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UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
LABOUR, POLICY AND GLOBALISATION

MASTERS RESEARCH REPORT

GENDER EQUALITY AND CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE WORKPLACE: A CASE STUDY OF ANGLO AMERICAN PLATINUM MINE AND IMPALA PLATINUM MINES RUSTENBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

BY

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Declaration

I Francyn Chido Mutasa, student number 1304403, hereby declare that this research report is my own original work. It is hereof submitted as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Labour Policy and Globalisation under the Global Labour University at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This report has not previously been submitted for any other degree or examination in any other University. Where I have used the work of other authors, I have properly acknowledged them and I have not copied any author or scholar's work with the intention of passing it as my own.

Signed: ---------- On-------- Day of----------2017

Dedication

To all strong beautiful queens. May we know them, may we be them, and may we raise them!

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for everyone who made this research a success.

I am indebted to my supervisor Dr Ben Scully for his unwavering support and guidance throughout this research. I appreciate his patience, and being available to offer his guidance in this research.

I appreciate the moral support and prayers of my family and friends, and the GLU family for giving me this opportunity to pursue my Master's.

Many thanks to all who took part in this research, and for making time to be of assistance,

Above all things, to Him who promised, He remains faithful!

Abstract

This research presents an investigation of the role played by private corporations in promoting gender equality, using the platinum mining sector in the Rustenburg area as a case study. In evaluating this role the research uses The Mining Charter, a piece of legislation and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to assess the efforts that have been made by Anglo American and Impala Platinum mines. This qualitative study uses an abductive approach and a Marxist feminist theoretical perspective to establish what constitutes the problem of inequality. Relying on data collected through document analysis, which included a review of the Mining Charter, and various company annual reports, coupled with data collected from conducting interviews from September to December 2016, the research has found companies to look at the problem of gender equality from a 'female employees statistics' point of view. As such, the problem of equality has ignored the indirect negative impacts mining has on women in the communities in which the mining companies operate. This research understands equality as having two sides, "formal and informal" equality. While efforts by the government, and mining companies have tried to address the part of formal equality through increasing the numbers of females in mining, and improving the general conditions in which they operate, this research finds that there exists a form of "informal equality." This informal inequality looks at the outcomes of the efforts in reality, and goes beyond the company into society. Mining companies have the ability to address this type of equality through CSR, but this research notes that CSR programs are often not viewed through a gender lens. The study therefore concludes that there is a disjuncture between the perceived results of efforts made by corporations on paper and the outcomes in reality. While corporations can contribute to promoting equality in the workplace, their understanding of equality is skewed and one sided therefore inequality continues to persist. Perhaps if companies use the strategy of gender mainstreaming to address the goal of equality, which involves taking into account the particular problems of women in all facets, then equality can be achieved.

List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CCI	Corporate Community Involvement
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSI	Corporate Social Investments
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EEA	Employment Equity Act
GEAR	Growth, Employment And Redistribution
HDSA	Historically Disadvantaged South Africans
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
LRA	Labour Relations Act
MNCs	Multi-National Companies
MPRDA	Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act
MSA	Mining South Africa
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
RDP	Rural Development Programme

SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANAC	South African Naïve Affairs Commission
SDA	Skills Development Act
SEAT	Socio-Economic Assessment Toolbox
SLO	Social Licence to Operate
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
WIM	Women in Mining
WWC	World's Women Conference

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Chapter 1: Research Overview

1.0 Introduction

Can private sector organizations play a role in advancing gender equality? I believe they can and this research builds a case to support this argument. The focus of this research is on the role of companies in the promotion of gender equality through compliance to policy and CSR activities. Establishing what equality means and how it can be achieved is often followed by taking action to meet the goal through the setting of objectives in policy documents. This means that when studying the problem of gender equality it is important to focus on "what happens between policy expectations and (perceived) policy results" (Hill and Hupe 2009).

The problem of gender equality has, for a long time been taken up by the state in various countries with aims to address it. In South Africa, it has been established into state legislation since democracy in 1991 and there are a number of policies which aim to address this problem by setting up quotas and requirements that companies must follow. Among the many policies that address gender inequality, the Mining Charter is unique, because it sets regulations only for one specific industry. While this has been the case it is uncommon in the history of South Africa that a policy on gender equality has been drafted on a specific industry. The Charter, among other requirements, places upon mining companies to ensure 10% female employment. Additionally, while mining is largely male dominated there are other similar industries like construction, for example, where there has been little change in terms of promoting gender equality. This makes it interesting to study mining companies, as a case study and to understand how these regulations have affected company policies and actions.

In addition to the sections of the Charter that have a gender-focus which companies must comply with, most mining companies have their own CSR programmes as well as company level gender policies which aim to promote gender equality. Nevertheless, there is a notable lack of research on how the work done in private organisations through CSR and gender policies at company level affect gender equality outcomes. There is also little research on what happens after companies adopt gender policies set by the governments. The way in which policy that addresses equality has taken shape within the social framework of CSR in

private organisations and its impacts thereof is crucial in understanding gender equality. It also helps to understand the processes taken by organizations achieving it, together with the outcomes of these processes, in order to understand why certain policy measures are being used, what the results are and why, to name just a few examples in relation to the policy area itself.

This research therefore looked at "Gender Equality" in the context of the role played by corporations in promoting it through compliance to government policy and CSR. It engaged with CSR from a feminist perspective and examined its impacts and importance in advocating for change with regards to gender equality in the mining sector in South Africa using the case of Anglo American Platinum Mine and Impala Platinum Mine. With reference to the Mining Charter and literature on CSR, this research explored how gender equality is understood and addressed in mining companies and how this has helped to advance change in organizations. The research took a qualitative approach and drawing from the two case studies, the interest was in the success of gender equality initiatives on the part of mining companies and the approach used to collect data was in-depth interviews and document analysis. The argument made by this research is that gender and CSR should move towards an imperative that contributes to larger societal problems of inequality. The broader gender mainstreaming and gender equality agendas led this research to question the role of private corporations in promoting gender equality. The objective here was to assess how companies, as part of their CSR, ensure gender balance in both recruitment and beyond the work place.

Gender Equality

Global Overview

The concept of gender equality has been internationally recognised as a key for promoting sustainable development and reduction of poverty hence it was incorporated into the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals. In 1995, world leaders met in Beijing at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women to discuss the situation of women across the globe. This was a great concern at the Conference because between 1975 and 1995, female representation in work and government had only increased by 0.7 percent, from previously being at 10.9 percent moving up to 11.6 percent (Ballington and Karam 2005). As such the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was enacted as a response to women's

underrepresentation and a strategy to call on governments to take practical measures to ensure women's equal access and full participation in all spheres (UN 1995).

The concept of gender equality is often defined as:

"…an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life... [It] is not synonymous with sameness, with establishing men, their life style and conditions as the norm... [It] means accepting and valuing equally the differences between women and men and the diverse roles they play in society." (Council of Europe 1998: 7- 8).

This means that gender equality entails promoting equality in all spheres of life. Since the Beijing Conference there has been an increase in policies designed to target the problem of gender inequality in specifically the working place to set equal treatment as an overall goal. Since then, a number of developments have been observed in various parts of the world and organizations like the International Labour Organization (ILO) have been set up with the goal of promoting employment creation and rights at work for all (ILO, 2012).

SADC and Gender equality in work

Following the Beijing Conference, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), created an action programme aimed at addressing all forms of gender inequalities at local and national levels. Their action plan, the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative, acknowledged the integration of gender issues as key and this initiative was aimed at introducing various goals as a follow up on key frameworks (SADC, 1997:7). SADC member states place gender equality in line with economic growth and social development and form part of the 'Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa' which was a an affirmation of committing to promoting gender equality. In 1997 they adopted the Declaration on Gender and Development.[1] This Declaration called for Member States "to increase women's participation in work to at least 30% by 2005 and change all discriminatory laws and social practices." However, research has shown that the implementation and the enforcement of this positive legal framework has been problematic (Kende, 2003). Although

1 Ibid p 2

there has been a rise in female participation in the labour force across the globe (40% of the general labour force), this has not meant increased opportunities for women as they are still usually paid lower than men and are often given the least skilled jobs (Kim, 2000). Previously male dominated industries like mining, engineering or construction, continue to have low numbers of female employees.

Gender equality in South Africa

Towards Gender mainstreaming?

A new approach to achieving gender equality which is referred to as gender mainstreaming has been discussed and is seen as a potential strategy towards achieving gender equality. This idea was established in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. Gender mainstreaming is defined as:

"…the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality." (UN, 2002: V)[2]

This means that gender mainstreaming as a strategy towards promoting equality goes beyond the practice of simply adding women into varies spheres of the economy. This strategy seeks to ensure that policies are assessed on their potential to productively impact on women. In other words, as suggested by Rees (2004), "gender mainstreaming shifts attention away from only looking at individuals or groups and their problems and disadvantages and focuses instead on addressing the structures that give rise to those disadvantages in the first place (2004:4)". Gender mainstreaming is therefore different in that it introduces a wider and more comprehensive approach to gender equality by ensuring that women's equality is included in policy making and recording progress to note the impacts of these policies and also to take note of whether they result in progress in addressing gender inequalities (Rubery, 1998). Rees

2 From the report *Gender Mainstreaming: An overview*

(2004) has described gender mainstreaming as "both a technical and a political process" where "technical refers to the tools used to measure the concept, such as gender statistics, gender impact assessment, and gender equality training." The political dimension of gender mainstreaming refers to how the concept is strongly related to government legislature and policy, all of which are aimed at enhancing women's participation in decision-making and eliminating the barriers to their participation (Rees, 2004).

South African law and gender equality in mining

Historical overview

In 1948, the apartheid system was established in South Africa, with the help of The National Party, a former political party founded in 1915. Apartheid, which in Afrikaans means "the status of being apart," was set in the manner that formal laws reinforced racial inequality to support white supremacy. Additionally, the system excluded non-whites from participating in the political system therefore, respectable jobs, and good education were automatically for white South Africans (Linford, 2011). Furthermore, black women faced the double burden and were often barred, either legally or informally, from the jobs that white South Africans occupied. As a result, most black women workers ended up in domestic work and other forms of low paid service work. The road towards addressing these injustices formed under apartheid formally started after the South African general election in April 1994, which marked the end of Apartheid and British colonialism and the beginning of democratic legislation aimed at redressing previous social injustices (Linford, 2011).

Post 1994 laws

In 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) announced its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which was aimed at overcoming the legacy of apartheid which was characterized by socioeconomic inequality. The RDP paid attention to addressing issues relating to development, such as providing housing, access to clean water, electricity, land reform, and healthcare (Babarinde, 2009:367). However, it faced sever criticism and was discredited by various stakeholders for lacking concrete long term goals. As a result, the

ANC, in 1996, announced the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) initiative, which was another attempt at resolving the inequalities that continued in South Africa. Unlike the RDP which mainly addressed social problems, the GEAR was more of an economic policy and it intended to improve economic growth and create employment. Babarinde notes that when the time frame set by GEAR to accomplish its goals expired in 2000, inflation had reduced and about 400, 000 jobs had been created. However, Babarinde argues that the GEAR made inequality even worse, by, among other things, liberalising trade which undermined employment and wages in many industries. The failure of the GEAR is best explained by Knight (1967) who argues that there is a trade-off between a market society which focuses on economic growth and an ethically just society. This means that it is possible to pursue one or the other, but it is not possible to pursue both. The GEAR and the RDP also rarely had a specific gender equality undertone to them.

The Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), created in 2001, was the first policy attempt to address a specific form of inequality namely racial inequality. The creation of the concept of BEE by then president Thabo Mbeki was a strategy drafted based on an understanding of South Africa's past and the importance of affirmative action as a means to address societal inequalities. The BEE program led to the establishment of the Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South Africa Mining Industry, which is also known as The Mining Charter in October 2002.

This Charter was the "game changer" and offered a new outlook in terms of addressing the specific problem of gender equality in the mining industry in South Africa. It was enacted through the collaboration of the Chamber of Mines of South Africa, the Department of Minerals and Energy, the South African Mining Development Association and the National Union of Mineworkers. These stakeholders had in common "the pursuit of a shared vision of a globally competitive mining industry that draws on the human and financial resources of all South Africa's people and offers real benefits to all South Africans….to create an industry that will proudly reflect the promise of a non-racial South Africa." (Mining Charter, 2002). The Charter is an involuntary, legally binding obligation which sets out that mining companies should increase the access of previously disadvantaged individuals, (with part of the Charter focusing specifically on women,) to jobs in South Africa's mining sector. The Charter's goal is to "adopt a proactive strategy of change to foster and encourage black

economic empowerment and transformation at the tiers of ownership, management, skills development, employment equity, procurement and rural development."[3] The Charter also places BBE at the centre of its agenda and notes that it is important to promote BEE in the mining industry considering the industry's history, economic performance, and its previous barriers on historically disadvantaged South Africans together with the fairly slow progress of employment equity in the industry (ibid).

The Mining Charter set upon companies to meet a 10% female employment target. Progress of compliance was assessed using the Scorecard for the Broad Based Socio Economic Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining Industry (Mining Charter) *(See Appendix*). The Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), which was also passed in 2002, corresponds with the requirements of the Mining Charter. The MPRDA accords the state with power to regulate all mining rights by enforcing that companies meet a number of gender, social and ownership targets that intersect with the requirements in the Mining Charter. In response to these binding commitments, companies began developing a more gendered CSR strategy. In terms of CSR, Section 2(i) of the Act proposes that "mining companies should contribute toward the socio-economic development of the areas in which they operate" (Kloppers and Du Plessis, 2008:102). However, the Act does not give a specific instruction of how this objective should be achieved therefore, it is left up to companies to adopt the requirements of the Act in a manner that they see fit. The efforts of companies to subscribe to the requirements of the Act are observed through their CSR programs therefore the language used in annual reports and websites to report their activities is often like that of companies selling themselves. In compliance with the act, every end of year a company must submit its employment and black ownership statistics, work plans, environmental management plan, and a social and labour plan (ibid). These annual submissions required by the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR) have indirectly strengthened CSR into the mining industry.

3 "Scorecard for the Broad Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining Industry," *Anglo Gold*, < http://www.anglogold.com/NR/rdonlyres/073848D0-93CE-4BF1-AF56- 8574C4C1F4C1/0/MiningCharter.pdf>.

Policy and CSR

When the concept of CSR was developed it was initially understood to be corporate actions that are voluntary and not regulated by law in any way. At that time it only involved the role of business in society but has since been shaped into taking into consideration the environment and human rights (Blowfield and Frynas, 2005:499). More precisely, the general concept of CSR as a voluntary initiative was proposed by the European Commission in 2006 and defined as "the responsibility of enterprises for their impacts on society" (Rita and Agota, 2014:75). However, there are increasing examples of laws such as those in the EU which attempt to regulate and enforce some aspects of CSR. For example, The European Union also states the way in which companies should fully meet their social responsibility, which is that they "should have in place a process to integrate social, environmental, ethical human rights and consumer concerns into their business operations and core strategy in close collaboration with their stakeholders" (Rita and Agota, 2014:75). Moreover, CSR calls for alliances between governments, corporations and non-governmental organizations (Moon, 2004). While a lot of the gender equality literature has focused on government policy and action (e.g. Rubery 1998), it is not assumed that gender equality is only a government responsibility and as such there have been attempts made to incorporate gender equality issues into CSR practices.

The case of South Africa has seen gender equality in CSR as part of the law, where non-compliance could result in legal consequences for the company. In South Africa's post-1994 democracy it has been treated as a vehicle for redressing the legacy of apartheid**.** For this reason, the mining industry is regulated by several laws which aim to ensure that companies implement CSR initiatives into their operations and some literature has conceptualized CSR in terms of compliance with the law (Carroll 1999). However, Hamann (2004) argues that companies have treated corporate social responsibility programmes as "ad hoc charitable donations." This creates the problem that**,** major challenges are encountered mainly in the implementation of CSR activities that have a specific focus on gender equality and addresses the problems faced by women within and outside the workplace, and this is indicated by the low numbers of women working in mining activities.

On the other hand, looking at gender equality in the workplace as a socio- economic challenge in South Africa today we are met with a seemingly ironic situation whereby the South African Constitution is theoretically supposed to be very progressive with regard to ideas on the promotion of equality and women's rights, yet, though women have made enormous advances in education, labour market inequality remains (Parchetta, 2013). The mining industry is still largely male dominated and according to research conducted by the Mining South Africa (MSA) Group Consultants, nearly 11% of the mining industry's workforce in South Africa is represented by women (Hancock, 2014). At the same time the DMR noted that only 39% (375 companies out of 962) of mining companies have complied with the requirements of the Mining Charter to promote gender equality by recruiting women (Department of Mines, 2015). Even for those companies that have met the 10% target, this threshold is often considered as an end goal. There are no examples of companies attempting to far exceed the quota, initiating a truly diverse workforce more representative of the country's people. The Minister of Mineral resources Ngoako Ramatlhodi pointed out in the 2015 Annual Report on the progress of the Mining Charter that "legislation and policy compliance is often viewed by companies as a means of attaining participation in the economy rather than solving the problem". She further discussed that not all CSR is undertaken voluntarily since companies have pressure to comply with the MPRDA and Mining Charter legislation (Department of Mines, 2015:1).[4]

As shown above, changes in government policy have opened up opportunities for women to participate in mining, it has not been matched with job creation opportunities in the sector. The South African mining industry has also remained a largely male dominated industry and women's participation in the industry has been slow (Du Plessis and Barkhuizen, 2012). The fact that 11% of women have entered into the mining sector is a sign of progress towards achieving gender equality in the workplace, but however, the numbers and the rate of progress has been very low. The mining industry is one of the oldest and most masculine of industries therefore it offers a way to understand how gender equality operates in the labor market and workplaces. The background to gender equality and mining in South Africa shows that CSR, or organisational approaches to equality, are influenced by the South African legal and policy contexts and by changes in national legislation. A case study approach of Anglo American and Impala Platinum mines allows us to see how gender

4 Department of Mines, 2015: 1. Annual Report on the MPRDA and the Mining Charter implementation

equality intersects with CSR and to assess whether the nature of work made available to women has moved towards jobs previously dominated by men to show whether or not there has been a transformation in terms of gender equality. This study therefore focused on mining companies 'role in promoting gender equality women's involvement within the industry through CSR.

Research Questions

The study was guided by the main research question:

- What is the role of private corporations in promoting gender equality?

The sub questions for this research were:

- Do organizational social responsibility programs represent an effective tool for breaking down gender inequality in the mining sector?
- How is gender equality being addressed in Anglo American and Impala Platinum mines?
- In particular, what are the effects of laws and regulations promoting gender equality on companies' actions?
- How have women's socio- economic needs and interests been supported and advanced by mining companies?

Research Outline

Turning back to my research's focus on gender equality in the mining sector the background or the history that constitutes the context of my study needs to be told. While chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the major aspects of this research like gender equality and CSR, chapter 2 discuss the theoretical framework and the research methods used in this study. Chapter 3 consists of the background of the female working class and the legislation developments that have accompanied gender equality from apartheid to democracy. Chapter 4 looks at gender equality outside the workplace, with a discussion on CSR and its impact on promoting gender equality. The conclusion chapter, Chapter 5 questions gender equality and suggests that perhaps a turn towards gender mainstreaming will effectively address the problem at hand.

The target group and case study was management in Anglo America Platinum Mine and Impala Platinum mine. However the research sample also extended to women either working in the mines and some with husbands working in these companies and living in areas surrounding the mines in Rustenburg. Data was collected using primary means, which are interviews, and an analysis of the policy documents and company reports and statistics. Data was analysed using the thematic approach through which emergent patterns and themes were identified from the data from an inductive approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The findings of these study are important in extending the understanding of gender inequality and broadening literature on gender equality and CSR in the mining sector. The use of a case study approach allows for an in-depth investigation of the issues, with rich and varied data.

Conclusion

The central aim of this research was to address the key question: What is the role of private companies in addressing gender equality? The research was concerned with the process of establishing gender equality in the workplace through change that is effected at both national and organizational levels. As such, the research used two case studies of the Impala and Anglo American platinum mine. This chapter introduced the research's aims, and gave a brief overview of what the research entails.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, the research process will be discussed. The chapter begins with an overview of the general theoretical starting points used. It then describes how the research was conducted including details of the case studies chosen. In the final part of this chapter the research process will be discussed.

A theoretical model for the analysis of the implementation of equality policies

Although feminist theories are contested, what they have in common is their common goal to counter to dominant theories that explain society (Frisby, Maguire and Reid 2009). The different strands of feminist theory all have in common the way they look at society through the lens of gender inequality, with the argument that women face subordination in all spheres of life as their major problem. However, they have different assumptions about the root cause of women's subordination therefore they raise different questions to understand this problem. They also raise different thoughts in examining women's inequality and therefore each strand of feminism suggests quite distinctive strategies for change**.** The subordination of women, according to Engels (1884), came into existence with the introduction of the mode of production that introduced private property. Engels (1884)[5] argued that the replacement of hunting and gathering by agriculture, which was more efficient and productive, meant that only a few men got control of the productive resources and thus they transformed them into private property. This resulted I society moving to a class structure since some men owned property and others did not. According to Sheivari (2014), "Engels then speculated that the reason for women's subordination was therefore to guarantee that men owning property would have biological offspring to pass their wealth to and in turn maintain the class structure" (Engels 1970).

Contemporary Marxist feminists further this line of thought by arguing that capitalism retains women's subordination in that it reinforces their economic dependence on men. For them, keeping women subordinate is functional to the capitalist system in that women continue to serve a reproductive role of giving birth to the new labour force and continue to do unpaid domestic labour and form a "reserve army of labour" which provides a cheap and available

5 In the classic, *The Origin of the Family: Private Property and the State*

labour force to compete for existing jobs (Walker, 1991). Marxist feminists also argue that placing women in the household further supports that women provide a means to the process of profit-making, in that they become consumers of goods and services for the household that are sold on the capitalist market and at the same time remain unpaid caregivers whose role is to maintain the work force (Callerstig, 2014). As Marxist feminists argue that the subordination of women is maintained and perpetuated by the capitalist system, they then argue that the system should be the primary target of women's political activism. Sheivari (2014) suggests that women must then organize, not only with other women but rather with the working class in general to abolish the capitalist system and establish a new mode of production, a socialist system which forms the basis of gender equality through its dissolution of classes**.**

Marxist feminists also argue in favour of policies designed specifically to address issues relating to women's work like segregation in the workplace, unequal wage gaps, and discrimination, among others. For Sheivari, policies which address these major concerns will expose that it is not possible in inability of reaching gender equality under capitalism (Sheivari, 2014). The problem with addressing the problem of gender inequality under capitalism is that the nature of capitalism, while it may somewhat address this problem, may only privilege a few women in a significant class structure. As such it cannot guarantee that opportunities will be for the benefit of all women to advance in the economy. In keeping with this way of thinking, my area of concern is that the mining companies that were once the "pariahs of capitalism" (Rajak, 2004:8) are placed at the lead in the CSR movement. Using a feminist perspective to understand the way in which equality has taken shape within the framework of private sector organisations is crucial in understanding the outcomes of efforts to address gender equality. The research therefore entails a feminist perspective where attention to gender inequalities is at the centre and, furthermore, and in the end brings the idea of gender mainstreaming as a possible way in which the problem can be challenged and changed.

This research takes from the Marxist feminist perspective the interrogation of the underlying agendas of corporate policies that claim to promote equality. From my perspective, this is yet another good reason why this research is relevant as it seeks to understand reasons behind formation of gender policy by investigating the role and impact of companies in addressing gender equality. My quest for a gender perspective in relation to CSR is somewhat different in that it places gender at the forefront of the research and focuses on the social construction

of gender equality through CSR as a "gendering process." a The theoretical standpoint for this research does not however imply that there is only one feminist perspective in understanding the problem of gender inequality.

Research Design

Abductive Approach

This study used qualitative research design because it offers a research design with a specific method to answer the main research question, "What is the role of private corporations in promoting gender equality?" The interest of this research was in exploring the broad area of gender equality, and using people's understanding of the concept together looking in detail at their responses to this subject. By looking at the role of companies in promoting equality the major aim was to generate theories about the area. In this case the research adopted a qualitative approach which is concerned with analysing textual responses in detail.

In terms of how the research was designed and conducted, the abductive approach explains the approach the research took. The Abductive approach refers to the interaction between empirical data and theory throughout the entire research process in which a research takes a more inductive and grounded in empirical observations combining it with a more deductive approach derived from a theoretical perspective (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Dubois and Gadde (2002:555) note that the abduction approach has been described as a way of understanding the research process as a back and forth movement between different research activities rather than treating them as different and separate phases where one phase gives way to another.

One example of when the abductive approach as used was the kind of questions that were in focus and the kind of data that was collected, both of which changed during the course of the research. Initially the research plan was to interview management working in Anglo American and Impala. However, during the course of the research, with constantly revisiting literature the focus shifted to also add participants outside the mines but who are directly affected by any CSR activities with regards to gender equality. As such, the researcher ended up conducting some interviews with some community members in Rustenburg where the mines are located. This was done as a result of emerging concepts in one of the interviews, in

which a participant defined equality in terms of "formal and informal." During the research process, the search for relevant theoretical perspectives to help in the data analysis process and to also explain the results was a recurring feature. The research was therefore conducted in a way that Dubois and Gabbe (2002) have described as a "systematic combining", meaning the matching of theory that informs the study with research findings to develop an analytic framework that is informed by a theory (ibid).

The Research Strategy

The Case study Approach

Considering the study's major research question: "what is the role of private corporations in promoting gender equality," the research was conducted in the context of case studies. As a research strategy, case studies have been critiqued for being problematic in that they lead to generalisations and because cases are unique increases bias (Yin 2006). However, case studies suited this research because they offer unique ways of studying a phenomena by fully showing people's experiences in policy implementation processes. It also offers an easy way to assess results in terms of the outcomes of policy and initiatives on promoting equality by making it possible investigate the problem and develop a theoretical perspective to understand it in a specific setting. The Case study approach is also a feature of qualitative research and Neuman (2006: 149) notes, the qualitative method uses "cases and contexts" to collect data through detailed processes in their natural settings. The research was conceptualised as using two case studies selected based on performance in terms of promoting gender equality rather than from a "sampling" type of logic. This means that the selection of two case studies was based on the fact that the cases had similar characteristics but are unique in several important ways. Anglo American Platinum Mine and Impala Mine were the case studies used answer the research questions. Two cases were selected because there is a need to understand and investigate whether the role of companies in promoting equality differs between different private corporations.

The selection of cases, participants, methods of data collection and analysis are all part of the research design, and the case studies will be designed next.

The case studies

The aim of this study was to investigate cases in detail in order to create a full understanding of gender equality and corporate social responsibility. Both cases in my study are examples of corporations within the private sector who have reported to integrate gender into the activities of the organisations. The cases were also selected for being corporations with on-going initiatives to implement gender equality and with a strong compliance to legislation. These cases have characteristics that are similar, such as being located in Rustenburg, and also to have been reported as the top companies to meet the requirements of the Mining Charter of ensuring they maintain a 10% female labour force. These companies are however different in terms of their gender and CSR strategies, organizational structure and the manner of their detailed reporting of CSR activities. Anglo American gives detailed description of their CSR strategies in their annual reports and on their websites, while Impala Platinum takes a more vague approach only stating that they incorporate gender equality initiatives in their organization. The similarities and differences between these cases can be used to compare and analyse the research problem, for example, comparing what is similar and what stands out as different when the similarities are used as a basis for comparison. Selection of cases is similar to random sampling, in that they both generate a sample that is representative and useful for the research interest (Seawright and Gerring 2008)

Anglo American Platinum Mine

"For Anglo American, there is simply no choice or trade-off. Sustainable development is not merely an adjunct to the business—a 'nice to have' add-on. It is part of our DNA, embedded in our culture and is fundamental to the way we do business."—Anglo American CEO Cynthia Carroll[6]

The organization was founded in 1917 by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer who cited the aim of the organization as to earn profits in a way that is beneficial to the local communities they operate in. Today, the company is known as one of the world's largest mining companies and

6 "Report to Society 2008," *Anglo American*, 7.

the largest producer of platinum, as well as a major producer of diamonds, cooper, nickel, iron ore and metallurgical and thermal coal across the world. However, its major operations in Africa is in South Africa and i**s** the largest private sector employer, with 76,000 permanent employees and 24,240 contractors. Anglo remains the largest employer due to its profit maximization nature and this has created contradictions with various stakeholders who accuse it for focusing on profit maximization at any cost. Busacca (2013) presents an argument that the company has had to work on advancing their CSR because of the backlash the company has faced.[7] Through CSR, Anglo American has worked to prove that profit maximization can be complementary to CSR activities. Anglo has designed its CSR programs based on refining the company's past practices and in an interview with the researcher, an Anglo American executive, pointed out that in terms of redressing past injustices that were in the apartheid era:

"The company has proved to have broken from its patriarchal past and while at the same time makes use of that past history as the basis for its CSR initiatives. We have created a company profile which effectively engages with the past to confront the political and social challenges of South Africa today"

Kate, Anglo American Executive, interviewed Nov 2016, Johannesburg

On their website, the company claims to have completely integrated "responsible" practices in its business strategy and to have formed partnerships with the local community. It asserts that all of its operations have a "social and labour plan" (SLP) which is meant to benefit its mining communities. Anglo American describe their activities as acting in agreement with the Mining Charter, promoting the advancement of women into underground mining, promoting safety and health, as well as going through extensive consultation processes with the local municipalities and communities to ensure that all its projects are sustainable to meet the needs of the society.[8] In their 2015 report Anglo claim to have surpassed the Mining Charter's targets by 2011, having 51% historically disadvantaged South Africans as employees at management level. Furthermore, women make up 12% of its employees in total. Its three main CSR programs are The Anglo American Chairman's Fund, The Socio-Economic Assessment Toolbox (SEAT), and Anglo Zimele. The Chairman's Fund

7 Information found on the company websitewww.angloamerican.co.za

8"Social Investment," *Anglo American*, http://www.angloamerican.co.za/sustainable-development/ourdifference/social-investment.aspx

contributes 25% of Anglo's CSR in South Africa, and focuses on a variety of social issues such as education development initiatives, HIV/AIDs, health, welfare and development, environment, entrepreneurial development, policy and advocacy and arts, culture and heritage (ibid). The SEAT aims at engaging with society to improve the company's social and economic impact and creates a platform for setting targets to make this possible. This SEAT framework, for Busacca (2013) differentiates Anglo American from other mining companies. Anglo Zimele is a small and medium enterprise (SME) that focuses on supporting aspiring entrepreneurs. The word 'zimele,' is derived from isiZulu and seXhosa, and translates to 'to be independent' (Moyo, 2010).

Impala Platinum Mines

Impala Platinum Holdings Ltd (Implats) is a South African mining company which has operations in various parts of South Africa and also in Zimbabwe. Implats's major business is mining, refining and marketing platinum group metals. According to the company's 2015 report, Impala employs 32 536 permanent workers and 11 302 contract workers in South Africa only. No information was available on the specific proportion of women employed except the vague claim of meeting the 10% target of the mining Charter. Impala Platinum was established in the early-mid 1960s following a successful drilling and exploration programme in north of Rustenburg, in an area which the Apartheid government had established as an independent "homeland" of the Bafokeng – now the Royal Bafokeng Nation. The whole idea of "tribes" owning pieces of land (such as Bophuthatswana, or the Transkei) was a creation of the apartheid government. This community has estimated population of 300, 000 people and unemployment in the district, despite extensive mining activity, is estimated at more than 40 percent. 35 percent of the total adult population is also regarded as illiterate. Only 20 percent of the adult population has completed high school and not more than five percent has obtained some form of tertiary education.

The annual 2015 report outlines the vision of Impala as "to be the world's best platinum-producing company, delivering superior value to stakeholders relative to our peers." The mission of the organization is to mine and market their products "at the best possible cost" (ibid, p6). Unlike Anglo American, Impala is vague about the initiatives they take as part of their CSR. The annual reports only suggest that they submit to human rights and good employee relations. According to the Chairman Mandla Gantsho, Implats has put in place

initiatives targeted at employees and the community. These initiatives include employee equity ownership schemes, housing, skills development programmes, and promoting local employment. He claimed that over the last year they have invested R300 million in communities surrounding the mine.

Despite the efforts by Anglo American, Impala and other large South African companies, Visser (2006:45) points out that "there is still a wide gap between the moral stance adopted by these private companies and the current reality of adverse inequality". Besides offering scholarships for engineering students with a "women encouraged to apply" stance, the companies do not provide enough information on specific measures they have put or are working on towards the promotion of gender equality. Their only specific acknowledgement of gender issues is the meeting the 10% female employees' requirement by the Mining Charter.

The Research process

Data Collection

Interviews

During this phase of the research, a deepened understanding of the research question emerged. Initially, the plan of the research built the case studies upon interviews with key participants being management and project managers in the organizations and trade unionist gender officials from National Union of Mineworkers. However, during the course of the research the researcher interviewed some female community members in the Rustenburg mining communities to get an "outside the office "understanding of gender equality. The interviews were semi-structured because such a technique allowed respondents to explain how they understood the questions they were asked. Interviews also provide a useful way to gain insight and context into a topic (Creswell, 2007). The interviews each lasted approximately thirty minutes and were audio-recorded and transcribed, completely or partly, and analysed together with notes taken during the interviews**.** In total, 17 interviews were conducted in the two case studies that have been used in the thesis (5 interviews with Anglo American Management, 3 with Impala management, 8 interviews with women living in the Rustenburg Mining community; and finally 1 in the National Union of Mineworkers**.)** To meet ethical requirements of research, permission to interview participants and record the

interview was sought beforehand. Where a participant did not wish to give their name, pseudonyms were used. The problem with interviews is that sometimes they may seem intrusive to the respondent. In the planning phase of the research the researcher anticipated to interview more participants than those who were interviewed, especially the management. The researcher also initially planned to interview some officials from the Department of Mineral Resources. However, gaining access to the government officials was not fruitful and often people approached for permission to interview were not available. The aim was to get an idea of what the interviewees perceived as key when looking at gender equality, what they saw as hindering equality within their organisation and their thoughts about change towards gender equality.

Document Analysis

Document analysis was also key in data collection. This is a form of secondary data. The data collected was in the form of:

a) Publications by the government (Assessment of the Mining Charter);

(b) Policy by the government (Mining Charter);

(c) Annual employment reports and publications of Anglo and Impala;

(d) Public records and statistics, historical documents, and information on the company websites.

The latest Reports available were for the year 2015. Publications by the government are important in that they offer a way to verify the reports by these mining companies on their progress. Policy review offers a background to the concept of CSR and gender equality. Annual reports were used because they represent the companies' best attempts at 'selling' their CSR and also reflect the measurable things that are reported to the government. Document analysis provides a good source of background information. It was essentially useful for this research because it provides a "behind the scenes" look at a program that may not be directly observable (Finn and Jacobson, 2008). However, document analysis has been criticised for being biased because information reported may be biased and selective. To reduce this bias the researcher conducted interviews with the local community members to verify information provided in the documents reviewed.

Data Analysis

Based on the interviews, different themes were identified. Using a data analysis approach known as thematic analysis, emergent patterns and themes were identified from the data from an inductive approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data-driven thematic analysis is a researcher-controlled approach that relies on the researcher familiarizing with the data by having it transcribed, taking time to re-read notes and impressions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes identified from this data are, for example, "Formal Equality," "Informal Equality" and "Gender Mainstreaming as a strategy."

In my own study, the thematic method was helpful in analysing the results and finding potential explanations for them from different perspectives, which is a way to achieve both internal and external validity (Yin 2006). However, thematic approach might result in the researcher making wrong assumptions in relation to the data they get. However, to avoid this bias the researcher created themes from recurring key words during the course of the data collection. A review of previous related literature also reduces this bias. During the data analysis phase, the individual cases were synthesized to note the similarities, differences and patterns across the two mines that share the same goal of promoting gender equity. This comparison and the similarities and differences found were used in analysing themes and in the search for theoretical elements to help explain the findings of the research. This resulted in a further development of the theoretical framework.

Chapter Summary

In order to answer the research question, "What is the role of private corporations in promoting gender equality" qualitative research methods were used and this process involved conducting interviews and doing document analysis. Data was analysed in a thematic approach and to help analyse the data the research took a Marxist feminist theoretical approach. This chapter has outlined the process the research took in the collection of data.

Chapter 3: The creation of the female South African mine worker. Towards formal equality

Introduction

In this chapter I trace the history and the position of working women in the mining industry in South Africa from the colonial and Apartheid periods through the present. I begin with a brief background of women in mining, showing that women served the purpose of freeing up male labour to participate in the mines. As such they replaced male labour in other wage work sectors like domestic work, and textile industry. However there was a lot of inequality in this type of work. I then trace the history of legislation on women starting from the lifting of the ban on women to a detailed description and analysis of the Mining Charter from which the focus of this research is on engaging with some findings from the review of documents.

Understanding the subordination of women and the creation of the male proletariat

Women's subordination in South Africa is understood by various authors in light of capitalist exploitation. However, Bozzoli (1983) traces the history of female subordination from the 19th century and gives a case that division of labour has been across age and gender. Bozzoli uses examples by Hunter (1936) and W. Beinart (1982) to show that division of labour was unequal, not only between men and women but also across gender and age. With reference to these authors Bozzoli gives an account of the division of labour, and how men did not contribute much to labour at that time while women were responsible for various tasks including agricultural production, childcare, cooking, cleaning and housebuilding. Some studies attribute these differences to the advent of migrant labour. However, she argues that the burden of domestic and agricultural labour on women was not entirely because men were not present but the case is that these societies have always possessed a capacity to subordinate women's labour. Bozzolli also suggests that subordination of women was not only in African societies but among the Boer society as well. The argument here is that the Boer society displayed a different form of patriarchy from that of African systems. While African systems had a wider kinship structure and saw a chief as the controlling male, in the Boer society the wife and children had a dependent and subordinate relationship with the husband/father. Christianity here legitimised their subordination and Boer women instead

managed the household. As such Bozzoli suggests that the patriarchy of Boer society seems to have been semi-feudal rather than tribal, with land ownership being located in the patriarch.

History of working women in mining South Africa

The women's struggle for equality in South Africa began in a context of colonialism, apartheid, and patriarchy and has left women in present day South Africa with a number of challenges to overcome. Throughout all sectors, a 'glass ceiling' was in place when it came to women occupying certain positions in work, and this limited women's careers in relation to men's, preventing them from attaining equal salaries and equal levels of authority and responsibility (Du Plessis & Barkhuizen, 2012). While women were excluded from most sectors of the economy, the social stereotypes against them began to be increasingly shunned as more and more women entered the global labour market

Bozzoli seems to suggest that the absence of women in mining and the creation of a male dominated mine labour force was because many mine workers and state officials believed that male proletarianisation was "natural." They believed that aspects of the African culture like polygamy meant subordination of women by their husbands and therefore its destruction would result in women's status being raised and as a result deprive the man of working as cheap labour. Bozzoli also quotes mine manager Hennen Jennings who believed that male labour was best suited to mining because of their "strong physique." There were legislative measures also put in place to prevent meaningful entry of women into the mining industry, for example, The **Mines and Work Act** originally passed in 1911, amended in 1912, 1926, 1956 and 1959. The Mines and Work Act legally set a ban against employing women to work in mines. It was also passed on the grounds of establishing the duties and responsibilities of workers in mines. As such, younger men and women could only work on the farms, and women's primary role was motherhood and childbearing. The case of the female white woman was similar but somewhat different. The situation for black and white women was similar in that both had the role of motherhood and child bearing, hence they were both domesticated. However, white women often stayed with their husbands and employed black women as domestic servants. As Bozzoli references Cock (1980), "through the employment of domestic labour she was able to defend herself against the isolating and unrewarded labour which her kin would otherwise expect her to perform; and against the double-shift. Her

victory was at the expense of the subordination and oppression within the white family of the black male domestic worker;" and in later years, of the black female." These arguments are of importance in our understanding of the current state of the female employee in the mining industry and in understanding patriarchal relationships.

Ally (2009) and Cock (1980) in their works traced the history of women working in mostly domestic work. According to Ally (2009) in 1905 an official commission on "native affairs" recommended that women should be employed and that measures be taken to encourage their employment in domestic work. A report by the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) in 1905 argued that African Women's entry into domestic work would free male labour for the mines and also "civilize" Africans. Ally (2009) argues that domestic work began as a mission of colonial enslavement but towards the end of the 18th Century transformed to a form of waged labour. During this period black women constituted a large number of domestic workers, especially in Johannesburg, which was a newly established and rapidly growing mining camp at that time. As the mining industry grew there was a great demand for female domestic workers (Van Onselen, 1982) hence the state made efforts to increase supply by connecting employers and employees in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg through the Registry office (Van Onselen, 1982). The process through which women came to dominate domestic work was therefore assisted by the state and by 1979, 90% of women were employed as domestic workers (Ally, 2009). This rapid entry of women into domestic work, for Walker (1990), reflects the choices of women to escape the patriarchal relations and to seek economic independence for themselves and their children. However, domestic work was ridden with inequalities, and Cock (1980) and Ally (2009) note that it was characterized by excessively long working hours for very low wages and presented an image of racism.

As argued above therefore, women's work in apartheid South Africa was important to the mines because it set to free up male labour to participate in the industry as wage labourers. However, women's work was not only to replace male labour in other wage work sectors like paid domestic work but it was also set up to be reproductive, in the sense that they were to continue to bear children to work in the labour market. Motherhood was women's primary role and they had to raise children, care for the home and see to the needs of the family (Walker, 1991). As mining became prominent in the early 1920s women began to take up paid domestic work and sahistory (2017) reveals that more than 50% of women in South Africa who were employed outside the reserves were in domestic service, However, by 1925

other industries began to open up employment and Walker (1991) states that about 12% of women of all racial groups at this time started taking up jobs in the industrial, food, drink, clothing and tobacco industries.

In 1978, a survey reviewing the salaries of female South African revealed that black women were being paid in less in comparison to other races, and to males and that women had 'no pension fund' and were subject to 'termination if they became pregnant'.[9] The survey also revealed that women were also sexually exploited in the workplace than ever before. This shows that gender inequality in the labour market and the workplace has a long history in South Africa dating back to the beginning of women's participation in the labour market.

Furthermore, Walker (1991) pointed out that the pass laws enacted by the Apartheid government restricted women from migrating to urban areas in search of employment in other sectors and those who moved to the towns were confronted by government influx control measures.

The women who were already in the towns however, became more aware of the injustices around them and thus they developed a more independent and "rebellious" nature. As such they started demonstrating against the harsh restrictions which the apartheid government placed on them (Walker, 1991). There are three major campaigns that shaped the history of women in work and marked the start of the quest for gender equality. The first was in Bloemfontein in 1913 and stands out because of what a feminist author calls, "its strength and militancy" (Wells, 1993:3). The second campaign was in 1930 in Potchefstroom, a small white-dominated town after officials of the apartheid government had tried to force women to comply with the particular labour needs of that town by forcing them to apply for a 'lodger's permit'. The third campaign, which was the largest, was in Johannesburg from 1954-1956 and it saw nearly 20 000 women unite is a march to Pretoria government offices (Wells, 1993).

In each of these campaigns women reacted against two things: the broader political issue and the stability of their families. As Wells argues; "…it was because the crisis reached into the inner sanctum of home and family life. Each of the three… reflects a time when women themselves were directly and negatively affected by shifts in the application of the pass laws" (Wells 1993:9). Women also began to join trade unions, and this was a major contributor of

9 published in *The Black Sash* http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/women%E2%80%99s-workplace-oppression-1970s-south-africa-cait-chapman Accessed 3 March 2017

the prominence women's resistance gained against gender inequality and social injustice.[10]. Unions were therefore a big part of the history of the 1970s in South Africa; overall, they are noted to have played a "role in dismantling apartheid legislation and practices in the workplace", which remains one of their most notable achievements.

By 1970 there was a serious shortage of skilled labour and this hindered economic growth (Wells, 1993). The government, to solve this crisis resorted to scrapping the job reservation system and educating the black labour force. Throughout the 1980s, with the formation of the two trade union confederations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU, 1985) and National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU, 1986) unrest intensified and this led to an increase in strike activity. Against this backdrop the apartheid regime abolished the job reservation system resulting in laws concerning labour relations gaining momentum, followed by an increase in union registration, membership and activity. Despite these efforts, there was a retention of some elements of racial and gender discrimination against African workers. The situation was even worse for African women (Ryan 2007).

By 1991 the ban against women working in the mines was lifted. The 1991 Mines and Works Act 13 lifted the restrictions on women working in mines and according to the amended act the following classes of women could work underground in a mine: "

a) Those holding positions of management

b) Those employed in health and welfare

c) Females doing research work

d) Any female who may occasionally go underground for occasional work"

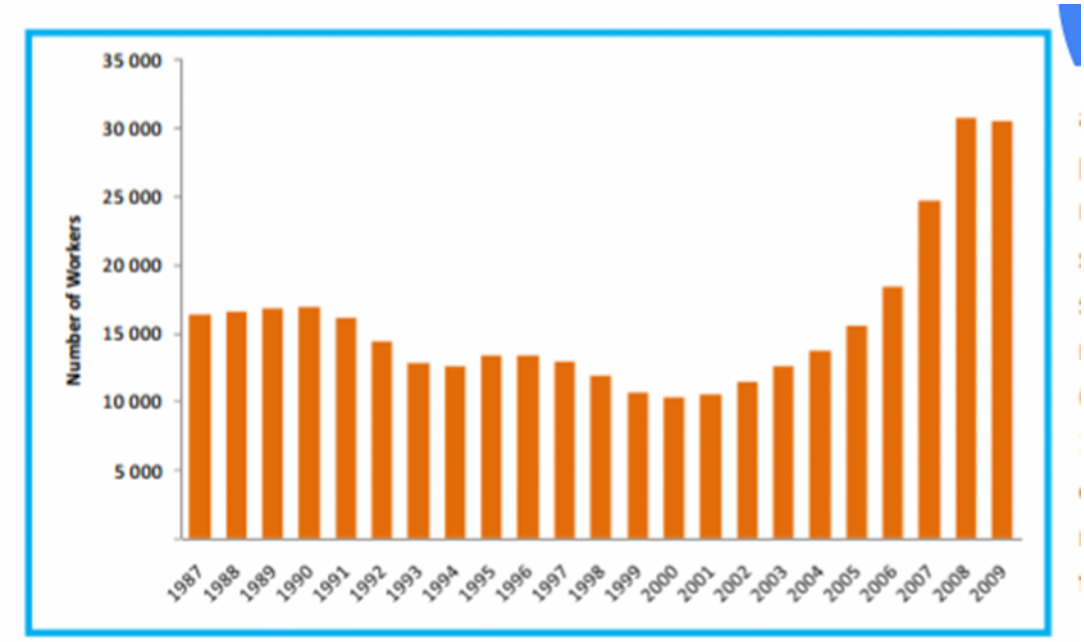
(Benjamin, 1991: 476; 479)

However, The Mines and Works Act was later replaced by the Mines Health and Safety Act of 1996 which allowed women to work in underground mining and perform manual tasks such as rock drilling, mining engineering and mine surveying. Figure 1 below shows the trends in the numbers of women employed in the mining sector overall over the years and figures 2 and 3 show the numbers of specifically platinum mines employees in comparison to their male counterparts. This information was obtained from the DMR statistical reports.

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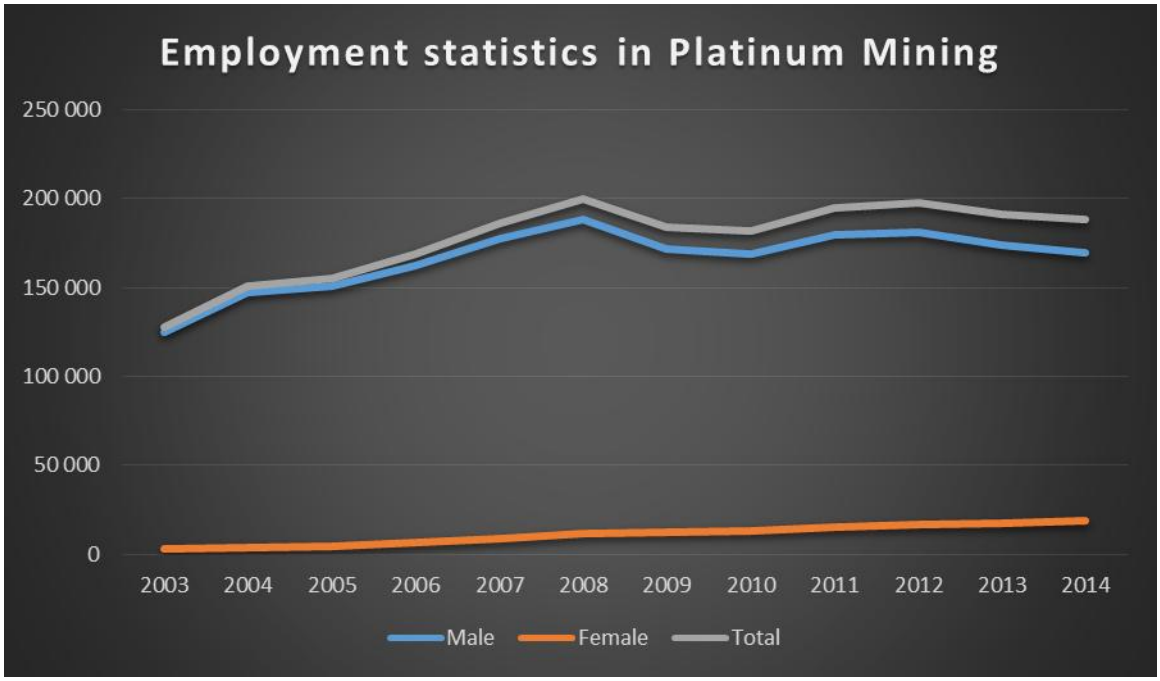
10 Labour Department of South Africa. "Basic Guide to Trade Unions." South Africa, Web. [Accessed 6 Dec. 2016].

Figure 1 Numbers of female employees in mining (1987 - 2009)



Source: Department of Mineral Resources Statistics

Figure 2: Numbers of employees in Platinum Mining



Source: Department of Mineral Resources Statistics (2003 – 2014)

Figure one shows that there has been a notable increase in the numbers of women employed in the mining sector from the year 2000. Fig 2 shows that in comparison to men, the platinum mining sector has seen very slow growth of the numbers of women working in the industry. From 2003, after the introduction of the Charter, there has somewhat been little growth. Fig 2 also shows that there is a large gap between men and women in platinum mining. Furthermore, research by Benya (2009) on challenges faced by women in mining shows that there are still many remaining problems including low wages, poor working conditions, and other various forms of work related inequalities. Also, the few women who pursue careers in mining often return to work in positions that accommodate their household "roles" as primary caregivers, for example, cleaning and cooking (Ashraff 2007, and Cha 2013). From the evidence of the percentages of women working in mining and the jobs they mostly occupy, it is clear that the legacy left by these legislation and the broader apartheid and colonialist regime continues to perpetuate women's struggles.

According to Lahiri and Macintyre (2006) formal mining is expanding in developing countries and this puts it under pressure to improve its social commitments in these countries and these commitments need to incorporate a gendered outlook. The long history of gender discrimination continues to influence employment patterns, but as women in developing

countries are gaining access to education, their participation should grow as engineers, or working in management. The research therefore takes a different outlook about gender equality to understand its relationship with corporate social responsibility (CSR) and how this contributes to gender equality in the mining sector. Organizations have a good opportunity to make an impact on equality outcomes through their direct contact with large numbers of workers hence this research seeks to examine their role and impact.

National Legislation and Labour Relations
Redress after 1994

South Africa's transition to a liberal democracy brought about an increased official acknowledgement of the notion of gender equality. Nearly every sector in the country was transformed and reshaped, including the mining sector. Accordingly, a number of laws were passed by the South African government in order to support its constitutional commitment to transform the country. The newly elected democratic government also introduced major gender sensitive policies and practices to reshape the socio-economic framework of the country and to normalise society and the workplace and, in so doing, promote a sense of equity and justice in the country.

After the first democratic elections in 1994, the rewriting of labour laws resulted in four key pieces of legislation:

a) The Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995 (amended in 2002, 2014);
b) the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) of 1997 (also amended in 2002, 2015),
c) The Employment Equity Act (EEA) of 1998 (amended in 2006, 2015), and
d) The Skills Development Act (SDA) of 1999 (amended 2011).

The Labour Relations Act

The Labour Relations Act (LRA) is intended, "to promote economic development, social justice, labour peace and democracy in the workplace" (Labour Relations Act of 1995:2). This Act sets out the laws that govern labour in South Africa and it is informed by Section 27 of the Constitution, which entrenches on the rights of workers. The Labour Relations Act also

ensures social justice by establishing the rights and duties of employers and employees. It also legalizes the organisational rights of trade unions to strike, and allows for the establishment of workplace forums and other ways of resolving disputes. The amended Act sets a framework for the removal of unfair discrimination in employment and Human Resource practices, noted by the statement of the unfair labour practice provisions in Section 7 of the LRA. Among other things, this act entitles workers to paid annual leave, employment contract, and maternity leave.

The Employment Equity Act (EEA) No. 55 *of 1998* was also implemented to promote equal opportunity and fair treatment by elimination of unfair discrimination. Its aim was to apply affirmative action measures to redress disadvantages in employment encountered by women, the disabled, and black people. The EEA does not set quotas, but rather enables individual employers to develop their own plans, which address equity in employment, especially concerning recruitment and selection and remuneration (Horwitz et al 2002).

The Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) was passed in June 2002, and it is a legislative commitment to achieving sustainable development and promoting equitable access to South Africa's mineral and petroleum resources. The act grants all mining rights to the state and requires that companies convert their mining rights from the old order to new order rights. This process of changing mining rights can only be done provided companies meet a number of social and labour targets that overlap with the targets in the Mining Charter. The preamble outlines the State's role in the mining industry and its obligation to promote economic and social development. The Act also recognizes the need to promote social, local and rural development of communities affected by mining, reaffirming the State's commitment to eradicating all forms of discriminatory practices in the mineral and petroleum industries.[11] Ultimately, the adoption of the Mining Charter and the MPRDA show the government's effort to change the mining industry.

Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining Industry (also known as the Mining Charter)

11 "Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act," *Republic of South Africa Government Gazette*, 5.

The Broad-Based Socio-Economic Empowerment Charter for the South Africa Mining Industry (The Mining Charter) was enacted in 2002 to increase the access of previously disadvantaged individuals to South Africa's mineral resources and to gaining economic benefits, specifically setting that companies maintain a 40% participation of historically disadvantaged South Africans in management within 5 years. The amended Charter of September 2010 still required that every mining company must achieve a minimum of 40% representation, but however changed to mean demographic representation of historically disadvantaged persons at executive management (Board) level, senior management (EXCO) level; core and critical skills; middle management level and junior management level. In The 2010 amendment there was a clear movement from 40% representation of historically disadvantages persons and specifically 10% female representation to 40% 'demographic' representation**.** Demographics here according to the Charter mean:

"The numerical characteristics of a population (e.g. population size; age; structure; sex / gender; race; etc.)"

Historically disadvantaged (HDSA) refers to

...any South Africa citizens, category of persons or community, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination before the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993 came into operation, which should be representative of the demographics of the country

Compliance is ensured through Mining Charter itself and is monitored by the scorecard and the Social and Labour Plans which mining companies are required to adopt. These social and Labour plans are part of human resources development and mining companies are required to produce annual reports with the following **: "**

A. **Skills development plan** (Reg 46(b)(i) which outlines how the mine intends to offer employees development of requisite skills
B. **Bursary and Internship Plan** (Reg 46(b) (iv) which focus on building capacity various skills and careers reflective of demographics.[12]"

In summary, the Mining Charter and the various acts discussed above are aimed at improving equity, opportunities and benefits for historically disadvantaged South Africans (HDSAs).

According to the Act and the Charter, the mining industry was supposed to reach a quota of 10% women in core mining activities by 2009. However, the most recent 2016 amendment

12 Mining Charter amended 2010

notes that there were faults in the way in which the mining industry has applied the various elements of the Charter. The 2016 amended Act reveals that previously, issues of mine community development, employment equity, among others have not been addressed in the previous Charters (p7)[13]. To overcome these shortfalls, amendments have been made to the Mining Charter of 2002, 2010 in order to accelerate attainment of its objectives. As noted above, the reviewed Mining Charter introduces new definitions, terms and targets to effectively align the Mining Charter with the BBBEE Act. This has been done with an intention "to ensure meaningful participation of black people as per the objects of the MPRDA and the mining charter and provide for policy and regulatory certainty sought to invest in the development of the industry" (p10).

Review of the Mining Charter

Despite all the legislative measures and well-intended initiatives, the number of women specifically employed in mining in South Africa is still relatively low and they are mainly employed in administrative and supportive positions in the industry. Statistics from Stassa give the current numbers of women in executive positions and the summary is shown in the figure below.

Figure 3: Female Representation of Board members in Mines

Company	**Total board**	**Females**	**Percentage**
Anglo Platinum	13	3	23.1%
Anglo American	14	3	21.4%
Impala Platinum	11	4	36.4%
Exxaro Resources	13	1	7.7%
GlencoreXstrata	7	0	0%
Lonmin	11	2	18.2%

13 2016 Amended Mining Charter

Source: Statistics South Africa

Furthermore, women also face a range of obstacles in the mining sector, such as insufficient professional and career development, inadequate infrastructure facilities, health and safety issues, physical ability challenges, resistance by male workers, sexual harassment, to mention a few (MTS 2011; Women in Mining, 2010). Although there is no lack of good intentions, the gender issue in the mining sector is fraught with difficulties.

While less than half of all mines submitted reports on their performance with regards to the Charter in 2015, and there has been some amendments to the Charter, some sections remain vague. Section 2.9 of the charter states that:

"*Every mining company must report its level of compliance with the mining charter annually, as provided for by section 28(2) (c) the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act."*

On the other hand, neither section 2.9 nor any other section of the charter mention the scorecard attached to the charter. Furthermore, the female inclusion and equity in mining element requires a "yes" or "no" response on the scorecard creating a disparity noted, and the "yes" or "no" on the score card. There is also no indication either in the scorecard or the charter of the consequences of a "no" response being given. The scorecard is therefore unclear for legal value and right to cancel mining rights in the case of non-compliance. ***(See appendix 1 for Scorecard)***. The 2016 amendment has neglected a specific requirement for women despite the 2015 report pointing out that not all mining companies met the 10% target.

The Department of Mineral Resources ensures compliance to the objectives of the Mining Charter through the Mining Charter itself and social and Labour Plans. However, the employment equity targets set do not reflect the demographics of the country. Figure 4 below shows the population of South Africa. The breakdown specific to the percentages of females is shown in Figure 5. StatsSA (2013) revealed that 51.2% of the population is female and as the requirements of the amended Charter advocate for 40% historically disadvantaged persons to be in the demographics of mining companies then given this 20.48% should be female. However, given the statistics of female employees it seems companies have maintained a 10% target.

In the amended act it is also important to note that there is no specific percentage for the target on participation of women and women are included in the 'demographics' of the country. The 2015 assessment of the Charter further devoted only 2 pages of the document to discuss employment equality specifically for women. The 2015 Assessment report on the Mining Charter notes that out of 962 mines, only 375 mines, or 39% of all mines, submitted their reports, implying that the rest might be non-compliant with the target scores. The Minister of Mineral resources Ngoako Ramatlhodi notes, "Notwithstanding a paucity of Companies of all sizes that have fully embraced the spirit and the letter of the Mining Charter, there's a varied performance that seems to suggest a compliance driven mode of implementation designed only to protect the "social licence to operate" (Department of Mines, 2015: 1). This implies that of the 39% of mines that have complied with the 10% requirement; the goal has not been to promote gender equality but to keep their licences. Given this statement by the minister, it is apparent that a few companies have managed to meet the required target therefore it becomes important to research further on how those companies that claim to have met the target managed to do so and how mining companies contribute to making the workplace environment more inviting to women.

Additionally, the charter also sets a specific 40 percent target of "demographic representation of historically disadvantaged persons at executive management (Board) level, senior management (EXCO) level; core and critical skills; middle management level and junior management level." The focus on management positions, although it addresses a problem, from a Marxist perspective continues to reinforce the notion of maintaining social classes, a common feature under capitalism. This charter has therefore neglected women employed in various sectors other than the mentioned above.

Figure 4: Population of South Africa

Population group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	% of male population	Number	% of female population	Number	% of total population
African	20 607 800	79,8	21 676 300	79,8	42 284 100	79,8
Coloured	2 306 800	8,9	2 459 400	9,1	4 766 200	9,0
Indian/Asian	669 200	2,6	660 100	2,4	1 329 300	2,5
White	2 239 500	8,7	2 362 900	8,7	4 602 400	8,7
Total	**25 823 300**	**100,0**	**27 158 700**	**100,0**	**52 982 000**	**100,0**

Source: Statistics South Africa

Figure 5: Female representation of the overall population of South Africa

Population group	**Percentage of overall population**
African female	40.9%
Coloured female	4.6%
Indian/Asian female	1.2%
White female	4.5%

Source: Statistics South Africa

The 'meaningful participation' of women in the mining sector is also limited by employment outcomes since 1994. The creation of employment has been a struggle thus it has failed to keep up with the growth of the labour force, resulting in rising unemployment. In one interview, a participant noted,

> *"Ideally we all want half of the labour force to be represented by women. However, we cannot offer jobs to women if there are no vacancies and with the economy as it is right now, and with the high levels of unemployment it makes it even more difficult to do so. The problem of equality is much broader than opening up employment opportunities for women. Before we look at the part corporations play in addressing*

these problems we need to look at the broad societal problems like access to education for example. We here at Anglo offer scholarships to students who show potential to do exceedingly great and these scholarships are a gesture meant to address this problem but it requires working together for the common good of women…"

Interview with Rose, an Anglo American Human Resources executive. Interviewed December, 2016

This statements resonate with Bhorat and Hink (2005)'s argument that industry restructuring has seen firms shifting employment to more skilled jobs (Bhorat and Hinks, 2005), so the majority of the unemployed are entirely black and unskilled or semi-skilled women. The limited number of jobs opening up within mining organisations restricts the process of including women in the mining industry, thereby skewing the organisation's gender demographics (Ranchod, 2001). The lack of meaningful employment creation together with unequal access to education has impacted heavily on female entrants to the mining sector labour force.

One important question that arises from reviewing legislation towards promoting gender equality in mining is what is the rationale towards these legislation? It is evident that the Mining Charter treats different kinds of historical disadvantages differently. Furthermore, as highlighted above the charter does not take into consideration the demographics of the population because the 40% target does not specify that women should occupy half of these positions. Furthermore, the issue of women in mining has been brought to the forefront by various forces external to the mining organisations themselves.

The first force is that of human rights, which causes mining organisations to face increased industrial action if they are perceived and experienced not to deal with human rights issues adequately. One such human right is then to have women work in all fields, including the platinum-mining industry. Gender equality is an overarching goal of the ILO Decent Work Agenda that aims at promoting employment creation, social dialogue, social protection and rights at work for all (ILO, 2012). In compliance to the ILO Agenda the SADC formulated an action programme aimed at endorsing equality which states, "the integration and mainstreaming of gender issues into the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative is key to the sustainable development of the SADC region" (SADC, 1997:7).

Secondly, as already mentioned, the South African government has introduced several new measures such as the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (28/2002) and the *Mining Charter* (Department of Trade and Industry, 2002) imposing strict transformation targets on mining organisations. This implies that many South African organisations have realised that they need to embrace the process of transformation. To manage diversity effectively, transformation is needed in the attitudes and behaviours of organisational leaders in order to embrace the knowledge and experience brought to the organisation by various diverse employees (Verwey & Verwey, 2002; Werner, 2003).

The principle of equality is therefore central in a democratic society. The traditional approach of the national legal systems has been to employ the concept of equality as a system of formal rules.[14] This view is referred to as formal equality, basing from an interview with a participant.

> *"To me the aspect of gender equality means two things, there is formal equality which the DMR has tried to do coming up with legislation like the Charter, and the Labour Relations Act. Informal equality now looks at the social aspect and what we are trying to do here is to try and bridge the gap between the two. Formal equality only means we look at outcomes on paper. That is problematic because there are bigger issues in society that relate to women which are not addressed by legislation but are in the scope of mining companies. These inequalities can be attempted to be addressed by these mining companies if they engage in CSR activities that pay attention to gender, not just focus on housing or building infrastructure and the like*.

Interview with Mama Jafta, working in the gender department at NUM. Interviewed September 2016

The general form of equality addressed in this chapter, while sets the ground for good "informal" equality initiatives, it often fails to produce fruitful results. This is greatly because while it has a historical background to it, its targets fail to take into consideration the subtle aspects like demographic composition of females overall, hence this continues to lead to discrimination and disadvantage. Fiss (1976) discussed this idea of formal equality and

14 See, for example, how this approach was used in the Mining Charter, labour relations act and other legislations

pointed that it is an illusion because it is problematic in that it assumes that the law can claim to be truly neutral to all. Westen (1982:537) also questions formal equality arguing that it creates a contrasting impact for people in different social classes hence it confuses more than clarifying the problem and offering effective means to solve it (Westen, 1982:53).

Conclusion

This chapter provided a historical background of women working in the mining industry. This background traced the position of women in the labour force from apartheid up to the 21st century on the basis of legislation that have been put in place to promote gender equality in mining. However, this discussion concludes that equality is a substantive concept unlike 'formal equality', which dictates behaviour through applying rules and procedures consistently. CSR on the other hand sees equality in terms of moral principle.

Chapter 4: Gender equality beyond the workplace. A CSR initiative

Introduction

This chapter looks at the role of corporations in promoting gender equality beyond the workplace, which will be referred to as "informal" approaches to equality". Besides law and policy, companies face increasing societal pressures to act responsibly towards community engagement. At one end of the goal of upholding gender equality is the requirement that companies must comply to the requirements of the Charter. At the other end, mines must ensure the social license to operate, which is a more proactive, participatory approach that involves developing the communities they operate in. This chapter begins by reviewing some literature on CSR and Social license to operate then describes some CSR activities that Anglo and Impala are taking part in. The chapter goes on to question the role and effectiveness of CSR towards promoting gender equality, drawing on findings from interview data.

Defining Corporate social responsibility

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) initially focused on a narrow conception of "social responsibility" such as infrastructural developments in local communities, but has since been expanded to include debates on how it can be used to address gender inequalities in societies (Grosser & Moon, 2005). CSR, from the broadest general meaning, is understood as socially-oriented activities of corporations which are not mandated by legal requirements. More precisely, the general concept of CSR as a voluntary initiative was proposed by the European Commission in 2006 and defined as:

"*The responsibility of enterprises for their impacts on society."*[15]

Matten and Moon (2008) further simplify this by stating that CSR is a means of ensuring that companies are operating in a socially responsible manner as far as society is concerned. The role and relevance of corporate social responsibility has evolved considerably over time

[15] Rita and Agota, 2014 p 75

(Hildebrand et al., 2011). The concept of CSR has grown from focusing only on defining it to attempting to measure its impacts (Carroll, 1991).

CSR in South Africa

The pressure for CSR in the mining industry from governments and non-governmental organizations is prevalent in South Africa, as the industry has dominated the country's economy for so long and contributes greatly to employment creation and to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A further motivator of the pressure on mining companies is also the different social inequalities that were brought about by the Apartheid regime (Hamman, 2004). During South Africa's transition to democracy, the integration of local and international markets meant that mining companies had great pressure to meet international expectations (Hamman, 2002). As mining companies' performance on the international market grew, they fell under great pressure to increase their CSR. This, for Hamman (2002) was to appeal to investors and to attract foreign direct investments. CSR in South Africa is different in that it is legislated through the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment scorecards (Hinson & Ndhlovu, 2011). However, the use of scorecards for reporting has been criticized for making CSR become a tick-box exercise simply to meet required targets. Such an approach would therefore question the initiative (Ponte et al., 2007). This section argues that for CSR to have a great impact in South Africa, it is necessary to note that the goal is not in ticking a box or investing a certain percentage of profit on social responsibility. CSR involves taking an active approach to address the problems, with a continuous engagement with the society.

The economic approach to CSR

The findings of this research brings an argument that CSR often take a "behind the scenes" economic approach in their social development projects. This *economic approach of CSR* is based on the premise of profit maximization. This idea was also expressed in an interview with an Impala Platinum Management official who argued,

"At the end of the day, while CSR activities, and promoting gender quality is good we have to remember that companies are not institutions established for moral purposes. They are functional institutions meant for performing an economic task, and that is their primary purpose at the end of the day…"

Interview with Mark, an Impala executive. Interviewed, Nov 2016

Similar to this line of thought, Sundaram and Inkpen (2004) contended that the duty of corporations lies in profit maximization. The quote from the interview also builds on the idea that societal responsibilities might only be assumed if they advance the long term value of the firm (Mackey et al., 2007). As a consequence, many corporations would not reject socially responsible behaviour in principle, but they indirectly assess its potential to create value for profit gains (Siegel, 2009).

The irony of CSR and pursuing profit- driven interests on that quotation is apparent. The statement suggests that CSR activities could have a positive impact on financial returns hence companies only assume activities that could potentially benefit them directly or indirectly (Williams, 2014). In this sense CSR has become a strategic initiative and has been criticised for being a cover for corporate 'greenwash' (Littlewood, 2014). The various CSR programs appear to be charitable approaches, yet they fail to make a meaningful impact. (Hamann, 2006). We are therefore left with the question of the capacity of CSR to contribute to strategies of gender equality.

The economic approach to CSR, however, still builds on the state. This means that companies gain an economic advantage by adhering to government's laws, policies and regulations. As Mitchell et al (1997) reveal, corporate social responsibility programs are mostly considered only if they are powerful and able to influence the profit of the corporation. This is even more apparent in the period of globalization, where the ability of the nation-state system to regulate business activities, to provide public goods is diminishing (Habermas, 2001). In the increasingly "global village", private corporations are not so much operating under the rules of the legal system but rather on a global playing field, where they can choose among various legal systems. In relation to CSR they often choose the ideal context that isof labour, social, and environmental regulations which are economically beneficial for their

operations (Scherer and Palazzo, 2007). Shamir (2004) further suggests that, "Multi-National Companies (MNCs)[16], due to the fact that they often contribute greatly to the economies of the countries they operate in, are able to escape local jurisdictions by playing one legal system against the other, by taking advantage of local systems ill-adapted for effective corporate regulation, and by moving production sites and steering financial investments to places where local laws are most hospitable to them" (Shamir, 2004, p. 637). In turn, national governments may try to lure or hold businesses by offering subsidies, tax holidays, infrastructural investments, and cutbacks on regulations.

The promotional materials of Anglo and Impala, such as their websites, convey the pride on the companies take in offering scholarships for students to study mining engineering at local universities. The Anglo American bursary scheme and Impala bursary are part of their CSR activities and they both strongly encourage females to apply. Opportunities like these assume that the population of South Africa has equal opportunities to good education which qualifies them to pass their Matric. Such programmes tend to award students who have had an opportunity to access good education and subsequently qualify for university. The problem here is that bursary programmes do not fix the overall inequality problem, rather, they only award those with access to education. This problem was noted in various cases and it is reiterated by the extracts from some of the interviews below:

> *"Ideally we all want half of the labour force to be represented by women. However, we cannot offer jobs to women if there are no vacancies and with the economy as it is right now, and with the high levels of unemployment it makes it even more difficult to do so. The problem of equality is much broader than opening up employment opportunities for women. Before we look at the part corporations play in addressing these problems we need to look at the broad societal problems like access to education for example. We here at Anglo offer scholarships to students who show potential to do exceedingly great and these scholarships are a gesture meant to address this problem but it requires working together for the common good of women…"*

Interview with Rose, an Anglo American Human Resources executive. Interviewed December, 2016

[16]in this case Anglo American and Impala platinum operate in other various countries

" Yes they say women must come and work here but I don't have matric, I end up here being a housewife, cooking and cleaning and taking care of the children because I didn't go to school so I cannot work in the mine…Even if there is adult education who do I leave my children with? My husband won't allow that… "

Interview with a community member, Mpho* Interviewed, December, 2016

"I cannot work in the mine, I don't know how to speak English, how can I make tea for the whites when I can't speak to them. Instead I decided to run a shebeen here, it gives me money to take care of my children, I need more money to even open a restaurant here and sell pap to these men who come here to buy beer…" (Translated)

Interview with Thandeka* a shebeen owner in Rustenburg. Interviewed, December, 2016

In addition to these findings, research has noted that there are problems in terms of provision of good education in South Africa. An example is a study by the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). The SACMEQ is a group of 15 counties which is involved in conducting studies to asses and investigate on the quality of education in the member countries. This information is therefore used as evidence to initiate plans focused on the goal of improving the quality of education. This study by the SACMEQ in South Africa in 2007 found that there was gender inequality in terms of access to education from primary to secondary school. From a Marxist feminist perspective, the evidence from this research, together with that of the 2007 study by SACMEQ reveal that problems of inequality of women in terms of work start from the fact that they stay at home to raise children and take care of the household. This takes form in the workplace to limit women from access to high income jobs. In a study by Barrett (1998), lack of equal access to education is an explicit objective aimed at reproducing the class system. In doing so it reinforces the inequitable capitalist economy (MacKinnon, 1989).

The social approach to CSR: Social licence to operate

The social approach to CSR is part of the requirements of the Mining Charter and it requires that companies maintain a "Social licence to operate". This aspect of Social Licence to Operate (SLO) is defined by Moffat and Zhang (2014) as an ongoing acceptance or approval

of an operation by local communities. Furthermore, Harvey (2011) understands the process of SLO as a way for 'fitting in and adapting to the prevailing social norms'. In other words, SLO is an intangible contract between companies and communities which companies are expected to comply with even though there is no way to measure it.

Moffat et al (2016) critique the SLO approach for giving corporations power to shape what they can do as part of their social CSR. They further argue that the idea behind SLO that it is intangible and more verbal in its approach creates problems in understanding it to be a "license." If it is a social license they question who can approve or disapprove of its impact in addressing various forms of inequality.

To address the above raised question Gunningham et al (2004) (cited in Moffat et al, 2016) propose that communities have power to disapprove of a company's impacts through boycotting and using negative publicity. This realization gives them a leverage in that as companies are concerned with maintaining profits, any negative publicity which poses as a threat to the company's smooth operation will be addressed immediately. Although communities may have this power, in reality that may not be the case because the benefits that often come with these mining companies such as employment creation, and infrastructural developments can result in the weakening of the power of communities to stop their operations (Nelsen and Scoble, 2006).

Addressing gender in CSR activities

Anglo's major CSR programs which are Anglo Zimele, SEAT, The chairman's fund, and the various scholarships they offer all lack a gendered approach to addressing the various problems they are aimed at reducing. Similarly, Implats also lacks a specific CSR strategy that has a direct bearing on women. From this observation, gender equality has largely been addressed in the scope of the workplace but not much has been done in the local communities. Gender equality in mining has therefore tended to be looked at only within company-implemented development programs rather than also encompassing the communities. One interviewee noted,

> *"Legislation and quotas set by government are important, they are the reason why I work in a mine with thousands of men around me. But they do not guarantee enough equality outcomes because the problem goes further than just the workplace. After*

work I still have to go home and face judgemental neighbours who ridicule me for working in such a manly job. I have even heard them say that I only work with men because I'm a prostitute and I want to be close to their husbands… I do not remember the last time I had a decent relationship with a man., the moment I tell them my job they just disappear and accuse me of trying to be bossy, I mean, can you imagine…"

Interview with Rose an Instruments Technician at Implats. Interviewed December, 2016

Another respondent mentioned:

"…I think that unless we address the root cause of the problem, we will continue to have problems… The cause is how we were raised to think believe that women only stay at home while men work. The problem is also with these companies that do not teach their communities on the importance of raising educated, working, black women"

Interview with HR consultant at Implats. Interviewed, September, 2016

"The companies come and have meetings with us here and there to hear what we would like to see change. I have never been at any meeting…because the time they call for the meetings I will be cooking and cleaning and taking care of the children. Besides, most of the time I don't even know there was a meeting. They tell my husband at work. Me and the other ladies stay and watch over the house.

Interview with a Rustenburg community member. Interviewed December, 2016

The first problem that can be gathered from these extracts is that CSR activities in mining companies lack a gendered approach. This from my analysis is as a result of history which has left a negative mining legacy that the mining industry carries with regard to previous laws prohibiting women from participating in mining or underground work and a male-dominated work culture left a legacy of a predominantly male environment. The mainly white male top managers battle to incorporate and understand the needs of diverse employees, hence also fail to understand the needs of the society to which the CSR activities are meant to benefit. This industry furthermore has never been gender sensitive (Musvoto, 2001) and as such, due to this mixture of historical and cultural factors, the problem has not been resolved.

Secondly, role that gender plays in the social dynamics of local communities is often overlooked yet it can be addressed. The interviews I conducted with miners' wives revealed that while mining companies held meetings with the community concerning CSR strategies often these meetings were held at a time that conflicted with their duties as wives. As such, most women failed to attend these meetings hence they were not part of the decision making with regards to CSR. This situation indicates a very fragile relationship between a mining organisation and its community. In such relationships, information on deep-rooted cultural beliefs about women in mining, or women in the community would neither flow easily nor be easily accepted.

During the interviews they raised concern that while the mines had built schools for their children among other infrastructural developments, they feared that their teenage daughters would be victims of teenage pregnancies, HIV, because of the large numbers of young male mine workers in the community. One participant noted that on the days the mine workers got their monthly salaries they would indulge in heavy drinking.

> *"I wish I had not left Mpumalanga. My husband got a job here and I followed him because he was complaining that I was too far. Besides, I was afraid if I refuse he will get a girlfriend [smiles]…. But I feel bad for my daughter…I wish they could do something about the shebeens and the drinking, on the days that the workers get paid there is parting everywhere. I'm raising my daughter in this environment and I worry she may be raped if she walks around late. I pray every day that she does not get pregnant or get HIV from these men*
>
> **Interview with a miner's wife, a community member in Rustenburg**

A study by Gibson and Kemp (2008) also found that the increase in men's wages creates a number of social problems including increases in alcohol abuse, domestic violence, extramarital sex, teenage pregnancy and prostitution. From the above extract one can note that mine employees migrate from both beyond South Africa and from various provinces within South Africa to find work. This brings with it a number of problems within the society at large such as disrupted family structures and HIV and Aids.

During my interviews I also noticed that the women who work in underground mining that I met were unmarried, mostly single mothers. A study by Filer (1990) on social integration

caused by mining in Papua New Guinea found that mining causes family disorientation and in his study this created conflict between mining companies and society. Nash (1979) also highlighted the rise of the modern nuclear family structure with the father as breadwinner or single- parent led families (Nash 1979). Gender inequalities in local communities and lack of concrete responsiveness on part of companies have resulted in women being excluded from negotiations with the company and therefore missing out on benefits. This has also created a stereotype in which the role of women within the cultural setting dictates the role women play in the workplace and in the community. Culturally, the position of women was seen as that of being there to support a husband or partner who is the breadwinner (Musvoto, 2001).

Taking a Marxist feminist approach, the position of miners' wives with regards to gender equality and CSR is often that of "unacknowledged and unpaid workers supporting the paid work of male family members and reproducing the next generation of mine employees". A woman's access to a company housing is only through her marriage to a company employee and her having a home is dependent on staying with her husband (Rhodes, 2005). The idea of gender equality is therefore uncommon to these women due to their lack of employment hence they often stick to their housekeeping and child-caring roles. A miner's wife is also expected to follow him wherever his career even though she may not be willing and this if often a painful experience.

In conclusion, Dickens (1999) argues that equal opportunities for women are best advanced by a combining legal and social regulation. The case of South Africa however has seen gender equality as part of both law and CSR, where non-compliance could result in failure to renew operating license. On the subject of CSR and community development, Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre (2006:2) argued failing to maintain a gendered approach to CSR leads to the potential danger of interacting with the community through a gender-blind lens instead of a gender sensitive lens (Lahiri-Dutt 2011).This study has found that the failure to understand the dynamics of gender in mining communities can therefore lead to a failure to alleviate any gendered inequalities of mining and to integrate gender into development of CSR programs which is beneficial to the mining community.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argued, based on my research, CSR in mining is important, but generally downplays the notion of gender. It also creates homogeneous strategies which overlook the aspect of gender and the indirect consequences of mining which create inequality on the part of women. The current nature of the mining industry and CSR present a problem that may further limit the potential for change. It is assumed that companies have potential to make use of corporate-led development projects to curb inequalities but the nature of the mining industry, South Africa's legislation and CSR present an additional set of problems that may further limit the potential for the women's advancement.

Conclusion: Towards Gender mainstreaming?

Gender equality as the goal – gender mainstreaming as the strategy

How can the strategy of gender mainstreaming be understood? Does it offer a good strategy for promoting gender equality objectives in private sector organisations? This research has shown that various legislature and CSR initiatives, although well intended, have failed to resolve gender inequalities because they lack a gender sensitive approach. The understanding of gender equality is not only through an increase in the proportions of women in relation to men. From a Marxist feminist standpoint, it is not enough just to 'bring women in' to the mining industry or promote greater participation in unjust conditions. Rather there is a need to rethink structures and practices that perpetuate these inequalities. It is also important to recognize that inequality between women and men is a relational issue and inequalities cannot be resolved by only focusing on women. More attention needs to be brought to engagements within and outside the workplace, particularly in terms of gender roles, division of labour, access to and control over resources, and potential for decision-making. Thus it is important to move away from 'gender equality' as the strategy, but towards gender mainstreaming as a strategy towards the goal of gender equality

The Challenges to Gendering CSR in Mining

From this research I argue in understanding the link between gender equality and CSR in mining CSR is geographically limited to the local area it becomes unlikely that it is able to affect the wider problem of gender inequality. In an interview excerpt in the previous chapter an interviewee cited the problem of gender equality as being deep seated in society and pointed out that "*... The cause is how we were raised to think believe that women only stay at home while men work.*" This shows that gender inequality is not only about numbers of employees, but a wide range of issues that affect women within and beyond the workplace. Macintyre (2011) during a research in India also found that female disadvantage in mining communities mainly derive from local customs that are external to mining hence she argues that there is a need for innovative policies for overcoming women's disadvantages which go far beyond the scope of corporate social responsibility.

Another problem also realised in this research is based on the "business approach to CSR" which involves the probable preference of mining companies for profits at the forefront of social activities. This approach to CSR seems to use gender equality as a "technical fix", rather than as a serious problem in need of serious solutions to fix it. This is seen by the approach used by the case studies which ignores what happens to women outside the company. On assessing the companies' the researcher observed the potential problem of gender projects being seen as good publicity for the company. These underlying tensions within the understanding of CSR therefore inhibit any substantive change.

The third problem also noted is relates to internal employment policies with regards to contracts and recruitment. In an interview with an HR official at Impala the participant revealed that while gender equality is the ideal goal it remains a utopia unless there are vacancies, noting that mining companies could not give jobs to women unless there are jobs to give them. She further argued that allowing an influx of women in mining would mean that some male employees would have to be fired to create vacancies for women to enter and this will feed into the problem of unemployment. This response is problematic in that one could ask, what portion of the position that have been available over the past few years have been filled with women? In other words it raises questions of whether or not the problem lies in the fact that they cannot undo existing inequalities all at once, or is the problem really that they continue to recreate existing inequalities. One can also note from this extract that the interviewee was limiting gender equality to the question of staff gender ratios and hiring and not community development. This response also creates a question of whether gender mainstreaming, which demands that gender is problematized both within the organisation itself, and at multiple sites of interaction with communities should be the solution.

Recommendations for effective strategies towards addressing the gender problem

From this research I gathered some recommendations in understanding gender inequalities. Governments and companies, in trying to solve the problem of gender inequality often ignore to look outside the facets of the organization, yet this may be inherent in the way the problem of inequality is understood. This research has shown that there is no equitable decision-making with regards to CSR as a strategy for promoting equality. As a result, CSR programs are often gender blind and ignore problems in the society. For example, the research noted that the times CSR meetings were set conflicted with women's gender roles. This creates a

problem in that, For example, of women attended these meetings they might place immediate priority on access to hospitals or clean water as CSR while men may prioritize establishment of economic activities. Since women's participation in decision making is generally lower than that of men, specific strategies are required to ensure that women's voices are heard. Ignoring these factors may result in biased analyses of the problem at hand and inaccurate assessments of likely policy outcomes.

This research aimed at understanding gender equality initiatives in the mining industry and in order to do this looked at the role played by companies in making a difference towards promoting gender equality. It concludes by arguing that while gender equality is a goal that has been accepted by governments and is enshrined in international commitments, achieving equality for women will require changes at not only organizational level but also changes in legal frameworks and economic institutions. The mainstreaming strategy must be adapted and different questions must be asked to understand the implications of policy on gender equality. The research concludes that organisations create and reproduce gendered divisions of labour through the ways in which it articulates women's interests within and beyond their company borders.

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