Capabilities) Approach or the Human Development Approach. Even though the approach can have different designations, its core principles are the same. Throughout this thesis, the designation *Human Development and Capability Approach* is used interchangeable with the other mentioned names, which means this term includes all aspects of the Capability Approach, the Human Development Approach and the HDCA. (Nussbaum 2011; Alkire and Deneulin 2009a & b; Deneulin 2009; Sen 2001; ul Haq 1995).

2.2.1 Sen's Capability and Freedom Approach

Many theories and definitions of development have been focusing on economic growth and the thinking that development is based on a 'trickle-down-effect', meaning the better a country's monetary situation is, the better poverty could be eliminated and the overall situation for the people could be increased. (Gimenez and Shattuck 2011: 120). Yet, this effect is mainly assumed, and it has been shown over time that poverty reduction does not necessarily occur only because a country's economic situation improved. There can be economic growth in a country without developing the quality of its people's living conditions, regarding education, health and poverty. The Human Development Index and the Human Development Report developed in the 1990s by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) under Mahbub ul Haq were created to assess what is already there (the ends of development) and what changes are needed (the means of development). The focus lies on the people's longevity, knowledge and access to

economic choices rather than on the countries' economic growth. Both show that there is not necessarily a link between economic growth and the improvement of people's situations regarding poverty reduction, health or education, since countries that rank higher on a growth index can rank lower on the Human Development Index. (ul Haq 1995: 14; 25-43; UNDP 2017).

The HDCA was born because Amartya Sen (2001), himself being an economist, found the concept of development too limited to the aspect of economic growth. In his widely-known book *Development as Freedom* he focuses on the quality of life and how to achieve it through capabilities and freedoms (Nussbaum 2011; Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 23). He argues that development should be seen as the tool that allows people to improve their lives so that they have reason to value it. This means even though economic growth is a significant part of development, it is not the most important one. It is more important to promote human development and human capabilities, which can be achieved when people have certain freedoms to enfold their capabilities. (Sen 2001: 14-20).

Sen argues that there are five instrumental freedoms that interact with one another and promote other freedoms and capabilities.

> Those five freedoms are "(1) *political freedoms* [civil rights], (2) *economic facilities* [consumption, production and exchange], (3) *social opportunities* [education and healthcare], (4) *transparency guarantees* [disclosure and lucidity] and (5) *protective security* [social safety nets]" (Sen 2001: 38).

Expanding these and other freedoms is therefore the end and the means of development. This two-way relationship evolves because when people's capabilities become enhanced they can live valuable lives, and through these capabilities they also can influence their community, society and policies. In Sen's eyes, a society is only as successful as the quantity and quality of its member's freedoms. Sen thus started the discussion about a more ethical approach to development through shifting the center of development from the economy to the people. (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 23; Sen 2001: 18).

2.2.2 Major Concepts and Components of the HDCA

The HDCA can be perceived as multi-dimensional and holistic as it focuses on outcomes and processes of numerous important aspects of development and not just on economic growth and wealth. There are three major concepts underlying it, which are *functioning*, *capability* and *agency*. (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 22; ul Haq 1995: 20-22).

> "A *functioning* is being or doing what people value and have reason to value. A *capability* is a person's freedom to enjoy various functionings – to be or do things that contribute to their well-being. *Agency* is a person's ability to pursue and realize goals she values and has reason to value" (original emphasis removed; Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 22).

These three concepts must always be seen in the perspective of value judgements, because without people valuing having a functioning or capability or being an agent, the concepts become irrelevant. Of course, this leads to a discussion about what people value and what happens if some people value something that could do harm to others. This makes human development a concept that "raises issues of values, priorities and trade-offs so that people are better able to reflect profoundly on their circumstances and shape their respective societies" (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 27).

Human development will always be part of a conversation, that is, a conversation that will change, as humans will change and so will their values and priorities. (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 27-32). Due to this ongoing conversation, there is no fixed list of capabilities that should be promoted, but rather two questions that should be kept in mind while promoting capabilities: "(1) which capabilities do the people who will enjoy them *value* (and attach a high priority to); and (2) which capabilities are relevant to a given policy, project or institution?" (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 45). The complexity of the local situation needs detailed assessment in order to promote valuable human development.

Another aspect which needs to be remembered while selecting and promoting capabilities, is that functionings themselves should not be promoted. If people have capabilities, then they can choose to enjoy certain functionings. This means they need to have the freedom of choice and should not be forced to choose a certain functioning. A popular example is about 'starving and fasting', the person who starves most likely does not have the capability to eat, whereas the person who fasts has the capability to eat but chose not to. The line between capability and functioning should be respected and with it the freedom of choice. (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 36).

Furthermore, there are four essential components the HDCA is based on: *equity*, *efficiency*, *participation and empowerment* and *sustainability*. *Equity* is not considered as the same as *equality*. Everyone should have the same level of capabilities and opportunities, this, however, does not mean that everybody needs the same measures to achieve this level. Some people might need more measures and some less. Also, the equity of capabilities and opportunities is not the same as having the same results for everyone, since using capabilities and opportunities is a choice people have to make for themselves. Therefore, equity is based on justice, fairness and impartiality. (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 29; ul Haq 1995: 17).

Efficiency means making sure that every resource, whether it is human, social, environmental or economic based, is used so that it "offers the highest impact in terms of people's opportunities" (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 30). People should be able to unfold their true potential through an efficient use of all resources. It needs to be assessed contextually which resources are available to which people and which are not and why they are not available. Only through a detailed analysis it is possible to assure efficient resource distribution and usage.

Participation and Empowerment goes hand in hand with *agency* as people should act as agents, which means they should participate in shaping all aspects of their lives. Receiving only charity and aid does not help them to be in power of their lives. Being able to act as an agent means, however, that people have certain freedoms that come from democratic rights, economic liberalism and decentralization of power. (ul Haq 1995: 20; Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 30).

IMAGE 1

Source: UNDP 2017 (http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev)
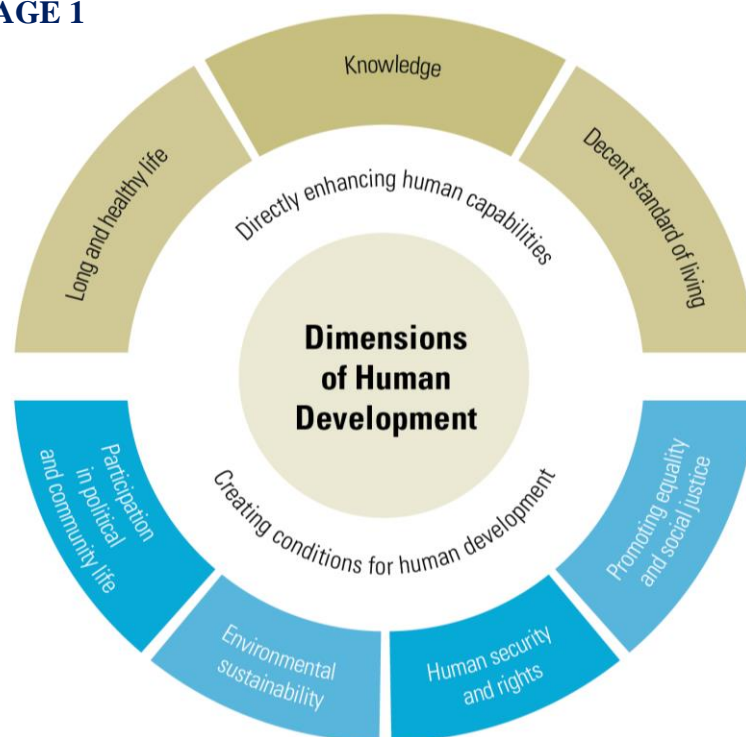
The last component, *sustainability,* is about the sustainability of people's opportunities and the lasting efficiency of resources over time. Sustainability is a changing concept as the world and its resources are changing and, therefore, things that should and can be sustained change over time, too. The main prospect of sustainability is to ensure that future generation have the same opportunities and capabilities we have now. Of course, these need to be worth sustaining, otherwise they should be changed before they are sustained. This means environmental sustainability is a big part of this component, as natural resources must be sustained, or the world will change to a degree that future generations have even less capabilities than we have now. Likewise, equal distribution of resources and opportunities has a part in this. (ul Haq 1995: 18-19; Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 30).

All mentioned aspects are highly anthropocentric, and one may argue that the environmental aspect especially regarding the limitedness of natural resources, is not considered enough. Yet, the HDCA proposes that the resources in use nowadays

must be distributed equally throughout the world and that how we use resources must be changed to a sustainable level. Meaning that it must be considered that natural resources are not infinite and that we must respect the environments limits. Especially, if we want future generations to live valuable lives, the survival of the environment must be secured. (ul Haq 1995: 18-19; Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 30).

2.2.3 Critique to the HDCA

There has been some critique against the HDCA. Some argue that the HDCA has similarities with the modernization theory, which argues that development should be brought to each country in the same way. This way is industrialization and therefore economic growth, as many western countries have achieved development herby. Therefore, it is argued that other countries should follow the same path, as it is perceived the most effective. (Gimenez and Shattuck 2011: 120). However, even though one could argue that the HDCA wants to achieve the same level of capabilities and opportunities for everyone, the HDCA does not assume that this can be achieved everywhere in the same way. There is not only one way but many as every country and sometimes even regions in one country are having different starting points in providing capabilities to their people in different quantity and quality. (ul Haq 1995: 20; Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 30).

Others criticize that the HDCA is too anthropocentric as it is only concerned with humans and therefore would exclude ecosystems and animals. It is true that the HDCA is mainly concerned with the well-being of humans. However, "the quality of the natural environment and the health of ecosystems are crucial for human well-being" (Nussbaum 2011: 163). If ecosystems suffer, so do humans, because we depend on them to survive. Since ecosystems include animals, animals must also be protected, not only because they are part of the environment but also because the HDCA promotes dignity and respect for all lives on this planet. Therefore, food production that involves animals must never be cruel and it needs to be sustainable. This also means killing animals due to sport activities and research on animals should be avoided. (Nussbaum 2011: 158-163).

Another critique stresses the individualistic nature of the HDCA (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 35). Whereas it is correct that the HDCA sees individuals as "the smallest fundamental unit of moral concern" (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 35) this does not mean that individuals cannot act in groups. The HDCA's work often involves specific groups, like women, children, disabled etc. However, if groups

are the 'smallest unit' than inequalities within these groups, such as families, could be disregarded. What happens to each individual within one group is of high importance. (Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 35).

2.3 Fair Trade

"Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South. Fair Trade Organizations, backed by consumers, are engaged actively in supporting producers, awareness raising and in campaigning for changes in the rules and practice of conventional international trade" (original emphasis removed; WFTO and Fairtrade International 2009: 6).

The World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO) sees Fair Trade based on ten principles, which can be seen in box 1.

BOX 1	(Source: adapted from WFTO 2013)
Principle	**Meaning**
1	Creating Opportunities for Economically Disadvantaged Producers
2	Transparency and Accountability
3	Fair Trading Practices
4	Payment of a Fair Price
5	Ensuring no Child Labor and Forced Labor
6	Commitment to Non-Discrimination, Gender Equity and Women's Economic Empowerment, and Freedom of Association
7	Ensuring Good Working Conditions
8	Providing Capacity Building
9	Promoting Fair Trade
10	Respect for the Environment

(WFTO 2013; Valiente-Riedl 2013: 53). Since Fair Trade is considered a tool to reduce poverty in and to establish sustainable livelihoods for communities with marginalized small producers, a "[f]air pay means provision of socially acceptable remuneration (in the local context) considered by producers themselves to be fair and which takes into account the principle of equal pay for equal work by women and men" (WFTO 2013). Discrimination, forced and child labor are to be avoided, whereas safe and healthy working conditions for all workers based on the International Labour Organisation (ILO) norms are to be ensured. (Valiente- Riedl 2013: 51-54).

2.3.1 Mainstreaming Fair Trade

There are two ways for FTOs to ensure that buying their products will benefit the producers. One is the "integrated supply chain route whereby products are imported and/or distributed by organizations that have Fair Trade at the core of their mission and activities" (original emphases removed; WFTO and Fairtrade International 2009: 11). Meaning the whole organization is based on Fair Trade principles and certification systems are rarely used. The second way is the "product certification route whereby products […] are certified indicating that they have been produced, traded, processed and packaged in accordance with the specific requirements" (original emphases were altered; WFTO and Fairtrade International 2009: 11).

Nowadays, many FTOs are working with certification systems. One of the most commonly known is Fairtrade (formally Fairtrade Labelling Organization International) which product list comprises of thousands of different products, including cocoa, coffee, bananas, cotton, flowers, fruit, gold, wine, soccer balls, honey, rice, and many others. (Fairtrade International 2017c, d). From 2003 to 2015, the number of producers working in producer organizations with the Fairtrade certification has more than doubled, from about 800,000 producers to 1.66 million. 2015 the sales revenues were over €1 billion, and the premium was worth €117 million. (Fairtrade International Pricing Subunit 2011: 3; Nelson and Pound 2009: 7).

Fairtrade's "key premise […] is that Fairtrade products should be more easily accessible to consumers to achieve a growth in demand for Fair Trade products and thereby provide greater capacity for Fair Trade to assist marginalized producers in the developing world" (Valiente-Riedl 2013: 72). That is why nowadays Fairtrade products cannot only be found in world shops, shops specifically for fairly traded products, but also in commercial supermarkets. This makes it easier for consumers to integrate buying Fairtrade products into their normal shopping routine. Many commercial supermarkets offer some Fairtrade products, mostly coffee and

chocolate, in their assortment to attract consumers interested in Fair Trade. (Fairtrade International 2017b; Valiente-Riedl 2013: 72).

Yet, consumers are made "to believe that [they are] actor[s], where in fact [they are] at best […] chooser[s]" (Appadurai cited by Moberg and Lyon 2010a: 8). What consumers are believed to think about the alternative market system they are participating in, differs often widely from how producers are seeing this system. Henrici argues based on different ethnographic studies, that producers are often believing to not having much influence on the Fair Trade system's terms. (Henrici 2010: 290). Also, who is to be included in the Fair Trade system and who is not? This is not merely a choice of the producers, but of the labelling organization. Therefore, some groups and products are excluded from the Fair Trade system and only "a fortunate few in a much larger sea of producers" (Henrici 2010: 292) are benefiting from the system. Even those producers included in the system are not always entirely satisfied with how it works. Sometimes Fair Trade requirements are not combinable with local producing strategies. Moberg (2010: 52-53) gives the example of heavy equipment which banana farmers are required to use to remove weed, yet many of the farmers are over 50 years old and therefore often not capable of using 35-pound machines. They have to higher younger men to operate them, which takes part of their income, leaving them again with a lower income to sustain their living.

Moberg and Lyon (2010a) argue that the "contemporary fair trade movement rests on a deep (and perhaps deepening) paradox" (Moberg and Lyon 2010a: 7). Fair Trade seeks to change the unequal outcomes of the neoliberal globalization by using a market-based strategy. Meaning, they are fighting fire with fire. Social justice is supposed to be achieved through deregulated markets, yet those often foster poverty. (Moberg and Lyon 2010a: 7). Additionally, sometimes companies that are contested by the Fair Trade movement are engaging themselves in the movement by adopting Fair Trade practices. Starbucks being an example of that. They claim to spend averagely more money per pound of coffee than the Fair Trade price. Smith (2010: 40-41) points out, that this in fact is true, at least at the surface, but when looking closer, it is shown that this price entails the costs for importers

and the shipping costs for the coffee. Meaning their producers actually receive less per pound than Fair Trade producers.

The practice of commercial shops to improve their image by selling some Fair Trade products, such as Starbucks, Lidl and co is called *fairwashing*. The term already indicates the skepticism against such practices, since companies only include some Fair Trade products to give consumers the impression that they are responsible companies that care about ethical issues. (Fairtrade International 2017a; Hughes 2015). It is debatable whether fairwashing is negative or beneficial for the Fair Trade movement. On the one side, it increases the awareness of the unfair treatment of producers and achieves that more products are sold, which means more producers are benefiting from the increased sales. On the other hand, if commercial businesses get more and more involved, the line between the original thought behind Fair Trade and how these businesses practically translate them, becomes blurry or even unrecognizable. It becomes harder for consumers to distinguish between whether a business is incorporating the Fair Trade ethics or if it merely creates an illusion of doing so. (Moberg and Lyon 2010b: 26-27; Valiente-Riedl 2013: 72; Dalvai 2012: 7).

2.4 Previous Research on Fair Gold Mining (FGM)

Since the issue of FGM is relatively new, it has not been explored by scholars and researchers as thorough as Fair Trade has been. While one can find many studies about Fair Trade, especially about Fair Trade coffee and bananas, studies about FGM are scarce. Several studies can be found about gold mining in general, especially when it comes to the ASGM sector. The ASGM sector is of great interest to many studies since about 90 per cent of the global workforce in gold mining is employed in artisanal and small-scale mining organizations (ASMOs), even though only 10 to 20 per cent of the global gold production is produced by it. (ARM 2017e; 2013).

Studies about the ASGM sector are mainly concerned with the sector's structure and the working, health and environmental conditions the sector operates in. Since, ASGM is an activity mostly related to poverty in developing countries in Asia, South America and Africa, the majority of studies relate to countries from these continents. (ARM 2017e and 2013).

The most common topics are human rights, working conditions, formalization, legalization and chemical reduction. Though there is research on these topics, there are little critical academic studies about them. Many studies are conducted by researchers with environmental, technical or economic backgrounds, but little with anthropological, developmental or other social scientific backgrounds. Therefore, most studies are not academical researches that critically discuss the issues at hand but rather report like studies that give overviews about the discussed topics.

The literature used for this thesis contributes to the overall understanding of FGM sector in the sense that the background of the ASGM sector is explained by it. The challenges the sector is facing, as described in the previous chapter, includes many human rights violations such as forced and child labor, hazardous working conditions and mental and physical mistreatments of miners. Environmental pollution, poverty and the sector's informal nature are additional problems. Understanding these issues and what kind of changes must occur to transform the

sector, is helpful since it provides us with a guideline of changes that FGM should introduce and provide. Therefore, studies by ARM (2013 and 2014), Hidrón and Koepke (2014), Reimers (2016), Cremers et al. (2013), Echavarria (2014) and Hruschka and Echavarria (2011) provide us with background information about these issues in the ASGM sector. Yet, those studies are not about FGM itself and therefore most of them only mention it briefly.

Most studies that are mentioning FGM are often directly related to the respective organizations, such as Fairmined/ARM, Fairtrade and Oro Verde, three organizations that did or still have certifications for fairly produced gold. Obliviously, ARM (2013, 2014, 2017) mentions their certification Fairmined, its history and its contribution to transforming the ASGM sector frequently in their work. As do Echavarria (2014), Hruschka and Echavarria (2011) and Hidrón and Koepke (2014) in some extent, but one would expect them to do so, since they are either conducting research in the name of ARM or are writing in cooperation with ARM about ASGM.

Therefore, FGM is not yet a field of research that has been intensively studied, one reason most likely being that it only existed for about 20 years. Especially on the topic certification of gold little comprehensive research has been done. Again, ARM (2013) and Fairtrade (2011) have written about the topic, as did researchers like Echavarria (2014), Wymann et al. (2016), Childs (2011) or Wade Dickinson DeLeon (2008), of which the last two works are a PhD and a Master's theses. Yet again, most are works about different topics and only include some sections about gold certification systems and which benefits these bring. While Wade Dickinson DeLeon and Childs discuss certification systems for gold in more detail, they are focusing on Oro Verde or Fairtrade, respectively. The certification system by ARM, is a topic that barely has been touched by research.

3 Method

In this thesis, the overall applied method is the *case study method*, with an additional a minor content analysis which is performed within the case study. In this chapter, the choice of method and the thesis' underlying research design are discussed. As is my positionality toward the research field.

3.1 Case Study Method

"The case study approach to research is most usefully defined as an intensive study of a single unit or a small number of units (the cases), for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)" (Gerring 2007: 37). Therefore, the researcher selects one case from a bigger context and examines this case under a specific research question. The research question can indicate the nature of a case study. 'What', 'Who' and 'Where' questions indicate in many cases exploratory and quantitative case studies, as they can be partly understood in terms of 'how many' or 'how much' something exists within the case. Contrastingly, 'How' and 'Why' questions often indicate a qualitative and an explanatory or descriptive nature of the case study, as these questions are answering how or why something has worked. Yet, a mix of qualitative and quantitative is also of course possible. (Yin 2014: 10-11).

A case study, however, does not only evolve around the research question, but also around causality and hypotheses. Case studies that generate a new hypothesis are most likely concentrating either on the causes or on the outcomes of a phenomenon, whereas case studies that are testing a hypothesis to either confirm or disconfirm it, are more likely to be centered around the causal relationship between cause and outcome. Here a specific cause is connected to a specific outcome, while presuming that a certain hypothesis is connecting them. In a specific equation like this the mechanism behind an outcome are as important as the outcome itself. A

case study is particularly suited to investigate the mechanisms and causes, because concentrating on one or two cases brings deeper insights into the case as the light can be shed on all the different aspects of the case. Often qualitative methods are used to investigate the case, such as interviews or participant observation. However, also analyzing primary or secondary sources or even using quantitative methods as surveys or statistics are used in the case study method.

Critique to the case study method often includes; "loosely framed and non-generalizable theories, biased case selection, informal and undisciplined research design, weak empirical leverage, subjective conclusion, and non-replicability" (Gerring 2007: 6). Yet, it is possible to obviate this critique and to justify a case study, when providing a clear conceptualization of the population, the case, the used methods, the data collection and the found results. (Gerring 2007: 5-71; Yin 2014: 31-34).

A case needs to be a current and concrete phenomenon and not a historical and abstract one. Rather than studying a phenomenon like 'friendship' in general, it is preferable to study a specific friendship between a certain group of people. (Yin 2014: 4- 16). Furthermore, the context should always be considered and discussed, especially if the intent of the case study is to generalize a hypothesis throughout the population. Therefore, the main focus lies on the case itself, but the holistic picture should be incorporated in the study. When using an embedded research design, which means not only investigating the bigger picture of the case but also embedded subunits within the case, one can easily forget to come back to the context at the end or confusing the case with the context. Sub-units can help to investigate the case on an even deeper level, sometimes by using different qualitative or quantitative methods as in the main case. Also, cross-case studies can complement a case study, when confirming or disconfirming certain aspects within several cases. Cross-case studies are mostly of quantitative nature, as they are often used to compare the cases with each other, which also means that a cross-case study is a non-intensive study, in contrast to a single case study, which is an in-depth study. Therefore, as Gerring puts it you will either learn "more about less, or less about more" (2007: 49).

3.2 Content Analysis Method

"Content analysis is a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, assumptions, and meanings" (Lune and Berg 2017: 182). Data is identified, collected and transformed into readable texts, this is important in order to compare different kinds of data. This applies especially to social anthropology as content analysis is often used to identify patterns within different kinds of material that was collected by the researcher, for example interviews, (participant) observation, oral cultures, pictures, videos, existing data or field notes. Yet in order to transform and interpret the data, a good pre-understanding of the field is needed, which needs consideration of, the researcher's understanding and experience within the field so that the researcher's bias can be minimized. (Lune and Berg 2017: 182-184, 187-188; Bengtsson 2016: 8-10). When the data collection is completed, codes are established or identified within the material. Then those codes are categorized and labelled, and patterns are recognized. Finally, these patterns are analyzed within the context, existing research and a theoretical framework. The researcher can thereby use different approaches of engaging with the data, the inductive and the deductive approach.

When using the inductive approach, researchers immerse themselves in the collected data with the purpose of recognizing subjects that seem important for the topic and the research question. By identifying these subjects, patterns can be analyzed, and a theoretical framework can be developed through the analysis. In contrast in the deductive approach the researcher uses a set of categories, developed through an existing theoretical framework and codes the data according to this set of categories. Through these categories a hypothesis can be generated, and the data is used to test this hypothesis. Therefore, the deductive approach applies a theoretical framework to the data, whereas the inductive approach uses the data to generate a theoretical framework. Often a mix of both approaches is used within one content analysis.

Within the deductive and inductive approach there are three types of coding: the conventional, the direct and the summative type. In the conventional type "coding categories [are] retrieved directly and *inductively* from [the] raw data itself" (emphasis in original; Lune and Berg 2017: 183). Contrastingly the direct type uses coding categories that were established through an existing theoretical framework. Summative coding uses mainly the frequency of words or phrases to analyze data. Consequently, conventional coding is more commonly used in inductive researches and direct coding in deductive researches, whereas the summative type can be used in both research approaches. (Lune and Berg 2017: 183-184).

How the data is coded, categorized and analyzed depends not only on the inductive or deductive approach, but also on whether a manifest or latent content analysis is performed. A manifest content analysis concentrates on the surface of the data, which means it "refers to what is overtly, literally, present in a communication" (Drisko and Maschi 2015: 2). Whereas, latent content analysis concentrates more on the deeper structure of the data, the subtext and the meaning within the data which is identifiable across the text. Latent content can be defined "as the symbolism underlying physically present data" (Drisko and Maschi 2015: 4).

If content analysis is used in a more quantitative study the focus of counting words, phrases, themes, concepts or meanings becomes more present, while in a more qualitative analysis the cautiously established categories and interpretations by the researcher are more of importance. However, not only the focus of the analysis is impacted by using a qualitative or quantitative approach, but also the collection of the data can be influenced by this decision. The qualitative approach will most likely rely more on qualitative data collection methods, such as deep and semi-structured interviews, observations, field studies and existing literature. Quantitative methods, such as surveys, questionnaires, structured interviews and also existing literature, are more commonly used in a quantitative content analysis. Yet, a mix of both approaches is always possible and often used in content analysis. (Bengtsson 2016: 10; Drisko and Maschi 2015: 5-6; Lune and Berg 2017: 186-189).

3.3 Research Design

This thesis' aim is to discuss how the principles of the HDCA are realized in FGM. The choice of using the case study method lies in the breadth of the phenomenon Fair Trade of which FGM is a part. Hence, the case study needed to be limited to one organization to create a deeper research. Therefore, the chosen case is the certification Fairmined, which was developed by ARM, a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Envigado, Colombia. Fairmined is only available to artisanal and small-scale gold miners, which limits the case study further.

The study is a critical and deductive case study, which means it is critical to a theoretical proposition and a hypothesis is tested. (Bengtsson 2016: 10; Yin 2014: 51). This means that a theory, in this case the HDCA, gives an explicit set of conditions, the principles and criteria of the HDCA, which are tested. The case functions as a mechanism to determine whether the assumed theoretical proposition, that FGM can be considered human development, apply. The research is centered around the causal relationship between the cause, promoting fair conditions for the gold mining sector, and the causal outcome, human development. Therefore, it is a descriptive and explanatory case study. Data was chosen from different sources about the context and background of Fair Trade and artisanal and small-scale gold mining, but also about ARM and Fairmined itself. [4]

To investigate the case on a deeper level a minor content analysis was performed by analyzing three texts from ARM:
-   the Fairmined Standard (ARM 2014),
-   ARM's Theory of Change (ARM 2016a)[5]
-   ARM's Impact Report 2016 (ARM 2016b).

[4] No primary data was used due to a lack of availability of interview partners and distance to the research field. A questionnaire was created and sent out to Fairmined miners in Colombia, with no response and therefore the survey was not used. For further research in this topic, it would be highly recommended to interview miners and ARM employees and maybe repeat the survey.
[5] The text about the Theory of Change is a part of the Annual Report 2016, however, as only this part was of importance to the analysis, the rest of the report was not analyzed.

These texts were chosen because they show in detail how ARM and Fairmined work or rather how they represent themselves and their work. ARM bases its organization on their Theory of Change, which means the certification Fairmined was created in alliance to it. Therefore, it is important to discuss the Theory of Change before one can analyze the Fairmined Standard. As the Fairmined certification is the heart piece of ARM's work, the Fairmined Standard is the foundation of this certification. The whole process of for whom the certification is intended to be for, how to obtain a certification, what changes throughout the process and after the certification and so on is presented in it. Analyzing the Standard therefore helps getting a full picture of ARM's intend why a certification as Fairmined is desirable for ASMOs. Connecting the Standard back to the Theory of Change shows the holistic idea of ARM's work. The third text brings in the view about the changes happening after the implementation of the Standard and which impact ARM has on the ASGM sector, especially with the Fairmined Standard.

The analysis of these three texts aimed at finding out, primarily if and how the HDCA's criteria are mentioned in the objectives of Fairmined and ARM and secondly, which principles are mentioned and how often certain codes occur. Therefore, the content analysis helps to assess the research question how FGM is in accordance with the HDCA and its criteria.

The performed content analysis was mainly of qualitative and manifest nature. Words, phrases and themes were analyzed and presented in an interpretative way. Connotations regarding the research question were found within the written texts and were analyzed on the surface level, as in what actually was written, rather than on the interpretive level, as in finding underlying meaning of the written. Manifest content analysis keeps the research close to the original text that was analyzed and can be directly related to when discussing the results. Additionally, the analysis was deductive, which means that codes were established by me beforehand, rather than finding themes and categories while analyzing the text and developing codes from those.

3.3.1 HDCA coding

The "richness [of the HDCA] lies in providing an analytical framework to make appropriate policies in given contexts, within the overall objective of promoting human freedoms" (Deneulin 2009: 52). When making policies with the HDCA in mind the stated four components (equity, efficiency, participation and empowerment and sustainability) and the mentioned three concepts (functioning, capability and agency) should always be considered to make sure that development policies are in consilience with them. (Deneulin 2009: 52). The HDCA wants to provide "a tool and a framework within which to *conceptualize* and *evaluate* […] phenomena" (Robeyns cited by Alkire and Deneulin 2009b: 42) like poverty or inequality.

This thesis makes use of the HDCA as a tool for analyzing three texts produced by ARM. In order to analyze these texts, ten codes were established in coherence with the HDCA principles. I established these codes based on the main principles of the HDCA as mentioned in chapter 2 and created a list, with the code name and its meaning, as can be seen in box 2. Each code includes and describes a specific part of the HDCA. *Life, Capability, Economy, Agency, Efficiency, People, Justice, Sustainability, Knowledge and Value[6], are the ten codes.* [7]

The computer program AQUAD 7 was used for conducting the content analysis. While reading a text, the program allows the researcher to select parts of the text and apply up to five codes to one section. As the text was not searched for indications of specific words but phrases that mentioned one or more codes, a high overlapping rate of codes surfaced. Often section were several sentences long and

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[6] After initially establishing the code *value*, it became clear during the analysis of the texts that it was complicated to find the code within the texts. References in the text that explicitly stated the code were rare. Additionally, as it is hard to define what people value, finding parts in the texts that describe those values is nearly impossible. Therefore, the findings are very low, even though one could argue that all of the other codes are things that people value.

[7] To simplify the reading experience, if codes are mentioned they will be written in italic. To make the text more fluent, the codes are not always mentioned in the exact wording as above, but sometimes in alteration to the original word or they are indicated in parentheses.

therefore many times five codes could be applied to this section. However, five codes were also the limitation for one section, meaning that even when more codes could have applied to one section, I chose five codes that were the most meaningful for that particular section. As this procedure was influenced by my interpretation of which codes were more meaningful for this section than others, differences to a reproduced content analysis by someone else are likely to occur. Yet, a content analysis, or any other qualitative analysis, is always somewhat influenced by the

BOX 2	
Code name	Code meaning
Life	a better quality of life; a long and healthy life; a decent standard of living
Capability	capabilities; freedoms; choices; access to political freedom (civil rights), to social opportunities (education and healthcare), to transparency guarantees (disclosure and lucidity)
Economy	economic growth; wealth; economic facilities (consumption, production, exchange)
Agency	taking initiative; acting as an agent; empowerment; participation; shaping one's life
Efficiency	effectiveness; efficiency; promoting the biggest impacts through which the true potential of something or someone can be reached
People	people are at the center of an action; ethical and responsible standards are used
Justice	equity; justice; fairness; impartiality; equal distribution; social justice; protective security (safety nets)
Sustainability	environmental sustainability; capabilities and opportunities are sustained for future generations
Knowledge	access to education and information; being able to reflect upon one's situation.
Value	judgement of what people value; people live lives they can value

researchers' background, pre-understanding and opinion. Through establishing a clear understanding of the used codes, this bias can be prevented to a certain extent.

Additionally, even though codes are mentioned throughout these texts, it does not necessarily mean that the meaning of these codes are actually realized in reality. ARM can state in their work many things they want, hope and intend to achieve, yet one would need to verify these attempts. Further research on an emic level, meaning the miner's level, would be needed.

3.3.2 My Positionality

The choice for FGM as this thesis' topic derives from an internship that I did with ARM in Columbia in the final year of my studies at Lund University. During this internship, I visited one of the Fairmined certified mines in Colombia and was impressed by their work and dedication to the Fairmined certification. The miners explained all the improvements that have happened in the mines, the gold refining process, the employee's lives and their community since the certification and were very thankful to ARM for helping them achieve the certification. All those descriptions reminded me of the HDCA approach and I was wondering if Fairmined could achieve the proposed outcomes of the HDCA.

Since a personal experience shaped the decision of this work, it is important to reflect on my positionality. Being as objective about a topic as possible and reflecting upon one own's subjectivity that might be involved is vital. Especially in an anthropological study where the emic perspective, meaning the inside perspective, is of importance rather than and the etic outside perspective, where a preformed understanding is trying to explain a phenomenon. Yet, even though this study is not an ethnographic study conducted from an emic perspective, here the miners' perspective, it is still important to understand my position.

The fact that I did my internship at ARM and that I was impressed by their work, might indicate that the results of this study could be influence by my perceptions. That might be partially true regarding the choice of the study subject and the chosen theoretical framework. Yet, even though I chose these because I am interested in them, trying to tie the HDCA to a concrete example helps understanding this approach as well as the Fairmined approach more deeply and sheds a new light upon both topics. One could argue that the research question is confirmative per se, when thinking that the texts by ARM are written for an audience that considers the principles of the HDCA. However, although the HDCA and Fairmined approach, based on ARM's theory of change bear resemblance to each other, ARM did not base their work on the HDCA. Neither ARM nor Fairmined, or Fair Trade in general

for that matter, are claiming to have based their approaches on the HDCA. They might be similar, or they might not be, that is exactly the point of this study, since it wants to shed light upon the maybe existing links between the HDCA and Fairmined.

Additionally, one could argue that since I chose the codes and selected which sections of the analyzed texts corresponded to those codes, the results are subjective. Again, this might be partly true, however, one has also to consider that any kind of analysis is to some extent subjective, since it is nearly impossible for a person to be completely objective.

4 Case Study: The Alliance for Responsible Mining and the Certification Fairmined

As mentioned in chapter two, there is not much existing research and literature about FGM and particularly the certification Fairmined. ARM and Fairmined are mentioned several times in researches, however, entire researches about the certification and its impacts are rare. Connecting the HDCA with the certification, therefore, is an innovative approach. This chapter will start with describing ARM and Fairmined, mainly through existing literature. Simultaneously, links to the HDCA will be indicated. Afterwards the content analysis of the three texts about the Theory of Change, ARM's Impact Report 2016 and about the Fairmined Standard will follow. Throughout this whole chapter links will be made to the criteria of the HDCA with indicating which specific code was implied. To simplify the reading experience, mentioned codes will be written in italic, they might not be mentioned in the exact wording as the codes were stated in chapter three but in alterations and they might be indicated in parentheses.

4.1 How ARM works

Let us start with giving a short overview of the ties ARM, their approach and their certification shows to the value distribution approach, the ethical consumption approach, the principles of Fair Trade and the HDCA.

When looking at ARM's mission and vision, links to the value distribution approach can be seen, as their focus is on improving the financial, social and environmental aspects of ASM through fostering sustainable and fair trade. Additionally, aspects of ethical consumption are incorporated into their vision by acknowledging the importance of consumer behavior and demand.

"[ARM's mission is to set] standards for responsible artisanal and small-scale mining and to support and enable producers to deliver Fairmined certified metals and minerals through **economically fair supply chains** to the markets, in order to contribute to the transformation of the sector into a **socially and environmentally responsible activity,** and to the improvement of the quality of life of marginalized artisanal miners, their families and communities. [Its vision is for a]rtisanal and small-scale mining [to become] a formalized, organized and profitable activity that uses efficient technologies, and is socially and environmentally responsible. It is a vision of a sector that increasingly develops within a framework of good governance, legality, participation and respect for diversity and that increases its contribution to the generation of respectable labor, local development, poverty reduction and social peace in our nations, **driven by a growing consumer demand for sustainable minerals and ethical jewelry**" (emphasis added; ARM 2017a).

IMAGE 2

Countries where ARM has worked

Source: adapted from ARM 2017e   certified mines

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Yet, not only the ethical consumption and value distribution approach are incorporated in their work, but also the principles of Fair Trade. Opportunities for marginalized miners (principle 1) are supposed to be achieved through fair prices (principle 3 and 4), non-discrimination and empowerment (principle 6) and by ensuring no child or forced labor (principle 5) but good working conditions (principle 7) and capacity building (principle 8). Also, since ARM works with a multi-stakeholder approach, accountability and transparency of their work, their Fairmined Standard and impacts, is of importance to them (principle 2). So is promoting their vision and therefor the vision of Fair Trade (principle 9).

Furthermore, similarities to the HDCA's criteria and the established codes can be found within ARM's work as well. With creating *economic* incentives, promoting *capabilities*, *justice*, *efficiency*, *knowledge*, *agency* and *sustainability* and achieving a better quality of *life* for the *people* involved, nearly all criteria are mentioned. (ARM 2017a, b, f). It can be argued that ARM's approach, therefore, is a holistic approach, that wants to focus on improving as many issues in the ASGM sector at once as possible. Of course, it can be questioned whether it is good to focus on many issues at once or if it would be better to focus on just a few issues at a time. To create a good and reliable support system for the miners ARM established a "worldwide network of miners, experts and other partners [and] provides on-the ground support and training for miners through local partnership in various regions" (Echavarria 2014: 66).

In order to promote better environmental, organizational, social and labor performance for artisanal and small-scale miners, the certification Fairmined was created, and with it a global and fair supply chain for Fairmined gold. From 2009 until 2013, ARM and Fairtrade were working together, and the certification was called *Fairtrade & Fairmined Gold*. Since then, the Standard has changed and improved from Standard Zero to Standard 2.0. A third-party certification body audits the ASMOs for compliance with the Standard every year.

Today there are 12 ASMOs worldwide certified with Fairmined. Those are in Peru (two), Bolivia (two), Colombia (seven) and Mongolia (one), as shown in

image 2[8]. Certified ASMOs receive at least 95 percent of the established gold price by the London Bullion Market Association (LBMA), which is a higher price than the usual market price. Additionally, miners receive a Fairmined premium of USD$ 4,000 per kilogram. In 2016, 193 kilograms of Fairmined Gold was sold, which achieved the payment of USD$ 575,000 of Fairmined Premium to the certified ASMOs. This directly benefited over 6,000 and indirectly about 14,000 people. "Fairmined certification offers an approach that is aligned with current formalisation programme[s] [and] enables compliance with OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Conflict-free Minerals, and with mercury reduction targets" (Echavarria 2014: 67). ARM tackles many human rights violations in the ASGM sector with the Fairmined Standard, by promoting formalization, decent standard of labor and living and environmental responsibility. (ARM 2017b, c; ARM 2016a: 7; Fairmined 2017).

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[8] Depending on the source, different numbers can be found. In ARM 2017c, for example, the numbers show in total 8 certified ASMOs, 2 in Bolivia, 3 in Colombia, 1 in Mongolia and 1 in Peru. This number discrepancy is because in Colombia one mine, Coodmilla, has five mining organizations combined under one umbrella organization.

4.2 Content Analysis of Fairmined

The content analysis starts with examining the Theory of Change first since ARM's work and the Fairmined Standard are based on it. Afterwards the Impact Report 2016 and the Fairmined Standard are examined to get a deeper understanding of ARM's impact and how the Fairmined Standard works in detail.

4.2.1 ARM's Theory of Change

ARM's theory of change from 2016, as shown in the image below (image 3), consists of three parts: the strategies, the short and medium-term changes and the long-term impacts.

IMAGE 3
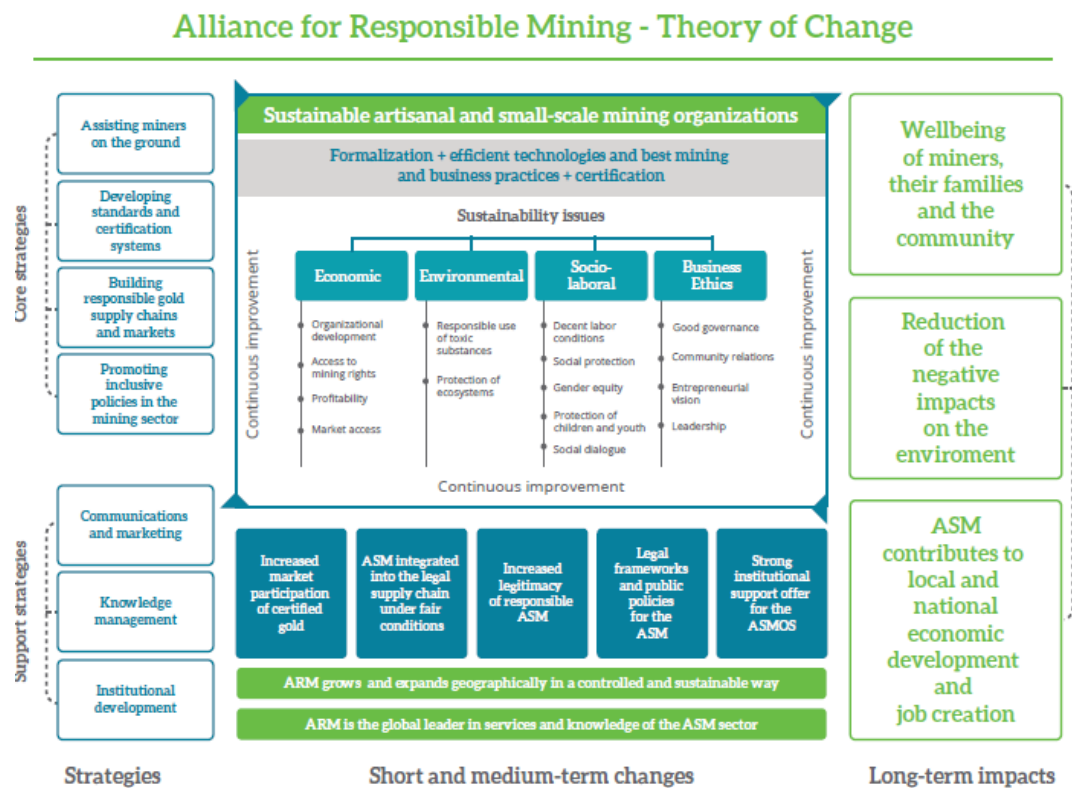
Source: ARM 2016a: 15

There are four different core strategies: Assisting miners on the ground, developing standards and certification systems, building responsible gold supply chains and markets and promoting inclusive policies in the mining sector.

These four core strategies are accompanied by three support strategies: Communications and marketing, knowledge management and institutional development.

In these strategies, some HDCA criteria can already be found fulfilled, based on the codes established in chapter three. Receiving assistance and managed *knowledge* from ARM, miners are provided with information and education. Several more criteria – such as promoting *capabilities*, better income (*economic*) and *sustainability*- are met by developing the institutional level, giving miners access to the market and helping to achieve including the ASM sector in national policies. Also, more *efficiency* and *justice* are brought into the miners' lives with these strategies.

The next part, the short and medium-term changes, comprise of several layers, all with the perspective of sustainability at heart. The focus of this part lies on the "Formalization + efficient technologies and best mining and business practices + certification" (ARM 2016a: 15.). Here four sustainability issues are addressed: economic issues, environment issues, social-laboral issue and business ethics.

The *sustainability* of capabilities, opportunities and/or the environment is realized on all of these levels and additional criteria are covered by the different issues. Under the economic issue the criteria of *justice*, *capability*, *efficiency* and *economic* are fulfilled, through providing organizational development, access to mining rights, profitability and market access.

The environmental issue especially covers the sustainability criteria and promotes responsible use of toxic substances and the protection of ecosystems (*efficiency*). However, not only the environmental protection is covered by these points, but also the people's health and their living conditions. Therefore, the criteria of *people* and *life* are also complied with. These two criteria are also accomplished by the third issue, the socio-laboral issue. Here it is assured that also *justice*, *agency* and *efficiency* are covered by promoting decent labor conditions,

social protection, gender equity, protection of children and youth, and social dialogue. People can participate in bettering their living and working conditions, which are protected and assured for everyone involved.

The last issue of business ethics, involves good governance, community relations, entrepreneurial vision, and leadership. The primary criteria that are fulfilled here are *agency*, *knowledge* and *efficiency*. In order, to efficiently promote those four issues, miners firstly need to be educated and informed about governance, leadership qualities and entrepreneurial topics, so that they secondly can be involved in shaping their mining organizations accordingly.

In addition to these sustainability issues, there are five other topics ARM is working on: Increased market participation of certified gold, ASM integrated into the legal supply chain under fair conditions, increased legitimacy of responsible ASM, legal frameworks and public policies for the ASM, and strong institutional support offer for the ASMOS.

In providing access to a fair supply chain and working towards a higher demand for *Fairmined* gold, ARM promotes *justice*, *efficiency, capabilities* and *economic* value for the miners. Through promoting formalization, legal policies and institutionalization a higher *efficiency* of the mining operations is achieved, as well as *justice* for the miners. The last part in the theory of change are the long-term impacts, which consist of wellbeing for miners, their families and the community, reduction of negative impacts on the environment, and ASM contributes to local and national economic development and job creation. These four topics include the criteria *life*, *economic*, *sustainability*, *people* and *justice*.

The Annual Report from 2016 elaborates more about certain parts of the Theory of Change. It is explained that on "[t]he first stage […] a SWOT (Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities, Threats) analysis [is developed] in order to jointly formulate areas that need to be improved to come into compliance with the requirements of the Fairmined Standard" (ARM 2016a: 16). By developing this SWOT miners (*people*) gain *knowledge*, take *agency* and bring *efficiency* into their mining operations. Through this SWOT an improvement plan is created pointing out areas in need of improvement, such as responsible usage of mercury

(*sustainability*), safety management by securing tunnels and by providing health systems (*life, capability, people, knowledge*). Also, one of the main aspects of the improvement plans was promoting formalization (*efficiency, capability*) with the objectives of "creating labor contracts and social security affiliations" (ARM 2016a: 17). Additionally, gender equity (*justice*) and supporting women (*people*) was an important aspect of ARM's work in 2016, to be achieved by "contribut[ing] to the socio-economic empowerment of women miners [and which benefited] 56 women […] in the 4 departments [in Colombia] (Santander Nariño, Boyacá, and Antioquia)" (original emphasis removed; ARM 2016a: 18). Affected miners declared they could achieve better conditions for themselves, their community (*people, life, economic*) and the environment (*sustainability*): "[W]e are committed to the environment and the community, and we demonstrated that you can mine in a responsible way. Thanks to the certification we can export and achieved [sic] fairer commercial relationships, and we have obtained international recognition for being Fairmined certified" (José Ignacio Perez cited by ARM 2016a: 20).

> "[T]he Fairmined Standard proved to be the incentive for mining organizations to continuously work towards formalization, given that Fairmined rewards formalization. Furthermore, the label provides opportunities for mining organizations to access an international ethical market that values gold that not only fulfills [sic] legal requirements, but goes beyond by committing themselves to generate positive impacts in their organizations and communities" (original emphasis removed; ARM 2016a: 20).

Miners are given the chance to organize (*agency, efficiency*) their mining organization so that they are legally acknowledged, have access to a fair market and can contribute to their and their communities' development and improvement (*justice, people, life, economic*). In 2016, three internationally known awards were made out of Fairmined gold: the Palme D'Or from the Cannes Film Festival, the Nobel Peace Prize and the Olympic Laurel. This brings more recognition for the label and therefore also for the artisanal miners that produced the used gold, so that

more businesses became licensed to sell Fairmined gold to support these miners. The more businesses buy Fairmined gold, the bigger the market becomes and, therefore, the more gold miners can sell with the Fairmined certificate. The "access to new buyers in international markets, reduc[es the] dependence on the conditions imposed by local buyers" (ARM 2016a: 23). Therefore, *capability, agency, efficiency* and *justice* are criteria achieved with here. Financial resources (*economic*) are very important for the development of labor, social and environmental conditions, and with selling their gold to a higher price and receiving a premium, miners can achieve important improvements.

"The two certified mines in Colombia, Coodmilla and Iquira, are great examples of mining organizations that have become empowered to successfully export their gold. Both had previously never exported gold, but thanks to their Fairmined Certification […] they now export regularly" (ARM 2016a: 23). Here, *capability* and *economic* aspects are of importance. *Knowledge* and *agency* plays a part in supporting miners to exchange experience with one another by establishing a network and meetings between miners from different countries and engaging locales in dialogues. To give an example of how much premium mining organizations received and for what they used it, two mines from Colombia, La Llanada (a part of the Coodmilla cooperative) and Iquira are elaborated on.

La Llanada only became certified in 2016 and therefore has neither received nor spend much premium money. However, from the US$ 17,000 they received they invested it in the construction of a better air circulation system in the tunnels, improving the miner's houses, installing a gas sensor and a better emergency system and creating a fund that miners can use for private loans. Therefore, nearly all HDCA criteria were achieved, namely *people, life, capability, economic, efficiency,* and *justice,* as it was in Iquira. Iquira has received about US$ 70,000 and has spent it completely on environmental, financial, educational and organizational projects. They also created a fund for loans, bought equipment and an area where waste rock can be stored, used parts of the premium to pay for the re-certification and to improve the management and educational system. *Sustainability* and *knowledge* are two more criteria that were achieved in Iquira, in addition to the above mentioned.

4.2.2 The Impact Report 2016

In order to further explore ARM's and the Fairmined Certification's impact and to see how the Fairmined Premium was used in the last years, the Impact Report from 2014 to 2016 was also analyzed. Since 2014, over US$ 1 million was paid to the Fairmined miners and provided them with a big *economic* opportunity to invest in their practices and *lives*. In total, 265 kilograms of Fairmined Gold was sold from 2014 to March 2016. The premium committee creates annual reports for a transparent overview of the premium's use. It is used to fulfil several HDCA criteria, as *people*, *life*, *knowledge*, *capability*, *economic* and *justice*.

> "In [the last] two years the Fairmined Premium was, amongst others, used to: Improve mining operations, organizational structures and processes of the certified mining organizations; Build and improve roads and energy infrastructure; Improve safety, health and hygiene services; Support local medical centers and schools; Training and education; Culture, music and sports" (ARM 2016b: 4).

Next to the ten certified mines, around 20 more ASMOs are working to achieve the certification and over "120 businesses in 20 countries are already working with GOLD TO BE PROUD OF, having the assurance that their gold is mined responsibly, and that their purchases make an impact in mining communities contributing to local development in producer countries" (original emphasis removed; ARM 2016b: 6). ARM, however, works with nearly 100 ASMOs all over the world not only in order to help them achieve the certification, but also to improve the overall conditions of the ASM sector. Over 5000 people profited directly and about 15,000 indirectly from ARM's work, in 2015. (ARM 2016b: 3-7).

To give again an example of a Colombian ASMO, the premium's use of the cooperative in Iquira is explored. Iquira has been certified since August 2014 and has improved its mining operations significantly since then. Their motivation to

become certified was the Fairmined Premium, but also the national and international recognition they would receive when certified. The main challenges they had to overcome to be able to certify was the irresponsible usage of mercury and establishing a health and security management system. Since they became certified, they sell all of their gold with the Fairmined label and their gold was used to produce the Palme D'or and the Nobel Peace Prize in 2015 and 2016.

> "As a mining organization we have been growing and are a good example for other miners. We could see improvements immediately after becoming certified. Thanks to the Premium we could improve 80% of our mining activities. We also received support from many local organizations, public institutions and authorities; as well as national institutions such as the ministry and the national mining agency. This has empowered us and our members are very proud of that." (original emphasis removed; Alfredo González cited in ARM 2016b: 13).

From the US$ 60,000 they received in 2014 and 2015, they invested 60 per cent into the elimination of mercury, 20 per cent into educational systems, 10 per cent into each health and social systems. During this time 56 people were formally working for the cooperation, which provided economic opportunities and promoted a better quality of life for their families and other community members. The cooperative realizes several HDCA criteria with the use of the premium: *economic*, *knowledge*, *life*, *people*, *efficiency, sustainability*, *capability* and *justice*.

4.2.3 The Fairmined Standard

In order to explore more in depth how the certificate Fairmined works and what it achieves, the Fairmined Standard was analyzed. Right from the first sentence it becomes clear that the Standard's aim is to promote human development. It "is aimed at creating opportunities for artisanal and small-scale miners and their communities" (ARM 2014: 3). The focus of Fairmined therefore lies on promoting a development that has *people* at its center by creating *capabilities* for them. The Standard is based on ARM's vision for the ASM sector and meets several additional criteria. Formalizing, organizing and making ASM a lucrative and efficient activity for the miners, means giving them *economic* means and the *capability* to form their personal and work *lives* in an *efficient* way.

With following the Standard, ASM will become responsible and *sustainable* with regard to the social, environmental and technological aspects of mining. Furthermore, by providing "a framework of good governance, legality, participation and respect for diversity [that] contributes to a generation of decent work, local development, poverty reduction, wealth creation and social peace" (ARM 2014: 4), *agency*, *justice* and brining a better quality of *life* to the miners and their communities is promoted. Better working and safety conditions and enabling miners to act upon their rights, are very important parts of the Standard. As is protecting the environment from the destruction and pollution ASM can cause. *Sustainability*, therefore, means promoting responsible use of chemicals, better water management and ensuring that the environment is restored. *Justice* is promoted by eliminating child labor, ensuring gender equity and more security for everyone involved. Under the Standard discrimination is prohibited when it comes to hiring, education, training, voting or receiving benefits. Additionally, the anti-discrimination rules have to be accessible to everyone. (ARM 2014: 25). Promoting access to a fair market, which is growing through a higher consumer demand "for sustainable minerals, ethical jewelry and responsible sourced gold" (ARM 2014: 4) also brings justice to the miners.

As the whole supply chain, from sourcing to refining, is traceable, transparency plays another role in the *justice* aspect. Traceability is required at all times, so that it can be assured that Fairmined gold is only sold to those who purchased it as Fairmined gold. Refiners and buyer also need to provide traceability, so that it can be assured that they state that the used gold is Fairmined certified. For the ecological Fairmined gold, the traceability requirements are even stricter, as "[c]omplete documental and physical traceability [is always required]" (ARM 2014: 24), so the buyer of the end product can be certain that only Fairmined miners are benefiting from the purchase. (ARM 2014: 3-6; 23-24).

Participating in the certification process is completely voluntary and miners can decide to participate, thus, promoting *agency* is important. "The establishment of Fairmined System of Production by an ASMO must be seen as a process and as a consensus and capacity building exercise among miners working in a given area" (ARM 2014: 9). The more miners in an area become educated and trained in implementing responsible mining standards, the more likely it is that more miners would like to participate. *Knowledge,* thus, is a big part in implementing responsible mining standards, as it starts with educating miners about the safety, health and environmental issues in the ASM sector and how those can be improved. Not only the miners themselves are benefiting from these improvements, but also the whole community, because "[t]he community mining nature of most ASM means that ASMOs involved in Fairmined are committed to improve the quality of *life* in their communities" (emphasis added; ARM 2014: 11). The more communities are involved in responsible ASM, the greater their voice becomes, when it comes to achieving changes in regulations and cooperating with authorities. However, participating in promoting change in the ASM sector, only can happen when miners have the *capability* to act as *agents*. (ARM 2014: 6-11).

Sustainability, is a very important part of the Fairmined Standard as "Fairmined is committed to the Millennium Development Goals and the Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development" (ARM 2014: 16). Especially the aspects of legality, human rights, decent work, environmental stewardship, gender equality,

multicultural nature, no contribution to armed conflicts, quality of life and sustainable human development are part of this commitment.

For the legality aspect, it is important for ARM to work on the grassroot levels, which means cooperating with local NGOs to get an insight in the local structures. However, also cooperating with the national governments is imperative when improvements and changes in national policies regarding responsible ASM are to be achieved. *Efficiency* is the key word here.

Regarding human rights, is the Standard "based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and on the UN declarations regarding the cultural, social and economic rights of individuals. The rights of artisanal and small-scale miners must be respected, and their violation denounced" (ARM 2014: 16). Several HDCA criteria apply here, first are *people* at the center, then giving miners *freedoms* and rights, as well as helping them to life under *just* and *efficient* circumstances, promotes conditions that are worth *sustaining*.

The aspect of decent work includes working conditions that are coherent with the ILO principles, which includes "freedom, equality, occupational health and safety, and human dignity, free from child labor, allowing the access of small-scale minerals producers, workers and their families to a decent standard of living" (ARM 2014: 17). This also involves assuring a fair income and a secure working place for the miners. The Standard focuses on four parts of decent work: "rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue" (ARM 2014: 30). Promoting these conditions means putting the *lives* of the miners and their families (*people*) first, by providing *justice*, *capabilities, education* and *efficiency*. However, not only directly involved families should benefit from the coherence with the ILO norms, but also the whole community and the surrounding areas. Thus, child labor should be eliminated in the whole area, by implementing "Child Protection actions through community-led Child Labor Monitoring" (ARM 2014: 23). The minimum age for child employment is over 15 and workers underground must be older than 18. Children between 15 and 18 who are seeking subsistence, can be employed as miners in exceptional cases and only when their safety is assured. If children are performing any kind of tasks their safety, development and education has to be

assured at any times. In addition, a labor condition improvement plan should be established, to ensure that improvements are met continuously. These plans mostly include the improvement of health and safety conditions, as responsible handling of chemicals, good air ventilation and tunnel stabilizations. (ARM 2014: 17; 30-35). With ARM's help, miners are educated and trained in safety requirements, how to improve them and how to respond in emergency situations. Additionally, miners must always wear protection equipment and be trained according to their working place in the mining process. Also, "[a]ll miners must be included in a program of regular medical checks, including care related to women's health" (ARM 2014: 32).

By endorsing environmental stewardship, *sustainability* is the main criteria in the focus, however, also *efficiency*, *life* and *people* are considered. When "car[ing] for water, respect[ing] protected areas, avoid[ing] damaging important biodiversity, minimizing the ecological footprint of mining, and, where possible restoring or replacing biodiversity" (ARM 2014: 17), ASM contributes to environmental protection, but also to ensuring a healthy environment for the community to live in. The use of toxic chemicals should be reduced as much as possible and for the ecological Fairmined gold, the usage is completely forbidden. However, eliminating the complete use of chemicals in the gold mining sector is hard to accomplish. Thus, the elimination of chemicals as mercury and cyanide is not part of the Fairmined standard because otherwise particularly no miners could ever certify. The use of mercury is often the only way for miners to recover gold and it is easily accessible for them. If mercury is used, however, it must never be used close to residential areas or inside any homes. (ARM 2014: 17; 27-29).Furthermore, only trained personnel, with a minimum age of 18 years, are allowed to handle chemicals or explosives. With the additional ecological Fairmined Premium in mind, it is possible that Fairmined certified mines would like to recertify as ecological Fairmined mines. "The Fairmined Premium as such is not only intended as "reward" for compliance with responsible mining practices, but also as a vehicle to deliver to the miners the necessary funds to make development happen" (ARM 2014: 25).

Providing *justice* and *capabilities* to all *people* involved, means not only involving miners, but also female miners. Therefore, the Standard ensures that women are equally paid, that they have the same opportunities to be hired and to receive access to training and education. (ARM 2014: 17; 25) "In the organizations and initiatives of responsible ASM, equality should exist among men and women in all rights, including access to resources, the use of earnings, and participation and impact on decision-making processes" (ARM 2014:17). To assure women's protection from sexual harassments, the mining organization is required to establish a clearly defined policy, about which miners must be educated. Also, women that are taking care of children must be supported and if they are working they need to be provided with childcare facilities. (ARM 2014: 32; 38).

Justice is also required regarding indigenous and ethnic groups, which means if mining operations are on their territory, an agreement with them needs to be established. The "local cultural practices [and] the local traditional authority and community" (ARM 2014: 17) must be respected. Also, benefits from the mining operation need to be made available for groups as well. The ASMO takes responsibility for the surrounding areas, regarding protection and distributing benefits. Additionally, discrimination cannot take place "based on race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national ascendancy or social origin" (ARM 2014: 37).

Fairmined certified mines must "implement effective conflict management mechanisms" (ARM 2014: 22), to avoid conflicts which often occur when gold mines are in areas of armed conflicts. The Standard "therefore aims to strengthen the rights and activities of artisanal and small-scale miners who work under the difficult and dangerous conditions of internal armed conflicts" (ARM 2014: 17). However, organizations that are contributing to armed conflicts are not supported. In areas with armed conflicts, "ASMOs […] may only apply for certification if they credibly ensure not to be involved in [them]" (ARM 2014: 17). Promoting the criteria of *life*, *people*, *capability* and *justice* is of importance under these circumstances.

The Fairmined Standard has over-all a strong compliance to the HDCA, as it states that "[r]esponsible ASM contributes to the sustainable human development

of their communities [and it] improves the quality of life of men and women miners, their families, and the community that hosts ASM endeavors, respecting the values, beliefs and priorities of each community" (ARM 2014: 17). Alone this statement includes several criteria: *people*, *life*, *capability*, *justice, sustainability* and even *value*. However, also *knowledge*, *efficiency* and *economic* are included as shown in the following phrases. To assure a better quality of life, social safety nets are established through providing a health and pension system. If such systems are not established formally, miners must at least receive funds in cases of accidents or illness. Another safety net is created by assuring that a shareholder's heirs keep the rights of the former shareholder.

Also, "[t]he STANDARD aims to make permanent and stable work more attractive, in mutual benefit of employers (stable workforce) and workers (stable workplace with social benefits). For that purpose, all hired workers shall enjoy fair conditions of employment […] in line with or exceeding national laws […] on minimum wages" (emphasis in original; ARM 2014: 33). Wages must be clearly defined for every working section, and for leaves miners must receive at least as much as the national law indicates. As the minimum wage is often not commensurated with a living wage, over time the payment has to be increased until it reaches the living wage. Additionally, working hours must be correspond with national law and one week cannot exceed 48 working hours. When working in shifts, once a week the miners are required to have a break of 24 uninterrupted hours. Vacations shall be at least two paid weeks annually. All mentioned, and any further conditions must be declared in legally binding contracts, which are entered voluntarily, as any kind of forced labor is prohibited. The right to organize and bargain collectively has to be assured, as has the option of a social dialogue between employers and employees. To improve the social dialogue, ASMOs provide trainings for both sides. (ARM 2014: 32-34; 38).

As mentioned, miners receive a fair price for their gold, that is over the normal market price. "The Fairmined Minimum Price […] must be based on the LBMA fixing for gold and silver or the LPPM price for platinum and must be higher than

(or at least equal to) 95% of the LBMA fix or LPPM price for the pure content"[9] (ARM 2014: 44). Additionally, miners also receive a Fairmined Premium, US$ 4000 per kilogram of gold and platinum and US$ 100 for one kilogram of silver. If the product is also ecologically certified, the premium for gold and platinum is expanded by an additional US$ 2000 and for silver US$ 50. The premium is mostly used for social programs, educational investments, technical improvements and environmental protection, but it also can be used as an additional income for the miners. When certifying, ASMOs create a Development Plan, in which they indicate their development and improvement objectives. A Premium Committee is established, which has to include a fair percentage of women and which is responsible for the premium's distribution. Rules for the committee are established in agreement of all miners, so that the committee always acts upon the miners' vision. (ARM 2014: 40-45).

> ARM receives a Fairmined Development Fee from every licensee, which
>
> > "contributes to the sustainability of fair production and trade of Fairmined Gold, enabling ARM and its partners to further invest and continuously improve the system, [as] enabling favourable conditions for more ASMOs to formalize and access ethical markets requires substantial investment in systems, standards, advocacy, market work, networks, training, and capacity building of trainers, and supply chain monitoring" (ARM 2014: 45).

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[9] LBMA (London Bullion Market Association); LPPM (London Platinum and Palladium Market)

4.2.4 Results

Looking at the content analysis from a more quantitative view, the frequency of the codes was counted per analyzed text. This helps to see more easily if criteria were mentioned and which criteria were more often mentioned than others. (See box 3).

BOX 3 Code	Frequency Theory of Change	Frequency Impact Report	Frequency Fairmined Standard	Frequency Total
Life	3	12	52	67
Capability	27	13	122	162
Economy	16	4	60	80
Agency	4	1	38	43
Efficiency	20	6	108	134
People	11	8	74	93
Justice	24	5	109	138
Sustainability	24	7	52	83
Knowledge	5	4	23	32
Value	0	0	2	2
Total	134	60	640	834

In the Annual Report 2016, in the section about the Theory of Change (15 pages), the total amount of mentioned codes was 134 times. *Agency* was mentioned 4 times, c*apability* 27 times, *economic* 16 times, *efficiency* 20 times, j*ustice* 24 times, *knowledge* 5 times, *life* 3 times, *people* 11 times and s*ustainability* 24 times. The

Impact Report was 18 pages long and mentioned the criteria in total 60 times: 1 time *agency*, 13 times *capability*, 4 times *economic*, 6 times *efficiency*, 5 times *justice*, 4 times *knowledge*, 12 times *life*, 8 times *people* and 7 times *sustainability*. The longest text was about the Fairmined Standard with 67 pages. Here, the codes were mentioned 640 times in total. *Agency* was mentioned 38 times, *capability* 122 times, *economic* 60 times, *efficiency* 108 times, *justice* 109 times, *knowledge* 23 times, *life* 52 times, *people* 74 times, *sustainability* 52 times and *value* 2 times. The low number of the code value is because it was only mentioned directly two times and indirect mentioning were not considered. As mentioned in the methods chapter, one can argue that all other criteria are worth valuing, and therefore, the code value can be applicable to nearly all other times another code was mentioned. Overall, the three examined texts consisted of 834 mentioned codes, which is a high number when considered that only 100 pages analyzed. However, many times several codes were mentioned in one sentence, therefore, the overlap rate is very high. Nevertheless, 8.34 codes per page were mentioned, which shows a very high coherence with the HDCA criteria.

To conclude the analysis, a high coherence with the HDCA criteria was found throughout the three analyzed texts, not only in the frequency of code references, but also in the qualitative understanding and implementation of the criteria. Harbi Guerrero, a miner and shareholder from the Coodmilla Cooperative in Colombia states as a concluding remark:

> "Certification is a true pathway to formalisation, it enables us to understand formalisation, it provides the roadmap. Many of the Fairmined requirements are compatible with laws. But laws do not show the way, only the goal, and do not train miners who do not understand in detail about legalisation procedures. For instance, the law says the miner has to have social security, but many miners don't know that this includes health, pension and professional risk. Fairmined makes us strong before the State, it puts us in an advantageous position since we are certified as responsible miners by an independent

international certification body, which is recognised by the market of ethical products. And it also allows us to project a more realistic vision of ASM and traditional mining, which have been demonised by the media" (Echavarria 2014: 67).

5 Discussion

The already mentioned critique to the Fairtrade approach, that it only creates an alternative market system, rather than changing the current one, could be extended to the Fairmined approach, since it most likely cannot incorporate the whole ASGM sector. ARM estimates that only about one percent of all ASGMOs can ever certify. Meaning that only one percent of the sector can benefit from the human development ARM wants to promote. Which is why some critics do not see this system as a feasible and sustainable system because it is not changing the current system into a better alternative.

Yet, ARM's vision and mission is not to get every ASMO certified, as Felix Hruschka (2017)[10] a board and founding member of ARM explained. Even though ARM wants to promote a sustainable, formal and environmental friendly ASM sector, which means achieving better conditions throughout the whole sector, they do not aim to certify every organization. This is because those who are certified should be seen as the 'best of the best' in an overall improved sector.

Hruschka compared achieving the Fairmined standard with achieving a PhD. Reaching certification for everyone would mean every student achieving a PhD when finishing their education. One has to ask, if it is possible to reach such a high amount of PhD absolvents among all university students. Without changing the whole education system, the most common answer would be: no. Therefore, as unlikely it is for all students to achieve a PhD, as unlikely it is for all ASMOs to achieve the Fairmined certification. ARM considers achieving the Fairmined certification as achieving the best ASM practice there is in the sector at this moment. Thus, Hruschka estimates that only around one or two percent of all ASMOs are ever able to reach this level of best practice. Therefore, one can see the Fairmined certification like an award for performing best practice. (Hruschka 2017).

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[10] The following statements were explained to me via email conversation. I received permission from Hruschka to refer to this conversation.

Arguing that not enough people are impacted by the certification, is somewhat true, yet since ARM's aim is not the certification per se but to improve the whole ASM sector in general and bearing in mind that they have only been actively doing so since about a decade, they already provided a great impact on nearly 15,000 people. Obviously, that is only 0,1 percent of the whole sector, however one has to consider that ARM is only one organization and it is not comparable to the overall Fair Trade sector in which many organizations are involved in. In FGM sector there are currently (as of 2016) only two organizations actively working: ARM and Fairtrade, which has two certified mines in Peru but is working on certifying more. Oro Verde, the starting point of the whole idea, does not exist anymore, which leaves Fairmined and Fairtrade the only two available fair gold mining certifications with a total of 14 certified ASGMOs worldwide (ARM 2016b; Fairtrade International 2017e).

The content analysis showed that ARM and Fairmined are coherent in their work's approach to the HDCA. At least in their words, in how they describe their work and in how they represent their impacts. When conducting a content analysis of texts written by the organization itself and based on beforehand established codes, results showing that those codes indeed were used within the analyzed material, does not necessarily mean that the reality reflects these results. In this case, it only shows that ARM lays out their work in terms of the HDCA, whether that was intended by them or not. It would need further research to find out if all the things they aim to achieve with their approach, are actually achieved.

Ethnographic studies that capture the emic perspective of the miners and communities involved could be a preferred method for doing so. It is important to consider the perspective from within since miners might see things differently than ARM in their impact evaluations, after all ARM is an organization that is depending on funds from donors and allies. Which of course does not mean that they are presenting facts falsely, it might only mean that they present facts they think are more important than facts that are more important to the miners and their communities.

ARM often shows information in numbers, for example for 2016: how many organizations are certified (12 ASMOs), with how many organizations ARM is working to improve their practice (109 ASMOs), how much gold was sold (193 kg), how much premium was paid (USD 575,000), how many people are benefiting (about 15,000). (ARM 2016a: 8-11; ARM 2016b: 3-5). Showing these facts in numbers ensures that the reader sees them immediately when looking at data by ARM. Therefore, these numbers create a higher sensibility to the achievements ARM promotes.

However, in every analysis it is also important to read between the lines. For example, when looking at the Annual Report from 2016, it states that "5 out of 7 mining organizations received 100% demand for their certified gold" (ARM 2016a: 8). Reading between the lines, this means that more Fairmined gold is produced than needed and that not all mines can sell their produced gold, which leaves at least two with a surplus of unsold gold. The Fairmined Standard indicates that "[v]olumes of certified Fairmined Gold, which […] cannot [be sold] into the supply chain for physical Fairmined certified gold […] may be sold to local or national [legal] buyers" (ARM 2014: 50). However, since neither the minimum price nor the premium is payed directly from the buyer for gold that is sold through alternative channels, the miners might not get the full premium and therefore are not fully benefiting from producing with the Fairmined certificate. Since there are ASMOs that do not re-certify or are selling their gold through different channels, one could ask if that might be a reason here for?

Moberg (2010: 56-57) describes that some Fairtrade farmers choose to leave Fairtrade or at least choose not to produce exclusively with Fairtrade after a while, because some regulations were too strenuous and not compatible with the local context. "[P]roducers of fair trade goods tend to struggle with the difficulties associated with fair trade labeling in the hope of obtaining higher prices but without the belief that they have much control over the terms of fair trade exchanges" (Henrici 2010: 290). Comparing these findings to Fairmined certified ASMOs one can see that not all of them are selling exclusively through the Fairmined channels but are spreading their sales channels to the conventional market or even chose not

to re-certify at all. Could that also indicate that they do not fully trust in the Fairmined system or that they fear even after putting so much effort and money into producing under the certificate they might not be able to sell all of the Fairmined gold? Also, why did they choose to not re-certify? Questions only the ASMOs can answer, especially since ARM doesn't offer much information about these decisions.

Sotrami and Aurelsa, two Peruvian ASMOs for example, were Fairmined certified up until 2016 while they were also certified by the Fairtrade certification and while they were selling some of their gold through the conventional market. ARM only indicates that in the case of Sotrami the "leaders decided not to renew their Fairmined Certification due to their achieved organizational growth and their preference to manage their company autonomously without external control organisms who evaluate their performance." (ARM 2017g). Which might indicate that the aspect of being frequently controlled by external bodies left the ASMO somehow unsatisfied, despite the fact that these controls ensure that they are eligible to receive the Fairmined price and premium. Meaning, the two most beneficial aspects of the Fairmined certification are apparently not sufficient enough for them to re-certify.

Also, about Aurelsa there is little information, only that due to internal complications the organization will be restructured and therefore could not re-certify at this moment. Yet, since ARM indicates that the miners "believe in the added value of Fairmined Certification [they] will concentrate their energies on making improvements and necessary adjustments to receive the auditors within the next months" (ARM 2017g). Even though both Aurelsa and Sotrami were also certified with Fairtrade, on their homepage no information to why they did not re-certify can be found. (ARM 2017g; Fairtrade International 2017e).

Further studies, on an ethnographic base could help to answer all the unanswered questions regarding decisions ASMOs made and regarding their satisfaction with the compliance of the Fairmined Standard and ARM's work with the HDCA principles. Such questions could be: which things and outcome are of importance to the miners; how do the ASMOs make decisions about how to invest

the premium; how do the miners and especially their communities experience the changes since acquiring the certificate, do they think that their and their communities' conditions, opportunities and freedoms have changed in a positive or maybe in a negative way: are the HDCA principles really achieved as they were stated in the Fairmined Standard. All this could be inquired through interviews and/or surveys, when conducting further studies about this topic.

6 Conclusion

This thesis aimed to start discussing whether FGM can be considered human development. Through a deductive approach, a content analysis of three texts by ARM, was used to test the compliance of Fairmined with the criteria of the HDCA. As the HDCA is an ethical approach with people at its center, it focuses on promoting capabilities and agency, through equity, sustainability and efficiency. ARM's and Fairmined's work was analyzed under these aspects and the results show that their work is indeed in coherence with the HDCA. Since the ASM sector faces many challenges and issues, including child and forced labor, informality, hazardous working conditions and poverty, ARM's holistic approach is trying to tackle and resolve these issues. Like the HDCA, ARM focuses not only on one issue, but several at the same time. The miners, their families and communities are always in the center of ARM's focus. Achieving a better quality of life and better working conditions for them, is the most important part of their work, accompanied, by promoting formalisation of the ASM sector, environmental sustainability and the miners' empowerment. By establishing a certification, that implements rigorous standards which must be complied in order to certify, it is certain that improvements are achieved in these ASMOs. These standards include that buyers of Fairmined gold must pay a fair price that is above the market price and therefore is sufficient to cover the production cost and a decent standard of living for the miners. The additional Fairmined Premium, assures that not only the mining operations can be further improved, but also that the mining communities can establish social or environmental projects. Since 2014, over 20,000 people either benefited directly or indirectly from the in total generated US$1 million Fairmined Premium.

The content analysis showed that all established codes based on the HDCA criteria were mentioned several times. In the three analyzed texts, the codes were mentioned a total of 834 times. The most mentioned codes were Capability/Freedom, with 162 times, Efficiency with 134 times and Justice with 138 times. This indicates that the most important aspects of Fairmined are linked to

promoting capabilities, freedoms and opportunities to artisanal miners and their communities. This is achieved by helping miners to get access to a fair market, mining rights and innovative and safe technical equipment. Achieving efficiency, means realizing safe and effective working methods and by assuring that miners can unfold their real potential, not only regarding their work, but also their personal living situations. The third criteria, justice, is so important because child labor, forced labor and discrimination are eliminated, and equity and social justice are provided by including women in the mining operations and by providing social safety nets.

Developed to formalize and improve the ASGM sector, the certification Fairmined is part of the Fair Trade approach since it fulfils the ten principles of Fair Trade: Creating opportunities and capacities for marginalized producers by providing fair prices and trading practices, ensuring transparency, equity, good working conditions, no child or forced labor and respecting the environment. Therefore, critique that is brought up against Fair Trade, such as the attempt to change the market system only in parts and not as a whole, meaning that not everyone can profit from this system, or that changes required to achieve the certification are not compatible with the local context and local working conditions, could be extended to FGM. Since FGM is a social process that was established to transform the ASGM sector, it fits right into the proposed definition of development by Olivier de Sardan and therefore can be studied like any other social phenomenon.

This thesis can be seen as the starting point of filling the gap of literature about FGM and especially the Fairmined certification, by studying FGM under a specific theoretical framework, the HDCA. It is a starting point because further ethnographic research would be needed to identify whether proposed changes by Fairmined are actually achieved from the miner's perspective and not only from ARM's perspective. Additionally, further research is needed to determine if the critique to Fair Trade can actually be extended to Fairmined. The complexity of the situation of Fairmined certified mines would need to be adequality analyzed, regarding the social, financial and environmental changes that are odd to be happening by achieving the certification.

As there is already a high coherence with the HDCA criteria within the analyzed texts, for future research it would be interesting to see if miners perceive it the same way. To do so, a more qualitative research model would seem appropriate, because through interviews, participant observation and fieldwork, it could be analyzed if the coherence is also visible within the field. When doing field study and interviewing miners, the focus should lie on assessing how their overall situation has changed since the certification. It would be interesting to see which changes they perceive as most significant and if they think that these changes became possible only through the certification. A qualitative research would most likely be limited to one country, or only one mine, a quantitative study could be done complementary to the field study. Here conducting a survey with all Fairmined certified mines worldwide would seem a good approach. When doing a survey, it can be established if all miners across different countries receive the certification as an approach that promotes human development.

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