Challenging masculinity in CSR disclosures: silencing of women's voices in Tanzania's mining industry.

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Abstract

This paper presents a feminist analysis of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in a male-dominated industry within a developing country context. It seeks to raise awareness of the silencing of women's voices in CSR reports produced by mining companies in Tanzania. Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in Africa, and women are often marginalised in employment and social policy considerations. Drawing on work by Hélène Cixous, a post-structuralist/radical feminist scholar, the paper challenges the masculinity of CSR discourses that have repeatedly masked the voices and concerns of 'other' marginalised social groups, notably women. Using interpretative ethnographic case studies, the paper provides much-needed empirical evidence to show how gender imbalances remain prevalent in the Tanzanian mining sector. This evidence draws attention to the dynamics faced by many women working in or living around mining areas in Tanzania. The paper argues that CSR, a discourse enmeshed with the patriarchal logic of the contemporary capitalist system, is entangled with tensions, class conflicts and struggles which need to be unpacked and acknowledged. The paper considers the possibility of policy reforms in order to promote gender balance in the Tanzanian mining sector and create a platform for women's concerns to be voiced.

1. Introduction

> The technology of silence, the rituals, the etiquette, the blurring of terms, silence not absence of words ... Silence can be a plan rigorously executed, the blueprint to a life, it is a presence, it has a history, a form ... Do not confuse it with any kind of absence (Rich, 1975, p.17).

This article seeks to challenge the masculinity in dominant corporate social responsibility (CSR) discourses, which have repeatedly silenced the voices of 'marginalised others'. The intention is to augment the sparse literature that urges scholars to consider transforming the current CSR discourse, which is grounded in instrumental economic rationality, through a feminine methodology giving voice to the concerns of silenced social groups (Grosser and Moon, 2005; Marshall, 2011; Phillips, 2014; Phillips et al., 2014). As feminine methodology both provokes and challenges the dominant and masculine structure, it creates possibilities for change and the empowerment of marginalised 'others' (Karam and Dima, 2013; Grosser and Moon, 2005; Grosser et al., 2008, Kilgour, 2007; Phillips, 2014).

As Adrienne Rich, echoing Hélène Cixous, suggests, the goal is "to reconnect our thinking, speaking and writing with the body of this particular human being, a woman" (1975, p.213).[1] Cixous, proponent of the theory of 'écriture féminine' (feminine writing), urges scholars to challenge those patriarchal structures which render feminine voices unintelligible (Cixous, 1975, 1984, 1986, 1997).[2] For Cixous, 'écriture féminine' does not necessarily offer an escape from masculine dominance, but provides a way to constantly destabilise authoritarian notions of masculinity, while still recognising that such critique is always performed within the gendered structures of society (see Muhr and Rehn, 2015).

This article draws inspiration from the work of radical/post-structuralist feminist theorists[3], particularly Cixous, to problematise masculinity in the CSR discourses of a predominantly masculine sector, that of mining, in a developing country context.[4] Cixous' works radically challenge the taken-for-granted, binary gender distinctions that have often privileged masculine norms and inevitably undermined 'other' oppressed and marginalised social constituents, such as women (Cixous, 1976, 1979; 1981). She advocates a 'feminine' writing as a means of creating the possibility of change, a space that can serve as a springboard for subversive thought, the precursor to a transformation of social and cultural structures (Cixous et al., 1976, p.879). In the context of this paper, Cixous' work offers a useful framework for unpacking and understanding the dynamics facing women within a masculine social system, which characterises the Tanzanian mining sector, and for questioning the phallic masculine imagery pervading the discourse of CSR. This discourse, which has developed in recent years with grandiose claims such as "correcting the woes of the world capitalist system" (see Fleming and Jones, 2013, p.18), is argued to be inextricably entangled with the constitution of power relations, social identities and class struggles (see Knights and Tullberg, 2012; Puxty, 1986; Tinker et al., 1991). Despite its concern to create an ethical, transparent, trustworthy, credible and positive business environment, the imbalance in power relations embedded within the discourse raises questions about its emancipatory potential (see Neimark, 1992; Spence, 2009).

Some critics have noted the absence of gender dynamics and feminist perspectives in CSR debates (Prieto-Carrón, 2008). Grosser (2011) argues that, despite large numbers of women working and studying in the field of CSR, insights from feminist theory are not well incorporated, and feminist perspectives not extensively articulated in this field of scholarship. Kilgour (2007) observes a lack of concrete efforts to realise gender equality in international

CSR initiatives such as the UN Global Compact and Global Reporting Initiative. Marshall (2007, 2011) examines the gendering of leadership in CSR debates and practices, arguing that women's voices remain absent from CSR disclosures, and that current approaches to CSR tend to individualise what should be systematic in practice, paying little explicit attention to the structural forces that often perpetuate inequality.

This study contributes to the above literature on feminism and CSR by providing some empirical evidence from a predominantly masculine sector in a developing country context, the Tanzanian mining sector. This is thought to be the first study to theorise and provide significant fieldwork-based, empirical evidence to shed some light on how women's voices are still muffled in the social disclosures of large transnational mining companies. Empirical evidence is obtained from interpretive ethnographic case studies conducted in the Tanzanian mining sector to explore the silence of women's voices in the CSR discourse. Mining activities have arguably had a significant impact on women working and living in Tanzanian mining areas (see Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014). Similar to other developing countries, masculinity remains pervasive in the Tanzanian mining sector, and women are not seen as active participants in the economy (see Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre, 2006). Women are often represented as working class, shouldering the burden of domestic responsibilities in deplorable living conditions, while their husbands, fathers and brothers are employed in dangerous, dirty and irregular work.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 explores the literature from an interdisciplinary CSR perspective in relation to the mining industry. Section 3 explores post-structuralist/radical feminist theory and its contributions to the study of CSR, drawing attention to gender issues and their implications for women in Tanzania, and presents the

research methods employed in this study. Section 4 analyses the evidence, and Section 5 concludes with discussion of the implications and indications for further research.

2. Corporate Social Responsibility and Mining: Overview of the Literature

As an interdisciplinary discourse, the literature on CSR has emerged from a variety of disciplines, including accounting, sociology, management, finance, law, philosophy and politics (see, for example, Banerjee, 2007, 2008; Porter and Kramer, 2006; Roberts, 2003; Tinker et al., 1991). This literature indicates that increased awareness of social and environmental crises, corporate failures and collapses, and the recent financial crisis have raised serious questions about the morality of capitalism, leading to demands for enhanced corporate accountability and transparency (Bakan, 2004; Banerjee, 2011; Fleming and Jones, 2013). As a result, CSR has become a common language, championed by large TNCs, evolving around the notion of more ethical, transparent, accountable and responsible practices. The pressure to embrace CSR is far greater in the extractive industries because the industrial-scale extraction of natural resources affects both the environment and local populations (Campbell, 2012; Fonseca, 2010). Extraction companies, and particularly mining companies, have been challenged over human rights violations, corruption scandals and tailings dam accidents, triggering the emergence of anti-mining NGOs that have questioned the sector's ability to behave sustainably (see Fonseca, 2010; Garvin et al., 2009; Macintyre et al., 2008). Global mining corporations have come under intense pressure and scrutiny from environmental agencies, NGOs, indigenous people and human rights movements formed in response to concerns about the social and environmental impacts of mining operations (see Banerjee, 2000; Christian Aid, 2008; Kapelus, 2002; UNCTAD, 2007). Of all sectors, mining arguably causes the most significant irreversible damage to the natural environment and the local population, especially in developing countries (see Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014;

Yakovleva, 2005). It has also been argued (e.g. Mutti et al., 2012; Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014) that negative social and environmental impacts in the mining sector manifest themselves to the extreme, in the form of industrial accidents, environmental degradation, health and safety issues, impacts on the livelihoods of local communities and violations of human rights.

Although, over the last decade, an increasing number of studies have examined gender issues in the mining sectors of developing countries, most have focused on addressing the dilemmas facing women in small-scale and artisanal mining (see Bashwira et al., 2014; Hilson, 2002). This study focuses instead on large transnational mining companies in Tanzania. As Campbell (2012, p.138) maintains, contrary to an initial avowal that foreign investments from large TNCs were much needed in the mining sector, fully justifying the negative impacts that were to be mitigated by voluntary measures, there is increasing evidence of deplorable social and environmental impacts of mining activities in developing countries. In attempting to explain such disappointing impacts, recent research has tended to draw attention to the "governance gap" linked to dysfunctional administrative and political processes in the governments of countries in which mining activities take place (see Campbell, 2012). In response to increasing pressure, large transnational mining companies are now publishing stand-alone social and environmental reports and are adopting voluntary codes of conduct, such as CSR reports, as a way of showing commitment to ethics, transparency, accountability and responsibility.

However, the intensity of the agenda and the number of policies and programmes in place has arguably contributed to the development of CSR as a business in its own right (Campbell, 2012). Furthermore, increasing evidence of the social and environmental impact of mining

operations in developing countries (see Christian Aid, 2008) raises serious questions about the potential of CSR to promote socio-economic development and create a just and fair society (see Spence, 2009). Despite the initiatives and claims made by mining companies with respect to social responsibility, accountability and transparency, CSR disclosures remain silent on social inequality, gender dynamics and other socio-environmental problems (see Banerjee, 2000). According to Acker (1990), CSR mirrors more pervasive societal gender dynamics. It has arguably become an institutionalised social practice of the contemporary global economy, increasingly concerned with the creation of a particular pattern of organisational visibility (Grosser, 2009; Marshall, 2007; Roberts, 2003; Spence, 2009).

To understand the complexities associated with CSR, scholars have adopted a range of theoretical frameworks, such as legitimacy, stakeholder, institutional and political economic theories, and these have provided some insights into both social and environmental problems associated with corporate activities. Although these theories have provided useful frameworks for understanding CSR, they have tended to centre on economics, and have inevitably paid little explicit attention to the social and political dynamics surrounding class, ethnicity, gender and other prevailing social identities in the contemporary world (see, for example, Brown, 1996). Arguably, conventional theories commonly used in the CSR literature have paid relatively little attention to issues such as gender inequality in workplaces and local communities (see Banerjee, 2007, 2008), thus perpetuating their invisibility in the rhetoric of corporate social disclosures (see, for example; Grosser and Moon, 2005; Kilgour, 2007).

Therefore, despite an increasing volume of literature in this area, the inherent masculinity of CSR has remained largely unexplored, even by those who critique such discourse (see Cooper, 1992; Marshall, 2011; Phillips, 2014). Several studies have revealed ways in which

dominant discourses (such as CSR) often reflect and help reinforce the dominant patriarchal social structures of the capitalist economic system (see Cooper, 1992; Maupin and Lehman, 1994; Phillips, 2014). Cooper (1992, p.36) considers the possibility of the involvement of the accounting profession in "environmental accounting" using a "feminine" philosophy, arguing that the introduction of "green accounting" into the present phallocentric system will do nothing to avert today's environmental crisis. Phillips (2014) focuses on the possibility of re-imagining corporate environmentalism through a poetic writing of nature and bodily embeddedness in the natural world. According to Phillips (2014, p.455), the dominant discourses and practices of corporate environmentalism are grounded in an instrumental view of nature that reduces it to a marketable commodity or a resource to be harnessed for economic growth and competitive advantage.

This study contributes to existing theory on CSR by extending 'feminine' methodology to problematise the dominance of masculine and binary thinking in CSR discourses in a masculine sector in a developing country context. It argues that a 'feminine' writing might help to expose class dynamics and struggles embedded within dominant CSR discourses and to empower often marginalised social groups. The potential of feminist approaches to interrogate social practices, such as CSR, and demand that the unseen, unacknowledged and silenced be heard and made visible, has been noted by a number of critical researchers (Cooper, 1992; Grosser and Moon, 2005; Grosser et al., 2008; Ryan-Flood and Gill, 2010). Indeed, such approaches have the potential to radically challenge current organisational and academic discourses, such as CSR. CSR, a discourse embedded with tensions and silences concerning gender dynamics, class conflicts and popular struggles which need to be unpacked and acknowledged. In recognising the above issues, the next section considers the

contribution of feminist theory and the work of Hélène Cixous to the understanding of silences within CSR discourses.

3. Theoretical Underpinnings: Feminism, Gender and Unheard Voices

Feminist work has always been concerned with the relationship between theory and practice, and how the legacies and contemporary realities of privilege (for example, of class, race and ethnicity) persist across definitions and identities (see Ryan-Flood and Gill, 2010; Smith, 1987). Feminist research recognises gender dynamics in society and appreciates the different experiences of males and females. This difference is often framed by feminist scholars within the biological roles of reproduction (see Smith, 1987). Researchers position themselves within many varieties of feminism (socialist, eco-, radical, Marxist and liberal, to mention but a few), but detailed discussion of these is beyond the scope of this study. Rather, this article examines the potential of radical/post-structuralist feminism to interrogate the masculinity in dominant CSR discourses and create the possibility of empowering marginalised 'others', mostly women, especially in a developing country context such as Tanzania.

Radical/post-structuralist feminist theorists have dealt with issues of major concern to our contemporary world, such as class struggles, identity and emotion, and power relations in organisational and societal contexts. In exploring class struggles within a discourse, some have argued that language and communication are often open to multiple interpretations and may, through inclusion and exclusion, privilege some meanings and interpretations over others (see Simpson and Lewis, 2007). By demanding that the unseen and unacknowledged be made visible, revealing deeply embedded prejudices and challenging masculine world-views, feminist research creates possibilities for emancipatory changes (Lehman, 2012). As Cooper (1992, p.17) has argued, without an empowering philosophy of change, feminist studies may leave women feeling disempowered and despondent

In recognising the construction of power relations in language, communication and within a discourse, radical feminist scholars have criticised the masculinity of the positivist tradition and other scientific applied methodologies which are genealogically entangled with the meaning of masculinity (see Phillips et al., 2014). These scholars have thereby made an influential contribution to the development of alternative research methodologies that challenge the taken-for-granted gender neutrality of many social studies, including CSR. As Cixous (1976) stressed, the dominant strain of many organisational studies is imbued with a masculine ethos because "it reproduces the masculine view, of which it is one of the effects" (p.884).

3.1   *The work of Hélène Cixous and the silenced 'others'*

Cixous, like other post-structuralist feminists, has challenged systems of signification present in the phallogocentric symbolic order of contemporary capitalist economy. Cixous rejects the Freudian and Lacanian structuralist logic of binary oppositions and other imposed patriarchal orders that suppress women (1976), urging scholars to consider alternative methodologies to contribute to the emancipatory project of bringing women's voices to the surface. She argues that dualistic structures must be rejected, since all dichotomies stem from the fundamental male/female opposition and are never neutral, always entailing a hierarchy in which the feminine represents the negative or powerless side (see Cixous, 1979). Drawing heavily on Derrida's deconstruction, Cixous (1976) uses the term 'feminine' – which represents the 'other' voice – to deconstruct the dominant binary logic of sexual differences between men and women that has created hierarchies relegating women to inferior positions. As she puts it:

> Man/woman automatically means great/small, superior/inferior ... means high or low, means Nature/History, means transformation/inertia. In fact every theory of the culture, every theory of society, the whole conglomeration of

symbolic system – everything that is, that's spoken, everything that's organized

as discourse, art, religion, the family, language, everything that seizes us,

everything that acts us – it is all ordered around hierarchical oppositions that

come back to man/woman opposition (Cixous, 1981, p.44).

Cixous' writing attempts to break away from cultural stereotypes that essentialise concepts and their attributes, such as man/woman, masculine/feminine, active/passive (see Conley, 1984). For Cixous, the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' do not refer exclusively to 'man' and 'woman'. She argues that there is no timeless essence of femininity and masculinity, only subjects caught in a network of historical power relations (Conley, 1984, p.57). Cixous questions the traditional concept of 'woman' defined by its predicate 'passive' and shows that what once appeared to be an immutable concept was part of a historical moment, that of logocentric (Western) thinking, privileging the concept and enabling the ideas of paternity, the father/son relationship, and the repression of woman (Conley, 1984, p.7). For Cixous, a 'feminine' writing requires deep changes in currently dominant discursive practices to alter ways of thinking and open new emancipatory possibilities by interrupting and challenging oppression within the patriarchal capitalist system. She urges that, rather than phallocentric language that proposes lack as a perpetual human state, feminine writing offers woman a means to articulate the inner, silent 'she' (1976, p.878). Echoing Foucault, Cixous believes that Western discourses, philosophies and culture are enmeshed in dualistic and hierarchical binary opposition based on power struggles and a strategy of exclusion, in which the 'other' term is represented as negative and powerless (see Cixous, 1981). Cixous views a phallocentric economy, one based on aggressive appropriation masking the fear of castration, as coterminous with the history of reason and with a corporate imperative that seeks to marketise and colonise natural resources.

Reflecting on Cixous, a discourse such as CSR will often try to prohibit and exclude categories of thought and knowledge, and their form of expression, that hinder the maintenance of the existing social status quo. As Banerjee (2003) argues, dominant discourses such as CSR continue to be constructed within the patriarchal logic of the capitalist economy, which emphasises markets and capital accumulation. Similarly, Smith (1987) argues that the available discourses on organisations are grounded in the working worlds and relations of men, whose experiences and interests arise in the course of and in relation to participation in the ruling apparatus of capitalist society (p.148). Drawing on the theoretical insights outlined above, the next section presents the research methods used in this study.

3.2   *Research methodology and methods*

In framing and addressing the research objective, this study applies Cixous' post-structuralist epistemological work, which requires a methodology that allows the exploration of dominant symbolic structures to examine the experiences and concerns of women (as the abject 'other') that have often been ignored by traditional research. Post-structuralist feminist theorists have consistently emphasised the importance of social context, insisting that feminist methods should be contextual rather than focusing on the individual in isolation (Smith, 1987). They have also criticised traditional quantitative research in which people are transformed into "object-like subjects" (Unger, 1983). The feminist research approach therefore considers gender as a relevant part of the social process, acknowledging women's experiences as being distinctly different from those of men. As Smith (1983) argues:

> This inquiry into the implication of sociology for women begins from the
>
> discovery of a point of rupture in my/our experiences as woman/women within
>
> the social forms of consciousness – the culture or ideology of our society – in

relation to the world known otherwise, the world directly felt, sensed, responded to, prior to its social expression (p.49).

The feminist approach asks questions that place women's lives and those of 'other' marginalised groups at the centre of inquiry (see Smith, 1987). From this standpoint, scholars have suggested that qualitative methods are more appropriate to feminist research as they are best suited to revealing and understanding the experiences of individuals in contemporary society and adequately addressing their needs by allowing subjective knowledge (Depner, 1981), thus challenging partial accounts of the gendered lives of both women and men.

In relation to this study, an interpretive ethnographic case study was adopted focusing on the two largest transnational gold-mining companies in Tanzania: Barrick Gold Corporation (BGC) and AngloGold Ashanti Limited (AGA). The ethnographic approach draws from experiences, memories and stories, interwoven with subsequent reflection and theorisation (see Ahrens and Chapman, 2006). The case study involves a particularly complex and visible power struggle between actors in the field, involving foreign mining companies, the local workforce and community members in the Tanzanian mining sector. Data for the case study were obtained from a series of group discussions and face-to-face, in-depth interviews conducted with over 20 female employees, local community members and trade union representatives. The format of the focus group meetings and details of the interviewees are provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Interviewees and focus group details

		Geita mining site		Bulyanhulu mining site	
PANEL A					
One- to-ones	Employee	10		10	
	Trade Union∞	1		-	

	Local community members:
	    Members
	    Youth union representative+
		2
		-
				2
				1	

	Total	**13**		**12**	
PANEL B					
Focus groups		Group(s)	Number of people	Group (s)	Number of people
	Employees	2	3	2	3

	Local community members:
	    Blast monitoring committee*
	    Saccos
	    Tupendane Women's group
		1
		1
		-
			9
			4
			-
				-
				1
				1
					-
					3
					5

	Total	**4**	**16**	**4**	**11**

∞the trade union secretary interviewed was a male; *the blast monitoring committee comprised four women and five men; + the youth union representative interviewed was a man (chairman).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted between January and March 2015 in two gold-mining sites, Bulyanhulu and Geita. The interviews lasted for about an hour and a half and were digitally recorded. An interview protocol was designed to encourage interviewees to participate in loosely guided conversations to facilitate the emergence of different themes (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). In addition, various other sources were used to supplement the fieldwork data, including archival records, social responsibility reports (2008-2014), information from corporate websites, newspaper clips and other publicly available social information. The data collected from the research were transcribed and thematically analysed. Critical reflection on the research process, the responses – especially why certain stories were recounted rather than others – and the complex interpersonal dynamics offered some further insights into the subject matter. The theoretical insights discussed in the previous section were used to structure analysis of the empirical evidence and construct a theoretically informed analysis.

4. The Tanzanian Mining Sector: The Case Study

Tanzania is endowed with abundant, valuable mineral resources, which have the potential to provide for socio-economic development, improve standards of living and reduce poverty. The mining industry is widely recognised for its highly prospective geology, and large-scale mineral extraction involves mainly large foreign TNCs (IMF, 2011). According to the IMF (2011), the sector grew at about 15 per cent annually before 2007, before dropping to 2.5 per cent in 2008 and 1.2 per cent in 2009 due to declines in diamond exports and gold production. Overall, the mining sector contributed about 3.3 per cent of GDP in 2013, with the vast majority of the country's mineral export revenue coming from gold, which accounted for 89 per cent of the value of those exports in 2013. However, it is estimated that about 90 per cent of Tanzania's minerals have yet to be exploited (KPMG, 2015).

Despite its abundant mineral resources, the overall performance of the mining sector has remained relatively poor for many years, due to a lack of investment, technological inadequacies and inefficient technical and management expertise (Chachage, 1995). As a result, in the 1990s, the Tanzanian government was encouraged by international financial institutions to reform the sector in order to encourage foreign investment (see UNCTAD, 2007). Implementation of these neoliberal reforms led to an influx of foreign investors, particularly large TNCs, mostly from Canada, Australia and USA, who have the capital and knowledge required to extract and process minerals (SID, 2009). As a result of transnational investment, the cumulative total of FDI in Tanzania's mining sector over the past fifteen years exceeds US$406.5 million, with the mining sector employing around one per cent of wage earners (URT, 2012). The largest TNCs, listed on the world's largest stock exchange markets, have become dominant players in the mining sector.[5] For example, BGC is a leading international gold-mining company with headquarters in Toronto, Canada, a portfolio of 27

operating mines, and advanced exploration and development projects worldwide, including the United States, Canada, Australia, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Tanzania. The company is listed on the Toronto, New York and London stock exchanges with a market capitalisation of about US$37 billion (about 48.1 trillion Tanzanian shillings).[6] In Tanzania, BGC operates through its subsidiary Acacia, which runs the four largest mines in the country, the Bulyanhulu, North Mara, Tulawaka and Buzwagi mines. AGA is the second largest gold-mining company and a global gold producer, with headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa. It is listed on the Johannesburg, New York, London, Paris, Brussels, Ghanaian and Australian stock exchanges. In Tanzania, AGA owns Geita Gold Mine Limited, which is the largest of the group's eight open-pit mines in Africa, employing over 3,000 Tanzanians (AGA, 2009).

Although the implementation of reforms were sought to stimulate development of the industry, they have had serious socio-economic consequences, particularly for women as workers, household budget managers, child bearers and carers (ILO, 2006). Globally, the mining sector has historically been an almost exclusively male-dominated industry requiring physical strength to break and haul heavy rocks (PWC, 2013). With recent technological developments, most mining jobs require specialised training and skills rather than physical strength; yet, masculinity remains pervasive in the mining sector (see Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre, 2006). Thus compared with other sectors, Tanzania's mining sector remains a masculine industry, and women's participation and integration into the sector has been very slow (see ILO, 2006). Owing to the masculine nature of mining extraction and processing, large transnational mining companies in Tanzania often employ majority male workforces and women are not seen as active participants in this sector. According to PWC (2013), mining is the worst sector for gender diversity – even worse than the oil and gas industry.

Men hold more than 90 per cent of executive positions in the mining sector, and women occupy only five per cent of board positions in the top 500 global listed mining companies (PWC, 2013). Consequently, women, often miss out on the potential benefits of mining extraction in Tanzania and bear an unequal share of its burdens (see Lauwo, 2011; Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014). This may be partly attributable to institutional and cultural issues in Tanzania that have significantly constrained women's access to and participation in the mining sector, including a traditional education route that considers degrees such as mining, geology or engineering, needed most in the mining sector, to be suitable only for men (see Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre, 2006). These cultural issues also manifest in workplaces at mining sites, where there is very little, if any, women's representation in departments such as geology, mining, plant processing, metallurgy and engineering (Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre, 2006). Indeed, the associated knock-on effect is that very few women work in technical, professional or managerial positions in Tanzania, as most are employed in so-called "appropriate jobs for women" such as sweepers, cleaners, security guards, operators, caterers and office attendants (ILO, 2009). Consequently, the prospects for promotion are low, as opportunities for job training are scarce. Many of the problems women face in pursuing a mining career arise from their traditional role as primary caregivers. It can be very difficult for females to achieve a good work/life balance because of the industry's constraints in terms of flexibility, remote site work and juggling childcare with often unsociable hours and expectations of overtime working (see Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre, 2006).

Given mining's male-dominated culture, the physical environment in Tanzanian mining areas, as elsewhere, may not be accommodating to women. As the World Bank (2009) posits, large investors in mining industries rarely make adequate assessments of the negative gender impacts and the possibilities of compensating and empowering local women through local

development programmes. Inevitably, the environmental and social risks of mining extraction in Tanzania have tended to fall upon women through loss of productive agricultural land, marginalisation and an increase in health risks, including HIV/AIDS (Gibson and Kemp, 2008). It has also been argued that the continuous disposal of mining waste contributes to air and water contamination, which are detrimental to human health, livestock and wildlife biodiversity and seriously affect the welfare of mining communities, especially women and children (Kitula, 2006, p.411). Since most water resources in mining areas are used for drinking water by inhabitants and livestock, cyanide pollution from large-scale mining processing may be a burden to the women and children who collect the water used in rural communities (see Kitula, 2006). Magutu (2010) also shows that the safety of women living in mining camps is often at risk, and women who work night shifts regularly face problems of sexual harassment. Moreover, displacement caused by mining has created tensions and caused more disruption to women's livelihoods, as these women used to depend on artisanal mining for their livelihoods (Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014).

Although women continue to face socio-economic challenges which restrict their effective involvement in the mining sector, the Mining Act 1998 (amended in 2010), a major regulation in the mining sector, has for many years remained silent about gender imbalances, especially the dynamics facing women in such a male-dominated industry. The next section critically engages with the CSR reports of the two largest gold-mining companies, BGC and AGA, in order to deconstruct the language used in their interactions and contrast it with the reality and experiences of women working and living around mining areas. Stories retrieved from discussions and interviews conducted with women employees and local community members offer further insights into the dilemma facing women in mining areas. As

participants were promised anonymity, abbreviations and pseudonyms have been used in the analysis to conceal the respondents' names and personal identities.

4.1 Inscribing gender in mining companies' social disclosures: Empirical insights

In responding to local and global pressures, mining companies in Tanzania have pledged to act in a socially responsible manner and stated their commitment to promoting issues such as employee welfare, human rights and local community engagement. The empirical findings presented in this section focus on issues which emerged from discussions and interviews conducted with female employees and local community members in the mining areas.

4.1.1 Employee welfare and symbolised gender in the workplace

Like many other large mining companies, BGC and AGA claim to be committed to achieving the highest performance in occupational health and safety matters in order to create and maintain a safe and healthy working environment for all employees. The companies also mention that they have strong programmes for improving the welfare and future employment prospects of employees at all levels. Disclosure of these issues appears mainly in their corporate charters, social responsibility reports, websites and annual reports. However, masculine voices appear to dominate most of the disclosures. For example, in its corporate charter, BGC states:

> We strive to earn the trust of all with whom we interact, whether they be our
> employees, the communities where we live and work, the governments that
> host us, or any other persons or parties with whom we engage in the
> sustainable development of mineral resources... We endorse the definition of
> Corporate Social Responsibility as proposed by the World Bank: *Corporate*
> *Social Responsibility is the commitment of business to contribute to sustainable*
> *economic development – working with employees, their families, the local*

> *community and society at large to improve the quality of life, in ways that are*
>
> *both good for business and good for development* (BGC, n.d.).

BGC's website also mentions that its success is built on the ongoing professionalism, commitment and engagement of more than 17,500 employees worldwide:

> We are committed to providing a safe, positive and respectful work environment for all employees. We emphasize teamwork and collaboration to achieve outstanding results, along with continuous improvement in all areas of our business activity. Doing so helps us attract, retain and develop a highly skilled and engaged workforce – an important competitive advantage.[7]

However, despite the companies' pledges on social responsibility, no specific strategies are laid down in their reports on the companies are promoting the welfare of the vulnerable others, mostly women, in the mining areas. This echoes Höpfl's (2000) argument that oppression originates in language and the production of meaning. Indeed, a power-knowledge relationship is established within the language or communication used in disseminating CSR information. In other words, these statements seem to focus on communicating and disseminating a specific image of social responsibility (see Banerjee, 2007, 2008).

Although in recent years, in response to pressure from feminist activists, NGOs, media and other pressure groups, mining companies in Tanzania have started to disclose some information about gender issues, disclosure remains somewhat selective and at the discretion of management. For example, in acknowledging the masculine nature of mining activities, BGC (2013, p.88) states that:

> The workforce in the mining industry is predominantly male, and many women see this as a barrier to gaining employment in the industry. At Barrick, our focus is to employ the best person for the job; to choose people on merit. Our

objective is to ensure that we are welcoming to women so that we can employ the best among a wide candidate base. We continue to introduce policies and flexible work practices to encourage higher participation rates of women in the workforce.

BGC also claims:

We consider men and women equally in our search for new employees, and people of either sex are encouraged to apply for employment in all job categories. Men and women employed in the same job category receive the same remuneration, according to their level of experience and length of employment. However, there may be a gender bias that is predominant in different labour categories (BCG, 2010, p.25; 2011, pp.17-18; 2012, p.17; 2013, p.88).

However, contrary to the companies' claims of 'encouraging higher participation rates of women', analysis of AGA's Report to Society (2008), for example, shows that at Geita Gold Mine women represent only seven per cent of the workforce and nine per cent of the management, while BGC's Responsibility Report (2013, p.88) states that in Tanzania women represent only eight per cent of the workforce. Furthermore, no strategy is suggested for addressing gender imbalances in the sector. According to Irigaray (1991), as women are represented as the opposite 'other' of the male and defined in relation to the same, which is tacitly assumed to be masculine, male (phallocentric) discourses prevail as universal to all. The above statements of social responsibility promise a commitment to 'others', but only as long as it makes business sense. Inevitably, business-as-usual will prevail (see Roberts, 2003). Thus, CSR disclosure seems to privilege dominant objective masculine rationalities over subjective feminine societal needs. Indeed, similarly to nature, the female body appears to be embedded with the dynamics of the dominant masculine discourses that govern and

discipline the capitalist economy through a specific power/knowledge relationship (see Knights, 2015). Cixous argues that patriarchy seeks to reduce all things to a singular, phallic meaning (Conley, 1984). Although men and women are different, social and anatomical determinations of difference are used to reinforce and justify the patriarchal system of control and power.

Reflection on fieldwork discussions with women workers engaged in mining activities highlights some contradictory stories. For example, participants in the interviews mentioned that, as companies continue to strive to meet production targets, employees are forced to work long hours and under massive pressure. One participant said:

> *"There is too much pressure to meet production targets ... we are forced to work long hours and weekends ... this pressure is worse for women ... it is difficult to have a work-life balance, we are caretakers at home ... This makes it difficult for us to play some of our maternal roles. For example, by law we are entitled to take three months' maternity leave immediately after having the baby and thereafter to work for half a day for six months in order to be able to breastfeed ... This however doesn't happen in most of the departments ... you cannot leave to breastfeed your baby while you know that the production targets for the day or week have not been attained"* (Respondent 1: Finance Assistant).

This participant added:

> *"Despite the mining companies' claims to be complying with local rules and regulations and maintaining a safe and healthy working environment, no regular monitoring on the part of the government has been done to substantiate the companies' claims about compliance. Who is responsible for ensuring that*

the companies' implementation complies with all the labour laws in Tanzania?

Who is checking whether the companies are implementing what has been

stipulated by the law?" (Respondent 1: Finance Assistant)

A section leader pointed out that gender division in the mining sector reflects the stereotypical patriarchal culture, in which women are deemed to be more suited to jobs requiring skills similar to domestic tasks. She said:

> *"We are working in a male-dominated industry, women are mostly employed in*
> *areas such as security, catering, cleaning and other low skilled work ... we are*
> *marginalised, subordinated and silenced, very few of us are on the leadership*
> *or mentorship position ... essentials for women like sanitary disposal bins are*
> *not available in the mining areas ... gender imbalance is vivid in the mining*
> *sites, miners who are mostly men, are by nature very arrogant; often they use*
> *abusive language or gestures just because you are a woman"* (Respondent 13:
> Community Relations Superintendent).

Thus, as a result of cultural constraints and stereotypes regarding appropriate roles for men and women in the mining sector, women appear to miss out on the economic benefits of mining activities, while bearing the burden of negative social and environmental impacts. Consequently, most are employed in areas such as security, catering, cleaning and other low-skilled work, and these women feel more vulnerable and less empowered. As Acker (2003) argues, there is no place within a disembodied job in a gender-neutral organisation for 'other bodied'; the abstract worker is actually a man, and is the man body, its sexuality, with minimal responsibility in reproduction.

The section leader interviewed suggested, "we *need more women in managerial positions who can represent our needs. Mining policies and other regulations in the sector need to be*

gendered so as to recognise gender differences" (Respondent 13: Community Relations Superintendent). However, getting more women into managerial positions appears somewhat of a fantasy in a male-dominated industry like the Tanzanian mining sector. The site female medical doctor interviewed explained how difficult promotion is for a woman in the mining sector:

> *"...promotion is difficult for a woman ... women get very few opportunities for training, because of lack of attention to gender issues, to training and other human resource policies... As a result, women often don't get an opportunity to go for training, especially external training ..."* (Respondent 5: Site Medical Doctor).

In a similar way, another female employee explained, *"Promotion is biased. Male colleagues have been getting promotion more easily than us"* (Respondent 7: Data Entry Clerk). A trade union representative reiterated, *"if you want a better position, you have to bribe or sleep with your boss ..."* (Respondent 12: Trade Union Representative). This echoes Cixous' argument that, as a woman represents the 'other', she is subjected or enslaved to "the master/slave dialectic" (see Conley, 1984, p.70). Cixous contends that, in any hierarchically organised relationship, the 'other' (in whatever form) is that which is appropriated, excluded and annihilated through the actions of the underlying oppositional system (Conley, 1984, p.71).

Other participants also expressed their frustration regarding mining sites being located in remote areas far from towns, as this imposes significant constraints, especially on women with young families or with childcare responsibilities. As the training officer put it:

> *"... Mining sites are located in remote areas. Some of us are in long-distance relationships, which is very problematic ... as women we are subjected to increased risks of marital stress and breakdown, sexual and other violence and*

other health risks due to separation of families. It is difficult to have a work-life

balance" (Respondent 4: Training Officer).

The training officer also expressed her views about how difficult it is to be a woman in the mining sector:

"The working environment in the mining areas is challenging for women; as a

woman it is difficult to maintain a work-family life, due to long working hours

... Generally, there are very few women in mining. I am the only female –- out

of eleven employees in my department ... there are very few women in senior,

superintendent and top management positions ... as a result, there is no proper

channel for voicing our concerns" (Respondent 4: Training Officer).

Women working in heavy machinery departments also complained about getting irregular and long periods, headaches and back pain. Although women workers in the mining sector face serious challenges while struggling for their rights, they have had to keep silent due to insecurity and fear of losing their jobs. Thus, silence becomes a strategy for dealing with challenges in the workplace. This echoes Cixous' (1986) statement that:

Every woman has known the torture of beginning to speak aloud, heart beating

as if to break, occasionally falling into loss of language, ground and language

slipping out from under her, because for woman speaking – even just opening

her mouth – in public is something rash, a transgression. A double anguish, for

even if she transgresses, her word almost always falls on the deaf, masculine

ear, which can only hear language that speak in masculine (Cixous, 1986).

The fear was more evident in some clerical staff, who seemed to be very reluctant to speak to the interviewer, whom they suspected of being a reporter working on behalf of the mining company. To encourage the participants to engage in the interview process, the purpose of the research was underlined, and assurance was provided regarding the confidentiality of the

research and the promise of anonymity. Nevertheless, owing to fear of the consequences of speaking out about the mining companies, and even fear of being fired, the participants chose to be silent about issues of concern to them. Instead, the participants wanted to talk about positive aspects of the work environment in order to give a good impression of the company. For example, one participant mentioned: *"working conditions in mining are good; in all departments both men and women are treated equally ... opportunities for in-house training are available to all employees regardless of their gender"* (Respondent 8: Data Entry Clerk). However, this contradicts the experiences of other interviewees from the same department. When probed as to whether the participants had experienced any kind of inequality in the workplace, one respondent stressed that she could not speak on behalf of the company (Respondent 2: Security Department).

4.1.2 Human rights disclosure and the silence of the 'other'

Public anxieties about the promotion and protection of human rights are fuelled by the intensification of globalisation, the rising power of corporations and the expanding governance gap created by neoliberal policies (see Korten, 2001). Calls are increasingly being made for the reinforcement of host government regulations and the development of internationally binding legal norms holding corporations to account for human rights issues, including the rights of women workers (see UN Human Rights Council, 2008, 2009). However, rather than aligning corporate conduct with basic human rights, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the trend has been to expand the scope of disclosures in reports published by corporations (see Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014). For example, to show its commitment to labour and human rights, BGC's website states:

> Barrick is committed to ensuring that our employees respect human rights and
> are trained to recognize and report human rights violations. We are also
> committed to providing equal opportunity and freedom from discrimination for

all our employees, to upholding the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour, and to supporting the effective abolition of child labour.[8]

Similarly, AGA states in its Human Rights Policy:

> We are aware that we have the ability to impact on human rights, and our commitment should include as applicable all internationally recognised human rights such as those expressed in the International Bill of Human Rights (which includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) and the International Labour Organisation Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, in particular freedom from forced labour, the abolition of child labour, freedom to associate and organise and the right to collective bargaining, and the elimination of discrimination in employment and occupation. This commitment should also include as applicable the rights of indigenous peoples; women; national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities; children; persons with disabilities; migrant workers and their families and other groups in a society whose situation may render them particularly vulnerable to adverse impacts on their rights (AGA, 2013, p.3).

AGA's reports also emphasise that:

> AngloGold Ashanti's employment policy recognises and promotes diversity within the company. It acknowledges that women have an equal right to participate in mining and a career and regards the employment of locals and the replacement of expatriate employees as a priority (AGA, 2008, p.17).

However, contrary to the companies' claims to uphold fundamental human rights, creating a harassment-free, non-discriminatory workplace and maintaining a healthy and safe working environment, masculine voices seem to dominate the CSR agenda. As Cixous (1984, p.57) argues, the political economy of masculine and feminine is organised by different needs and

constraints which, when they become socialised and metaphorised, produce signs, relations of power and production, a whole immense system of cultural inscriptions. Arguably, what is being played with in social disclosures through these new forms of visibility is the corporate self-image or identity (Roberts, 2003, p.256). In essence, little information is disclosed about gender issues, particularly the dynamics faced by women in such a hegemonic and masculine sector.

Despite the mining companies' claims to promote human rights, abuse of women's basic rights in the workplace was more readily evident in discussions with women workers engaged in mining activities, both professional and non-professional. The participants highlighted mixed concerns regarding harassment, sex-segregation and unfair treatment that have been pervasive in workplaces in the mining areas and have often remained unheard. For example, sexual harassment was reported to be a major problem. As one participant sensitively mentioned: "*it is difficult sometimes to say no when approached by a male supervisor, as that can either make you lose your job or even denied a promotion*" (Respondent 1: Finance Assistant). This participant further explained that managers relate to women co-workers differently: women are expected to be submissive to get what they want. A trade union representative added, "*Some women have been denied promotion because they did not want to engage in a sexual relationship with a male boss*" (Respondent 12: Trade Union Representatives).

In addition, the site medical doctors interviewed also indicated that some women have been denied their right to promotion because of maternity leave (Respondent 5: Site Medical Doctor). Denying promotion due to maternity leave is contrary to the basic tenets of human rights. With regard to women's rights to maternity leave, the female doctor interviewed

suggested that maternity leave policy needs to be reviewed. It should not be a basis for denying promotion.

Although mining companies claim to have equal employment and formal diversity policies that promote and protect workers' rights, in discussion with women workers, the participants mentioned that policies seem to exist on the surface and women experience high levels of insecurity in the workplace. One participant (Respondent 3: Environmental Department) explained that young women employees doing mostly clerical work can be easily dismissed when they get pregnant. The participant said:

> "*There is no job security in the mining sector especially for women ... sometimes women face unjust and unfair treatment at work ... for example, [a named employee], who was working in the environmental department, was pregnant, and because of the pregnancy her legs were swelling and she could not wear safety boots – which are purely designed for men. Her performance appraisal was conducted when she was on maternity leave and because she could not perform very well during the last term of her pregnancy, her contract was terminated. ... Unfortunately, no one from the human resource department was willing to intervene or to fight for her case, as the majority in the top management team are men*" (Respondent 3: Environmental Department).

Similarly, Acker (2003, p.56) argues that women's maternal bodies, their ability to procreate, and breastfeeding, menstruation and childcare "are suspect, stigmatised and used as grounds for control and exclusion".

With regard to voicing the concerns of women, the trade union representative interviewed mentioned that women's representation is weak in the workers' union. She added that there is only one female on the trade union committee and:

"It is difficult to voice women's concerns as the trade union is dominated by men. ... Women are inactive; they need to be recognised and recognise themselves to ... we need strong leadership and an active platform for voicing our concerns" (Respondent 12: Trade Union Representative).

In the above context, the structure of mining companies, control of the work process and underlying work relations reflect symbolic gender dynamics (see Acker, 2003). Discussions and interviews conducted with female employees show how powerless these women feel working in such a masculine sector, where woman have no language of their own and their body is equated to one sex only (see Fotaki, 2011). The feelings of alienation, powerlessness, marginalisation and voicelessness experienced by the participants in the disembodied but profoundly dominant and masculine sector is echoed in arguments by Kristeva (1982), Cixous (1986) and Irigaray (1991) that language and body are mutually constituted in ways that assign superiority to male signifiers of meaning derived from the phallic body. Similarly, Connell (1995, p.77) argues that, within the capitalist economic system, the hegemonic masculinity of gender practice embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimation of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. Thus, as mining companies strive to meet production targets in order to maximise shareholders' returns, this inevitably imposes serious challenges for other social capital, especially women employees.

Therefore, despite mining companies' promises regarding commitment to respecting human rights and promoting employee welfare, their efforts have been flawed by contradictions, as supported by the above evidence from discussions and interviewees with female employees.

4.1.3 Local community relation disclosure and the marginalised others

In their efforts to embrace CSR and respond to NGOs and public pressure, mining companies in Tanzania have often indicated their commitment to address local community issues. Like other large companies, BGC and AGA have expressed their commitment to making a positive difference to the communities in which they operate. For example, BGC's reports state that it works closely with local residents, governments, NGOs, international agencies and other interested groups in providing accurate and timely information, and that it responds to the needs and concerns of local communities. Evidence of its professed commitment to supporting education in local communities can be found on BGC's website, which states:

> Barrick recognises that an educated population is vital to emerging economies in the 21st century. We make significant investments in education, including the construction of primary and secondary schools, the provision of teacher training and resources and student scholarship programs. In Tanzania, the company's six-year US$2 million education program with CARE International, Tanzania resulted in a doubling of high school enrolment in the Kahama District, the construction of a new secondary school and a better quality of education for thousands of children and youth living near our Bulyanhulu mine.[9]

Similarly, AGA considers itself to be an integral part of the communities in which it operates; a neighbour and key instigator of economic development aiming to improve the standards of living of those in local communities. AGA claims to ensure that communities in mining areas are kept informed of and involved in any developments that affect them, throughout the lifecycle of the company's operations. For example, its *Social Responsibility Report* (2008) states:

Geita Mine liaises with local communities and district authorities in the formulation and implementation of development projects and is part of a district consultative committee which formulates and co-ordinates the implementation of donor-funded projects. The focus is on the key areas of health, education, water and economic development (p.3).

AGA's sustainability report (2014) also states that:

A resettlement process was also completed during 2014 at the Geita Gold Mine in Tanzania, with the relocation of 18 households to new housing in Tarzan Valley. AngloGold Ashanti was not required to relocate these households. However, resettlement was undertaken in response to a humanitarian need, as this community, which had previous interactions with the Geita Gold Mine, was living in temporary shelters (p.29).[10]

However, contrary to the mining companies' claims to engage with and promote welfare in the localities, the focus group meeting with women drew attention to some of the dilemmas facing many women living around the mining areas. Yet, these dilemmas often are not disclosed in the mining companies' social disclosures. As Cixous (1976) argues that writing has been run by a libidinal, culturally and politically masculine economy, in which repression of women has been perpetuated and women never had their turn to speak (p.879). Specifically, women in the local community, who originally depended on artisanal mining - but were evicted from their land to make room for the large transnational mining companies - have experienced various forms of exclusion and marginalisation. As a result of displacement, they have had to look for alternative ways of making a living, which appears to be difficult in the mining areas. As one respondent explained:

"As most of us in the villages don't have formal education, it is difficult to be employed in the mining companies. As breadwinners, we are forced to walk for

long distances looking for jobs… mostly breaking rocks, which pays very little

… sometimes there are no rocks to break … life is very difficult for most of us,

especially women, living in the mining areas" (Respondent 14: Local

Community Member).

This echoes Kristeva's (1984) argument that, if femininity has a definition, it is that which is marginalised by the patriarchal symbolic order. Kristeva posited, 'the subject never is ... the subject is only the signifying process and he appears only as a signifying practice, that is, only when he is absent within the position out of which social, historical and signifying activity unfolds' (p.215).

The focus group meeting with women revealed that poverty and desperation to support family members compels women in the mining areas to engage in prostitution. Thus, prostitution was highlighted by the participants as a common problem in the mining areas, especially amongst young girls and women (Focus group: Local Community Members), as echoed by one local community member: "*due to life hardship in the mining sites, as breadwinners, women have to look for any kind of job they can get, even if it is prostitution*" (Respondent 15: Local Community Member). This has led to high rates of early pregnancy amongst young girls in the mining areas, echoing Irigary's (1985) argument that, "as a commodity – a woman – is divided into two irreconcilable 'bodies': her natural 'body' and her socially valued exchangeable body" (p.180). As a result, HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) were reported to be prevalent amongst young women in mining areas in Tanzania.[11]

The focus group meeting with blast committee members in the local community revealed that, contrary to the mining companies' claim to promote local procurement and create

employment, there is a lack of enterprising activities in local communities to support, promote or create employment for women who originally depended on artisanal mining (Focus Group: Blast Monitoring Committee). As Wanzala (2007) argues, "the majority of those displaced and who have not been able to regain meaningful livelihoods are bitter and view the coming of large-scale investors as a curse rather than a blessing". The bitterness and anger of those displaced is reflected in ongoing conflicts between local communities and mining companies (Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014). Representatives of one women's group in the local community were sceptical of corporate promises made to local communities to address the widespread poverty in local villages. They were of the view that corporate social initiatives had often been used for public relations purposes (Focus Group: Tupendane Women's Group).

Therefore, although mining companies have disclosed some information on gender issues in recent years, the information disclosed has remained somewhat selective and at the discretion of management. This selectiveness of information disclosure in CSR reports is consistent with earlier studies that have found disclosure to be dependent on management discretion, with support for social responsibility initiatives provided purely for business reasons, rather than out of any altruistic desire to improve conditions in the workplace or in local communities (see e.g. Lauwo and Otusanya, 2014; Unerman and O'Dwyer, 2007). In particular, the voices of suppressed social constituents, notably women, have often remained masked within dominant CSR discourses. As Olkowski (1999) argues, dominant representation and discourses in the male-dominated capitalist system have facilitated the exploitation and abuse of women, so ways must be found to challenge this kind of representation and discourse CSR discourse in this context is increasingly seen to be embedded within the contradictions of the capitalist economic system. Indeed, corporate

rationality has continued to dictate the nature and acceptable scope of CSR (see Banerjee, 2008, p.61). Despite professed claims to be committed to employee welfare, upholding human rights and engaging with local community members, the masculine language seems to dominate most of the agendas. Consequently, women's voices and concerns in the mining areas have remained silenced. A reflection on the practical implications inspired by the theory of Hélène Cixous is provided in the next section.

4.2 Writing a poetic and feminine CSR

The empirical findings presented above suggest that, although mining companies continue to publish many glossy brochures as a way of discharging their commitment to social obligations, women's outcries often remain masked in such disclosures. This echoes Fleming and Jones' (2013, p.xv) argument that CSR has become not only an external branding exercise to appease the public, but a way of tapping into and addressing the otherwise counter-corporate concerns of workers, smoothing over any conflict that might arise from participating in enterprises that harm the community. Indeed, CSR disclosures continue to mirror the binary oppositional way of thinking. The masculine phallocentric nature of CSR appears to privilege preservation of the masculine (status quo) over preservation of the feminine (others). As Spence (2009) stresses:

> While the current CSR practice is widely perceived to cherry pick good news,
>
> it ignores the more fundamental social issues such as wealth distribution,
>
> refuses to undertake an overall environmental impact analysis, instead
>
> preferring to focus on disaggregated data and efficiency measures (p.209).

CSR discourse in this context is seen to be increasingly embedded with contradictions arising from the patriarchal, capitalist economic system. Rather than exposing socio-economic and environmental conflicts, including gender dynamics, CSR discourses have often been

deployed as a mechanism to create a boundary around the organisation, influencing what is and is not of significance in the organisation's interactions. As Cixous (1981) reminds us, "the letter 'F' (phallus), a letter without a name, ubiquitous and unspeakable, in a constant state of metamorphosis, is a letter which is often left unheard". She argues that language consists of metaphorical and abstract concepts often used by those in power to ensure their supremacy (Conley, 1984, p.54).

Cixous (1976) urges that masculine statements, such as those in CSR, should be questioned in order to disrupt binary thinking and phallocentrism. She calls for other modes of exchange and representation rather than simple reversals of power relations; it is not a matter of privileging the feminine over the masculine but of pursuing and celebrating differences (see Phillips, 2014). For Cixous, masculine writing, which characterises the CSR usually written by men, needs to be challenged through 'écriture feminine'. She urges a new form of writing, feminine writing:

> that which in every discourse can open up to the absolute loss of meaning, to
>
> the bottomlessness of the sacred, of non-meaning, of play, to the loss of
>
> consciousness from which it awakens with a throw of the dice. Not an absence
>
> of meaning, which would once again subordinate poetry to discourse (Conley,
>
> 9.28-29).

The feminine texts that writing produces strive in the direction of difference, "struggle to undermine the dominant phallocentric logic, split open the closure of binary opposition and revel in the pleasure of open-ended textuality" (Moi, 1988). Cixous is aware of the problems involved in completely escaping the constructions of a masculine discourse (Cixous, 1997). Thus, for her, 'écriture féminine' is a way to constantly destabilise authoritarian notions of masculinity while still recognising that such critique is always performed within the gendered

structures of the patriarchal capitalist society (see Muhr and Rehn, 2015). Similarly, Phillips et al. (2014) argue that 'écriture féminine' in organisation studies should be "a writing that challenges masculine orthodoxy by confusing it rather than attempting to replace it" (p.313). For Cixous, 'poetic writing' functions both aesthetically and strategically. Its aim is to undo homogeneous, dominant discourses that hide its will for power beneath eternal, conceptual truth (p.96). According to Cixous, the poet escapes the contract and has recourse to voice; its overabundance generously interrupts a circular economy. To write poetically, one must approach the 'other' slowly with words that do not kill or incorporate (Conley, 1986). She posits:

> There is a sublime which is infinitely small and that will in any case remain incomprehensible and enigmatic. To privilege the small rather than the colossal displaces the limits not only between men and women but also between human beings and animals, human beings and plants (Conley, 1986 p.100).

Cixous (1976) advocates poetic and feminine writing that recognises and represents marginalised 'others'. In this way, feminine writing is liberating, not only for men and women but also for nature and the environment. Writing the feminine and the body invokes ways in which women and men can explore and reclaim their bodies and their subjectivities. By writing differently, we can shape the world anew. As Cooper (1992) suggests, "if we are trying to move away from closure towards opening up language to allow new possibilities, we must first try to open up our socially constructed concepts of the environment" (p.20). Thus, through feminine writing, we can open up new possibilities for raising voices and empowering those marginalised by hegemonic and masculine CSR discourses, evidence of which is provided in this case study.

Repression of women in CSR disclosures is intrinsic to the nature of traditional accounting, which does not account for the 'other'. Thus, in providing additional information in annual (and other accounting) reports, companies rarely account for other things, but merely justify the accumulation of capital in order to satisfy the demands of the few (Puxty, 1986, p.103). This does not suggest the expansion of accounting or CSR reporting to include marginalised others' voices, but rather challenging the masculinity and binary thinking in CSR in order to create possibilities for change and empowerment of marginalised others, particularly women. As Spence et al. (2013) propound, expanding the accounting domain whilst remaining within these parameters leads to something more than the mere reproduction of the status quo; it leads to intensified commodification of patriarchal discourses. According to Cixous (1986), the strategy now consists in advancing questions by working on specific textual problems with consequences in the real world, to write a 'sortie'. For Cixous, texts must remain questions of method rather than giving univocal answers that would name and close the circuit. Rather than proposing ready-made recipes to be used and applied, Cixous promotes the kind of writing that questions taken-for-granted assumptions.

5. Summary and Concluding Remarks

This paper has addressed a gap in gender and feminist perspectives on CSR research. It has drawn on the work of Cixous to help challenge the phallogocentric entrapment of the patriarchal capitalist system that privileges masculine discourses over feminine and considers woman as the domestic 'other'. The evidence of this paper reveals that, despite mining companies' initiatives to increase their social disclosures, such reporting remains selective, and a business-as-usual attitude prevails. These reports rarely give visibility to women, who are affected as workers, household budget managers, child bearers and carers. Indeed, masculine discourses continue to dominate the CSR agenda in the Tanzanian mining sector.

As Banerjee (2003) argues, the rationality and instrumentality of corporate discourses de-nature nature by denying its multiplicity and connectedness with all human life and activity.

This paper makes theoretical, empirical and practical contributions. Theoretically, it furthers the literature that calls for gendering of environmentalism, sustainability and CSR through feminist methodology to interrogate relations of power and to create emancipatory possibilities (Cooper, 1992; Marshall, 2007, 2011; Phillips, 2014). Drawing on Cixous, the paper has argued that CSR discourse is embedded with dominant phallocentric assumptions, which privilege hegemonic phallic masculinity over the feminine. The paper has highlighted how masculine and disembodied symbolic structures in the Tanzanian mining sector have consciously and unconsciously facilitated the silencing of women's voices. Thus, Cixous' theory has helped to re-frame key issues in this research and has made visible the role played by language and corporate representations in mystifying women's bodies, as disembodied 'others', and justifying their subordination, oppression and marginalisation in the masculine Tanzanian mining sector. The absence of women's bodies from mining companies' social disclosures is in line with Cixous' (1986) argument that it is in the logos of social organisation and in the production of meaning that oppression is found. Cixous advocates a feminine writing to defy the masculine and bring about new relationships between subject and 'other' by refusing to engage in the masculine, self-defensive appropriation of the other's difference under logic of rationality (see Phillips, 2014). Following Cixous, the paper urges a 'feminine writing' in order to challenge the masculinity and disembodied rationality that has dominated CSR discourses in the Tanzanian mining sector. This is driven by a belief that exposing masculinity in CSR discourses, which privileges patriarchal economic interests, will create the possibility to change phallicised corporate practices and empower marginalised others.

Empirically, the paper contributes to the literature on CSR and feminism by providing some insights from the Tanzanian mining sector context to show how CSR as a social practice is not simply located within a context bounded by corporate or state-led initiatives, but also operates across a context that includes local populations. The empirical evidence has drawn attention to the dilemma faced by women in Tanzanian mining areas. It has shown that the mining sector in Tanzania is overwhelmingly male-dominated and women are unavoidably subordinated, oppressed and marginalised while struggling for their basic human rights. Women are still affected by inequalities in the workplace, sexual harassment, lack of access to job training, exploitation of male labour and family responsibilities and caring. Thus, gender imbalances remain prevalent in the Tanzanian mining sector, which seem to be embedded in and reinforced by institutional structures in the country, such as the Tanzanian Mining Act (2010) and Mining Policy (2009). As Butler (1990) argued that the category of women is produced and restrained by the very structure of power through which its emancipation is sought. Similarly, Cixous suggests, there is no place within a disembodied gender-neutral organisation for the 'other' bodied (see Conley, 1984).

While this paper has addressed gender dynamics which may be relevant to many social settings, the focus has been on the Tanzanian socio-political, economic and regulatory context and the mining sector in particular. The paper therefore calls for radical regulatory and institutional reforms, to promote gender equality and to bring women's voices and representation into the Tanzanian mining sector. At the macro level, there is an urgent need to create and enact more gender-equitable government policies to promote women's participation and gender equality in the mining sector. At the micro level, the need is for an industry-wide strategy for the integration of women into the mining sector. Such a strategy would contribute to creating a healthier and more equitable work environment, increasing

women's employment opportunities, supporting women's advancement in the sector through skills development, reducing poverty and encouraging sustainable development.

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[1] Rich's poem, "Cartographies of silence" is a powerful problematisation of the dilemmas of language, communication and knowledge in contemporary social discourses such as CSR. Rich describes a dream of finding a language with the capacity to free itself from its own history and escape the lengthening shadows of hegemonic patriarchy and a masculine social system.

[2] In this context, 'écriture féminine' is about transgressing, destabilising and breaking with gender categories rather than building new ones (see also Linstead and Pullen, 2006; Muhr, 2008; Muhr and Sullivan, 2013).

[3] A number of post-structuralist/radical feminist scholars, such as Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, Judith Butler, Sarah Kofman and Hélène Cixous, have been interested in understanding language, its use, power and silence within a discourse.

[4] The heavily manual, dirty and risky character of mining work tends to be emphasised, characterising the male miner as the typical labourer and protecting male interests over those of women workers (see Metcalfe, 1987).

[5] By the time the country was finally opened to foreign miners in the mid-1990s, local villagers residing in Tanzanian mining areas had become dependent on artisanal mining, using shovels and pickaxes to search for gold in small mine shafts and surface pits. Most were forced to abandon their livelihoods when commercial mines began to operate in the country.

[6] http://www.miningwatch.ca/sites/miningwatch.ca/files/Canadian_Cos_in_Africa_2001.pdf.

[7] http://www.barrick.com/responsibility/employees/default.aspx

[8] http://www.barrick.com/responsibility/employees/default.aspx

[9] http://www.barrick.com/CorporateResponsibility/Community/StrengtheningCommunities/default.aspx.
[10] http://www.anglogoldashanti.com/en/Media/Reports/Sustainability%20Reports/Sustainable%20Development%20Report%202014.pdf.
[11] http://www.amref.org/what-we-do/geita-mine-community-health-project-tanzania.