



Revista de Contabilidade e Organizações

ISSN: 1982-6486

Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Economia,
Administração e Contabilidade de Ribeirão Preto

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Revista de Contabilidade e Organizações, vol. 15, e170793, 2021

Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Economia, Administração e Contabilidade de Ribeirão Preto

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1982-6486.rco.2021.170793>

Available in: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=235267639014>

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Gaps in understanding: constructing the meaning of corporate social responsibility in aggregate mining

Gaps de entendimento: construindo significados da responsabilidade social corporativa na mineração de agregados

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Keywords

Corporate social responsibility.
Aggregate mining.
Market.
State.
Civil society.

Abstract

We analyze how meaning is attributed to corporate social responsibility (CSR) by the markets, government, and actors from the civil society involved in aggregate mining in São Paulo. CSR is presented as fundamental for reducing the negative aspects and conflicts between representatives of society caused by mining. Little attention has been paid to the relationship between how different CSR interpretations emerge from interactions between multiple actors in the mining sector. Through a qualitative case study, 58 interviews were conducted with people representing civil society, the state, and the market. Additionally, document analysis and observation techniques enriched our data set. The paper reveals three interpretations of CSR among the groups studied: voluntary, environmental, and social. Based on the relationship between these interpretations of CSR, we can see a pattern in how those involved build meaning.

Palavras-chave

Responsabilidade social corporativa.
Mineração agregada.
Mercado.
Estado.
Sociedade civil.

Resumo

Analisamos como o significado é atribuído à responsabilidade social corporativa (RSC) por atores de mercado, governo e sociedade civil envolvidos na mineração agregada em São Paulo. O estudo se concentra nesse setor por ser uma atividade de impactos negativos notórios. Os interesses divergentes entre esses atores formaram um cenário bastante conturbado, no qual a RSC é apresentada como fundamental para reduzir os aspectos negativos e os conflitos entre os representantes da sociedade causados pela mineração. Pouca atenção tem sido dada na relação entre significados da formação de indivíduos em RSC e práticas de RSC no setor de mineração situado em uma área urbana nos países em desenvolvimento. Por meio de um estudo de caso qualitativo, foram realizadas 58 entrevistas com integrantes da sociedade civil, do Estado e do mercado. Análise de documentos e observação foram técnicas utilizadas como complementares às entrevistas. Os achados deste artigo revelaram três entendimentos sobre a RSC entre os grupos da sociedade estudados: voluntário, ambiental e social. Com base na relação entre esses entendimentos, percebemos um padrão na formação do processo de como os atores dão sentido ao termo.

Article information

Received: June 7th, 2020
Approved: January 22, 2021
Published: May 20, 2021

Practical Implications

The understanding that CSR covers voluntary actions is shared by actors in all sectors. However, the leeway for firms negotiating both with the government for a legal license and with the communities for the social license is restricted. As such, firms must understand that although voluntary, CSR needs to accommodate demands from state actors and civil society, which have different expectations of what the company should do.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Environmental and social damage caused by mining tends to increase opposition to projects from the sector. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is often used to mitigate this opposition and prevent clashes with communities affected by mining (Banerjee, 2014; Maher, Valenzuela & Böhm, 2019). Research has already shown that CSR practices change when applied in developing countries (Jamali, et al., 2017). However, the meaning of the concept is not unanimous among researchers either (McWilliams, Siegel & Wright, 2006), and, as we show, it also varies among the different actors involved. To understand the variety of CSR interpretations, researchers must analyze how CSR manifests itself in specific contexts outside the developed world (Jamali et al., 2017)

Different contexts and different groups in society imply contradictory interests and perspectives. Most CSR studies ignore the diversity of interpretations that shape policies (Frynas & Yamahaki, 2016). Additionally, and more specifically, when discussing CSR in mining, analysis usually focuses on non-urban areas with large mining operations (e.g., Kapelus, 2002; Newenham-Kahindi, 2011). They are more impactful individually, but less widespread than the extraction of aggregate minerals.

We investigate how different societal actors negotiate different interpretations of what CSR activities comprise in an urban area. We ask how different actors develop different interpretations of CSR. Our research shows how the mining company firm we studied (henceforth the MC), state actors and the civil society, including academics, activists and the local community, involved in aggregate mining in Sao Paulo understand CSR. Our qualitative data highlight information about CSR motivations (McWilliams et al., 2006) and show that CSR policies must consider multiple demands and emerging interpretations, developing from expectations and interactions between various agents.

This research considers the mining company as a proxy for the market. Civil society is represented by members of the surrounding mining communities, reporters, academics, and specialized consultants. The state is represented by Legislative Power, the Public Prosecution Office, the National Department of Mineral Production, the São Paulo State Environmental Company, the Mineral Research and Resources Company, the Energy and Mining Secretariat, the Environment Secretary, the Geological Institute, and the Technological Research Institute.

The CSR practices of the MC emerged from many pragmatic demands by the various stakeholders, who had developed their own, different interpretations of CSR. We agree with other authors suggesting the importance of comprehending how actors attribute meaning to CSR (Sorour, Boadu, & Soobaroyen, 2020). Firms must acknowledge this dynamic process when establishing their policies (Gamu & Dauvergne, 2018). Our data show how agents interpret CSR in an interactive process, through stages that go from conceptual comprehension developing into practical knowledge. Governmental agents, members of civil society and representatives of the MC developed distinct views about the CSR responsibilities of the MC: voluntary, environmental, and social. The response from the firm to the external demands made us understand that CSR is voluntary.

However, with the pressure from other stakeholders, it also has traces of mandatory practices. Thus, CSR becomes a hybrid, "volun-tory". The setting is central to this situation. Aggregate mining takes place close to consumer centers due to transportation costs (Batista, 2010). The proximity to urban centers highlights conflictual scenarios, accentuated by the expansion of cities. Market representatives, society, and the state must continuously negotiate their interests. In this sense, mining companies adopt CSR practices to reduce or eliminate resistance (Banerjee, 2018; Gamu & Dauvergne, 2018; Kapelus, 2002).

Besides this introduction, this work has five other sections. First, we approach the concept of CSR and the factors influencing the formation of this concept. Second, we discuss CSR, emphasizing the discussions around mandatory or voluntary practices. Our case shows that balancing mandatory and voluntary practices while also meeting various demands was determinant to the MC we analyzed. Third, we present the research methodology and research findings. Fourth, we discuss the data in line with our theoretical approach. Finally, we present our conclusions and suggestions for further research.

2 A VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE VERSUS A MANDATORY PRINCIPLE IN CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

CSR is a growing field in academia (Bakker et al., 2020; Fleming, Roberts, & Garsten, 2013; Matten & Moon, 2020). Several definitions of the concept have already been proposed. The field develops through new debates (Ararat, Colpan, & Matten, 2018) or by revisiting the old relationship between CSR and capitalism (Bakker et al., 2020). Recently, even the Business Roundtable, a group representing a relevant sample of US CEOs, recognized that the MC should have a mandate beyond pursuing profit (Business Roundtable, 2019).

Company responsibilities towards sustainable development and the wellbeing of society had already been consolidated with initiatives like the Global Compact (Schembera, 2018), the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development - recognized as part of the CSR domain (Bertoncello & Chang, 2007) – and the commitments around the human rights responsibilities of business (Barros, 2018).

We focus on the effects that voluntary and mandatory approaches have on CSR. The main implication of the voluntary nature of CSR actions is that it should not be regulated by governments. CSR is widely conceived as a voluntary principle that guides business activities in society (Banerjee, 2011; Classen & Roloff, 2012; Jamali & Mirshak, 2007; Dalsrud, 2006). CSR is usually defined as going beyond compliance (McWilliams, Siegel, & Wright, 2006; McWilliams & Siegel, 2001), usually to avoid further regulation from the state (Bakker et al., 2020). However, some authors consider that mandatory action may also fall under social responsibility (Siltaoka & Onkila, 2013; Jenkins & Yakovleva, 2006). CSR is built with social standards and regulation in mind and can be implicit or explicit and ingrained in company strategy (Matten & Moon, 2020). Our study shows that those involved have different perspectives and expectations of CSR.

A mandatory approach to CSR might be appropriate in cases where the objectives are clear, and the expected results are measurable (Prieto-Carrón, Lund-Thomsen, Chan, Muro, & Bhushan, 2006). A voluntary approach is best when the case requires joint actions to solve specific social and environmental aspects (Prieto-Carrón, Lund-Thomsen, Chan, Muro, & Bhushan, 2006). Thus, despite the consensus that CSR relates to voluntary measures, this does not mean that Governments should not oversee their implementation (Steurer, 2009). Various governments have already assumed that role (Vallenti & Murille, 2011; Steurer, 2009; Albareda et al., 2007).

Steurer (2009) demonstrates that governments have five policy instruments to outline and elicit CSR. First, the legal instrument, which incorporates legal obligations imposed by the state. Second, economic instruments, subsidies related to CSR activities (such as tax incentives and awards for CSR reports). Third, the information tool is associated with the promotion of research and education activities on CSR. The fourth instrument refers to partnerships between public and private organizations. Finally, the hybrid instrument considers the possibility of adding different government initiatives, such as online platforms, CSR incentive programs, new government strategies, and action plans. Albareda et al. (2007), demonstrate how governments can enable CSR actions. The authors analyzed the public policies of 15 European governments, highlighting the political instruments adopted by countries to encourage and maintain CSR.

CSR in developed countries has different characteristics than in developing countries (Jamali & Karam, 2016; Jamali & Nevil, 2011). Due to the complexity of social problems in developing countries, such as the high level of income inequality, general poverty, unemployment, and a lack of investment, CSR is less embedded in company strategies and less embedded politically (Visser, 2008). Moreover, CSR in developing countries often takes the place of governmental duties (Visser, 2008; Frynas, 2005) and solutions to severe problems in these places (Muthutil et al., 2012). These expectations raise organizations to the status of "development agents" (Idemudia, 2007b; Visser, 2008; Kemp & Owen, 2013).

3 CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MINING SECTOR

The impacts caused by mining are a point of attrition in society (Banerjee, 2018; Bebbington, 2010; Maher, Valenzuela, & Böhm, 2019). Mining activities elicit contrariety among various actors, but mainly people directly affected by their operations (Banerjee, 2018; Kapelus, 2002). If extractive industries fail in delivering welfare and development to local communities, opposition to extractivism tends to increase (Böhling, Murguía, & Godfrid, 2019; Kemp, Owen, Gotzmann, & Bond, 2011; Misoczky & Böhm, 2013a).

Since extractive activities usually take place in poorer or "distant" sites, they are even more susceptible to the idea of development coated in social responsibility (Idemudia, 2009; Khan & Lund-Thomsen, 2011; Welker, 2009). In this sense, CSR is presented as the amicable side of development (Welker, 2009). However, the idea that mining necessarily brings about social and economic development is questionable (Kemp & Owen, 2013; Bebbington, 2010). Sometimes, a dynamic of mutual de-responsibilization between business and government is established, negatively impacting living conditions (Hamann, 2019).

Companies detached from local communities apply a one-sided version of CSR, disregarding local realities, with few benefits for the local community (Banerjee, 2018; Idemudia, 2011; Maher et al., 2019). Hence, mining operations attract discontentment since the downsides are more evident than in other industries (Kemp & Owen, 2013). While firms in the extractive industry advocate that they promote development, activists, NGOs, and other civil society representatives disagree (Misoczky & Böhm, 2013b).

Extractive industries seem to ignore the demands of neighboring communities, providing little benefit to locals (Idemudia, 2009; Kemp and Owen, 2013). Social responsibility costs are easily established but establishing how to give something back to the local community might be challenging (McWilliams & Siegel, 2001). Firms also have difficulties in shaping their CSR policies according to demands from developing countries (Jamali & Karam, 2016; Jamali & Sidani, 2012). There is a permanent tension around the legitimacy of mining. It is not unusual for efforts to preserve the environment to fall short of what is needed. Walker and Howard (2002) reinforce the importance of CSR in mining. For example, the low reputation and unimpressive social results in the sector inflame ongoing challenges for legitimacy.

The social license to operate (SLO) relates to stakeholder perceptions of a corporation, indicating whether such a firm is socially acceptable (Demuijnck & Fasterling, 2016; Raufflet et al., 2014). The SLO is an intangible construct associated with both the acceptance and reputation of the firms (Raufflet et al., 2014). The SLO is more prominent in the extractive industry (Demuijnck & Fasterling, 2016; Raufflet et al., 2014). In contentious settings, especially in the Global South, the SLO does not mean accountability and is an ongoing process (Ehrnström-Fuentes & Kröger, 2017). For instance, social movements demanding the fulfillment of promises made to locals by a mining company are a threat to the SLO (Misocky & Bohm, 2013).

According to Raufflet et al. (2014), the SLO developed from two main factors. First, the limits of legal licenses in taking all the multidimensional impacts of mining into account. The legal permits are granted by the government (Howard-Grenville et al., 2008; Raufflet et al., 2014), and compliance with its norms is presented as a means of meeting the expectations of society (Prno, 2013). However, often such impacts happen unevenly, and the negative externalities of mining harm the most vulnerable groups in society. Consequently, these firms are not unanimously legitimated by local communities (Raufflet et al., 2014; Moffat & Zhang, 2014). Secondly, mining depends on the location of ores. Since moving operations is impossible companies, need to establish good relations with communities (Raufflet et al., 2014). Also, a declining amount of ore may contribute to the termination of operations, which usually leaves a financial void in communities structured around mining.

Local communities have legitimate claims regarding the activities of companies (Muthuri, Chapple, & Moon, 2009; Demuijnck & Fasterling, 2016; Banerjee, 2018). However, managing local interests is challenging (Muthuri, Chapple, & Moon, 2009) since communities can be less organized and have little access to the necessary resources to voice their demands (Banerjee, 2018). The idea that SLO could be geared towards some formal agreements is an exciting take since it could increase the leverage of those most affected by mining (Demuijnck & Fasterling, 2016).

Despite its impacts, aggregate mining has inefficient planning, inadequate supervision, and its legitimacy is permanently challenged (Valverde & Tsuchiya, 2008). The sector produces tons of waste and leftover materials, either from the mining process itself or from inefficient use. Also, the regulatory system is very problematic. Some rules and procedures must be followed before a formal license to explore a deposit of ores can be issued. However, neither the company nor the state is necessarily keen to be thorough regarding those processes due to economic pressure. As a result, creating shortcuts increases irregularities and precarious arrangements (Valverde & Tsuchiya, 2008).

4 METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

We conducted a qualitative case study (Stake, 1998). The research object selected for this study was the aggregate mining sector in São Paulo. Aggregate Mining – extraction of stone, sand, and clay – is used by the mining activity that produces raw materials for immediate employment in civil construction, without much processing, such as sand, crushed rock and clay (Anepac, 2015).

Civil construction aggregates are the most consumed mineral in the world. According to the Brazilian National Association of Aggregate Producers (Anepac, 2015), while the European Community consumed 5.2-ton p/capita in the year 2104, the United States 9-ton p/capita and China 12-ton p/capita, Brazil consumed only 3.7-ton per Capita. Since the consumption of those materials indicates economic activity, there is a lot of room for growth in Brazil, which could aggravate conflicts.

Sao Paulo is the largest producer and consumer of aggregates nationally (DNPM, 2015). According to the DNMP report (2016), the Brazilian mineral production value totaled 2016 BRL 87.8 billion, and the workforce amounted to 164,807 workers. The southeast region is the leading employer in the mining sector, with São Paulo representing 9.8% of jobs in 2016, most of which are in aggregate mining.

We talked with civil society members involved with the MC or with mining in general, the state, and the market. In this research piece, the market is represented by a mining company. We interviewed C-level and D-level employees. Furthermore, the employers' association also market interests, since meta-organizations help businesses to enter political debates (Barley, 2010). Civil society is represented by the members of the communities around the mining companies, and other stakeholders such as reporters, academics, researchers and consultants. Finally, the state is represented by members of parliament, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the National Department of Mineral Production, the Environmental Company of the State of São Paulo, the Mineral Resources and Research Company, the secretariat of Energy and Mining, the Secretary of the Environment, the Geological Institute, and the Institute of Technological Research.

Data was generated from three methods: interviews, observations, and document analysis. The semi-structured interview was the main method, being performed until data saturation occurred (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Saturation occurs when interview data becomes redundant (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). 58 interviews were conducted, during the years 2015 and 2018, of which 27 were with representatives of the state, 11 with representatives of the market and, 20 with representatives of civil society.

We started the interviews with members of the state. We aimed to interview as many members of the state who relate to aggregate mining in São Paulo as possible. After reaching saturation, in terms of the number of respondents and the content of the interviews, we began interviews with the market members. The firm was selected because it appeared in most interviews by state members as an organization that engages in CSR actions while mining in São Paulo. We interviewed all employees of the firm who were appointed by the Directors as being responsible for CSR activities.

Finally, members of civil society, recommended by company representatives were interviewed. After that, we contacted locals and interviewed people who had benefited from CSR actions and, later, specialists who do not directly benefit from the activities of the company. For analytical purposes, agents of civil society were divided into two groups: local communities, represented by the acronym ESM and non-resident civil society, represented by the acronym ESN. This differentiation was necessary due to the different positions of these two groups inserted in the same segment. Table 1 explains the division of interviews in each segment of society.

Table 1. Respondent division

Market Codename EM (11 respondents)	State Codename EE (27 respondents)	Civil society Codename ES (20 respondents)	
		ESM (14)	ESN (6)
• Mining Company (7) • Sand Mining Industries Union (4)	• Legislative Power (3) • Public Prosecutor's Office (7) • National Department of Mineral Production (3) • São Paulo Environmental Company (4) • Mineral Resources and research company (2) • Secretariat of Energy and Mining (5) • Environment Secretariat (1) • Geologic Institute (1) • Institute of Technological Research (1)	• Local Community Residents (14)	• Teachers (2) • Journalists (2) • Consultants (2)

Source: elaborated by the authors

The main criterion established for selecting respondents was the level of knowledge they had of the phenomenon being studied and their involvement with it. We selected people with more experience and with practical or theoretical knowledge on the subject. To reach these individuals after an interview, we asked for an indication of another respondent who would fit the established criterion. This strategy is known as "snowballing" (Merriam, 1998). No demographic characteristics, such as sex, age, training, among others, will be revealed, to preserve anonymity. In several sectors, identifying only one of these characteristics makes it possible to determine who is saying what. For instance, very few women work in the industry.

In addition to interviews, data from notes made during non-participatory observation and document analysis were also used (Flick, 2009) to allow for comparison and validity. The observation was performed during visits to the organization being studied and to CSR projects. The observation allowed us to get a better sense of the physical environment and deepen the understanding of some narratives. The visits also allowed us to corroborate what was said by the interviewees and the analysis of documents (Stake, 2011).

Document analysis, our third instrument to help produce our data set, allowed us to acquire further information about the object under study. We had access to personal and public documents (Merriam, 2009). Private written materials, such as notebooks, were made available by some respondents, but usually without allowing copies. Those documents served as guidelines for comparing the data from interviews and observations. Thus, documents served as support for the analysis of interviews but were not examined under the same categories.

Additionally, public documents available in the institutional sites of mining companies, and NBR ISO 26000 certification were investigated. The certification serves as a parameter for the MC in relation to CSR actions. The respondents provided some other documents: the São Paulo Map of mineral production (2014), the Sector Synthesis of the Market Products of the São Paulo Mineral Industry, the Report of Corporate Social Activities, and Report I and II of the Parliamentary Front for mining support. They are not accessible by the general public but were used as sources in our research.

The data was analyzed by constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This method can be used in qualitative studies without elaborating a *grounded theory* (Merriam, 2009). We used the method to construct categories. Categories are conceptual elements that cover examples or units of previously identified data (Merriam, 2009). That is, the categories are abstractions derived from the data. Table 2 highlights some examples of category formation.

Table 2. Category formation

Fragment	Subcategory	Category
ES13- What is of mandatory length has no elements of CSR. EM1- You need the voluntaristic dimension. You must have your own initiative. For what the law compels you to do, the law compels you to do. EM5- What counts is what you do beyond this process, what you volunteer for, what you enter into the process non-compulsively. ES8- If the company is a member, inserted in a community where they participate, where they can take advantage of the benefits of being, they have to offer something back and not only what is mandatory. EE26- I think this is voluntary. I don't think it has to be mandatory because it will lose its meaning if it is.	Approach to CSR actions	Voluntary actions
EE 27 - In the case of mining, social responsibility certainly involves environmental aspects. ES14 - It occurs in some areas or with some entrepreneurs who have found that you should invest in the environmental area. EM9 - The ones I know the most are the environmental ones that concern me. EM16- These are investments in environmental issues, as it reflects upon their image.		Environmental actions
EM2 - Aspects also of relationship with the community and the provision of improvements to small municipalities near the mining area. ES18 - Environmental education courses, materials recycling, daycare centers for women working in companies. EE15 - They end up capturing the demand of the surrounding community and have a series of actions, not only connected to welfare, but have developed a series of actions. The company developed community empowerment programs, and many other actions EM3 - We perennially maintain a series of educational, cultural, and leisure actions for the community.	Types of actions	Social actions

Source: elaborated by the authors

The interviews were fully transcribed, and each line of every transcript was enumerated. The most critical excerpts were highlighted and referenced within the context of the interview. The quotes that had similar contents were grouped and formed an initial list of the research topics. The same procedure was adopted to transcribe the interviews, always comparing the listings of each interview, identifying the data repeated between them and generating unifying codes. At the end of the comparison procedure with all interviews, we had a set of categories that responded to the research questions. This process of building categories is called coding. For Charmaz (2009), line-by-line coding is a suitable method for analyzing empirical processes that provide detailed data. We define what is contained in the data and what it means (Charmaz, 2009).

The research data revealed three different understandings of CSR among the groups of society studied: Voluntary actions, environmental actions, and social actions. We found that representatives from all the segments understand CSR to consist of voluntary actions. This was the common concept among all agents. On the other hand, CSR was analyzed as environmental actions by representatives of the government and activists that do not live in the community. The respondents of the market and the local community demonstrated CSR that consists of social actions. Figure 1 exemplifies these results.

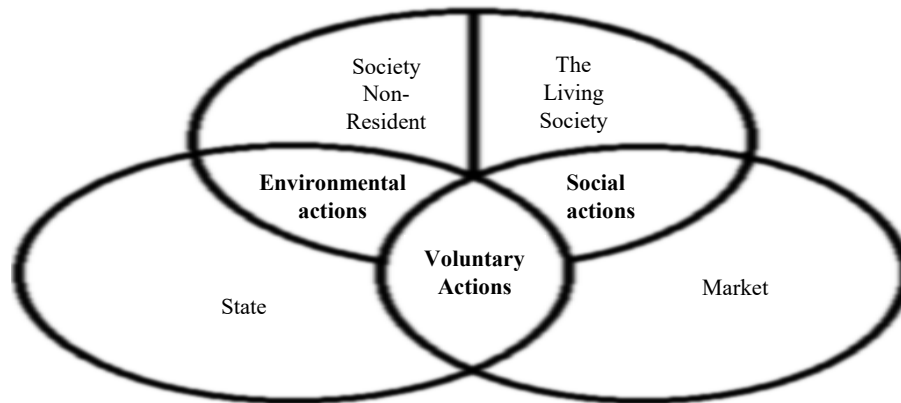


Figure 1. Meanings attributed to CRS

Source: elaborated by the authors

For the representatives of these segments studied – State, Market, and members of society (both resident and non-resident of local communities) – corporate social responsibility refers to activities beyond legal obligations. That is, it concerns only voluntary actions. Despite acknowledging the contribution of mandatory actions to society, the interviewees argue that abiding by the law does not constitute CSR. EE26 says: *"Compulsory compliance has nothing to do with CSR. You must have to voluntarily start the initiative itself. Because what the law obliges you to do, the law obliges you to do"*. Mandatory actions have been cited as a minimum requirement that mining companies have to comply with to use a resource belonging to the Union. For ESN6: *"I think he has to reciprocate. If he's using a natural resource, he must reciprocate, and only doing what they tell him to do doesn't count. It's the minimum they can do"*.

The representatives of the corporation studied also agree that, conceptually, CSR only relates to voluntary actions. However, in our case, studying aggregate mining in Brazil, things are more complicated. The company is pushed to take responsibility for functions that would otherwise be the responsibility of the state. The corporation ends up carrying out actions that are not its duty and, at the same time, are also not considered voluntary. EM3 clarifies:

It turns out we're talking about a sector that's not like most, right? [...] In aggregate mining, it's like we are still one step back. For example, we're going to mine in a place that doesn't even have a road, so we build the road. But this is not our responsibility, and yet this is not seen as something voluntary or as CSR.

In addition to voluntary actions, the state representatives and the activists from outside the community see corporate social responsibility as being linked to the environmental efforts of mining companies. In other words, actions aimed at preserving the environment. ESN3 Highlights: *"I would say that CSR occurs investment in the environmental area. I don't think there's anything else, anyway"*. ESN4 corroborates: *"CSR encompasses several dimensions, but in the mining sector CSR is only related to environmental aspects"*.

In our case, CSR is more focused on environmental issues due to the obligation of mining companies to implement CSR to be awarded an environmental license. EE24 Comments: *"Look, we ask for several programs, most of them connected to the environment"*. According to EE5: *"We see that environmental legislation, this vision of sustainability and CSR it came, and it came to stay. Today, in the state of São Paulo, you have, a whole group of mining companies who seek to work with this perspective of social responsibility for the environment"*. EE12 corroborates and asserts: *"We have been improving and demanding more and more. So, if a mining company does everything right, they're mining properly"*.

Activists living outside the community are more critical of implementing CSR actions aimed more towards the environment. ESN1 makes it explicit: *"Of course they have to worry about the environment, after all, they destroy everything. But that is the least of it. They could invest more in improving the lives of those who suffer so much"*.

The third meaning provided to CSR – social actions – was highlighted by representatives of the market and civil society living in local communities. Representatives of these segments argue that CSR practices in mining are linked to actions aimed at improving the lives of local communities. Moreover, EM9 understands that CSR *"is mainly what we offer to the community. What we do to improve their quality of life"*. ESM6 states: *"Everything we get from them is through CSR. They have greatly improved our lives because they give school for free to the boys, and my husband has been working there for over 20 years"*.

Talking about the way his life changed after the arrival of the mining company in the region, ESM13 comments that the social projects of the company granted their children opportunities and provided another source of income for their family. ESM13 reports: *"In addition to giving school to my children, with several courses, I also took classes that today help me inside the house [...] Handcraft was the most helpful. I sell it in fairs and to the people here"*.

In addition to social projects, another point in the responses from interviewees was about the jobs the mining company would offer. ESM5 stated that he has worked for almost 30 years in the organization. Dialoguing about the difficulties faced before getting this job, ESM5 comments: *"Before this, I didn't have a stable job... I would do something here, another one there..."*. ESM14 reinforces the change in his life after being employed by the mining company. He states: *"I support my family with what I earn here, and my children still study at the school"*.

Commenting on the main reasons that lead the mining company to invest in nearby communities, some interviewees emphasized that obtaining the social license contributes to this. EM7, for example, highlights the importance of community support in public hearings:

I think corporate social responsibility is all the influence that the company has in the community. It aims to improve some issues and improve the vision that the Community has, to earn the so-called social license. Because this will also directly influence the licensing processes. If you have a series of people who are against mining in a public hearing, who do not understand its role in that region, you will have much greater difficulty.

Emphasizing the responsibility that the mining company has for local communities, EM1 comments: *"From the moment you are seeing that region, you are living in that region, I think it is necessary to think what the business can do to improve the life of that community, within the limitations that the company has"*. When asked about what limitations EM1 had referred to, they stated that, in addition to the financial constraints, it should not be up to the organization to perform actions that are a duty of the state. Table 3 highlights the meanings that CSR has for the different actors.

Table 3. CSR for Representatives of the Different Segments of Society

Voluntary actions (EE, EM, ESN, ESM)	
"Mandatory compliance has nothing to do with CSR" (EE26)	
"To me it only says what is done beyond what the law asks" (ESN2)	
Environmental actions (EE, ESN)	Social actions (EM, ESM)
"In aggregate mining I think CSR only manifests itself in actions aimed at preserving the environment" (EE21)	"CSR for me is collaborating with society. Mainly, the local community here in the region" (EM3)
"CSR encompasses several dimensions, but in this mining sector the CSR passes only because of the environmental aspects (ESN4)	"I can see this in what they do for us [...] The job for my husband, the school here in the afternoon for my Son" (ESM7)

Source: elaborated by the authors

5 DISCUSSION

The results revealed three ways the groups of society studied understand CSR: voluntary, environmental, and social. First, CSR, as voluntary actions, refers to the only conceptual comprehension provided. CSR as a voluntary action was considered abstractly, as the interviewees went beyond the efforts of the firms and framed it from what they believe the term should mean, regardless of whether it occurs. The two other understandings – environmental and social – relate to practical connotations. They reinforce that CSR is an interactive process that is not defined by rules and regulations (Matten & Moon, 2020) and changes from generalized notions to embodied practices with local interpretations (Jamali et al., 2017). In sum, the level of responsibility is judged by the results of the actions promoted by the organizations and that impact the environment and social activities.

Representatives of the three segments, the state, the market, and civil society, ratify voluntarism as a defining aspect of CSR. This result is coherent with Jamali and Mirshak (2007), McWilliams et al. (2006) and McWilliams and Siegel (2001). The authors affirm that the voluntary principle is commonly defended in the guidance of CSR actions. The MC also needs to perform joint actions with the state to mitigate their problems with the affected population. This need reinforces the conception of Dentchev, Van Balen, and Haezendonck (2015), who note that the voluntary approach tends to be applicable when cases require the development of joint actions to solve specific social and environmental aspects.

CSR is defined considering the different interests of each sector (Dentchev, Van Balen, & Haezendonck, 2015). They state that the actors in society have different criteria that support CSR assessments and bring additional resources to the company (Matten & Moon, 2020). Based on the relationship between the conceptual and practical interpretations of CSR, we perceive a pattern in how actors give meaning to the term. Initially, they explain their abstract views of CSR, which should be strictly voluntary. Then, the respondents begin to conceptualize CSR from their practical understanding: what they see happening. At that moment, the opinions start to diverge. Representatives of the state and civil society, living away from the local community see CSR as actions aimed at preserving the environment. People from the market and locals see CSR as actions geared towards social outcomes.

Pragmatic interpretations of CSR are mainly influenced by the context and interests of each segment. State representatives emphasize that the corporation carries out CSR practices focusing on preserving the environment, deviating from knowing only about these environmental actions and defending that the mining company perform them due to the need to obtain the legal license to operate. Representatives of activists from outside the community also observe the environmental practices implemented by companies. The locals are impacted by the social programs from the mining company and highlight only those actions that favor the community where they reside. In turn, the market pushes for social CSR actions, mainly due to the need to earn the desired social license from the population. Figure 2 shows the process of the signification of CSR by the social actors of the studied segments.

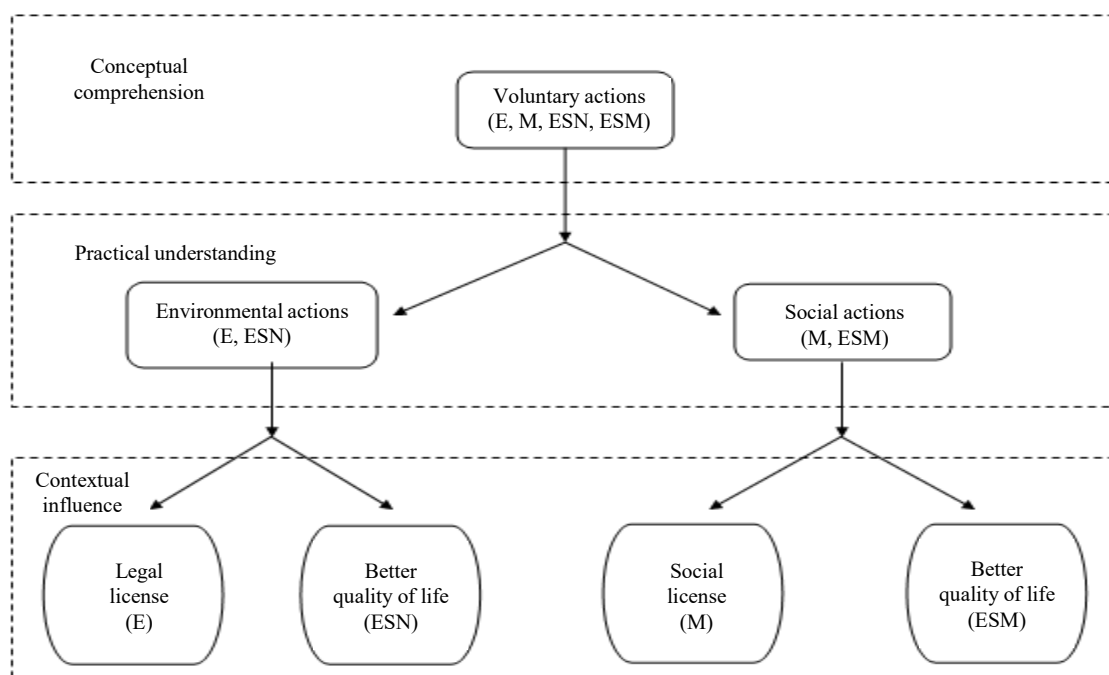


Figure 2. The process of signifying corporate social responsibility

Source: elaborated by the authors

This formation of the meaning of CSR highlights the incongruence in discourse from the state and the congruence in market positioning. The practical understanding of CSR by state representatives ends up invalidating the abstract notion. When they affirm that CSR, conceptually, relates only to voluntary actions, but in practice, only mandatory action occurs, State representatives are assuming (not even intentionally) that CSR actions are not practiced in aggregate mining. The market already has a more coherent discourse (albeit with some caveats). They declare that CSR is about voluntary practices and that the sector carries out extralegal social actions. Nevertheless, market representatives dispute that they also carry out legal actions off their own backs", even in the case of activities that would have traditionally been the responsibility of the State. Actions that end up not being framed as voluntary and, consequently, not as CSR.

Legal and social licenses are critical to the mining sector. Obtaining the formal permit does not cover the scope of the social license (Rauffleut et al., 2014; Moffat & Zhang, 2014). Although the community is often the least organized segment, mining companies need its approval to carry out their activities (Muthuri, Chapple, & Moon, 2009). Besides, aggregate mining characteristics mean that several legal licenses are issued on a provisional basis. Therefore, the social license garners more importance since the firm enjoys a contestable legal status. At the same time, the industry environment is not conducive to self-regulation. Thus, responsible behavior and accountability become dependent on idiosyncratic decisions or governmental regulation. Monitoring the outcomes of actions and the fulfillment of agreements could have significant impacts and should not be minimized in favor of the SLO.

6 CONCLUSION

There is a pattern in how various agents understand CSR. This process is formed, first, from conceptual awareness and then from practical comprehension. Practical comprehension is directly influenced by the contextual awareness of each agent. This way of building meaning is what connects the state, the market, and civil society. At the same time, context and economic and social impacts caused by mining are also built into how those actors understand CSR. The influence of the economic and social impacts caused by an activity is the common point between representatives of the state.

The interviewees constructed plural meanings around CSR practices. They went from abstract conceptualization towards practical and pragmatic understanding, which demonstrates at least five things. First, academics need to avoid conflating theoretical meaning with the practices that firms develop. Second, the understanding of CSR as being voluntary should be pondered by the multiple agents making demands to the MC to allow for a social license. Third, governments can use laws and regulations to push "voluntary" agreements on the firms while saying that CSR is related to non-mandatory actions. Fourth, the MC tried to pragmatically balance CSR demands from the government and civil society. Finally, our study shows the importance of managers navigating beyond the realm of profit maximization to deal with demands and agreements from multiple societal actors. Also, CSR and the SLO, in our case, are not merely a passing concern to the MC but are critical to its operation.

It is worth highlighting the different weights of the two licenses (legal and social) and how significant they are to CSR. The literature on CSR usually addresses mining in remote places. Our case, taking place in Sao Paulo, a vast metropolis with a functional government and active civil society, brings with it new challenges regarding the necessary mediations to understand how CSR interpretations are negotiated as comprising varying degrees of voluntary and mandatory actions. In a sense, we could say that CSR, in that context, is "voluntary".

Our research has some limitations. First, we only interviewed representatives from one company. It would be interesting to investigate how other, and smaller, firms demonstrate awareness of the social and environmental problems caused by their activities. A comparison between firms in different industries that cause ecological damage could shed light on shared strategies and local community responses. Finally, future studies could rely on our findings to develop surveys encompassing a larger number of participants from every sector.

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How to cite this paper

Pereira, R. C. de A.; & Barros, A. (2021). Gaps in understanding: constructing the meaning of corporate social responsibility in aggregate mining. *Revista de Contabilidade e Organizações*, 15:e170793. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/issn.1982-6486.rco.2021.170793>