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Evaluation of a management development programme: a critical discourse analysis

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the management development (MD) programme in the Ghanaian mining industry. A legal requirement aimed at equipping national managers for eventual takeover of the management of industry from expatriates, the programme is analysed to ascertain the willingness to implement and the state of implementation by multinational companies operation in the industry.

Design/methodology/approach – The study employs critical discourse analysis (CDA), a problem-identification and problem-solving analytical tool to identify any obstacles suppressing the implementation and possible ways past the obstacles. Data for analysis were collected from 26 national managers from industry who were interviewed to gather views and expectations on their development.

Findings – Key findings include domination and hegemonic dynamics of expatriates through sustained power over the control of the MD process, CDA's emancipatory power succeeds in identifying unrealised possibilities for tackling the MD problem for a social change (development of national managers) in industry, and non-implementation of the MD programme contributed by expatriates, the government of Ghana, and senior national managers.

Social implications – The programme has the potential of developing national managers for eventual takeover from expatriates, but requires implementing the law to the latter, including denying foreign subsidiaries mining lease if they fail to provide the adhere to localisation plans.

Originality/value – The paper extends literature on management of Western multinational subsidiaries in developing countries, revealing power and control over human resource practices, and MD in their foreign subsidiaries. It also contributes to literature on suppression of indigenous employees by other indigenous employees (the "colonised elites"), contrary to what is expected from indigenous people towards the development of their colleagues.

Keywords Management development, Expatriates, Critical discourse analysis, Multinational companies, Ghanaian mining industry, National managers

Paper type Research paper

1. Introduction

Development of local managers of Western multinational subsidiaries in developing countries is a necessary move to impart the required managerial skills to indigenous managers who could eventually manage these (once-state-owned) businesses. Sometimes termed as management localisation when the intervention is aimed at eventual replacement of expatriates, it becomes necessary initiative to equip the local firm, industry, or a whole nation with the required managerial skills. However, such initiatives mostly fail because foreign multinational companies (MNCs) are either not willing to do so because of the huge costs involved, or for the fear of developing their subordinates to take over their jobs (Oppong, 2015).

Many governments, especially those of developing countries with presence of foreign multinational firms, have therefore backed development of local managers by law to ensure adherence. This is the situation in Ghana where development of national managers is a legal requirement for MNCs operating in the mining industry as enshrined in the Minerals and Mining Law, 2006 (Act 703). It is not just a legal requirement

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but also a precondition for the granting of mining lease to these MNCs. Section 50 of the Law stipulates that:

(1) in pursuance of a localisation policy, each holder of mining lease shall submit to the commission a detailed programme for the recruitment and training of Ghanaian personnel as prescribed;

(2) the programme to be submitted under subsection (1) shall be a condition for the granting of a mining lease; and

(3) for the purpose of subsection (1) "localisation" means a training programme designed towards the eventual replacement of expatriate personnel by Ghanaian personnel.

With reference to subsection (3), and because all expatriates hold managerial positions, the localisation policy has to do with the development of national managers. This is a legal provision and responsibility of the Minerals Commission (referred to as the "the Commission" in subsection 1) to enforce.

Two significant provisions include the localisation plan and expatriate quota. Localisation plan is a document prepared by the MNCs detailing their expatriate positions and national managers to understudy these expatriates to equip them with the necessary managerial skills, while expatriate quota provides the allowable number of expatriates in any mining company at any given time. The expatriate quota document states the expatriate quotas which could depend on the size of a company; ratio of national managers to expatriates; percentage of national managers to take over from expatriates; and the number of years estimated for the takeover. The Minerals Commission believes that this is to quicken the process and to clarify what needs to be done by the mining companies, since non-submission of the localisation plan with the expatriate quota means not being granted mining lease or facing penalty including withdrawal of the lease, if already granted. The main reason for these provisions is to empower local managers (in terms of competencies) while gradually fading away expatriates' presence in industry to pave way for takeover of the management of industry by local managers. Every mining company in Ghana is, therefore, required to have a management development (MD) agenda to equip national managers working in the respective companies with the necessary competencies over a period.

This initiative is against the backdrop that leading organisations have realised that their long-term success hinges on talented and capable workforce. One of the best ways of achieving this is to develop their leading managers (Mehrabani and Mohamad, 2015). This is viewed as a necessary initiative because "left to their own volition, MNCs may prefer not to implement the policy as they see this as cost and also as an attempt to force them to relinquish their positions to their subordinates" (Oppong, 2015, p. 224). For instance, Bhanugopan and Fish (2007) report (empirically) the case of Papua New Guinea where numerous expatriates continued to be employed and little consideration given to the development of local managerial talent, which defeated the country's attempt to address the paucity of skilled management staff.

2. Research setting: Ghanaian mining industry

Ghana, a West African coastal country located on the Greenwich Meridian and just 4° north of the equator, has been described by the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre as the closest landmark to the centre of the world (see GIPC, 2005). With the size similar to the Great Britain, Ghana has the population of 25.9 million (2013 figure). It was a former colony of Great Britain and gained its independence in 1957 to become the first black African colony to achieve independence. Ghana, before her independence in 1957, was called the Gold Coast because of the rich gold deposits. Today Ghana is the second leading producer of gold in African after South Africa, and is ranked 9th in the world (Ghana Chamber of Mines, 2010).

2.1 Western hegemony in industry

However, the present state of ownership of mining companies in Ghana indicates "subsidiarity" of the economy by the West as they now control the mineral resources (Dansereau, 2005). This neo-colonisation tendency had been the worry of many past African leaders who wrote several books, a few being Cabral (1973), Nkrumah (1965) and Senghor (1964) all aimed at addressing the unfavourable colonial conditions and how to emancipate the continent for economic development, including effective way of producing and disseminating knowledge. This is confirmed by Nkomo *et al.* (2015), who report that, "African scholars during this neo-colonial period focussed on how to resist recolonisation and to decolonise the continent. They criticised interventions emanating from the West's approach to 'Third World' development and called for endogenous knowledge and local solutions" (p. 8).

However, after several decades the call by the African leaders has not yielded much dividend. For instance, Ghana is becoming more and more dependent on colonial legacies – education, official language, work orientations, etc. This reveals how the Ghanaian manager responds to the overpowering foreign influences. This phenomenon is linked to African managers and management trainees attending schools in Western countries and experts from Western countries acting as management consultants in Africa. It is therefore not difficult to understand why Ghanaian managers today cloak themselves with Western management concepts. Kwame Gyakye, a Ghanaian philosopher (see Gyekye, 1994) believes that this unquestioned acceptance of conformity with Western ideology and institutions is partly traced to preeminent African leaders, including Dr Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (the country's first president), who incorrectly regarded Western socialism to be compatible with traditional Ghanaian communism, the result being Western socialist ideology as a framework for nation building in Ghana, including people management. This has developed, according to Lassiter (2000), into personal strategy for survival within the Ghanaian community, and the individual is conditioned not to challenge because he depends on and from which he cannot escape. These hegemonic dynamics of the West in their mining subsidiaries in Ghana are termed by Oppong (2013) as a new form of colonisation. As argued by Oppong (2015), this tends to remove the government and businesses from ownership and management of the national resources which translates into displacement of development priorities.

These brings to the fore the superiority of expatriates, though in the minority and the weakness of the national managers, though in the majority. This confirms the worry of Fanon (1952/1967, p. 68), who believes that:

> The colonial, even though he is "in the minority", does not feel that this makes him inferior. In Martinique there are two hundred whites who consider themselves superior to 300,000 people of color. In South Africa there are two million whites against almost thirteen million native people, and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority.

Though these might have changed slightly, especially with the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, the observation of Fanon still holds true for Ghana in the light of the MNC's continuous exploitation, domination and refusal to adhere to country-specific requirements for firms operating the mining industry. In Fanon (1952/1967, orig. 1952), the author made analogy of the middle-class, a class of indigenous people who have been influenced by Western ideologies and come between the colonial masters and the marginalised:

> What I call middle-class society is any society that becomes rigidified in predetermined forms, forbidding all evolution, all gains, all progress, all discovery. I call middle-class a closed society in which […] ideas and men are corrupt. […] against the idea of progress where everyone climbs up towards whiteness and light and is engulfed by a single, monolithic notion of what it means to be human (p. 175).

2.2 International human resource (HR) strategies and expatriates' presences

There is growing concern over why private companies should continue to engage expatriates if there are competent local staff. This needs to be explored if the persistence of expatriates in industry is to be understood and attempts made to reverse it. This could be explained by the international HR strategy(ies) of the companies. Tayeb (1998) acknowledges MNC as powerful vehicle for transfer of managerial (and HR) functions across nations and the whole process is part of their overall strategy. Broadly speaking, multinational firms have three HRM strategic options as ethnocentric, polycentric and geocentric.

MNCs applying ethnocentric strategy transfer the headquarters HRM practices to their foreign subsidiaries in order to maximise headquarters control and integrate the subsidiaries. This strategy equips the MNC with a distinctive management style wherever it sets up a unit. Polycentric strategy, on its part, is the one that MNCs adapt totally to local situations so that HRM practices are virtually identical to those used by local firms. For instance, a UK subsidiary in Ghana may be organised and managed as the majority of indigenous Ghanaian companies, and the one in Germany follows German practices. Geocentric strategy, however, blends the first two strategies. Being midway between ethnocentric and polycentric, global strategy attempts to resolve the ethnocentric (global integration) and polycentric (local responsiveness) dilemma by blending headquarters and home country HRM practices. Explaining the need for cultural consideration in MNCs, Aamir *et al.* (2013) write that IHRM involves the same activities as domestic HRM but the different is the issue of culture present in international context. For example, NCR Dundee (an American subsidiary in Scotland), in some instances, had to modify certain imported HRM practices to make them workable in the company (Edwards *et al.*, 2007).

These choices reflect the business cultures of the MNCs which inform their decisions to globally integrate all their units around the globe; be responsive to the cultural and legal factors of countries of respective subsidiaries, or adopt middle-of-the-road approach. It is therefore believed that firms within Ghanaian mining industry are adopting the ethnocentric attitude to globally integrate all units under the umbrella of the firm and manage these unites as a national company. This confirms Adeleye's (2011) conclusion that given the power and influence of MNCs it is easy and convenient for home country to dominate at the expense of host country. These power and internationalisation of businesses had earlier been evaluated by Anakwe (2002). In her study of HRM in Nigeria, Anakwe revealed how the world of work of most developing economies (hosts of most MNC subsidiaries) are characterised by foreign or alien practices from MNCs that could conflict with the host country contextual and/or traditional ways of doing things. Such conflict has contributed to confusion and ambivalence for the employees of these countries and frustration and sometimes failure for the MNCs.

2.3 Foreign direct investments (FDIs) and presence of MNCs

The presence of MNCs in the mining industry and resultant domination of expatriates in managerial positions could be traced back to the early 1980s when Ghana embraced the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank structural adjustment programme (SAP). SAP follows African's emergence as independent nations after the collapse of colonialism in the 1960s when many African countries found themselves in severe debts, overspending on public enterprises, public unemployment, excessive military spending as well as cronyism and corruption. Many developing countries, as a result, found themselves struggling with growing economic crises and huge foreign debts with limited resources available to arrest the situation (Paczynska, 2006). The international financial institutions (IFIs) therefore "subordinated" these countries to help them get out of the crisis. However, when these troubled countries turned to the international institutions for help, the institutions demanded reforms classified as structural adjustments. One of the World Bank/IMF conditions was divestiture of state-owned enterprises, a policy that Ghana has been rigorously implementing especially in the mining sector. In a related study, Hilson and Potter (2005) reveal that, throughout the adjustment period it was the aim of the Ghanaian government to promote the expansion of large scale mining by creating attractive investment climate for foreign MNCs. This led to review of policy and legislation applicable to the mining industry and subsequent promulgation of a new regulatory framework – The Mining and Mineral Law of 1986, PNDC Law 153, now the Minerals and Mining Law, 2006 (Act 703). This has resulted in influx of Western multinationals into the mining sector with huge FDI inflows. Comparison is limited to "Western" as if it is the only contrast. The author is aware of others such as Asia, which seems important in the light of China's economic colonisation of Africa. However, as evidenced from Table I, the Ghanaian mining industry is flooded by only Western MNEs, therefore providing a defined scope.

2.4 Migration and skills challenge in industry

Expatriates in industry is an issue of migration. Historically, migration to and from Ghana dates back to time immemorial. Boahen (1966) mentioned the trans-Saharan caravan routes as trading and exchange of scholars between West and North Africa. Batuta (1929) had earlier written on peaceful movement of people across ethnic boundaries within the African continent. Contact with Europeans, however, created new patterns of movement of people within Africa and with the rest of the world, first through slave trade and later colonisation (Boahen, 1966). Anarfi (1982) reveals that large scale emigration began in the late 1970s when professionals and non-professional Ghanaians left the country in search of jobs in neighbouring countries, especially Nigeria. Professionals leaving Ghana has since been a continuous trend in response to the demand for their labour abroad. For instance, Rado (1986) reports that between 1975 and 1986, Ghana may have lost about 14,000 qualified teachers, including 3,000 university graduates. The most resent phase of migration of Ghanaians is characterised by their diasporasation, with Ghana counted as one of the ten countries involved in a "new diapora" in recent times (Van Hear, 1998).

On the other hand, Ghana has also benefited from labour from other countries. This, according to Amin (1974), could be traced to the development of the gold mines ad cocoa farms in the late nineteenth century. With regard to mining, which used to be predominantly underground operation, attracted mostly less educated from neighbouring West Africa to work in underground or do other manual jobs. However, in recent times, migration into the country's mining sector has taken the form of skilled and Western

Name	Ownership of mine	Location in Ghana
Adamus Resources Ltd	Adamus Resources (Australia)	Nkroful
AngloGold Ashanti Iduaprem Mine	AngloGold Ashanti (South Africa/Ghana)	Tarkwa
AngloGold Ashanti Ltd	AngloGold Ashanti Ltd (South Africa/Ghana)	Obuasi
Central African Gold Ltd	Central African Gold Plc (UK)	Bibiani
Chirano Gold Mines Ltd	Redback Mining now Kinross (Canada)	Bibiani
Gold Fields Ghana Ltd	Gold Fields (South Africa), IAM Gold (Canada)	Damang
Gold Fields Ghana Ltd	Gold Fields (South Africa), IAM Gold (Canada)	Tarkwa
Golden Star Prestea/Bogoso	Golden Star Resources (USA)	Bogoso
Golden Star Wassa	Golden Star Resources (USA)	Akyempim/Benso
Keegan Resources Ghana Ltd	Keegan Resources Inc. (Canada)	Esaase/Asumura
Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd	Newmont Mining Corp. (USA)	Kenyasi
Perseus Mining Ghana Ltd	Perseus Resources (Australia)	Ayanfuri

Source: Oppong (2013)

Table I. Ownership of Ghanaian gold mining companies expatriates due to the SAP and its privatisation policy, thus opening up the management of the Ghanaian economy to foreign investors and experts.

Skills development (including managerial skills) in Ghana has gone through a number of phases in terms of responsibility and funding. These phases, which are reflected in the Ghanaian mining industry (Amankwah-Amoah, 2015), have revealed how it has become the responsibility of the employer to develop skills. Before the early 1980s when the country embraced privatisation, skills development was the responsibility of the government as most of the mining companies were state-owned, for instance gold mining companies fell under the umbrella of the State Gold Mining Corporation. The government then funded training and development programmes with the aim of supplying requisite skills to ensure successful running of these firms, and also to satisfy its macro-economic responsibilities of providing jobs. Then from early 1980s the privatisation policy required Ghana to sell her enterprises, mostly to Western multinationals. This era witnessed a shift of the funding responsibilities from government to the employee due to the government's withdrawal from running and ownership of the firms. This meant that people who wanted jobs in the divested firms had to develop their skills/capabilities to secure jobs. The era was characterised by redundancies and resultant pool of unemployed miners described by Farazmand (2002) as industrial "reserved armies". The situation put pressure on individuals to develop their skills, especially the retrenched miners from the mining communities such as Tarkwa, Prestea Konongo and Obuasi from where the MNCs drew most of their labour.

The pool created as a result of the massive redundancies started to dry up from the early 2000 due to influx of many foreign mining companies that absorbed most of these "reserve armies", meaning employers had to chase the few skilled personnel left (Amankwah-Amoah, 2015). Consequently, there arose the need for structured MD programmes to develop company-specific managerial skills as a way of creating and sustaining competitive advantage. This was affirmed by Amankwah-Amoah and Debrah (2011) that this competitive advantage purely depends on the firm's ability to acquire, retain and develop managerial expertise. The emphasis of developing to suit one's organisation needs has increasingly come to characterise the global labour market and firms have become receptive to the practice to help address their HR skills constraints. In this regard, mining companies have an extra battle to fight; a fierce battle for managerial skills, aside the battle for natural resources. This fierce battle is attributed to the privatisation of the mining industry and the influx of multinational mining companies that has created the environment in which scarce human capital is intensely competed for (Amankwah-Amoah and Debrah, 2011). The situation corroborates Premoli's (1998) view that mining techniques can easily be transferred from one continent to another, but people cannot easily relocate. It is therefore justified that "most major explorers in Africa feel that their greatest problem is a lack of suitable personnel, particularly at a senior level" (Premoli, 1998, p. 82). The perceived lack of competent large scale mining skills has resulted in the increasing presence of expatriates in the industry, another form of migration in the history of the economy.

Large scale gold mining companies have been increasing in number since the launch of the SAP and its resultant privatisation of SOEs. Despite the huge investments in the sector with corresponding increases in outputs and foreign exchange earnings, linkage between the mining sector and the rest of the internal economy (Awudi, 2004) is not much felt. However, some MNCs have undertaking projects such as schools, hospitals, roads, etc. to enhance their role to the communities affected by mining activities (Agbesinyale, 2008), but these are mostly social/environmental in nature to gain "social licence" but less is done in the domain of employee skills development. This gap is a motivator for this study. The aim is to evaluate the MNCs' willingness and level of implementation of the MD programme.

The assessment is worthwhile against the background that although executives have expressed the need to focus on MD only some of them consider this as part of their business strategy (Mehrabani and Mohamad, 2015), therefore underestimating its importance. Giber *et al.* (2009) put those mindful of MD programmes at 50 per cent while the rest do not have systematic MD procedures. Giber *et al.* (2009) believe that the remaining 50 per cent are not ready to face the changing environments of business that the new millennium presents. Research studies on MNCs in developing countries and especially those that focus on mining sectors rarely assess skills development and how this important contemporary HR issue (Brewster *et al.*, 2003) is being managed. This lack of research into HR issues in multinationals is acknowledged by Brock and Siscovick (2007) that "HR research in the multinational setting is relatively new and rare" (p. 357).

3. Methodology

This section describes how the research was conducted including data and data collection technique and procedure; and analysis of primary data.

3.1 Primary data collection

This paper uses primary data obtained through face-to-face interviewing of 26 national managers from four mining companies. All four companies were Western multinational subsidiaries, which were selected based on differences in their countries of origin. Out of the four companies one did not see the need for the programme in Ghana since it was not a global strategy of the firm; the second once initiated the programme but collapsed; while the other two had their programmes running but were not well managed. Narrations from interviewees reflected their companies' MD situations. The interviews, which were conducted in English language, were intended to assess views and expectations of national managers on their development as "demanded" by the Minerals and Mining Law 2006 (Act 703). Interviewing as data collection technique was informed by the traditional Ghanaian method of providing information – oral narration (Omolewa, 2007) that has the potential of producing meaning beyond words to include histories, experiences, values, and knowledge of the researched, and to appreciate their feelings, expectations and agitations as they provide the data. The target population was all national managers expected to undergo the development process. Seven participants from each of the four companies were randomly sampled. However, one participant each from two of the companies could not be interviewed due to time constraints. For each company, participants were identified from both the mine site and the national head office in Accra, the capital city of Ghana.

3.2 Data analysis

As revealed by O'Leary (2007), data collection becomes a useless exercise if no meaning is made out of the data. Transcribed interview data was analysed applying Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) which is an approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice and dwells on the way social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk (Fairclough and Holes, 1995). CDA brings with it both general theory and how discourse figures as an aspect of social practice and analytical concept for analysing discourse that explains the way social power abuse, domination and inequality are produced, reproduced and opposed by text and talk, particularly in social and political contexts. This means it should use language for analysis aimed at providing social criticism and solution based on linguistic evidence, which national managers were happy and willing to provide.

Therefore, CDA with its discursive approach is considered a useful method as it has the potential of applying its emancipatory power to attack any power and control that continues to dominate and recolonise the national managers in terms of their skills development. Attempting to tackle problems of indigenous people employing CDA would be to defuse the issues of power domination and marginalisation by promoting progressive social change (Liasidou, 2008) through investigation of the prevailing MD problem. The objectives of this study therefore include the following; to assess the extent of implementation of the MD programme, and to evaluate the attitudes of expatriates towards the implementation of the programme for a social change.

4. Analysis of interview data

CDA as a problem-identification and problem-solving analytical tool (Silverman, 2006) is applied, which will also help explore the two research objectives through application of talk and transcribed text produced by participants. Fairclough (2001) identified five stages of the analytical tool. These stages are turned into question to assess how CDA helps answer (and solve) problems of the MD programme:

1. focus on a social problem which has semiotic aspects;
2. identify obstacles to it being tackled;
3. consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense "needs" the problem;
4. identify possible ways past the obstacles; and
5. reflect critically on the analysis.

4.1 Is the MD a social problem which has semiotic aspects?

As revealed earlier, CDA is a problem-identification and problem-solving tool. Therefore, for CDA to be appropriate and effective, the subject under consideration should be a problem and a social one, which affects people in the society. The government of Ghana sees non-development of national managers by MNCs as a problem affecting their career development. The managers' worry over non-implementation of the programme and government's move to enforce this is highlighted by respondents as follows:

> Many of them [expatriates] come here for a number of years, would not have trained the Ghanaians to take over. Sometimes they think the Ghanaians are not ready; sometimes to perpetuate their stay, so anything to stop Ghanaians taking over is what the Law seeks to prevent.

The MD problem analysed from CDA perspective should have semiotic effect. Therefore, there should be some dialectical relationship between semiosis (including language) and other constituents of social practice which, in relation to this research, is meaning-making that is reflected in language text (Fairclough, 2001). Semiosis is produced in three broad ways in social practice (Fairclough, 2001). First, semiosis is enacted as part of social activity within a practice. This means social practice is produced through language (including talk and text) and other forms such as body language and visual images (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). With regard to the data, MD development policies in the individual mining companies; running MD programmes; communicating expectations to trainee managers and providing feedbacks to them are indications of social activities that are enacted through language. One example of semiosis enacted as part of the MD process which relates to identification of potentials for the development programme is reflected in the following:

> Selection of potentials should be based on job analysis and what goes into it to match with the competencies required for the job. Through our regular performance management some people will emerge and these targeted if they fit into the competencies of the key job requirements.

Second, semiosis figures in representations. Social actors within any practice produce representations of practices of others, and reflexive representations of their own practices. The narrations of participants' own experiences during the interviews are examples of reflexive representations. For instance, participants have positively associated themselves with the privatisation policy that resulted in the MD programme and therefore no indications of advocating for a better alternative, as summed up in the quotation:

> The question however is, so if we don't agree to privatise what else do we do?

Third, semiosis also reveals in identities of participants as shown in the performance of those affected by the problem as distinguished from the performance of those outside the practice. This is linked to the social actors. Phrases such as "expatriates perpetuating their stay"; "re-colonisation by both expatriates and Ghanaian elites" are all discourses reflecting identities of those outside the MD problem while words and phrases as "we", "our", "Ghanaian managers" are discourses intended to strengthen national identity of those affected by the problem:

> We believe that Ghana as a country with dedicated mining university which has been in existence for over 20 years should not be a place where expatriates should be in large numbers […] in our companies.

4.2 Are there obstacles to the MD programme that are being tackled?

This stage of the analysis involves the diagnosis of the problem indirectly. The questions at this state are what obstacles make the MD problem difficult to tackle; and which social life presents itself and poses resistance to solving the problem (Fairclough, 2001)? With regard to the first question, data revealed that the MD is situated in one practice which is part of network of practices that constitute management of the mining industry. This is indication that the mining industry is situated within a wider network of practices which goes beyond the boundaries of Ghana to include other organisations such as the World Bank, the IMF and foreign multinational firms investing in Ghana. Considering this network that forms the chain of social practices, the MD problem is locked into a strong network, thus developing a powerful obstacle to tackling it. Aspect of this strong network is exposed in the following quotation, which also affirms the international HR strategy of the firm:

> Philosophically, mining companies are different – different shareholders; different principles; different values so having integration is a major challenge […]. Remember we are an international company not a Ghanaian one. So to change in Ghana means going to be changed in American, Australian, and Brazilian mines. It will not work because they draw these policies and practices from corporate philosophies so will require the integration of holding companies and that's a big task.

The second question brings to the fore the way in which Western domination has marginalised national managerial staff in the domain of their skills development. Data show that, as at 2010, the localisation policy enacted in 2006 was yet to be formally implemented, an action believed to have been taken by the MNCs to perpetuate their presence. MNCs' domination is revealed in part by the disparities that exist between expatriates and national managers as the following quotation indicates:

> Our advocacy in the first place questions the disparities between expatriates and Ghanaians.

Related to qualitative data analysis using CDA are three interdiscursive elements, which Farrelly (2010) describes as important aspects of practice and critical focus of CDA. It is assumed that an interaction (or text in the case of this paper) is considered as a blend of these elements, open up for a critical examination that are sometimes taken for granted (Fairclough, 2003). These elements including genre, style, and discourse are considered in the ensuing sections.

4.2.1 Genre and style. Genre is a form of action that language takes when speaking or writing (Farrelly, 2010). The interview process and transcribed text which become the subject of analysing the MD programme as genre. As genre is seen as an action (Fairclough, 2001), it can be asked who is doing what? Who is the recipient? And under what circumstances? These questions describe the purpose of this study – to assess the development of national managers by MNCs for their repositioning for eventual management of the industry.

Style is the way text is produced (Fairclough, 2003), including how people themselves behave or appear when speaking or writing; or criticism about others' behaviours. As text for this analysis is given through speech, style includes determination of characteristics of interviewees such as being authoritative, humble, receptive, etc. Various styles emerged in the course of interviewing. Production of text portrayed managers' fear and anxiety over their development as management deliberately frustrated national managers' development as revealed below:

> Ghanaian managers promoted to West African sub-region [as part of the development programme] and you will be given a small office somewhere and you will have nobody to report to and you don't report to anybody or you report to everybody. So what happens is the guy becomes frustrated and the next day he resigns and leaves.

This, participants believed, was irresponsibility on the part of management to increase, if not to retain the number of expatriates. The reason offered is incompetence of local managers to manage the technical operations of the mining industry as was revealed in the study of Eshun and Jellicoe (2011). Participants were, however, not happy about this reason:

> Unfortunately, Ghanaians that are seen as incompetent to work with MNCs in Ghana are going outside to work in other mining companies. If Ghanaians are incompetent working in their own country how can they be competent working in foreign countries?

4.2.2 Discourses. Discourse deals with the way in which part of the world is represented, or imagined when one speaks or writes to produce text. Discourse as a concept helps societies to both organise and be organised by the use of language (Farrelly, 2010), and it is the means through which social life is produced (Fairclough, 2001). Lives of the national managers are therefore represented through different discourses of different social actors and these take forms of social practices, each of relates to different positions of social actors in the study. Four discourses are revealed in the interview data as presented in subsequent sections.

Linguistic dimension. As already mentioned discourse as concept helps understand the way we tend to both organise and be organised by our use of language. Choice of recurring words from participants such as "potential", "retention", "localisation plan, MNCs, national managerial development programme, etc. are cognitive macro-structures that serve as an important strategic cue to inform the interests in, and relevance of the MD situation. These are linguistic dimensions that announce industry's positioning strategy to see the national managerial development agenda run, as well as national managers" readiness to embrace the programme as evidenced below:

> That a national could have technical competencies but how to blend the varying expertise […] in this case, an expatriate needs to be recruited and the national understudy him. So, over time when the national has been able to acquire the total competencies then it becomes fair that the nod is given to the national.

Power and hegemony dynamic. Text as narrated by participants produces power and hegemony dynamic between expatriates and national managers. There is the assumption that expatriate managers are knowledgeable and skilled; nationals therefore regarding themselves as HR secondary to expatriates and creating low status of power. Discourse that there are some national managers who can perform equally or even better than expatriates given the required training may further create conflict which may illuminate the feeling of powerlessness as, to achieve this standard, national managers will have to exhibit excellent performance and/or develop knowledge for their voices to be heard. The fact that development and elevation of nationals will shift power to themselves signifies their weakness in terms of service conditions in relation to expatriate, as revealed in the narration that:

> The national manager-expatriate cost ratio is roughly 1:7, meaning that with one expatriate employed, the company can employ seven Ghanaians in the same position doing similar job.

Expatriate costs being seven times more than a Ghanaian manager may sound exaggerating but there is evidence of this in a company different (where the author once worked) different from the one the discourse refers to. A (Western) third country national HR manager who was later dismissed for non-performance was receiving a monthly salary of US$15,000. The national manager who acted till a new expatriate was sourced received a little under UD$2,000 equivalent of Ghanaian cedis. This is about 7.5 times.

Strategic devices. One of the rhetorical devices and narrative strategies (Moufahim *et al.*, 2007) of the MD discourse is the narration of the situation and struggle of what participants put as "what the Law wants it to be" are expressed in a clear "us" and "them" dichotomy. This is a move to differentiate the in-group (indigenous people and those affected by the problem) from the out-group (foreigners and those who have contributed to the problem and suppress its solution). Management claims that such problems are not exclusive to Ghana and are therefore outside the scope of the national managerial development programme. This, national managers believed to be a strategy of continuous victimisation through power domination despite the law aimed at reversing this. Referred to as avoidance strategy (Moufahim *et al.*, 2007), this could be seen as a strategy to avoid preparing national managers to eventually take over from expatriates, which the localisation policy seeks to achieve.

Counter discourse. One of the tenets of qualitative analysis using CDA is looking at the everyday background in addition to the historical, economic, cultural and political environments in which data (language and practice) are produced (Irving and English, 2008; Prentice, 2010). This consideration will reveal the society in which the text is produced and its relevance. Looking at the setting in which text is produced – by indigenous managers – there is counter discourse as text is contrary to what is expected from indigenous people. This is because the language used, knowledge of MD, and the text produced are in sharp contrast to the knowledge and practices of indigenous (Ghanaian) workers who are thought to be marginalised, dominated and who are affected by skills development problem which is the focus of this study. Individual discourses rather depict educated people who are well informed about the problem and whose choice and expression of words depict rather modern and Western individuals. Though they portray these features through language, a line of distinction is drawn between them and Western expatriates to reveal their international HR strategic decision:

> We are Ghanaians and they are Westerners. What they think is good for them may not be good for us. [...] not being demanded to develop managers in other countries should not make them refuse to do that here.

National managers being developed therefore become controlled participants or onlookers instead of agency to resist power to heighten their influence to change (van Dijk, 1993). As the quotation above shows this line of distinction makes national managers less powerful to put their (Western) knowledge and exposure to use in tackling their development problem as they lack power in the form of controlled access to discourse.

4.3 Does the Western dominance in industry need the non-solution of the MD problem to sustain itself?

This stage is concerned with being able to establish through critique that the social order generates the problem, which the social order actually "needs" to sustain itself (Fairclough, 2001). Once this is established then CDA contributes to the rationale for fundamental social change. In this regard, does the Western dominance in the mining industry need the non-solution of the MD problem to sustain itself? If non-development of national managers is not seen as a problem, the non-solution of which helps sustain Western hegemony then it does not generate need for social change. However, participants regard the change as necessary.

In this regard, there will not be any rationale for CDA application. Participants, however, see the situation as a problem which requires to be solved:

> The government saw this as a problem and came out with the Law. The programme should be implemented to solve the indigenous managerial skills deficiency.

Non-implementation of the MD programme is linked to power which degenerates into domination (by the powerful) and marginalisation (of the powerless). van Dijk (2001) regards power in critical work on discourse as social power, which is sustained through control, or social force (Wodak, 2009). Thus, people have power if they are able to control the minds and acts of members of another group, especially persuasive power based on knowledge or authority and part integrated in law.

As power is produced through control (or social force) in industry, the relationship between power and domination becomes increasingly positive while suffering of the marginalised has been increasingly deepened. FDIs into the country; internationalisation of SOEs; and "subsidiarisation" of the mining sector by Western corporations are seen as important parts of the new social order enacted in power and domination that contribute to the managerial skills development problem of national managers.

4.4 Can there be possible ways past the MD obstacle?

In general terms, this is the problem solving stage of the analysis. At this point, the problem moves from negative to positive critique thus, searching for unrealised possibilities of effecting change (Fairclough, 2001). In this vein, this analysis moves towards ascertaining if the interview text portrays any contradictions to the problem and if there are any moves to bypass these. The contradiction is revealed in the expatriates' domination ("what it is") and accepting to initiate the MD programme ("what it should be"), but the latter is resisted to sustain the domination:

> You wouldn't believe that sometimes when a Ghanaian resigns the position is replaced with an expatriate. In some cases you have two expatriates replacing the Ghanaian [...] It is something that needs to be tackled at government level.

As the above quotation illustrates, the MNCs are not willing to implement the programme, therefore resisting the social change. Resistance to social change is usually put forward by the powerful group who do this in order to sustain their dominance as portrayed by the interview data. However, the marginalised and powerless can resist the power and domination as a way of counter-resistance as any configuration of power/knowledge creates its own particular room for resistance (Irving and English, 2008). Resistance by the powerless is expressed in:

> Now we say that let's wake up and develop our talents and keep them.

At this point, CDA with its discursive approach draws the analysis towards examination of the following questions to clearly identify the obstacles and the possible ways past them.

First, what are the causes or background to the problem? These are informed by the privatisation policy resulting in MNCs presence in the mining industry, and the need to develop national managers for eventual takeover of management of industry. This led to the localisation plan implementation termed in this paper as MD:

> I was enthused when I joined the company because of the localisation agenda: identification of high fliers to succeed expatriate managers. This gave birth to management development programme that I was part.

Second, who are responsible for solution of the problem? Once the background or the root of the problem is identified the next is to determine who solves the problem. This is mostly dependent on adhering to the Law on developing local managers in mining companies; senior management's willingness to develop nationals; and national managers' resistance to the social order and opening up for their development. Social actors here therefore include the senior management; the government through the Minerals Commission; HR and training and development managers who implement the employee development programmes in respective companies. Though national managers agitate for their development, implementation of the process depends mostly on the Minerals Commission and senior management in industry. Discourses, however, reveal that expatriates resist the change as the quotation below depicts:

> After completing the initial programme the next stage was not implemented, as increasingly deliberate agenda to frustrate the potential national managers who will succeed expatriate managers to establish this localisation agenda […]. Many that became frustrated left the company.

The above narration reveals expatriates' avoidance strategy. Data also expose other strategic devices on the part of the Minerals Commission and some senior national managers as obstacles to the MD agenda. With regard to the Minerals Commission, this is portrayed in their unwillingness to implement the localisation policy as depicted below:

> The Minerals Commission is not enforcing this so we keep on replacing Ghanaian positions with expatriates.

Also, some national managers of responsible positions to implement the programme rather refused to approve developmental programmes of other national managers, notwithstanding the fact that some senior expatriate managers had already given their approvals:

> I can say that we are our own enemies but tend to put all the blames on expatriates. Imagine that the HR manager refuse to approve development programmes even when senior expatriate managers have already given their approvals.

Third, how can the MD problem solution be achieved? Various discourses represent moves for development of the national managers. Texts such as developing locals to take over from expatriates; Mineral Commission to do more to enforce localisation plan and expatriate quota; regional positions to open to local managers; let's wake up to develop our own talents; all represent how power has been enacted and sustained (Moufahim *et al.*, 2007) and agitation for power shift, signifying the possible ways past the MD obstacles. Analysis of the data reveals that solution of the MD problem rests with the Minerals Commission (to enforce the policy); the MNCs (to implement the policy); and senior national managers (to support implementation of the policy). However, they have all been proven to be obstacles to the problem solution. Although the MNCs are primary drivers of the programme their hegemonic tendency and resistance to the change process prevent them from achieving the managerial development goal. This was the outcome of Bhanugopan and Fish (2007) that expatriates were unwilling to develop local managerial talents and continued to employ expatriates, therefore worsening the paucity of Papua New Guinea's skilled managerial staff. This is supported by Oppong (2015), who found that MNCs preferred not to implement a management localisation policy as they saw this as cost and also as an attempt to force them to relinquish their positions to their subordinates. While the Minerals Commission has failed in its responsibilities as overseer of the policy, the HR managers have entrenched themselves as "colonised elites", referred to as the middle-class people by Fanon (1952/1967) who rather oppress their fellow national managers instead contributing to their development.

4.5 Has there been critical reflection on the analysis?

The fifth and final stage of the analysis illuminates the (social) emancipatory power of CDA (Prentice, 2010). The analysis reflects on itself and raises the question of how effective it has been as critique of the situation using the discursive techniques to contribute to social emancipation of the dominated. This reflection requires evaluation of interaction discourses of all social actors, particularly the national managers and senior management of MNCs who are mostly Western expatriates. The following three questions therefore arise.

First, are the senior management of MNCs resisting the social change and therefore perpetuating the non-implementation of the MD? "Subsidiarity" of the mining sector by the Western multinationals through the privatisation policy is by law, and therefore legitimate practice. Law also enjoins MNCs in the course of the "subsidiarity" process to develop national managers to eventually take over management of the companies. Domination of expatriates on the expense of use of local talent form the social order, and national managers' agitation for their development form the social change. There are discourses that point to resistance to this social change. Notably, MNCs fail to observe the expatriate quotas and continue to fill positions with expatriates. It is believed that some of these positions can be filled by nationals. The situation seems to be fuelled by the Minerals Commission's inability to implement the localisation plan and expatriate quota policies, therefore leading to lack of implementation of the MD programme. Also, reserving some positions as "regional positions" and therefore not accessible to nationals is a way of resisting the change. This justifies why Ghanaians cannot be made to occupy them because the roles do not only cover Ghanaian operations. As narrated:

> […] explained that regional positions extend beyond the borders of Ghana and are therefore not solely Ghana positions.

The government (through the Minerals Commission), however, refutes this strategic device:

> But we insist that once salaries to these positions are derived from operations in Ghana, regional positions should also be for nationals.

These discourses clearly illustrate the struggle for implementation of the MD process and insistence on expatriates' power and control.

Second, are there any discursive evidence of the national managers' (the dominated) willingness to, and acceptance of the change, and is this seen as their emancipation? There are passages in the text that suggest not only the national managers' willingness and acceptance of the MD initiative, but also their agitation to see it implemented to the latter. Realisation of the change and emancipation of the national managers, they believe, depends on the MNCs' willingness to invest in the programme and also observe the expatriate quota provision. It even goes beyond development to embrace retention to achieve the ultimate aim of the localisation policy – to have competent nationals who can eventually take over from expatriates:

> Every company should have its own retention strategy. If you don't manage properly, forget because you will train them and they will leave the system.

Third, how does the analysis reflect in the researcher's positioning in academic practice? Reflecting (critically) on the analysis reenacts Fairclough's (2001) belief that academics should rethink how they carry out research by linking directly with activists agitating for social change that the research seeks to effect. The national managers in industry who are victims of power and domination, and who agitate for their development have been involved and their views collated, which constitute the main text for analysis by the researcher as an academic practice.

The following themes and sub-themes, as shown on Table II, emerged from the presentation and analysis of the qualitative data.

5. Key findings

The objectives of the study have been to assess the extent of implementation of the MD programme, and to evaluate the attitudes of expatriates towards the implementation of the programme for a social change. The following have been the key findings:

- The MD is not being implemented as demanded by the Minerals and Mining Act 703 (2006) although national managers are ready and willing to undergo the programme. Being condition for granting of mining lease, it is difficult to understand why many companies have operated for several years without submitting their localisation plans to the Minerals Commission.
- The analysis uncovers the hegemonic dynamics of the MNCs in industry and their determination to sustain the social order through continuous suppression of the MD programme via non-implementation of the localisation plan and the expatriate quota, decisions that could be influenced by their international HR strategies.
- However, the dominance and suppression expected to come from expatriates are also practiced by Ghanaian nationals. This is revealed in senior national managers preventing the development of other national managers. These “colonised elites”

No.	Theme	Sub-theme/description
1	Phases/effects of the MD problem	Social order (state of the problem) Social change (reversal of the problem) Power and domination (resistance to the problem solution) Marginalised (net suffers of power and domination, i.e. the oppressed)
2	MD practices in industry	Companies with no need for MD programmes Companies that initiated MD programmes but collapsed Companies running MD programmes but not well managed
3	Social actors	The World Bank/IMF Expatriates National Managers Minerals Commission
4	Obstacles to the MD problem solution	Western multinationals (unwilling to implement) Minerals Commission (failed to enforce the law) Senior national managers (preventing the development of other national managers)
5	Solutions to the problem	Senior expatriate managers (to fully implement the localisation policy) Minerals Commission (to strongly enforce the policy implementation) Senior national managers (to support development of other national managers)
6	Factors affecting MNCs’ unwillingness to implement MD programmes	Firm’s international HR strategies Cost involved in running the MD programme Fear of losing position to subordinates

Table II.
Themes and sub-themes from the qualitative data

therefore counter the emancipatory process, and the Minerals Commission, a national body entrusted with implementation of the policy to contribute to the emancipatory process rather perpetuates the problem. While some senior national managers prevent other national managers from being developed, the Minerals Commission has relaxed in enforcing submission of localisation plans by the mining companies. These therefore bring to the fore the weaknesses of the marginalised to embrace their emancipation.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the study has been to evaluate implementation of the MD programme in the mining industry. Qualitative data have been collected from national managers through interviewing and the interview data have been analysed using CDA which has revealed how discourse figures in the development programmes of national managers in industry through social practice. CDA as a tool of qualitative data analysis has proved to be appropriate for the study as it has revealed the efficacy of using language text provided by national managers to explore problems affecting them. The emancipatory power of CDA has been revealed, which opens the door for the exploration of unidentified possibilities for tackling the MD problem, including reversal of the social order and decolonisation of the "colonised elites".

The analysis via the various discourses, has also revealed the domination and hegemonic dynamics of expatriates, as well as some "colonised elites" through sustained power over the control of the MD process. Even when the expatriates attempt to defuse the dominance and control, they approach this with reluctance, depicting their determination to sustain power and the hegemonic tendencies to perpetuate the non-implementation of the MD.

Regardless of the efficacy of CDA in revealing solution to the MD problem in industry, the situation is less likely to be reversed. This is because contrary to the demands of the Minerals and Mining Act 703 (2006), the MD programme is not implemented, thereby sustaining the social order through continuous suppression of the MD programmes. It is also concluded that the domination and suppression expected to come from expatriates are also practiced by the "colonised elites". This is revealed in MNCs are not willing to design and implement the MD programmes due to the excessive power that they control; the cost involved in running the MD programmes; and the risk of losing their job to the subordinates that they develop; senior national managers preventing the development of other national managers, thereby countering the emancipatory process of their fellow Ghanaians; and the Minerals Commission, a national body entrusted with implementation of the policy to contribute to the emancipatory process rather perpetuates the problem.

It is the view of this author that the MD situation in industry will continue to be so unless the localisation law is enforced to the latter. Because, left to their own volition, MNCs may prefer not to implement the policy since the decision to do so is influence by their international HR strategies, as well as the cost involved and the fear of losing their positions to subordinates that they develop. So far, the government has been the sole supervisor who has failed to command commitment from management (both expatriates and the "colonised elites"). The paper therefore recommends that supervision of the implementation should be shifted to an independent body made up of say representatives from the Ghana Chamber of Mines; government representatives; and representatives from the unions.

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