Women and Mining Decline in the Free State Goldfields

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DECLARATION

I, Kentse Berryl Sesele, declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the doctoral degree qualification *Doctor of Philosophy, with specialisation in Development Studies*, at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

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TO GOD THE PROVIDER, WITH GRATITUDE.

My torchbearers

To my dear father, Masedi Kable Ralph Sesele, for teaching me how to lead from the front. I may not have measured up to your high standards of love, discipline, love for family, unity, but Papa, I am here eventually. I forever hold your memory with love and reverence.

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ABSTRACT

Studies that look at mining decline and its accompanying economic consequences often focus on empiricism or economic theory. Among the leading economic theories that explain mine closure and economic decline is the resource curse theory. The gender aspects of resource curse are, however, muted. This study uncovered the lived experiences of women within a declining economy and its attendant institutional morass.

The feminist critique methodology was adopted by using in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to allow women to express their experience through their lenses. The analysis of the data was done through the use of Atlasti.8. The institutional responses have been captured through the use of structured interviews. These interviews were done at a local mine and the municipality. Thematic analysis was used to process the institutional responses.

The study concluded that during mining decline, as the revenue of the municipality dwindles, mine shafts close, governance within the municipality and mine management is eroded. The empowerment of women in both institutions is deprioritised. As crime becomes normalised and pervasive, women take on a life of crime. Men determine the economic ascendancy and women are objectified in the process.

Keywords: economic decline, mine closure, empowerment, gender, women, mines, municipality

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AMV	African Mining Vision
ANC	African National Congress
B-BBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CWP	Community Workers Programme
DME	Department of Minerals and Energy
GAD	Gender and Development
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ILO	International Labour Organization
LED	Local Economic Development
MPRDA	Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
OSW	Office of the Status of Women
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEDA	Small Enterprise Development Agency
SLPs	Social and Labour Plans
UN	United Nations
USD	US dollar
USA	United States of America
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

Chapter 1
SETTING THE SCENE

1.1 Background and research problem

Multinational corporations dominated the global mining industry and the industry depends highly on demand for specific resources. These multinational corporations compete with one another for new resource sites and often make investments of billions of dollars into projects. Return on investment usually takes long, which makes the industry risky for investors. The mining industry contributes directly to about 12% of the global economy and up to 45% in indirect ways. In addition to contributing to the worldwide economy, mines have direct consequences for local communities. However, changes in the mining industry since the mid-1980s have added to local economic challenges. The globalisation of the mining industry has increased the prominence of multinational organisations, resulting in shareholder prominence and less spending in peripheral (non-mining) activities (Marais, McKenzie, Deacon, Nel, Van Rooyen & Cloete 2019). Mining companies were willing to reduce long-term risks, for example, housing, when these activities did not relate directly to their core business. Transferring these assets and risks to individuals and local governments became a dominant response (Marais et al. 2018).

In addition to these changes in the mining industry, mine closure and mining decline have implications for local communities. Although mine closure has been common in the developed world (Nel & Tykklaineim 1992: Li, Lo & Wang 2015; Bontje 2004, the developing world has not experienced that many mine closures. Back in 2002, Islam, Banerji, Cull, Demirguc-Kunt, Djankov, Dyck, McLiesh & Pittman (2002:v) suggested that "a wave of mine closures is looming" and that the developing world would see the closure of 25 large mines by 2012. They argued that the cost-benefit of the mining industry would depend on the way the industry and government will close these mines. At the same time, neither governments nor mining companies fully understand the real cost of closure (Bainton & Holcombe 2019). Strongman (1992) pointed out that "[m]ine closure is often traumatic for local communities especially in remote areas if local government is weak and labour productivity and non-mining income are low and labour mobility minimal", while Laurence (2006) stated that "[t]he excitement and fanfare that surrounds the opening of a new mine is never present when it finally closes".

Despite a large body of work on the social consequences of mining and the environmental effects of downscaling "there are relatively few publications that specifically address the social aspects of mine closure" (Bainton & Holcombe 2019:1). These social impacts are often the result of long-term dependencies created between mining companies and local communities. There is indeed a need "to better account for the social, political and economic impacts that occur when a mine closes" (Bainton & Holcombe 2019:1).

Feminist movements have provided an overview of the evolution of the development process. The impact of capitalist development on women's advancement is highly visible in the mining industry. The rapid globalisation process has brought about the economic marginalisation of women and the feminisation of poverty. A range of papers has started to question the masculinity of the mining industry and mining societies (McCulloch 2003; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). The industry mainly employs men thereby creating communities in which masculinity dominates. The lack of female employment in the mining sector has also negatively affected gender equality. Equal employment is one of the critical aspects of the evolution of women's development. Often women do not benefit from work in the mining industry, but the mining industry has an impact on women. Yet, in the already thin literature on social aspects of mine closure and decline, there are virtually no reflections that investigate mining decline from a gender perspective. In this respect, Bainton and Holcombe (2019:7) ask a fundamental question: "How does mine closure affect gender relations and gender roles?" It is this gap in the literature that is addressed in this thesis.

Historically, the South African economy depended on mining. Gold and diamonds formed the backbone of the mining industry since the latter part of the 1800s. South Africa has been one of the largest gold producing countries in the world for over a century and at some point, contributed nearly 30% of the world's gold. However, by the early 1990s, the gold mining industry came under pressure for four main reasons: deep mining meant increased costs, demands to raise wages as wages have been low, a concerted effort from the unions to ensure occupational health and safety, and the local mining industry became part of the global industry (Crankshaw 2002; Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) 2005). At the same time, the gold reserves have been mainly depleted or have become too expensive to mine. Employment and gold production started to dwindle. The employment in gold mines fell from 600 000 in 1987 to 100 000 in 2017.

The South Africa gold mining industry and government systematically excluded women. Women were unable to access mining work and government prevented women from moving to urban areas through influx control mechanisms. The tribal authorities and missionaries actively supported these mechanisms to keep women rural. Although researchers documented the exclusion of women from urban areas and the mining economy (see Walker 1990; Kynoch, 2005), no research was done to investigate the effect of mine closure on women in South Africa, and as noted earlier, it remains under-researched globally.

The Free State Goldfields within the Matjhabeng and Masilonyana Local Municipalities was one such area that experienced a decline in gold mining since 1990 (Marais, Van Rooyen, Nel and Lenka 2015) (see Figure 1.1).

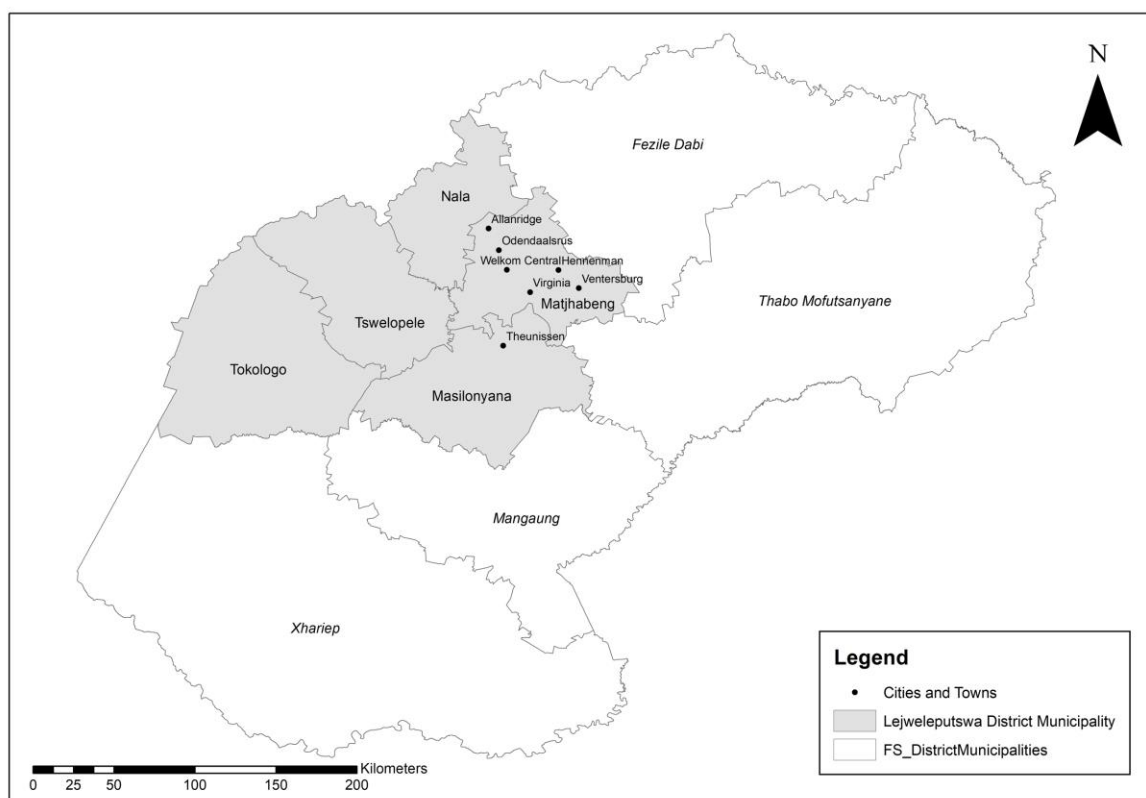


Figure 1.1: Map of the Free State Goldfields

The Free State Goldfields was one of the wealthiest gold mining areas in the world (Antin 2013). Gold mining started after the Second World War and mining companies sunk 44 shafts between 1945 and 1990 (Marais & Nel 2016). Only seven shafts are still operational and the mining workforce dropped from 180 000 in 1988 to 25 000 in 2018. The mines are expecting to close these seven shafts over the next ten years (Denoon-Stevens 2019). Marais 2013a)

estimated that the Lewjeleputswa District Municipality (Matjhabeng and Masilonyana are two of five local municipalities in the district) experienced an economic decline of 1.8% per annum between 1996 and 2018. The area has seen the outmigration of the population, but since 2011, the population of the area remained stable. Unemployment and poverty levels are substantially higher than in the rest of the Free State. The decline also meant that mine ownership changed rapidly, making initial long-term planning difficult (Marais 2013a). There has been minimal support from both from the national and provincial governments (CDE 2005; Marais 2013a). The decline has come about because of multiple factors, which include failure to invest locally, the depletion of minerals underground, and the inability to develop a diversified economy on the back of the booming mining industry.

It is against the above context that this thesis asks how mine downscaling affects women in the Free State Goldfields. Women have been systematically excluded from the mining industry and currently need to bear the brunt of the decline. The evolution of gender equality emphasises equal job opportunities and equal pay. Such opportunities were not available historically and are not available in a declining context. The main concern here is how mining decline creates female poverty (Haider, 1995; Beneria 2001). My focus is on how mining decline affects African women. There is evidence that mining decline leads to poverty, but the effects of mining decline vary across ethnicity, disability and literacy levels (Jenkins 2014). Often, mine downscaling creates mental health problems (Sharma & Rees 2007), homelessness (Hegarty 2014), gender-based violence (Kynoch 2005; Médicins Sans Frontières [Doctors without Borders 2016; Womin 2013) and cannot be loosened from the historical exclusion of women from employment benefits of mining. Further problems relate to the ability of women to generate income outside the mining activities. Agricultural land around the former mining areas loses agricultural value (City Press 2012; Musvoto 2001). At the same time, mining companies are reluctant to help diversify economies (City Press 2012). While women do not have equal access to formal employment like men in the mining sector, there are limited alternatives available. It is essential to understand how women cope with these externalities created by mining in the context of declining incomes in this area while they still have to provide for their households. Finally, the outcome of mining decline presents a paradox. While women find themselves amid poverty, the mining industry has demonstrated a lot of wealth. This wealth did not reach the lower-income groups and the decline means that the women who have not benefited, now have to carry the burden.

1.2 Research question

Against the above background, the primary research question is: How does mining decline affect women and gender roles in the Free State Goldfields?

In addition to the above primary question, a set of secondary questions also guided the research.

- What do women do to cope in a declining environment?
- How does mining decline contribute to the challenges women face regarding the economic conditions in their communities?
- How does mining decline affect household relations?
- How do mining companies and government support the strategies that women adopt?
- How do government and mining companies react to mining decline?

1.3 Aims and objectives

The main aim of the study was to understand how women cope with mining decline and how decline affects gender roles in the Free State Goldfields.

Against the above aim of the research, the study set the following objectives:

- To describe the evolution of feminist thought and structuralist feminism.
- To assess the resource curse theory and its implications for the adverse local effects of mining and how it affects women.
- To critically assess the relationship between mining, capital, and gender in South Africa.
- To describe the impacts of economic decline on women and the Free State Goldfields.
- To analyse the institutional responses towards mining decline and women in the Free State Goldfields.
- To assess how mining decline affects women's household roles.
- To outline the theoretical and policy implications of the study.

1.4 Conceptualisation

In this section, I discuss the main concepts and definitions used throughout the study.

The history of mining in South Africa is inextricably linked and intertwined with the birth of the Free State Goldfields that consists of the towns of Welkom, Virginia, Odendaalsrus, Hennenman, Theunissen and Allanridge (see Figure 1.1). The mining industry established the

towns of Welkom, Virginia and Allanridge. At the time of the discovery of gold, analysts described the Free State Goldfields as the most significant mineral discovery in South Africa, far surpassing Johannesburg, its predecessor (Zogg 2011 Davenport 2014). The main municipality in the Free State Goldfields is Matjhabeng (which includes the towns of Welkom, Virginia, Odendaalsrus, Allanridge, Hennenman and Ventersburg) and Masilonyana (Theunissen and Brandfort). This study drew women participants from Welkom and Odendaalsrus.

The concepts of development and how and what should be measured are a contested terrain (Haider 1995). In this study, I viewed development as the gradual transition of a society to an improved socio-economic status (Matunhu 2010). These continuous improvements entail the improvement in the quality of human life (Matunhu 2010). The definition in this study was further influenced by the United Nations (UN 1976) as cited in the World Bank report (2012), who defined human development as an increase in workers' knowledge through skills development, availability of more and better jobs, and better conditions for new businesses to grow.

This study focused on gender and more specifically on women and the role of mining. Gender refers here to the roles of men and women in society. Researchers such as Haider (1995) and Reay (2004) defined gender roles as changing by time and place and varying from one culture to another. Society constructs these roles and they are often assigned to a biological basis Weber 2004. In this study, I viewed gender as dynamic and ever-changing in response to the dictates of society and economic imperatives facing women. As the trend towards an increased number of female-headed households gains momentum, women are expected to take up productive activities previously undertaken by men (Overholt, Anderson, Clout & Austin 1985). The definition of gender roles has, however, always favoured men, especially in accessing job opportunities. This dominance of men has created a range of social problems for women (see Figure 1.2).

The definition of community in this study is a loose concept that takes into cognisance the challenges that the community faces in the context of a mining economy in decline. The social fabric has been affected negatively by mining decline which has led to a pervasive sense of despair (Solomon, Katz & Lovel 2008. People also experienced a loss of identity that came with a significant scale of retrenchments with a mass exodus of people out of the area (Lapalme

2003; Marais 2013a). The concepts such as *feelings*, *relationships* and *satisfaction* that define a sense of community, therefore became non-applicable.

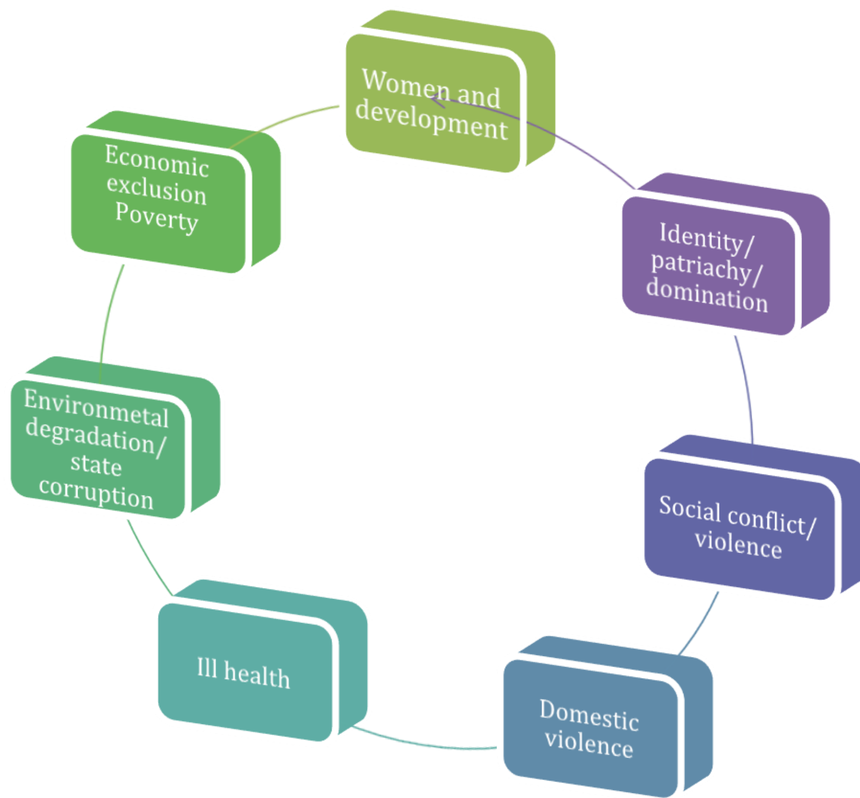


Figure 1.2: Components of women's development in the mining context

Violence and crime that escalated during this period became endemic, and also redefined the sense of community. The area is multi-ethnic with a burden of state-sponsored violence along ethnic lines (Kynoch 2005). It is a community that is fractured at many different levels. The spatial dimension to defining community is the only aspect that survives in this environment. The concept of community places human relationships in place, proximity and locality. Social interaction in place over time within a fixed set of boundaries delineated in space is a more appropriate defining aspect of 'community'.

Mining in this study refers to gold mining. In recorded history, mining is among the earliest economic pursuits of humankind, preceded only by agriculture (Madigan 1980). The two are ranked together as the primary industries of early civilisation. They continue to supply all the necessary resources used in modern civilisation. Mining has played an essential part in human existence from prehistoric times. The abundance of minerals provides a method of creating

wealth. Underground mining takes place when the extracted ore lies at a distance beneath the surface (Wills & Napier- Munn 2006). The process of extraction includes the construction of underground tunnels to work the endowments. Technological advances often extend the lifespan of a mine. Even though the early history shows that women have historically participated in mining activities, the narrative around mining has always been masculine. Women have also been excluded from the benefits of mining employment through discriminatory employment practices.

Mining is a finite process, as it focuses on extracting a limited resource. Mine downscaling and decline is, therefore, mostly inevitable (Li et al. 2015; He, Le, Zhou & Wu 2017). The expectation is that the mines would develop mine closure plans at the inception of mining and that the local community would benefit from mine closure planning and rehabilitation programmes. Mine closure is a form of deindustrialisation and leads to job losses, outmigration and urban decay. With large-scale retrenchment and rising unemployment and decline in the economy, women have proven to stay to fend for their families while men leave for greener pastures. Women find ways to survive even if it means a foray into criminality.

1.5 Research strategy

Qualitative research is of particular relevance to this study as it explores social phenomena. The social phenomena are expressed in the form of individualisation. Simultaneously, personal biographies are often varied in their plurality (Habermas, 1996). It is influenced by postmodernism which argues that the era of great narratives and theories do not exist.

The research strategy adopted her is grounded in Feminist Critical Theory that is informed by the empowerment of individual participants in the research study. (Collins, 2000). The data collection techniques include focus groups and in-depth interviews. I used structured interviews and desktop studies to gather information at the institutional level. This means that this is a “studying up” and studying down study (Mason, 2006, Reinharz & Davidman 1992)

The research design is that of a case study. The case study is the Free State Goldfields (Matjhabeng) with a focus on gender and mine decline.

1.5.1 Theoretical grounding

The research uses the Feminist Critiques paradigm, which employs qualitative approaches (see Figure 1.3). This research strategy generates knowledge through the use of in-depth interviews, structured interviews, document analysis and focus group discussions. The aim is to empower women to participate in knowledge creation processes that facilitate self-expression in terms that women define and find themselves comfortable with (Smith 2004). Women participate in processes that lead to the production of knowledge within their own experience.

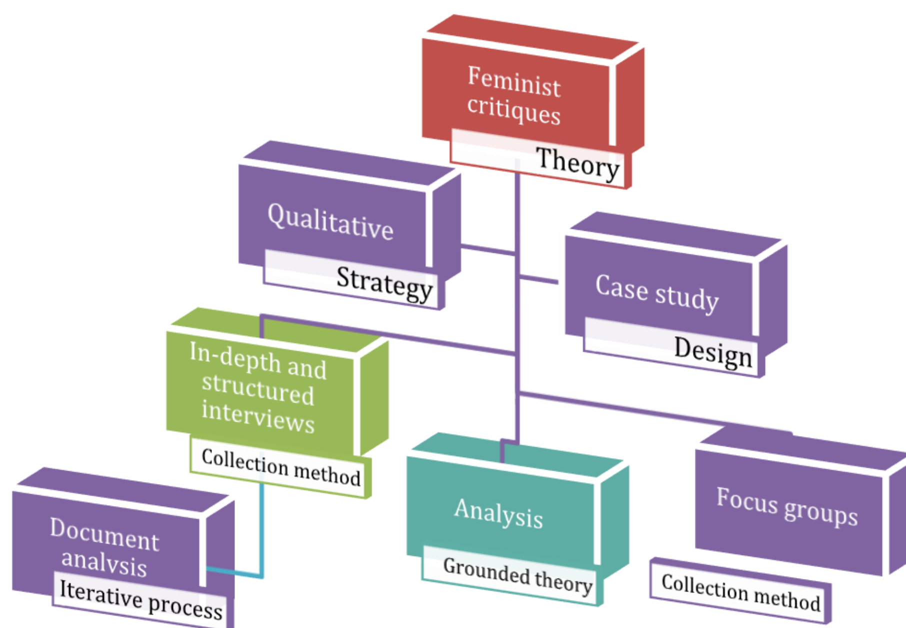


Figure 1.3: The research framework

The post-structural school of thought provided much of the framework to the methods of uncovering new knowledge in this research. This approach challenges the masculine nature of knowledge construction in the context of mining decline by focusing on women. Through the use of a qualitative approach, the study sought to correct the imbalance in the knowledge that has resulted from the partial masculine stories (Smith 2004) that are prevalent in the mining industry and mining communities literature. This approach represents a renegotiation of knowledge production (Kitchin & Tate 2000; Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser 2004). It breaks away from the hold of patriarchy as well as the racial bias in research and knowledge gathering (Collins 2000), which has defined much of the knowledge base that exists (Reinharz &

Davidman 1992). I have sought to honour the women's words and transmit meaning as accurately as possible through the assistance of this strategy. This has been done by framing their ideas in their language so that their intended purpose is never lost (Collins 2000).

This study investigates women stories and nuances and uncovers their multifaceted nature (Mason 2006) through the use of focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. Focus group research is a method of collecting qualitative data. It involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion in a manner that focuses the discussion on a particular topic or set of issues (Mason, 2006; Wilkinson, 2004). Social Science research often employs focus group research. Focus groups are less intimidating for participants and are often free to express their views on varied issues including perceptions, thoughts and ideas (Kruger & Casey, 2000) Women's lives are played out simultaneously in public and private spaces (Mason 2006). Women's experience "transcend and traverse" the public and private domain, the individual and the collective (Collins 2000; Mason 2006).

1.5.2 Data collection techniques

The study explored the experiences of the participants within the context of mining. Consequently, the research approach focused on in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. This design offers the opportunity to explore experiences in a declining mining environment context from a women perspective.

The study also recognised that politics and power at the national and local level shape and influence the experiences of women (Cochrane 1998; Duke 2002). I conducted structured interviews with key informants in the municipality and the mining companies to access this dimension of influence. The position of women in mining communities is the outcome of the social reproduction, resulting from the interplay between national policy and local action or lack thereof, mixed with stubborn historical residues that will take ages to reverse. Figure 1.4 illustrates this strategy.

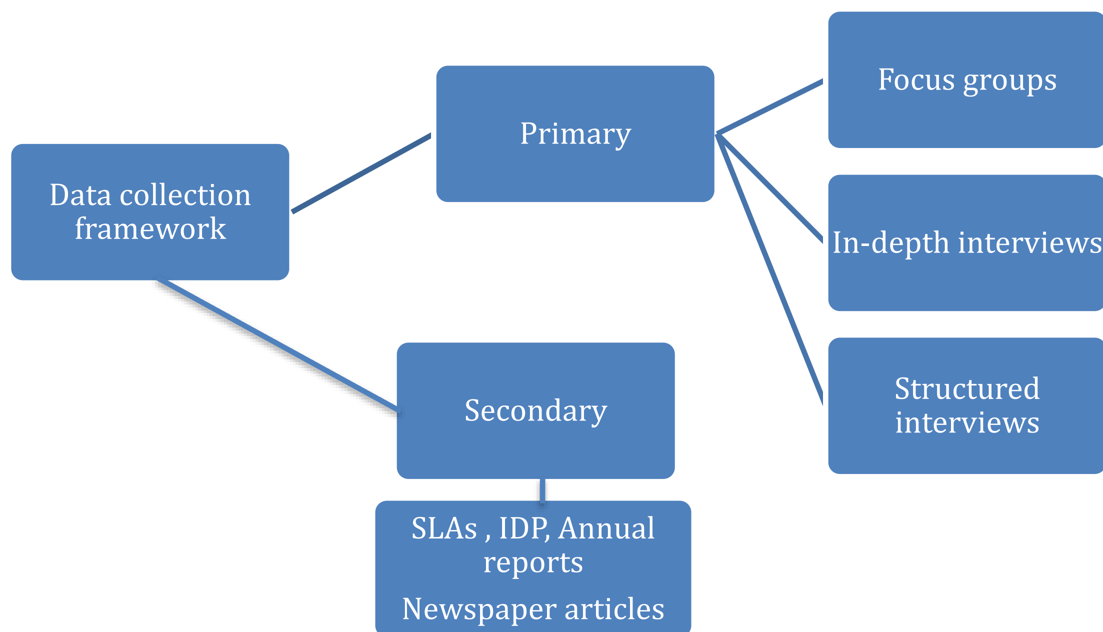


Figure 1.4: ***Data collection framework***

The use of focus group discussions as a technique of data collection allows for in-depth interaction of small groups of people to guide and support the construction of knowledge (Bryman 2004; Mason 2006). It provided me with the opportunity to probe the questions that the in-depth interview participants were not comfortable with to explore in detail. The participants in the focus groups were able to talk boldly about criminal activities that women are involved in, without owning or implicating themselves. It was in the focus group discussions that I understood the reluctance of women during the in-depth interviews to open up about what they do. The focus groups allowed the women to help the participants to reflect on other women's behaviour without implicating themselves. The focus groups helped to uncover the pervasiveness of crime in the area and its normality. The ease with which the women shared information within the focus groups assisted in overcoming the limitations resulting from the resistance experienced in conducting in-depth interviews. The extent to which women are involved in crime made it difficult for them to share their experiences within the in-depth interview process as women where women were not entirely trusting of the process. The advantage of this is that the differences and similarities between both methods can be clearly distinguished and help to develop an understanding as to why this would be so. The gaps in memory at the individual level may also be closed at the group level. In contrast, some of the sensitivities that may be difficult to express at group level may be picked up at an individual level. These two processes mutually reinforced each other.

In-depth interviews were also conducted. This method interviewing entailed a participant responding to a predetermined set of questions. The participants were recruited from various organisations. The interviews required developing a rapport with the participant to ease the participant into being free to share their personal lives. With in-depth interviews, I observed, recorded and interpreted non-verbal communication. In practice, I received only limited feedback. It was only understood later during the focus group meetings that almost everyone is involved in crime to put food on the table. During the individual interviews, the opportunity for issue exploration was closed by silence and sometimes an emotional response to some questions. The experience was contrary to what Reinharz (1992) argued that this process increases the possibility of unearthing valuable insights and discovery that enrich the interpretation and description of data.

The use of both techniques offers a possibility for triangulation of data and exploring the differences and similarities that emerge (see Figure 1.5). The value of this lies in offering the possibility for validation of the data (Richards 1996; Bryman 2004; Mason 2006; Adams & Cox 2008). Newspaper reports on municipal performance, statistical records on crime and municipal integrated development plans (IDPs) were used to validate the claims. The reports provide data that reflects the extent of activities such as crime, and activities related to social unrest such as violent protests, and the extent of decay within the municipality mentioned by the respondents. The company's social and labour plans (SLPs), as well as annual reports, were interrogated to understand the nature of community projects which are meant to stimulate the post-mining economy. Adams and Cox (2008) argued that the use of both methods helps to overcome the weaknesses or intrinsic biases that come from quantitative methods where small samples are applicable. Another advantage is that it further assists in avoiding the limitations of a single method and pointed out that it helps in identifying convergences and divergences in established literature.

While it is vital to ensure that women have a role in knowledge creation and have a platform to articulate their own experiences, it is also important to acknowledge how power, both at the national and local level, influence the position of women. The design moves away from the general tendency to focus mostly on the less powerful in society and the so-called "objects of research". The interviews have provided the mining companies and the municipality with a platform to reply to the policy failures. See Figure 1.5

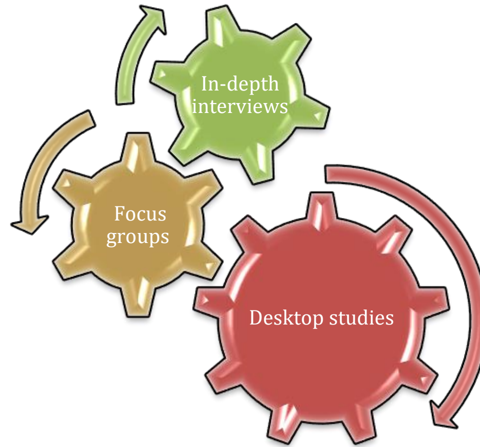


Figure 1.5: Triangulation of focus groups, in-depth interviews and desktop studies

The research also relied on materials from the Chamber of Mines of South Africa and government policies. At the local level, an assessment of municipal IDPs helped to shed light on attempts to empower women, uncover linkages between plans of mining houses and the plans of the government. The local newspapers also reflected on the community sentiments towards the municipality in its role of economic development management. In general, newsletters and local newspapers gave a better understanding of what the industry was doing on the ground. The annual reports and SLPs were also interrogated to understand company priorities beyond the posturing in an interview context (see Figure 1.6).

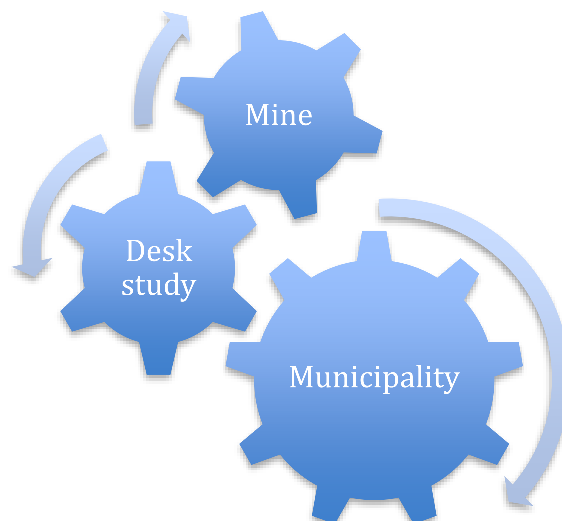


Figure 1.6: Triangulation of desk study and structured interviews

The triangulation of the structured interviews with the document analysis was useful in providing clarity on the extent of particular claims by the respondents. The respondents are

often expected to be involved with the process of policy formulation. Even though this was not found to be the case, they provided added information that was not captured by the documents. The triangulation process was further able to provide content to the iterative process between documents and interviews. The triangulation assisted in assessing the consistency between documents and practice.

1.5.3 The case study area

The study area is the Free State Goldfields. The Free State Goldfields consists of two central municipalities: Matjhabeng and Masilonyana. These two municipalities form part of the Lewjeleputswa District Municipality. The main towns are Allanridge, Odendaalsrus, Ventersburg, Virginia, Hennenman and Welkom (Matjhabeng) and Theunissen (Masilonyana). According to the 2011 Census, Matjhabeng had a population of 406 461 (Statistics South Africa 2011). The three areas of Virginia, Welkom and Odendaalsrus work as one functional

area with the distance from one to another averaging 30 km. The central business districts for Odendaalsrus and Virginia have by all intents, collapsed, and the Welkom central business district serves all three towns both for primary and secondary shopping needs. People move from one area to the other daily for work and residence, making interaction quite intense.

1.5.4 Sampling

I identified various social groups in multiple areas, such as churches, stokvels, retired widows, and youth groups. Letters were written to the church groups and taxi groups (see Appendix C). Letters were written to three taxi associations operating in Thabong, Virginia and Kutlwanong. The groups were informed of the study, and their participation was requested. The taxi groups were requested to carry posters in their taxis. People indicated their willingness to participate by responding to the number supplied in the fliers. Through this process, 93 women participated in the study (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Overview of sample

Interview type	Number of people
Focus groups	8 groups of 10; Total 80
In-depth interviews	11
Structured interviews	2
Total	93

For local government participants, the local economic development (LED) practitioner was asked to participate through a written request to the municipal manager's office (see Appendix B). Letters were also sent to the two large mining companies in the area to request participation (see Appendix D).

1.5.5 In-depth interviews

The interview process started with explaining the objectives of the study. Respondents received the consent forms (see Appendix A) completed it, and I asked permission to record the interviews. In cases where the respondent opted to have the consent form read to them, I complied. After signing the consent form, I initiated a conversation with the respondent with questions about the person and where they live and family set-up to ease the participant in the process. It was a lot more challenging to recruit for the one on one in-depth interviews. People had the perception that there would be wrong and right answers and often did not trust that they

could participate alone in the study. This perception reflected the overall experiences of women as people who have no value to add to public discourse. I also realised later that this had to do with the pervasive level of crime in the area and that most women are part of it. Their reluctance stemmed from their unwillingness to implicate themselves.

Interview Procedure

The interviews were conducted in three phases, as follows:

Phase 1: Before the interview

- Bring materials:
- Notebook/computer, tape recorder, and video to record proceedings
- A total of 11 respondents were interviewed. The interview ranged between sixty minutes and thirty minutes.

Developing the script

Part one*:* The interview started by thanking each the person for their time. The purpose of the interview was explained. At this point, I explained that the information is confidential. The consent forms were then presented to the participant to sign. An agreement was then sought to record the proceeding.

Part two:

Probes were used and follow up questions to explore the key concepts more deeply as follows:

- What do you mean by that?
- Will you give me an example? Can you elaborate on the idea? Would you explain that further?
- Is there anything else?

Part three:

Closing the interview entailed summarising the interview, thanking the participant, giving them contact information for further follow up if required, explaining that I will analyze and share the data should they be interested.

Phase 3: Interpreting and Reporting the Results

Summaries were done of each meeting immediately after that. This entailed a, write up of a quick summary of impressions. At home, the transcribing of the audio recording of the interview took place. This was done as soon as possible after the interview had been conducted. The summaries were analysed. The notes were read to look for themes/trends. I wrote down any theme, which occurred more than once.

1.5.6 Structured interviews

The structured interviews started with a letter sent out to the municipality as well as the mining companies, requesting their participation in the study. An appointment was then set as directed by the participant. Even though the letter explained the process, the beginning of the interview was used to describe the purpose of the study. The respondent was then requested to sign the consent form after they have had a chance to read it.

The Free State is a semi-rural province. Most of the institutions are dominated and shaped by local politics. It was, therefore, essential to be sensitive to the current political climate, which required the use of words in a specific circumspect fashion. Also, this environment requires a thorough knowledge of the issues both with regard to mining and local government, especially if there is a suggestion of failure as a far as women are concerned. Reflecting knowledgeability on these matters was, therefore, necessary to ensure that my relationship with the respondents would not be hampered and continues to develop out of the research process itself (Cochraine 1998). The management of the association was useful in providing that I was able to get the respondents to move beyond the official line and get an honest response to the questions (Duke 2002). In this context, I had to present myself as sympathetic, understanding and non-judgemental(Cochraine 1998; Duke 2002)

The procedure for structured interviews

Phase 1: Before the interview
A total of 2 people were interviewed using the semi-structured method of interviews. The interviews lasted for 1 hour. The senior mine officials and LED specialist within the municipality participated. Mine officials received emails to participte in the study. The second company did not participate because they were going through a protracted strike at the time. There were several follow-ups made, and the interviews took place three weeks later.

Bring materials:

A tape recorder, pen paper,

Generating questions

I preparation I read the various policies. The documents formed the basis for the questions.

Developing the script

Part one*:* This will start by thanking the person and checking how much time they have (Richards, 1996. Duke 2002). The purpose was explained and context. The institution the researcher came from was explained. At this point, an explanation that information is confidential, and no names will be used, and the confidentiality agreement was signed. At this point, I also asked for permission to record the discussion. A discussion on whether the respondent would like a copy of the transcript was also held.

Part two:

The general questions will ease the interviewee into the process before contentious ones. Probes were used in an attempt to go beyond the official line where possible. It was essential to assess tone and any tendencies to dominate or take the interview in a different direction. This was done to avoid a possible breakdown of rapport should there be too much of a push.

Follow up questions to explore the key concepts more deeply as follows:

- What do you mean by that?
- Will you give me an example? Can you elaborate on the idea? Would you explain that further?
- Is there anything else?

Part three:

Closing the interview l entailed summarising the interview, thanking the participant, giving them contact information for further follow up if required, explaining that I would analyze and share the data. Asking if there could be any other areas that have not been covered that are of relevance to the study concluded each interview. This was followed up with a letter to thank them and indicate that the process is still open for any possible areas that may not be covered in the interview.

Phase 3: Interpreting and Reporting the Results

Summaries will be done of each meeting immediately after that. This entailed a, write up of a quick summary of impressions. There was also transcribing of the audio recording of the interview. This was done as soon as possible after the interview. After that, the summaries were analysed.

1.5.7 Focus groups

Groups of women were met at community facilities such as church halls, police stations and the library. The women were keen to discuss their experiences. The groups of women were mainly interviewed according to age groups. There were two groups where a few young women participated together with older women. In both cases, older women's issues seemed to dominate the discussion until I expressly asked the young women to say something. Their keenness seemed to stem from the fact that they always referred to other women as being involved in crime. The discussions were robust and loud and some stretched beyond the allocated hour. All data were transferred to a password secured cloud and were generated to avoid possible losses and to deal with the possibility of equipment breaking. All the interviews from focus groups and in-depth interviews were transcribed into English.

Procedure: Focus groups

There are three phases to this process as follows:
Phase 1: Before the focus group

Identification of participants:

Ten participants made up a group, and these represented a broad spectrum of the community. The participants came voluntarily in response to the letters written to churches, taxi groups stokvels. They contacted me via text messages on the line that I had provided in the letters. I arranged the date and venue based on the responses. The groups were met in areas where they live. The process will be explained to them, and consent forms were also signed.

The proceedings were recorded. The probes and follow-up questions were used to get clarity as follows:

- What do you mean by that?
- What if I said this to you?
- Will you give me an example?
- Can you elaborate on the idea?
- Would you explain that further?
- Is there anything else?

The third part was the closing of the focus group. The participants were thanked. They were, given contact information for further follow-up questions should they arise. I explained that the data would be shared with those who could be interested in the report.

Phase 2: Conducting Focus Groups

1. Materials:
    - Tape recorder to record proceedings
    - Pen and paper
    - Focus group list of participants
    - Focus group script
    - Watch or clock

2. The researcher will arrive before the participants to set up the room, refreshments, etc. Self-Introduction will follow this. The session will then start and be guided by the following:
    - Setting a positive tone, making sure everyone is heard; drawing out quieter group members,
    - Probing for more complete answers (see probes).
    - Monitoring time and questions, encouraging non-participation in arguments.
    - Finally, thanking participants, and letting them know of next steps with the information.

Phase 3: Interpreting and reporting the results

This entailed summarising each meeting immediately afterwards, while the memory is still fresh. I wrote up a quick summary of impressions. Then time was found later to transcribe

and translate the notes or audio recording of the focus group. The next step will be to analyse the summaries. Then I looked for themes/trends.

The following probes will be used as and when required:

- What do you mean by that?
- Would you give me an example?
- Can you elaborate on the idea?
- Will you explain that further?
- Is there anything else?

3.8. Interviews, focus group discussion and record management

There will be note taking and tape recordings for each session, which will need to be transcribed. The researcher will use her discretion in terms of determining which of the sessions will be video recorded. The video records will be useful to capture the mood and expression, which will not be quickly relayed through word alone.

1.5.8 Coding, capturing, analysing and storing of data

The recorded interviews were translated as they were transcribed. They were imported to ATLAsti.8. The quotations were given a symbol Q and those with the same themes were given codes. The respondent was given a symbol R, and the type of interview was marked as II for in-depth Interview and FG for focus groups. The structured interviews did not have recurring themes and were analysed outside of ATLASti.8

The grounded theory perspective to data analysis, which uses an inductive approach, was adopted. The structured interviews were processed using thematic analysis because of the small number of interviews conducted. This meant that al audio material had to be downloaded, saved and stored after each interview.

1.5.9 Ethical considerations

The purpose of the study was explained to all participants in ways and language that they could understand. I specifically paid attention to the methods of enquiry. I also disclosed that the research material would, in due course, be used to publish papers as well as presentations at conferences as may be identified. It was difficult to anticipate all the areas of full disclosure as

in most instances, these may emerge as the process unfolds because of the qualitative nature of the research.

1.6. Reliability and validity

The results will be reliable because of the detailed step-by-step documentation of the process. The step-by-step outline of the process allows it to be replicated elsewhere. This has a measure of generalisability to all mining areas in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. This is because of peculiar circumstances during which the area developed. With interventions through mining charters and legislation against discrimination that guide current mining areas, there could be a shift even though the typical struggles of women may not have been eliminated as it applies to the broader society. Different issues may pertain depending on the groups of women and their age.

1.6.1. Limitations

The sole account of women's experiences represented only a partial reflection of what constitutes building blocks to knowledge creation. Women's accounts, like men's accounts, are not equally reliable for the production of complete and undistorted knowledge claims. The knowledge generated in this study is, therefore partial and does not reflect a social account as represented by all those who make up the population groups that live in the Goldfields area.

Furthermore, the diversity of participants has offset the size limitation and has assisted in enhancing the extent to which the results of the study can be deemed as universal. Relying on the participation of available members of the community during the day because of their unemployed status creates an inherent limitation on the datasets. This is likely to omit important information about their relationship with the events at the mine, as the participants may not know about them due to their marginal position. A key strength is that it will illuminate the extent to which mining as the mainstream economic activity in the area has been able to penetrate the lives of those who are not engaged in mining daily.

1.6 Outline of the study

The thesis is structured along with eight chapters, which are closely aligned with the research objectives of the study. This section provides a brief overview of the flow and logical development of the study.

Chapter 2 (*Feminism, ideological frameworks, development approaches and gender*) offers an integrated way in which to view the progression of development theory, women's movements or the wave theory, as well as the genealogy of development approaches throughout history. It further locates the question of women's position within these economies within a research tradition. It explores key themes in research and theories. The chapter also justifies the methodology.

Chapter 3 (*Resource curse theory, mining and gender*) looks at the resource curse theory and investigates structured attempts by governments to improve the status of women. The chapter argues that although research has indicated the negative social implication of mining, issues of gender have not received much attention in resource curse studies. This lack of awareness comes despite various international attempts to include the effect of gender in mainstream development approaches and into developments in the mining industry.

Chapter 4 (*Mining, capital and gender in South Africa*) investigate how the state, capital, missionaries and men in the rural homesteads coalesced to produce gendered poverty in South Africa. The feminisation of poverty was created by denying women work in the mining industry and through insisting on appropriating women's labour in the rural economy for free. The chapter profiles the economically enabling framework produced in South Africa and evaluates its effects on women's lives. The chapter shows the inappropriateness of policy and its resultant ineffectiveness.

Chapter 5 (*Economic downturn, mining decline and gender*) considers the economic decline and the experiences of women. It shows that internationally, mining decline affects the economic gains of women negatively. This chapter also provides an overview of the economic downturn in the Free State Goldfields. This overview profiles the economic situation against which the next chapters discuss the experience of women.

Chapter 6 (*Women empowerment and institutional responses during mining decline*) presents the findings from the institutional research on the importance of women empowerment for mines and government in a period of decline. The chapter shows that in a mining economy where governance is fragile, the pressures of a declining resource economy leads to the erosion of institutions. In the context of economic decline and rampant corruption, the empowerment of women does not receive much attention.

Chapter 7 (*Women and the household: Response to mining decline*) discusses who women become to adapt to these economic times to survive. Women move to the forefront of holding the fort in terms of providing for their families, albeit in the margins. Women do this without support from relatives or other women. Women turn to crime and push their children into crime to ensure food provision in the household. It also shows heightened levels of conflict around resource allocation within the household.

In the final chapter (*Principle findings and recommendations*), I identify the main findings, outline the contribution of the study and make recommendations.

Chapter 2
FEMINISM, IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS, DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES AND GENDER

2.1 Introduction

Most of the literature on feminism deals with the theoretical influences of women's movements and the approaches adopted to address women's development needs (Taylor & Whittier 1995; Somerville 2006). Only a few authors showed how the dominant theory of the time and women's movements interface with development approaches (Parpart, Connelly & Barriteau 2000). This chapter refers to women's movements and their collective campaigns for social change over time as *waves* (Taylor & Whittier 1995). The associated development approaches link project design and policy change (Connelly, Li, MacDonald & Parpart 2000). The first part of the chapter links feminist movements (the three waves) and the dominant theory to the development approaches.

The second part of the chapter discusses five themes that have been the focus of the research agenda concerning the capitalist impact of development on gender. This section reflects a disjuncture between feminist theorising and the reality of women's experiences within global capital. The chapter further looks at the relationship between gender and the process of capital accumulation. It shows that the process of capitalist expansion produces the informal sector, gendered poverty and shapes gender relations.

2.2 Feminist movements and the dominant theory to the development approach

2.2.1 Origin of feminism

The extension of feminism into the theoretical and philosophical discourse represents a significant departure from mainstream philosophies, as it questions the social structures of gender in society (Bacchi 1982; Humm 1992). Elizabeth Lady Stratton introduced feminism in 1848 (Bacchi 1982). Stratton emphasised that men and women were equal in economic, social and political terms (Bacchi 1982). This early phase of feminism highlighted that gender and gender relations are crucial to understanding social life (Haider 1995; Connelly et al. 2000).

The research agendas of social movements have evolved since the early feminist perspectives. Today, researchers commonly refer to it as the wave theory. The wave theory represents a shift in emphasis on women oppression and is useful in three ways. First, the wave theory helps us to understand the concepts of the power difference between men and women and provides a background on how feminists have theorised about oppression. Second, the wave theory helps us understand how the theory has filtered into developmental approaches. Finally, the wave theory helps us deal with the weaknesses of the concept (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Progression of the wave theory and shifts in development approaches

Criteria	Wave 1 (1920s – 1960s)	Wave 2 (1960s-1990s)	Wave 3 (Current period)
Agenda	• The biological basis for explaining the difference • Determinism • Suffragist • Struggle against the state	• Patriarchy • Women's sexuality as a means for subordination with both men and women in focus • Social norms, culture	• Political agenda • Language, subjectivity • The multiplicity of experiences and identities
Ideology	• Trickle-down theory • Neoliberal	• Marxist / radical / socialist	• Postmodern/post-structuralist
Development approach	**Women in Development (WID)** • Welfare approach, lack of technology and skill • Large-scale projects/ government intervention in the development • Focuses on women's productive sphere	**Women and Development (WAD)** • Women involvement in project planning, review and design • Fair rewards and recognition for women's contribution to development efforts	**Gender and Development (GAD)** • Women's agency as opposed to a passive recipient • Confronts structural issues • All aspects of women's experiences such as production and reproduction are important
Achievements	• Recognition of women's economic contribution • Women's rights won • Women's liberation	• Personal is political … • Elevation of gender to the level of class	• Found resonance with broader social groups • Integration of the Global North and Global South experiences
Criticism	• White middle-class values • Ahistorical • Lack of recognition of reproductive demands on women	• Middle-class values • Women are seen as members of a class • Differences neglected • Race, class, ethnicity absent	• Insufficient differentiation from other waves

Source: Author's own compilation (2019)

2.2.2 First Wave: Liberal feminism and ideology

The liberal feminist movement has its origin in the late 1920s (Bacchi 1982; Humm 1992) and is associated with the rise of modernism in the 1930s. Within the modernist paradigm, the Global South should follow the same development path as the Global North (Smelser 1964; Matunhu 2011). Liberal feminism was embraced among women in countries such as Canada, Britain and the United States. The movement focused on women's issues in economics and improved the understanding of wage differentials. Wage differentials were often gender-based or biological. For a liberal feminist, equality was based on the thought that inequality has a rational basis (Connelly et al. 2000). Women were free to choose where to sell their labour and these choices were different in private and the public sphere (Beneria & Sen 1981; Beneria 1995; Connelly et al. 2000). Given the same opportunities as men, women would make similar choices. Despite this rationality and intent, the lack of access to education and skills does hamper women's choices (Beneria & Sen 1981; Connelly et al. 2000).

This era emphasised the voting rights of women, and it was known as the suffragist movement (Humm 1992; Connelly et al. 2000). The goal was to improve the legal position of women and in particular, their right to vote. Women's concerns included issues related to education, marriage, employment and the plight of single, white, middle-class women. The suffragist movement was a struggle against the state (VanNewkirk 2006) and the movement challenged the premise that biological differences between men and women necessarily assign differential roles in society (Bacchi 1982; Connelly et al. 2000). The most important contribution was the increased awareness and access to voting rights, education, and the right to property for married women, their right to sue and sign legal contracts (Pollit & Baugardner 2003).

2.2.2.1 Women in development approach (WID)

The dominant development approach corresponding to the period of liberal feminism is the WID approach. The thinking in this period questioned whether the development was equally beneficial to all groups in society (Beneria & Sen 1981; Connelly et al. 2000). The WID responded to two main challenges. First, there was a lack of transformational thought regarding the training of women (Connelly et al. 2000). While women participated in the economy, their productive activities were seldom recognised as they mostly participated in welfare programmes such as nutrition and home economics (Razavi & Miller 1995; Connelly et al. 2000). Second, WID was responding to a large body of research which argued that it is not

enough to explain women's poverty based on their involvement in the economy (Connelly et al. 2000; Razavi & Miller 1995).

Boserup (1970) did pioneering research and studied women's roles in the economic development of Asia. She was the first to disaggregate existing research for gender as an independent variable in the discipline of economics (Beneria & Sen 1981). Boserup was also the first to delineate the gender division of labour in agrarian economies (Beneria & Sen 198; Rathgeber 1989). According to Rathgeber (1989) and Beneria & Sen (1981) and, Boserup analysed the changes that occurred in traditional agricultural practices as societies became modernised and examined the differential impact of these changes on the work done by men and women. Boserup's work, while rooted within the neoclassical tradition, challenged the view that the benefits from the development would reach women (Beneria & Sen 1981). Connelly et al. (2000) showed that, where women were traditionally involved in productive work outside of the home, their status tended to improve.

Boserup (1970) identified three critical relational issues at the heart of women's subordination. Namely, their poor access to the marketplace and therefore, their lack of full participation in the economy; technologies that alienate women from their produce; and the specialisation and division of labour which further marginalises and reduces the value of women's work (Beneria & Sen 1981; Razavi & Miller 1995; Connelly et al. 2000;). Often, only men received training, which resulted in the exclusion of women from the opportunities offered by the new technological advances (Boserup 1970; Beneria & Sen 1981; Razavi & Miller 1995). The emergence of the above-mentioned relational issues into women's productive space, marginalised women, rather than advance their position in an evolving capitalist economy (Beneria & Sen 1981). This marginalisation has seen the emergence of large-scale poverty among females (Beneria & Sen 1981; Beneria 2001a;).

Boserup's research focused on the gender division of labour (Rathgeber 1989) and brought women's contributions to the economy into national statistics (Beneria & Sen 1981; Rathgeber 1989). Boserup's research also helped to reject the welfare approach in dealing with women's developmental needs that sought to domesticate women (Razavi & Miller 1995). Boserup (1970) argued that women should be active contributors to economic development as opposed to being recipients of welfare programmes (see also Razavi & Miller 1995; Connelly et al. 2000) However, Beneria and Sen (1981) criticised Boserup's work for a simplistic view of women's work and roles, and for not considering the workload that women face in the home

environment. The exclusive focus on women's work outside the home failed to take into account the burden that women face in the household (Razavi & Miller 1995).

The drive towards women's economic emancipation brought efficiency and social justice arguments to the agenda (Jaquette 1982). The efficiency arguments focused on access to credit (Tinker 1990). The argument was that investing in women's economic empowerment is justifiable because there is a return on investment to the economy, the society, and economic growth (Parmenter 2011: Kabeer 2012). The undermining of women's empowerment amounted to inefficient use of resources (Kabeer 2012; Tinker 1990) and the undermining of sustainable development (Parmenter 2011; Kabeer, 2012). The WID approach also justified a focus on women only in the research agenda and in the targeting of women in development projects (Atinc et al. 2006; World Bank 2006; Morrison, Raju & Sinha 2007).

2.2.2.2 Criticism of the First Wave: Liberal feminism – women in development approach

Despite raising awareness, the First Wave influenced by liberal feminism had its limitations. The first of these was that white middle-class concerns dominated the debates. It also focused on voting rights and education while neglecting racism and poverty (Freedman 2002; VanNewkirk 2006). The movement assumed the universality of women's concerns without recognising differences in class and race (Bacchi 1982; VanNekirk 2006). Inclusion and diversity did not feature much in liberal feminism (Bacchi 1982; VanNewkirk 2006). The First Wave of feminism failed to recognise that not all women suffer from the same structural inequalities that account for their discrimination and exclusion.

The WID approach ignored indigenous knowledge and favoured Western knowledge systems and institutions, culture, and belief systems (Connelly et al. 2000). The WID also viewed interventions driven by the state as the panacea for all women's development, rather than as impediments to women's growth and development (Beneria & Sen 1981). The approach did not address women's demands for equal access to economic opportunities (Rathgeber 1989). The WID was preoccupied with women's participation in the productive sphere without questioning the structural issues that reinforce exclusion. The WID also ignored the role women play in the reproductive sphere (Connelly et al. 2000).

The training programmes were welfare-oriented with a focus on hygiene, literacy, and childcare and were dislocated from market principles (Rathgeber 1989). There was also an

expectation that women would replace household chores with income-generating activities in pursuit of earnings (Rathgeber 1989). These interventions from the WID approach failed as they imposed further burdens on women's time (Beneria & Sen 1981; Connelly et al. 2000). It was unable to understand the dynamics of the private sphere and the public sphere (Beneria & Sen 1981). It emphasised the public sphere at the expense of the private sphere (Haider 1995).

The First Wave of feminism, the WID approach, and liberal feminism did not concern itself with structural issues. This wave did not question modernisation or the factors that contributed to the subordination and exploitation of women. For example, it excluded factors such as the history that accounted for the alienation of women from the production process, as well as the dislocation and dispossession of women from the land. All these issues are related to globalisation and its influence on women's productivity outside the home. It also failed to acknowledge the negative impact of globalisation on women.

2.2.3 Second Wave: Marxist feminism

By the late 1970s, the failures associated with WID projects were apparent. There was a shift away from the arguments related to the inefficient economies of the Global South (Razavi & Miller 1995; Connelly et al. 2000) to concerns around the state of indebtedness and ways to deal with economic decline in the Global South (Pyle 1999; Connelly et al. 2000;). Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001b) mentioned that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund argued for efficiency improvements in the economies of countries in the Global South. The rising debt in economies in the Global South countries provided the impetus for the Second Wave of feminism in the period 1960–1990. Marxism influenced much of the second wave even though gender issues were not central in the leading theory.

The Marxist feminism challenged the focus on class as an organising principle of Marxism. Marxist feminism argued that gender issues were more immediate than Marxism would concede. Marxist feminism argued that getting rid of class would not defeat gender domination (Connelly et al. 2000; Holmes 2000). Marxist feminism also challenged the assumption that biological differences were responsible for differentiated social roles (Connelly et al. 2000; Holmes 2000; Dicker & Piepmeier 2003). Marxist feminism rejected biology as the basis for understanding the differences between men and women (Holmes 2000; Dicker & Piepmeier 2003; Mack-Canty 2004). Marxist feminism used culture and politics as the basis for explaining the variance between genders (Holmes 2000; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). This era was called

‘women’s liberation’ (VanNewkirk 2006) and it challenged sources of gender, sexism, and gender oppression (Iannello 2010).

Marxist feminism produced two strands of feminism: radical and socialist feminism. Radical feminism moved beyond the constraints imposed by Marxist feminism in the 1970s (Eisenstein 1977; Charlton, Everett & Staudt 1989; Young, Walkowitz & McCullagh 1981) and highlighted patriarchy as the common theme underpinning all forms of women’s oppression. Radical feminism also questioned sexuality as the basis of women’s subordination (Connelly et al. 2000). There are divergent views among radical feminists as to whether women’s bodies are superior or weaker (Connelly et al. 2000). Still, all arguments hinged on the contention that humans are sexual beings. Radical feminism argued that this is the basis for all human interaction and that men have used procreation and sexuality to gain control over women’s bodies (Eisenstein 1977; Connelly et al. 2000). Radical feminism identified social norms in the restrictions and expectations that society places on women’s bodies as central to women’s economic discrimination (Lahiri-Dutt 2011). The slogan *‘the personal is political’* was adopted (Eisenstein 1977; Mack-Canty 2004).

Socialist feminism contended for a multiplicity of causes of women’s oppression. It challenged the view of radical feminists that held that answers lie in the sex roles of men and women. Socialist feminists pointed out that sex represented only a part of women’s oppression and that class, race, and gender should receive equal status (Young et al. 1981; Connelly et al. 2000;). The slogan *‘the personal is political’*, for instance, raised domestic violence as a social problem and not as a private matter (United Nations [UN] Division for the Advancement of Women 2005). The hierarchical relations within capitalism and the inherent violence within (Womin 2013) have a bearing on women’s material needs and their labour power (Eisenstein 1977; Connelly et al. 2000;). The effects of colonialism and imperialism on women became prominent (Eisenstein 1977; Connelly et al. 2000).

Activism during the Second Wave took the form of struggles for equal pay, equal rights at work, and better representation in public bodies (Briskin 1989; Iannello 2010). Socialist feminism questioned the legitimacy of institutions as these lay at the heart of patriarchy (Eisenstein 1977; Connelly et al. 2000). Patriarchy hinders women’s economic advancement (Eisenstein 1977; Connelly et al. 2000;).

The Second Wave moved beyond demanding access to institutions of power in pursuit of uncovering the sources of oppression (Evans 1995; Holmes 2000). Women became equally

capable of achieving the same kind of political power in their social, political, and economic lives (Evans 1995). Socialist feminism within the Second Wave feminism moved from a singular focus on class to more inclusivity (Holmes 2000). The Second Wave was more holistic and ensured that gender equality pervades every realm of society. The Second Wave agitated for women's rights to birth control, human social use of science, and the provision of social services by the state (Holmes 2000; Moran 2004).

2.2.3.1 Women and development approach (WAD)

The failure of the WID approach to transforming the lives of women gave rise to an alternative approach, namely the WAD approach (Beneria & Sen 1981; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001b). By the late 1970s, development practitioners were becoming increasingly uneasy about isolating women from men in their efforts to deliver on their development goals (Razavi & Miller 1995). Importantly, WAD sought to avoid potential marginalisation and funding problems that women only projects could face resulting from the separation of men and women (Connelly et al. 2000).

The WID approach did not explore the underlying factors, of women's subordination. Therefore, a critical assessment of women's subordination became prominent under the WAD approach (Beneria & Sen 1981; Connelly et al. 2000). The WAD approach identified access to resources and women's ability to work in the marketplace is essential to improving their status and challenging existing subordination (Beneria & Sen 1981; Razavi & Miller 1995; Connelly et al. 2000). Furthermore, WAD analysed the relationship between women and development processes.

The WAD approach contended that women are part of development interventions as they are an integral part of society (Haider 1995; Connelly et al. 2000). They argued that the position of women in the economy within the context of the Global South countries could not be understood in isolation from the position of men because both are affected by the structures of inequality in an international system (Rathgeber 1989; Connelly et al. 2000). Proponents of the WAD approach argued that integrating women in development without addressing their peculiar circumstances were part of the maintenance of this repressive system (Collins 2000; Smith 2004).

The WAD approach shifted the focus towards the question of women and men coalitions in coming up with development approaches that benefit both men and women (Connelly et al.

2000). The WAD perspective states that women have always participated and contributed to economic development (Beneria 1995; Reay 2004); however, women do not receive adequate recognition in economic and political terms (Haider 1995; Beneria 1995). Maria Stewart (cited by Richardson 1987:59) eloquently captured this in addressing African–American women: "Like King Solomon, who put neither nail nor hammer to the temple, yet received the praise; so also have the white Americans gained themselves a name." This is equally applicable to the experience of women in the context of contribution to development with their labour: "[W]hilst, in reality, we have been their principal foundation and support … we have performed the labour." While the return for women has not been life-changing, "they have received the profits; we have planted the vines, they have eaten the fruits of them" (Stewart, cited by Richardson 1987:59).

The WAD approach recognised and emphasised the distinctiveness of women's knowledge, women's work, and women's goals and responsibilities (Rathgeber 1989; Razavi & Miller 1995). WAD acknowledged the unique roles that women played in the development process (Haider 1995) and called for more accurate measurements of women's lived experiences (Haider 1995; Smith 2004), in the form of women-oriented statistics (Smith 2004), improvements in women's access to education, training, property, credit and better employment (Haider 1995). Finally, the WAD approach further advocated for the extension of women's involvement in development projects to the designing and planning, as well as in policy design, implementation, and review (Rathgeber 1989).

2.2.3.2 Criticism of the Second Wave – Marxist – radical and social feminism

The Second Wave of feminism was, however, not without its shortcomings. It did not meet the needs of all women, such as lesbians, poor, black, and single women (Connelly et al., 2004; Krolókke & Sorensen 2005). Like the First Wave of feminism, it was seen to articulate the upper class and middle-class married women's concerns and assumed that everyone in society is married (Moran 2004). Women had to balance marriage, motherhood, and work. It did not recognise the historical legacies of the differences in marriage protection that native slaves and white marriages had (Moran 2004).

The native slaves received no protection from the pressures that marriage endured. The white upper and middle-class groups, on the other hand, enjoyed protection and marriage support (Moran 2004). The legacy of unprotected marriage made it difficult for black women to embrace marriage (Collins 2000). The Second Wave neglected the differences based on race

and ethnicity. Researchers defined white middle-class respectability in terms of characteristics, such as matrimony and motherhood. The married-life narrative marginalised those who did not fit neatly into those categories, such as women of colour and lesbians (Moran 2004).

The Second Wave saw women as a class, as if all women have similar interests and needs (Wood 1994; Connelly et al. 2000). For example, the Second Wave assumed that one group of women represents all women's challenges and requires comprehensive solutions (Connelly et al. 2000). While it offered a more critical view of women's position than WID, it does not analyse the relationship between patriarchy, different modes of production and women's subordination and oppression (Wood 1994; Collins 2000; Krolókke & Sorensen 2005). It assumes, like Marxism, that women's position will improve once the world addresses the global unevenness.

2.2.4 Third Wave: Black feminism and post-modernism

The Third Wave of feminism is a period from the 1990s, rooted in post-development theory (Iannello 2010). Black feminist struggles, which had, for the most part, not been reflected on by white feminists, played an influential role in shaping the agenda of this movement (VanNewkirk 2006; Iannelo 2010). Researchers have noted the struggles of black women as early as the nineteenth century. Noted contributions came from anti-slavery activists, such as Sojourner Truth (1851), who delivered a speech, *Aint I a Woman?* at the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851. There is a growing body of literature focusing on the multiple oppression of black women in terms of race, class, and gender (VanNewkirk 2006).

The Third Wave rejected the pragmatic approaches of the First and the Second Wave as limited in scope (Connelly et al. 2000; VanNewkirk 2006; Iannelo 2010). Both Marxism and liberalism assumed that rationality and technological innovation hold answers in ensuring progress (Connelly et al. 2000). Postmodernism rejected the notion of the universality of knowledge (Gibson- Graham 2005). Postmodernism also looked for new answers in the power of language and the stereotypes language portrays in the media, its relation to knowledge, context, and locality (Escobar 1985, 1995; Gibson-Graham 2005). The concern with discourses of language has generated much interest in the construction of identity and the concept of difference (Escobar 1985, 1995; Gibson-Graham 2005). Postmodernists were critical of dominant groups that tend to define those they see as different, as 'other'. The attitude was to oppose 'other' based on their own perceived strengths or sense of identity, creating the justification for 'othering'(Gibson-Graham 2005). Postmodernism incorporated the full range of individual

women's experiences and their multiplicity of identities (Lahiri-Dutt 2011) and recognised race, class, sexuality, and ethnicity as essential variables in women's experiences (VanNewkirk 2006; Lahiri-Dutt 2011).

Postmodernism also rejected a uniform solution to women's oppression and forced recognition of challenges with all categories and identities of women (Moran 2004; VanNewkirk 2006; Snyder 2008). Postmodernism extended the Second Wave of feminism's critique of gender norms by rejecting dichotomous and hierarchical thinking (Walker 1995; Lipczynka 2006). Furthermore, postmodernism questioned the notions of gender and sex and examined the determinants within categories, such as women and the complex ways in which categories interact (Snyder 2008; Iannello 2010). Postmodernism also focused on the multiple and contradictory identities of women, accepting diversity among women (Lahiri-Dutt 2001; VanNewkirk 2006; Snyder 2008; Iannello 2010;).

The Third Wave feminism represented a refocus on the individual from issues related to polity and education of women (Drake 1997; Strauss 2000). Postmodernism celebrated femininity, visibility, realness, and emotions, and challenges the stereotypes of the patriarchal society (Snyder 2008). Historically, women internalised being feminine as derogatory and inferior. Postmodernism concentrates on mindsets to bring about change in the way women view themselves. Women were encouraged to be outspoken and express emotions of anger and aggression (Snyder 2008). It also rejected a strict definition of being feminine as being weak, helpless, and needy (Iannelo 2006; Snyder 2008; Baumgardner & Richards 2010).

Postmodernism has further been useful to feminists in the Global South and minority feminists in criticising the white feminists who tended to conflate their experiences with those of women elsewhere in the world (VanNewkirk 2006; Snyder 2008). They did not reject the theorising of white feminism. Instead, postmodernists called for recognising the importance of race on women's oppression and the complexities it brought about on gender and class (Heywood 2006; Snyder 2008). This approach has found resonance with the struggles of women in the Global South, where women and men have faced struggles against global inequalities (VanNewkirk 2006). The everyday struggles between men and women in the Third World require a united front against racism and exclusion, notwithstanding the sexism on the home front. The Third Wave feminist movement because it included essential issues for black women, feminism began to appeal to a larger number of black women who were initially showed no interest in feminism because of its previous white middle-class orientation

(VanNewkirk 2006; Iannello 2010; Snyder 2008). Furthermore, postmodernism moved the issues of race, class, and experiences of black women, to the centre of the debate. The struggles of black women against slavery were highlighted and colonialism, imperialism, and racism were given much attention (Collins 1986; Walker 2004; VanNewkirk 2006). The contribution from writers from the South whose main concern was the absence of the peculiarities of the differential racial experiences of women, together with issues of identity, and difference, as well as the suppression of indigenous knowledge, have moved the debate within postmodernism–feminist theorising (Ong 1988; Agarwal 1991; Foster 1992).

The black feminist agenda has also contributed to feminist epistemology. It has drawn from feminist scholarship in the North and South and holds the possibility of feminism that recognises the importance of difference and local complexities without abandoning attention to political and economic structures (VanNewkirk 2006). They have emphasised the importance of concrete experiences as an essential criterion of meaning, the need to use personal conversations in assessing knowledge claims, and the importance of developing consciousness towards ethics of caring and personal accountability in the use and analysis of collected data (Collins 1986; Smith 2004). They have also emphasised the importance of the historically specific nature of black women's experiences and the need to develop an approach to the study of women embedded in the concrete specifics of women's lives, rather than generalising from the experiences of a small group of often privileged women (Collins 1986; Smith 2004; VanNewkirk 2006). Postmodernism played a role in underscoring the fundamental nature of these considerations and added a powerful voice to those advocating a more experientially grounded approach to the study of women (Collins 1986; Smith 2004; VanNewkirk 2006.)

Postmodern feminism sought to incorporate the political agenda of feminism (VanNewkirk 2006). Postmodernists recognised the complexities and the multi-layered nature of feminism (Fraser & Nicholson 1990; Hennesy 1993; Sylvester 1994). They have contributed essential insights into feminist theorising. Proponents of postmodernism argued that the interplay between gender, class, and race not only makes the experience complex but that it affects and shapes it in a particular way (Henry 2004). The interplay between the different categories was not merely an additive, but they interacted in a specific way, leading to multiple consciousness and action. This interactive, multi-layered approach to the study of women's lives has influenced feminist theorising and put the analysis of multifaceted challenges, struggles and

consciousness onto the female agenda. The recognition of this complexity shaped the gender and development approach to overcome the weaknesses of previous approaches.

2.2.4.1 Gender and development approach (GAD)

The GAD approach emerged in the 1980s (Connelly et al. 2000) as a radical alternative to the WID and WAD approaches (Connelly et al. 2000; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). Both the WID and WAD approaches were unable to confront the structural issues that lie at the heart of women's subordination (Connelly et al. 2000; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). The GAD approach provided the tools to dismantle gender inequalities (Connelly et al. 2000) and provided a mechanism to deal with the power dynamics in gender relations (Rathgeber 1989). The notion of social construction emphasised the link with economic analysis (Connelly et al. 2000; Lahiri-Dutt 2011; Young 1987). The GAD approach linked the relations of production to the relations of reproduction and showed that unequal relationships between the sexes undermine women's economic and political ambitions (Connelly et al. 2000). It considered that all aspects of women's lives interplay to inhibit women's economic advancement (Beneria & Sen 1981; Jaquette 1982).

Furthermore, the GAD approach argued that the impact of development is different on men and women because of the differences in participation in economic and political activities (Haider 1995; Momsen 2001). The GAD approach rejected the private-public dichotomy as the basis to undervalue the role of women in a domestic setting (Rathgeber 1989). It also questioned the roles ascribed to both men and women in different societies (Young et al. 1981). The focus was on the empowerment of women in the Global South (Rathgeber 1989). The GAD approach promoted gender mainstreaming as a means of achieving gender equality. It advocated that development projects should benefit men and women equally. The GAD approach saw women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development (Rathgeber 1989). The GAD approach also focused on the complexities related to gender, class, and race (Lahiri-Dutt 2011), while acknowledging how, in some instances, some aspects of gender and race work against each other (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; Maguire 1984). Women experience oppression from unique positions informed by race, class, ethnic affiliation (Lahiri-Dutt 2001), colonial history, culture (Smith 2004), and their place in the international economic order (Moser 1993). The patriarchal nature of the global economic system plays a significant role in the subjugation of women (Ward 1993; Pyle & Ward 2003). The subjugation originates from accepted norms and values that define women's and men's roles and duties in a particular society (Sen & Grown 1987; Pateman 1988; Bak 2008). The GAD approach provided a

framework for the assessment of policies regarding their impact, or lack thereof, on the systemic subordination of women. The GAD approach went further than both the WID and WAD approaches in identifying specific categories of women and encouraged the participation of men who saw the injustice of gender oppression (Maguire 1984; Rathgeber 1989).

2.2.4.2 Weaknesses of the Third Wave and the gender and development approach

Third Wave of feminism created tensions (Steinem 1995; Drake 1997; Pollitt & Baumgardner 2003). Some have rejected it because it does not embrace feminist political goals (VanNewkirk 2006; Iannello 2010). GAD also received criticism because it lacked distinctiveness from the other waves and the political will to bring about radical social change through structural overhaul (Henry 2004; VanNewkirk 2006; Snyder 2008). Issues of identity were not universal concerns and some regarded the ability to explore one's identity as a privilege (VanNewkirk 2006). There was a tug of war between different categories of identity, for example, nation, religion, and race (VanNewkirk 2006). This battle did not take into consideration how members would ignore the dominance of certain forms of oppression over others.

2.2.4.3 Criticism of the Wave theory

On reflection, the wave theory as a whole came under criticism because it defined women's struggles in terms of what happened in Canada, Europe, and the United States of America (USA). It ignored women's struggles in Africa, where women were struggling against the removal of the bride price, while the Muslim women in Asia sought the relaxation of their dress code and seclusion (Anderson-Bricker 1999; VanNewkirk 2006). Women in most other countries sought to rid themselves of their minority status. Women still required male permission to sign a contract or bring a lawsuit. The evidence of black feminism represents the disruption of the wave theory (Thompson 2002; Kelly 2005; VanNewkirk 2006). White and black feminism challenged white women's racism within the movement during the First and Second Wave of feminism (Thompson 2002; Kelly 2005; VanNewkirk 2006).

Activism around gender oppression predated the use of 'wave' as a metaphor to delineate the different times in the history of feminist thought and the development of activism (Springer 2002). The Women's Alliance in 1968 was dealing with issues such as racism, classism, and sexism, long before 'wavism' and the emergence of 'wavists' (Anderson-Bricker 1999). The periodisation forced a particular kind of narrative that focused on Western feminist history. Within that, it allowed for only the most 'respectable' topics such as law, rights, and

motherhood within marriage. It left out the more marginalised subjects, such as diversity in sexuality and singlehood (Moran 2004; Studies 2010). This challenged the view that First Wave feminism represents essentialism, as the critical questions about what it means to be a woman, had already been asked before the periodisation (Roseneil 2010).

2.3 Capitalist development and gender

In this section, I argue that the expansion of capitalist accumulation termed 'development' within the neoliberal framework, marginalises women. I look at how women are pushed to the margins of an unfolding capitalist accumulation process. I also look at the reorganisation of labour and the gender implications. I show that the informal sector is a gendered product of the accumulation process rather than an aspect that will eventually be assimilated by it. I finally look at the formal and informal institutions and argue that women occupy marginal positions in both.

2.3.1 Capitalist accumulation process and its expansion

To understand how the process of capitalist expansion shapes the production of gender, it is necessary to understand the nature of the capitalist system. Key elements of the capitalist system include a deregulated market, flexible, and reorganised production processes and trade liberalisation (Todaro 2000; Pyle & Ward 2003); and changes in the structures of firms and employment conditions (Ward 1990). I explored three critical points in the understanding of how the unfolding of the accumulation process determines the economic position of women: (i) the race to profitability by capital and the accompanying downward pressure on wages; (ii) the introduction of technology and continuous innovation that leads to size reduction and outsourcing; and (iii) the effects that the global economy has on women.

The essence of capital is to maximise profits (Kellner 2005; Theodore, Peck & Brenner 2011). Consequently, capital tends to move to low-income areas, where there is an excess of labour (Beneria 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003; Di John 2010;). This movement to low-income areas places downward pressure on wages and costs (Beneria 2001a; Pyle & Ward 2003); the movement to low-income areas comes with the deterioration of working conditions and low pay (Pyle 1999; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001a). Capital also creates persistent financial and employment instability (Stiglitz 2000; Beneria 2001b; Mohan 2014). These factors contribute to systematic poverty creation in the Global South and have large-scale consequences for women (Pyle 1999; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001). The number of

people residing in poverty has increased (Escobar 1991; Haider 1995; Mathews 2004). As capitalism has expanded under the banner of 'development' within the neoliberal economic growth model, so has the level of poverty (Haider 1995; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001a; 2001b; 2003; Mathews 2004; Pyle 1999). The capital expansion programme has continued in a situation where the concentration of financial resources in large corporations is increasingly seen, which corresponds to the increase in poverty across the Global South (Pyle 1999; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001a &/b Ward 2003).

Globalisation requires that economies in the Global South should be open to trade and financial flows (Todaro 2000: Beneria 2001a; 2001b). Within a globalised world, the neoliberal policies have required austerity measures from developing countries that find themselves in debt (Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Ward 2003). The effect of this globalised approach has been negative on developing countries and women (Pyle & Ward 2003; Ward, Rahman, Saiful Islam, Akhter & Kamal 2004). The restrictions on government spending often hamper women's progress towards financial independence as they have to take on tasks that are the government's responsibility (Haider 1995; Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003). These are tasks such as childcare and care of the elderly and the disabled (Pyle & Ward 2003).

The liberalisation of economies in the Global South requires that governments adopt measures to curtail government spending on welfare areas such as child, disabled, and elderly care. This puts a further burden on women and hampers their ability to earn a living outside the home, as they have to take over these responsibilities.

2.3.2 Reorganisation of labour and gender

To compete in a global economy, enterprises have reorganised their production processes (Pyle 1999; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001a &b). For companies to keep ahead of the competition, they need to be innovative and introduce new technologies (Pyle 1999; Beneria 2001a&b;). This reorganisation due to innovation and technology requires new skills sets, which impose changes in the composition of the workforce (Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001a&b;). Labour-intensive projects and businesses have shifted to the Global South (Wood 1994; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001a&b), while the skilled personnel remain in the Global North (Wolf 1990; Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001b). Often new ways of production lead to outsourcing, downsizing and subcontracting, with negative implications for jobs (Beneria 1987; Roldán 1987; Standing 1989; Wilson 1991). Companies increasingly rely on

informalised productivity arrangements as companies reduce the workforce as a consequence of global competitiveness in the business sector (Beneria 2001b).

Informal work production and smaller work teams have become a feature of reorganised work (Pyle 1998, 1999; Beneria 2001b). Informalisation may take various forms depending on the country, but it has increased in both the Global South and the Global North (Beneria 2001a; 2001b). Informalisation contributes to insecurity and instability across the globe (Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003; Martinez-Fernandez, Wu, Schatz, Taira & Vargas-Hernández 2012; Mohan 2014). However, peripheral countries and their low-income workers in the Global South have been affected the most (Pyle & Ward 2003). Informalisation has also resulted in growing income disparities (Connelly et al. 2000; Beneria 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003) and uneven development (Ayezaluno 2013; Bandarage 1997; Negi 2014). This was witnessed in areas like the US-Mexico border, which succeeded in attracting investment and increased employment but has seen persistent poverty among women (Beneria, 2001b).

The twin processes of informalisation and decentralisation contributed to unemployment in the Global South (Connelly et al. 2000; Pyle & Ward 2003). Unemployment has adverse health outcomes on workers at the lower end of educational and skill labour markets (Capelli 1999; Katz 2000). Unemployment is often experienced across job types (International Labour Organization [ILO] 1994; Standing 1999). When unemployed workers find new jobs, they tend to move towards temporary lower-paid positions (Beneria & Santiago 2001). The increased levels of unemployment have also resulted in a decline in labour union membership in many countries (Connelly et al. 2000; Katz 2000).

In conclusion, the accumulation process of capitalism has demanded a downward trend in the cost of capital production, and this process has driven the technological innovation and the reorganisation of the production process. The demands of the production process are excluding low-skilled labour and women. The reorganisation has also hurt labour unions, with the majority of their members being low-skilled workers. The decline in the size of labour produced a large number of unemployable people, which in turn contributed to large-scale informalisation of work in large parts of the world, with increasing insecurity, with the most significant number of those involved being women.

2.3.3 Gender and the informal sector

This subsection considers three statements: the informal sector is part of the accumulation process of capitalism; women are in the majority of informal sector players in the Global South; and it makes for precarious living with limited possibilities of the eradication of poverty.

Researchers historically argued that the informal sector needs formalisation (Van Rooyen & Atonites 2007; Mahadea & Zogli 2018) and that the formal sector exists independently from the informal sector (Beneria 2001a; 2001b). More recently, the literature emphasises the active links between the formal and informal sector (Beneria 2001a; 2001b). Historically, policymakers expected that the formal sector would absorb the informal sector (Portes, Castells & Benton 1989; Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Karides, 2002). However, the informal sector has seen a cost reduction strategy in the global competition for profits (Misra 2000; Beneria 2001a; 2001b). For some researchers, the role of the informal sector is critical to the maintenance of the capitalist world economy (Misra 2000; Beneria 2001a; 2001b). The informal sector is, therefore, an integral part of the formal sector (Portes et al. 1989; Sassen 1998; Karides 2002) and serves to lessen the burden of inbuilt capitalist crises through the exploitation of both formal and informal sector participants (Misra 2000). Beneria (2001a; 2001b) pointed out that their separation is useful only to understand the different types of employment, but that such a division is in essence artificial.

While the proportion of women in the sector varied from region to region (Beneria 2001a; 2001b), the informal sector remains a significant absorbent of women's economic activities resulting from downscaling, restructuring and the informalisation of the workplace (Connelly et al. 2000; Pyle & Ward 2003). Women are often involved in the lowest paying jobs, such as taking care of households (Misra 2000; Bhanumathi 2002) cooperative childcare; labour exchange for house construction; illegal trade (Portes et al. 1989; Beneria 2001b), such as beer brewing (Parpart 1988; Mahy 2011) prostitution (Kynoch 2005; Bhanumathi 2002 Mahy 2011; Werthmann 2009); smuggling; begging; and drug cultivation (Vickers 1991; Beneria 2001b). These studies originate from North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia (Beneria, 2001)

The informal sector also offers limited possibilities for the accumulation of capital (Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Kabeer 2012). A growing number of women and people from poor households occupy the informal sector (Skinner, 2000). Furthermore, informal sector employment is well-known to have the following characteristics: low earning levels (Pyle 1999; Misra 2000)

absence of contracts and limited legal protection; precarious and unstable working conditions (Misra 2000; Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003; Kabeer 2012) poor access to social services; and the absence of fringe benefits (Beneria 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003).

2.3.4 Formal capitalist institutions and gender

Institutions are the structures that give expression to the economy. It is these institutions, their functions, performance and their structure that are the key drivers in determining and defining economic development outcomes (Klasen 2016; Smith 2004). To understand gender outcomes in the economy, it is vital to examine how institutions produce gender.

Men often dominate the formal institutions in the global economy and often determine what gets measured and what defines social progress; however, men's perspectives are often one-sided (Acker 1992; Smith 2004; Klasen 2016). These perspectives and experiences become a filter through which policies are developed and implemented (Acker 1992; Smith 2004). Men ensure their survival through the design of these institutions (Acker 1992; Collins 2000; Pateman 1988; Smith 2004). It is through the perspectives that they construct, that what is 'known' and what can be investigated and measured, is determined. Women's perspectives and experiences are thus marginalised (Collins 2000; Smith 2004). Male domination has hampered the potential for full coverage of relevant and essential issues. It has also put constraints on what current statistical analyses and methods can reveal (Smith 2004). In most of the research, the respondents are male (Reay 2004). Male dominance has led to the current chasm between how women's issues and experiences are accounted for. The available frames for women to interpret their own experiences are foreign to women (Smith 2004). Male domination alienates women from their own experiences (Collins 2000; Smith 2004). Women's subordination and exclusion is, therefore, an integral part of institutional functioning (Acker 1992).

Many recruitment processes and induction programmes for organisations are deeply gendered (Acker 1992; Smith 2004). Often recruitment and induction processes control, isolate and shut out women and language may discourage women from applying for jobs (Government of South Australia, 2017). The grading system is also based on race and gender (Acker 1992; Collins 2000; Government of South Australia, 2017). Women are poorly represented in high-ranking positions, even when they spend the equivalent amount of time at the same skills level as men (Government of South Australia, 2017). They are over-represented in low-skill, poorly paid categories and assigned these isolated roles (Smith 2004; Government of South Australia,

2017). Women also experience acts of subliminal violence in these contexts (Mac Kinnon 1983).

Institutions often project themselves in gender-neutral ways (Pateman 1988; Acker 1992; Reay 2004). Institutions take on a posture of free relationships between themselves and their employees (Pateman 1988). The real relationship with employees, however, is that of subordination. Further, the employees are only relevant to the function they perform and hold limited ownership. Employees remain external and add-on, and the institution seldom becomes an integral part of their existence (Pateman 1988; Smith 2004). The labour process usually develops outside of the inputs of worker participants (Smith 2004). Often institutions project workers as non-gendered. On the contrary, a closer look, reveals a picture in which individuals are often regarded as having the general characteristics of a man (Smith 1987; Pateman 1988).

Society often provides imagery through concepts, symbols, and ideologies (Acker 1992; Smith 2004; Lahiri-Dutt 2016). The images of masculinity depicting these institutions are conspicuous (Acker 1992). Masculinity also manifests in businesses and the military (Connell 1987; Iannello 2010). The image of a successful person is often painted as an audacious, undercutting, unkind character. The feminine characteristics, which include being caring, nurturing, and supportive, are seldom associated with success (Corno & De Walque 2012a; Government of South Australia, 2017).

2.3.5 Informal institutions: Household dynamics and gender

The informal institutions in this section refer to households. I argue that the household is not an appropriate mechanism of resource allocation; it is an arena of conflict where women may not receive their fair share of benefits.

The informal institutions usually consist of norms, cultural practices and values that shape and impede women's expression in economic terms (Walker 1990; Klasen 2016). These informal institutions do so by prescribing what women can and cannot do (Klasen2016). Women are expected to engage in childcare (Walker 1990; Klasen 2016), elderly care (Walker 1990), and to ensure the well-being of the household economy (Mosoetsa 2011; Bak 2008; Walker 1990). While women's reproductive and care activities are critical to the well-being of societies, they remain unpaid (Collins 2000), undervalued, unrecognised, and unacknowledged (Beneria & Sen 1981; Haider 1995; United Nations Development Programme 1995). Seemingly, the

household holds no significance in society and it receives attention only when problems begin to emerge (Klasen 2016).

An examination of the allocation of household work based on gender shows that women carry a more significant burden in comparison to men (Haider 1995; Collins 2000; Beneria 2001a; 2001b). Women have more work to do and less downtime than men, and the situation takes its toll on women (Haider 1995). For women, "[t]he complexity and diversity of her roles combine to form triple workload, triple responsibility, triple burden" (Haider 1995:41). This has far-reaching consequences at multiple levels, such as their economic, physical, and social wholeness. Limited access to adequate food and nutrition, leading to the prevalence of anaemia, low birth rates, low-weight babies, and maternal deaths (Haider 1995).

Cultural and religious terms often frame gender roles in informal institutions (Bak 2008). This is an area outside the gaze of policy, it escapes scrutiny and therefore cannot be changed by policy interventions (Klasen 2016). The cultural norms that define gender roles are seen to be in the private domain, while the policy is seen to be in the public domain and therefore have no jurisdiction over the private domain (Connelly et al. 2000; Klasen 2016).

The male-dominated perspectives and concepts, which shape and give content to the formal institutions, are often imposed on the informal institutions (Smith 2004). The two types of institutions, the formal and the informal, produce 'knowledge' that is not appropriated and used by society in the same way (Acker 1992). The formal institution stands in authority over the household (Acker 1992; Smith 2004). 'Production' is privileged over 'reproduction' (Acker 1992). The formal institutions are vital in developing and advancing the economy (Acker 1992; Paterman 1988). The maintenance and reproductive role of the household mentioned above is a place of consumption and, at worst, is regarded as 'unproductive' (Acker 1992). The household, which is at the bottom of the hierarchy among institutions in society, is the world that women occupy as economic beings. Women inhabit this space even as they defer to men's authority within cultural dictates.

The domain of women reveals particular challenges that women face to achieve economic well-being. The first is that the household as a unit does not represent a fair mechanism of resource distribution (; Beneria & Sen 1981; Blumberg; 1995; Momsen 2001; Mosoetsa 2011; Bak 2008). Women often find themselves at the end of the priority list in the distribution process. Household analyses from previous studies have confirmed this, showing differential powers and privilege based on gender and age (Beneria & Sen 1981; Mosoetsa 2011; Bak 2008;

Womin 2013) The neoclassical economic effort is misdirected in allocating development benefits to the men, with the assumption that the benefits will accrue to women (Beneria & Sen 1981; Haider 1995). The dominance of this approach has seen most jobs and training made available only to men, as men are expected to be the breadwinners in the household (Potuchek 1997). The trickle theory results in unequal access to processes and resources that assist in building assets, particularly access to health, education, and skills through technical training and the employment opportunities that result from this (Haider 1995).

The household is an arena of conflict, especially concerning resource allocation (Beneria & Sen 1981; Mosoetsa 2011; Bak 2008). Unlike men, women spend their income on their children's nutrition, health, and education and therefore benefits the household (Blumberg 1995; Mosoetsa 2011; Bak 2008) and have been found to contribute to economic growth (Kabeer 2012). However, men are preferred to women to take up paid jobs in the economy, resulting in the dependence of women on income generated by the men, leading to the loss of status for the women (Beneria 2001a; 2001b).

2.4 Synthesis

This chapter made three main points: First, it identified the gap between the advances in thought and theorising about the position of women. The second point was that capital advances in terms of technology and reach have resulted in the marginalisation of women. Third, both the formal and informal institutions that uphold capitalism have alienated women and control the economic advancement of women.

At the intersection of ideology, development practice, and social movements lie the development outcomes for women. The evaluation of such outcomes produces shifts in thinking about concepts, which lead to the development of waves. While the wave theory is also not without its criticism, it has been useful in locating the current thinking on development and gender and evaluating practice and contextualising outcomes.

By comparing the feminist movements and the reality of the impact of the capitalist accumulation process on women, a picture emerges of a world that has advanced in thought but has regressed in practice. Poverty among women has not only widened but has deepened with the advances and globalisation of capital. It seems that capital interests overpower the ideological shifts that have questioned the historical position of women. A picture emerges below a funnel, that shows how women's economic possibilities filter at every step of the

accumulation process (see Figure 2.1). At the top, there is the capital accumulation process which introduces innovation and technology, which results in the informalisation of work for women. The institutions that maintain capital are designed by men to exclude women. The institutional processes are similarly designed to exclude women in the middle. At the bottom is the household, where reproductive activities take place. The household is a place where women reside in servitude to society yet in subservience. The household moulds the economic expectations of women through norms that govern their behaviour. The picture also represents the hierarchical relationship of power among the various levels in society with the bottom having the least amount. The household at the bottom stands in subservience to the top and the middle.

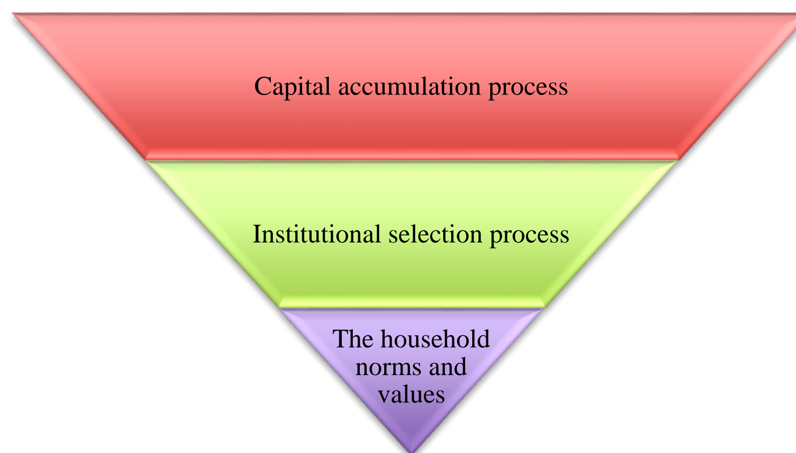


Figure 2.1: The hierarchical nature of institutional relationships

The chapter foregrounds the position of women in the resource curse theory which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. It provides a background to the position of women within the resource economy that is already alienating and hostile towards women. The Feminist theory is essential to frame and understand women's economic position. The marginal status of women makes women's empowerment urgent. The research strategy employing focus groups and in-depth interviews have been chosen as a means of ensuring that their experiences are privileged in the study. "[T]he grasp and exploration of her own experience as a method of discovering society restores her at the center, which in this enterprise at least is wholly hers" (Smith 2004:13).

Chapter 3
RESOURCE CURSE THEORY, MINING, AND GENDER

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed changing paradigms associated with GAD and emphasised the negative consequences of capitalist expansion on women. This chapter explores the resource curse theory to understanding women's experiences within mining economies. Researchers often refer to the resource curse theory as the 'paradox of the plenty', as resource economies rarely deliver on the promises of development (Sachs & Warner 1995; Larsen 2005; Ross 2008; Frankel, 2012; Walker 2015). This chapter starts with a discussion of the resource curse theory and explains how resources often lead to underdevelopment and institutional failure. It also shows that the resource curse theory seldom considers the impact of gender aspects on mining. The second part of the chapter focuses on the challenges faced by women in the Global South in seeking economic participation opportunities in resource economies. I discuss the international protocols and enabling policies aimed at addressing gender issues in the mining industry. Finally, the chapter examines why the performance of these protocols governing women empowerment in the mining industry in South Africa remains subdued.

3.2 Resource curse theory

Mining is an integral part of the global economy (Jenkins 2014). The African continent alone is home to about 12% of the world's oil reserves, 42% of its gold, and 80–90% of chromium and platinum metals (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2019). Africa's mineral wealth alone can help it reshape the economy and effect structural transformation (Oxfam 2017). However, the development outcomes in Global South mining economies have been disappointing (Auty 2001; Sachs & Warner 2001; Karl 2007; Tusalem & Morrison 2013). The expectations of abundance have instead turned into experiences of poverty (Frederiksen 2007; Frankel 2012) and war (Mansfield & Snyder 1995; Watts 2004; Helwege 2015;). Increasingly, the mining industry operates within deregulated markets and trade liberalisation (Besada & Martins 2013; see Chapter 2). The liberalisation of the mining sector has weakened the developmental role of the state in the minerals sector (Besada & Martins 2013). These factors have contributed to the inability of many countries to use their resources for sustainable

development (Oxfam 2015). Often, mining represents the crudest, inherently violent model of development (Bandarage 1997; Womin 2013).

The resource curse theory refers to the negative relationship between growth and dependence on natural resource revenues (Auty 1993; Karl 2007). The early contributors to the resource curse theory include Auty (1993),) and Sachs and Warner (1997). Since the initial contributions, other influential scholars like Mehlum, Moene and Torvik (2006) and Frederiksen (2007) have since expanded the curse theory to include social and institutional concerns. However, a separate group of researchers has questioned the assumption of an automatic curse (Larsen 2005; Mehlum et al. 2006; Sala-i-Martin & Subramanian 2003), pointing to cases like Botswana and Norway.

Furthermore, there is little agreement on the universality of the resource curse theory (Cooley 2001; Frederikson 2007; Ross 1999). For example, researchers do not fully understand why the curse is applicable in some Global South countries and not in others (Di John 2010). The research is often fragmented in nature and stems from a wide range of disciplines, such as politics, science, and economics (Ross 1999). This interdisciplinary nature has contributed to different explanations and different datasets to find empirical evidence, for example, Di John (2010), who looked at the rentier state, the Dutch disease, and institutions, while Ross (1999) created two main categories of explanation, the political and the economic. Ross (1999) comes from a background in politics, while Di John (2010) investigates this from economics as a discipline.

3.2.1 Economic ramifications of the curse

This section discusses four main characteristics of the economic performance of the resource-rich economies within the context of the resource curse theory. These characteristics include the decline of trade in primary exports, the instability of international commodity markets, the weak economic linkages between the resource and non-resource sectors in Global South resource economies, and the Dutch disease.

According to the resource curse theory, resource-dependent countries have lower growth rates than countries not dependent on resources (Larsen 2005; Karl 2007; Sachs & Warner 2001). The critical factors that contribute to lower economic growth rates are price fluctuation (Blattman, Hwang & Williamson 2007; Van der Ploeg & Poelhekke 2007), boom and bust cycles that are not adequately managed (Karl 2007; Frankel 2012), high capital intensity and a

generation of profits which accrue to private hands and the state, and the mismanagement thereof that is central to the curse (Auty 2001). On the other hand, Obeng-Odoom (2013) argued that both benefits and negatives are part of the economy and that class membership determines the benefit flow.

Some countries, such as South Africa, have benefitted regarding infrastructure development on the back of mining (Marais 2016). Research from China shows that resource-endowed cities play an essential role in the broader economy (He et al. 2017). The research shows that resources on their own do not represent a curse and that rich countries have been able to avoid this because of their strong institutions and the rule of law (Larsen 2005; Van der Ploeg 2011; Walker 2015).

Unstable commodity prices often leave the economies of countries in the Global South vulnerable (Frankel 2012). The vulnerability arises mostly from mineral price volatility (Collier 2007; Karl 2007). When the prices fall, it leads to the reduction of economic performance. Part of the reason for falling prices has been the rising volumes of commodity exports (Borensztein & Reinhart 1994; Ross 1999). In addition, the collapse of commodity agreements (Gilbert 1996), and the collapse of Russia and other East European economies since 1989, have sent commodity prices into free fall (Ross 1999). This volatility, in turn, makes countries in the Global South unable to build their economies to sufficient levels to allow them to meet their service-delivery mandates and meet the needs of their populations (Karl 2007).

While the discussion above decries the reduction in revenues as a result of price volatility and weak linkages to the local economy, the Dutch disease is concerned with the effects of the boom on the state (Ross 2001; Collier 2007; Karl 2007;). The concept of the Dutch disease emanates from studies done by Dutch researchers who examined the effects of windfall gas revenues on the Dutch economy in the 1960s to 1970s. This gave rise to the literature on the Dutch disease (Corden 1984; Kremers 1986; Neary & Van Wijnbergen 1986; Ross 2001; Frederiksen 2007). These researchers argued that the distortions on the macroeconomy because of the sudden inflows have negative consequences. These negative consequences are in the form of an expansion of the role of the state in the economy, an appreciation of the exchange rate, accompanying increase in the tradable sector relative to the non-tradable sector (Van Wijnberger 1984; Matsunyama 1992; Sachs & Warner 1995;), and a reduction in tax collection (Mahdavy 1970; Luciani 1987; Vandewalle 1998; Huntington 1991). Furthermore, there is a noted increase in the rates of domestic taxation and an ever-increasing state budget that leads

to deficits, when the external flow of rentals finally diminishes (Frederiksen 2007; Ross 2001). The tradable sector faces much higher costs, which render it uncompetitive in the marketplace. The unpredictability discourages investment in other sectors of the economy (Mahdavy 1970). While the economic explanations for the curse are rigorous in the methods used and have been proven as scientifically sound, they dislocate themselves from the broader intentions of capital which are to create an outpost in the Global South (Beneria 2001). The long-term consequences of mining, and ultimately mining decline, were essential for this study.

The economies of countries of resource-led countries of the Global South generate little growth in other sectors of the economy (Ross 1999). There are also marginal links to local suppliers, as mines procure goods and services from international suppliers (Ayelazuno 2013; Negi 2014). Consequently, the multiplier effects in the local and regional economy are weak (Bebbington, Bebbington, Bury, Lugan, Muñoz & Scurrah 2008; Ayelazuno 2013;; Department of Mineral Energy Mining Lekgotla 2014). The weak linkages minimise job opportunities in the mining value chain (Ferguson 2006; Ayelazuno 2013). The lack of investments at the local levels where extraction happens often leads to undiversified economies, which experience boom and bust cycles (Cooley 2001; Collier 2007; Karl 2007).

Part of the critical challenge which leads to the situation of dependency on external players to process mineral resources in the Global South is that the countries often lack the capital to ensure the ongoing redevelopment of the mining value chain (Ayelazuno, 2013; Nguegan 2017). Processing and market positioning of the final product often occurs in the Global North, resulting in little beneficiation in poorer countries (Ayelazuno 2013). Countries such as Norway have taken control of this process through their strong financial and institutional base, to ensure that forward and backward economic linkages are realised. This is considered to be more important than the direct benefits of collecting rent from mining (Ayelazuno [2013). The mining-related economic multipliers in sub-Saharan Africa are minimal (Progress Panel 2013). The focus on rent collection and taxation in sub-Saharan Africa ignores the upstream and downstream benefits from extraction, which is where the industrial linkages with the local economy are created and where high-end jobs are manifested. The preoccupation with rents does not acknowledge the complexity of the problem (Cox 1987; Ayelazuno 2013).

External players in the mining industry in developing countries ensure that countries in the Global South remain locked into the production and export of raw materials (Amin 1997; Saul & Leys 1999; Arrighi 2002). This stems from the dependency relationship between rich and

developing countries. This creates mining enclaves that strengthen the colonial relationship with the core-periphery that manifests in the export of raw materials and import of high-value goods (Amin 1972. The resource dependence of mining economies in the Global South is part of the uneven development, rather than its intrinsic nature (Fergusson 2006; Ayelazuno 2013)

This section showed economies from the Global South are vulnerable to commodity price volatility and shocks as their economies are locked into structural dependency relationships with economies in the North.

3.2.2 Institutions and a cursed economy

Researchers commonly frame the resource curse theory around the economic growth model. The theory posits that there are strong links between economic growth and institutional economics. However, the research results on whether mining contributes to weak institutions are mixed. Sachs and Warner (1995) found no evidence that links the performance of rentier states with the nature of their institutions (Mehlum et al. 2006), while research by Frankel (2012) showed that it is not the nature of the institutions that determine how well rentier states do, but the quality of those institutions.

The first to come up with the concept of a rentier state outside of the mainstream Marxist–Leninist orientation was Mahdavy (1970). He referred to a rentier state as a state that derives all, or a substantial portion, of its national revenue from natural resources which are processed by external companies. The organisations or institutions of resource-dependent states are often different from those of a non-resource state (Mahdavy 1970; Cooley 2001; Vandewalle 2001). The design of these institutions reflects the compromises that governments had to strike with prominent social institutions in exchange for revenues (Cooley 2001). States endowed with natural resources often position their institutions to perform different sets of functions and roles from those associated with standard tax collection (Vandewalle 2001). Those countries that prioritise tax collection often take on the form of Western-type institutions (Cooley 2001; Vandewalle 2001).

Researchers often refer to the non-tax collecting states as distributive states (Vandewalle 1988; Cooley 2001; Frederiksen 2007). Distributive states tend to allocate more expenditure to social protection than to economic management and other issues. Their primary focus is to dispense, as opposed to revenue collection or regulation (Vandewalle 1988). Distributive states are unlikely to develop ‘modern type’ bureaucratic capacity as they structure themselves to give

social protection a more extensive role (Vandewalle 1988; Cooley 2001; Frederiksen 2007). The legal and information gathering capacity, which is performed by Western bureaucracies, is weakened by poor institutional design (Vandewalle 2001: Collier 2007). Furthermore, the state's institutional integrity is compromised by its lack of focus on extracting tax revenue (Cooley 2001; Collier 2007; Karl 2007) This affects its ability to gather information about its citizenry, which results in the states having an insufficient information base for strategic planning (Levin 1960; Cooley 2001). These states are, therefore, unable to develop sound strategies and policies (Watkins 1963; Cooley 2001; Ramodo 2015).

Rentier states adopt policies that are seen to maintain the status quo and are often reluctant to plan outside the resource economy and come up with post-resource development strategies (Collier 2007; Frederiksen 2007). While the arguments for institutional positioning for tax collection remain valid, the insistence on the ability of institutions in resource-rich countries to collect and manage the collection, and use the rents, offers only part of the solution (Vandewalle 1988); Cooley 2001; Frederiksen 2007). The real solution lies in the development of mining-related upstream and downstream industries in the Global South (Ayezaluno 2013).

The distributive state frequently seeks to depoliticise the power of both the socially significant groups and the state and often attempts to buy off political contenders, as these groups would likely question state spending (Cooley 2001; Vandevalle 2001; Acemoglu, Robinson & Verdier 2004). Furthermore, as citizens are free of the burden of taxation, they are less likely to scrutinise the state's spending (Collier 2007). This represents the first level in the process of undermining democracy in the Global South, as citizen participation in the affairs of the state is reduced (Vandewalle 2001). The distributive state becomes the critical decision-maker in matters of politics and economy and renders societal structures impotent (Vandewalle 2001). Whereas in non-resource economies, opposition parties and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) coalesce to agitate for change in state performance and policy reform, the redistributive state becomes the sole decision-maker and assessor of the need for institutional change.

This policy stance of non-taxation of citizens is meant to stabilise the system and reinforce the power of the state. Non-taxation policies make people believe that the resources are shared equally (Cooley 2001). The representative bodies tend to be symbolic, as bureaucracies make significant political and policy decisions. Governments seldom use representative bodies as forums to thrash out the political difference or bring policy change (Acemoglu et al. 2004;

Vandewalle 2001). These distributive states employ personal benefits in the form of reduced personal tax burden and subsidies on consumer goods and foodstuffs. The benefits flowing from rents are allocated according to social standing and influence. For example, Mahdavy (1970) in his study of the Gulf States, found that citizens received regular payments based on performance in oil revenues. The more influential groups received more considerable benefits in return for political support. By dispensing patronage to key societal actors, the rentier state reinforces and legitimises its central role. These behaviours represent a threat to democracy (Luciani 1987; Mahdavy 1970; Vandewalle 1998).

In conclusion, the above section shows that the Global South states often take on both a rentier and distributive character in resource economies. It reflects the uniqueness of form and organisation of the rent-seeking state. It shows how the state's lack of capacity affects its long-term planning. It also shows how the state is preoccupied with dispensing patronage to keep itself in power and thereby dampening the broader participation of civil society. This represents the first level of assault on democracy. The state is preoccupied with its self-preservation instead of working towards alternatives that would entail the reinvention of the economy. According to Mahdavy (1970), in the face of government's inability to work with post-mining scenarios to develop strategies to plan alternative paths to growth, they tend to show optimism and keenness to protect and maintain the status quo when they receive rental windfalls.

3.2.3 Leadership and corruption within the curse

The previous subsection showed how boom and bust mining cycles weaken institutions. It also showed how weak institutions often lead to the first level of disenfranchisement of people through the weakening of participation in government affairs. This subsection looks at the second level of weakening of democracy through a loss of public trust because of corruption. The section looks at the role played by factionalism in destabilising resource economies, and how conflict and war become enduring features of resource economies in the Global South. The chapter makes further observations regarding gender exclusions in institutions upholding the resource economy. Although the resource curse theory does not evaluate the role of gender, males dominate leadership positions.

The leadership in resource-curse economies is implicated in the economy's inability to renew itself. Researchers often characterise the leadership in both the private and public sectors of resource-rich countries as short-sighted (Ross 1999; Auty 2001; Oxfam 2017). The elites either adopt a get-rich-quick mentality or seek to maintain the status quo as stated above (Ross 1999).

Evidence for this is in the recent commodity boom cycle from 2000 to 2010, which mainly benefited extractive companies and political elites at the expense of the majority of Africa's citizens (Oxfam 2017). Research shows that 56% of all illicit financial flows leaving the African shores in the period 2000–2010 came out of oil, metals, ores, and precious metals (African Union 2015). The Panama Leaks revealed that 44 out of 54 African countries hid their wealth generated from the minerals sector through shell companies established to own or do business with oil, gas, and mining operations (African Union 2015).

The extractive companies are often engaged in tax evasion (Ayezaluno 2013; Oxfam 2015). Tax evasion takes place using shell companies, transfer pricing, offshore companies, and tax havens (Le Billon 2011; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2012 Africa Progress Panel 2013). The Oxfam report (2015) shows that Africa lost 11 billion USD in 2010. This loss is mostly the result of mispricing by multinational companies operating in the mineral sector. The report further shows that Sierra Leone's tax incentive to just six firms was equivalent to 59% of the country's entire budget; more than eight times the spending on health and seven times the spending on education. Africa is regarded by Oxfam (2015) as the site of a massive transfer of financial resources from the continent lost in bad mining deals and overly generous tax incentives that hurt country income levels in the long term.

The instability brought by the boom and bust cycles resulting from lack of planning, (as shown in section 3.2.2), led to a fluctuating revenue base (Auty 2001; Sachs & Warner 2001). The leadership capacity to manage these volatile revenues is not equal to the task (Auty 2001; Sachs & Warner 2001; Tusalem & Morrison 2013). The checks and balances provided by the institutions tend to weaken with time (Collier 2007), leading to increased levels of corruption (Leite & Weidmann 1999; Caselli 2006; Holder 2006). The overzealous which often happens spending happened during a boom in revenues, which led to severe financial crises and budget deficits (Humphreys, Sachs & Stiglitz 2007).

The inability to collect revenues has both social and political influences such as the short-sightedness of political leaders and the social groups that are empowered by the resource economy (Ross 1999). The powerful social groups often weaken state institutions by engaging in rent-seeking behaviour (Paldam 1997; Auty 2001; Karl 2007; Ayelazuno 2013), mismanagement of the economy and often adopting corrupt practices (Stiglitz 2000; Auty 2001; Karl 2007). These fraudulent activities and unethical behaviour weaken institutions (Frederiksen 2007; Larsen 2005; Miller 2005) and result in mistrust on the part of the broader

populace (Tow & Van der Meer 2017; Warren 1999). As discussed in 3.2.2 above, the decline in trust in government institutions leads to lawlessness and a further affront to the quality of representative democracy (Tow & Van der Meer 2017; Warren 1999), which poses an additional threat to democracy (Huntington 1991; Luciani 1987; Mahdavy 1970; Mansfield & Snyder 1995; Vandewalle 1998; Watts 2004). Those who are competing for power commonly disregard the rules that would make democracy work (Frederiksen 2007).

Contradictions riddle the extractive industries (Le Billon 2011). The industry often argues that good governance is a precondition for capitalist investment (Ayezaluno 2013). However, multinational extractive industries have invested in the most inhospitable institutional contexts in war-torn countries such as Angola, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as corrupt authoritarian states such as Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Libya, and Chad (Reno 1995, 2000). The proponents of good governance have turned a blind eye (Ayelazuno 2013).

Often war and conflict emanate from autocratic leadership (; Mansfield & Snyder 1995; Watts 2004; Fredericksen 2007). War is often the outcome of unmanaged conflicts in resources economies, with the potential for it spilling into civil war (Mansfield & Snyder 1995; Watts 2004; Ayelazuno 2013). Oxfam (2015) argued that the latest resource boom in Africa generated social and political conflict, which is now more than five times the level it was a decade ago. Among the sources of this conflict are grievances on the part of local communities regarding inadequate environmental monitoring, insecure land tenure, and disgruntlement caused by underlying issues such as economic inequality, cultural identity and political enfranchisement (Helwege 2015), the number of fragile and ungoverned territories, and political struggles over the distribution of resource rents (Oxfam 2015). Often these conflicts had an ethnic basis (Gyimah-Boadi & Premeh 2012; Watt 2004). In some instances, resource wealth also provides financial reasons to sustain violence against their opponents (Collier & Hoeffler 2004; Watts 2004). Often, local people do not enjoy investments (Ferguson 2006).

The above discussion showed that the resource curse theory explains what happens within a resource economy in the Global South. The theory refers to resource booms and busts but does not explore how this impacts men and women. The theory does not explain how negative implications of corruption, conflict, and war affect women. Its exploration of institutions does not sufficiently interrogate who occupies these institutions and who engages in corrupt activities that constrain planning foresight to reinvent resource economies. The leadership of resource economies often focuses on the immediate and is usually male-dominated. Their

prejudice to maximise benefits for themselves hinders the development of effective strategies to manage the economy effectively. Powerful social groups consist of men who also protect the status quo through their influence on the state. This influence on the state tends to weaken institutions, which leads to the pursuit of corruption by individuals with reckless activities and promotion of factionalism along cultural and ethnic lines. Often the end-result is conflict and civil war.

3.3 Challenges faced by women in mining

3.3.1 Women and mining: The international experience

In Chapter 2, I argued that, as globalisation became a prominent phenomenon, the economic position of women and their conventional gender roles changed. In this chapter, I show how the limitations imposed on women's productivity also extended to limited women's rights on mineral wealth. This section looks at experiences internationally among mining countries and explores the barriers to women's economic advancement. It looks at patriarchy as the underlying factor to women's marginalisation and examines women's struggles to overcome economic exclusion in mining.

The pre-colonial experience of women in the mining industry shows that women commonly worked underground. Examples of this exist in Japan, Mexico, Yakos and India (Mercier 2011). In India, women continued to work underground after being prohibited from doing so by the UK government in 1842 (McCulloch 2003; Mercier 2011). In Chapter 2, I showed that the dislocation of women from the general capitalist economy was because of mechanisation, capitalisation and centralisation. These factors compounded women's exclusion when it came to mining. At the local level, it resulted from a myriad of barricades in the form of superstitious beliefs, folklore, and taboos (Werthmann 2009; Mercier 2011).

In many cases, governments enforced these perceptions about the role of women through legislation (Werthmann 2009). These new laws systematically disempowered women in the mining industry and alienated them from the production process in the mining industry. The current absence of women from mining is, therefore, a product of global capital encroachment on women's lives and the norms and cultural expectations, and not the masculine nature of mining.

Global experience shows that, even in cases where women are part of the mining industry, they are involved in the lowest paying and marginal activities (Gibson & Klinck 2005; Murray & Peetz 2009). Historically, women in Australia occupied positions such as that of typists, secretaries, or office workers (Gibson & Klinck 2005; Mayes and Pini 2010). Three factors directly contributed to the broader involvement of women in the mining industry in Australia over the past two decades. First, new technologies allowed the mining industry to drive the recruitment of women (Murray & Peetz 2009; Mayes & Pini 2010). Second, large-scale opencast mining 'freed' the women from the 'physical threats' they would otherwise experience underground (Mayes & Pini 2010). Opencast mining also increased salaries in the mining industry. Although female employment in the mining industry is growing in Australia, women still only represent 10.4% of employment in the mining industry (Mayes & Pini 2010). Many female workers remain office workers. Third, the promulgation in 1984 of Australia's Sex Discrimination Act also levelled the playing fields in the mining industry as the act forced companies to look at their recruitment practices (Murray & Peetz 2009; Mayes & Pini 2010).

Despite accessing mining jobs, the patriarchal system remains dominant. This plays out in many ways:

- Women were typically not relieved of domestic chores (Pocock, Wanrooy, Strazzari & Bridge 2001; Peetz, Murray & Muurlink 2012; Sharma 2010).
- On the work front, women continue to experience sexist attitudes (Tallichet 2000; Gibson & Scoble 2004; Murray & Peetz 2009). Often, women are subjected to the questioning of their identities as women and what 'real' women should do (Mayes & Pini 2010).
- There is a reluctance of management to train women for jobs that would ensure their upward mobility (Eveline & Booth 2003; Mercier 2011).
- There is opposition by men, of women working underground (Murray and Peetz 2009).
- The opposition is couched in superstitious beliefs about women attracting accidents (Werthmann 2009; Mercier 2011;).
- Men often use offensive language against women, reflecting misogyny. Job security remains an issue in Australia, with women conveniently seen as a secure source of labour during the boom times but disposable during the downturns (Womin 2013).

In resource economies, women's state of mental health deteriorates. The harsh, isolated environments and the masculine culture, often associated with mining towns, contribute to the deterioration of overall wellness for women (Lovell & Critchley 2010). These factors, together with the loss of social support and networks for women (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005; Lovell & Critchley 2010), are detrimental to women's mental health (Dunbar, Hickie, Wakerman & Reddy 2007, Lovell & Critchley 2010), and thereby compromise their economic freedom (Bulmer 1975; Wicks 2002; Somerville 2006; Stranglemann 2008). Mental wellness also determines the employability of women. The psychological health, social integration and overall health contribute positively to economic productivity (Lovell & Critchley 2010). This situation where men are preferred over women for employment (see discussion on institutions section 2.3.4) adds to further stress on women.

In Australia, women suffer the adverse effects of mining more than men (Hewett 2002; Sharma 2010). Men often pass the stress they experience in their mining work environment onto their partners, who are predominantly women (Gibson & Scoble 2004; Tallichet 2000; Petkova, Lockie, Rolfe & Ivanova 2009). This also includes the anxiety of their partners being at work or on a work trip or frequently moving to the next job (Sharma & Rees 2007).

In Chile, women were allowed to call for equal labour rights in Chiquicamata (Finn 1998; Mercier 2011). They also made demands for family wages (Klubock 1996; Mercier 2011). Bolivian tin communities contested and renegotiated gender roles (Nash 1979). Women in resource-led economies in the Global North engaged in struggles that sought to access work opportunities in mining at the same remunerative level as men and these were to become part of the ongoing struggle between men and women (Mercier 2011). As a result, they have been absorbed into mainstream mining, albeit in administrative roles (Mercier 2011). This is in contrast to the experiences of women in Global South resource economies. This opportunity was never available to women in the Global South countries who only occupied peripheral positions as artisanal miners.

The acknowledgement that the Global North women are involved in the mining industry does not discount the many challenges they face, which have race and class undertones. For example, in Australia and Canada, aboriginal women have fewer chances for advancement than their white counterparts. Women's' group ascription seems to define their workplace experience (Mercier 2011). This is also in line with the findings of McCulloch (2003) in his

study of coloured and African women working at asbestos mines in South Africa, where their experiences reflect much of their community struggles.

The aboriginal women in Global South countries, such as Canada, Papua New Guinea and Australia, are largely excluded from negotiations and public consultations with mines (Hipwell, Mamen, Weitzner & Whiteman 2002; Simatau 2002; Wardlow 2004). Women receive no benefit from royalties negotiated (Byford 2002), neither can they determine how the money is used (MacDonald 2003; Faircheallaigh 2011) even in societies where land ownership is passed onto women (O'Faircheallaigh 2011). While the evidence supports the above assertion, there is counter-evidence that suggests that this may be a simplistic view of looking at women's participation in mining contexts. There is evidence that some aboriginal women have played essential roles in negotiations with mines (O'Faircheallaigh 2011). Similar evidence of women acting as negotiators is also available from Canada (Bielawski 2003) and Australia (O'Faircheallaigh 2000).

In conclusion, women's exclusion is a result of an interplay of several issues. Key among these is the patriarchal system that relegates women to marginal positions economically and forces their dependency on men for income. The globalisation process which has been reflected upon in Chapter 2, which mining is part of, is a gendered phenomenon. The patriarchy is reinforced not only by barriers created through discriminatory practices, laced by race and group ascription, but also by gendered folklore and superstition. These are all socially constructed to maintain a narrative that is invested in keeping mining as a masculine activity.

3.3.2 Women in mining: the African experience

In this section, I primarily focus on the experiences of women in three countries, Ghana, and Zambia. I discuss women in artisanal mining, the cultural practices that do not serve their economic aspirations, and the mining industry practices that exclude women in the Global South. The discussions in this section point out that women in the Global South only operate in the margins of the mining industry as opposed to those in the Global North who wage their struggles within the industry, as shown above (See section 3.3.1)

Artisanal mining has been a growing phenomenon worldwide (Jenkins 2014; Womin 2013) but is most prominent in Africa (Womin 2013). The growth of artisanal mining was spurred by the structural adjustment programmes that influenced agricultural production processes and reshaped employment patterns in agriculture (Beneria & Sen 1981; Beneria & Santiago 2001;

Ward 2003; Womin 2013). This reshaping of employment patterns has alienated women from land production processes and dislocated the population from their traditional livelihoods in the form of agriculture (Beneria & Sen 1981; Scheyvens & Lagisa 1998; Bhanumathi; 2002; Bose 2004b). Other factors that dislocated women from land-based economic activities included high agricultural input costs and drought (Hentschel, Hruschka & Priester 2003; Yakovlev 2007; Werthmann 2009) low prices of agricultural products, and high inflation (Hentschel et al. 2003); forced migration because of polluted rivers and inhabitable land (Curtis 2008; Isla 2002); and marginalisation of women in their communities (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005; Werthmann 2006). The rural areas have seen increased poverty to levels as high as 65% (Sackey 2005). The high poverty levels have been the result of structural adjustment programmes (Dreschler 2001; Hilson & Potter 2005; Yokovleva 2007; Mohammed Banchirigah 2006).

High commodity prices have also encouraged further growth of artisanal mining (Werthmann 2009; Yokovleva 2007). As people were dislocated from the land, they sought to improve their economic chances by moving towards mining centres (Bryceson, Jønsson, Kinabo & Shand 2012). The mining centres have mainly been behind the expansion of artisanal mining that offers an opportunity for employment (Dreschler 2001; Yokovleva 2007; Mohammed Banchirigah 2006; Bryceson et al. 2012).

Artisanal mining is often illegal and hazardous (McCulloch 2003; Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Werthmann 2009) and has negative health impacts (Lahiri-Dutt 2008; Werthmann 2009; Womin 2013; Jenkins 2014). However, those involved in artisanal mining find that the social and economic benefits are still worth the risk (Werthmann 2009; Bryceson et al. 2012; Jenkins 2014). Female artisanal miners are often found in marginal, precarious and labour-intensive tasks such as gold panning (Jenkins 2014), extracting mineral deposits by hand (Oroso-Zevallos 2013; Van Hoecke 2006), as well as asbestos cobbing (McCulloch 2003). These are typically low-return and low-economic productive areas. Although these activities are crucial to the production process, women do not receive the recognition for their role in the production process (Amutabi & Lutta-Mukhebi 2001; Yakovleva 2007).

Artisanal mining is still mostly regarded as men's work (Eveline & Booth 2003; Lahiri-Dutt & Macintyre 2006; Werthmann 2009; Eftimie, Heller & Strongman 2009), despite the high levels (40–50%) of women involvement in the industry (Yakovleva 2007; Womin 2013;). In Ghana, the artisanal mining industry does not recognise women as miners, despite small-scale miners

making up 50% of the workforce (Yakovleva 2007). They, however, only rarely attain the same level of decision-making positions as their male counterparts (Caballero 2006; Heemskerk 2003; Hinton, Veiga & Beinhof 2003; Van Hoecke 2006; Werthmann 2009). Women scarcely occupy positions such as mine operators, dealers, and owners of equipment (Labonne 1996; Susapu & Crispin 2001; Hinton et al. 2003). Contracts to engage women are often inferior and they do not enjoy the same rewards as men (Yakovleva 2007).

The prevailing social and cultural taboos create barriers to active female participation (; Tallichet, Redlin & Harris 2003; Van Hoecke 2006; Yakovleva 2007; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). The limited access to credit is another impeding factor (Hoadley & Limpitlaw 2004). Furthermore, cultural beliefs about women hamper their direct access to mining rights (Tallichet et al. 2003; Van Hoecke 2006; Lahiri-Dutt 2011) and often women can only access mining rights through men (Amitabi & Lutta-Mukhibi 2001). Men tend to limit women's control over the mining production processes even though the land has been bequeathed to them through matrilineal inheritance (Amutabi & Lutta-Mukhebi 2001; Jenkins 2014). The traditional system has served to undermine women's economic power (Lahiri-Dutt 2011), while it keenly uses their labour (Amutabi & Lutta-Mukhebi 2001).

Furthermore, the lack of education (Werthman 2009; Yakovleva 2007) and technical knowledge play a role. The compounded effect of illiteracy created further obstacles for improved economic opportunities for women (Bhanumathip 2002; Byford 2002; Macintrye 2006). This important limitation of lack of education also impedes women's advancement of their careers in artisanal mining. Family commitments and household responsibilities impede their mobility and independence to take up leadership roles in small-scale mining operations (Haider 1995; Beneria & Sen 1981; Yakovleva 2007).

The Zambian Copperbelt is an excellent example of how mining shaped gender relations in the sub-Saharan context (Parpart 1986). The government, rural authorities, and mining companies worked together to ensure that men are married so that there can be workforce stability and productivity (Parpart 1986). These institutions encouraged men to get married and even facilitating the process Parpart (1986). This is seen as a process of tampering with men and women's sexuality, choices, and universalising hetero-hegemony (Parpart 1986). Furthermore, in discouraging urbanisation outside of the context of working for mines, the mining companies worked with the rural authorities to insist that workers return home after their employment period at the mine. The government introduced several measures, which included permits and

fines for transgression. These measures denied women the right to make a living, including beer brewing. According to Parpart (1986), the government established government-owned beer halls, with the purpose to generate funds that would pay for basic welfare services and recreational facilities. However, the system denied women the right to make a living as economic independents.

Women in mining areas are often out of reach of employment opportunities, despite them having high levels of education (Musvoto 2001; Médicins Sans Frontières [Doctors without Borders] 2016). The lack of employment results in the absence of status for women (Beneria & Sen 1981; Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Musvoto 2001; Byford 2002) and leads to dependency on their husbands' income (Ward 1984; Scheyvens & Lagisa 1998; Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Byford 2002; Carino 2002; Macdonald 2002). The dependency on their husbands for income lies at the heart of their economic subjugation and gender inequality (Jenkins 2014). Women often do not have a voice (Scheyvens & Lagisa 1998; Lahiri-Dutt 2001; Musvoto 2001; Byford 2002; Pyle & Ward 2003) and they are usually not included in public consultations and negotiations by mining companies (Musvoto 2001; Gibson & Kemp 2008). Compensation in the form of royalties is often negotiated with and paid to men, with little benefit to women and children (Scheyvens & Lagisa 1998; Musvoto 2001; Byford 2002; Macintyre 2006; Eftimie et al. 2009; Simatau 2002. This practice of women's exclusion from financial benefits is more profound in traditional communities (O'Faircheallaigh 2011). Traditional communities often exclude female-headed households, which leads to the exacerbation and perpetuation of gender inequalities in mining societies (Macintyre 2002; Musvoto 2001). Women are prevented from engagement in the economy to realise their social and economic value (Mayer & Rankin 2002). They are usually excluded from trade membership and their issues are regarded as feminine (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; Mercier 2011). All these factors conspire towards their invisibility (Hinton et al. 2003; Lahiri-Dutt 2008; Oroso- Zevallos 2013), while their story remains untold (Burke 2001).

In cases in which women are employees of mining companies, structural issues, such as equal pay, appropriate safety equipment, maternity provision, and adequate and separate ablution facilities remain problematic (Lahiri-Dutt 2006; Benya 2009; Eftimie et al. 2009;). Examples of workplace rape are common in the mining industry in South Africa (Benya 2009). There is also a tendency for requests for sexual favours in return for the men doing more strength-demanding jobs for women (Benya 2009). In post-war countries where violence is normalised, women are a vulnerable group (Jenkins 2014).

This section has looked at several countries in Southern Africa and reflected on how the mining industry exclude women from working, to the informalisation of women's work in the mining industry. We have seen how the reach of structural adjustment programmes has contributed to growing levels of poverty. The social taboos and traditional beliefs have also been shown to impede women career advancement within the mining sector. It is therefore vital to understand the efforts in the form of various protocols and agreements that have been made to address these challenges.

3.4 International protocols

In recognition of the above-mentioned impediments to women's economic advancement in the mining sector, there are efforts by the international community and regional bodies to address the gender imbalances. This section looks at international, African and southern African provisions. It focuses on the 1976 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of the UN, the African Mining Vision in the African context, and protocols from the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In tackling this subject, I am mindful that not much independent analysis of the performance of the instruments was done (Oxfam 2015), and that most of the evaluation was done internally within the UN system through various reports (see for example Chapman 1996).

3.4.1 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1976

In dealing with this specific provision, I define the rights and state what these rights intended to achieve. I investigate the status of the ICESCR within the United Nations Human Rights system and discuss the role of governments and civil society.

First, the ICESCR depended on fundamental principles concerning the economic advancement of women. These principles were the promotion of equal access to remunerated work; the promotion of equal benefit flow from such remunerated work of equal value; the guarantee of conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, and decent living for women and their families; the employment of women which should happen within safe and healthy working conditions; and the protection of young people from harmful practices (Womin 2013).

Second, in terms of the well-being of women, the ICESCR provided for the right of association for women and protected their right to be part of trade unions. It stipulated that there should be access to social security benefits, including social insurance. ICESCR provided special

protection to the family, which is a basic unit of society. It ensured that the focus of this protection should be on mothers. ICESCR stipulated that women should receive remuneration during leave for a reasonable period after childbirth. It also provided that the families should have adequate standards of living, which included access to food, clothing, and housing, as well as continuous improvement of living conditions. Family members should be free from hunger. It further ensured improvement in food production, dissemination of knowledge on nutrition and fair distribution of food. ICESCR provided that the industry should continuously work towards improvements in industrial hygiene, environmental and occupational health. There should be stringent management and prevention of other diseases. Within this, it stipulated that there should be a further assurance of medical care for all in cases of sickness and it provided access to education.

3.4.1.1 The status of the rights within the United Nations system

The various member states of the UN agreed to the above in 1976. However, women have experienced resistance to change and slow progress, which stemmed from the fact that this protocol was not legally binding (Womin 2013). Despite the rhetoric, the international community, including global human rights movements, have consistently treated civil and political rights as more significant than economic, social, and cultural rights. Only a few governments prioritised the monitoring of economic, social, and cultural rights (Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). This lack of recognition has led to the absence of academic research in this area. This has also resulted in the poor conceptual development of these rights (Alston 1987; Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). It has also led to a lack of progress in the realisation of specific rights in many countries (Chapman 1996).

Furthermore, few countries took their responsibilities seriously enough to comply with the standards of the ICESCR (Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). This was despite the full awareness by the international community that the enjoyment of political rights does not often translate into the full realisation of economic, social, and cultural rights (Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). In practice, governments were required to develop and implement specific policies and programmes (Chapman 1996). The ICESCR also required societal activism (Roth 2004). Most states did not comply with the reporting requirements set out in the ICESCR. Of the 130 state parties and signatories, 76 have been reported to be outstanding since 1995, and several states have not submitted even one report (Chapman 1996). This information has not been updated because of a lack of research in this area. Most of these reports, Chapman (1996) argued, were

superficial and did not share much about the difficulties they encountered during implementation, and they failed to aggregate data. Consequently, these reports did not help in the efforts to understand the economic situation of women, as the reports lumped vulnerable groups into national averages.

3.4.1.2 Challenges to implementation

The implementation of these rights largely depended on the uptake from NGOs (Roth 2004). Despite inviting submissions from NGOs, there had been little uptake and only a few had attended the committee's proceedings (Chapman 1996). Generally, NGOs keenly participated in political rights (Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). Another critical factor was the lack of methodology (Roth 2004) and resources to facilitate the monitoring of economic, social, and cultural rights (Chapman 1996). Many of the academic organisations and NGOs interested in measuring specific economic, social, and cultural rights found the requirements of reporting to be a complicated process (Chapman 1996).

Furthermore, there was no prioritisation of these rights and their awareness remained scanty on the ground (Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). Only when there was a groundswell push towards economic, social, and cultural rights could this shift be realised (Chapman 1996; Roth 2004). Outsiders could not agitate for attention to these rights on behalf of affected countries because of questions of legitimacy (Roth 2004). It used language that elevated discretion, inspiration and encouragement as operative words in setting the tone for implementation (Womin 2013), thereby marginalising the CESCR (Chapman 1996; Jabine & Johnston 1991; Womin 2013). It did not set targets, it lacked accounting mechanisms and performance evaluation systems and most importantly, reports did not observe the requirements for reporting found in the guidelines (Chapman 1996).

3.4.2 Africa Mining Vision 2009

February 2009 saw the adoption of the Africa Mining Vision (AMV) by the heads of state in the African Union (Oxfam 2015). AU member states were required to sign the AMV and align it with their national policy framework. In seven years, there still had been a slow implementation of its provisions (Oxfam 2015). Only 24 out of 54 countries are in various stages of its full adoption. Against this backdrop, I will discuss the core values in the vision and the impediments to the full realisation of its provisions at the country level.

The AMV developed out of the realisation that Africa needed to take ownership of mining policies within the extractive sector (Khadiagala 2014). The AMV's emphasis was on the creation of an environment where the mining sector should transform the structural impediments within African mining economies (Oxfam 2015; Womin 2013). This is linked to the institutional concerns of the resource curse theory. Its goal was to forge a path to prosperity through the transparent, equitable and optimal exploitation of Africa's minerals resources. It represented a shift towards a progressive fiscal regime that could curb the illicit outflow of financial resources out of Africa (Oxfam 2017).

The AMV also recognised artisanal mining as a significant producer of mineral resources and promoted women's rights and gender justice (Oxfam 2015; Womin 2013). It required governments to integrate gender equality in mining policies and laws. The AMV also needed the development of the regional and continental gender charters for the extractive sector (Oxfam 2015). Gender mainstreaming should take place through the inclusion of women in mining, laws, standards, regulations and codes. However, the AMV has not translated gender mainstreaming into the action plan to ensure policy actions and to promote gender integration.

The document did not provide the necessary attention on how to integrate women into the mining industry (Womin 2013). The AMV assumed that women's integration would happen because the document mentions it (Womin 2013). The document did what was referred to as an 'add women, mix, and stir' approach (Beneria 1995; Smith 2004; Lahiri-Dutt 2011). The 'mix and stir' approach often occurs when there is no proper consideration for women's needs to successfully integrate them in the form of processes, institutional support and mechanisms that will be effective in reaching women.

3.4.2.1 Challenges to implementation

The latest resource boom of the 2000s has ended with the decline in growth in Africa's mineral-rich countries, while inequality, economic vulnerability and fragility remain significant concerns. This has put African states under pressure to enter into unfavourable contracts, and which end up harming their economies (Ross 1999; Di John 2010; Oxfam 2017;). The rising public debt and falling revenues are additional pressures on governments to renegotiate mineral contracts to raise income tax revenues (Di John 2010; Third World Network Africa 2016; Oxfam 2017). There is little political will in the wake of the slump in commodity prices to implement AMV (Oxfam 2017).

As shown above, the political-economic changes have narrowed the policy space (Oxfam 2017). The AMV ignored the power differential between civil society, the state, and its private sector partners that provided little room for shifts in policy. The social actors with willpower have left the state in a compromised position (see section 3.2.3 above) with Africa's political elites involved in large-scale tax evasion (Berkhout 2016; Godfrey 2015).

There is a general lack of awareness about mining and its unintended consequences at the grassroots level or in neighbouring communities (Oxfam 2017). Civil society, in particular women's groups, is not mobilising for policy change and dissemination of information, as well as teaching each other about a sector which has historically isolated itself. There is also a lack of independent analysis of the shortcomings of the AMV, like other instruments developed at international level (Chapman 1996). Furthermore, AMV did not contain explicit guidelines for public access to information (Oxfam 2017). The influence of civil society space is waning throughout Africa. African states are focussing on the development and promotion of legal and non-legal tools to curtail civil advocacy to become the norm (Oxfam 2017).

In conclusion, the AMV did not fully grasp the interplay between the nature of leadership in mining economies as outlined in the resource curse theory, the quality of its institutions and the power dynamics between the state and civil society. It was not mandatory and lacked specific guidelines and mechanisms of women empowerment in a traditionally male-dominated industry. In light of the above, the drawing up of the vision alone was but a small step which failed to translate into the full realisation of women's rights in local communities. Women's status can only be improved by mobilising society (Oxfam 2015; Roth 2004). In seven years, only 24 out of 54 countries have fully implemented their country's mining visions.

3.4.3 Southern African Development Community Protocol on Gender and Development, 2008

The Southern African Development Community Protocol on Gender Development (2008) [hereafter called SADC Protocol) sought to provide a coordinated approach to the implementation of the various agreements at sub-regional and international level (see also Womin 2013). The different SADC countries signed the protocol on 17 August 2008 to embed the efforts towards achieving women equality (Munalula 2011). The SADC Protocol provides targets and time frames within which participating countries should include gender equality in their constitutions (Womin 2013). It set targets and time frames and stipulated that any

provisions, laws or practices should not compromise these rights. It also abolished the minority status of women (SADC Protocol 2008).

According to the protocol, women should make up 50% of decision-making structures. This requirement applied to both the private and public spheres. It provided for the full participation of women in the formulation of economic policy and the implementation thereof (Womin 2013). It also dealt with some of the aspects that the ICESCR dealt with, for example, equal pay for equal work, as well as equal access to work through eradication of all forms of employment discrimination (SADC Protocol 2008; Womin 2013). The provisions of the SADC protocol also aimed at eliminating sexual harassment and gender-based violence (Manalula 2011; Womin 2013).

The rights-based approach to development in the SADC protocol was legally binding, unlike all other versions before (Manalula 2011). It advocated for the mainstreaming of women's development that entailed embracing human rights policies, as well as their implementation. It espoused a world in the SADC in which women's dignity, equality, and liberty should be part of the lived experiences of women (Manalula 2011; SADC Protocol 2008). It was both a policy document and an implementation framework it addressed both gender needs and recognised that men might also be victims of gender rights violations (Womin 2013).

3.4.3.1 Implementation challenges

For the SADC protocol to take effect, it required two-thirds of the member states to be signed up to be in force, and its requirements had to be met by 2015. Each state had to put in place the legislative framework, which showed how they would make changes to the legislation. According to the SADC protocol, the state should further allocate resources to implement the protocol, such as a budget that would cover human, technical, and financial costs. At the regional level, there was a need for a structure made up of a committee of senior officials, who in turn would supervise the secretariat.

The protocol would focus more on the public domain than on the private domain. This ignorance of the private sector left the private domain untouched as a stronghold for gender-rights violations (Manalula 2011). Phrases such as *encourage, promote and endeavour* tended to water down the enforceability of the document, which was supposedly legally binding.

The successful implementation of the provisions of this protocol depended on the extent to which countries were accountable for their results. It dealt with a whole range of areas of

women's experiences but paid little attention to the economic possibilities within the mining context. It said nothing about how to lodge women within the mining value chain and to protect this for women. The protocol should interpret and provide context at country level for all the regional agreements. However, similar to the other international protocols, it has also not provided a framework for the management of performance and recognition of achievement for the participating countries.

Those countries that have been slow in responding were holding the rest to ransom because, without the two-thirds ratification of all countries, it was not possible to ratify the protocol. This held back the redress for many women in the SADC region. The protocol addressed itself to many aspects of gender rights violations but did not provide specific guidelines for the empowerment of women in a mining context.

3.5 Synthesis

The resource curse theory provided a framework through which to understand the negative consequences of mining growth for the economies of resource-rich countries in the Global South. It pointed to the difficulties of translating mining extraction into the prosperity of people living in Global South resource economies. The resource curse theory was mainly silent on the gender dimension in the same way masculinity in mining communities silenced the voices of women living in mining communities. This study is among the first ethnographic gender studies that locate itself within the resource curse with a focus on the decline as an aspect of the curse.

While the resource curse theory offered an explanation based on both qualitative and quantitative data, its internal focus and its ahistorical orientation did not assist it to take account of the nature of the system within which the mining industry operates and develops. It constructed an account of the outcome of a system that produced a resource curse without acknowledging the existence of the system itself. It failed to account for trade liberalisation and other deregulation prescripts within which mining in the Global South operates. As shown in Chapter 2, the liberalisation context has proven to diminish the ability of the state to take on its role as an agency for the development of its people. The inability of the state to meet the needs of its people in the midst of plenty from its natural resources represents a curse. This study brings to the centre, a gender dimension of the curse.

The experiences of women internationally (the Global North) and in the Global South, with a specific focus on southern Africa, have an underlying theme, which is that of discriminatory economic practices which impede women's economic advancement. Most reflections on international experiences and women's struggles are framed within improvements to economic access. In other words, women have a foothold in the industry through employment but cannot advance as quickly as their male counterparts because of gender bias. This is a situation which is vastly different when compared to the broader experience of women within the Global South. The mining economy does not merely leave women as they were before the mining activity began; it renders them weak and economically marginalised in mining contexts where there is a dominant economy in which they cannot participate. They are forced off their ancestral lands to make way for mining activities. They often have no control over the royalties, nor can they determine the terms of the agreement between their communities and the mining companies. In many parts of the Global South, where inheritance is matrilineal, the control of minerals is taken from women. As workers, those in power push women into more dangerous low-paying aspects of the mining industry like cobbing for asbestos in South Africa.

Amid all these experiences are protocols and agreements that sought to better the economic prospects of women. These agreements, such as the ICESCR, at the international level, have been in place as early as the 1970s, but have proven to be of no effect to improve the economic situation of women. Even as they were progressive and farsighted, the experiences of women remained the same and, in some cases, deteriorated. Chief among the obstacles to their implementation is the political will of countries.

Chapter 4 explores the South African mining experience within the backdrop of the resource curse theory. It focuses in particular on the experiences of women and depicts a picture of lack amidst plenty. The chapter will show how elites and governments have conspired to keep women out of the benefits of mining.

Chapter 4
MINING, CAPITAL AND GENDER IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

Mining has been the backbone of the South African economy for approximately 160 years (Callinicos 1980; Zogg 2011). However, from the start, its benefits have been distributed unequally in respect of race and gender. The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand was a turning point in the history of South Africa; it changed the agricultural society to that of a significant gold producer (Hofmeyer 1980; Zogg 2011). Despite the depletion of gold resources in South Africa, there remain several years of other commodity supplies (Baartjes & Gouden 2012; FTI Consulting 2017). Experts value mining deposits in South Africa at almost 4.1 trillion USD (Baartjes & Gouden 2012). Consequently, mining remains a vital industry in South Africa. Mining accounts for 5% of non-agricultural jobs in the formal sector, thus 400 000 jobs (FTI Consulting 2017). This includes 1.3 million indirect jobs and 47% of the country's exports (Makhuvela, Msimang, Perrot, Ferraz, Ferreira, Stone, Merven & Senatla 2013). The mining sector is also a significant player, accounting for 5% of global commodity supplies (FTI Consulting 2017). The National Development Plan (South Africa 2011) also acknowledges mining as an essential economic sector in South Africa. Mining continues to attract foreign investment and generates company tax revenue for the country (Statistics South Africa 2016).

Chapter 2 provided an overview of critical feminist theory, while Chapter 3 discussed the resource curse theory to show how poverty among women continues to rise amid the abundance that mining provides. In this chapter, the focus shifts to a discussion of the history of mining in South Africa and contemporary attempts to deal with the exclusion of women from the mining economy. Consequently, the chapter contains five sections. The first part investigates the historical relationship between mining, capital, and gender. This historical account explains how a gendered 'paradox of plenty' is created. The positioning of women's experiences within the paradox closes the current gap in the resource curse literature. The second part of the chapter examines the enabling framework for women developed by the post-apartheid government. This discussion focuses on how policies deal with the economic legacy of women

in the mining sector. I argue that the post-apartheid mining policy has reinforced the legacy of female exclusion.

4.2 Early history and status of women in the mining context

Despite the economic importance of mining, the contribution of women towards mining remained limited and the industry actively excluded women (McCulloch 2003; Mercier 2011; Parmenter 2011; Womin 2013). British legislation from the 1870s that were also applicable in South Africa, prohibited women from working in mines (McCulloch 2003; Mercier 2011). In 1935, the ILO reinforced this restriction on women by banning their employment in underground mining (McCulloch 2003; Womin 2013). Despite these restrictions, female employment did occur in the mining industry. For example, British companies employed women in asbestos mines in South Africa as early as the 1800s (McCulloch 2003). There is also evidence of women employment in mining outside South Africa. In Papua New Guinea, women-owned mining companies employed women as part of the family unit. Salaries were paid into the accounts of men to conceal female employment (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; McCulloch 2003). Often, mining companies paid women lower rates and expected them to work in the most dangerous parts of the mines in a process called cobbing (McCulloch 2003). Women employment would go hand-in-hand with that of children and some women would have babies on their backs while working (Lahiri-Dutt 2011; McCulloch 2003).

The employment of women in the asbestos mines of South Africa represents an example of female employment in mining, despite legislation prohibiting such practices (McCulloch 2003). By 1954, the asbestos mines employed 599 whites and 130 744 coloureds and blacks, of which 27% were female (McCulloch 2003). In the rest of the mining industry, gold mines have only employed a few women and the other mines have employed a total of 391 women (McCulloch 2003). These figures were probably an underrepresentation. The omission of official records to reflect women's contribution made them invisible. McCulloch (2003:416) noted that one of the mining companies remarked that "[t]he inclusion of women was incidental, and was phased out with the introduction of machinery, which reflected the maturation of the industry".

Women had been part of life in the mining centres as early as the late 1800s and early 1900s (Walker 1990). The 1936 census of mining areas showed that one in nine people classified as European was a woman. Figures for African women are less precise as their migration was

prohibited and thus not captured by state records. Similarly, the census did not capture the migration of African women (Walker 1990). By the early 1900s, large numbers of Basotho women had migrated to the mining centres (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005). However, the 1936 census recorded that women contributed to only 11% of the population in the main urban centres of South Africa, compared to the 56% of the population living in rural areas. Women left their homes in rural areas because of the lure of what appeared to be vibrant urban economies and the promise of a better life (Walker 1990; Parpart 1988). Despite women's increased presence in mining centres, women only played a marginal role at the height of the South African mining industry in the 1960s and 1970s (Walker 1990).

Women's status as minors contributed to their inferior position to men (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005). The government actively restricted women's movement through pass laws. The 1927 Native Administration Act positioned women as perpetual minors regardless of age. By law, women could not access transportation except through the consent of their fathers or husbands (Walker 1990). Consequently, the government did not issue passes to women except when a male guardian accompanied them (Walker 1990). This status as minors left women without the legal capacity to own property, transact or have authority over their children (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005). This is despite the take-off of the First Wave of feminism during the same period (see section 2.2.2)

The Urban Areas Act of 1920 also restricted the movement of women from rural to urban areas. Effectively, the Urban Areas Act excluded women from exploring new economic opportunities in urban areas (Walker 1990; Mathis 2011). By 1924, the government had developed regulations to curb the movement of women (Hindson 1987). These regulations required women who were urbanised but did not have a male relative with access rights, to live in work-seeker depots until they could find work (Hindson 1987). The colonial and apartheid governments repatriated women who did not comply back to the rural areas (Walker 1990). However, because women remained undocumented and were not required to get work-seeker permits, the enforcement of these regulations proved to be difficult (Walker 1990). The Amendment Act of 1930 further imposed restrictions on the movements of both men and women. Before they could be granted permits to be in these urban areas, the women had to produce proof that their fathers, husbands, or guardians had been in the urban area for at least two years and they had already obtained residence. These measures prevented women from brewing beer but did not prevent them from seeking domestic work (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005).

Often, women moved to urban areas despite these restrictions (Walker 1990; Mathis 2011). The women's willingness to move and the risk of being homeless revealed their deep disaffection with their rural lives (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005). Women would rather face the uncertainties of urban life than to settle for the certainties of their realities in rural areas. Urban life offered the possibility of life improvement for many women. The unfavourable conditions in the rural areas and the uncertainties of women's lives in urban mining centres are both examples of women's repression (Walker 1990 Bak 2008). Figure 4.1 provides a schematic representation of women's oppression.

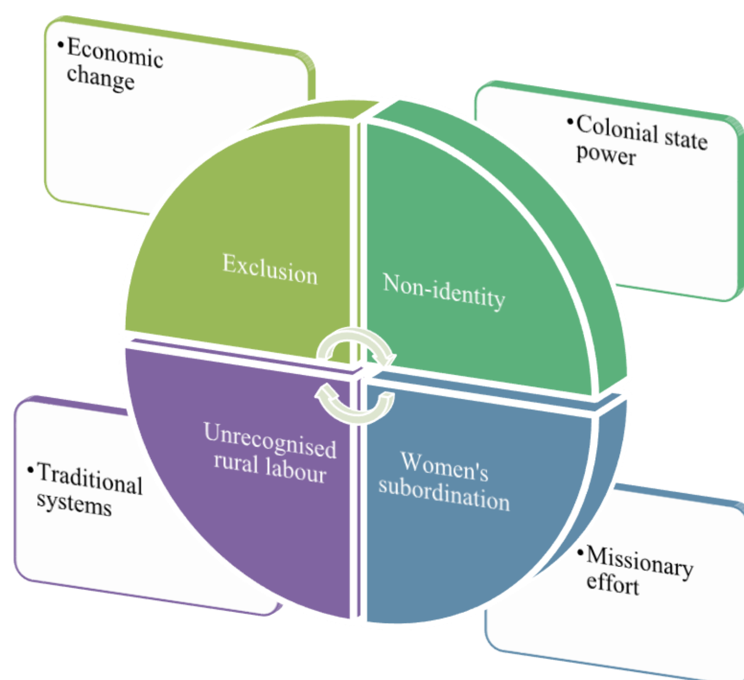


Figure 4.1: The system of women's oppression

Women who migrated to mining centres often had fractured social relationships with men in their rural households (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005). The migration of women from rural to urban areas was therefore much more likely to be permanent than for men, as the women would detach themselves from their rural households because their relocation was often disapproved of by their families (Kynoch 2005). Consequently, women who relocated were often single without any support from families in rural areas (Walker 1990; Kynoch 2005). The migration was spurred on by the ongoing tussles for power between men and women, the battles between men and the state, as well as the resistance offered by women against state control (Beinart 1982). These problematic circumstances pushed women to the edges of the mining economy

(Kynoch 2005; Walker 1990), where they could not access jobs because of the discriminatory practices in the workplace and the pass laws (Kynoch 2005; Walker 1990).

Rural families and chiefs also resisted and restricted the migration of women (Kynoch 2005; Walker 1990). The chiefs put pressure on the colonial officials, arguing that the women had to remain in rural areas (Walker 1990). The male authorities, the colonial state, and missionaries all found solidarity in controlling black women migration, even though their motives differed (Bak 2008; Walker 1990). The men wanted to keep control over the women and to benefit from their free labour that kept the rural household economy going (Parpart 1988; Walker 1990). In part, the colonial masters wanted a replication of the housewife ideal they came to know in Western society (Beneria 2001a; 2001b). Both Bak (2008) and Walker (1990) argued that the ideas of gender inferiority that prevailed in white society reinforced the treatment of black women. Christianity, as represented by the missionaries, was also part of a collaborative effort to keep women in rural areas (Walker 1990). The missionaries required the free labour of women on their farms and advocated against the 'loose morals' of women in urban areas and insisted on keeping women rural (Mathis 2011). The government effectively forced black families off the land because of their inability to pay the imposed land taxes (Callinicos 1980) and missionaries often acquired these farms. Their primary interest was in women working on their farms (Walker 1990; Bak 2008). The missionaries also advocated for abolishing polygamy to get women released from their households so that they could be cultivating the fields (Mathis 2011).

It was also in the interest of the colonial state and capital to keep the rural economy going so that the profits of mining could be preserved for the benefit of mining and to protect the migrant labour system (Walker 1990). It is thus clear there were multiple interests in keeping women rural; all of these interests were held by men in the form of colonial powers, missionaries, and chiefs. Women have been used as instruments to maintain state power through the maintenance of the migrant labour system and reinforcing of the apartheid policies. Capital sought to maintain super profits on the back of women's labour in the rural areas and missionaries tried to get free labour on their farms. At the same time, the men wanted their rural household economy to grow through the hard work of women. All these forces worked together to keep women under control and rural, and to obtain women's labour for free (Parpart 1988; Bak 2008). The poverty of women was created through these competing interests for women's free labour (Bak 2008).

4.2.1 Women's labour as a subsidy for capital

While the mines recruited men as cheap labour, women were responsible for the household (Kynoch 2005; Walker 1990). The villages relied on women to make day-to-day decisions and produce agricultural products in compensation for the low wages offered by the mines to men (Bak 2008; Walker 1990). This role assigned to women benefitted the mining industry (Henn 1988; Walker 1990; Bak 2008). These traditional roles ensured self-regulation on the part of women, from which men continued to benefit (Walker 1990). Effectively, women worked hard for men and other male relatives who did little or no work in the household in exchange, while the men exerted control over economic resources (Henn 1988; Walker 1990).

Historically, black peasants depended on agriculture and most lived off the land. Many rural peasants were prosperous (Callinicos 1980). The peasants actively resisted attempts by the government to move them off the land to work in the mines. Initially, the wages that the mining companies offered failed to pull these peasants to the mines. The state then introduced land taxes (Hofmeyer 1980). The peasants had to pay these taxes in cash (Zogg 2011). Peasants who did not pay their taxes risked being arrested by the police.

Consequently, government legislation forced the rural population to work for cash in the mines as the government used local taxes to ensure that people migrated to the mines. Poll taxes and hut taxes were central to ensuring a constant supply of workers to the mines (Callinicos 1980; Hofmeyer 1980). The low wages at the mines ensured that mineworkers worked for extended periods (Callinicos 1980). Low wages assisted mining companies in making super profits (Zogg 2011).

The household division of labour and the subservience of women advanced the economic interests of the church, men, and capital (Bak 2008; Walker 1990; Mathis 2011). By enforcing policies that assisted with the creation of wealth for particular interest groups, such as the mines, the church, and private white individuals, the subordination of women sustained state power (Charlton et al. 1989).

1n conclusion, women were responsible for keeping the rural economy healthy, without which the migrant labour system would collapse on the back of low wages offered to mineworkers. It was in the interests of capital to keep wages low to maximise profits. At the same time, the state required men to work for cash to pay for the taxes imposed by the state. Women's work

benefited men in the household economy, missionaries, the ideologies of the state, and capitalism. The mining industry was biased towards the employment of men. Women were employed in more dangerous parts of the mines and often worked with children on their backs. The women's movement was opposed at various fronts. The quest for super profits by the mines, together with the state's racial and gender discrimination project, sought to keep women in the rural areas. The missionaries, the chiefs in the rural villages, and the men in the homesteads all collaborated opportunity of their time. Patriarchy defined women's economic position, while mining was unfolding as the most repressive systems ever unleashed on people.

4.3 The South African enabling framework for women

The reality described in the previous section laid the foundation for significant inequalities between men and women. The mining industry employed many more men than women, who had to remain rural and, when they did migrate, they had to find work outside the mining industry. In this section, the focus shifts to a discussion on empowerment efforts since the dawn of the democratic dispensation in 1994. The discussion starts with a broad description of policies and legislation and narrows down to mining-specific policies and legislation.

4.3.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

The post-apartheid South African government prioritised measures to stop discrimination against women and to support an inclusive economy. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (hereafter Constitution 1996: 6) states:

> *9 (3): The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more on the grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.*
>
> *9 (4): No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.*

The above provisions are essential to reverse historical discrimination in the mining industry. While discriminatory practices have affected black people in general, it has been particularly harsh on black women, as women could not access mining employment and rural women often could not inherit from the rural economy.

4.3.2 Employment Equity Act, Act 55 of 1998

The Employment Equity Act seeks to regulate and monitor employment practices in the marketplace to eliminate discriminatory practices. The Employment Equity Act acknowledges that apartheid and its discriminatory laws restricted black people's economic aspirations and skewed occupational categories and income distribution in the economy. It also recognises that the mere act of getting rid of discriminatory laws does not correct the effects of these laws. The Employment Equity Act, therefore, gives expression to the constitutional rights to equality, while promoting economic growth, development and efficiency in the workplace. The Act provides an action plan for transformation and guidelines for capacity building in the workplace. It stipulates guidelines for the representation of designated groups, provides affirmative action targets for suitably qualified individuals from designated groups, and directs equal employment and training recruitment practices.

The act focuses on *designated groups*. Designated groups refer to black people, women of all races, and people with disabilities. Black people include Indians and coloureds. The Act emphasises race, and, in the process, gender issues receive limited attention. Furthermore, black and white women fall in the same category of disadvantage, even though they are not on the same side of the current discriminatory practices, nor share the same race-based history (Horwitz & Jain 2011). The act requires the identification of obstacles to access employment and discriminatory practices.

The Employment Equity Act seeks to meet its obligations to the ILO. The ILO sets out the principles for gender equality in the workplace. The principles are expressed as equal access to work and equal pay for equal value (ILO 2000). Other research has also highlighted the importance of equity for economic growth (Commission for Gender Equality [CGE] 2015; Kabeer 2012). Furthermore, the Employment Equity Act provides for the establishment of structures such as the Employment Equity Commission. This commission plays a conciliatory role in employment disputes and is empowered to monitor performance and compliance.

The performance of this legislation, as measured by the Commission for Gender Equality in their 2015 report, reflects that, while women make up 51.2% of the South African population, only 46.8% of them are employed, in comparison to 53.2% of men. Within state-owned enterprises, women make up 40.5% of top management, while women occupy 38% of senior management positions in public services. Women also make up 22% of executive management positions, and 22% of directors of companies and state-owned enterprises listed on the

Johannesburg Stock Exchange; 9% in mostly non-executive directorship positions and only 6.9% as executive directors. The report noted that the private sector was the worst performer, expected to achieve the required gender balance only within two to three decades.

4.3.3 Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Discrimination Act, Act 4 of 2000

Following the Constitution and the Employment Equity Act, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Discrimination Act seeks to restore the honour and dignity of all the people of South Africa. It protects the freedom enshrined in the Constitution by upholding the values of non-discrimination regardless of gender, sexual orientation, or race. The Act is committed to the economic advancement of all individuals and social groups who were impoverished through subjugation, oppression, and dispossession through laws and activities of the state and its structures, individuals, and groups.

Section 8 of the Act on page 8 protects women against the following acts of discrimination:

> *(a) gender-based violence;*
>
> *…*
>
> *(d) any practice, including traditional, customary or religious practice, which impairs the dignity of women and undermines equality between women and men, including undermining of the dignity and well-being of the girl child;*
>
> *(e) any policy or conduct that unfairly limits access of women to land rights, finance, and other resources;*
>
> *(f) discrimination on the ground of pregnancy;*
>
> *(g) limiting women's access to social services or benefits, such as health, education and social security;*
>
> *h) the denial of access to opportunities, including access to services or contractual opportunities for rendering services for consideration. or failing to take steps to reasonably accommodate the needs of such persons;*
>
> *(i) systemic inequality of access to opportunities by women as a result of the sexual division of labour.*

4.3.4 Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, Act 53 of 2003

The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Act deals with the effects of apartheid laws, which imposed restrictions on the efforts of black people to advance their economic careers. The B-BBEE Act provides a framework for the advancement and promotion of economic interests and equity in the South African economy. The Act also advances the

skills acquisition that will enhance their ability to participate in the economy. The B-BBEE Act expresses the ideals of economic participation, which is expanded, integrated and diversified and which can attract investment.

The B-BBEE Act further seeks to promote equality through the promotion of the mainstream economic participation of black people. The Act also encourages stimulation of the economy through broadening participation to achieve higher growth rates and to increase levels of employment. The Act envisages that these expanded opportunities for the economic participation of black people will ensure equitable income distribution and contribute to dismantling racial income distribution patterns. The act mentions black women explicitly and requires society to increase the number of women in leadership positions. Support for black women is available through increased access to economic activities, infrastructure, and skills training. The B-BBEE Act requires the minister to develop codes of good practice, publish transformation charters and establish the Black Economic Empowerment Advisory Council.

The year 2015 served as an essential marker in the performance assessment of the mining industry (SA Department of Mineral Resources 2015). The Department of Mineral Resources found that the performance of the mining industry of black economic empowerment was a failure (Mathews & Gementzky 2015), and this would imply that licences could be revoked (Sibeko 2015). There have been wide-ranging debates in the press (Dludlu 2017; Mashele 2018; Saba 2018); pointing out that black business representation remained low in the mining sector. Mashele (2018) and Saba (2018) blamed the government. However, both authors emphasised the inability of the government to provide mass quality education, which is necessary to support the provisions of the Act. The lacklustre commitment towards the achievement of the requirements of the Act confirms the view held in some quarters that it is an 'elite pact' (Hamann, Khagram & Rohan 2008:5). Discussion about the performance of the Act remained an elitist exercise. It was a conversation between government leaders and the corporate elite.

The lack of consequence for noncompliance lies in the fact that the government only established the Black Economic Empowerment Commission in 2016, a decade after the enactment of the B-BBEE legislation. This delay created a vacuum where there was no clear direction and impetus towards a strategic collaborative effort. The vacuum left the companies to do as they deemed fit (Cronjé & Chenga 2009). Companies interpreted codes as they wanted

to (Dludlu 2017; Saba 2018; Seccombe 2015). These actions reflect an underlying trust deficit between government and industry (Selby & Sutherland 2006).

4.3.4.1 Summary

The above pieces of legislation set out to address the racial imbalances. In the South African economy, The Employment Equity legislation seeks to address the past discriminatory practices in recruitment of personnel at the company level and tries to correct race as well as gender imbalance in the composition of the workforce. The B-BBEE legislation, on the other hand, seeks to facilitate access to equity and economic participation for marginalised communities. It also empowers the minister to regulate, conduct and measure performance through the establishment of codes within the structure of the Black Economic Empowerment Council. The performance of both instruments in terms of effecting transformation is checkered. This refers both to the adequate performance of the instruments, generally, as relating to embracing black participation and, specifically, as far as the gender transformation of these institutions is concerned.

4.3.5 White Paper: A Minerals and Mining Policy for South Africa 1998

The discussion divides the review of this mining policy into three main parts. The first provides the background and context of the policy formation process. The second compares two competing agendas: the conflict between the market and transformation agendas which the South African government has to mediate.

4.3.5.1 Background and context of the policy formation process

The policy development process created an opportunity for a dialogue to reposition the mining industry within the transformation and market agendas. The South African Department of Minerals and Energy (SA DME) established the Mineral Steering Committee in 1994. The steering committee consisted of representatives of the executive and legislature branches of government, organised businesses, and labour. This steering committee solicited views from various stakeholders on the new minerals policy for the country and published a discussion document in 1995. The steering committee consolidated comments by May 1997 (SA DME 1998). Despite extensive consultations, women's interests were absent from the various NGOs that contributed to the policy development process. For example, the broader national coalition

that sought to focus on women's economic empowerment has not participated in the process (African Development Bank [AfDB] 2007).

The mining policy review process occurred against the backdrop of South Africa easing into the post-apartheid dispensation. Three main transformational factors influenced the process: changes in labour legislation, environmental protection, and issues of safety in the workplace (SA DME 1998). The historical legacy of these three issues ensured that they were prominent in post-apartheid policy development. Historically, repressive labour legislation dominated the South African mining industry (Callinicos 1980; Hofmeyer 1980). The industry had also maintained a poor environmental record (Harvard Law School 2016), while the health and safety record of the industry was below par. For example, the silicosis rate, prevailing in gold mining in South Africa, is the highest in the world (Nelson 2013). There were also severe problems with asbestosis, despite the banning of asbestos mining and asbestos-related products in 2001 (Carnie 2005). Diamond mineworkers remain at risk of asbestos exposure as diamond deposits are near asbestos deposits (Nelson 2013).

In addition to the development of a transformation agenda, the development of a new policy had to consider the prevailing market sentiments. The main driver behind the concept of a market-oriented policy stance was the idea that the mining industry is competing to attract the same investors that can choose any mining investment destination across the globe. These investment markets are increasingly mobile (Oxfam 2017; SA DME 1998). The White Paper best summarises this challenge: "Government seeks changes and adjustments that are conducive to increased minerals investments and address past racial inequity without disturbing investor confidence in the mining industry in South Africa" (SA DME 1998:3). The mining industry had to relook its production techniques amid increasing production costs, while the government was seeking to renegotiate agreements to maximise the rent extraction (Oxfam 2015) to meet its social and economic transformation agenda (Frederiksen 2007; Nel et al. 2003).

The policy development process (1996–1998) coincided with declining profits and downscaling in especially the gold sector (Godfrey 2015; Oxfam 2015). The gold industry shed a large number of jobs (Marais 2013a; 2013b; Nel, Hill, Aitchison & Buthelezi 2003). Mine production had declined since 1975 when South Africa mined 700 000 kg of gold per year (Marais & Nel 2016). Production has continued to drop by 72% since 1990 (Chamber of Mines

2013). Employment in gold mines had also declined to about 110 000, since the mid-1980s when the industry employed 560 000 workers (Marais & Nel 2016).

The White Paper acknowledges the declining reality in the gold sector by stating that "some of the older mines are reaching the end of their lives, leading to job losses and the other attendant negative effects" (SA DME 1998:1). However, the White Paper also assumed that the mining industry would address the mine downscaling problem through "re-examining its production techniques in light of static gold price, deep levels of working and higher operating costs" (SA DME 1998:1). The policy understates the problem of mine downscaling by suggesting that the restructuring of mine groups and technological advances would improve productivity. The ability of technology to solve the problems of decline is an overstatement. The emphasis on the restructuring of the industry and advancing technology to enhance productivity downplays the scale of the economic problem and the ability of the industry to continue to invest amid declining profits. It further hinders fresh thinking outside of the confines of the current challenges (Fjeldstad, Fundanga & Rakner 2016; Oxfam 2017; Third World Network Africa 2016).

4.3.5.2 Conflict between market and transformation agendas

The White Paper has seven objectives (SA DME 1998):

- Emphasising the stability and certainty of the macroeconomic stance in order to attract investment.
- Arguing for a normalised taxation regime which is applicable in all industries.
- Proposing the establishment of a national database of mineral rights and prospecting information.
- Mentioning of small-scale mining and encouraging the facilitating and development of small exploration and mining sectors.
- Emphasising mineral beneficiation where this would be economically justifiable.
- Advocating for a market-centred approach to marketing, with the government playing a supportive role.
- I am advocating for research and development infrastructure to facilitate the development of natural resources.

First, all the elements above (except the fourth objective) leaned towards a market agenda. The market agenda focussed on the global competitiveness requirements of the country as an

investment destination. The White Paper uses words such as *global competition* (three times), *market forces* (four times) and markets (40 times). The requirements set by the international investors have emerged as critical determinants of the transformation agenda in the transition to democratising the South African economy (Hamann et al. 2008). More directly, the White Paper states: "Government mineral policy had to take account of the international nature of the mining industry to ensure the continuing prosperity of our mines" (SA DME 1998:1) and "Mining is an international business and South Africa has to compete against developed and developing countries to attract both foreign and local investment" (DME 1998:4). The White Paper argues in favour of high-profit margins rather than a transformative effort that should sustain inclusive development (Africa Mining Vision 2009; Oxfam 2015).

The White Paper reflects the neoliberal agenda in the following words: "The cornerstones of any policy to promote investment must be market principles and economic efficiency" (SA DME 1998:5). The government was discouraged from directing the drive towards transformation and black ownership that should be obtained through "encouraging investment and growth rather than by directives and controls" (SA DME 1998:34). The White Paper argues that the state should only establish rules about affirmative action and health and safety matters. This view supports economic liberalisation, foreign direct investment and a favourable business climate for business expansion (Bury 2005; Perreault & Martin 2005). This focus on liberalisation has weakened the developmental role of the state (Besada & Martins 2013). In the case of South Africa, it has hampered the state's efforts at using mineral resources as a lever to achieve socio-economic transformation and women empowerment (Hamann et al. 2008; Moraka 2015).

The preference for government to act as a regulator and for the market forces to redress the imbalances of the past, presents a contradiction (Perreault & Martin 2005). The state played a significant role in providing the industry with free labour to maximise profits in the past, from which the sector hugely benefitted. Effectively, mining capital has forced the hand of government not to consider the mining industry as a strategic asset to achieve gender and economic transformation goals. The industry pushed the market and global competition to the centre of the debates (CGE 2016) and rendered government impotent (Oxfam, 2017). This evidence shows that the mining industry–state relationship has not changed much since the early developments of the sector (Callinicos 1980; Jessop 2002; Peck 2004; Perreault & Martin 2005; Zogg 2010). The government seems to have bent to industry demands and embraced the policy (Oxfam 2017).

The economic transformation agenda has been watered down in the following words of the White Paper: “Participation and ownership issues are of general application and should not be at the core of mining and mineral policy” (SA DME 1998:33). Effectively, the White Paper reinforces its neoliberal stance and couches empowerment in ways that reinforce inequality. Ownership and empowerment are subsumed within market principles. Effectively, the White Paper used market forces as a vehicle for transformation within an unequal society. As in most capitalist economies, the market has been centralised as a distributive mechanism (Theodore et al. 2011; Kellner 2005; Pyle & Ward 2003). The reliance on market forces disregards the fact that markets are not neutral and are not appropriate mechanisms of distribution of the economy (Pyle & Ward 2003). Most importantly, people do not have the same opportunities and some are better equipped to participate than others (Kanbur, Calvo, Das Gupta, Grootaert, Kwakwa & Lustig 2000; United Nations Development Programme 1995, 1999). This is even more important in the South African context, where the government has historically shaped economic participation along with race and gender lines.

Furthermore, the concept of the distribution of wealth through ownership is restricted within the provisions of labour-related legislation. More specifically, the White Paper states that “[t]he Labour Relations Act and other relevant legislation will assist in eliminating racially discriminatory practices at all levels within the industry” (SA DME 1998:32). It does not recognise that access to employment in the mining industry has historically been discriminatory and gendered. The way the White Paper defines transformation disconnects the current racial and gender outcomes in the mining industry from historical patterns of oppression (Fraser 1997; Perreault & Martin 2005). It conveniently focuses only on skills and access to imported technology and positions the mix as a panacea to address the equity aspirations of the majority.

In conclusion, the tensions between the transformation agenda and the market agenda have resolved in favour of business interest. The government has bought into a neoliberal policy stance and settled in support of market principles. The White Paper demonstrates myopia on the part of government leadership as they have failed to use this window to ensure that mining benefit flow redresses the gender practices of the past, which have resulted in the far-reaching disempowerment of women.

4.3.6 Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act, Act 28 of 2002

This subsection deals with the critical points of the above act and its deviations from the previous laws.

The Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), in line with the White Paper, also provides the commitment of the South African government to the economic empowerment of the historically disadvantaged individuals and groups (Hamann et al. 2008; Moraka 2015). The government passed the law in 2002, a year before the B-BBEE Act, Act 53 of 2003. The focus of the legislation is on the sustainable development of non-renewable resources, such as mineral and petroleum resources. The recognition that the funds are finite draws urgent attention to the way they are developed to ensure sustainability and expand access to the majority of South Africans. It represents a deviation from the previous system in that it bestows custodianship of these non-renewal resources on the state on behalf of the people of South Africa (Ramatji 2013).

Through the development of these non-renewable resources, the state must ensure that there is adequate protection of the environment. The act provides that the development of renewable resources should also ensure the promotion of local economic and social development in rural areas. One of the critical outcomes of the development of resources should be to enhance the positive impact on the lives of the people (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development 2010). This would be done, recognising the effects of centuries of discriminatory practices in the mineral and petroleum industries and society at large. Guided by the Constitution 1996, the act undertakes to redress all such unfair practices (Ramatji 2013). The act finally guarantees the security of tenure in respect of prospecting and mineral operations and undertakes to "create an internationally competitive and efficient administrative and regulatory regime" (Ramatji 2013). I do not discuss the action in further detail as the sections on the White Paper provided a thorough overview of the intention and the positioning of the White Paper.

The act attempts to create a balance between attracting investment through ensuring the security of tenure and expanding the base of benefits flow by including previously disadvantaged communities in the ownership and operation of mines.

4.3.7 Broad-Based Socio-economic Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining and Minerals Industry, 2010

In this subsection, I look at the evolution of charters and the factors that led to a review of the original charter. I focus on 2010 and look at the gender considerations. I examine if the charters are are instruments that facilitate women's participation, given the history of exclusion. I also look at the theoretical underpinnings of empowerment. I argue that the charters are couched in

such a way that the status quo in terms of gender and the disempowerment of black communities are maintained.

To ensure broad-based economic change, the government developed a range of charters and introduced the first charter in 2002. The 2002 version had essential provisions, such as the promotion of equitable access to the nation; mineral resources for all who wish to participate; sustainable and meaningful expansion of opportunities for the historically disadvantaged South Africans, including women; utilisation of the existing skills base for the empowerment of historically disadvantaged South Africans; and the expansion of the skills base of historically disadvantaged South Africans to serve the community. The charter also seeks to promote employment and advance the social and economic welfare of mining communities and labour-sending areas. These were deemed ambiguous and the industry expressed a lack of clarity in terms of what was expected (Hamann et al. 2008; Moraka 2015). The main criticism was that the scorecard that had *yes* or *no* options without providing any detail in terms of compliance measurement scales. The scorecard format offers no scope to engage the transformation challenges (Matthews & Gernetzky 2015).

The government later reviewed the 2002 charter and the review process revealed a substantial lack of progress (Moraka 2015). With sector input, the charter was amended to include more realistic targets and measurable scales (Moraka 2015). The government adopted the revised version in 2010. The 2010 version introduced a concept of sustainable growth and development of mining resources (SA DME 2009; Schoeman 2010). The 2010 charter included sustainability elements such as human resources development, employment equity, migrant labour, mine community and rural development, housing and living conditions, procurement, ownership and joint ventures, beneficiation, exploration and prospecting, and finally, state assets were also brought into the fold for empowerment consideration, licensing, and financing mechanisms (Moraka 2015). It meant that mining companies with 26% ownership by previously disadvantaged individuals would comply.

A second review process took place in 2016, and the government signed it into a white paper on 15 June 2018. The 2018 White Paper provides guidelines on aspects such as gender and other special groups such as the disabled. The process towards embedding transformation within the mining industry had several constraints, namely a lack of support structures that had linkages with local communities and local government to effect grassroots transformation, and the conceptualisation of the transformation agenda which was also rooted in making inequality

normative. These various hurdles formed the backdrop to the discussion that followed in the 2010 charter.

Despite an explicit focus on transformation, the 2010 charter was mostly silent, both in gender target setting and in devising approaches towards engaging women as a target group. It defined B-BEE as "a socioeconomic strategy, plan, principle, approach or act aimed at redressing the results of past or present discrimination based on race, sex and disability of historically disadvantaged persons … industries and in the value chains of such industries" (DME 2010:8). Critical elements of transformation in the 2010 charter gave insufficient attention to gender and disability. It is notable that, while the 2002 charter added reflection on women at the end, the 2016 version did not make such an attempt (Moraka 2015).

There are limited suggestions on how to support women and the disabled other than a note on racial and gender imbalances in the industry. Chapter 3 has shown that NGO capacity is limited to effecting economic rights in the mining context. In recognition of this, a further lack of detail and supportive structures to make the charter more impactful made the realisation of the objectives of the charter all the more challenging (AfDB 2009; CGE 2016; Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] 2012).

The 2010 charter largely disengaged with the disempowerment of women in the mining sector. Women's subordination and exclusion have been ignored in the empowerment programme (Acker 1992) which is devised by the state through charters. Men's interests and experiences remained in the centre and dominated the concept of empowerment (see also Section 2.3.4). The concept of empowerment is contested. The idea of empowerment is ideological and value-laden (Sadan 2004). Empowerment is given shape and content by "socio-cultural context and theoretical underpinning which direct its effort" (Serrano-Garcia 1984:3). The ruling class and the powerful groups have positioned the idea of empowerment to fit their investments in neoliberalism. These ideas served to protect their investments and kept them in power by "normalising existing social relations" (Kellner 2005:5), which in this case was inequality. The ruling classes normalise difference by promoting concepts that entrench their position "in an economy dominated by capitalism, the dominant worldview is that it appears 'natural' to assert individualism and rivalry … Just as in a communist society; it is natural to argue that people are cooperative by nature" (Gordon, Edwards & Reich 1994:4).

The empowerment approach adopted by the 2010 charter reflected an uncritical adoption of the status quo. The empowerment approach found itself comfortable space within the

contradictions and conflicts created by the neoliberal system (Sadan 2004). The defined categories that drive transformation did not question the ravages of poverty created along gender lines. Neither is it concerned about the violence created by the model of extraction and its patriarchal and capitalist roots. There are limited questions about why empowerment is needed, what circumstances produce the need for empowerment and how these circumstances are part of the system. Furthermore, the charter did not consider alternatives to the current form of ownership. The industry has accepted empowerment as a new way of engaging and relating to inequality and dispossession (Fraser 1997; Sadan 2004) without considering the history and current ownership patterns. In the hands of dominant groups, empowerment has nullified and erased history (Deveaux 1996) and women's experiences. Embedded in the conceptualisation of empowerment is the acceptance of power relations between various groups, such as capital, workers, unions, men and women, and solidifying the outcomes of these relations into policy and legislation.

The performance of charters which have been less than impressive, has led to their review and periodic revisions. As they have been reviewed, considerations for women targeting have been muted, often lumped up with 'previously disadvantaged groups'. The charter did not engage with the particular dispossession of women in the development of the mining industry. It has in so doing normalised economic difference and inequality. The concept of empowerment was rooted in the neoliberal orientation that is underpinned by the principle that the market will equitably distribute wealth, goods, and services among members of society. This stance disregards the deliberate historical effort that created the disadvantaged position that women inhabit.

4.3.8 Social labour plan guidelines

In this section, I look at the context within which social labour plans (SLPs) were birthed. I show that the concept of collaborative planning lies in international experiences. I also confirm that this period coincided with the globalisation of the mining industry that required that mining companies focus on their core business. I look at how the concept of community involvement and co-determination was integrated into the policy and how it was expressed in law. I finally look at SLPs and their gender provisions and I examine their performance

The SLPs came about within the context where stakeholders exerted increasing pressure and expectations on the mining industry. These expectations included various areas, such as contribution to positive development outcomes; improvement of health and safety standards

by unions; respect for human rights by human rights groups; improvements in environmental and ecological mining performance by environmental groups; improvements in the safety of consumer products for consumer groups; and improved financial and profitability performance by shareholders (Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development 2002).

As the high pressure mounted, the mining industry embarked on what is regarded as the most ambitious project yet; it commissioned research and wide consultation with the view of setting a plan that would direct a new path to mineral development guided by sustainable development principles. This project was called Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development (Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development 2002). Nine big mining companies commissioned the project as globalisation was taking effect (Louw & Marais 2018; Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development 2002). The era ushered in collaborative planning, which has brought changes in the way mines interact with communities (Frank 2015). The notion of collaborative planning became attractive to communities and governments alike as it transferred governance, management, and planning to local communities (Louw & Marais 2018). It also came at a time when the mining industry started to shed mining assets, such as housing, which were too costly for the mining industry (Littlewood 2014).

Carmody (2002) saw the motivation for this move as the need for states in the Global South to provide business environments where the state does not interfere in the marketplace; in turn, according to Hamann et al. (2008), it plays a role in the delivery of public goods to the communities through community social responsibility. It also serves to promote social investment and empowerment (Esser & Dekker 2008). Carroll (1999), however, saw SLPs as the result of the move towards shifting the traditional role of the state as a sole decision-maker towards shared responsibility with key actors in the economy.

The process of developing the 1980 White Paper and the MPRDA discussed in sections 4.3.5 and 4.3.6 coincides with this international initiative in the mining industry to rethink its role. Local communities often accused mining companies of assuming dominant roles in mining localities. In response, the mining industry released a document titled *Breaking new ground: Mining, minerals and sustainable development* (Starke 2002). This document laid the foundation for the development of SLPs in South Africa. The White Paper stipulates that the country and the community interests should be considered in the issuing of licences. These licences could be either for large-scale or artisanal mining. The safety, health, and protection of the environment should be important (SA DME 1998:20). It further enhances the role of the

community in mineral development and provides that the community should "enjoy lasting benefits from such development" (SA DME 1998:22).

To assist communities and employees in participating meaningfully in the discussions mentioned above, the policy directs the individual companies to invest in the empowerment of employees and local communities where they operate through training and education (SA DME 1998:39). For those who do not have a matric certificate, enrolment in Adult Basic Education and Training is encouraged to impart enabling skills required for them to participate meaningfully in the change processes within the industry and understand the implications of the changes, both as employees and as members of the community (SA DME 1998:41).

For those that are unable to participate because of ill-health and disability, the responsibility for their welfare is passed on to the state. The state must recognise the cost to society and especially to rural communities of disabled and ill mineworkers and ex-mine workers. These persons have little or no chance of re-employment and must rely on disability payments and other people for help (SA DME 1998:35).

The community engagement imperatives articulated in the policy are expressed in the MPRDA. The MPRDA (2002) recognises the importance of LED and social upliftment of local communities in the mining vicinity. It similarly upholds the socio-economic development of local and rural communities in the immediate mining vicinity as well as those communities living in labour-sending areas (MPRDA 2002). The Act further directs that the proceeds from mining operations should have a developmental impact by changing the socio-economic conditions of all the people in South Africa who have been historically disadvantaged through the discriminatory practices of the past (MPRDA 2002). In terms of rights, the community should be granted such rights if they can prove that the proceeds will be used for community upliftment (MPRDA 2002). Finally, the community should have access to technical know-how to undertake the operation (MPRDA 2002). The royalties shall be directed towards the social upliftment of the community and shall also be deployed in a way that promotes "rural, regional and local economic development" (MPRDA 2002:11). The act further directs for the establishment of the Mineral and Mining Development Board. It stipulates that, in its composition, the board must consist of "two persons representing relevant community-based organisations" (MPRDA 2002:60).

Worker participation is part of the code of practice within the policy and legislation. The participation of workers and employees is also embedded in managing the downscaling

environment. According to the White Paper, the Labour Market Commission suggested "the adoption of a social labour plan approach to structural job losses such as those which are at present a feature of significant parts of the mining industry" (SA DME 1998:48). The social labour plan is designed to respond to a wide range of issues faced by labour and a community at the time of downscaling. The SLPs have devised wide-ranging interventions in different geographic areas where mining activity has an impact, such as the local area, the rural areas and labour-sending areas, as well as the broader regions within which mines are located (SA DME 1998). The SLPs "attempt to ameliorate the significant social disruption generated by structural unemployment loss". It is also an effort at creating a post-mining economy in a manner that is "stakeholder-driven" (SA DME 1998:48).

The policy also recognises that the government needs to develop the capacity to provide leadership on the shaping of SLPs and to engage with training bodies in the industry to facilitate training programmes (SA DME 1998,). The Social Labour Plan Fund is to be established to "support strategies and programmes negotiated between employers and workers facing structural employment decline" (SA DME 1998:49). The fund may only be topped up by the state with a view of augmenting the financial outlay by the mining industry as "negotiated between employers, unions, municipalities and provincial governments and a partnership to deal with the consequences of employment loss in a community" (SA DME 1998:49).

Each measurable aspect of SLPs is tailored along the objectives set out in the guidelines. The objectives are set within a frame of achieving local prosperity and anchored within the following key principles: LED and growth, the achievement of economic welfare, socio-economic development and the expansion of a skills base to stimulate the economy and improve employment levels. The achievement of the objectives is measured within the following categories: human resources development, employment equity plans, LED, and housing conditions improvements.

The SLPs make no reference to women as a special category, in recognition that it operates in a context of enormous social costs in rural areas where the mining economy is dominant and large numbers of women are excluded from the benefits of employment or participation in businesses related to mining as mentioned earlier. Women in a declining economic environment are not likely to participate in community public platforms because of limitations in education (see chapter 3) and there is a need to target them within SLPs. Finally, women are

often left behind and must deal with the social disruptions when decline sets in (see section 5.3). Therefore, the training and empowerment programmes should target women.

The move towards collaborative planning was directed by international events. This paradigm shift influenced the shape of the policy framework and the law that governs mining in South Africa. The policy makes provision for employee and community engagement and meaningful participation. The instruments provide for community empowerment through training but do not express any intention to target women.

4.3.8.1 Challenges to implementation of social labour plans

In this section, I deal with the problems on the ground for the implementation of the SLPs. I show that there are weaknesses in the system of collaborative governance. Part of the vulnerability lies in the capacity of government to direct the SLPs as is expected. I also look at the relationship between mining companies and the local municipalities and suggest that there is a lack of trust. I examine the stability of the municipal guard, which is the cornerstone of municipal performance and, finally, I look at the institutionalisation of LED in a post-mining scenario and I point out that it has remained mostly optional.

Weak municipalities are unable to cope with their responsibilities (Hamman 2004). There tends to be lack of capacity at a local government level in the form of staff, skills and funding (Centre for Development Support 2006; Ndaba 2010). The promises that mining holds, such as a better life for citizens, improvements in infrastructure and a vibrant economy, are hampered by a weak government (Davis &Tilton 2005). The mines tended to take the lead in all the discussions regarding economic upheaval in the area (Rogerson 2015). The poor organisation and political turbulence also add to the instability of the local government. Local government often rejects the leadership of the mines despite their apparent weaknesses (Sesele & Marais 2019). This reflects an underlying lack of trust and poor working relationships, and ultimately, failure of cooperative governance consultation processes at the local government level (Chamberlain 2014; Marais 2013b; Ndaba 2010; Rogerson 2012). The collaborative approach, which is viewed on the part of the municipality as optional and by the mining industry as a box-ticking exercise, should be institutionalised (Marais 2013b; Rogers 2012) and should be included in the appropriate regulations (Marais 2013b).

With the constant change of guard at the municipal level, local economic initiatives never take off (Centre for Development Support 2006; Marais 2013b; Ndaba 2010). The newly elected

officers are often concerned with territorial politics instead of advancing the economic good of citizens by focusing on the economic revival of the area (Sesele & Marais 2019). The political squabbles lead to 'dysfunctional' governance (Marais 2013b). The new local government elite often redirects LED funding towards infrastructure that provides them with the opportunity to dispense patronage, which assists in entrenching their political dominance (Akudugu & Laube 2013). This confirms that the institutionalisation of a post-mining economic revival is important (Centre for Development Support 2006). The need to create a post-mining economy should be prominent in the act (Marais 2013b). The act can include partnerships or regulations, ensuring that funding is guaranteed for new projects and that there are clear guidelines for selecting projects (Marais 2013b). Such inclusion in the act will prevent the stop-starts, result from the leadership instability at both the municipality and the mines. Currently, both institutions view the effort towards a postmining economy as optional. It will facilitate the development of a shared vision, which is presently absent (Marais 2013b).

An entrenchment of LED practice through creating the necessary institutions and structures will enhance and generate trust and harmonious relationships that will lead to productive partnerships (Rogers 2012). It will further ensure that there is effective collaborative planning and execution of projects linked to LED and SLPs which are fully integrated within the IDPs, as well as the enhancement of infrastructure delivery (Rogerson 2012). Furthermore, the institutionalisation process will ensure that the mines do not dominate and direct the LED agenda, especially where the smaller municipalities without capacity are concerned.

The key ingredients that would make collaborative planning work in a local context remain unattained, namely a stable political environment and leadership at the municipal level; the right levels of resourcing of skilled individuals and funding; the reprioritising of LED as a critical endeavour; improved levels of trust among key players; and the institutionalisation of post-mining as a vital performance area both for mines and municipal leadership.

4.3.9 Institutionalising gender in South Africa

This section examines the extent to which South Africa has institutionalised gender and its efforts at domesticating all the treaties it is a signatory to (AfDB 2009; COSATU 2012; Yaliwe, Selebogo & Ojakorotu 2013; CGE 2016). The South African government established the Office of the Status of Women (OSW) situated in the Presidency and Premier's offices at the provincial level and the Gender Focal Units in the government department at both national and provincial levels. The CGE is a Chapter 9 institution established in the Constitution. It has a

joint monitoring committee in parliament on the Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women, which comprises members from the National Assembly and members from the National Council of Provinces, as well as NGOs (AfDB 2009).

The National Policy Framework on the Empowerment of Women and Gender Equality detail the principles, which ensure integration across government departments (AfDB 2009; COSATU 2012; Yaliwe et al. 2013). The South African National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (OSW n.d.:i; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2010), laid the foundation for the transformation of the South African landscape.

> *This Gender Policy Framework establishes guidelines for South Africa as a nation to take action to remedy the historical legacy by defining new terms of reference for interacting with each other in the private and public spheres, and by proposing and recommending an institutional framework that facilitates equal access to goods and services for both women and men.*

However, a question arises about their effectiveness. A glance at the transformation of the political space may give some pointers. After the elections in 2009, women made up 44% of parliamentarians. This number is up from 33% to 44. Female representation in provincial legislatures increased from 30% to 48% between 2004 and 2009 (AfDB 2009). The Eastern Cape, Limpopo, and the more rural provinces have shown excellent performance at 52%, 51%, and 50% for female members of parliament, while Mpumalanga was at 41%. The Free State was able to increase from 26% to 50% by 2009 (Gender Links 2011).

The local government political structures have made some progress concerning gender balance. The representation of women stood at 46% in 2006 (Independent Electoral Commission 2006). The picture is vastly different when it comes to the senior administrative positions, such as municipal managers, with women's representation standing at only 8.48% (Yaliwe et al. 2013), while female councillors make up 40% of the municipal councils, they continue to experience marginalisation by their male counterparts (CGE 2006). The male councillors who tacitly disapproves of female leadership withhold resources from women, with the result that many women would not stand for re-election (Yaliwe et al. 2013).

Still, in other areas of South African life, the above scenario has not necessarily translated into success in realising the economic transformation of women's lives. The state has not met its targets of appointing women in senior positions in public service (Public Service Commission

2006). Scarcity of research in this area hampers the availability of reports on progress in the area. Women in senior management positions (director level and above) has exceeded the 30% target (Public Service Commission 2006). However, overall, white men dominate senior workplace positions, where the private sector contributes most to these numbers (CGE 2010). Black women make up 6% of senior positions in the private sector. Most of these companies are ignorant of the various agreements and obligations to gender equality (CGE 2006; Yaliwe et al. 2013). Their employment equity plans are developed but not implemented and there are no focused gender equality strategies or women's empowerment programmes (CGE 2006).

Women in these organisations are held down, alienated, and discriminated against by a male-dominated institutional culture (Benya 2009; Yaliwe e al. 2013; Smith 2004). This relates to internal policies and practices regarding recruitment and promotion, sexual harassment, and access to skills training (Smith 2004; CGE 2006; Benya 2009). It is a reality that the gender gap stands at 33.5% in South Africa, while the global average is 22% (Yaliwe et al. 2013). As already mentioned, the latest figures are not available because of the scarcity of data.

4.3.10 Challenges to the implementation of policies?

Despite the reasonably good policy framework, implementation remains a problem. Four main concerns are discussed. First, the NGO sector, which has been instrumental in shaping the South African National Gender Machinery at a Conference in Amsterdam (COSATU 2012), had been co-opted into government institutions to give direction to the gender mainstreaming imperatives which were non-existent before 1994 (AfDB 2009). The recruitment of the activists into government structures left behind a lacuna regarding capacity at NGO level to challenge government and hold it accountable.

Second, the OSW positioned in the President's Office and the Commission of Gender Equality are both inadequately resourced (AfDB 2009; COSATU 2012). The OSW 2008–2009 report to parliament states that it is understaffed and unable to achieve a 50% representation of women in its senior ranks. It also mentioned that it lacks research capacity. There was also confusion over the roles of the Commission of Gender Equality and the OSW because the policy framework that guides their roles were only adopted five years after their establishment (AfDB 2012). In comparison to the Human Rights Commission, the two institutions were under-resourced (AfDB 2009). For the reporting period 2014/2015, the CGE operated on a budget of R67.2m (Commission of Gender Equality Annual Report 2013/2015), the Human Rights Commission on R111.5m (South African Human Rights Commission, 2015), while there is no

allocated budget specifically for the OSW. There is an allocation of R77m, which forms part of the operational budget for the Presidency (SA, Presidency Annual Report 2014/15).

Third, there was poor information flow between the OSW at the presidential level and the various gender focal points within the departments at the national level. The gender focal point reports to the department ministers directly, and only after that reports to the OSW. The AfDB (2009) report also showed that there had been little training from the departments for the units, as well as from the OSW. The OSW faced limitations regarding funding and resource allocation (AfDB 2009; COSATU 2012) to provide technical know-how to all the gender focal points in the different departments (AfDB 2009). There was poor information flow between the departments and the OSW (AfDB 2009). There is criticism that the OSW concerns itself with international reporting and that it has neglected other duties such as engaging civil society, local government, business and labour in its programmes (AfDB 2009; COSATU 2012). The national responsibility, which includes developing plans and institutionalising a monitoring and evaluation and reporting mechanism for the various government departments, has been neglected (AfDB 2009).

Finally, at a much broader level, the Department of Planning and Monitoring system carries very few indicators for gender (AfDB 2009; COSATU 2012). Ad hoc project indicators are used with indicators designed by international and regional bodies that monitor the mainstream activities of government (AfDB 2009). All these efforts are not sufficiently integrated, institutionalised and rigorously used. The lack of authority of the OSW over the line departments results in lack of cooperation among the few components of the NGM. The provincial OSW's were variable in composition, some headed by a director, and some others at the deputy-director level.

4.4 Synthesis

Chapter 3 considered the resource curse theory as a frame to understand women’s experiences within a mining context. While this chapter sought to look at the experiences of women in South Africa through the lens of the ‘paradox of plenty’, the mining industry has created a double burden on women as women have had to carry the burden of mine development and as Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 will also show the burden of decline. In this chapter, I argued that men remain at the centre of mining benefits and empowerment efforts through the mining

charters and the law. The exclusion of women in the policy negotiation process has reverberated into all other instruments, such as the law, charters and SLPs.

The exclusion of women, and therefore their issues in setting the tone in the policy-framing process, has resulted in the exclusion of targets aimed at advancing women's economic situation. There is no mechanism to affect the policy of community skills impartation and to provide them with the necessary education. This would have necessitated the creation of structures that would entrench the empowerment effort within communities. This chapter showed that, in the context where mining has presented the 'paradox of plenty' through the many years of community marginalisation by the industry, the government and industry failed to use the watershed moment to redress women's marginal economic position. This is happening despite the mining industry creating the marginal position of women.

The mining policy and the various legal instruments have not succeeded in paying attention to women's particular history of economic and racial discrimination. Institutionalisation of gender through policy framework has failed locally. The concept of empowerment is value-laden and has served to normalise the inequalities between men and women. The above has shown leadership myopia, which is driven by the pressures the industry has brought to bear, based on a downscaling environment in one commodity cycle (see Chapter 3). The next chapter (Chapter 5) drills further into the experiences of women in a mining declining era. The disadvantages experienced in a vibrant mining economy are exacerbated when the mining economy declines and the empowerment frameworks discussed tend to be put on the back burner, as women were degraded to the status of the mere object to find economic opportunities (Sesele & Marais 2019).

Chapter 5
ECONOMIC DOWNTURN, MINING DECLINE AND GENDER

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the implication of mining decline for women against the background of the theories of gender, the resource curse, the long-term exclusion of women from mining and the inadequate responses from the post-apartheid policy. The benefits of equal employment and equal pay that developed over various phases of gender development (see Chapter 2) were not available to women in the mining industry. The mining industry actively suppressed the progress that women made elsewhere. Chapter 3 provided evidence that mining economies often have adverse and unintended economic and social effects. An under-researched element in the resource curse theory is the lack of gender assessment; however, the world has made headway in minimising gender discrimination in the workplace. Despite global progress concerning the inclusion of women in the workplace, the deliberate exclusion of women from South Africa's mining history has been instrumental in the current position of women. Despite attempts to address this historical problem in post-apartheid legislation, the legislation often perpetuates the problem. In Chapter 4, I have argued that the response often included a market-oriented ideology. Mine downscaling further complicated concerns about gender.

This chapter argues that in addition to understanding the gender implications of mining, mining decline holds further consequences for women. In addition to masculinity undermining the position of women, mining decline places a substantial burden on women. The chapter starts by discussing the international experience of gender and economic crises. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss the economic implications of mining decline for women. The emphasis then shifts towards the South African context, by providing a brief overview of the growth and decline of the gold mining industry. Finally, the chapter discusses the growth and decline of the mining industry in the Free State Goldfields.

5.2 Gender and economic crises: The international experience

The Great Depression of the 1930s and the Global Financial Crises of 2008/09 had severe implications for global economies and the position of women. This section investigates both crisis periods as examples to understand the implications for women. There are three critical areas of women's experience in both economic downturns: their access to employment outside of the home, their status within the home and ability to negotiate within their relationships and the burden women experience within these contexts.

5.2.1 Access to employment

The Great Depression of 1933 had a profound negative impact on women because of large-scale job losses (Humm 1992; Connelly et al. 2000). In a climate in which there are job losses, often women lose their jobs first. Female employment was also affected during the global financial crises. The job losses result from women's vulnerability in the job market because they occupy marginal positions in the global economy (UNAIDS 2012; see also Chapter 2). Often, women hold low-paying manufacturing jobs, which are shed in times of economic crisis (Emmett 2009). Other examples in which women lost their jobs because of the global financial crises include the flower industry in Uganda (World Bank 2009) and the Thailand manufacturing sector (Praparpun 2010).

5.2.2 Status within the home and ability to negotiate

Periods of economic crisis often lead to governments neglecting women's needs. For example, the progress made concerning women's economic advancement before the Great Depression disappeared as governments focused on getting men back into jobs. The result was that the Great Depression did not enhance women's position in society (Griffin 1995; Pyle & Ward 2003). The view was that prioritising men for employment would, in turn, ensure that women and children are taken care of at the household level (Monteon 1995). While the Great Depression happened during the take-off of the First Wave of Feminism, the wave did little to influence gender-based work allocation practices. Even though the Great Depression forced society to re-examine social dynamics, it did not pose a challenge to patriarchy (Monteon 1995).

In Greece, the global financial crisis reinforced the concept of men as breadwinners (UNAIDS 2012). This focus on the role of men rendered the needs of women secondary. Similar to the

tendencies under the Great Depression, the government protected male employment. This was done through employment insurance for men (UNAIDS 2012). While employment income protection assures the welfare and income stability of the employed, the majority of women fell outside of the net.

Research shows that the lack of paid work reduces women's autonomy from men (Acevedo 1995). For example, during the Great Depression, the lack of access to work outside the home contributed to women's oppression in the home (Acevedo 1995; Beneria 2001a; 2001b). The lack of access to work means that women often lose their ability to enhance their family's economic wellbeing and that affects their status in the home (Beneria 2001a; 2001b; Pyle & Ward 2003). The lack of access to work also means that men tend to exercise control over domestic affairs such as property ownership, wife and children (Monteon 1995). In the face of grinding poverty levels and the lack of work, women often do not have the power to negotiate within relationships with men and women often become the sole providers for their children (Monteon 1995; Mathis 2011).

Women lose their ability to negotiate for themselves in finding work or within the household (UNAIDS 2012). For example, research shows that the global financial crisis created inequalities in the household, which increased men's decision-making in the home (UNAIDS 2012). There is also evidence that the above reality contributes to gender-based violence (Nandal 2011; UNAIDS 2012) and that the deepening levels of gender inequality in the home contribute to the economic disempowerment of women (UNAIDS 2012).

5.2.3 Women pushed to the margins of the economy during 2008 and 2009

The exclusion of women from formal jobs pushes them into the informal sector of the economy (see Section 2.3.2). For example, the global financial crisis contributed to a more considerable degree of informal work for women (UNAIDS 2012). Women often take up the lowest-paid jobs in the informal sector, such as handicrafts and trading goods as the better-paying jobs in manufacturing are reserved for men (UNAIDS 2012). As a result, a 22% pay gap exists between men and women globally (Emmett 2009).

These patterns have a ripple effect through the informal economy. For example, a qualitative study investigating the work and payment process among women found that the global financial crisis resulted in a rise of work hours and a decrease in wages (Dullnig, Neuhold, Novy, Pelzer, Schnitzer, Schöllenberger & Thallmayer 2010). Another study reported an

increase in women's vulnerability to physical and physiological stress (Horn 2009). The shrinking wages and longer working hours for women in the informal sector lead to less free time for women as they try to stretch the hours to achieve the same result (Mendoza 2011).

An economic downturn often results in governments embarking on austerity measures (UNAIDS 2012). Often such reductions include less spending on health and social services, which affect women. For example, the government of Greece spent substantially less on childcare services (an industry that employs a large number of women) during the global financial crisis (UNAIDS 2012). The government of Greece reduced childcare facilities (European Parliament 2013). In 2012, the number of children needing access to childcare services would have grown significantly, with an increased number of parents unable to pay for private services. The adoption of stricter income criteria and the decline of available spaces caused high tensions among applicant parents (European Parliament 2013). Consequently, the shrinking public service, over and above the reduced spending in the informal sector, leave women with less time on their hands and serves to deepen gendered poverty.

Changes in pension provisions impact negatively on women. This is visible in the government of Greece's revised eligibility criteria for pensioners. In some cases, the raised retirement age is raised and new limits on the benefits are set (UNAIDS 2012). In other cases, women were forced to retire early (European Commission 2011). All of these aspects have consequences for women, One of which is the income gap. Tying women to the home and limiting their ability to access work outside of the home, because of various forms of workplace discrimination, add to the complex mix that weighs heavily on women's lives (UNAIDS 2012). Furthermore, women's efforts at getting paid work outside the home are constrained by this responsibility to undertake the unpaid labour of looking after the elderly and childrearing. Lower government spending on social aspects pushes women into providing social services as government provision diminishes (Lyberaki and Tinios 2014). The reduced income amidst an increased set of responsibilities created by the reduction of state services put further pressure on women's lives.

The complex mix of social service reduction increased 'poverty time' (UNAIDS 2012:8) and reduced access to adequate nutrition, compromises women's state of health and well-being. For example, research shows that women are the first to stop eating when food becomes scarce (Nandal 2011). In India, studies have shown that the matriarchs eat only in the morning or eat leftover food which contributes to poor health (Phillips 2009). The stress of job losses also

contributes to mental health problems. For example, during the 2008 crisis, the suicide rates for women increased by 8.6% in Thailand (and decreased for men by 0.9%) (Praparpun 2010). Other social concerns are that women and girls enter into multiple concurrent intimate partner arrangements (Hunter 2010), sex work or human trafficking (Randriamaro 2010). Such behaviour exposes women to risks of contracting sexually transmitted diseases. In countries where there is already a high HIV prevalence, this behaviour related to economic decline becomes an increasing concern (Corno & Walque 2012a, 2012b; UNAIDS 2012).

The above section shows that an economic decline has severe social implications. Such an economic downturn impacts women more severely. The decline in social spending also pushes women to the margins of the economy. By using examples from the Great Depression and the global financial crisis, this section outlined some of the main concerns. Often, the commitments to empower women only remain scripted in law and absent in practice, as patriarchal values shift the priority to men during periods of decline.

5.3 Economic decline and mine closure: International experience

Concerns regarding industrial decline have been around for over a century (Mohan 2014), as the fall of an industrial base often leads to economic restructuring (Monghadam 1995; Mohan 2014). The restructuring process results from competitiveness in a globalised world and researchers often refer to it as the "failure thesis" (Mohan 2014; Ward 1993). Since the 1980s, the industrialised countries had to face competition from new competitors such as Asia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea (Martinez-Fernandez & Wu 2007). Deindustrialisation started in the UK as early as the 1960s (Mohan 2014) and the USA followed in the 1970s (Martinez-Fernandez & Wu 2007). Other examples include France (Lorraine) and Germany (Ruhr) in the 1960s (He et al. 2017). Consequently, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, the Rust Belt in the USA, and Japan have also witnessed population declines (He 2014). Considering mining declines specifically, research has noted declines in Canada, Australia, Italy (Lugiria) and China (He 2014). Moreover, as rightfully predicted in the World Development Report (Islam et al. 2001), more closures are imminent in the Global South. These closures are part of what is being studied here, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.4.2.

Often, the process of deindustrialisation takes place simultaneously with shifts to the tertiary sector. For example, the rise of high-tech industries has created a different demand for labour

and the location of the sector (Beneria & Sen 1981; Ward 1984; Beneria 1995, 2001a; 2001b). The response to deal with deindustrialisation entailed efforts aimed at developing enterprise zones, industrial clusters and industrial parks (Connelly et al. 2000). However, technological changes also require an alternative approach, and more recently, there has been a focus on creative industries as a response to deindustrialisation (Ward 1984; Pyle & Ward 2003). The new economy further focuses on knowledge production, high tech industries and innovation (Connelly et al. 2000).

Mine downscaling and decline is also a form of deindustrialisation. Mine closure is an unavoidable outcome of finite resource exploitation (Li et al. 2015; He et al. 2017;). In the World Development Report, Islam et al. (2001:v) argued that "a wave of mine closures is looming" and predicted that 25 large mines in the Global South would close by 2012. Therefore, an understanding of the consequences of mining decline and its implications for women is essential. Mine downscaling and closure often result in urban decline (Li et al. 2015), shrinking cities (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012) and negative socio-economic implications (Rappaport 2003; Audirac, Cunningham- Sabot, Fol & Moraes 2012; Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012;).

Researchers have noted that the real curse of mining is at closure (Veiga, Scoble & McAllister 2001; Leadbeater 2008). National and local mining economies often rise sharply with a booming global economy or favourable world prices of specific commodities. However, these economies can quickly decline as the market turns (Bradbury & St-Martin 1983; Sachs & Warner 1995; Auty 2001; Collier 2007; Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012), and their volatility makes downscaling the actual curse associated with mining (Sachs & Warner 1995; Auty 2001; Collier 2007; Ayelazuno 2013). Because of mine closures, many mining cities are economically vulnerable (Nel & Tykkylainen 1999; Bontje 2004; Li et al. 2015;) to global competition (Bontje 2004) and inherently unstable (Nel & Tykkylainen 1999; Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012). The nature of mining towns and their resilience differs, despite some standard features (Veiga et al. 2001; Leadbeater 2008).

The early experiences of mining decline date back to the rise and fall of coal mining in the early days of the Industrial Revolution (Beynon, Cox & Hudson 1999; Oxera Agenda 2014). Resource depletion saw a rise in costs and a drop in profitability, as labour demanded higher wages. More recently, there was also competition from cheaper coal that could be imported from the Global South as well a shift to alternative energy sources (Beynon et al. 1999; Oxera

Agenda 2014). The decline had severe economic consequences in the Global North (Nel & Binns 2002). Mining decline led to the loss of employment for over a million people in the Global North between 1955 and 1968 (Nel et al. 2003). Added factors, such as the depletion of resources, weak economies of scale, increasing labour costs, conflict, and price fluctuation, contributed to mining decline (Beynon et al. 1999; Oxera Agenda 2014). The experiences of women during this life-changing period remain mostly undocumented.

5.3.1 Environmental and socio-economic concerns of decline

Mine closure often leaves behind ecological destruction and socio-economic problems. Continued air pollution that contributes to lung diseases is often typical after mine closure (Brereton, Moran, McIlwain, McIntosh & Parkinson 2008; Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012; Harvard Law School 2016). Also, there is continued surface water and groundwater contamination (Durand 2012; Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012; Harvard Law School 2016;). Often these environmental concerns affect the health of the local population (Harvard Law School 2016; Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012). For example, the local community bears the consequences through ingesting food products grown from contaminated soil and water (Harvard Law School 2016). Van der Burg's (2010) and City Press (2010) raises similar concerns (2010).

The impact of this environmental deterioration affects women in their responsibility for household chores, such as food production and the washing of clothes (Harvard Law School 2016; Musvoto 2004).

Many socio-economic consequences also exist. For example, mine closure leads to job losses, which in turn have implications for the mineworker identities (Lapalme 2003; Marais 2013a). In addition, mineworkers are often forced to relocate to other mining locations and to leave their families behind (Yokun Conservation Society and Yokun Women Council 2000; Shandro, Veiga, Shoveller, Scobe & Koehoorn 2011). Consequently, mine closure disrupts the social fabric of society (Solomon et al. 2008). Evidence of this disruption is visible in increased levels of alcoholism and crime (Laurence 2002). Other noted social ills that result from the decline are drug abuse (Miranda, Blanco-Uribe, Hernandez, Ochoa & Yerena 1998; Shandro et al. 2011), divorce, depression, school dropout rates, compromised health (Ostry, Marion, Green, Demers, Teschke, Hershler, Kelly & Hertzman 2000; Ostry, Hershler, Kelly, Demers, Teschke & Hertzman 2001), mental health problems (Avery et al. 1998; Shandro et al. 2011), and increases in gender-based violence (Peats 2008; Shandro et al. 2011). The increase in these

socio-economic problems often means that governments are not able to keep up with providing socio-economic services. A study of Anina, a small mining town of Romania, showed how difficult it was to provide medical services after mine closure (Romania, Social Development Department 2006). The burden of care as social services that collapse often falls on women.

Mine closure also impacts local governance structures. Research shows that population outflow can lead to a reduction in the local tax revenue, which in turn impacts the local government's ability to deliver social services (Laurence 2002; Andrews-Speed et al. 2005). Population outflow often contributes to the loss of human capital, as many qualified teachers and medical staff leave the mining areas (Romania, Social Development Department 2006).

The declining social services are significant in the sub-Saharan context, where the mining sector is one of the main drivers of the growth of HIV/AIDS (Corno & De Walque 2012b). Research shows that miners and their partners in a mining context have 15% more chances of contracting HIV/AIDS than in a non-mining economy (Corno & De Walque 2012b). The withdrawal by the mines and the closure of mine health services they provide, leaves the burden of disease with the public sector, which is already overwhelmed by the demand (Corno & De Walque 2012a; Van Heerden 2016). Often, women have to carry the responsibility of looking after the sick.

The above evidence shows that, even though women are the least represented in the industry, they have been affected disproportionately by the reductions in the mining sector. For example, women have not been able to draw from compensatory programmes to the extent that they should (Romania, Social Development Department 2006). Even though in the mining industry women made up 16% of the total workforce in 1997, the job losses among women were higher. Furthermore, women have reduced re-employment chances, at 16% lower points than men in the mining regions (Romania, Social Development Department 2006).

Women are often left behind as outmigration follows mine downscaling. People go looking for better life prospects elsewhere. Usually, "women are just as keen to move like men", but because of commitments to family and children, they do not make a move (Romania, Social Development Department 2006:4). Several factors have a mitigating effect on female migration: their responsibility for family members who need care (children, the elderly), the impact of gender inequality in the home where they lose their ability to negotiate their role (Acevedo 1995), and their inability to find alternative work because of workplace discrimination (see Chapter 2).

In conclusion, the socio-economic impacts of mining decline are gendered. They also have far-reaching consequences on the lives of women as reflected in how job losses affect the norms within society which dislocate families and lead to high incidents of divorce and other ills. The family breakdown often leaves women without financial support in the context of limited opportunities to work, and increased dependency on men. Also, population reduction affects the revenue base of the local government. Mining decline leads to the reduction of social services to the people that eventually turn out to be women's responsibilities.

5.3.2 Responses to decline

Mine closure strategies also vary across the globe. Most mining-dependent countries in the Global South find it difficult to diversify their economies (Li et al. 2015) (See also Chapter 3). Often, urban planners operate only within a paradigm of growth (Martinez & Wu 2007; Pallagst, Martinez-Frenandez and Weichmann, 2014; Marais et al. 2015). This focus on growth is strange, as researchers do argue that growth and shrinkage are natural outcomes of a capitalist economy (Monghadam 1995; Martinez-Fernandez & Wu 2007). The emphasis on growth derives from the eagerness to achieve development in those areas that are economically backward (Monghadam 1995; Martinez-Fernandez & Wu 2007).

The preoccupation with growth crowds out the possibility of finding appropriate responses to shrinkage (Stohr 2004; Swope 2006; Pallagst 2008; Pallagst et al. 2009;). In general, planning misses opportunities to adopt new planning principles (Oswalt 2005) that may direct resources to meet the needs and improve the lives of those who remain behind (Schatz 2010; Hospers 2014). Creative and Innovative planning could entail policy efforts could also shift from growth to standard public services, infrastructure, and improvements of the effects of long-term ecological degradation (He et al. 2017).

Community participation often lays the foundation for alternative post-mining economies. In countries such as Mexico, when the local economy was going through decline and the municipality came under pressure to accept mining investments, the community stopped a potential mining investment that would have seen the destruction of their heritage. The heritage later became a tourism drawcard. Similarly, the Japanese citizens were actively part of the municipal structures that sought to engage in projects that brought tourism into the city (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012). Yet, community participation is often dependent on high degrees of social capital. In the case of Japan, the levels of education enhanced the capacity of

local communities to drive the development of a post-mining economy (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012).

In some cases, the business community showed signs of adaptability and resilience by repositioning itself during mine closure and decline (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012). In Canada, the business community took advantage of the growing information and communications technology sector. The mining industry repackaged itself to sell their experience and expertise to other miners around the country and the globe (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012). In these countries, LED strategies are often knowledge-based and involve high technological strategies (Nel & Binns 1999; Ayelazuno 2014). These knowledge-based strategies require highly trained professional staff, and universities' capacity to support research (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012) and often involve a shift to creative industries (Ward 1984; Connelly et al. 2000; Pyle & Ward 2003). The new economy has taken the form of small start-ups, the production of new knowledge, innovation, cutting-edge technologies (Connelly et al. 2000), and strong educational institutions with research capacity (Nel & Binns 1999).

The above section has shown the importance of the adaptability of businesses, the availability of skills and professional input into the process of dealing with mine closure.

5.4 The growth and decline of gold mining in South Africa

5.4.1 Mining growth in South Africa

This section focuses on the growth of the gold mining industry in South Africa. The discovery of the gold reef in the Transvaal in the 1880s, which is the "world's most extensive gold resource" (Davenport 2013:286), occurred at a time when the global monetary system was adopting the gold standard. The gold standard means that countries use gold as a standard measure to determine prices for their local currencies (Davenport 2013). Consequently, there was a high global demand for gold. Twelve years after mining started in South Africa, the country was supplying close to a quarter of the world's supply (Davenport 2013).

Britain was the seat of the world capital and led the adoption of the gold standard in 1717. Other countries followed 50 years later. Countries outside of the gold standard had to reconsider their position and align themselves with the gold standard to be able to borrow money in Britain. The large scale adoption of the gold standard increased the demand for gold. At that time, Australia and California were the main mining production areas. The South

African discoveries came at the right time to supply the increasing demand. The initial gold mining in South Africa, therefore, benefitted from Britain's connection with the gold standard. However, South Africa again benefitted when Britain left the gold standard in 1919 (Davenport, 2013. The economic depression in Britain after the First World War, was the main reason why the country left the gold standard (Davenport 2013). This move improved the profitability of mines on the Witwatersrand, which were struggling during the First World War as South Africa exported more gold to Britain. However, it generally had negative implications for those countries which were part of the Commonwealth and had economies dependent on Britain for agricultural export and financial investments (Zogg 2011). For example, the South African government was put under pressure by a delegation from South African business chambers to align its currency with that of the British pound (Zogg 2011). South Africa took up the British pound as its currency from 1933 and kept it until the early 1960s (Henshaw 1996). However, most other countries remained with the system of the gold standard. Up to the 1970s, the gold price never increased, it was fixed at 35 USD as it was in 1934 (Lipton 1985).

After Britain abandoned the gold standard, industry exerted pressure on the South African government to deviate from the gold standard (Henshaw 1996). South Africa's decision to follow Britain's example resulted in favourable trading conditions for the mining industry, arising from the devaluation of the South African pound. The devaluation process resulted in the improvement of the gold price in dollars by almost 50% (Jones & Müller 1992). The rise resulted in improvements in terms of taxes, the expansion of job creation and foreign currency earnings, and brought economic vibrancy in the general economy. The robust economy stimulated mining project development and growth. The two substantial price rises in 1932 and 1949 significantly stimulated the expansion of gold promotion(Davenport 2013). The positive economic climate also prolonged the lifespan of existing shafts as marginal shafts turned economic. Sub-economic mines were reopened, and 13 new mines were opened in 1935 (Jones & Müller 1992).

The duality of the gold price and the local currency tied to the British pound, meant that the exchange rate movements could result in higher returns received by the mines (Feinstein 2005; Zogg 2011). These price escalations also alleviated the effects of inflationary pressures during the wartime and after the Second World War (Jones & Müller 1992; Davenport 2013). The sterling price of gold continued its gradual improvement until a significant increase in 1949 when the British and South African governments simultaneously devalued the pound.

The devaluation of the pound saw a rise in the gold price to 248 shilling, which was three times the original value of 85shilling in 1935 (Jones & Müller 1992). The price increase in gold increased the profitability of mines as it provided some breathing space from the pressure of production costs. By 1930, the price increased and abandoning the gold standard opened up growth opportunities. It spurred on significant exploration activities (Davenport 2013). By 1939, prospectors discovered the Orange Free State Goldfields, which became the country's wealthiest gold reserves (Zogg 2011; Davenport 2013). The Orange Free State Goldfields became the major contributor to total South African gold output (Zogg 2011; Davenport 2013).

In 1950, the development of the Orange Free State and the West Rand mines served to augment the declining gold production in some fields. Production reached its peak in 1970 at 32 million ounces of gold from 80 million tons treated (Feinstein 2005). The years following saw the gradual increase in the tonnage of ore milled, while at the same time the amount of gold produced started to decline. The gold production stood at 22.5 million fine ounces from 76.7 million tons of ore milled. This compares to 21.6 ounces from 113.8 million milled in the subsequent ten years between the 1970s to the 1980s (Feinstein 2005:).

The above discussion showed how several factors influenced the growth of the gold mining industry in South Africa. These include political decisions and the strong linkages of the economic system in South Africa with Britain. Britain was the primary source of investment capital in South Africa. The link of mining performance with Britain shows that there were external influences on the performance of the gold mining industry. Among these influences were decisions related to currency devaluation, as well as systems used to place value on gold. This economic history of the gold mining industry stands in stark contrast to the exclusion of black people and women from the industry. The historically high levels of exclusion would become highly problematic in a period of decline.

5.4.2 Mining decline in South Africa

Since the late 1800s, South Africa has been dependent on mineral and energy production and exports (Nel 2002). However, the gold industry has experienced a substantial decline since the early 1990s, although the deterioration had already started in the 1970s (see Figure 5.1).

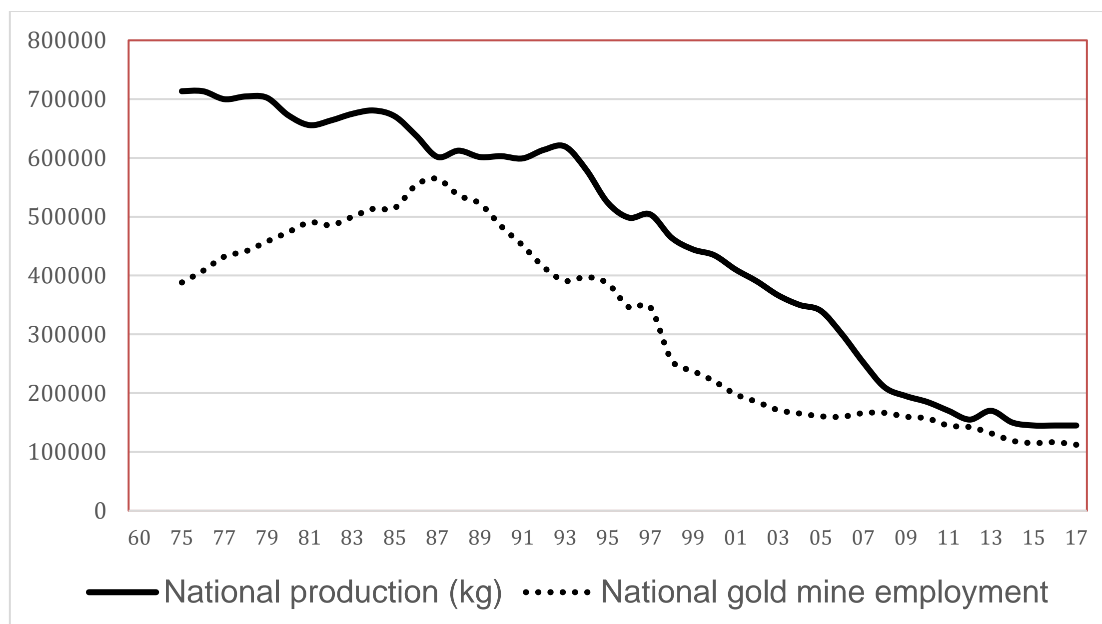


Figure 5.1: The decline of production and the number of people employed in gold mining in South Africa, 1960–2017

Employment in the gold industry peaked in 1986, with 434 000 people working in the industry. By 1994, the employment number stood at 400 000 and employment was on a downward spiral (Crankshaw 2002). This decline continued, and by 1999, 220 000 workers were employed in the gold mining industry, while the 2016 figure stood at about 112 000 (Malherbe 2000; Chamber of Mines 2016). Between 1960 and 2013, production dropped by 72% from 602 999 kg to 167 016 kg (Chamber of Mines 2016). A reduction in foreign investment accompanied the loss of jobs to the economy (Harington, McGlashan & Chelkowska. 2004).

Crankshaw (2002) argued that the decline of the gold industry is closely related to the depth of mining (deep mining contributes to rising costs), increased pressure from unions on mines to attend to health and safety issues, rising wages and the globalisation of the industry. A global industry also resulted in mining companies cutting on non-core mining expenditure (housing, significant investments in corporate social responsibility, sports clubs and social events) and focusing on core mining activities (Crankshaw 2002).

As the profits in the gold sector continued to be under pressure, the industry started to adjust. Contemporary mines have a much leaner cost structure (Crankshaw 2002). Industry experts in 1995 forecasted that a gold price of $443 is required to revive the gold industry in South Africa (Nattrass 1995). The gold producers, in response, had pegged their working costs at $200 per ounce and less. In 1999, the industry benchmarked working costs at $253 per ounce, down

from $261 in 1998 (Chamber of Mines 2016). Prinsloo and Marais (2014) pointed out that all South African gold mines will close by the year 2040. This closure would mean the loss of employment income of R24 billion and higher levels of unemployment (Chamber of Mines 2016). South Africa's position as a leading gold producer may have come to an end (Crankshaw 2002).

In conclusion, the decline in gold production was a steady process. The decline in the gold mining industry negatively impacted local economies that depend on mining. Except for Johannesburg, other areas have been unable to diversify their economies. Often, leadership in these regions has been weak. The hope held by leadership that the economy would continue to follow the resources growth path and the reluctance to robustly explore alternative plans ties in with the resource curse arguments made in Chapter 3. The decline in the Free State Goldfields has taken place against the above background. The decline also had significant consequences for women in the Free State Goldfields.

5.5 Growth and decline in the Free State Goldfields

The Orange Free State Goldfields[1] and the Evander goldfields were the last to come on track in the Witwatersrand gold basin. Although prospectors discovered gold just before the Second World War, active mining in the Orange Free State Goldfields only started in 1946. The mining companies had to overcome several difficulties: long distances from the Witwatersrand, unknown geological formations at the time, deeper mines than in the Witwatersrand (Davenport 2013) and the need to create new mining towns (Marais & Nel 2016). Considering the background to mining decline nationally (see Section 5.4), this section provides the context of growth and decline in the Free State Goldfields.

The Free State Goldfields run along a strip from Allanridge through Odendaalsrus to Welkom and to the south in Virginia. In the late 1930s, the gold deposit was much deeper beneath the earth's surface than at the Witwatersrand, although the initial prospectors found gold at 200−400 m below the surface which is reasonably deep compared to some areas in the Witwatersrand. The outbreak of the Second World War inhibited further development in the mining sector (Davenport 2013). Money and capital were again available after the Second World War and allowed for the rapid growth of the Free State Goldfields. By the mid-1960s,

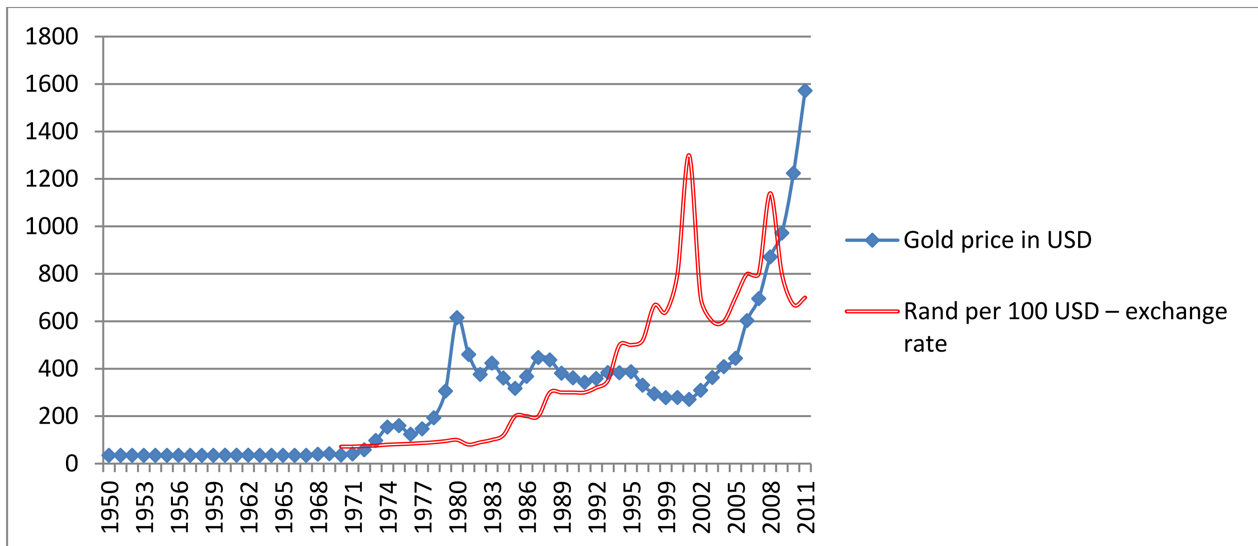
[1] Today the area is known as the Free State Goldfields. It consists of the Matjhabeng and Masilonyana Local Municipalities which, in turn, forms part of the Lejweleputswa District Municipality.

22 new mines were in production in the Free State Goldfields and the area produced 60% of the total of South Africa's gold (Zogg 2011). Anglo American was the leading mining company and paid for the development of the towns of Welkom, Virginia and Allanridge (Marais & Nel 2016).

In total, 44 shafts were sunk between 1946 and 1990. Mining companies in the goldfields of the Free State were producing 1 417 tons of gold per annum (Davenport 2013). The mines developed half of these shafts before 1972 (Marais & Nel 2016). By the early 1970s, the area had ten mining companies with 17 shafts, employing 45 000 people (Marais & Nel 2016).

By the late 1970s, some shafts had already closed and many shafts were operating at marginal levels. However, a rapid increase in the price of gold because the USA left the gold standard, was instrumental in reviving the gold mining industry in the Free State Goldfields. The decision by the USA to leave the gold standard was closely associated with the Vietnam War. The country's spending on the war raised inflation and pushed its economy into deficits in terms of both the balance of payments and trade. The war reduced the USA's gold stocks from $20 billion in 1960 to $10 billion in 1971 (Davenport 2013). Debt levels and inflation rose and there was a general loss in confidence in the dollar. In reaction, the USA left the gold standard in 1971. Subsequently, the USA government abolished the gold standard and left the price of gold to the market (Zogg 2011).

The decision by the USA to leave the gold standard in 1971 was highly beneficial for the South African gold mining industry (Zogg 2011) as well as the Free State Goldfields (Davenport 2013; Marais & Nel 2016; Zogg 2011) (see Figure 5.2). The dollar price of gold increased rapidly and that gave new life to the goldmines in the Free State. The decision of the USA to leave the gold standard had a profound catalytic effect on mining expansion in South Africa and the Free State Goldfields (Marais & Nel 2016; Zogg 2011). By the end of the 1960s, some of the shafts in the Free State Goldfields had already reached the end of their profitability. The increase of the gold price helped to make marginal mines profitable again, but also allowed for the development of 22 new shafts (see Figure 5.2).

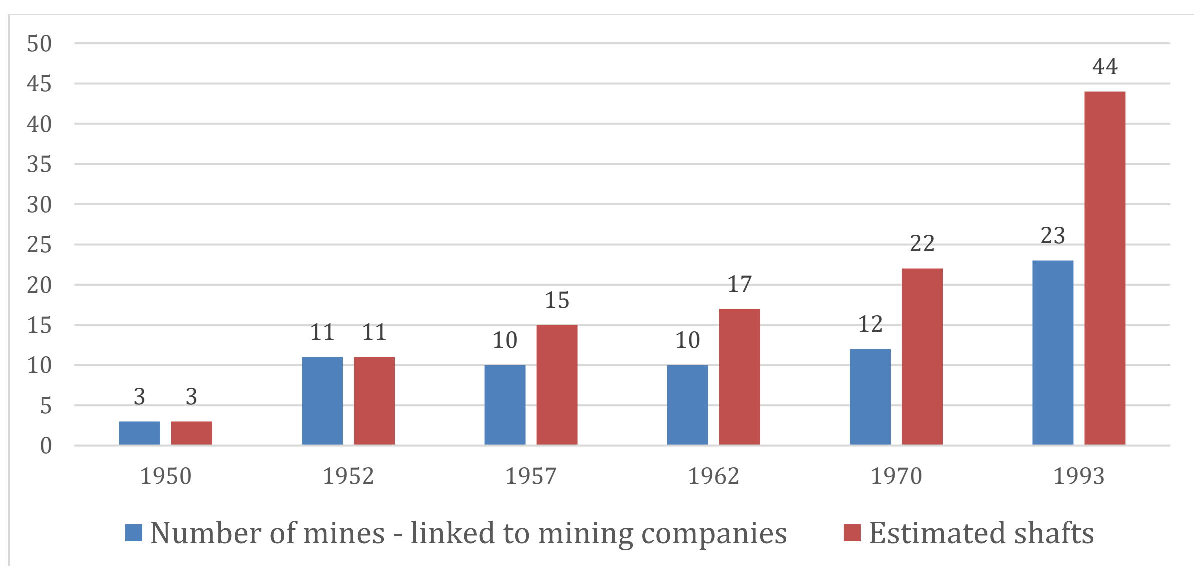


Note: Prices from 1883–1994, World Gold Council, from Timothy Green's *Historical Gold Price Table*. London prices converted to USD based on SA Reserve Bank (2019) rates.

Source: Marais and Nel (2016)

Figure 5.2: The changing price of gold and the rand/dollar exchange rate, 1950–2011

The 1980s saw the disappearance of concerns regarding the diversification of the economy to cope with a post-mining scenario, and the municipality and the mines shelved a range of available plans (Marais & Nel 2016). At the height of production in 1980, the Free State Goldfields produced 21% of the gold, in what was known as the "free-world" (Marais 2013a; 2013b). Figure 5.3 provides an overview of the new mining shafts sunk in the Free State Goldfields since 1970. Figure 5.3 provides an overview of the new mining shafts sunk in the Free State Goldfields since 1970.



Source: Marais and Nel (2016)

Figure 5.3: Number of mining companies and shafts in the Free State Goldfields, 1951–1993

The gold price improvements coincided with shifts in the labour policy environment. By the mid-1970s, diplomatic pressures increased for South Africa to change its apartheid policies (Davenport 2013). For example, the Malawian government took the lead by withdrawing its workers from South African mines. To protect itself, the Chamber of Mine sought to recruit a more significant portion of the South African labour force (Davenport 2013). The competition for labour by industry and manufacturing saw the labour wage increasing and many of the skilled and semi-skilled workers moved into positions previously occupied by white people. However, the boom in the gold industry also started to dwindle by the mid-1980s. The South African economy was facing headwinds as inflation rose to a high of 18% by 1986 (Davenport 2013). Production costs in the mines increased to 23% per annum and many mining companies operated their mines at a lost (Davenport 2013). These rising costs and sanctions pressured the National Party to abandon apartheid and accelerated conditions for the decline. However, the devaluation of the rand, primarily because of political instability since 1986, delayed the process of decline as it supported the rand price of gold (Davenport 2013). The state of emergency and the debt crisis followed (Nattrass 1995). By the 1990s, South Africa began the process of democratising the country and opening up the economy (Davenport 2013). Besides, international mining companies started to shift their focus from South African to South East Asia, the Pacific Islands and Latin America.

It was in 1989, when the buoyancy ended and the price of gold began to fall, that fortune started to change (Marais et al. 2015) (see also Figure 5.2). This was led by a combination of factors, such as the depletion of the resources underground, the accidents that accompany deep mining, and the costs per ounce of gold that contributed to the decline in output (Crankshaw 2002; Marais et al. 2015), the rise of unionism (Crankshaw 2002; Seidman 1995), and the demands for better wages, better living and working conditions (Crankshaw 2002).

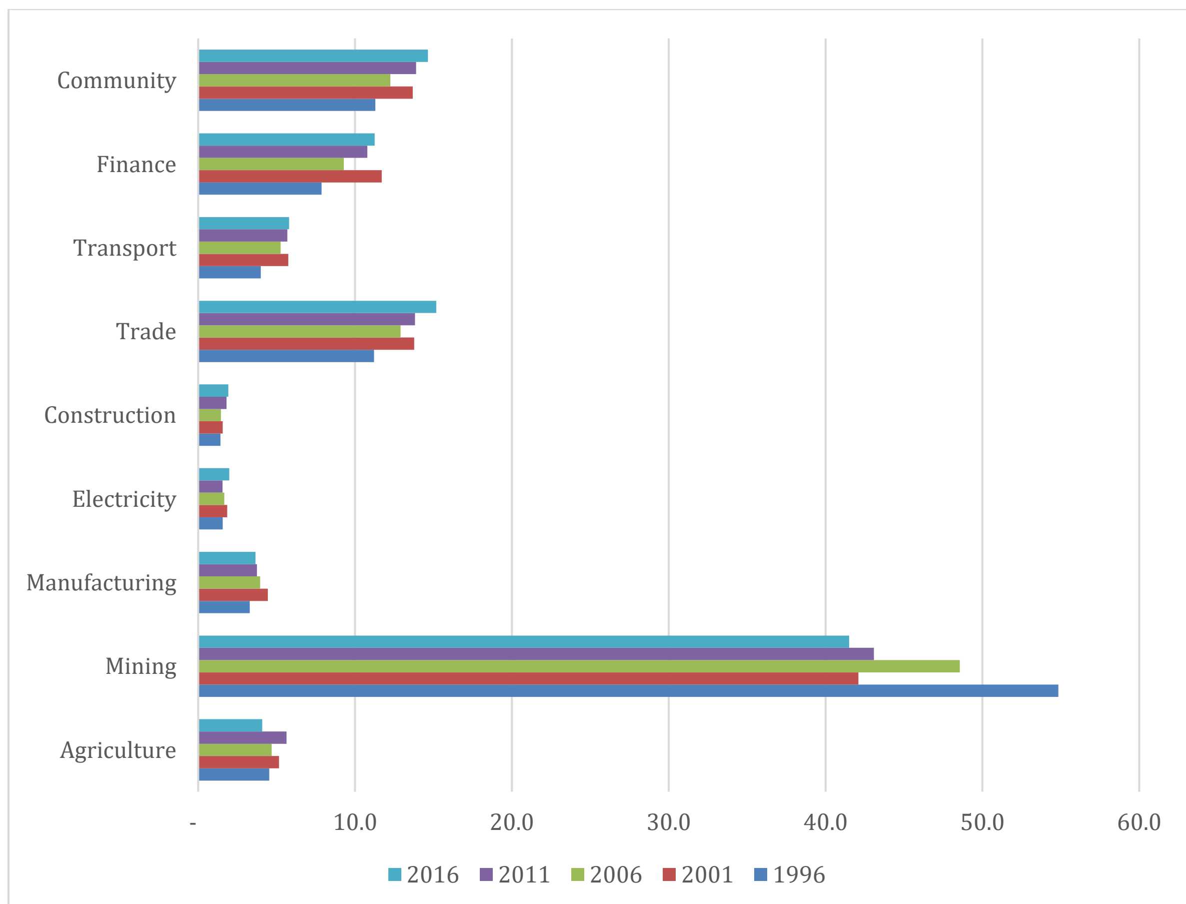
The process of decline in the Free State Goldfields started with the closure of Harmony mine by the Rand mines in 1991 (Marais et al. 2015). The evidence of decline is visible in negative economic growth, a smaller share of the economy for mining, a rapid decline in mining employment and a slight decline in the local population. In nominal terms, the economy was 31% smaller in 2016 than in 1996 (economic data were not available for the period before 1996). Table 5.1 shows the economic growth rates for various periods since 1996 and provides evidence of volatile economic growth rates over this period.

Table 5.1: Economic growth rates in Lejweleputswa district, 1996–2016

Period	The annual economic growth rate
1996–2001	-3.46
2001–2006	-1.43
2006–2011	-2.46
2011–2016	0.02
1996–2016	-1.8

Source: Global Insight (2018)

In the process, the share of mining of the entire economy in the Free State Goldfields dropped from 55% in 1996 to 43% in 2016 (Figure 5.4).



Source: Global Insight (2018)

Figure 5.4: ***Share of the Lejweleputswa economy by the economic sector, 1996–2016***

Despite the overall economic decline and the decrease in the percentage of mining, the figures also suggest that the economy was somewhat more diverse in 2016 than in 1996. Marais et al. 2015) noted the increased share of community services and trade. Marais et al. (2015) attributed these increases in the percentage of community services and trade to the

decentralisation of government offices to the Free State Goldfields. Welkom has increasingly assumed a regional services function.

Mining employment declined rapidly. By the late 1980s, the mining industry employed about 180 000 workers (Marais 2013a). This figure dropped to about 27 000 in 2018 (Denoon-Stevens 2019). Denoon-Stevens (2019) expected mining employment to drop even further to about 20 000 by 2025 and only 4 000 by 2030. The mines mainly employed men (see Chapter 4). Effectively, women never benefitted from high levels of employment.

Although the population has also declined, the decline has not been as rapid as the decline in mining employment. In 1996, the Matjhabeng Local Municipality was home to about 475 000 people. By 2016, the figure has dropped to 430 000 (Denoon-Stevens 2019). However, the number of households and land occupied by urban residents increased rapidly over this period (Marais et al. 2015). A rapid decline in mining employment contributed to a moderate decrease in population, an increase in households and the expansion of occupied urban municipal land (Marais 2018; Venter & Marais 2005). This period saw the development of informal sector trading (CDE 2005; Marais & Nel 2016; Seidman 1989) and increased illegal mining activities (Marais 2013a). The closing of mine compounds was instrumental in these land expansions (Marais et al. 2019).

Finally, the goldfields saw their dominant economic position in the Free State diminishing (CDE 2005). The decline also meant that the area lost political clout in the province. The reduction of mining contributed to the challenges of poverty and unemployment, as most of the mineworker skills were not transferable to other industries (CDE 2005).

In conclusion, the Free State Goldfields was one of the wealthiest resources of gold in South Africa and globally. Global economic patterns as well as South African politics and the cost of gold production all contributed to the growth and eventually the decline of mining. By the early 1990s, when the country also managed its political transition, this meant massive scale layoffs. Thousands of men lost their jobs. The masculinity on which the industry existed also disappeared, which in turn influenced the position of women in society.

5.6 Synthesis

This chapter showed the gender implications of economic decline. It also indicated that downturns are part of the ebb and flow of the capitalist system and that it is an expected part of the mining economy. However, there is a shortage of literature exploring the experiences of

women in mining and economic decline. The chapter also showed the importance of focusing on women in the context of the declining economy of the Free State Goldfields.

A reflection on the experiences of women during the Great Depression in the 1930s and the global financial crises of 2008 and 2009 showed that women's struggle to access employment outside of the home during an economic downturn intensified. During the economic downturn, as reflected in Chapter 5, employer preference shifted towards getting men employed. As the economic downturn marginalises women, their status within the home and ability to negotiate within their relationships also diminishes. Lastly, women are burdened by the responsibilities within the house as the state introduces austerity measures and cuts welfare budgets. Women end up in informal sector activities, which only further reinforce their poverty state. Women's needs often do not receive adequate attention in periods of economic downturn and very few programmes focus on managing the economic position of women during a decline. Therefore, mining economic decline increases the vulnerability of women.

South Africa's economy was built on the mining industry. The gold mining industry is over 130 years old and started in the Witwatersrand, and the Free State Goldfields developed after the Second World War. The history of boom and bust is closely linked to international economic trends and the demand for commodities. By the early 1990s, the industry came under more pressure and downscaling and closure became prominent. In an industry that excluded women historically, downscaling increased the pressure on women. It is in this context that the next two chapters investigate women's responses to mining decline.

Chapter 6
WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES DURING MINING DECLINE

6.1 Introduction

Men often dominate the formal institutions in the economy (see Chapter 2). Institutions play an essential role in defining development and men often play the primary role in these institutions. Research has shown that men's perspectives often exclude those of women (Smith 2004). Men's perspectives become a filter through which the government develops and implements policies (Collins 2000); for example, many recruitment processes and induction programmes are profoundly gendered and favour men. Often these processes control and isolate women through language use and grading systems. Consequently, women are poorly represented in high-ranking positions even when they spend the equivalent amount of time at the same skills level as men (Government of Australia 2017). At the same time, jobs that require low skills are likely to be assigned to women. A large percentage of women are employed in low-skilled jobs and they are also poorly paid. Women also experience subliminal violence in these contexts (see also Chapter 2).

Chapter 3 introduced the concept of a rentier state within the context of the resource curse. A rentier state is dependent on income from natural resources, which in many instances are extracted by external companies. Often, resource-dependent countries struggle to collect tax revenue and develop sound strategies and policies. Rentier states adopt policies that maintain the status quo and find it challenging to plan outside the resource economy by developing post-resource development strategies. Although most research on the resource curse originates from the country level, there is increasing evidence of adverse consequences at the local or regional level.

Chapter 4 showed how the various institutions in South Africa created female poverty through the mining industry. The combined role of colonialism, traditional authority, men in households, missionaries, and capital shaped gender and conspired to give effect to the economic position of women. Colonial governments used the gender inferiority that prevailed in white society to reinforce the precolonial patriarchal system to oppress black women. Both

capital and men appropriated women's labour in the rural economy free of charge. To redress women's position of disadvantage, the South African government signed international agreements and SADC protocols. The government institutionalised and mainstreamed gender by introducing the gender machinery which reports to the Presidency.

Chapter 5 provided an overview of the social and economic consequences of decline and described the process of decline in the Free State Goldfields. This chapter analyses the institutional responses towards women in a period of mine downscaling in the Free State Goldfields. This chapter has three main parts. The first part reflects on the apartheid history and the expectation that the mines should reopened the closed mines. The second and third section outline the responses to decline from the municipality and the mines. Finally, I consider women's agency in this context.

Figure 6.1 provides a schematic presentation of the conceptual overview of Chapter 6.

6.2 Reflections on apartheid and expectations that mines should re-open

One of the respondents explained the ease of finding a job under apartheid in the following words:

> You could leave school at standard three or four, but you would walk straight into a job. Today you will not find something like that (R3, FG5, Q73).[2]

In addition to highlighting the ease of finding a job, the interviewee also noted that it is much different today. It is this interpretation of women's experiences under apartheid and still after apartheid that lies at the core of this section. Ironically, the decline started in the early 1990s as the post-apartheid government took control in 1994. The respondents associated the boom years with apartheid and economic decay with the democratic dispensation.

The respondents often said that they had experienced a better institutional response from the apartheid government. Both young and old interviewees shared this opinion. Respondents often phrased the apartheid history as "better" or "you could get a job" (R3, FG5, Q73), compared to being "free, but jobs are difficult to get" under the democratic dispensation (R4, FG5, Q73). These responses suggested that the women associated the apartheid period with jobs and prosperity and the post-apartheid period with the decline, even though it is unfair to blame the post-apartheid government for the closure of the mines.

[2] R is the respondent number; FG is focus group number; and Q is for the quotation number.

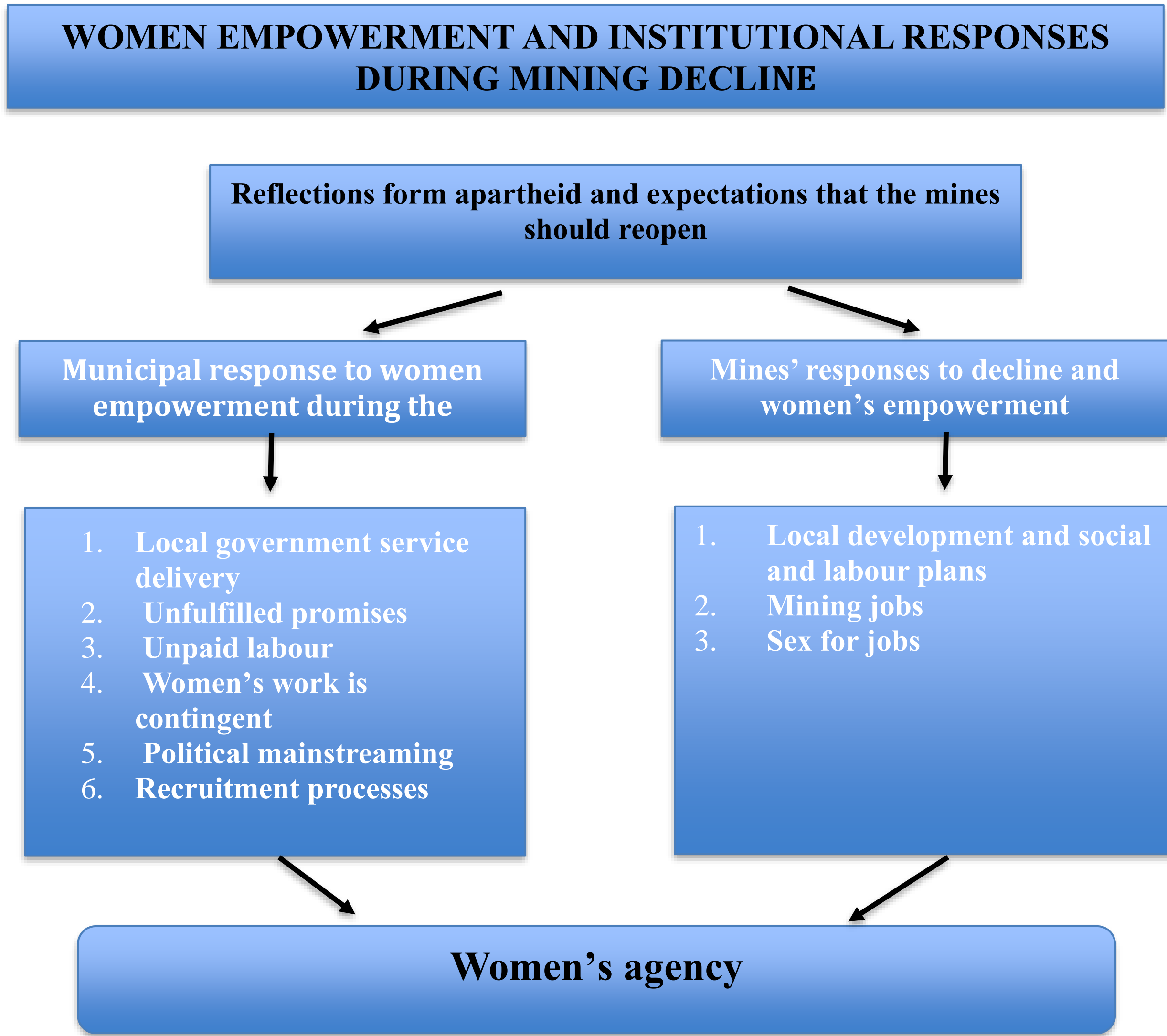


Figure 6.5: Conceptual framework for Chapter 6

There is also a perception that under apartheid the government would help you find a job, while in the democratic dispensation you need to pay bribes in finding work. One of the respondents said:

> The work at the mines during the apartheid era, we used to make a queue, it wasn't for fun, or we never paid bribes (R3, FG8, Q146).

Another respondent elaborated that, under apartheid,

> [t]he government would even find a job for you. Today for you to get into the mines you pay R20 000. There is work; if you don't have R20 000, you don't get a job. Where do you get R20 000? When you don't work? As a schoolchild? (R2, FG3, Q246).

The above quotes further reinforce the idea that the government provided jobs under apartheid. The logical development of this perception among the respondents was that the post-apartheid government should do the same. However, the quote also suggested the desperate situation in that the respondents could not afford the bribe to access the job.

The respondents also held the view that it was easy to find jobs outside mining during the apartheid period. One respondent said that "you just walked down the street" and someone would "ask you if you don't want a job" (R1, FG4, Q86). The same respondent contrasted her experience with the current reality in the following words:

> Today this has all dried up. There are no jobs available; many shops have closed; the mines are closed; many contracting firms and other businesses have closed. It is unlike in the past (R1, FG4, Q86).

On the other hand, another respondent said:

> At the pass office … you will find farmers waiting there for us. They will load you onto the van and take you to their farms to work in their fields. At the end of the day, we get paid (R3, FG6, Q172).

The description of the historical "good old days" comes despite the inhumane practices through the pass office. Ironically, one of the respondents emphasised how, under apartheid, they were "arrested for not working" (R2, FG6, Q172). These quotes above confirmed a significant scale of unemployment in the era since the democratic period and contrasted that with the mining booms under apartheid.

The interviewees also pointed out that the large-scale unemployment visible today, results from the rise of academic achievements as criteria for job requirements. The respondents blamed the democratic government for this problem. One respondent complained:

> These kids are in the streets making tables, etc. When you have a broken bed, he comes and repairs it. Whatever that needs to be fixed, they attend to it. This is because, when it was clear that he has challenges academically, an alternative was given to him. Now this government puts too much emphasis on Grade twelve. When you get there, looking for a job to sweep, they want Grade twelve (R2, FG3, Q79).

The above quote also reflects the low levels of education women received and their current exclusion because of a lack of education. The above quote reflects on the desperateness of the respondents. Even though mining decline had nothing to do with the regime change, the respondents compared the current desperate economic circumstances under the post-apartheid government with the "good old days" under the apartheid era. Ironically, the respondents did not understand that their current situation was indeed the result of not being included in the mainstream economy under apartheid. The historical exclusion of women from mining employment means that most women have no employment history. The absence of an employment history makes current employment unlikely.

Despite mine closures, many of the respondents still viewed the mines as having a solution to the decline and unemployment problem in the Matjhabeng area. The respondents commonly held the view that mines could reopen and resume business, and therefore employ more local people. There is a persistent narrative that gold is growing back, that there is sufficient capacity within the current operational mines to hire more people and that the historical (often patriarchal) approach of the mines to fund and support the local community should remerge. In discussing this issue, the intention was not to humiliate the responses by the women; instead, it was to show how people ignore their current reality. The municipality also ignored economic downturns and plans for further growth (see also Chapter 5).

First, the respondents held a common perception that the mines should reopen or "come back" (R3, II,[3] Q27) to address the current levels of poverty. One of the respondents described it in the following words:

> The biggest thing is the closure of mines … I say that the mines must open so that men can find work again. Because there is going to be too much poverty? (R7, II, Q48).

[3] II = in-depth interviews.

There was no debate about why the mines closed or why it is difficult to reopen them. The notion that it has been the mines that in the first place created an economic bubble and the municipality that could not plan for the decline, did not come to mind. To some degree, the quote also reinforces gender roles as the opening of the mines is related to work for men but not for women. The above notion that local people do not understand the volatility of the mining industry is closely associated with the idea of the resource curse. Mining booms create false realities for governments and local people.

This hope that mines can and will reopen resulted in people queuing at different points in different townships every Thursday with the hope to be recruited by the mines. A youth organisation called The Forum tries to facilitate such opportunities. The Forum consists of graduates without jobs, as the market is unable to absorb new graduates. Graduates have also grouped themselves to market their skills and qualifications to the mining industry. However, there is virtually no uptake. The fact that such an organisation exists, also reflects the expectation that the mines will reopen.

Second, associated with the call to reopen the mines, the participants expected these mines to employ local people. Most respondents resented the mines for not hiring local people. One respondent remarked the following of people returning from The Forum:

> When they come back, I usually listen as they talk about their issues. They are fighting with mine in the main. You find that mines hire people from outside. They keep going to the Forum, but nothing happens (R1, FG3, Q266).

The quote emphasises the strained relationship between the mines and the community about employment and hiring of people from elsewhere. Local employment has been a long-standing concern for local communities, and it seems as if declines created a further rift. There is no guarantee of work for the local people, even with experience. One respondent phrased this in the following words:

> My brother also went there but gave up because they said you must have mining experience. I don’t know how we can get mining experience if the mines do not employ more people (R10, II, Q30).

Third, there is a general belief that gold is growing back. The long queues at The Forum and the idea of the possibility of employment depend on the inability to accept the diminishing of the gold reserves. One woman insisted that gold is again increasing:

> While I was still working, they took us to Cape Town … They told us that after ten years, that gold would have grown again; Welkom will go back to what it was as before. Ten years have come and gone after Cape Town, but even now, nothing has ever happened (R9, FG8, Q131).

Another respondent confirmed this belief that the gold industry is growing again, by saying:

> Also, when we do our investigations, we hear that gold regenerates, it grows back after ten years. Now if you check as to how many years the mines have been closed (R2, FG7, Q101).

Although the gold industry does not grow, the flourishing illegal mining industry in the area (locally referred to as the Zama Zamas) supports the general belief that there is still enough gold to mine. The illicit miners go down shafts illegally and often work for months underground. One of the respondents confirmed the perception of growing the gold industry by referring to the illegal miners:

> They say that gold is finished. But, I do not think it is finished yet. The zama zamas are still able to go underground, mine and come back with gold (R10, II, Q30).

There is some truth to this statement that there is still some gold left. However, the current global price of gold and the cost of production, often because of deep mining, make it unprofitable for large mining companies. In contrast, the illegal miners mine without a mining licence, do not have to comply with workplace safety regulations and sell to an illegal industry. Their overheads are minimal, and therefore, they can mine profitably.

Within this context, some respondents suggested that the government and the mining companies should open the mines to replace the illegal miners. In their view, the government should seek external support to have the mines opened instead of the illicit miners digging unlawfully. For example, one respondent said:

> These people dig unlawfully, whereas if it was opened legally. There is now a lot of gold, and they must hire people, they must work and be taken to school. They must work underground (R3, FG7, Q83).

Another respondent raised the same sentiments when she said:

> … and there are zama zamas under the same mines at the same time they are closed on top. But underneath, there are zama zamas busy making money. And nothing is being said about them (R2, FG7, Q114).

These statements about the illegal miners confirm the widely held opinion that gold is still available in abundance, that it is growing back and that it is possible to mine it.

Fourth, in addition to the expectation that the government should support the mines, the respondents felt that the mining companies could do more to keep the mines open and contribute more to the community. The following response summarises the general feeling among the participants:

> The mines must give people jobs … Instead of getting food parcels because they get finished as SASSA does. This month they give this one, the next month they give to another one. While you are waiting for it to come to you, you suffer (R8, II, Q97).

These expectations from the mines are probably rooted in the historical experiences in the area. The mines had a paternalistic relationship with the surrounding communities. The mines provided people with food, accommodation and paid holidays (This is expanded further in the next chapter.) With this historical relationship as a backdrop, the young women insisted that putting pressure on the mines as a community will get the mines to hire them or assist community-based businesses. As one of them argued: "Mines can help, Tshepong and Phakisa mines must help us" (R8, FG5, Q8). This means that those shafts that are closest to their area – in this case Odendaalsrus – should help. For the women, an open shaft represents a level of prosperity, however marginal the activity could be in mining terms.

Fifth, one respondent believed that work is available in the mines but that bribes are often the only way to get access to these jobs. One respondent pointed out:

> I think … many people say they want bribes. Work is available in the mines, but you have to pay so much (R7, II, Q46).

Women are bewildered by these demands by people who control employment inside the mines because they believe that the mines have a responsibility to provide jobs. The extent to which people believe that mines can absorb more labour, also relates to an expectation that the mines should provide internships for the youth in the area. One respondent said:

> They have leaderships and internships. Right now, you will find that your child is sitting at home. There are no jobs which we call permanent. But, if there are learnerships and internships, at least there is something they get from there (R2, II, Q18).

The respondents believed that the internships would assist the youth in getting them job-ready in case a job arises. There was still a strong belief that, even though mines are closing, there would be an opportunity for a job, as one respondent remarked:

> Even though the mines have closed in the main, but that plays a significant role in our community (R2, II, Q18).

Women still hold strong views that mines should always play a more prominent role in the development of the community, as they used to in the past. Community perceptions around mining decline revolve around the belief that there are options to keep mines open and create jobs, like in the past. The idea that gold will grow back after ten years fuels this perception. Besides the idea that there is still sufficient gold, the respondents believed that the mines should employ more people and fund their projects directly. They think that the community must put pressure on the mines for this to happen.

6.3 Municipal response to women empowerment during the decline

As already noted, the respondents' impression that gold will grow back, matches the municipality's intent to plan for growth. This section investigates municipal planning considering the decline described in Chapter 5. This section also discusses the status of LED within the municipality and the relevance of gender policy frameworks.

An assessment of the IDP shows that the municipality is unable to reposition the local economy within the context of mining decline. On the one hand, the municipality finds it challenging to develop new commercial drivers, and on the other hand, it is unable to deal with the reality of decline. Local government planning is still caught up in planning for growth, despite a considerable decline over the past three decades and dependence on a single commodity (see Chapter 5). The IDP (2018–2019) states as follows: "The municipality's revenue strategy is built around the following key components: Growth in the municipality and continued economic development; Increase ability to extend new services and recover costs" (Matjhabeng IDP Review, 2018-2019:114). By not emphasising the reality of decline or planning for it in the planning documents, the municipality largely ignores the problem of decline. The economic downturn also undermines the municipality's financial ability to serve the programme of land expansion that occurs because of the growth mindset (Marais 2013a; Marais et al. 2015). There is a disconnect between plans that emphasise growth and the nature of the declining economy. This seeming schizophrenia is the result of a growth-oriented approach to the development of IDPs, which is standard across South Africa.

A municipal official mentioned that, because the municipality is unable to fund projects from its direct income, the municipality creates partnerships with other government organisations or the private sector. The municipality focuses on creating a conducive environment and

emphasises the municipal role as facilitators. A municipal respondent described the reality in the following words:

> We normally survive by partnerships with other government entities, partnerships with private companies, government entities like your SEDA.

The use of the word *survive* above confirms the desperate situation. Consequently, the municipal programmes often are aligned with national and provincial objectives rather than being informed by local circumstances. In the process, the municipality pays little attention to the plight of local women in the context of decline. For example, the interviewees from the municipality could not provide evidence of projects or programmes focusing on women. The ignorance of the problems of women or the municipality's dependence on other spheres of government, contributed to ignoring the plight of women. Consequently, the planning process lost its focus on the local context.

The municipality found it extremely difficult to provide or maintain infrastructure because of the decline. The media often reports on sewage spills (Cowan 2017). The lack of infrastructure maintenance has placed the municipality under pressure, as it threatens its survival. At the same time, infrastructure investment has become a way of political survival. An official in the LED unit said that after a presentation to the top management of the municipality, the political heads remarked: "You want us to fund poems and fables, in the meantime sewage is overflowing and the roads are in disrepair." Rightfully, the same interviewee asked: "Where will people find the money to pay for the services?" This quote reflects the tensions between what the municipality perceives and what the people want, namely the economic revival of the area. Deteriorating infrastructure is a direct result of the economic decline.

Among the many social issues identified, the most recurrent problem was a lack of service delivery and infrastructure. The municipality's emphasis on infrastructure and maintenance issues contributes to it ignoring the social concerns. Consequently, women's empowerment issues have taken the backseat. One negative impact on LED is that the SLP funding meant for LED projects, gets redirected to infrastructure development. The Harmony mining house had allocated R23 million for LED for the 2018–2019 period, against an R25 million allocation from Sibanye for infrastructure. Sibanye had not assigned anything towards LED (Matjhabeng 2018). Even this LED dedicated allocation will be redirected towards infrastructure, as confirmed by an official:

> The municipality decided that SLP should be for the infrastructure, roads; the politicians say it's economic development because people are getting employed.

The political elite prioritises infrastructure because it allows them to score political points in times of elections. Infrastructure spending also provides politicians with an opportunity to derive benefit in the form of kickbacks and bribes. For example, the Zondo Commission was investigating the municipality and the poor municipal audit outcomes. The Zondo Commission requested the municipal manager in a letter, dated 1 July 2019, to provide information for the investigation (Zondo Commission 2019). Further evidence of the above reality is visible in the fact that, over the last eight financial years, the Matjhabeng Local Municipality was unable to obtain a clean audit.

On top of these problems, the municipality did not have an LED strategy. Admittedly, at the time of writing this thesis, a service provider was working on such a strategy. The reliance on provincial government was once again visible in one of the interviewees stating that:

> It was decided that it [the strategy to deal with decline] would be done at the provincial level. Not at the local level.

The view that the province should drive the LED strategy, counters the local nature of an LED strategy, which is nuanced in its consideration of economic possibilities. The absence of a strategy also further reinforces the ignorance of women's issues in local institutional responses.

Despite the above realities on strategy, there are examples of microprojects that involve women. However, the projects seldom originate from LED initiatives to address mining decline. The initiatives often consist of microprojects, such as arts and crafts projects. Other LED efforts include commonage, student accommodation, and reference of black women entering agriculture. The evidence above shows that the municipality conceptualises LED as small projects with limited impact, benefitting a small number of people. This focus on small projects demonstrates an inability to consider the large-scale problem of unemployment. Chapter 2 has shown the importance of the labour absorption of women in the development of women and societies. There is limited evidence of thinking to widen the employment possibilities for women. While the municipality is side-lining or is unable to initiate economic stimulus projects, women remain unemployed and at the margins of the economy and society.

Furthermore, the municipality does not have a policy guiding gender-specific spending. The municipality also does not have a gender policy in place against which to measure its performance. Effectively, the municipality largely ignores international and national protocols.

Furthermore, the municipality finds excuses not to support black-woman-owned companies that offer services in the municipal core business. The municipality only supports those women-owned businesses which provide services on the fringes, such as catering. This supports the evidence in Chapter 4 that shows how the gender mainstreaming machinery, supported and monitored in the premier's office, seldom gets implemented.

In conclusion, for as long as the empowerment of women remains optional and accidental, progress will be limited. The absence of tools to measure success regarding women's empowerment, such as gender policy and LED strategy, pushes gender equality onto the back burner. A lack of integration into crucial performance measures only serves to perpetuate the marginalisation of women. International agreements and national policy frameworks remain largely ignored.

During the interviews, the respondents often made the point that the municipality has no funds available for economic development projects. This constraint is a direct result of the economic decline and the poor state of municipal finances. The women's experiences included the following themes: the collapse of municipal services, unfulfilled promises towards women, women's unpaid labour, contingency of women's work, political affiliation as a determinant for access to jobs and social assistance, women's exclusion from paid employment and from participation in the economic mainstream forcing women into working in the informal sector, corruption and lack of trust.

6.3.1 Local government service delivery

The following sections describe how women have experienced the consequences of the economic collapse of local government. The economic failure has resulted in a lack of proper services and this has had negative implications for the women.

One of the biggest concerns for women is the extent to which the township is filthy because of the municipality's failure to manage waste and keep the city clean. One respondent noted that these services "are supposed to be done by the municipality" but that the "municipality doesn't care" contributing to the fact that "our township is filthy" (R2, FG3, Q246). Referring to the lack of cleanliness in the central business district, another respondent said: "When you get into town, it is no longer that old town we used to know" (R2, FG3, Q246). The women felt that the municipality could, by ensuring a clean city, create jobs.

Women are aware that the municipality receives money from the mines but that, according to their minds, it is seldom spent on the right programmes. They are also aware that the municipality does not use the funds to deal with their issues appropriately. One of the respondents mentioned:

> This money goes to the main municipality; the smaller ones get nothing. This big municipality received the money from mines when he is supposed to give the money to smaller ones; maybe he keeps it for himself (R2, FG3, Q246).

The "bigger and smaller municipality" refers to the previous system where the smaller towns such as Odendaalsrus and Virginia had their own municipal offices. The perception is that the smaller places are in a disadvantaged position when the municipality allocates funds. However, it also shows there is a lack of trust towards politicians. This lack of trust is also visible elsewhere. The respondents were in disbelief of the mayor's assertion that the money he receives from the mines pays for services and electricity. One respondent asserted:

> Money is finished off by services and electricity, but tell me which services is he talking about, because people are always not paid? These people are never happy; their pay doesn't increase (R2, FG3, Q246).

The above problem reflects the desperate financial situation of the municipality and the inability to manage it. The respondents emphasised the poor management and the excuses from the municipality and its leadership. The failure to collect waste and handle the human waste and infrastructure deterioration is the most pronounced failures of the municipality. This affects the environmental health of people. One of the respondents exclaimed:

> Yhoo! I see sewage pipes and filth. What I see is … this place is filthy! This place is filthy! Water is running! Sewage runs; this place is torturing us! All over the place! Oh! My! Things I see here….? It is dark! There are no lights (R1, II, Q1).

This respondent grew up in the area but had been out of town for a while. Coming back, she could not believe the deterioration of the area. She also could compare it with other cities she had lived in can still found the current living conditions unacceptable. Another respondent said:

> I reported my house for over six months ago. I went to the Scorpions because nothing was happening. The person who was sent to my house to look at my foundation told me that it is sewage that is creating a problem with my wall and that my garage is going to fall. Last week when I walked around to check, the foundation has cracked. Even today, that man has not come. Even today. This thing is difficult (R10, FG8, Q125).

This quote reflects personal damage because of the poor management of human waste. Another respondent echoed the same sentiments by stating that the "streets are dripping with water" and "the roads are destroyed" (R10, II, 26), concluding that the municipality "doesn't provide us with services" (R5, II, Q14). The noticeability of a lack of waste management becomes vocalised by most people and becomes a key criterion on which people judge whether the municipality is doing its work or not.

The respondents further ascribed the poor delivery of basic service to municipal workers not doing their work. One of the respondents remarked:

> People who are employed by the municipality are just standing there; even at 5 pm they are still standing, sometimes sleeping on the road. But the area is very dirty (R9, II, Q41).

The discontent with the municipality and its workers is clear from the above statements. Seeing the employed municipal workers not doing their work also creates resentment, as many other people would want to do this work.

The respondents often remarked that the above reality leads to poor health. Furthermore, as the international literature has suggested (see Chapter 5), women often perform the function of health care. This role of women is in line with international research that shows poor environmental health has negative consequences for women and their role in society. One of the respondents summarised this reality in the following words and blamed mining decline as the main reason:

> The state of affairs in our area is dangerous. Look at the sewage that is running. Children play around; they get infected with TB even in the houses. How do you look after a sick person inside a house that is not clean? (FG8, Q123).

Respondents find dealing with the above reality complicated. A clean and healthy environment is a constitutional right. This right seems absent in many of the former black townships in the Free State Goldfields. Moreover, this quote should be understood in the context of women bearing the societal brunt of caring for those who become sick (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5).

As the respondents related specific health problems to the environmental health concerns above, the general hope is that the medical services will provide a way out. Although the provision of primary health care facilities is not a local government responsibility and cannot directly be related to mining decline, the respondents emphasised how this service is often inadequate. One of the respondents, in a crude way, summarised the reality in the following words:

> In other words, people die because of the difficulties of the economy in our land … A person who is sick gets turned away. They get told that there is no medication. What does the person do when they are poor and have nothing and cannot pay to go to the hospital? These hospitals are also full. They will say the beds are full. You don't know where they say this person, in this condition, he should go (FG8, Q123).

In addition to general public health, the concerns raised above by respondents also included that their children experience similar problems at school. The public school toilet system has also unravelled at the seams from a lack of maintenance and because the general upkeeping of the overall system is inadequate. One respondent mentioned:

> Right now, our schools are destroyed. In the past, our schools were bucket schools. Today, they use water, but if you go to those water toilets, you will be too ashamed. There is a disease. I have a child who contracted an illness at school. I took her to the doctor. He gave me a letter to take to school. The child contracted the disease at school; Toilets have people who clean … that cleaning lady does not want to clean toilets. It was not just my child; it even affected a teacher. That's why the school was closed. The schools closed because the toilet has the disease (R3, FG1, Q302).

The above quote points to the integrated nature of the problem. Poor service delivery because of mining decline not only affects normal household functions, but also the school system. Children cannot learn because they and the teachers get sick.

The state of service delivery and municipal collapse has led to several service delivery protests in the area. According to the Municipal IQ Municipal Hotspots Monitor (2013), 10% of the service delivery protests in 2012, came from the Free State province, that is 9 out of a total of 97 service delivery protests. Although it was not possible to determine how many occurred in the Free State Goldfields, one of the first case studies on service delivery protests originated from this area (Marais et al. 2007). One of the respondents gave the following perspective:

> Just like in Ward 5, there were protests regarding service delivery. They blame the councillor. What is he going to do? He is not the one who makes money available for services? The protests were everywhere; they appeared in Freedom Newspaper. What will he do for there to be serviced? He is not the one who controls the purse strings (R4, II, Q5).

The state of paralysis at the municipality seems overwhelming. The municipality is mostly unable to provide basic services. As the municipality limps from one service delivery protest to another, quelling the fire and destruction that characterise such demonstrations, the municipality does not attend to the idea of empowering women. The women are concerned about service delivery collapse that has resulted from local government collapse. The most

visible form of this collapse is in the area of waste management as well as infrastructure maintenance. A lack of performance of the municipality in these critical areas has led to the deterioration of health in the area and an escalation of service delivery protests.

6.3.2 Unfulfilled promises

During the interviews, many respondents noted the problem of unfulfilled promises to women. The women perceived the municipality to be hiding benefits that should come from the mines. Although it was virtually impossible to determine whether this was the case, in reality, the women's perceptions in this regard are essential. One respondent summarised this perception in the following words:

> The mines have projects that are supposed to help women. But the money goes via the municipality. So, all that money goes to the municipality and ends up there (R8, FG6, Q167).

The above quote suggests that the mines tell the women to go to the municipality for help. Nevertheless, the quote also shows that there is not much confidence in this approach. The same respondent was cynical of the ability of the mayor to help them. She phrased it in the following words:

> One day, the mayor said: 'Oh are they widows? I know them, I must help them.' But he never helped them (R8, FG6, Q167).

Another respondent complained about people who say:

> Here is money, we want to help women; when it is supposed to get here, it doesn't filter to us (R5, FG6, Q167).

The women were also negative about receiving assistance from the municipality and often mentioned that municipal staff regularly refer them from one office to the other. The lack of transparency is also true of LED funds allocated to various projects within the municipality. One respondent demanded:

> I want to know how members of the community access the LED budget. You will hear that they have been used. In most cases, they have just been misused. But in the paper, you hear that they have done this and this, one, two, three four, and five. So, this is one of the things that make us lose trust in our municipality (R2, II, Q35).

The above quote shows the mistrust between the respondents and the municipality. A more significant degree of transparency might reduce such mistrust. The municipality has also

demonstrated a lack of transparency in other areas such as bursary allocation for youngsters, as one respondent maintained:

> For instance, at the beginning of the year, the municipality will announce that they have bursaries, which we want to give out for the matriculants of Matjhabeng to go and study. You will find that these bursaries have been given to each other internally. So, there must be a way they work transparently, and they must be monitored (R2, II, Q35).

The above quote confirms the need for transparency in the use of municipal funds and restoration of trust. The respondents also claimed that the municipality does not attend to women issues. The participants claimed that the municipality ignored various proposals from them. One woman remarked:

> We send in proposals; we give out memoranda, but there are only empty promises. When there is something they want, like voting, then they show up. Women would be given blankets, women would be given food parcels (R2, II, Q35).

The above actions do not impress women and they often see this response from the municipality as a short-term response. Women's expectations from the municipality were for longer-term support, economic independence and being able for them to listen to the women. The women suggested that the municipality needs to follow up faithfully on the promises it makes to people. One respondent mentioned:

> They must come back, just like when he promises people, they must come back and say, there was this and this which we have addressed. The root cause is this and this and this is how we will attend to it (R2, II, Q35).

Women are acutely aware and troubled by the fact that the municipality does not take them seriously. The municipality makes unfulfilled promises to women. It is only when it is time to vote, according to the respondents, that the municipality pays some attention to women. At this time, they receive food parcels and blankets and some more promises that the municipality cannot fulfil.

6.3.3 Unpaid labour

Linked to the unfulfilled promises above, is the use of women's labour without payment. Women feel exploited by the municipality when the municipality asks them to clean the township. The following quotes summarise the feeling of women in this respect:

> We once worked for the whole year cleaning the township, unblocking the drains for the whole year. We used to go to Matjhabeng looking for protective clothing. They gave us no

> uniform. The following year we realised that they had hired other people. Don't we know how? They were wearing a uniform, but we had been asking for a uniform and all sorts of things. We worked for the whole year without asking for a cent (R …).

> In the townships, we would clean up and in the open spaces. We worked everywhere. They did not consider that all those smells could make us sick. We used clean-up to Riebeeckstad. We would clean even the outside, even Odendaal. We would come across snakes. We would run (R8, II, Q96).

> We worked for two years without pay. We were cleaning the streets. That group was dismissed, Hennenman, Virginia, and Theunissen, all the towns under Lejweleputswa. We were all dismissed (R8, II, Q88).

> While we were working, 25 people were hired. My heart was bleeding. Imagine after working for free for three years, then 25 people get hired. They [the municipal employees] fetched them and brought them into paid jobs. They don’t get hired by the man we work under; they get hired by the mayor who kept on encouraging us to work. He promised us to give us uniforms and monthly pay. It never happened. Life is difficult for us (R8, II, Q108).

The above quotes reflect the economic exploitation of women and their vulnerability that is closely associated with the economic decline in the area. It also seems that history was repeating itself. Historically, men owned women’s labour in the rural economy and women’s labour subsidised capital. In this case, women’s work benefits government the coffers which desperately need a boost.

Women’s free labour keeps men in power and paid jobs. The focus on free labour by women seems not to have changed much since the early days of mining development when women’s labour served the interests of the government and capital by working in the rural economy for free (see Chapter 2). The free labour of women assisted in keeping wages low and ensured super profits. The policies kept the government in power. There is evidence of similar levels of exploitation. One respondent pointed out that, during elections, the ruling party requires women to:

> … do door-to-door campaigns, the people who do not work are the ones expected to do the work. Some get paid to do door-to-door [municipal employees]. Why doesn’t the councillor take those people to do the work? (R3, FG5, Q36).

Women fall prey to leaders who continuously use their labour without pay. The women subsidise the municipality by doing paid jobs without pay. The struggle to access secure employment has made one respondent conclude that:

> The municipality does not employ anymore. We try to get in and volunteer. But we don’t get employment anywhere. Our lives are complicated (R8, II, Q88).

One of the interviewees illustrated this work without pay in the following words:

> We check if they have their IDs. We do all that work, but when jobs come up, they don’t consider us (R3, FG5, Q83).

Furthermore, the respondents felt that, when the municipality can make payments, they hire people from outside the area for these positions. One respondent said:

> Here, only people from outside get jobs. Just now when we were being dismissed, a woman from Botshabelo took a phone and called somebody speaking in IsiXhosa to say a man said I must bring mine and my children’s particulars for a job in Matjhabeng (R8, II, Q88).

According to the story, the woman had come back from the Eastern Cape to fetch her particulars. The women had been working on the project without any pay. When it was time for them to be paid, the municipality brought in outsiders.

In conclusion, politicians view women as important volunteers during elections. The history of the government maintaining power on the back of women’s free labour has come full circle. In this study, men keep their dominant positions within institutions by playing on women’s desperation to access economic opportunities**.** Men have exploited women's labour because of the precarious position women find themselves in, that is, of being outside of formal employment. Women’s work is manipulated and used by men for their selfish ends.

6.3.4 Women’s work is contingent

The previous section shows that men are vital players in work allocation and women’s work often goes unpaid. This section builds on the theme of unpaid work by women and discusses how women are pushed into contingent work while men have secure jobs in the municipality. The government defines this type of employment as “job opportunities”. These jobs are temporary, for only part of the month (see also Chapter 2).

Women are recruited into job creation programmes, while men work for the municipality. One of the participants had the following to say about the Community Works Programmes (CWP):

> They lump the youth under CWP, which is not a proper job, you don’t get paid. R500 is nothing (R …).

The jobs are contingent, which makes it difficult to sustain the family with the money earned from these programmes. One respondent remarked:

> When you go home with that money, it is already finished. You can't live and provide for your family with that amount (R6, FG5, Q71).

Women mentioned that the unemployment problem in the area had been around for a long time, yet nothing is being done to deal with it effectively. One respondent remarked:

> There are no changes happening. The things that they do are to ridicule the youth. I make an example of CWP; it is Community Workers Programme. They say you work eight days and get paid R600. Do you think R600 can make any difference to youth with four children? No? It just serves to numb her/his mind (R2, II, Q23).

This respondent further pointed out that youth should be provided with training programmes so that they do not rely solely on the R600 earned from the CWP. The respondent argued that the R600 does not maintain their families and their children. People receive employment for only eight days in the month, and one respondent asked: "What about the other 22 days?" (R2, II, Q23).

The intervals between employment and lack of work, according to the interviewees, are the main reason for some women becoming prostitutes. Although the CWP is a national programme with national guidelines, there are no guidelines for areas of economic hardship, such as in the Free State Goldfields.

6.3.5 Political mainstreaming

The respondents felt that councillors and the municipality dispense patronage along party political lines. Women thought that those people who get help within the community are those who are card-carrying members of the African National Congress (ANC). When women make inquiries about available jobs within the municipality, the municipality tells them that they are looking for internal candidates. However, the respondent realised that "it takes you back to the membership card" (R2, FG4, Q85). Another woman was baffled by the insistence that everyone should be a card-carrying member and said:

> When we are not all its members, it doesn't mean that we don't like it. We have still voted for it (R2, FG4, Q85).

The following three quotes provide more evidence in this respect:

> Most people who do that are ANC people. The rest of us are expected to volunteer. You must be ANC for them to help you if you are struggling. Even then, they check who you are, there are specific people who get help. And we know them, but the municipality, when you apply for food parcels, you will be asked which organisation you vote for (R3, FG5, Q30).

> When they do road maintenance, it is still them. Whatever is being done; the focus is only on them. That thing makes people start having unsavoury thoughts. This has happened to the extent that as young women, we end up not voting because we assume that everything is theirs (R2, FG4, Q85).

> We know that they always hire each other. In the zone where I live, you find that people move from job to job, it is always the same people. When there is a tender, it is still the same people (R3, II, Q28).

Four points from the above quotes are essential. First, the link between political affiliation and access to support from the municipality is evident. Political party affiliation seems to be vital in accessing social support. Second, the evidence shows that there is a system of employment providing jobs to a small number of people. Third, the apparent risk is that people will stop voting as they get disillusioned. The results suggest that economic decline forces women to participate in politics as a means of survival. Fourth, although these quotes are probably accurate of many other places across the country, there seems to be a desperateness in these quotes which relate to the mine downscaling in the area.

The women were also of the opinion that the funding for applications is not successful if you are not a member of the ANC. As one respondent reflected on her experience:

> They won't even give you funds to help you. You will keep enquiring, but nothing will happen. It forces you to square one; you have to join a particular party for you to get help (R1, FG4, Q81).

The politicians will only come back to people when it is time to vote, as one participant said:

> Because ANC comes to people when they are looking for votes, right now it must come to us. It must not only come to us when they are looking for votes (FG2, Q8).

The above evidence shows the extent of women's ability to survive in an economic decline and the link to politics. While women participate in politics, they are not in charge, despite being treated as voting 'cattle'. The men soon forget the women during post-election periods. They serve to keep men in power by doing all the campaigning for them, yet they give nothing in return. Some of these problems also play out in the local context. There is an active attempt to keep women out of employment and to keep men in power.

6.3.6 Recruitment processes

Women have lost trust in government because of the lack of transparency in labour recruitment processes. The participants provided several examples:

First, one woman found that, when her children apply for jobs for which they are qualified, their qualifications get assigned to somebody else. The person gets an appointment with someone else's documentation. One respondent relates an encounter in which the child had applied but was made to come back the day after to bring her qualification papers. She argued:

> Do you understand that they are waiting for the person to arrive so that she could have a job using my child's qualifications? (R11, FG8, Q127).

Distrust and possible corruption are evident from the above quote.

Second, the participants do not trust the general recruitment processes. One respondent said:

> We will never know what happened because our government works with connections and relatives, friends and who is who (R11, FG8, Q127).

Another respondent said:

> The rest of you are being used so that the process can be completed. They will only receive the CV to show that the CVs have been collected, but they have already people who will close those gaps (R11, FG8, Q127).

> Even if the ward has jobs like the one, which is protesting, the peoples who will get the jobs will be determined by what their names are. They are connected (R5, II, Q15).

Third, women do not seem to trust messages that come from the government. When society does not believe the government, it means that government messages and programmes will not be trusted. In cases in which government programmes do not work, society tilts to a state of lawlessness, where everyone does whatever they like.

Fourth, in a declining environment where jobs are few and competition is intense to access these jobs, women are frustrated and hurt by insufficient information regarding what is required to obtain employment. One respondent said:

> You never know what is required. You will see a person that you were with yesterday in uniform. You don't know what is required for one to be employed. You don't know what path to follow (R9, II, Q40).

There seemed to be limited communication, even at ward level, as to what people should do. The respondent went further: “I wish they could say at a ward level what is required” (R9, II, Q40). She was suspicious that they may want money from her:

> They think I have money. You know when you are a woman, and your husband dies, they think you have money. At the same time, I cannot go explaining myself to everyone (R9, II, Q40).

In conclusion, this subsection showed that, during mining decline, there is a high dependency on government to provide jobs, something which is common in the Global North. At the same time, this environment suffers from a lack of transparency and limited trust of the local government. The erosion of trust is related to corruption – often associated with the resource curse – on the part of the government.

6.4 Mines’ responses to decline and women’s empowerment

This section focuses on the mines and how they deal with the issue of women’s employment and empowerment during the decline. The section focuses on three related topics: local development, perceptions about mining employment and sex for jobs in the mines.

6.4.1 Local development and social and labour plans

Mines are required to invest in local development through the SLPs, while the mining companies also have crime scene investigation initiatives (see Chapter 4). These SLPs should dovetail with IDPs. This link between SLPs and IDPs should promote collaborative planning. The annual report of Sibanye Gold refers to work the company does elsewhere where it operates, but it does not mention any projects or interventions in the Free State Goldfields (Sibanye Stillwater, Annual Report 2018). Harmony Gold, in its annual report of 2017–2018, indicates that it has a five-year plan and a budget of R96 million to spend. The report shows that in the previous five-year plan (2013–2017), R476 million was spent on social and labour plans. Harmony used R313 million for hostel conversions (Masimong four and Merriespruit three). In the last year under review (2017–2018), Harmony spent R13 million. The company supports the Virginia Jewellery School, where 13 people are employed, and also funds 13 students in their senior year of study at the cost of R4 million per annum. Harmony further supports a small medium micro enterprises (SMME) programme by granting loans through the Leano and Phakamani funding initiative. Under this programme, it provides financial and non-

financial support and has awarded 96 loans with a total value of R17 million. The programme supports 39 youth-led businesses (Harmony Gold Annual Report 2018).

Unsurprisingly, none of the interviewees benefitted in any way from the above programmes. Some had heard about these projects but insisted that these projects helped only friends and families of the mine officials. This perception confirms the deep mistrust of mines that goes with decline. A mining official confirmed that this problem existed and said:

> That's very true; they always make sure they benefit themselves, their relatives or their cronies.

The official added other possibilities of not befitting in the following words:

> Maybe you submit a proposal, or your bid for work, either for personal reasons or I don't want to see you succeed, so those possibilities are there.

Crime scene investigation initiatives operate in silos and these initiatives have a limited impact in a small community where word spreads quickly about economic opportunities, notably because these opportunities have diminished over the last 20 years. Often, these types of projects are designed to compete with each other, focused on public relations, and have a short-term orientation. The challenge within the decline is to adopt a strategy that is gender-sensitive, focusing on the poor in the community but also keeping an eye on the repositioning the economy in a post-mining economy context.

While data on beneficiaries of projects are gender-disaggregated, there is no gender policy to guide the intentions of the mines. One mining official responded on a question about gender guidelines in projects in the following words:

> I don't know; I have not, maybe HR will know better, but I have not seen a document like a gender policy. But we know that when we create opportunities, we must always accommodate women.

Only limited indications existed that reporting systems accounted for female participation. The size and short-term nature of most projects are limited and do very little to deal with the employment concerns of women. The benefit to women remains incidental. One of the mine officials who were interviewed confirmed this by saying:

> I used to say in the past, when we do programmes and projects, you will find especially young people, being the beneficiaries whether it's by default, by design, by accident, you will find that most projects that we do, beneficiaries are young people.

This response refers to young people rather than women. The use of words such as *default* and *accident* suggest the absence of a concerted effort. Mining interventions do not prioritise women. The respondent from the mines also acknowledged that there is a need to be intentional about targeting women and young people. As the mining respondent said:

> So, women, ya! Ya! There is still a lot that can be done, but at least there is a willingness by stakeholders generally to support.

The absence of a gender policy and gender targeting programmes to assist women in taking advantage of business opportunities offered by the mines makes gender interventions arbitrary. The mines neither standardise gender concerns nor gender-based performance measures. For as long as there are no tools to measure performance and the lack of measurement of such performance persists, women empowerment will remain in the margins. These results come as a surprise considering the gender guidelines discussed in Chapter 4.

Often, women are relegated to catering, tailoring and cleaning business opportunities about the supply chain of the mines. One of the respondents explained where women often get business in the mines:

> Women specifically, catering, events management, and those events are very scarce in the industry … it is very rare you will find a company owned by a lady supplying electrical components, supplying something else but very few.

These areas where black people, and particularly women, participate as suppliers of services are peripheral to the core business of mining, which includes engineering and construction services underground. Just like the municipality, the mines do not use the local travel agency and prefer a centrally procured service from outside the area. This marginal position in business maintains women's input in low paying, low productivity areas ensuring that men continue to earn more than women on an annual basis.

The efforts by various stakeholders to lead a post-mining economic revival tended to be led by the mines. The mine official reflected:

> Some time back … we led the creation of the then Regional Cluster for Economic Development. It was a multi-stakeholder forum where we brought all sorts of stakeholders under one roof, your municipality, the DTIs [Department of Trade and Industry] of this world, the IDCs [Industrial Development Corporation] and FDC [Free State Development Corporation].

The above initiative happened in the absence of local government leadership, which often did not have the capacity or was not focused on these issues. The government's response was not

as supportive, as according to the respondent, it perceived this initiative as an invasion of its territory. However, when the various players retreated and allowed the government to play its facilitating role, the initiative collapsed. The municipality may not have sufficient capacity to run such necessary action. This evidence reflects a lack of trust and poor working relationships, and ultimately, the failure of cooperative governance consultation processes at the local government level. It also provides evidence of how difficult collaborative programmes in the mining environment are.

The economic development initiatives from the mines struggled to take off because of the constant leadership changes at the municipal level. The politicisation of what is a vital role of the municipality remains an obstacle towards achieving post-mining economic growth, as politicians can decide to support or not, based on whether they see this as tying in with their legacy: In this regard one of the mining officials said:

> Sometimes you find that the politicians, or maybe the incumbent supports, and then we get elections after elections. Somebody else comes in and they want different things from the other individual.

There seems to be a political contest rather than synergies, even within the same government. The respondent pointed out:

> So, whatever the previous incumbent, their predecessor led programmes because they wanted to create a legacy for themselves.

With the constant change of guard at the municipal level because of the turbulent political environment, newly elected politicians often only focus on territorial politics instead of advancing the economic good of the citizens. The political disputes led to "dysfunctional governance". This can be achieved through the facilitation of funding for new projects and clear guidelines in project selection (see also Chapter 5). The mines take some consideration of women empowerment even though this was confused with youth empowerment. This stems from the fact that there is no policy that everyone understands how to interpret women's empowerment. The reporting on women's integration remains marginalised and of no effect.

6.4.2 Mining jobs

The above section sketched the attitude of the mines towards women's empowerment. This section outlines how women experience the mines in their efforts to access jobs. The evidence

confirms that male preference for jobs persists within mine recruitment practices. The barriers to entry have also included a request for the experience even in cases where there is a skill.

While policies and protocols focus on mining as an industry with a history of women's exclusion from employment, gender discrimination within mines is still prominent. The following types of comments were common:

> It is only men who are taken (R2, FG2, Q36).
>
> Here in Welkom is that only men are employed here (R1, FG2, Q130).
>
> We are planning a march of women to the mines to complain about jobs (R1, FG2, Q130).

One of the female respondents summarised the historical exclusion of females in the mining industry in the following words when she emphasised gender bias:

> It was difficult to find a job in the mines. As a woman, you would not put your foot there. Not at all! You only end outside. This thing about women working in the mines is recent (R3, FG1, Q338).

This quote aptly summarises women's perceptions about mining employment. Women will not be able to enter. Another respondent confirmed:

> These opportunities for women have only come about now when we are already old (R3, FG1, Q338).

The respondents generally said that the opportunity for women to work in the mines only came when they are already old. When these women talk about the chance only coming now or at a time when they are already old, wanting to emphasise that they have missed out on mining employment as young people and knowing that mining is in decline, they are too old to work in the mines. These findings support previous research on women being sidelined and excluded from the mining sector in South Africa (see Chapter 4).

Among the barriers to entry, recruitment processes are critical. In general, the respondents stressed that the continued exclusion of women from mining happened regardless of women's skills and experience. The lack of experience is a stumbling block in finding employment. The respondent reflected:

> We also have the difficulty of children who are educated and graduated have degrees (R2, FG3, Q266).

The respondent felt that this situation was created by unrealistic criteria that employers put for their children to get employment:

> They want to experience. Where do you get experience from when you have never had a job? (R2, FG3, Q266).

The respondent further felt that this demand has racial undertones, as they asked:

> Why do white kids get jobs without experience? But when mine look for a job they want to have experience? What is the difference between my child and that one? They have the same qualification, and sometimes my child is even more educated than that one (R2, FG3, Q266).

The respondents insisted that the mines should treat all children in the same way, and that government does not do enough to eradicate racial prejudice in the job market. One participant said:

> The government must seek to get that right. Our children should be treated the same as white kids. White kids are educated, that's true, the same as our kids, but they are not sitting at home. If you check, 90% of educated children sitting at home are black because they want experience. But they know that there are no jobs, but they are sitting doing nothing (R1, FG7, Q105).

Another recruitment practice that hinders women's access is the requirement of testing for fitness. One of the respondents said: "You will 'Tjhonkola' until I don't know when" (R1, FG2, Q36). [4] However, the Tjhonkola itself is exclusionary towards women (see also Chapter 3). When women undergo these tests, they are required to be experiencing their menstrual cycles. For those who have small children, they should have stopped breastfeeding and must not be pregnant. Women should fit in with the biology of men.

In conclusion, the historical exclusion of women persists in the mining industry today. Fitness testing, based on the male body, reinforces the exclusion. Chapter 2 has shown that equal employment is the primary mechanism in women's work. The mining industry has not achieved this aim. More importantly, the respondents thought that, because they were historically excluded, they remain disadvantaged today.

6.4.3 Sex for jobs

This section investigates the sexual demands of women by men as a means for women's access to the mining industry. This practice has serious implications for women's health.

[4] Tjhonkola is the system used to test women for physical fitness for employment.

Sex is the primary driver for the ability of young women to access jobs. From the interviews, the recruitment processes of women at the mine often involved sex for jobs. One respondent said:

> Even when you want to get a job from the mines, you have to sleep with the …

Another respondent said:

> Some of the women who have been able to get inside [meaning: was employed in the mine], they have not just got in easily, they have had to sleep their way in.

The nature of the exclusion changed from structural exclusion based on gender to the objectification of women by using sexual favours. Local women saw this requirement of sex for work as "the most important difficulty we face trying to do anything".

The use of sex for jobs in the male-dominated environment contributes to pregnancies, HIV and poor health for women. Falling pregnant is a problem in the mining industry. A mining official maintained:

> Many of the women often test pregnant only six months into the job. This scuppers the efforts for their progress as they have to take leave.

The official saw this as a way to argue why women should not be employed and did not see the social problem in the workplace. The evidence above suggests that in a male-dominated environment, women seem to be sex objects and bear the brunt of the demand for sex.

Women employed in the mining industry often ask men to do the underground shift on their behalf. In this respect, one respondent said: "When she is supposed to go underground, they get a man to go there for them in exchange for sex." Another one remarked that her partner who works for the mines was always opposed to her applying to get work in the mines because he is fully aware of the transactions that take place within mines of a sexual nature: "Working in the mines is not good for women." The partner held a view that only men can work in the mining industry:

> Now, you have to pay men so that you can get your salary. You must pay someone inside. However, they have their way of paying each other inside there [referring to sex].

He pointed out that women who work in the mines, though not all, have heavy tools to carry:

> Now I can't keep on carrying tools for someone. She has to pay for me. That person must pay him in their ways, not give him money [referring to sex].

Other mining-related research has mentioned sexual favours in exchange for jobs. The economic crises of mine downscaling have had a push-back effect on the policy intentions to transform the value and economic lives of women. Women have accepted participation in processes that objectify women for them to make a living. This is a decision that women have to make. As one of the respondents said: "It is a system. Hence, it must just continue."

They have to accept the possibility of HIV infection for them and their families to survive and access jobs. The aspirations for economic independence drive women into processes that control women's economic ascendancy. These processes isolate and shut out women who are not willing to surrender and relegate them to a life of poverty in which few financial options exist. The economic crises have had a backlash effect on the policy intentions to transform the value and economic lives of women. Local government and the mining industry, as critical institutions for women's employment, are spaces in the economy under the control of men. There is a myriad of ways in which women are systematically kept outside of these institutions despite the dawn of democracy and government commitments to ensure women's economic empowerment and access. The rules have been redefined, which merely have served to objectify women.

The mining industry's focus on employing more women has received a backlash from the male-dominated industry. The evidence from the interviews showed how women are forced to accede to men's sexual advances to access.

6.5 Women's agency

One of the main questions was how women survive in the context of decline. This is an important question, as there is evidence of structural exclusion by the mines and municipality. Most women have resorted to the informal sector to provide for their families.

First, women are involved in the informal sector. Informal sector activities that women are involved in are low-profit yielding but labour intensive. Women sell various low-value items, such as:

> Simba chips, peanuts (R3, FG5, Q21).
>
> Chickens … on credit (R3, FG5, Q21).
>
> Cash loans (R8, FG 5, Q2).
>
> Doing washing for people, managing a small business or selling porridge at the mine gates (R1, FG3, Q244).

> Sell food: magwinya [fat cake], just so that they can eat at home, not to uplift their lives (R3, FG4, Q86).

The realities of the economy push women into informal-sector activities and they occupy the lowest positions in informal sector activities (see also Chapter 2 and Chapter 5). Mining decline means that the profit margins are small. One respondent remarked:

> You will find that the business is discouraging, and you would want to quit. You are no longer moving forward (R3, FG5, Q21).

Another said:

> When you want to raise cash loans, you find that there are many people who have your money, but they do not pay you. Women try, but they are always pulled down by others. When they are supposed to pay, you struggle to get your money (R3, FG5, Q21).

The challenging trading environment makes it difficult for women to survive, as one woman respondent surmised. Despite the apparent severe trading conditions those women's businesses operate under women remain suspicious about why their companies do not succeed. They often externalise the reasons for the lack of success. One respondent commented:

> If you sell something, and start to become successful, there will always be jealousy (R3, FG5, Q21).

Women interpret the lack of success as emanating from the intent to bring their business down:

> They come and buy from you, someone will come to you to orchestrate your demise (R3, FG5, Q21).

In women's eyes, jealousy among each other plays a significant part in their inability to succeed. For the women, this jealousy is a direct result of mining decline.

Other instances of business ventures driven by women include the taxi business and shops. In a situation where there is stiff competition for the few passengers left behind after the mass exodus resulting from mine closure, women do not often see any economic progress when running these businesses. One respondent complained that:

> You find that those women who have been left behind by their men who used to have businesses, those businesses no longer succeed. [They believe that they are] squeezed out by men (R7, FG6, Q108) [in the industry].

Once again, for women, the link between decline and economic prosperity in business is not direct. The reasons for failure, in their view, lie elsewhere. In this case, it is because

> the remaining men are very selfish; they do not want us to operate where our husbands used to operate (R7, FG6, Q108).

According to women, men do this:

> Just because you are a woman, there is nothing that you can do. Now you find that you suffer, sometimes it is difficult for you to pay for it [a car]. Because the taxi cannot operate, it ends up repossessed (R7, FG6, Q108).

Women interpret the business difficulties of trading in declining economic conditions mostly as relating to "others". It is only towards the end of the conversation that the respondent linked the non-performance of business to the current economic climate, as she pointed out:

> Those whose husbands left shops to them, the money no longer comes in, people no longer have jobs, businesses are falling and collapsing (R7, FG6, Q108).

The last two quotes portray women's vulnerability within the broader economic context that is often dominated by men. The decline makes it difficult to operate a business. These quotes emphasise that women, in general, are at the margins of the current economic context. The lack of skills because of being shut out for a long time pushes women into low-paying, marginal activities within a decline (see Chapter 2 and 5). The effort that women put into their businesses and time invested gives very little return. Chapter 5 refers to this as *poverty time*.

The push of the government to get everyone involved in small business received some criticism. The following two quotes highlight this problem:

> You know business is problematic because the money just disappears; it is annoying. We want jobs like we used to work for companies. A person will start their own side business if they want to with their money (R8, II, Q99).

> The government should stop giving out our money to start their businesses and tuck-shops. Those tuck-shops lasted only two months. Some are bright and some not so. When some get money, they see such a lot of money for the first time. What does he do with it? He goes and blows it up. In a week, he doesn't have any money (R8, II, Q99).

The main difficulty expressed by women is that people sell the same product. Consequently, the investment that government made through supporting small businesses has not borne much fruit. In a context in which the municipality does not provide any support and cannot do so, the entrepreneurial ventures often fail, as one of the respondents pointed out:

> There is only a container left. How many containers are closed right now? The municipality gave some of the containers out, and some people bought them for themselves. Where are

> they? If you give a job to clean the streets, I know I get paid every month, I will organise my own business as I see fit. When I am clever, but people today, when they get a little money, they go to the shark loan. Even those that work for the municipality permanently, it's just a shame, they get paid today, tomorrow they don't have any money. It's a real pity. Tomorrow he doesn't have food to take along to work with him. Even those that work for the municipality were supposed to have received their salary increase. It's a real pity (R8, II, Q99).

Often these small businesses programmes do not have market analyses. Even more importantly, people are taken from the streets and thrown into business without the necessary training and support. These problems coincide with the challenging trading environment and unprecedented poverty levels. The handing out of containers by the municipality in this way was bound to be a failed project. One of the people involved in the failed project reflected:

> Yes, we meet difficulties, you see, because even the business you want to do, maybe I want to see there. The money you make is never enough for you to carry the provision of the family. Because there are many unemployed people (R3, II, Q30).

In conclusion, women try to be involved in businesses at various levels. There is indeed some agency from their side. Some sell essential goods, and others have inherited enterprises from their husbands. The government tries to play a role in this respect. However, the structural constraints associated with decline often outweigh their agency.

6.6 Synthesis

This chapter assessed the institutional responses to mining decline. The chapter started by assessing historical approaches from the government and women's perceptions of decrease and the possibility of revamping the economy of the area. Although it is purely accidental that the decline came with the post-apartheid period, the women associated the decline with the post-apartheid dispensation and the boom period with apartheid. At the same time, there is a belief that the gold is growing back and that government should help the mines to reopen. Ironically, women do not realise that their current situation is the result of historical exclusion from the labour force, including mining. The next chapter discusses the impact of the decline at the household in more detail.

The chapter also emphasised the inadequate response from the municipality towards the decline. The Matjhabeng IDP focuses on growth and ignores the decline, while the five-year focus associated with the IDP is insufficient to deal with the reality of the decline. Government fails to take decline seriously and this impacts on the life chances of women and their

households. Despite the considerable effort nationally to ensure gender mainstreaming, there is little evidence that the local IDPs comply in this respect. However, as at a national level, there are significant problems associated with corruption because of the mining industry and in this case because of the decline of the industry. Furthermore, women experience a rapid decline in local services delivery, the inability of the municipality to fulfil its promises, are required to work without payment, do contingent work, fulfil political patronage and are excluded from employment in general.

All of the above places pressure on the mines. South Africa's experiment of SLPs to ensure collaborative planning seems ill-equipped for an area that experiences a considerable decline. There is little evidence of this working efficiently. Mining employment has declined rapidly, and women still find it challenging to access mining employment because of structural constraints in the system. It is in this context that sex for jobs and women's limited agency become highly problematic.

Chapter 2 highlighted the problem of equal employment, and in this chapter, I explained the inability to achieve such equality in the mines and the local government. There is indeed remaining evidence that recruitment processes are corrupt and dominated by males. Chapter 3 discussed the resource curse and the social ills associated with mining. These social ills are also associated with the rapid decline (see Chapter 5). In the next chapter, the focus shifts from the institutional response in decline to the impact of economic decline on women.

Chapter 7
WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLD: RESPONSES TO MINING DECLINE

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 argued that the household is an incubator for the norms and culture of society. Often these norms stand in the way of women's economic progress as culture and tradition serve patriarchal interests. Culture and norms are difficult to regulate through policy because societies often regard them as normal or religious. The allocation of recourses, the sexual division of labour and women's free labour within the household limit women's ability to make a living outside of the household. While the women primarily occupy the household space, the household structure seldom recognises women as heads of households. Society views women primarily within their reproduction role. The literature in Chapter 2 also indicated that the household is also an arena of conflict and often not a fair mechanism of resource allocation.

Under colonial and apartheid rule, the South African government barred women from leaving the rural areas in search of a better life at the mines and cities (see Chapter 4). Also, the division of labour in the household and the subservience of women advanced the economic interests of the church, men, and capital. Despite these limitations on the migration of women, a fair number of women migrated. Often, the women who migrated to the mine centres had fractured social relationships with men in their rural households. The rural family usually did not approve of female migration. These problematic circumstances pushed women to the edges of the mining economy.

Mine closure and economic decline also had specific consequences for women (see Chapter 5). Women are reluctant to relocate because of household responsibilities. Mine closure often leads to job losses, which in turn have implications for mineworker identities and community cohesion. Mine closure means mineworkers often need to relocate to other locations in search of jobs. Consequently, they often leave their families behind. Mine closure contributes to no small number of social ills. Chapter 6 argued that mine closure also compromises the local government's ability to drive economic empowerment programmes aimed at redressing historical gender imbalances.

This chapter investigates the effect of decline at the household level and how decline shapes household dynamics. The chapter has four main sections. The first section discusses the broader social environment that mining decline produces. The second part investigates how the declining environment shapes women and how they respond to the hostile environment. Third, the chapter looks at the responses that women adopt to engage with the challenges of providing for their households. The final part looks at how women externalise their aspirations during the economic decline. Figure 7.1 below shows how women are central in the provision for their households.

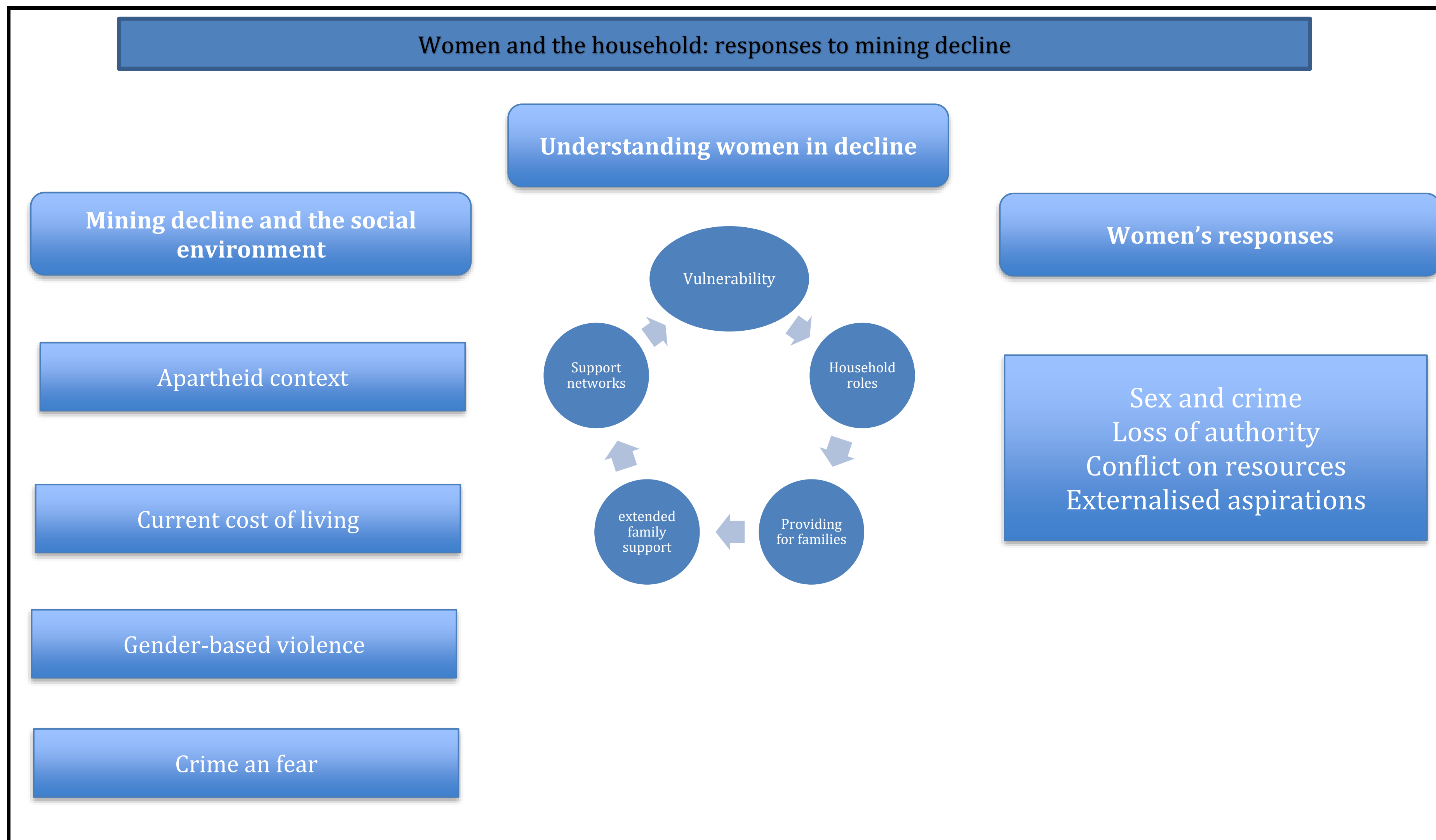


Figure 7.1: Women and difficulties within the households

Households and the challenges they face in accessing jobs. It furthers shows how crime has become part of providing for families as economic options run out.

7.2 Mining decline and the social environment

This section considers how economic decline has shaped women's living environment. Three introductory remarks lay the platform for the rest of the section. First, there is evidence of place attachment among women as they often remain behind when the men move out of the area. Women tend to identify with the mines and the respondents frequently made comments such as "we the people in the mines" (R3, FG1, Q125) to show their place attachment, but also to reflect on the difficulties associated with the mines. Historically the mines only employed men. However, similar to the international experience, men have left the declining mining environment in search of greener pastures because of their experience and employability (see Chapter 5). Census data show that decline has resulted in the male-female ratio returning to normal and, more recently, tilting disproportionally towards women. Second, the women who are staying behind have to bear the brunt of the decline. One respondent summarised the overall experience as follows:

> We live with great difficulty because we … started with a great life, now it is difficult, you know it's difficult. Where we are, we have stress (R3, FG1, Q125).

The number of times the respondent used the words *difficult* or *difficulty* in the above quote reconfirms the problem. Third, despite the above context, the respondents still expressed hope. One of the respondents said that, despite these difficulties, "we are still able to wash and put Vaseline on our faces" (R3, FG6, Q78) to show that at least they still have some hope and self-dignity.

It is against the above broad context that this section analyses four crucial contextual factors in which to understand household dynamics. The first is apartheid and providing for the household. The second is the current cost of living. The third is gender-based violence and lastly, crime and fear.

7.2.1 Apartheid and providing for the household

Chapter 5 provided an overview of mining decline. The decline started at the end of the 1980s and accelerated into the early 1990s. As already noted in Chapter 5, this period of decline coincided with the transition to a democratic state with the first democratic elections conducted

in 1994. Consequently, the respondents often associated mining decline with the post-apartheid period, and prosperity with the apartheid dispensation. One respondent explained:

> The other thing is that you know in 1994, when the new government was established. They [the mining companies] took their money and left and that is what has created this huge burden (FG8, R12, Q141).

The quote above suggests that it was the respondent perception that the mining companies left in protest against the incoming democratic government. However, there was also evidence suggesting that the decline is the result of the decisions by the democratic dispensation.

Chapter 5 showed that mining decline is also a result of the opening up of the South African economy after apartheid. Globalisation changed the face of the South African mining industry since the early 1990s. The mines began to focus on their core business and relinquished their peripheral activities (Crankshaw 2002). In practice, it meant that all the fringe benefits associated with mining in the 1980s ended by the mid-1990s. This experience made the respondents project the apartheid period in a positive light for three main reasons:

First, the respondents compared their lives before the decline and after the decline, using the political dispensation as a point of reference. Consequently, the respondents associated the apartheid period with positive experiences and the period after the political transition to a democracy with hardship. The following remark from one of the respondents summarised the general feeling:

> We, the people of apartheid, could live well, without the hardship we experience at the moment. We are experiencing terrible, ugliest hardship today (R3, FG1, Q25).

Although this statement comes with hindsight, it emphasises the social and economic problems associated with decline, rather than hailing the apartheid system. The participants described the period of the mining boom as a period in which it was easy to raise children, live harmoniously, be without HIV/Aids and live in a happy place. The respondents often spoke about economic bliss when they reflected on the history of gold mining. One respondent summarised this way of thinking in the following words:

> We are struggling here now. There was [in the old days] money here. It was an enjoyable place then (R3, FG1, Q25).

The respondents described the pre-decline with words such as ‘enjoyable’. They maintained that life was good. The current situation of hardship and struggle shows how much the situation has changed since then.

The respondents were also disappointed with the way their lives have turned out during the democratic dispensation, especially considering their expectations. One respondent noted that, under the democratic dispensation, she is “heartbroken” and that the world has gone to ruins under our watch [referring to the democratic period]” (R3, FG1, Q72), and our “parents lived better than us today” (R1, FG5, Q1). The respondents expressed the desperateness of the situation in religious terms and several times they said the “black” government was God’s answer to their prayers, but the outcome was not that good. Some saw their current struggles as: “God also is whipping us” (R3, FG1, Q72).

The dependency relationship that mines had created under apartheid in providing food, accommodation and paying for holidays for their workers remained a yardstick they used to evaluate their current situation. Although such a comparison is probably misplaced, it reflects the ongoing inability of the government to grasp the problem, and local government to deal with their concerns. The description of the “good old times” stands in contrast to the current situation. Describing the “good old times” is one way of stressing how difficult life is currently. Mine closure and the democratic transition remind people of job losses and the mines cutting back on their social responsibilities. Consequently, the women respondents understood the effects on their livelihood against the political change in the country. As the need to access food today became a daily struggle, the novelty of the democratic gains receded in women’s consciousness.

Second, the historical contributions of the mines to mineworkers were still fresh in the respondent’s memories. As mentioned above, these direct contributions diminished because the mining industry was spending less money on non-core mining activities. Also, the introduction of SLPs by the post-apartheid government changed the flow of local investments. The mines now provided these funds through collaboration agreements with the local municipality and not directly to employees. Chapter 6 indicated that the decline had had negative consequences for the operations of the municipality. The potential collapse of municipal operations, in turn, raises the question of the capacity of the municipality to direct and manage the SLP funds appropriately. The respondents remembered the role of the mines in providing weekly food support in the form of fresh mealie meal and milk. The following two quotes summarised the nature of these historical contributions from the mines:

> The mines used to send nendongane (some bread) with milk, a special kind of milk. That milk is now expensive. You get it from Woolworths; it was milk, fish, beans, white and brown and all vegetables, and the milk stamp and mielie meal (R7, FG1, Q253).

> When men are off at work, the women would go around the township and bring back the fish from the mines. We ate fish and Mbonyane (bread), we were never hungry and that red meat as well as makakarani (meat), drumstick, those things you no longer find in the mines. There was a lot of makakarani; nobody was hungry here in Welkom.

The respondents described the food they received from the mines as more than what they needed and of a high standard. The food was so much that some participants said they used leftovers to make compost. The withdrawal of the food because of the decline and a changing policy were the notable turning points in their experiences. As women are mostly the providers of food in households, the historical provision of food from the mines reduced the pressure on women to provide food. It also stands in contrast to the current problems and pressure on women to provide food for the household in a period of decline (see discussion in Section 7.2.2).

Other companies also provided schools with food and household goods. One respondent summarised this in the following words:

> Even in schools, we would be given … oranges, Omo's, Colgate, washing soap; there is nothing today. Even an ice-cream car used to go around and throw two-litre ice-cream at us. There is nothing like that today (R4, FG6, Q82).

The era of support to children (through the schools) is seen as the "enjoyable" time mentioned above. This association of school support and "enjoyable" time emphasises the importance of children's well-being for the female respondents. In addition to the benefits children received, the women also often mentioned how reasonable the mining boom period was for raising children. Usually, the women compared the ease of raising children with their current concerns in this respect.

Furthermore, these historical contributions of the mines to the lives of mineworkers went beyond the provision of food and household goods. These contributions included a range of activities as one of the respondents outlined:

> The mines used to take us wherever we wanted to go – the sea, on holiday, Eisteddfod, where we sing; some of us belonged to the choir. It was a good time. During the holidays we would go to Durban. The mine would cover half the cost (R3, FG1, Q72).

These types of benefits also benefitted the children as the mines provided the funds to transport children on school trips.

Third, the respondents emphasised that, historically, employment levels were high. Although women were not able to access employment, by 1988, the gold mines in the Goldfields employed nearly 180 000 men (Marais 2013a). These high levels of employment provided to men, also secured livelihoods for the women. The respondents again related the high levels of employment to apartheid, saying that, under apartheid, the men could at least support their children. Some respondent noted that the police would arrest men for not looking after their families and that the authorities acted against such men.

In conclusion, women treasured adequate food provision and provision for their children as part of their household duties. The boom period of mining provided this. The constant references to apartheid as a better system in their eyes refer to a period of economic well-being and mining paternalism rather that the apartheid system. In the face of unrelenting hunger, squalor and struggle for survival, the horrors of apartheid seem to recede in women's memory. This is despite the role that apartheid played in their exclusion and dispossession that accounts for much of where women find themselves today. Government policy also replaced mine paternalism with collaborative planning (see Chapter 4). Unfortunately, the respondents do not see any tangible results from these shifts and therefore elevate mine paternalism under the apartheid regime (see Chapter 6) as an essential point of reference in understanding the current situation.

7.2.2 Current cost of living

This section investigates the aftermath of mine closure and the implications of mining decline on the daily lives of women. It reflects on the fact that women did not have historical employment in the mines, do not work and are often dependent on social security grants. Many respondents indicated how expensive the cost of living has become.

The respondents said that, because of rising costs, they are unable to access basic food for their families. Most women experienced the price of food as being unrealistically high and related these high prices to mining decline and the government's inability to address their concerns. Respondents summarised this feeling in the following words:

> When you look at our rand, our rand has decreased in value and petrol is going up. Paraffin is going up. When those two go up, when petrol goes up, it takes everything up with it (R1, FG7, Q2).

> Like just now, I was talking to the lady about petrol, I heard in the news that it is going up next week. When petrol goes up, food goes up. So, life is becoming more and more difficult, especially for us those people who are down there (R3, FG6, Q102).

The above quotes emphasise the importance of accessing food and that it has become expensive. Considering women's role in household functioning, it shows how difficult women find it in providing food, as the prices of basic foodstuff have increased over the last few years. Although inflation is lower than in the previous years of the apartheid regime, the rising costs of food remain problematic. There is also evidence that inflation for poor people is higher than the average increase.

Considering the rising cost of living, the respondents felt that the government is not doing enough. One respondent summarised the limited support from the government in the following words:

> We don't talk about the five-cent we get at the end of the month; it has to cover too many expenses we were not used to. Today we have to pay for water, a place to stay, pay hospital fees (R3, FG1, Q125).

Women find that both the welfare grant system is not enough to cover the rising costs. The respondents insist that work opportunities for all in the households would be a better alternative instead of relying on grants, because everything has become expensive. However, at the same time, there was also an expectation that the government should look at the reality on the ground and respond to it.

Women are also aware of the general performance of the economy in comparison to past trends. The respondents mentioned that the situation is already difficult for families who participate in the formal economy through employment and have a regular income, but even worse for those at the margins of the economy. One respondent emphasised:

> It makes it difficult for families who have income and those who don't. It puts a burden on both. We are not able to access important things. In the main, when I talk about important things, I talk about education and food (R3, FG6, Q102).

This quote means that it is a broader economic problem that requires the attention of the national government.

The women respondents assessed their lives in terms of their ability to access food and education for their children. The following three quotes profile the current thinking:

> We are not able to access important things. In the main, when I talk about important things I talk about education and food. I find that those things are the ones most affected by our economy now that the rand has lost value (R1, FG7, Q2).

> The other thing today is that food is expensive. In the past: our salaries were little, but we were able to buy many things, today people get a lot of money, but things are expensive (R3, FG6, Q102).

> Today it is difficult because everything goes up every day. Petrol goes up …when petrol goes up, everything goes up, the economy is not in a good state, at the same time, there are no jobs, many people do not work (R1, FG5, Q1).

The difficulties in accessing food and educating children resulting from the high cost of living, have made life in the past seem preferable. These quotes also stress how difficult it is to access essential goods such as food.

In conclusion, the declining economy has left women with a limited support system. Often households or women are dependent on child support grants and older person's grants or old-age pensions. As the difficulties of accessing essential foodstuff and burdens on women increase, the obstacles to obtain paid employment remain. The evidence shows that mining decline has placed increased pressure on the role of women in the household. This renewed emphasis on the women's household role is in direct contrast to the idea that women's empowerment should rearrange the division of work in the household.

7.2.3 Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is associated with economic hardship and the deterioration of the family structure (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5). The respondents often used words such as "ill-treatment" by men and recounted that domestic violence often occurred in front of their children and families. One respondent emphasised the fact that her life was threatened: "He tried to strangle me, but I managed to escape and ran away" (R7, II, Q35). The man eventually managed to chase her and her children out of the home. Family break-ups are often the end-result of gender-based violence. This specific respondent had to go back to live with her grandmother, together with her son, leaving her daughter behind. In the process, her husband does not support her and her son.

Mining decline often goes hand in hand with longer working hours and the need for more productivity. The pressure to work harder and longer takes its toll on the men. Some respondents linked gender-based violence to the fact that the decline requires men to work extra hours. These

longer hours place undue stress on men, but also on women to find work. In a declining environment, this is difficult to achieve, as mentioned by one of the respondents:

> At the moment I do not work, you see that things do not balance … there is 10% which is a shortfall which would have filled a gap to make 100%. It affects us because now we have to work overtime to close the gap. In many cases, the one partner becomes impatient towards the other partner that doesn't work because they are no longer making a contribution in the household. It is just like that (R2, II, Q13).

Decline adds to pressure on both men and women to contribute to the household income. Gender-based violence has increased in an environment where there are economic pressure and stress in the community due to job losses. The results support the findings in Chapter 4 that linked economic decline with high rates of separation. The results also point to the general breakdown of the family that left many women as single parents, being responsible for their families.

7.2.4 Crime and fear

Crime and the high levels of anxiety among women further exaggerate the above description of gender-based violence. The interviews showed that mining decline has contributed to crime and fear among the women. The respondents were adamant that the current levels of crime resulted from the collapse of the mining economy. The quote from one respondent below summarises this situation:

> I also see it that way. The economy of the country has collapsed. After the mines closed, many people suffer. The new generation grows up with crime because many of the youth do not work (R2, FG8, 161).

According to the respondent, the collapsed mining economy is the main reason for these adverse experiences concerning crime. Because of the challenging economic environment, people resort to crime.

The first, among the main concerns related to the crime, was the large number of children becoming involved in crime in the area. The respondents highlighted the high levels of unemployment, explicitly mentioning cases in which both parents are unemployed. In this regard, three respondents linked unemployment to crime by children:

> They can't buy these children clothes. They don't get grants, and they are suffering. That is why children change, some end up turning to crime and pickpocket people, and then there is no longer control and the parents suffer. This makes parents suffer when the police keep coming to tell them that their child has done this, the child has killed a person because he

> wanted to pickpocket, it just happened that the person dies, the child only wanted what was in his pockets (R2, FG7, Q101).

> So, such things will never be eradicated as long as there is no change. This will never go away. It will always be there. Even these gangsters will never be eradicated because there is nothing that occupied these kids that removes them from the street corners (R8, FG8, 161).

> There is nothing that keeps the children busy. There are no recreational parks in our townships where these kids can play. The parks that used to be there where these kids used to play during the day are no longer there. They have also given themselves to other things; they are not able to play anymore (R8, FG, Q161).

As the quotes above indicate, children are involved in pick-pocketing but also stealing from their caregivers. The first quote links adult unemployment to the criminal behaviour of children. The second quote creates the link between drugs, gangsterism and crime. There is ample evidence that crime depends on drugs and gangsterism in the area and these factors have fuelled housebreaking. There seems to be a relentless wave of housebreaking sweeping through the township. One respondent complained that:

> They take food in the fridge; right now, that's what people are complaining about. People find that, when they wake up, they have no TV and the food is all gone (R4, FG3, Q43).

The above quotes confirm the desperate situation. Although housebreaking includes the theft of durable household goods, it also provides a reference to food and the abnormally high levels of involvement by children. Typically, housebreaking practices do not include stealing food. Stealing food from a fridge is indicative of hunger, as opposed to getting access to cash through household goods. However, the women also touched on another issue, namely the environment to prevent youth crimes. Specifically, they referred to the dysfunctionality of the parks (a municipal function), but it probably refers to a range of broader youth development issues.

Respondents also noted that crime has long-term consequences for young people. A criminal record prevents people from finding jobs. One respondent summarised this in the following words:

> If they could override this thing of fingerprints, you find that people were involved in crime a long time ago, but when he starts looking for employment at the mines, they check his prints. Most people cannot find jobs because of their fingerprints (R2, FG 2, Q32).

This situation is so desperate that some of the interviewees asked if there was a way to help them to erase their fingerprints (R4, FG2, 33). At the same time, the young women respondents also

said that they were aware that they do benefit from crime. One respondent summarised this predicament in the following words:

> And when you want to look right now, the rate of pickpocketing has gone up, and they break into houses; the things they get from housebreaking they sell, and bring the money to me. You don't ask; you welcome it (R1, FG4, Q91).

Second, in addition to the extensive involvement of children and young people in crime, some criminal activities also hamper the normal service delivery by the municipality. The crime situation is so desperate that:

> They steal water meters for the whole street, but their water meters won't be stolen. They go sell these at a scrap yard, but the person who has stolen the meters will never have meters stolen from his home (R4, FG4, Q93).

Chapter 6 already referred to the institutional problems experienced by the municipality. The above-mentioned crime of public infrastructure probably adds to the municipal issues.

Thirdly, the respondents felt that criminals target them. There are two examples, namely petty crime and sexual offences. Women deliberately try not to carry cash or valuable goods with them. The following quote provides a perfect example of one of the participants relating the account of her child warning her against petty crime mostly directed at women:

> Even now, when I left, the child asked me why I am taking a bag. Didn't you say you are going to the police station? The child asks why are you taking the bag? They will snatch it. I told him that I want to go to the commissioner. I have important things in my bag. He said: 'Mamma those boys who are sitting in the corners are going to snatch that bag from you.' I asked: 'How will they snatch it?' He said: 'Oho! Oho! You are stubborn!' (FG1, R3, Q255).

The quote reflects the targeting of women as a vulnerable group but also supports earlier findings that showed the involvement of young people in crime. A second crime trend that targets women is sexual offences. The participants often associated economic hardship with sexual crimes. The Thabong precinct had the second-highest incidents of sexual misconduct in the Free State (Crime Stats SA 2018). The participants found the universal nature of these crimes hard to accept and related it directly to the hardship associated with mining decline. One respondent summarised this in the following words:

> You never heard of children who have been raped. We used to buy from town and Dagbreek. We used to walk as we wanted to. We used to get firewood far away from the town. There was nothing like rape. We see rape today. I used to go to school at Lebogang. We would walk

> to school without transport. We used to walk with men … However, today, everything is destroyed (R2, FG1, Q344).

Although the above quote is probably an overstatement, especially regarding the extent of gender-based violence historically – “there was nothing like rape” – the quote does reflect on the negative effect of mining decline in the area. It is mainly the words “everything is destroyed”, that express the nature of the problem.

Fourth, there were also comments about the selective response by the police. The respondents often mentioned that crime is committed in daylight, but that the police turn a blind eye. The respondents specifically indicated the selective response towards zama zamas (illegal gold miners). One respondent said that, if she would join a crime group, the police will arrest her immediately, but that the zama zamas “never get arrested” (R10, FG6, Q173). The women noted that the majority of the people who work as zama zamas are outsiders, often from outside South Africa’s boundaries, such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Lesotho (Will 2019). The respondents noted that the zama zamas is a closed group, which deliberately excludes local people, they act in a Mafia-style by killing people who come too close, and continuously bribe the police.

This section has shown how the lives of women have been affected by crime at various levels. At the household level, their children steal from them and they live under the threat that criminals will break into their houses. At the community level, they cannot walk the streets without fear that someone will snatch their bags or rape them. Finally, there is evidence of organised crime. The zama zamas engage in their activities with impunity by the police. The respondents mentioned that they live in fear of their lives.

7.3 Understanding women in the decline

The above section provided an overview of the circumstances under which women have to negotiate their existence. The above section highlighted four issues, namely economic decline, the current cost of living, gender-based violence, and crime and fear. This section shifts the view towards the vulnerability of women within a declining economic environment. It looks at the economic roles that women perform, as well as the difficulties they face when providing for their families. It also looks at the support they receive from extended family and the support from each other during the decline.

7.3.1 Vulnerability of women within a declining economic environment

The evidence from the interviews shows that women are experiencing increased insecurity within their relationships. This vulnerability is closely associated with their historical exclusion from employment in the mining industry. Added to this is the current economic exclusion because of the decline that results in an increased dependence on men because of the decline. Three main points showcase the vulnerability of women:

First, the decline means that most of the respondents in the sample (even young women) were single parents responsible for their families. As society historically and more recently provided men with jobs, the household responsibility remained with women. However, the decline means that males are absent, often leaving the women as single parents to take care of the children. The respondents phrased the behaviour of men as follows “he no longer cares about you”, “he doesn’t support you anymore” or “eventually he leaves you like that” (R2, FG5, Q79), resulting in “chaos in the home” (R2, FG5, Q79). The multiple stresses in the home contributed to the men leaving the homes. The women felt that the men left them behind and they needed to find ways to fend for themselves and their families. One of the respondents summarised this burden on women in a declining economic context in the following words:

> When it comes to women, they carry many burdens. We are single parents; you have grown children who are not working; you share your food with them. They have children (R1, FG3, Q210).

Households often consist of a female grandparent (a woman with no partner) looking after her grandchildren. Either the parents of these grandchildren have passed away, or they were living at their place of employment and not in the Free State Goldfields. The above quote also shows that the family structure is complex and often does not comply with the concept of a nuclear family. It also supports the findings in Chapter 5 that economic decline changes the family structure. Often the matriarch has to provide for the grandchildren, usually using their older person’s grants. One of the respondents explained this burden on the older women in the following words:

> Now, as a parent, you find that I am staying in my house receiving my pension; the kids are busy making many babies. I have to bring up those babies. The money from the state would be enough to cover my needs because you must understand that I buy food; yes, it’s enough for me; now I find that I have to share it with many children in the house, and the grandchildren (R2, FG3, Q245).

The extension of responsibilities to the third generation adds an extra burden on the small older persons' grants. Although this is a familiar pattern in South Africa, the degree to which this occurs in the Free State Goldfields is indeed problematic, and I shall return to this issue later in this chapter.

This situation is worse in cases in which women are not yet eligible for state pension but are of an age when access to work is difficult. Historically, these women could not find work in the mining industry; now that they are older, they do not have experience and decline makes finding a job even more difficult. One respondent describes this reality in the following words:

> I am 47 years, but how do they want me to bring up these kids? In other words, they say I must sell myself to bring up my children. My age does not allow me to get into a job anymore (R8, FG8, Q75).

Similar problems also apply in cases of widows in households in which nobody works. The respondents felt that everyone looks to the women to provide food, but that is not always possible.

Second, the economic decline also means poverty and hunger for women and their families. Poverty levels in Matjhabeng have increased from 36% in 1996 to 61% in 2016. The Lejweleputswa district has the highest percentage of households with no income in the Free State (Free State Provincial Government 2018). The respondents often used words such as "things are bad" (R6, FG6, Q179) and "we are hungry" and that they will look for food in rubbish bags, in the same sentence. The respondents expressed these concerns in the following words:

> There is nothing as hurting as a stomach. It doesn't say whether you work, or you do not work. When it is hungry, it tells you that hey, I must eat (R2, FG6, Q179).

> An empty stomach does not listen to anybody, even though you tell a person that what they do is high risk, they will not listen to you, because they are hungry (R3, FG6, Q179).

Some women resort to finding food on rubbish dumps while others embark on crime. The quotes above suggest that hunger is such a dominant aspect of people's lives and it has a range of consequences. The vulnerability of women lies in the fact that they are expected to deal with the situation. However, women have been highly dependent on men, and now the expectation is that they become breadwinners.

Thirdly, there is evidence of the decline that reinforces women's dependence on men. Mining work remains male-dominated. Historically women were dependent on men for income. For

some of the participants, the decline meant finding a relationship with a man to deal with the pressures to look after their families. A relationship with a man provided a possibility to look after the family. One participant summarised this in the following words:

> We also find that women, now that we don't have husbands, we find that we have to find men-friends so that he may bring mielie-meal in the house because there is nowhere to find the money for mielie-meal. So, you find that you have to have a friend even though that is not what you intend. That's one of the challenges we face (R5, FG6, Q177).

The above quote reflects conflict among women and long-term relationship problems. For example, the patriarchal system and men's abuse of power worsens the positions of women. When women go out looking for jobs, they find that:

> if you know that he works somewhere, you go to him and tell him that you are looking for a job, he will tell you to sleep with him first. Because you have your problems, you end up sleeping with him and using you. He gives you a job, and you sleep with him (R12, FG6, Q179).

Often these relationships do not endure, and the women respondents said that the men abandon the women once there are children from the relationship. As one respondent said:

> They were excited that the men give them groceries and that these men maintain them. At the end of the day, the girl becomes pregnant. After that, the project is finished; the man goes back to his wife (R6, Q183, FG6).

The above quote stresses the reinforcement of dependency, as women experience men not to commit in the longer term.

In conclusion, the above shows that family relationships are under strain in times of economic decline. Consequently, family break-ups are frequent. Women carry the burden of raising children and keeping families together. Often, women have to raise their children in the absence of men. There is a Th burden: in addition to looking after themselves, women have to look after the adult children and their children's children. This reality also means that government programmes that focus on nuclear families are questionable. Questioning such an assumption seems to be more applicable in cases of decline.

7.3.2 Decline reinforces women's household roles

Mining decline has placed extraordinary pressure on women to support their families. Furthermore, this responsibility on women during a decline does not come with higher levels of employment for women. The opposite is true. Although this caregiving role of women is part of

historical and cultural practices (see Chapter 2), mining decline reinforces the caregiving role of women.

Historically, the mining industry mainly employed men. This high dependence on mining employment for the men meant that some “women have never worked in their lives” (R2, FG6, Q6) and that “their husbands worked for them” (R2, FG6, Q6). Many families only had one income that came from mining employment. In a period of decline, and the context of historical exclusion, the respondents felt that they did not have the necessary skills to find work. However, the pressure to provide care remained. This problem is the result of long-term gender-based employment practices in the mining industry.

Because of the historical exclusion from employment and the historical role of women in the household, mining decline tends to reinforce the household role. As one respondent said: “The woman remains the one pillar in the house. She knows what ‘what’ in her family is” (R5, II, Q16). This reinforcement of women in their historical household role, however, poses no challenge to patriarchy. The irony is that the household role of women will improve the status of women in the home. Gender and patriarchy are the main determinants of power and respect in the household. The decline means women take on the roles of men and still keep their roles.

7.3.3 Women face difficulties in providing for families

The current circumstances of hardships experienced are the result of mining decline (see Chapter 5). The entry of global players in the mining industry rationalised mine assets and operations within neoliberal tendencies in the mining industry. Mine employees had to move from the company-allocated accommodation into the townships or privately-owned houses. The withdrawal of food provision and accommodation, accompanied by job losses, remain in people’s minds. Some of the respondents mentioned that the difficulties started when the mineworkers’ families were integrated with the township people. One respondent said:

> Life started to be difficult when we got to Thabong. We were no longer getting food as we were used to, and men were now relocated to Thabong (R3, FG1, Q41).

When the mines moved towards focusing on their core business (see also Chapter 5), the mineworkers started having to pay for their families’ food. Furthermore, the municipality began to charge for services which the mines previously provided free of charge. One respondent summarised this in the following words:

> Food money was being deducted from them. You could see what they were getting. When money is deducted, what is now left? … there's nothing! You can't see it (R3, FG1, Q41).

The new clean wage system, closely associated with neoliberalism in the mining sector, coupled with the phasing out of the patriarchal role of mines, has placed extra pressure on women to provide for their households. Women's started to focus on providing food for their households as their circumstances became increasingly harsh. The respondents explained their experiences in various ways: "Heavy and painful", "difficult" and "hardship" (R3, FG1, Q41).

Several reasons contributed to this hardship. First, they found it difficult to get hold of their husband's or partner's pension. There was a general feeling that the mines owed them, albeit through their husbands or partners. One respondent remarked: "Our money has disappeared" (R3, FG1, Q41). This problem of accessing "their money" from what was supposed to be paid out when their husbands died, remained highly ranked among the concerns of the women. They kept on getting promises that they would receive the money but without any progress on the matter. One respondent summarised this in the following words:

> Now tell me, today, how do you pay for groceries? Our men did not get anything, and they used to pay for funeral policies so that we do not struggle. Those are monies that have just gone in vain. Even today, the monies haven't come (R3, FG1, Q230).

The respondents felt that the benefits that were due to mineworkers' families have gone unpaid. The withholding of benefits is an infliction on low-income families, over and above the fact that historically the black population did not share in the wealth of the mining industry. One respondent sketched this scenario:

> They were digging for this thing, which we never could hold in our hands. Today, they have left us … they have left it. We are just as we came here (R3, FG1, Q41).

Despite the deprivation mentioned above, women, unlike men, play a decisive role in caring for their families. One respondent said that, as women "you hold the knife where it is sharp" (R7, FG1, Q341). With this Sesotho idiom, she wanted to state that when the going gets tough, women hold the fort. However, the respondents also noted that difficult circumstances forced them to bend the rules to provide. Women's commitment to their families remained unchanged in the face of challenges, as one of the women explained:

> Now, when you have 5 cents, you buy two cabbages, you cut them up and keep in the fridge, children will eat (R7, FG1, Q341).

Amid the most trying circumstances, women find ways to share what they have with the children. One respondent demonstrated:

> Then you keep taking out fifty cents and send them to buy bread and tell them to buy electricity (R7, FG1, Q341).

Often women attributed their ability to keep afloat in religious terms. One respondent said:

> It is only by God's Grace that we still have it. We still live in the same way as the old way of living with these kids, but we don't know if they will be able (R7, FG1, Q341).

This quote reflects a measure of hopelessness on the part of women regarding the future of their children. The respondents believed that their lives are held together by God's grace today, which they do not think their children have.

The mine closure process has weighed heavily on the ability of families to access a decent living. Access to food has been one of the difficult challenges for most of the families. Women have shown grit and tenacity amid difficulties. Women have sought to fend for themselves and their families while the men who enjoyed the benefits of mining employment, have left them and their families.

7.3.4 Women and support from the extended family during mining decline

The extended family support network often cares for individuals or families who find themselves in difficulties. The evidence from the interviews showed that in a declining mining economic environment, such as in the Free State Goldfields, the support network breaks down. The extended family becomes a burden rather than a coping mechanism.

First, the extended family support system that often assists families in times of difficulties was less prominent in the Free State Goldfields case study of mining decline. The evidence shows that, in a declining economy, those who lose their parents feel abandoned by their extended families. One respondent said: "When your parents die, you must know that you don't have a family anymore" (R8, II, Q92). These reflections refute that of the existing literature (Bak 2008; Mosoetsa 2011) that tends to suggest that households in the former black townships have a more significant degree of care because of economic hardship.

Second, the lack of support has seen the disappearance of family support in cases in which parents die while their children are still young. In the past, children would be taken care of by a

relative. The lack of support has brought about the new phenomenon of child-headed households. The respondents have reported that this led to various forms of exploitation of children.

Third, in this environment where resources are few, there is evidence that individualism has become a dominant response. One of the respondents said that "every frog jumps for itself" (R1, FG3, Q258). The struggle for survival for women is, therefore, a lonely battle. The lonely battles also impact on the relationships family members have with one another. One woman described the deterioration of the family by saying:

> There are no families; there are no longer relatives; everyone is at home looking at their own challenges (R3, FG3, Q256).

Considering the above tendency towards individualism, the respondents frequently explained how society has changed. Three respondents explained the historical process of caring in the following words:

> My dad's home … they loved each other; our uncles lived on the farms; everything that happened, they would come to my dad, and tell him in detail. They would bring him food. When they have slaughtered sheep in the farms, they will bring him meat (R4, FG3, Q256).

> We can't even send a kettle of tea. Our parents, when there were visitors next door, they would send mielie-meal, make fat cakes for neighbours today. Those things are no longer there. They have made a difference. We are not excited about anything (FG1, R3, Q345).

> When we grew up, we knew that families carry each other's burdens. So, our families shared problems. If one family has fallen on troubled time … Whatever the neighbour was going through was also your problem. One family was able to go to the family where there is trouble, to give them some condolences. Each neighbour would give something to cover each other's weaknesses … Today it is your own problem. If you don't have a policy or mortuary [funeral policy], you are in trouble (R2, II, Q29).

Other respondents contrasted the above context with the current reality in the following words:

> Today, I won't easily go to my sister to ask her for mealie-meal. The first question I ask myself is, where do I think she gets it? (R4, II, Q13).

> Mama. We don't help each together anymore. Not because I don't want to help my siblings, but I can't. It is a matter of the economy (R4, II, Q13).

> Because you find that now the husband is only providing for his kids. He only cares about his kids and can't even help anywhere else among other families, because the little he gets, he is only looking at his own family (R3, II, Q34).

> Like now, we have a sister, and her husband has passed away … Right now, it looks as if we don’t care about you. We are only able to do our own groceries which is sufficient for us (R3, II, Q34).

Despite the common notion that economic hardship creates a collective response, the evidence from the interviews showed that it increased individualism. The individual strategies remained weak in the face of the economic decline, exclusion and discrimination. A well-known Sesotho idiom translates to “siblings share a head of a locust”. This idiom recognises that there are times when there is a contraction in the economy but ensures that the weakest members of the family are taken care of. Contrary to this spirit, the quotes above showed that the economic environment is so deprived that the sense of sharing has diminished. This evidence represents a shift away from the cultural and traditional norms of Botho (Ubuntu) that have been the hallmark of the African society.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, in a mining decline, people live under heightened levels of stress: “Where we are, we have stress” (R3, FG1, Q77). The levels of stress impact negatively on the relationships within the extended family. One woman responded: “So all those things today … right now, people care only about themselves” (R1, FG3, Q102). Another respondent summed up the current relationships among extended family members in the following words:

> So, life today now … I want to say, today, what creates poverty is hatred. There is pervasive hatred (R1, FG3, Q259).

The strained relationships among extended family members were also expressed as follows:

> Sometimes you are a businesswoman, she takes my child or her siblings’ child and gives the child a job, the very same child is going to mess up everything for her. When she messes up, I will be heartbroken when I go to her mother to complain, and the mother takes her side … When the businesswoman comes to complain to me, our relationship gets soured in that way (R3, FG3, Q259).

There was no glue keeping everyone together. There is lack of ability on the part of people to extend help to each other because “there is too much hatred” (R1, FG3, Q258) and “people’s relationships are no longer good” (R1, FG3, Q258). The fragility of these relationships is visible in situations in which help has been extended, but the recipient is unable to return the favour for whatever reason. The lack of, or inability to return the favour is often interpreted as a lack of gratitude. Women are discouraged from giving: “When you have helped someone, inside the family, Ausi, she no longer cares” (R1, FG3, Q257). Another respondent added:

> Today, my sister, you are a Mosotho girl; you know that you would have helped a person, maybe your brother's child; they will get through and do well. When they have achieved what they wanted, they don't even look at you anymore (R1, FG3, Q257).

This quote reflects concern that, when women have made an effort to help members of extended families, they do not receive corresponding support from those whom they have helped. The strain on extended family relations creates suspicions between the family members in times of scarcity. The suspicions lead to families not visiting each other, as one respondent explained:

> Even their kids don't want to visit anymore. That happiness is not there anymore. Even when there are difficulties at home, they will not tell you (R3, FG1, Q345).

There is always suspicion among extended family members that others are doing better during the decline. The existing levels of suspicion make extended family members reluctant to call on each other during times of difficulty. This is very different from what it was in the past. The essence of the extended family support is broken. The support system today has fallen apart as a result of internal strife around family provision, leaving women-headed families without a hedge in troubled times.

Third, the economic decline made it increasingly tricky for extended members of families to help one another when they need help. One respondent said:

> Maybe siblings do not work. You find that a child does not have shoes or anything; they are hoping for me to do something. At that time, I am also in a tight corner (R10, II, Q28).

The respondent who extended support to siblings as in the case above did not receive support from male siblings who were in a position to lend a hand. She phrased this in the following words:

> He doesn't help us with anything. I have another brother who does not work, my sister with two children, and I have one child. I work there at Mosewawa. I have to see that I satisfy everyone with that little I make from my work. Now everything is facing me (I10, Q28).

While she supported her siblings with difficulty, she has a brother who is married and working but does not help them with anything.

Fourth, in cases in which extended family relations are still employed, they must provide their own food when they go visiting:

> I must carry mealie-meal and other things. If I go there, what am I going to eat? I am just going to be a burden on the other person (I2, Q29).

Even children have to be sent with food when they go and visit, to avoid becoming a burden. One respondent summarised this reality in the following words:

> So … they could cover those. You knew that, even if you send your children with nothing, they would be looked after. So now when you visit, on Friday, on Saturday you make a point to go back, in other words, you must not be a pest; you must go back while they are still happy to see you (RI2, II, Q29).

The above quotes show how mining decline affected family relationships and how one cannot automatically expect that within a decline, women-headed households would rally around each other in times of need.

In conclusion, I have shown how the typical patterns of support among extended family members changed in times of decline. Personal relationships within an extended family setting go under immense pressure. This strain on relationships impacts on women and their receiving support when they fall because of hard times. There is also a tendency for individualisation that has resulted in families failing to reach out to one another. There is generally a contraction of generosity, as families see their incomes diminishing. There is also a contraction of hospitality, where families have managed to maintain good relations as people are required to bring their food when they visit one another.

7.3.5 Women and support networks

This subsection investigates the possibility of an organic support structure that could emanate from everyday struggles among women. It looks at how women relate to each other economically and explore how women support each other in times of economic hardship brought about by mining decline. It finally makes some suggestions regarding the underlying reasons why women may seem not to support each other in times of difficulties. The support was, however, forthcoming during times of plenty, as mentioned above.

First, the respondents acknowledged that women need to support one another during economic hardships so that women should not resort to selling their bodies. Comments such as the following confirm the position: “If we support each other, women will not have to sell their bodies” (R4, FG5, Q16). One respondent recognised this point as she pointed out: Everything would have been much easier for women, “if women supported each other” (R4, FG5, Q16). Women, however, tend to deal with the problems they face as individuals.

Second, despite women thinking that they should be supporting one another, economic decline has not only resulted in individualism but also has estranged women from one another. The interviews showed competition for the available resources. Instead of supporting each other, women spite each other, despite knowing about each other's struggles and difficulties. For example, one respondent said that when a public works project is available, there is little support for those women who struggle. Women do not trust each other's abilities, and this is rooted in deep-seated self-doubt. One respondent summarised it in the following words: "We women pull each other down on our own" (R6, FG6, Q12).

The respondents thought that the above reality is a sign of competition and rivalry among women. Women often talk each other down and one respondent phrased it in the following words: "We as women, we scorn at each other" (R5, FG6, Q51). There was also evidence of women who are "jealous of each other" (R5, FG6, Q5). The following words summarise this state of affairs:

> Since the mines closed, people are struggling. We have to see what we can sell at schools because these days when someone has found something (like a woman), she is not able to invite other women to explain how she is managing. Today, when you leave home with your bag, we wonder where you are going. Instead of asking her how she operates. We are not close to each other. We don't support each other. Everyone wants to do their own thing (R9, II, Q34).

This quote implies that, as people face what they perceive as a consistent shortfall and lack in their lives, they tend to look at themselves to solve their own problems. This is driven by the belief that the issues are so pervasive that whoever one asks for help is also facing their challenges and may not be able to help.

The lack of support among women extends to leadership positions even in the church. One respondent questioned:

> There is a judgement in church, you know the church, if you are chosen and given a position, a person will tell you that how can this woman lead me when she is like this? (R6, FG6, Q126).

The respondents expressed women's reluctance to help each other, lack of support to access jobs and unwillingness to support each other for leadership positions are reflections of a decades-long assault on women's psyche in a mining economy. The experiences of violence that have been meted out to women from the early days of state-sponsored violence through Marashea (see Chapter 1), are deeply embedded in women's psyche. Violence, together with constant messages of institutional exclusion (see Chapter 2), as well as domestic violence (see section 7.2.3), have

had a significant effect on how women see themselves. These subliminal messages that women are less unworthy of success, also contribute to how women see themselves. Women's marginal economic position and women's history of struggles among each other for men, have added to the dynamics of women's lack of support for each other. Women have also been left by their families and relatives to fend for themselves under trying circumstances without tools to access the labour marketplace.

7.4 Women's responses

This section investigates the responses of women in a hostile environment. Women begin to tackle tasks and challenges from the position of who they have become. This section describes how women provide for their families because of the dynamics within the household.

7.4.1 Women, sex and crime in a declining mining environment

As has been argued earlier, rapid mining decline requires women to take care of multiple families. In the face of historical and current barriers to paid employment in the mining industry, this becomes a daunting task. The question arises as to how women can do this when they have limited skills and are experiencing discrimination in the job market. In the fulfilment of this role without access to paid employment, sex and crime become central. Section 7.2.4 above provided an overview of the crime environment in which women find themselves. This section tries to understand how women relate to crime.

In explaining their involvement in sex and crime, women first emphasised the historical lack of access to jobs and that the mines still exclude women from mining employment. This exclusion and the declining economic environment in which they are responsible for providing for their families lay the foundation for selling sex and committing crime. Food provision is a central focus of women's care at the household level. According to one of the respondents, a woman would go to the greatest extent to "make sure that her kids have eaten" (R2, FG2, Q4) and the respondents often emphasised that "all that matters is that my kids must eat" (FG, FG2, Q4). For many women, ensuring that her children have eaten could mean crime and sex. The respondents often referred to women having to stand at the street corners to be picked up by men in cars. More alarming, the respondents also mentioned that some parents encourage their girl children to be involved in prostitution, while others sell their children for sex to ensure that there is food on the table. The following quote confirms the pressure from older women on the younger ones to bring income through sex:

> Go and work for yourself: You are old now. My mother tells me to go out and hustle, so anything I bring into the family my mother will welcome; that's where crime increases (R1, FG4, Q37).

This respondent used the word *hustle* to refer to paid sex or crime. Notably, women would do anything as long as they can cook for their children:

> It doesn't matter whether she does good or bad; when the children have had something to eat, she is satisfied (R1, FG2, Q2).

The following quote also emphasises the desperation of women to get access to money in the economic context:

> Women do things that are not right as long as their children go to bed with something in their tummies, as long as they have had something to eat and are dressed up (R1 …..).

The above quotes, through using the words "good" or "bad", "right", also reflect women's emotional struggles to rationalise their behaviour in the context of an economic decline. The respondents related their behaviour to the need to provide food for their households. One respondent said:

> It is all because of this hunger. It is women who sell drugs and alcohol, which makes other people's children be drawn to them … She sells liquor and allows an 18-year-old girl to drink at her premises. There is one next to our home; when she is questioned, she tells people that she did not call the child. 'My task is to sell liquor' (R1 …).

The above quote confirms women's involvement in crime. Women are indiscriminate about their activities, focusing only on feeding their families.

Selling sex provides somewhat of a moral problem to the women. For one, they need to be discrete about it. When women leave home, they tell the children that they are going to find work, yet they are "going to hustle"[5]. In the case of the Free State Goldfields, it refers to prostitution.

The various barriers to women's employment have led to a situation in which some have given up on finding a formal job. One respondent said: "They don't even have the enthusiasm to look for a piece job." Women resort not only to selling their bodies, but the situation has advanced to the point at which women have turned to pimping. Another respondent remarked about a woman

[5] *Hustling* is a word that is used to refer to activities that bring income but are not strictly legal; the women used this word, despite the fact that I conducted the interviews in Sesotho.
"*Piece job*" refers to temporary job opportunities that arise as people go hunting for jobs on a daily basis.

with a house in a different township: "She has women in her house; they sell their bodies there." Women would instead resort to activities that put their lives at risk rather than abandon their families when they are unable to provide for them. This is unlike what men often do in decline, as shown above.

In conclusion, women resort to activities that are outside the parameters of the law in the face of reduced options for economic survival. They participate in prostitution and go as far as to encourage their girl children to join so that there would be enough food in the house. They tend to turn a blind eye to criminal activities that their children are involved in, as long as they bring food to the table.

7.4.2 Women lose authority over their children within a declining environment

This section explores the tensions in women's lives as a result of mining decline. These tensions emanate from women's desire for control over their children and women's tacit approval of their children's activities in crime. I used older women's complaints about their children to show that women's authority in the household is challenged. The younger participants also confirmed this. I then looked at the outcomes of a lack of central authority in the home, which often turn into societal problems.

The older women respondents reflected on how difficult it is for the women to maintain authority over the children. It was mainly the older women who felt that the children rejected their authority and discipline. One respondent said:

> We cannot control them. Even how hard we try, according to the way we were brought up! You just can't! Because things are tough! The child tells you that they are hustling. Truly! We pray we pray mamma; it is not as though we are just watching. We try (R7, FG1, Q334).

This respondent expressed the desperation and lack of control by stating: "We are just watching". The reference to watching gives some sense of the uncontrollable nature of raising children in a desperate economic situation. Another respondent went further, stating that:

> The biggest spoiler is that there is no discipline and control among our children. Our kids hold life. We are here because God gave us these kids to rule over them. They must also grow up and rule over their children. These are steps, but it has collapsed (R2, FG1, Q40).

The older women also lamented on the poor conduct of the younger generation. One of them remarked: "We want to show our children how you conduct life. Not this jump, zithima they do" (R7, FG1, Q91). They are concerned about how young men and women reject the basic values

of respect for authority inside the home. One woman mentioned: “When you try to talk to a child, they look down on you and walk away” (R3, FG3, Q96). Women’s involvement in criminality, women pushing their children into sex work (see section 7.2.4 and 7.4.1) and accepting the proceeds of crime, as shown above, creates conflict within themselves as women lose moral authority over their children. Women want their children to respect them, yet they want to enjoy the benefits of crime. The women complained that this lack of authority created an environment of disrespect between parents and their children. One respondent mentioned that her relationship with a young man “gets affected because he does not even listen to you. He now listens to his friends outside” (R10, II, Q29).

The tensions between surviving through the criminal activities of their children and teaching children how to conduct themselves, remain a pressing concern. The respondents were worried that their children do not hold the same values as their parents. One of the respondents lamented: “Our kids are different. Our kids do not want to go to school. Our kids want to be mothers” (R12, FG8, Q141). The respondents reflected on the lives that they lived, which they regard as better because there was an orderly way in which things were done. One respondent said: “During our time, we knew that parents go to work, kids go to school” (R12, FG8, Q141). She explained further: “The women were housewives, kids went to school … men went to work” (R12, FG8, Q141). She narrated that today, things have changed into a situation in which a sixteen-year-old child, in her ward, sells drugs. When she inquired about the state of affairs, she was told that children have no options because they have nothing to eat because the children do not work.

The respondents were also concerned that they would be unable to fulfil the general needs of their children and that this creates tensions and challenges their authority. One respondent said:

> The moment I don’t work, they have to wait because we have to budget for it. We have to take six months putting money away little by little (R8, II, Q90).

The waiting seems to be unacceptable for the children as they are used to more speedy responses. The child does not want it by the time the woman can put the money together to purchase the specific item for which they have been saving. The respondent observed: “So our relations with children get affected in that way” (R8, II, Q90). When a respondent wanted to talk to a child to show the child the way, they scoff at her advice: “When you tell a child to do this, they ask you for: ‘So that what can happen?’ They speak English” (R2, FG1, Q76).

One of the respondents blamed herself for her inability to provide. It seemed that the failure to provide for their children is generally accepted as a significant reason why children are driven to disobey their parents. The respondents thought that, because they were unable to provide financially, the disrespect has crept into their household relations. One respondent said:

> My granddaughter, who is in grade 5, was asking me why we never have money. She says I am always making excuses. She says she is tired of my excuses (R3, FG6, Q86).

The inability of the grandparent to provide for the grandchild led to a relationship of disrespect. Another respondent supported these sentiments:

> Do you understand that every time the child asks for something, I always say that I don't have money? (R3, FG6, Q162).

The younger women confirmed the state of affairs concerning respect. One of the respondents noted that: "Everyone does whatever they like" (R2, FG2, Q22). One of the young women remarked that her parents "know that I hustle" and that, as a young woman, "I now do everything for her". This young woman was adamant that she takes authority from nobody (R2, FG2, Q22). In assessing the interviews, it seems clear that the parents tacitly accepted the benefits of crime by accepting money for criminal activities. However, the parents felt that they lose authority over their children. The respondents often said that they turned a blind eye to these issues.

In an environment where food becomes central to day-to-day activities, the respect for parents and the authority of parents were closely tied to their ability to put food on the table. In cases in which the provision has shifted to the young people, then young people see no point in continuing to respect their parents, as one respondent reinforced and explained:

> It's because it is the notion that this person is older, but s/he cannot think. We have to find ways to help her make a living, yet she is older; there is no respect in that way (R1, FG2, Q26).

Within a mining decline environment, where sources of employment have diminished, the ability to provide materially is linked to the parent's worth in the household, as one woman responded:

> Money is life; so, when you don't have money, it's just like when a father in the house doesn't work. No one will take you seriously when you want to make a point (R3, FG2, Q167).

A further concern for the older respondent was that the loss of authority over children led to a spate of pregnancies of miners. It also led to the spread of disease and death of young people. According to the respondent, the youngsters engage in activities that lead them into a life that is ravaged by "this whirlwind disease (HIV)" (R7, FG1, Q91). The older respondents are also

concerned about who is going to bury them because of the effects of HIV. Some women were also worried about the existence of blessers.[6]

The level of disrespect creates a rift between the parents and children to the extent that the young women "go live with a man they do not know" (R3, FG3, Q96). In case of a girl, this situation creates a new set of problems because: "He then gives her children" whom he does not maintain and then "leaves her" (R3, FG3, Q96). The children grow up without "any customs" (R3, FG3, Q96). The man is often not committed to the relationship, nor to the children. "He goes back home" (R3, FG3, Q96). Women feel that this is predictably their problem and responsibility as mothers of these girls or their grandparents (R3, FG3, Q96).

In conclusion, we have seen how both the young men and the young women inside the household reject the older women's authority. Women's authority is rejected because young people feel that they can provide for themselves through "hustling". We have also seen how women push young girls into selling sex, thereby providing for the family. Because they are in the position of providing for their parents, they denounce the parent's authority.

7.4.3 Distribution of resources in the family as a source of conflict

The family is a place for resource distribution in the form of food consumption and nurturing (see Chapter 2). The family, however, is not always a fair distributive mechanism, often because of the influence of patriarchy (see Chapter 2). I discuss three main points in this section. First, there are tensions in food allocation and sourcing in many households. Second, mining decline disrupts the historical distribution of resources in the family. Third, the conflicts within the family regarding resource allocation drive young people out of the home into crime.

The evidence from the interviews showed that there are tensions concerning who brings food home and who could access the food. Effectively, everyone is required to ensure that food is available. As one of the respondents emphasised: "If you don't bring pap, you don't eat" (R2, FG4, Q74). Some respondents noted that household members hide food from one another. Food provision for grandchildren is another burden on the older woman and creates strains in the relationships between parents and their children. "She doesn't even send cabbage!" (R2, FG4, Q74). This represents a departure from the sharing and joint responsibility that has always been part of the spirit of Botho (Ubuntu). This finding disputes the finding of other studies in which

[6] *Blesser* is a term used to refer to an older man, often married, who is in a transactional relationship with a young woman; he showers her with gifts and looks after her family.

families in the declining clothing manufacturing economies of KwaZulu-Natal shared whatever they make (Mosoetsa 2011). This also suggests a move away from the culture of bringing up children together as a larger external family. It also reflects multilevel relationship strains, which emanate from individualism that seems to flourish in cases of economic decline.

A household is the place of many sources of conflict that erupted in the process of accessing and allocating resources. Fighting about food and the allocation of food within the household were common. One respondent summarised this in the following words:

> We are always fighting over food. Simple food. There would be questions on why you ate so much and didn't leave some for others. In the meantime, the person is hungry. But you are fighting over food (R8, II, Q41).

The high levels of hunger associated with economic decline are visible from the above quote. The lack of food has implications for nutrition levels of women and their children which have an impact on their health. For the children, it hampers their learning ability at school. Poor nutrition creates conditions in which women have anaemia, low birth rates, babies of low weight, and maternal deaths. The low levels of food for women also stand in the way of accessing formal jobs (see Chapter 5).

This fight for food and resources contributed to conflict between parents. One respondent remarked:

> This economy creates hatred between parents. They often fight over this money. You find that the woman wants to cover the household needs; the man wants to use it on himself alone. That is the difficulty (R2, FG4, Q72).

The neoclassical notion that a family is conflict-free, being a fair mechanism where resources are harnessed and distributed to members equitably, is not valid (see Chapter 2). This is visible in the tensions emanating from men wanting to take all for their selfish use. One of the respondents elaborated: "Men will always say, where is that drink?" (R3, FG3, Q213). Research shows that women's income benefits the family, while men tend to focus on their interests. Through women's investment in the family, by providing education, and nutrition and ensuring the general household well-being, women are better custodians of household income. Therefore, placing resources in women's hands is justifiable because of returns on investment to the economy, society and economic growth benefits (see also Chapter 2).

The historical ideals of sharing whatever is available in the home among family members have been altered as food moves to the centre of conflict in the house. A young respondent explained

the strained relationships between her and her siblings: “You find that I am the one who hustles a lot, so and so doesn’t make an effort. He eats” (R3, FG2, Q171). The position of the sibling of being able to bring food to the table gives her the power to complain: “When the food gets finished, I complain” (R3, FG2, Q171). The result is:

> She leaves home to go and live by herself or live with a boyfriend. Even when you have an older sister, you don’t have respect for her as your older sister, and you don’t take her authority (R3, FG2, Q171).

Family cohesion when times are tough is a fragile concept. It is brittle and easily breakable over how many family members eat. The one who brings food home has the power, and often the influence of parents does not apply.

In conclusion, I showed in this section that, in cases of mining decline, when jobs are scarce and unemployment is high, access to food becomes a priority. The preoccupation with food moves it to the centre of all efforts the family embarks upon in a day. In a family environment where the levels of conflict are heightened by the pressures to make a living amid declining fortunes in the economy, food is associated with strife and wrestling. There are tensions between how men and women want to direct resources in the household. The pressures push young men and women into the world of crime.

7.4.4 Distribution of resources in the family as a source of conflict

This section explores the hopes and dreams of women in an environment where there is pressure on resources. It examines women’s agency to get themselves out of the economic crisis they find themselves in by exploring how they frame their hopes and aspirations. This section also looks at how women position themselves as actors within the solutions they see as best for their economic situations. The section looks at the following key themes: women’s perceptions of themselves as the key to economic prosperity; women’s focus on the well-being of their community, and children as reflecting their well-being.

First, women consistently articulate the need to make improvements to access to education for their children and limited possibilities for themselves and their children. One of the young respondents reflected on what opportunities lay ahead of her for self-improvement:

> Just as you have mentioned, my mother, it is the fact that difficulties start in the home. Even as women, we want to study further, and for kids to study and eat. But now, when the economy is the way it is, life becomes challenging. It becomes difficult (R7, II, 48).

Women are consumed with the difficulties of their day-to-day lives. The possibility of studying remains remote, buried inside family difficulties. Women's thinking and imagination are limited to the reality of their experience.

Second, the well-being of their children and the broader community is at the forefront of the hopes of women. The interviewees expressed their aspirations and measured their well-being through what they perceived as the life chances of their children. One of the respondents remarked: "Most relate to our children because at this stage we have given up … we sacrifice everything for them. We have given up" (R1, FG1, Q38), while another said: "All we want is to see our children provided for" (R1, FG, 38). In practical terms, one respondent noted that this means to have "mielie-meal and electricity in the home" (R1, FG1, Q38).

Third, women are concerned about the children in their families who have nothing to eat. Women have questions regarding how the children in that situation would "turn out" in an environment where there is rampant crime. One respondent said: "Some people spend three days without food with kids" (R2, FG6, Q82). They also gave an account of a woman on HIV treatment who told them that "for her to take the tablets the previous night, they had to swallow mielie-meal and drink water with the kids" (R5, FG6, Q82). This concern for others in the community was extended to looking after the elderly, as one respondent mentioned:

> To look after the elderly … Those older people, what can we do for them? We will have to dig into our own pockets. So, we can do that, but one thing I know is that here in Odendaalsrus, things do not happen (R1, FG3, Q214).

Women seem to derive a sense of well-being not when they are doing well, but when their children and others in the community are also doing well. Women wait for their children to grow up so that the children can get a better life from which they can benefit. The idea of investing in themselves and bettering their children's well-being is beyond their imagination. This view may seem to be a severe drawback in their journey to economic prosperity.

In conclusion, women's situation seems to remain as it is. They look at its appearance and therefore, do not see the possibilities of self-advancement. Women do not link their aspirations to their well-being and the opportunities this holds for improvement of their children's well-being. The hopes and dreams of women are about others.

7.5 Synthesis

Women have never been direct beneficiaries of the mining economy. They refer to themselves as people of the mines and seem to be tied to the place long after the recipients of mining employment (men) have left. A declining economy produces several problems, such as poverty and food insecurity, resulting from loss of jobs and a shrinking economy. At the same time, food and other essentials such as education become costly. These circumstances shape women. As the stresses between men and women lead to increased conflict in the home, the rate of divorces escalates. This leaves women as single heads of households. Women become vulnerable as they are thrust into providing for their families. Women face difficulties in making ends meet without the necessary skills to get a job within a diminishing economy.

The extended family support system also crumbles as families resort to individualisation in the face of challenges resulting from a mining decline. Women, too, do not trust one another to create a sustainable support network. Women face the difficulties of reduction alone. Women respond to these challenges by resorting to having male companions just so that they can put bread on the table. They further become involved in sex and crime. In an environment where crime is rampant, they push their children into crime and turn a blind eye to the proceeds of crime they bring home. This level of desperation only serves to develop further the situation in which crime has spiralled out of control. This brings about particular dynamics in the household, among which are conflicts around the distribution of resources and an environment in which there is a lack of respect. The older women complained about a lack of respect. The young women, however, maintained that they could not afford respect towards a person who is older but unable to bring food into the house. Women's aspirations link to jobs for children in the mines, a possibility long dead. They externalise their goals of well-being to others in the community and their children.

Chapter 2 outlined the evolution of women and development. The reality in the Free State Goldfields is substantially different from the linear progression of gender and development. This chapter explained how decline had reinforced the caregiving role of women, their dependence on men and patriarchy. The evolution visible in the international literature is not evident in the Free State Goldfields.

Chapter 8
PRINCIPAL FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the key findings, recommendations, significance and the contribution of the study. This section starts with a brief overview of the thesis, followed by a discussion of the main results of the research.

Chapter 2 highlighted the evolution of gender equality and emphasised the importance of equal work and equal pay. Chapter 2 also stressed that, despite gender equality at the place of work, the position of women in households remains subordinate to that of men. The capitalist system is also responsible for the continuation of the current inequality between men and women. Chapter 3 provided an overview of the resource curse theory and highlighted that, despite various negative social implications of mining, gender concerns and concerns of mine closure are not part of the thinking in the resource curse theory. Chapter 3 also assessed the role of international protocols to empower women within mining economies. These tools have had a limited impact on the economic role and status of women. Chapter 4 showed the early history of women from the mining economy in South Africa and the limited effect of mechanisms to empower women. Chapter 5 outlined how economic decline impacts women and it also provided an overview of the economic downturn in the Free State Goldfields.

The two empirical chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), analysed a range of qualitative interviews with women and structured interviews with mine and municipal officials. In these two chapters, the thesis sought to understand the role of mining decline in the Free State Goldfields. Chapter 6 investigated the institutional response from the local government and the mines. Despite the requirements for collaborative planning, the outcomes were disappointing, and the concerns of women did not receive any prominence in these plans. Chapter 7 investigated the environment in which women have to provide for their families. The mining industry has placed a double burden on women. Historically, women could not access jobs in the industry. Today, these women have to deal with the adverse economic conditions and its consequences at the household level.

8.2 Main findings of the study

This section provides an overview of the main results of the study. More specifically, the section identifies the main theoretical and empirical contributions of the research.

8.2.1 One of the first ethnographic gender-based studies conducted on mine downscaling

Mining research and studies of mining decline are often highly quantitative. These studies are usually focused at the national level. There is a general lack of in-depth socio-economic assessment which also applies to resource curse studies. Many of these studies use highly sophisticated economic modelling to proof the curse. However, very few ethnographic studies have been done with a focus on mining decline. The ethnographic nature of this study provided abundant qualitative evidence of how mining decline impacts women and how women collectively experience a decline. Because the industry is male-dominated, the experiences of women have not received adequate attention. Research in the mining industry often provides male perspectives.

The ethnographic nature of the study positioned women as producers of knowledge, as opposed to subjects of investigation. Furthermore, qualitative research has contributed to feminising the narrative around the mining industry and mining communities. In a male-dominated industry in which masculinity dominates the context, the experiences of women are vital. This research and its focus on post-structuralism highlighted the problems of power, knowledge, masculinity and patriarchy. The focus on women addressed these problems and provided a voice that can empower women.

Therefore, through the ethnographic research design, this study did not only challenge the dominant rational approach offered by economics-oriented studies, but it also challenged masculinity and power (see Chapter 1). This study was the first of this nature that focuses on the link between mining decline and women in South Africa and on the African continent. Several gender-based studies are available in the general mining context. Considering that mining decline and mine closure will become prominent concerns, this study laid the foundation for understanding the responses of women. Finally, in an era where the decolonisation of knowledge debate is prominent, this study contributes to the decolonisation of research design. It adds to the complexity of understanding declining economies. It attempts to interpret the experiences of women through the prism of their own eyes and seeks to bring

them to the centre of knowledge creation. The research has attempted, as far as possible, to use the terms that the women use. It was conducted in Sesotho, which is a language they were all comfortable speaking.

8.2.2 Gap between theory and practice in achieving gender equality

The second main finding relates to the gap between the evolution of thought around gender as discussed in Chapter 2 and the practical realities outlined in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. Chapter 2 provided an overview of the evolution of gender equality. It emphasised equal political participation, equal jobs and equal pay as the primary mechanisms towards equity. Chapter 2 also stressed how norms and values generated at household level influenced and shaped the economic role of women. As discussed in Chapter 2, the development of women requires a simple evolutionary process and the change of norms and values household level. However, the ideals expressed by the women's feminist movement in Chapter 2 are far from women's experiences in the declining economy of the Free State Goldfields. Despite voting powers and having some access to mining employment, the decline means that no new jobs are available. Historically, women did not have access to employment in the mining industry. Now that the chances of finding work in the mining industry have improved, there are no new employment opportunities available.

Two critical points are relevant here. First, there is evidence of a double burden on women. Historically, they could not access work in the mining industry. The mining industry excluded women from employment. Currently, the mining decline means that there are no jobs available and many do not have any experience because they had to perform household functions. I argued that the decline is the consequence of a capitalist system and the mining industry with its international links tend to ignore women issues. Second, the gap between theory and practice lies in the fact that it assumes a growing economy, women finding work and equal pay. In addition to the historical exclusion, similar to what happened in the mining industry in South Africa, the economic decline further marginalised women. The evolutionary development explained in Chapter 2, is vastly different from the reality for women in the Free State Goldfields. For women in the Free State Goldfields, mining decline has meant going several steps backwards.

While the wave theory (Chapter 2) is also not without its critics, it is useful in locating the current thinking on development and gender. The wave theory also helps in evaluating practice and contextualising outcomes. However, its evolutionary nature means that it assumes a logical

development and continued economic growth. The evidence from the Free State Goldfields shows that mining decline accentuates institutional problems associated with the mining industry as demonstrated in Chapter 3. It also shows that there is no development path for women. The evidence from Chapter 7 showed that women experienced deep poverty because of mining decline. The poverty is also as part of the vulnerability created by the global mining industry. Capital interests overpowered the ideological shifts that have questioned the historical position of women.

8.2.3 Contribution to resource curse theory by adding gender and mine closure dimensions

The resource curse theory explains the negative socio-economic implications of resource economies in the Global South. It shows how natural resource riches do not often translate to ultimate wealth. The theory also shows that mining economies in the Global South do not benefit local communities. The resource curse theory, however, does not consider gender issues per se. The resource curse theory also does not think mining decline to be part of the curse. Effectively, the theory pays limited attention to the microeconomic situation of women living in declining environments. This study emphasised the importance of understanding mining decline and gender within the resource curse theory.

Amid the various forms of impact captured by resource curse theorists (see Chapter 3), there has not been any research agenda that puts the spotlight on the ethnographic situation of women living in mining economies undergoing decline (see Section 8.2.1). The resource curse theory is rooted in classical economic theory, as shown in Chapter 3. I have argued in Chapter 2 that the neoliberal framework affects women and their economic participation. The resource curse theory assumes that markets and capital flow are free of vested interests and are free of power dynamics related to gender. It does not question the power relations underpinned by the mining industry. Furthermore, there is a disregard for the power play and the deliberate agenda of capital. The expansion agenda of capital has been shown to work concurrently with women's loss of economic independence and the reversal of economic gains. The capital expansion has resulted in new hierarchies, feminised poverty and inequality in sub-Saharan Africa (see Chapter 2).

It is within the above context that this study emphasised mine closure as a consequence of the curse of the mining industry. The impact of closure is also uneven between different genders.

8.2.4 Institutionalisation of gender through policy framework has failed locally

The global pressure for gender equality resulted in the introduction of several agreements and interventions. These include treaties such as the UN Convention for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These treaties have been in place as early as the 1970s but have had limited effect in efforts to improve the economic position of women. Other protocols include the UN Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976), the African Mining Vision at the continental level, and the Southern African Development Protocol (2008).

The apartheid state, capital, religion and traditional authorities were instrumental in marginalising women. The history of women's exclusion from the mining industry meant that the post-apartheid government had to address these concerns. Despite the introduction of legislation, the implementation and application in the country and the mining industry remains limited. The political will seems to be limited and how government conceptualised the mining industry within a neoliberal political context, have not been helpful for women.

Many of the global and national protocols require local-level implementation. The local-level process of engendering the economy through instruments such as LED, IDPs and SLPs does not assist in creating gender parity. The framing and implementation management of instruments such as LED, IDPs and SLPs resemble the typical assertions of the resource curse theory. The theory characterises these as myopic and driven by self-interest (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 6). The Matjhabeng Local Municipality cannot regulate and develop forward-looking strategies that include gender mainstreaming. There is evidence that the leadership, primarily made up of men, does not embrace women's empowerment principles. There is very little evidence that the municipality engages women in business and allows them fair access to jobs. Instead, the evidence from the participants suggested that the institution objectifies women through seeking sexual favours in return for economic access. Overall, mining decline increases the vulnerability of women. The vulnerability stems from governance erosion in the institutions in both local government and mines associated with decline. The erosion of governance renders these institutions unable to address issues of gender equality.

8.2.5 Mining industry creating a double burden on women

In Section 8.2.2, I referred to the mining industry, creating a double burden on women. There is historical and more contemporary evidence in this respect. Women have historically carried the weight of the mine industry development. The mining industry developed on the back of

the availability of the migrant labour system and low wages (see Chapter 4). These low wages were possible through keeping women in rural areas to work the rural economy on behalf of men. While women's free labour was appropriated to build the rural economy, they had no stake in it, neither could women inherit from the economy. These mechanisms were possible through a collaborative effort from the state, capital, the missionaries and men through the tribal authority system.

However, this double burden continues. Historically, women could not access employment in the mining industry. The decline means that no new jobs are available. The evidence from this study showed that the mining decline reinforced the historical household role of women. The results from Chapter 7 showed that often men migrate, while leaving the women behind to care for the households. However, because the mining industry excluded the women and no new jobs were available, this caregiving role in the household made women extremely vulnerable. Thus, not only were women excluded from the mining industry, but they are also the ones that need to carry the cost of mine closure.

8.2.6 Mining decline increases women's vulnerability

The study provided an adequate overview of how the economic downturn has increased women's vulnerability. The study also provided evidence of how historically the mining industry was instrumental in creating the economic marginalisation of women. Economic decline entrenches patriarchy and forges the vulnerability of women because they have to provide for their families without the necessary support (see Figure 8.1). This section discusses four main points about women's vulnerability.

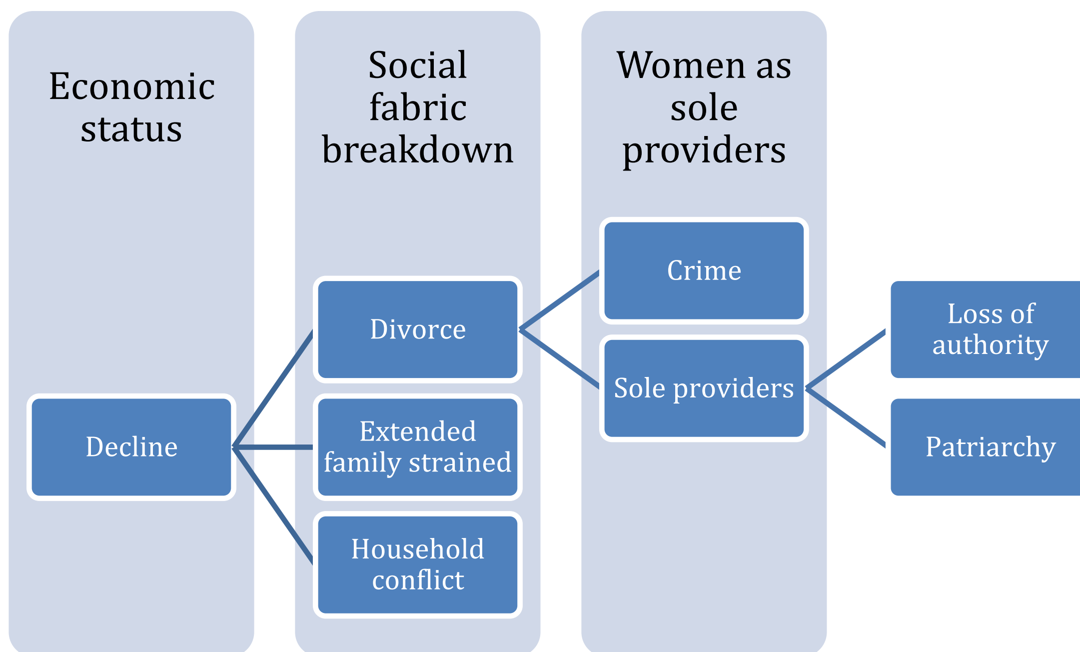


Figure 8.1: An overview of the main vulnerabilities for women

First, this study showed how economic decline affected family relationships, similar to that of global patterns (Chapter 7). These strained relationships led to an increased rate of divorce or men leaving the household, which in turn increased the burden of household functions on women. Mining decline often means that women become solely responsible for keeping the family together, as the men migrate. Women also have to look after their adult children's children. Other literature has questioned the nuclear family as a point of intervention for government programmes. The evidence in this study shows that the concept of a nuclear family is not applicable in cases of mining decline. Women mostly represent single-headed households (see Chapter 7). The older women found that they have to support the family with their old person's grants. This old person's grants are not enough to cover everybody's needs in the household. They often have to look after multiple-family units, as the adult children are unable to leave home.

Second, women's vulnerability is closely associated with tensions within the household around resource allocation. This conflict revolves around the allocation of resources such as money and food. The evidence showed that the equitable distribution of resources does not always take place at the household level. The evidence further showed that there are tensions between men and women on the allocation of resources. Often, men want to spend the resources on themselves, while women distribute their income within the household. Women ensure that

resources benefit household members (see Chapter 2 and 7). Women's spending patterns have a positive impact on the economy (see Chapter 2). This study found that food becomes a central need in households during mining decline. Often, food becomes the centre of conflict in households. Respect is afforded or withdrawn by children in the household based on parents' ability to provide food. The findings from Chapter 7 disputed the arguments in Chapter 2, which showed that poor households share whatever little there is in the household.

Thirdly, women's vulnerability depends on their ability to provide for their households. The emancipation of women rests on two issues: equal job opportunities and the same treatment at the household level. Chapter 2 showed how economic institutions sidelined and excluded women. At the household level, women lost their ability to negotiate within their relationships with men are subjected to the authority of men as it is mostly men who make the decisions in the home (see Chapter 5). This study showed that, even in a situation in which women are heads of households, they are not offered the same level of respect and authority as are men.

There was also mounting evidence of how women pushed young girls into selling sex to provide for the household. There were also several suggestions that women accepted the proceeds of crime from the youngsters if there would only be bread on the table. This has led to women often experiencing a pervasive atmosphere of disrespect within the family.

It became apparent in the study that the young men and women inside the household would often refuse to take orders from older women. The young men and women would reject the older women's authority in the house because they could provide for themselves through "hustling". Tensions and conflicts emanated from women pushing children into crime, accepting proceeds of crime, and demanding respect from the children leading to the young people denouncing their parents' authority. The young women insisted that their fathers could not claim power over them, as the fathers do not contribute to the household.

Finally, women's vulnerability is closely related to patriarchy. Patriarchy maintains itself in a mining decline when men have lost their ability to provide and are absent. This implies that women can do all that men do in the home and even more; however, none of it will improve their status in the home. Gender and patriarchy are the main determinants of power and respect in the household. Despite women taking on additional roles of men in their absence, and still keep their authority, women do not hold the ultimate authority in the home. The position of men as heads of households remains unchallenged, both within the family and in society.

8.2.7 Failure by the government to take mining decline seriously and the impact on the life chances of women and their households

Notably, both local and central government have been unable to grasp the concept and reality of the decline (see Chapter 6). There is no specific reference to women's empowering in the declining mining communities. The empowerment framework has a clear industry bias and ignores the empowerment of local communities and women. The post-apartheid policy has sought to dislodge mining from its history. The framing of the policy has also successfully linked it to the current competitiveness of the industry and a future in which the market will distribute ownership based on access to technology and skills. The post-apartheid empowerment policies in the mining industry failed to understand the obstacles that women face, both as employment seekers and entrepreneurs.

Table 8.1 provides an overview of the main findings and develops a range of recommendations.

Table 8.1: Outline of the main findings of the study and recommendations

Main finding	Chapter	Key recommendation
This study is one of the first ethnographic gender-based studies conducted on mine downscaling	2, 4, 6, 7	There should be further ethnographic research in mine downscaling to improve policy provisions for gender within a downscaling environment
There is a gap between theory and practice in obtaining gender equality	1, 2, 3, 6, 7	The mining industry should be monitored closely to affect the necessary gender-parity prescripts in law and policy
The study contributed to the resource curse theory by adding gender and mine closure dimensions	3, 6	There should be further research to attain a more in-depth understanding of the gender dimensions within the resource curse literature, that will help in managing the decline in ways that will minimise devastating societal effects
The institutionalisation of gender through policy framework has failed locally	2, 4, 6, 7	There should be more effort to integrate women into the economic mainstream by creating alternative sustainable economies in post-mining areas
The mining industry creates a double burden on women	4, 6, 7	More attention should be put on the impact of economic exclusion for women and families and programmes should be developed to mitigate this while the mines are operational.
Mining decline increases women's vulnerability	1, 2, 5	The government should look at the structural constraints that impede women's access to formal jobs, including an overemphasis on age and academic qualifications
Government has failed to take the decline seriously, and its impact on the life chances of women and their households	4,6	The government should legislate post-mining planning and should ensure that there is capacity within local government to drive the post-mining economy The government should set up an agency to do this

8.3 Key recommendations

The section highlights policy areas that should be further interrogated by various stakeholders, such as development practitioners, including gender activists, gender practitioners and policymakers; public sector and private sector managers; community-based organisations; and political parties. The following key recommendations are proposed:

- **There should be further ethnographic research in mine downscaling to improve policy provisions for gender in a downscaling environment**

The resource curse theory and general mining studies often do not consider the ethnography of mining decline. Consequently, I propose the development of a feminist resource curse theory

that understands the position of women within the mining context. The state of absence of gender within the resource curse theory makes policy deficient in responding to challenges faced by women in mining decline. The most important effect of this deficiency is the objectification of women in declining environments.

Part of managing post-mining economies is to ensure they do not become ghost towns, as has already been witnessed in Virginia and Odendaalsrus. The empowerment of women through economic participation and expansion of their capacity in terms of skills and improvements regarding access to education will reverse these trends. Women are often the ones left behind; however, without the requisite skills and experience, and the continued sexual and economic exploitation, the trends of creating ghost towns will continue. This is an unsustainable growth path to mining development.

- **The mining industry should be monitoring the mines closely to affect the necessary gender parity prescripts in law and policy**

Historical factors have skewed the distribution of skills between the genders in society (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 4). Government and civil society should monitor gender policies and the implementation of such policies. The relevant Section 9 ‘constitutional bodies’, such as the Human Rights and Gender Commissions, should receive sufficient resources to track their performance.

- **Further research should be done to attain a more in-depth understanding of the gender dimensions within the resource curse literature to manage the decline in ways that minimise devastating societal effects**

This research has recognised the critical role that mining has played in defining the current gendered economic landscape. There should be further research to understand the gendered nature of mining decline.

- **There should be more effort to integrate women into the economic mainstream by creating alternative sustainable economies in post-mining areas**

Local planning instruments should develop post-mining strategies for economic development that consider the gender dimension of mining areas. Mining economies should plan post-mining economies, and the focus should be on business opportunities and job environments that will sustain women’s jobs beyond mining. Women should be protected from the vulnerability brought about by mining decline. This protection can be ensured through the

provision of employment and careful planning for post-mining economies while mining is booming (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 7). Another way of addressing the vulnerability of women is to implement equal access for women's employment in the mining industry (Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 7).

- **More attention should be put on the impact of economic exclusion for women and families and programmes should be developed to mitigate this while the mines are still operational**

The government should establish community centres where women are trained to participate at all levels of the mining value chain. This should be the main focus of the mining industry recruitment drive. The training should focus on the skills required for employment, as well as entrepreneurial skills to become a service provider. This will ensure that women are mobile. Women will therefore be equipped to move to other areas where the mining activity is still robust when decline and mine closure sets in.

- **The government should legislate post-mining planning and should ensure that there is capacity within local government to drive the post-mining economy; there should be an agency to do this**

Stakeholder engagement to work towards a post-mining economy remains optional for the municipality (see Chapter 6). This often leaves the economy to deteriorate to levels at which it is challenging to rescue these economies. Early planning can avoid such a problem. There needs to be continuous engagement with the community to ensure that women are part of municipal and mining planning processes. These planning processes should outline the economic direction that the municipality is taking. The dependency on mines that are closing will in this way be alleviated and active programmes to stimulate economic growth should be initiated.

The functions of existing development agencies should be re-examined. Their mandates in a mining context should be extended to that of monitoring compliance with the various planning requirements that would affect the economic repositioning of local government. In this revision, gender should receive special attention. The status of the agency should be improved and the agency should be dislodged from local politics. This would ensure that the government manages the transition to post-mining economies in a proper way and that women drive these transitions.

8.4 Significance of the study

The study has contributed to two conference papers and one chapter that has been accepted in an edited book (Sesele & Marais 2019). At the time of submission of the thesis, two more papers were being prepared for publication. The study makes three main contributions: methodological, theoretical and policy-related.

8.4.1 Methodological contribution to mining studies

Mining-related research focuses mainly on economics. Economics also form the basis for the resource curse theory, although the theory acknowledges that mining has adverse social and institutional consequences. Consequently, a relatively large body of research developed about the social consequences of mining. Some of these studies focused on the gender implications of mining. These studies mainly use case research methodologies or extensive surveys. Although there is a growing body of work focusing on gender and masculinity in mining areas, the focus on mine closure has been limited.

As already pointed out, the social aspects of mine downscaling (including gender) have not received much attention. Bainton and Holcombe (2019:3) pointed out that this social aspect, including gender issues, "are particularly acute towards the end of the project life-cycle when multiple pressures align". A considerable gap remains in this respect. The gender implications of mine downscaling have also only received limited attention. Furthermore, downscaling studies seldom use qualitative and ethnographic approaches because of the dominance of economists and geographers. It is this gap that this study fills through quantitative methods focusing on the ethnographic experiences of women.

8.4.2 The theoretical significance of the study

The study's theoretical contribution relates to three critical points: First, the study questions the linear evolution of GAD that underlies the development of women in Chapter 2. Such a direct development path requires a growing economy. Mining decline has had the opposite effect on the development of women. Despite having the right to vote and, in principle, a better policy framework to access mining employment, the decline means that the progress in principle is difficult to implement. The decline has increased women's vulnerability.

Second, mining decline places a double burden on women, an aspect not always recognised in research. Much global research has shown that the mining industry is masculine, thrives on

patriarchy and excludes women. In South Africa, the apartheid government banned women from the mining industry by controlling their migration. The government also barred women from being able to access jobs in the mining industry. The initial burden of women in the mining industry relates to the above exclusion. Chapter 2 highlighted that employment equity is a crucial requirement for the equitable development of women. Equal employment was not possible historically and it is also challenging to ensure currently. Women are under severe economic pressure to look after their households. The pressure comes as a result of the out-migration of men or because the women feel that the men do not fulfil their household responsibilities. The double burden comes through historical exclusion and the current pressure on women in the context of mine closures.

Thirdly, the resource curse theory emphasises the social and institutional consequences of mining, in addition to the economic consequences. This study emphasises that the real curse is at mine closure and provides evidence of the gender dimension. On a theoretical level, the study links the gender dimension of mining and mine closure to the resource curse theory.

8.4.3 Policy significance

The study also has three important policy implications: First, gender policy in South Africa does not achieve the envisaged outcomes. Achieving these outcomes in the mining industry remains challenging and it is virtually impossible in the case of mining decline. Surely, gender policies should take cognisance of these problems and develop specific guidelines for mining policies and mining regions. Relying on the market to deal with the gender concerns expressed in this thesis will not bring the change needed.

Second, the study found that the local planning system that should support a post-mining economy and deal with the consequences of decline is inadequate. Historically the mines operated in a patriarchal way and assisted their employees. The introduction of SLPs and the links with IDPs have formalised the system. There is virtually no evidence that this envisaged collaboration between mining companies and local government is a success. It is also clear that gender issues are not considered in these plans.

Third, the study area has been unable to develop an appropriate post-mining economy. Undoubtedly, the national government should reconsider its support to areas experiencing mining decline.

8.5 Areas for future research

In conclusion, I motivate for the following research areas; some of these are driven by the evidence from this study, while others are motivated by peripheral aspects encountered while doing the research. These peripheral aspects were either not prominent enough, nor did they provide enough evidence to back up an appropriate argument.

The study referred a lot to how mine downscaling relates to crime and how women and households are caught up in criminal behaviour. However, the evidence in this study suggests various issues about sex and economic opportunities. Although there was not enough evidence, there is indeed a need to research women's involvement in drugs and human trafficking within a declining environment. This is an important area to understand, as women are known to be nurturers. It is essential to understand the triggers of such behaviour.

Second, the study highlighted women's lack of support for each other. The support networks that women historically used to survive were less prominent than I expected. This issue requires a more in-depth assessment.

Third, the concept of young girls and blessers has become standard across South Africa. During the interviews, the respondents mentioned this aspect a couple of times. I did not have the time to investigate this in more detail. The question is, however, whether this is more severe in the case of mining decline. It is a potential topic for further research.

This study did not deal directly with how the mining industry excludes women in the workplace. However, Chapter 6 referred to the fact that women still cannot access mining employment. There are too many rigid requirements for people to obtain entry-level jobs. These requirements and their implications for gender equality could indeed become an exciting research project.

The conspiracy theory that gold grows again after ten years requires further research as this belief determines behaviour. For example, people firmly believe that they will be re-employed in the mining industry and it inhibits thinking of what to do beyond mining.

I have argued that mining decline does contribute to the collapse of extended family support networks. This aspect requires a more intensive research project.

The study made numerous references to sexual favours for jobs. The level of vulnerability of women when they find themselves without partners and with families to support without any

skills, pushes women into relationships that objectify them. This seems to be the norm and widely accepted to be true among women. This type of behaviour among men who occupy positions of power requires further research.

Finally, this study focused on the plight of women in the area of mining. Another potential research project could focus on the plight of women because of mine downscaling in labour-sending areas.

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Zondo Judicial Commission of Enquiry into Allegations of State Capture, Corruption and Fraud in the Public Sector Including Organs of State. 2019. *The request for information*

required for purposes of judicial commission of enquiry into state capture, corruption and fraud in the public sector including organs of state. Mr T Tsoaeli, Municipal Manager.

Appendix A

CONSENT FORMS

AFRICAN WORKING CLASS WOMEN IN MINING DECLINE:THE CASE OF GOLDFIELDS FREE STATE A HUNDRED YEARS ON

Focus Groups: Informed consent letter

Tittle **:** Request to participate in focus groups
Principal investigator **:** Prof Lochner Marais
Center For Development Support
Free State University
Bloemfontein

Tel (011) 717770**6**

Student Researcher **:** Kentse Sesele.

Purpose of study
I am a registered student at the University of the Free State conducting research and closely working with Prof Lochner Marias who will be the main contact person for this project. I have identified you as one of the people who could provide us with valuable insights to enrich this process and would like to know if you would be willing to do so. This project focuses on the Goldfields in the Free State in light of its current economic decline.

Procedure:
You will be asked to avail yourself for an hour to respond to questions that will be put to yourself for an approximate period of one and an half hours. This will be open ended and a discussion will be encouraged to enable a relaxed atmosphere within which you can share your perspectives.

Confidentiality:
All the information will be strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on the documentation. This will be replaced by an identity code.

Participation
This is a wholly voluntary process, which you can exit and withdraw from at any given stage during the group discussions. While we cannot compensate you for your time, your participation will be invaluable. You will have the opportunity to ask, and to have answered all your questions about this research by emailing or calling the principal researcher, whose content information is listed at the top of this letter. All enquiries are confidential.

Participant agreement statement
If you agree to participate, in this study, kindly sign your name and date on this form.

…………………………………………………………………………

I have read and understood the information above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

………………………………… …………………………
Name Date

Thank you

……………………………… …………………………
Researcher Supervisor

Appendix B

REQUEST TO MUNICIPAL MANAGERS OFFICE

AFRICAN WORKING CLASS WOMEN AND MINING DECLINE: THE CASE OF GOLDFIELDS FREE STATE.

Informed consent letter: Structured interviews- Municipal Employees

Tittle **:** Request to Participate in Interviews
Principal investigator **:** Prof Lochner Marais - Center for Development Support
Tel (051) 401 2978 Or Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences
Student Researcher **:** Kentse Sesele. 0822234072

Purpose of study
I am a registered student at the University of Free State conducting research and closely working with Prof Lochner Marais who will be the main contact person for this project. I have identified you as one of the people who could provide us with valuable insights to enrich this process and would like to know if you would be willing to do so. This project focuses on the Goldfields in the Free State in view of its current economic decline and the role of institutions such as mines and municipality assist working class African women.
Procedure:
You will be asked to avail yourself for an hour to respond to eleven questions that will be put to yourself for an approximate period of one hour. This will be open ended and a discussion will be encouraged to enable a relaxed atmosphere within which you can share your perspectives.
Confidentiality:
All the information will be strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on the documentation. This will be replaced by an identity code.
Participation
This is a wholly voluntary process, which you can exit and withdraw from at any given stage during the discussions. While we cannot compensate you for your time, your participation will be invaluable. You will have the opportunity to ask, and to have answered all your questions about this research by emailing or calling the principal researcher, whose content information is listed at the top of this letter. All enquiries are confidential.
Participant agreement statement
If you agree to participate, in this study, kindly sign your name and date on this form.

……………………………………………………………………
I have read and understood the information above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

………………………………… ………………………….
Name Date

Thank you

……………………………… …………………………
Researcher Supervisor

Appendix C
LETTERS TWO LARGE MINING COMPANIES IN THE AREA TO REQUEST PARTICIPATION

AFRICAN WORKING CLASS WOMEN AND MINING DECLINE: THE CASE OF GOLDFIELDS FREE STATE.

Informed consent letter: Structured interviews- Mine Managers

Tittle **:** Request to Participate in Interviews
Principal investigator **:** Prof Lochner Marais - Center for Development Support
Tel (051) 401 2978 Or Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences
Student Researcher **:** Kentse Sesele. 0822234072

Purpose of study
I am a registered student at the University of Free State conducting research and closely working with Prof Lochner Marais who will be the main contact person for this project. I have identified you as one of the people who could provide us with valuable insights to enrich this process and would like to know if you would be willing to do so. This project focuses on the Goldfields in the Free State in view of its current economic decline and the role of institutions such as mines and municipality assist working class African women.

Procedure:
You will be asked to avail yourself for an hour to respond to eleven questions that will be put to yourself for an approximate period of one hour. This will be open ended and a discussion will be encouraged to enable a relaxed atmosphere within which you can share your perspectives.

Confidentiality:
All the information will be strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on the documentation. This will be replaced by an identity code.

Participation
This is a wholly voluntary process, which you can exit and withdraw from at any given stage during the discussions. While we cannot compensate you for your time, your participation will be invaluable. You will have the opportunity to ask, and to have answered all your questions about this research by emailing or calling the principal researcher, whose content information is listed at the top of this letter. All enquiries are confidential.

Participant agreement statement
If you agree to participate, in this study, kindly sign your name and date on this form.

……………………………………………………………………

I have read and understood the information above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

………………………………… ………………………….
Name Date

Thank you

……………………………… …………………………
Researcher Supervisor