Developing the Business-Society Nexus through Corporate Responsibility Expectations in India

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Structured Abstract

Title:
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Purpose:
The Indian government dramatically altered the dynamic between business and society when it introduced the Companies Act 2013, which mandated large corporations to expend at least 2% of average net profits on corporate responsibility programs. This reconfiguration of social value creation may serve as a template for a closer and participatory relationship between the private sector and government in emerging economies and beyond toward social development. In this article, we analyze how corporate responsibility expectations have taken shape in the print media in India. Specifically, we ask: What are the dimensions of CR expectations in mainstream Indian newspapers?, Why, according to the newspaper narratives, do corporations have these responsibilities?, and Are CR activities in the Indian press presented as voluntary or mandatory?

Design:
In this qualitative study, we analyzed 50% (n = 442) of the newspaper articles that dealt explicitly with corporate responsibility, and that appeared in the top five Indian English-language newspapers and the top two Hindi-language newspapers between 1 January and 31 December 2015. Employing Content Configuration Analysis (CCA), we developed a typology of CR expectations, and analyzed their associated justifications. Finally, we employed CCA to analyze how this typology and its justifications connect to the two main stakeholders: the business sector and government.

Findings:
Our analyses reveal how the introduction of the Companies Act 2013 revolutionized CR expectations by explicitly and legally making corporations the engine of social development. We were able to describe how contextual and cultural dimensions frame evolving interests and societal demands toward corporations, and how difficult it may be for corporations to fulfil CR expectations that are well beyond their core business and that reach deep into a domain that is usually part of a government’s responsibility.

Originality/value:
Our study contributes an empirical exploration of media discourse on contemporary corporate responsibility expectations in India and its associated notions of social value creation, and how these are shaped by various cultural and contextual influences. We discuss how this novel approach to CR modifies the relations between business and society, and we reflect on the opportunities and limits of this model to other emerging economies, which struggle to formulate a symbiotic relationship between business and society.

Keywords:
India, corporate responsibility expectations, Content Configuration Analysis, media analysis, Companies Act 2013

Abstract

The Indian government dramatically altered the dynamic between corporate responsibility (CR) behavior and expectations when it introduced the Companies Act in 2013. The act mandates large corporations to expend at least 2% of average net profits on CR programs, and it sets the benchmark for future relationships between business and society. The manner in which India has reconfigured the frame of social value creation may serve as a rough template for a closer and participatory relationship between the private sector and government in emerging economies and beyond. In this article, we analyze how CR expectations have taken shape in the media discourse in India. Specifically, we ask: What are the dimensions of CR expectations in mainstream Indian newspapers?, Why, according to the newspaper narratives, do corporations have these responsibilities?, and Are CR activities in the Indian press presented as voluntary or mandatory? We randomly analyzed 50% (n = 442) of the newspaper articles that dealt with corporate responsibility and that appeared in the top five Indian English-language newspapers and the top two Hindi-language newspapers between 1 January and 31 December 2015. Employing Content Configuration Analysis (CCA), we developed a typology of CR expectations, and we analyzed the range of justifications provided for these CR expectations. Our analyses reveal how the introduction of the Companies Act 2013 revolutionized CR expectations by explicitly and legally making corporations the engine of social development. We were also able to describe how contextual and cultural dimensions frame evolving interests and societal demands toward corporations, and how difficult it may be for corporations to fulfil CR expectations that are well beyond their core business and that reach deep into a domain that is usually part of a government's responsibility.

Keywords: India, corporate responsibility expectations, Content Configuration Analysis, media analysis, Companies Act 2013

Developing the Business-Society Nexus through Corporate Responsibility Expectations in India[2]

> *India has about 600,000 villages with over 800 million people (65% of the population) living in them. An absence of development has meant that there is a severe lack of opportunities for young people in villages. The drop-out rate from schools is increasing in rural India. Over 44% of the rural youth discontinue their education due to several reasons: Financial constraints, lack of interest, absence of proper school facilities and lack of access to electricity among other things. At the same time, the open economic policy and Internet boom have raised their expectations. This mismatch between reality/lack of opportunities in the villages and the expectations of the youth is leading to large-scale disgruntlement and this is not a healthy sign for any country. One way of meeting these challenges will be to develop smart villages. This will be expensive and the government can rope in corporate houses to transform these villages in a time-bound manner. A substantial part of the 2% mandatory provision for Corporate Social Responsibility funds can be diverted towards this need. There are over 1 000 listed companies in India. The government can ask the financially strong ones to adopt 25 to 50 villages per year, depending on their profit margin.* (04-02-BDICSV[3])

Introduction

Most individuals, societies, and local, national, and transnational governments have benefitted from globalization in relation to the global mobility of finance, labor, technology, and manufacturing capacity (Lang and Tavares, 2018; Osei *et al.*, 2004). The main benefactors of this driver of wealth creation, however, has been the private sector, especially multinational enterprises (Boarini *et al.*, 2018; Osei *et al.*, 2004). Over the past decades, much of the worlds' power and resources have shifted dramatically into the realm the private sector (Bergman, 2015). In conjunction with a decrease in power and resources of national governments and the increase in the influence of the private sector on governments, the rapid ascent of the business sector is raising important questions concerning its role and scope of responsibilities with regard to how business ought to not only focus on wealth creation but, in addition, participate in the wellbeing of society. This concern translates into growing societal expectations, where the private sector can no longer be solely driven by a narrow focus on profit-maximization (Sinkovics *et al.*, 2014), considering that governments and societies are increasingly victims or benefactors of corporate behavior.

Although many institutional attempts exist that seek to standardize compliance in relation to corporate responsibility measures (e.g. UN Global Compact, ISO9000, ISO14000), corporate behavior in this regard has largely remained voluntary (Carroll, 1979; 2006; Elkington, 1997). Their centrality for the wellbeing of society, framed increasingly as social or sustainable development, necessitates a reconceptualization of the business-society nexus, if stronger collaborative ties are to be developed for the benefit and sustainability of both business and society.

[2] We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their incisive and constructive comments, which improved this paper considerably.

[3] The code refers to the date of publication, the newspaper, and the article from which the citation was extracted.

Similar to China, Indian has taken definitive steps in redefining and fostering a stronger business-society relationship. Initially on a voluntary basis and, since the introduction of the new Companies Act 2013, India has introduced a strong, mandatory CR framework. In this paper, we examine how CR has played out within the public domain by exploring which CR expectations dominate the Indian print media and how these expectations are justified.

Conceptual and contextual background

Defining the landscape of voluntary and mandatory corporate responsibility

Despite notable detractors (e.g. Friedman, 1962; 1970; 1982; Devinney, 2009; Ullmann, 1985), most scholars concur that a corporate responsibility (CR) program ought to be part of every modern business (Bergman *et al.*, 2015c). Disagreements focus on its nature, extent, and justifications, thus often rendering CR conceptualizations opaque, amorphous, contested, impracticable, and, at times, highly Eurocentric (e.g. Bergman *et al.*, 2015c, Lockett *et al.*, 2006; Gond and Moon, 2011). Reasons for preferring one variant to another are manifold (Bergman *et al.*, 2015c) and may be traced to divergent motivations behind CR, most notably whether CR ought to be discretionary or mandatory. On the discretionary end of the scale, the corporate mandate is limited to the pursuit of economic responsibilities and the pecuniary self-interest of a firm (Abend, 2014; Bergman *et al.*, 2015c; Krichewsky, 2017). The Friedman doctrine, which proposes that "[t]here is one and only one social responsibility of business – to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game" (Friedman, 1962, p. 133) is a suitable representation of this position, although it should be noted that Friedman was more subtle than merely emphasizing financial interests as the sole responsibility of an enterprise. The other end of the scale represents the primacy of ethical, altruistic, or philanthropic activities in the service of social actors, society, or the environment. Situated between the two endpoints is Archie Carroll's (1979) pyramid of corporate social responsibility, which divides CR into three or four types of responsibilities, namely economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary or philanthropic; the latter was excluded during a short period. Significant in this conception is not only the range of responsibilities beyond financial self-interest, but also the distinction between voluntary and mandatory responsibilities. In this model, economic and legal responsibilities are required, ethical responsibilities are expected, and philanthropic responsibilities are desired (Carroll, 1979; 2016).

Figure 1. Carroll's pyramid of corporate social responsibility (from Carroll, 2016, p. 5)

Carroll's pyramid remains one of the most favored CR models in the business literature due to its parsimony, flexibility, and compatibility with Western norms (Krichewsky, 2017; Bergman *et al.* 2015c). Another popular approach occupying a centrist position is the so-called Triple Bottom Line (a.k.a. TBL or 3BL), an accounting framework that emphasizes the interdependence between economic, social, and environmental responsibilities (Elkington, 1994, 1997). It mirrors the three overlapping spheres model of sustainability as promoted for example by the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The essential underpinning here is that firms ought to sustain not only themselves through profits and market share but, due to their increasing power, they should also contribute to the sustainability of societies and environments within which they operate (Bergman *et al.*, 2017; Elkington, 2004; 2007). While the latter approach shares Carroll's preference for a limited, discretionary engagement, the shift in focus beyond economic issues – from legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities to environmental and social outcomes – reflects the pervasive and complex influence of global firms on societies and the challenges they face. From this position, global problems associated with an increase in inequality between and within societies, the destruction of the environment, and the depletion of resources require a greater stakeholder engagement to renegotiate the nature and extent of responsibilities of the business sector (Benn *et al.*, 2015; Matten *et al.*, 2003).

Various incentives exist for corporations to engage in CR. Addressing social and environmental issues may ensure and augment corporate legitimacy (Scherer *et al.*, 2013; Vancheswaran and Gautam, 2011); preempt state interference and limit disadvantageous regulations (Abend, 2014; Krichewsky, 2017); and help to secure long-term and sustainable stakeholder relations (Bondy *et al.*, 2012; Branco and Rodrigues, 2006; Devinney, 2009; Sinkovics *et al.*, 2015). Despite these benefits, discretionary engagement is frequently criticized. Apart from its distraction from immediate economic responsibilities, greenwashing is now a dominant argument against many CR activities (Farache and Perks, 2010; Locke, 2013; Newell, 2008; Robinson, 2010; Rohatynskyj, 2011). Second, questioning the appropriateness of corporate engagement is another sticking point. According to this line of argumentation, corporations are unable to adequately identify and address root causes of problems and, given their status as either outsiders or as stakeholders with interests that cannot be separated from their business interests, may inadvertently exacerbate instead of alleviate societal or environmental problems (Locke, 2013; Rohatynskyj, 2011; Sinkovics *et al.*, 2014a, 2014b). Third, as non-elected and non-appointed entities, business interests may be inserted into social and environmental policy in the name of CR such that the beneficiaries of such programs may ultimately be the firms themselves, rather than regions, groups, or societies that such programs ostensibly serve.

The expanding power and influence of corporations in and over societies raise questions about the roles they ought to play (Bergman, 2015; Bergman and Berger, 2017; Giuliani and Macchi, 2014; Sinkovics *et al.*, 2014a), challenging the demarcation between voluntary and mandatory CR activities. This is often accompanied by a favorable stance toward regulating CR, typified by an emerging literature on political CSR that emphasizes political responsibilities by engaging in social development and implementing public policy (e.g. Matten *et al.*, 2003; Newell and Frynas, 2007; Scherer and Palazzo, 2011; Sinkovics *et al.*, 2015; Wettstein, 2010; Wettstein, 2012). According to Krichewsky (2017, p. 513), mandating CR

> provides state authorities with opportunities of intervention whose thematic scope is broad and flexible, which can relieve political pressure by putting companies in charge of addressing wicked problems, and which can minimize social and political disruptions by emphasizing potential synergies between business expansion, social welfare, and environmental sustainability.

Although this form of CR is premised on mutual value creation (Hart, 2011; London *et al.*, 2010; London and Hart, 2011), this level of state interference has been met with considerable opposition. Beyond problematizing the act of mandating something that has usually been considered to be voluntary (Deodhar, 2015; Karnani, 2013; Ramesh and Mendes, 2015; Sarkar and Sarkar 2015; and Singh and Verma, 2014), some question whether corporations should take on government responsibilities in the first place (Matten and Crane, 2005; Scherer and Palazzo, 2007; Sinkovics *et al.*, 2015). These authors ask: Who is made responsible for what?, How and to what ends is this power used?, and In whose interest will decision be made, especially given that corporate interests outlast most election cycles and are not directly accountable to society (Devinney, 2009; Matten and Crane, 2005)? Despite these uncertainties, the idea of mandating CR has gained traction.

The four variants of CR we outlined here illustrate the extensive and conflictual range of stakeholder expectations. Embedded within these expectations are complex and contradictory beliefs about the role and function of corporations. Whichever CR position corporations prefer to adopt on the continuum described above, stakeholders with different interests and positions may not agree with the strategic positioning of the firm. And these stakeholder expectations are not only framed by interests and positions, but also by the culture and specific context within which corporations operate.

The role of corporations in India

Elsewhere, our research has focused on how CR and its associated expectations are shaped by the context and culture of the society within which large corporations are embedded (Berger *et al.*, 2014; Bergman *et al.*, 2015a; Bergman *et al.*, 2015b). In this regard, India is no exception as CR expectations here too form a unique constellation, structured and structuring context and culture.

Historically, corporations have a long and well-established tradition of voluntary engagement in India. Some trace India's CR lineage to the philanthropic charity dining halls or *Annachhatras* in Mumbai during the 1850s (Deodhar, 2015; Hussain, 2015), while others refer to "Mahatma Gandhi's notion of trusteeship [that led to] major contributions … made by business houses in the area of building schools, colleges, training and scientific institutions … [as well as reforms toward] abolishing untouchability, empowering women and rural development" (Verma *et al.*, 2015, p. 114). Others use more contemporary examples associated with the Tata Group, Mahindra Group, Aditya Birla Group, or the Indian Oil Corporation, to name only a small subsection of industries with well-established and sizable CR commitments (Deodhar, 2015; Hussain, 2015; Ramesh and Mendes, 2015; Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015; Singh and Verma, 2014; Tata and Matten, 2017; Verma *et al.*, 2015). Through their CR programmes, firms and conglomerates have been a vital part of Indian society with "a long tradition of being engaged in social activities that have gone beyond meeting a corporation's immediate financial objectives" (Sarkar and Sarkar 2015, p. 1; see also Hussain, 2015; Verma *et al.*, 2015). These long and well-established records of especially social accomplishment are witness to how CR in India diverges from the normative, ethics-based, and systemic debates in more developed economies, the latter often emphasizing Eurocentric theology- and philosophy-based business ethics (Bergman *et al.*, 2015c). Another important difference between Indian and Western notions of CR relates to the demarcation of boundaries between voluntary and mandatory responsibilities. While Western notions of CR tend toward encouraging voluntary compliance via international environmental standards, sustainability performance, and CR codes (Visser, 2008; Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015), CR in India includes an explicit enlistment of corporations to develop and transform Indian society (Singh and Verma, 2014). Large corporations, for example, are expected to assist government in financing, setting up, and managing societal programmes (Besley and Ghatak, 2007; Matten and Moon, 2008; Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015). In this role, large corporations are expected to assist in meeting the government's social development goals (Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015), encourage inclusive growth (Mukherjee and Chaturvedi, 2013; Hussain, 2015; Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015; Singh and Verma, 2014), and "ensure the distribution of wealth and the well-being of communities" (Singh and Verma, 2014, p. 458-459; see also Verma *et al.*, 2015). This entails leveraging CR to address primarily acute socioeconomic and environmental challenges (Deodhar, 2015; Hussain, 2015; Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015; Verma *et al.*, 2015; Visser, 2008), such as improving the lives of the underprivileged, reduce poverty and inequality, provide access to health care, education, water, sanitation, energy, as well as urban and rural infrastructure development (Borman and Chakraborty, 2014; Hussain, 2015; Ramesh and Mendes, 2015; Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015; Singh and Verma, 2014). An extensive and seemingly unambiguous scholarly literature covers in detail the many expectations of large corporations in India. From this literature, it appears that it is the responsibility of large corporations to uplift, build, strengthen, manage, protect, and advance many aspects of Indian society and its development.

In justifying why corporations have such comprehensive responsibilities, academic debates often argue that it makes good business sense to engage in CR – here too, the adage "Doing well by doing good" is oft-repeated. For example, Singh and Verma (2014, p. 455) argue:

> It is recognized the world over that integrating social, environmental and ethical responsibilities into the governance of businesses ensures their long term success, competitiveness and sustainability. This approach also reaffirms the view that businesses are an integral part of society, and have a critical and active role to play in the sustenance and

> improvement of healthy ecosystems, in fostering social inclusiveness and equity, and in upholding the essentials of ethical practices and good governance.

As illustrated in this quote, justifications for CR programmes are embedded in a social dimension within which they are expected to manifest. More generally, overcoming the uneven distribution of wealth and development, and narrowing the social inequality gap are considered important cornerstones of the legitimatization of both government policies and business practice (Singh and Verma, 2014; Hussain, 2015). Furthermore, it is often assumed that managing social inequality may prevent social unrest. Accordingly, “[t]he government perspective on CSR has been that though India’s business sector has generated wealth for shareholders for decades, the country continues to grapple with problems of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and malnutrition. Corporate growth is sometimes seen as widening the gap between India and Bharat (rural India) through its income-skewing capability. This gap needs to be bridged” (Singh and Verma, 2014, p. 458).

In an attempt to overcome inequality, the Indian government has made a concerted effort to foster the business-society nexus, implementing various initiatives to streamline corporate engagement in social development, while morphing CR from voluntary engagement to mandated expectations. One of the first policies in this process was the Corporate Social Responsibility Voluntary Guidelines (MCA, 2009, p. 11-12). According to this policy, CR ought to include six core elements:

> 1. Care for all Stakeholders
> 2. Ethical functioning
> 3. Respect for Workers’ Rights and Welfare
> 4. Respect for Human Rights
> 5. Respect for Environment [and]
> 6. Activities for Social and Inclusive Development.

Only two years later, this set of guidelines was elaborated and published as the National Voluntary Guidelines on Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibility of Business (MCA, 2011, p. 7-26) in 2011. It defined nine principles of responsible business:

> Principle 1: Business should conduct and govern themselves with ethics, transparency, and accountability
> Principle 2: Business should provide goods and services that are safe and contribute to sustainability throughout their life cycle
> Principle 3: Business should promote the wellbeing of all employees
> Principle 4: Businesses should respect the interests of, and be responsive towards all stakeholders, especially those who are disadvantaged, vulnerable and marginalised
> Principle 5: Businesses should respect and promote human rights
> Principle 6: Business should respect, protect, and make efforts to restore the environment
> Principle 7: Businesses, when engaged in influencing public and regulatory policy, should do so in a responsible manner
> Principle 8: Businesses should support inclusive growth and equitable development [and]
> Principle 9: Businesses should engage with and provide value to their customers and consumers in a responsible manner.

These voluntary policies culminated in the introduction of the Companies Act 2013, which mandates, among other things, investment of 2% of net profits into CR activities specified in Schedule VII of the act (MNC, 2014, p. 2; cf. MNC, 2013). These activities, updated and expanded on 27 February 2014, include:

- eradicating hunger, poverty and malnutrition, promoting preventive health care and sanitation and making available safe drinking water;
- promoting education, including special education and employment enhancing vocation skills especially among children, women, elderly, and the differently abled and livelihood enhancement projects;
- promoting gender equality, empowering women, setting up homes and hostels for women and orphans; setting up old age homes, day care centres and such other facilities for senior citizens and measures for reducing inequalities faced by socially and economically backward groups;
- ensuring environmental sustainability, ecological balance, protection of flora and fauna, animal welfare, agroforestry, conservation of natural resources and maintaining quality of soil, air and water;
- protection of national heritage, art and culture including restoration of buildings and sites of historical importance and works of art; setting up public libraries; promotion and development of traditional art and handicrafts;
- measures for the benefit of armed forces veterans, war widows and their dependents;
- training to promote rural sports, nationally recognised sports, paralympic sports and Olympic sports;
- contribution to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund or any other fund set up by the Central Government for socio-economic development and relief and welfare of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes, minorities and women;
- contributions or funds provided to technology incubators located within academic institutions which are approved by the Central Government; [and]
- rural development projects.

The introduction of these policies not only outlined the range and extent of the responsibilities of large corporations, but also explicitly mandated that they take on a much greater set of responsibilities than is usually expected from the private sector. By doing so, the Indian government has fine-tuned its approach to CR, moving from descriptive, voluntary guidelines to a progressive, prescriptive approach. While tensions persist from mandating what is often presumed as voluntary, something that academic debates have yet to resolve (Deodhar, 2015; Karnani, 2013; Ramesh and Mendes, 2015; Sarkar and Sarkar 2015; and Singh and Verma, 2014), some call the new policies “visionary” (Chandiok, 2014, p. 3) and a “game changer” (Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015, p. 1) because they force government and industry to cooperate (Ramesh and Mendes, 2015) in designing the future of India society. Thus, they may indeed represent an “instrument to pursue a ‘middle path’ between a liberal and a regulatory state so as to balance growth with social stability” (Sarkar and Sarkar, 2015, p. 1). Even as countries such as India (and China with its 5-year plans) increasingly regulate corporate behaviour in the interest of national development, we still do not know enough about what actually happens when these regulations are put into practice or whether the outcomes are as successful as its designers hope for.

The purpose of this article is to examine public CR expectations in light of Indian national policy, its culture, and its context. More specifically, we are interested in how CR is constructed within media discourse in relation to its content, scope, and the extent to which it is framed as a voluntary or mandatory component of corporate behaviour. We do this by analysing how CR expectations have taken shape in the media discourse in India three years after the implementation of the Companies Act 2013. Specifically, we pursue the following research questions in this paper: What are the dimensions of CR expectations in mainstream Indian newspapers?, Why, according to the newspaper narratives, do corporations have these responsibilities?, and Are CR activities in the Indian press presented as voluntary or mandatory?

Methods

This study is based on an exploratory analysis of the mainstream print media in India. While the importance of the media as a research tool is well-established (e.g. Berger, 2014; Curran and Morley, 2007), the role of the media and how it connects to public discourse is assumed but underdeveloped. At the beginning of the 19th Century, Max Weber suggested that studying the media permitted monitoring the "cultural temperature" of a society (Hansen *et al.*, 1998; Macnamara, 2005), while scholars such as Bourdieu (1996) and Herman and Chomsky (1988) believed that the mass media is a tool used by elites to direct and manipulate public opinion. A third position, and the one favoured here, proposes that the media shapes and is shaped by public opinion (McChesney, 2004). As such, the media in general, and newspapers in particular, play an important role in shaping public discourse, and public discourse is reflected at least in part in media discourse. While it is not possible to identify the exact flow of information, or to disentangle where influence begins or ends, it is clear that the media is an important marker of public discourse. From a research perspective, media platforms in general and newspapers in particular are an excellent basis from which to examine public expectations on the role of corporations in India.

Our data consists of Indian newspaper articles from the five most widely-read English-language newspapers (Indian Readership Survey, 2014; Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2015): Times of India (TOI), Hindustan Times (HT), The Hindu (TH), Mumbai Mirror (MM), and The Telegraph (TT). In addition, we included two of the most popular Hindi-language newspapers in India, Dainik Bhaskar and Dainik Jagran[4]. The selection criteria for inclusion of newspaper articles into our sample were: publication in one of the seven newspapers; an explicit reference to corporate responsibility or corporate social responsibility in the headline or body of the article; and a publication date between 1 January and 31 December 2015. For the English-language newspapers, these criteria yielded 824 articles: 295 from TOI, 52 from HT, 333 from TH, 16 from MM, and 128 from TT. Using a random number generator, a sample of slightly more than 50%, i.e. 442 articles, was selected for analysis. With regard to the Hindi-language newspapers, we included all articles that fulfilled our selection criteria. We used Content Configuration Analysis (CCA; Bergman, 2011; Bergman *et al.*, 2011) to analyse the articles. CCA is a qualitative method of analysis related to qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. It is a systematic method of analysis, which can be used on all non-numeric data, including text and visual data. This method is highly flexible, and it can be adapted to fit most designs in qualitative research. To this end, it has been used in psychology, sociology, education, business studies, sustainability studies, public health, and mobility and urban studies. For this study, we used CCA to conduct a three-step inductive analysis. We chose an exploratory approach for our

[4] The authors would like to thank Dr. Balwant S. Metha from the Institute for Human Development in Delhi for his assistance in the analysis of the Hindi-language newspapers for this study.

analysis because we are interested in this article in how newspapers make sense of CR, rather than whether they adequately represent the finer theoretical points of CR approaches as covered in the literature. In this exploratory approach, we examined the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of CR expectations, their opportunities for government and Indian society to harness business capacities, and the implications this has on a business-society relationship. As a first analytic step, we conducted an exploratory analysis to identify all explicit and implicit responsibilities associated with the business sector. From this list of responsibilities, we created a typology of CR expectations. In a second analytic step, we conducted a quasi-causal analysis by systematizing the range of justifications associated with CR expectations. Finally, we conducted a stakeholder analysis to examine how the range of responsibilities and justifications thereof are associated with different stakeholders mentioned in the newspaper articles.

Results

Part 1: What are the CR activities and expectations as reported in Indian newspapers?

The most striking initial finding is that, according to the media discourse in 2015, large corporations are expected to undertake an expansive assortment of responsibilities that are largely unrelated to their business activities. CR expectations associated with business activities are in the minority, an initial and strong indicator of how government harnesses CR for development purposes. The majority of CR expectations mentioned in the media are concerned with social development, particularly the maintenance or development of basic infrastructure and services in both rural and urban areas. Beyond generic infrastructure development and maintenance demands, CR expectations focus on: specific construction projects associated with building and maintaining roads and basic transportation; infrastructure and services relating to energy, water, and sanitation; and building and maintaining hospitals and health services, as well as schools and education programmes. To illustrate the scope of CR expectations embedded in the public sphere, we briefly examine two of these areas, namely health and education.

The general aim of health-related CR expectations in the Indian media is to improve the wellbeing of people through the provision of healthcare services and interventions, and the promotion of preventative healthcare, especially in rural areas. This mostly entails improved access to health infrastructure and services. Examples of investment into infrastructure projects include building or maintaining hospitals and mobile clinics, or financing supporting infrastructure, such as ambulances, diagnostic tools, and x-ray machines. Here some examples relating to CR expectations relating to health services:

> *Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (BHEL) has come forward to the aid of more than 700 such patients nationally, pledging the responsibility of their treatment. As a corporate social responsibility initiative, BHEL has adopted 720 haemophilia patients from across the country, including 20 children from Nagpur. (21-02-TTI-AHFCO)*

> *JSW's CSR team and implementation partners provided quality healthcare to 23 villages. Its rural healthcare intervention achieved visible result following medical camps by doctors, distribution of medicines and diagnostic tests – free. (03-30-MM-People)*

Both examples illustrate health-related CR activities of multi-billion dollar conglomerates whose core businesses are unrelated to the health sector. In a similar vein, education connects to the improvement of the quality of education in schools, especially in impoverished rural areas. In this cluster, CR expectations may be further divided into infrastructure and service-related CR. Examples of educational infrastructure include investment in building schools, learning materials, internet access, computers, tablets, and interactive, digital learning platforms. CR expectations relating to educational services include assisting underprivileged students in rural areas, financial assistance for teacher training, or tuition payments for core subjects such as mathematics, science, and English, as well as an array of extra-curricular educational programs and further education and training schemes, such as skill development programs for unemployed youth. Here two extracts from this category:

> *E-learning kits are another popular teaching aid, currently in use in several rural schools … Equipped with the complete syllabus of important subjects for Classes I to X of the state board curriculum, besides topics on astronomy, grammar, career guidance and competitive exam material, the kits are usable in both English and Marathi. The kits installed on high-grade computers and used in rotation for all classes in the computer lab… The kits were provided by 'Sparsh – A Healing Touch', the CSR arm of Infosys Pune DC, to make learning enjoyable. (06-28-TOI-Learning)*
>
> *Chinta Devi from Matkamain village of Patratu in Ramgash district used to spend her time doing household chores only. Now after getting trained [through a vocational skills training programme, part of a CR activity of Jindal Steel and Power Limited] in mushroom cultivation last year, she discovered the entrepreneur in her and established herself as a well-known mushroom cultivator of the area. (07-09-TT-JSPL)*

These health and education-related examples illustrate not only the kind of involvement of corporations in social development, but they also reveal the extent to which their CR activities are embedded in the health and education domains. Corporations are not merely expected to donate financial resources toward social development projects but to become principle stakeholders, even program designers, executors, managers, and evaluators, through whom the development and maintenance of large-scale infrastructure and services as well as local projects and initiatives are implemented and maintained. Beyond health and education, other CR expectations include development relating to water, sanitation, energy, roads, and other urban and rural infrastructure. These infrastructure and service-related responsibilities account for more than three quarters of the CR-relevant data in the print media. Thus, CR in Indian newspapers tends to be dominated by reports of alleviating the precursors, forms, and consequences of poverty – mostly reporting positive outcomes of modest programs (with some exceptions), but also primarily unrelated to the business focus of the sponsoring corporation.

Apart from this dominant discourse, we also find reports on CR activities relating to emergency situations. Most of these CR mentions relate to philanthropic interventions, where corporations respond to extreme and unexpected events. One prominent example in 2015 relates to the coordination of a drought response, in which corporations were assisting, and expected to assist, in affected areas. Here, examples include water scarcity funding initiatives, provision of drinking water, desalination of dams, and other watershed and groundwater recharge programmes. Other emergency situations mentioned in the media in 2015 include responses to floods in the Chennai, Tiruvallur, and Cuddalore districts, and emergency responses to a cyclone in the Visakhapatnam district.

The third type of CR-related expectations in the media, and least frequently occurring, relates to the development of leisure infrastructure. This includes the development of lakes, parks, and beaches, and the financing of facilities such as walkways, yoga parks, jogging tracks, water sports and boating, amphitheaters, museums, street art, and conservatories. Included here are also advanced passenger amenities, such as Wi-Fi accessibility at train stations and online ticketing platforms. Here three examples:

> *The corporation is also going to complete developing the parks project. The major project under this will be the completion of Chhend Park, which has a project layout of over Rs 32 crore. The work on the park, which will have a lake for boating, is under way. (09-19-TT-Cleaner)*
>
> *She also suggested that Lokhandwala lake, which is in bad shape, be developed as well. … Lavekar said, "Versova residents had been demanding the beach's development for quite some time now. Residents, especially senior citizens, also asked me to develop Lokhandwala lake and wanted a yoga park and jogging track." (09-24-MM-Versova)*
>
> *[Railway Minister Suresh Prabhu] he launched a slew of measures aimed at making train travel easier, more comfortable and safer. The passenger-friendly proposals include SMS alerts for train timings, provision for Wi-Fi facility in 400 stations, user-friendly ladders for upper berths, 17,000 bio-toilets, and installation of cameras for the safety of women travellers. Also, it has been proposed that tickets can now be booked four months in advance (from two months earlier), and those travelling unreserved can buy a ticket within five minutes. The fund allotment for passenger amenities has been increased by 67 per cent, he said, requesting corporates, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), charitable institutions and religious bodies to come forward and invest generously for passenger amenities from their CSR (corporate social responsibility) funds. (02-26-TH-The)*

This third type of CR expectations is different from the previous two because it caters for a different stakeholder group. While the preceding CR responsibilities serve to alleviate extreme forms of poverty or responding to crises, this set of responsibilities tends to be associated with investments aimed at increasing the quality of life for an emergent, urban middle class.

Table 1: Responsibilities of large corporations according to Indian newspapers

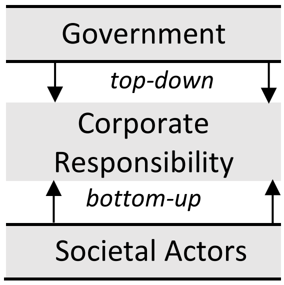
1: Basic Infrastructure and Services	2: Emergency Response	3: Advanced Infrastructure
Health	Floods	Leisure
Education	Droughts	Digital-Infrastructure
Water		
Sanitation		
Energy		
Roads and Transport		

The three types of CR activities and expectations in the Indian newspaper articles reveal that the vast majority of responsibilities link to a surprisingly large scope of responsibilities that are dominated by a focus on social development. At its most basic and dominant level, CR expectations are focused on creating and maintaining basic infrastructure and services in rural and urban areas, or to respond to emergency situations – primarily to combat extreme forms of poverty, exclusion, and hardship. Beyond that, we also find CR activities that include the development of more advanced forms of infrastructure and amenities associated with a growing middle class. Based on this typology, we identified a range of conflictual and competing stakeholder demands associated with CR expectations. These demands result not only from different stakeholder groups but also from divergences in the understanding of why corporations have these responsibilities. In order to systematize divergent positions beyond the range of responsibilities, our next analysis explores the justifications of responsibilities, as presented in the newspaper articles.

Part 2: Why do corporations have these responsibilities?

The explicit or implicit justifications for CR as presented in the media can be divided into top-down and bottom-up reasoning as illustrated in table 2.

Table 2: Justifications for CR according to Indian newspapers



The most dominant is the top-down justification, which denotes the visible hand of the government in setting the CR agenda. Within this approach, CR activities are following, or are expected to follow, a national vision set out by the central government: corporations must assist in the regional and national development of India. While the government's vision, as implied in the newspaper articles, is mostly concerned with improving the livelihoods of especially the poor and marginalized, to a lesser extent it is also about creating opportunities for an emerging, upwardly mobile society. In this regard, government identifies current and potential future problems, and it develops CR-related guidelines to respond to them. This vision is realized through a collaborative partnership with the private sector. Here two examples:

> *The state set around Rs 375.19 crore as the target for corporate social responsibility (CSR) spent in 2015-16 to which industry majors agreed during the first Jharkhand CSR governing council meeting chaired by chief minister Raghubar Das today. Das also outlined the state's wish list of CSR projects before the select group of industrial representatives today at his Project Building office, asking them to run 32 industrial training centres for skilling youths, besides working in a more collaborative manner to upgrade schools and health facilities. […] It's like a collaboration between the government and companies to effectively chalk out CSR plan and use funds wisely. (05-09-TT-Industry)*

> *Panja, in an address to the eighth CII Corporate Social Responsibility Meet 2015 at Kolkata, requested corporate houses to dedicate a portion of their CSR funds to installing separate toilets for transgenders. […] "The government alone cannot do everything. Please come forward and help us achieve our social goals," she said. (12-25-HT-Social)*

Less dominant are bottom-up justifications for CR, where societal expectations form the basis for CR activities. This may include not only demands by communities and their representatives, but also demands by prominent athletes or actors that become spokespersons for a group, region, or project. Public representatives applying pressure through the legal system, via the media or social media, or via grassroots organizations. Here two examples:

> *The GAIL, in its complaint to the state government, cited several cases where village sarpanches have demanded money and even tried to obstruct work. […] Even management committee members and teachers of a village school wanted the company to first drill a 7000ft deep borewell on the institution's premises before they were allowed construction of the toilet. (10-10-TT-Dirty)*

> *Beijing Games gold medallist shooter Abhinav Bindra on Tuesday urged corporate houses to play a bigger role in the progress of Olympics sports in India and said the disciplines should be "supported as part of CSR activities". (07-15-HT-Abhinav)*

It is interesting to note that the 2% mandate is not reported as one of the primary justifications for why corporations should engage in CR. Rather, we observe across various media reports how this regulation seems to mean different things to different stakeholder groups. Here two excerpts:

> *Mandatory CSR spending is at the heart of corporate debates these days. A few days after Tata Group chairman emeritus Ratan had said that the 2% compulsory spending on CSR was similar to taxation, Sudha Murty, chairperson of Infosys Foundation, told HT that is was a blessing and not a 'tax' of financial burden. […] "For me personally I feel the 2% CSR is very advantageous. … Now we can do unlimited work," she said. (12-12-HT-Madatory)*

> *Forced CSR could be a beginning but it is not a solution. CSR should be a culture, not an imposition, because social responsibility is something which is embedded in corporate behaviour not just through law. (02-08-TH-Child)*

The range of corporate responses to the 2% mandate reported in the media include negative reactions such as when corporations admonish the additional administrative burden, forcing them to disclose detailed accounts of practices that were more flexible in the past, or describing it as a limiting factor given that their past CR activities have tended to be larger and more effective. Other articles present the 2% mandate as yet another legal provision or tax obligation. More optimistic attempts in the media present CEOs of large corporations appealing to the corporate world not to view it as a legal requirement but to use it as a foundation to instill a culture of CR for the betterment of national wellbeing. Other articles praise the 2% mandate by calling it a blessing or a gift, which has generated much potential for social value creation. We also found reports in which corporations attempt to use CR strategically as a way to expand their business interests, something that is explicitly prohibited by the Companies Act 2013. The differentiated responses to the 2% mandate illustrate how corporations participate actively in the negotiation of the nature and boundaries of their responsibilities, a topic that will be addressed in the final analytic part of this paper.

Part 3: Who is responsible?

By mapping responsibilities of corporations as presented in the Indian newspapers across stakeholder groups, two observations stand out: First, CR expectations, while defining the responsibilities of corporations, seem to emphasize cooperation between the business sector and government. Second, neither business or government, nor their collaboration, nor their activities as described in the newspaper articles are criticized.[5] This is particularly surprising because the Indian media generally does not shy away from critical or antagonistic stances. Except for a few exceptions, primarily based on companies that fail to invest the full 2% of their profits, or government responses that are considered too slow or insufficient, overt criticism of CR activities in India is surprisingly rare. Instead, corporations are praised for their involvement in a myriad of CR-related projects, which, according to the reports, help alleviate poverty or uplift society. The success of the programs is usually attested by a positive statement of a beneficiary or a glowing testimony by a government representative. In this way, corporations' CR activities are presented as enablers of government-led social development. Most of the examples presented in this article are illustrative of this.

The government, by contrast, is rarely portrayed as actively involved in the implementation or critical assessment of CR activities. Rather, its role is usually limited to that of a facilitator, as it is presented as instigator or second-order beneficiary of CR initiatives. In this sense, the role of the government is presented as leveraging the 2% mandate, or at the core of agenda setting or networking between sectors, industries, and districts. In this way, the government is presented as overseeing and channeling CR programs through the Companies Act 2013. Here two examples:

> *Under this system, the state is hoping to gain corporate help on three aspects — its pet projects and schemes, specific city-level infrastructure projects across the state, as well as on entire sectors. As HT had reported earlier, the government has also been planning a new CSR authority, a body that will help channelise these funds. (…) The idea, officials said, is simple. "Corporates are mostly clueless about the options before them while making donations under CSR. With this new mechanism, we will identify key areas where they can invest and ensure tangible benefits from the funds they pour in," said an official from the chief minister's office (CMO), which has been trying to put together the mechanism. (08-22-15-HT-Fighting)*

> *JSPL's vice-president (corporate affairs) Arun Kumar Oraon said this was a "very good move" on the government's part to which JSPL would extend every support. "The government has told us its priorities in detail today, which include arranging chairs and benches in primary schools, upgrading primary health centres and sub-centres. We are supposed to list the nodal officer (industries secretary Pande) the segment and area in which we want to undertake CSR work. If there is duplication, we will sort it out as it is a waste of resources if two or more companies work in the same area or field," Oraon, a former IPS officer, told The Telegraph. (05-08-15-TT-Indursty)*

Finally, there are many examples in our data where corporations and the government work in tandem to positively contribute to social development. By combining their expertise, i.e. directing (government) and executing (corporations) CR programs, the partnership is presented as a synergy, where neither would be able to achieve a desired goal without the other. A good example of this is the development of smart cities throughout urban and rural India, which was cited at the beginning of this text. Here a second example:

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[5] From a developed economy perspective, it would be easy to criticize this division of labor – the private sector executes development programs outside of their business and interest domain, while government provides the blueprint. Keywords would include accountability, governance, conflict of interest, efficiency, etc. However, given the distinct gap between government interests and the interests of the private sector in many developing economies, the Indian model may need much closer study to assess its strengths and weaknesses. As mentioned earlier, China is pursuing similar ideas with very different tools and strategies.

The industries' managements have come forward to step up their CSR activities to complement the smart village and smart ward concepts being promoted by the government. Considering the bleak financial situation in the wake of the bifurcation, the management of different industries are volunteering to give their support. Against this background, district Collector M. Janaki has stressed the need for greater involvement of the major and medium industries in the process of creating basic infrastructure especially in rural areas. Development of school facilities, roads, augmented drinking water supply and other needs are going to assume greater importance in the coming days in the CSR activities. (02-16-15-TH-40)

Part 4: What about CRs in relation to economic development and environmental management?

Interestingly, the debates on CR in the media are framed predominantly within the framework of social development. It is easy to understand the government's focus on social development, given the extent of societal issues and potential threats relating to poverty and inequality that India is addressing, and given the voter base in India. From a sustainability perspective, this strategy could be questioned in light of a more integrative approach, which would emphasize the interdependence between economic, social, and environmental domains. When we examine the media reports in relation to economic development and environmental management, we find that, albeit not developed in detail, they are obliquely present: Environmental issues from a societal perspective, although presented as part of social development programs, include recycling initiatives, the conservation of trees and butterflies, green technologies such as bio-fuels, bio-toilets, solar lighting, and the protection or restauration of rivers, lakes, and beaches. Thus, most issues relating to environmental management and protection are redirected toward social development in the form of improving or protecting public health, creating a safe living and working environment for especially the poor population, creating jobs associated with recycling or environmental upkeep, etc. With regard to economic development, a similar logic prevails: social development is often conceptualized as a strategy to create opportunities, to acquire skills, to improve a financial situation. Social development is thus often presented as a precursor for economic development. In this way, economic development and environmental management are indeed present, albeit subservient to, and through the lens of, social development.

From the first set of analyses, which identified the content and scope of CR programs as reported in Indian newspaper articles, to the final analyses that described the cooperative nature between business and government as the core of CR activities, it appears that CR in India, particularly in relation to activities that fall under the Companies Act 2013, are implicitly framed as mandatory. However, the voluntary-mandatory dimension that was outlined at the beginning of this paper does not do justice to how CR is understood in the Indian media. While indeed mandatory, as imposed by the Companies Act 2013, CR programs are described as activities that are undertaken by companies to assist government in collaboratively reaching certain development goals. Thus, corporate engagement in CR activities in India, while not mandatory, is presented as a partnership, where government outlines target areas and populations, and the business sector puts into practice (mostly modest) projects and programs in line with government directives.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Companies Act 2013 has revolutionized CR expectations by explicitly and legally making corporations the engine of social development. Not only is this vision shared by most stakeholders at different levels, but the pervasive positivity with which CR is portrayed in the media sanctions and, thus, fosters this partnership, division of labor, and development strategy.

There are three main findings we can draw from our analyses. First, and possibly the most striking, the vast majority of CR mentions in the main Indian newspapers in 2015 are unrelated to the business activities of firms. Discussions around transparency, accountability, efficiency, expertise, and ethics are practically absent. Considering the policy framework we introduced at the beginning of this article, we can observe how CR expectations embedded in the media seem unconnected to policies such as The Corporate Social Responsibility Voluntary Guidelines (2009) or The National Voluntary Guidelines on Social, Environmental and Economic Responsibility of Business (2011), which tend to emphasize aspects of business practice. Instead, the typology of the responsibilities of large corporations salient in the public domain focus primarily on different aspects of social development, aimed predominantly at alleviating the precursors, forms, and consequences of poverty through the creation and maintenance of basic infrastructure and services, CR responses to emergencies, as well as the development of more advanced infrastructure connecting to art, culture, and conservation.

Compare this set of findings to contemporary CR policy frameworks in India, we find a striking overlap between CR descriptions and expectations mentioned in the media and the Companies Act 2013. This is because most CR expectations and activities reported in the media fall within the set of activities described in Schedule VII of the Companies Act 2013 and, therefore, reflect closely the ambitions set out by the government in 2013 in their vision of CR. In this way, the Companies Act 2013 may be understood as the cornerstone of the CR landscape for India.

Anyone following local or global news, and anyone familiar with well-developed critical stances expressed in Indian newspapers, would be surprised about the positivity of government, business, and their cooperation toward social development. Gratefulness toward the government's focus on extreme poverty and exclusion on the one hand, or toward the mandated philanthropy by companies could be one explanation. However, corporations are not normally considered generous, and governments not primarily focused on the plight and needs of the poorest and most excluded of society. Yet somehow, when covering CR, newspaper articles tend to focus on the positivity of CR projects. Given how fast India is developing, how development creates considerable inequalities, and how CR programs are understood primarily as mandated charity and philanthropy, it is understandable that, from this vantage point, the media refrains from criticism, given that 2% of their profits as well as their organizational capacities are a considerable developmental resource. Inadvertently, the media's position may express public gratefulness. The Companies Act 2013 represents an extremely interesting Indian solution to make three stakeholder groups collaborate. It will be interesting to study the successes and challenges associated with this experiment in its own right, but also in view of national and global developments, where many countries across the development scale struggle to address divergent interests of different stakeholder groups.

Future research needs to explore not only what is gained within the specific cultural and contextual frame of the Companies Act 2013, but also what may be at stake by reducing CR to a group of activities that fit a blueprint of social development as presented by government. This is not meant as a fundamental critique – the considerable success, given the Indian context, would make this impossible. Instead, a careful reflection on lost opportunities and potential risks emanating from a business sector that may consider its responsibilities fulfilled through a 2% donation of profits merits careful reflection and study.

Despite these many positive attributes, there are some potential drawbacks associated with this unique approach to CR, three of which we will briefly mention here. The first concern relates to accountability. While questions surrounding the appropriateness of corporations adopting government-like functions, roles, and responsibilities will occupy many debates around this variant of CR, this version also raises important issues with regard to accountability: Is it enough for government to develop a blueprint of social development? Government has a vision, which corporations enact. But who is accountable when things go wrong or when nothing happens? Is it the responsibility of the business sector with its distinct business agenda to dabble in development programs that are clearly unassociated with their interest and main competences? A blurring of the responsibilities between government and the private sector in terms of who is responsible for what, who assesses success, and based on what criteria are assessed the appropriateness of the blueprint of the CR programs?

Second, and perhaps as a consequence of the first, is the danger of conceptualizing CR within a predominantly social framework, and connecting this idiosyncratic understanding of CR to a 2% (re)investment of profits. Once corporations pay their 2%, they may consider their responsibilities covered by fulfilling this obligation. In other words, ethical, social, or environmental responsibilities may be mistakenly considered as appropriately covered by a 2% tax as corporations might feel absolved from engaging more seriously (i.e. in association with the remaining 98% of their profits) with issues relating to business ethics, environmental protection, labor rights, etc. Should this contribution indeed be the extent of a firm's responsibility or the measure of their ethical behavior? Future research in this vein needs to explore how conventional CR activities may suffer from the limits imposed by the foci of the Companies Act 2013. Furthermore, future studies need to explore potential inefficiencies in CR projects if they are uncoordinated and if they are unconnected to the expertise of the businesses behind these projects. Not to mention a thorough study on how businesses engage with, or circumvent aspects of, the Companies Act 2013, and how and why they continue investing in CR activities beyond the mandatory limits.

Finally, the conundrum of developmental aid: Often, the structures put in place to help those in need consume a significant amount of the funds in order to maintain their existence. If we apply the same principle here, the establishment of authorities to monitor and evaluate countless mini-CR projects create astronomical costs, especially if corporations are forced to engage in activities that are not part of their core business and that are unlikely part of their core competence. Diverting funds to create armies of public and private accountability watch-dogs, monitors, evaluators, and assessment infrastructures on countless, disconnected mini-CR projects may be better invested if some form of CR-coordination could take place – whether government-led, business-led, or in cooperation. Strictly speaking, CR programs do not have to be efficient, they just have to demonstrate a financial commitment toward one of the items covered by the Companies Act 2013. Much of the funds currently invested, even if they are well-meant and well-managed, are likely to be inefficient, mostly due to the small scale of the individual CR-initiatives, the lack of cooperation between CR initiatives, and the large scale of India's development need.

Overall, India has adopted a progressive and pragmatic approach to integrating CR into the development of its society, and we wonder to what extent an approach such as this has the potential to serve as a model for other emerging economies, which struggle to overcome structural poverty, inequality, and lagging development despite considerable economic development potential. Harnessing financial resources toward economic, social, and environmental policies is a central concern for all countries, regardless of their degree and trajectory of development. India has found a most innovative and interesting way to reconfigure the relationship between business and society. Based on our analyses of public discourse, the government has not only formalized the nexus between business and society but, according to the news media in 2015, created a seemingly symbiotic partnership between society, government, and the private sector – an enviable achievement from the perspective of many other emerging economies.

Interestingly, the CR activities in India, at least those associated with the Companies Act 2013, do not fit well into a Western understanding of CR – from its Friedman doctrine, to a classical CR approach associated with the work by Archie Carroll, to a modern focus on sustainability, as illustrated by the TBL framework or various sustainability indexing systems. These are early days, and the academic literature lists numerous adjustment problems associated with the Companies Act 2013. However, CR in India formulates a business-society partnership and experiment that is underpinned by India's unique context and culture. This partnership has re-conceptualized the role of business in relation to social development and will have a lasting impact not only on framing notions of social value creation and new economic and business models in India, but also requiring enterprises wishing to operate in this vast and rapidly expanding market to co-evolve according to redefined CR expectations. In this way, India offers a real-world experiment on how collaboration with corporations may be shaped, even mandated, by expectations from the public and government. And, considering the growing problems in developed economies of accountability in relation to growing inequalities, resource depletion, and environmental problems, there are many reasons why the Indian case should be closely studied by governments and businesses worldwide.

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