CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the literature reviewed regarding the existence of woman discrimination in the South African mining industry. According to Wilkinson (2004), a literature review reports the research of others while fulfilling the following functions: it provides a background to the new research, provides a peg on which to hang the new research, links the new research to what has preceded it, identifies effective practice, justifies the need to conduct new research, provides a bibliography and it seeks to describe, summarise, interpret, synthesise, evaluate, clarify, extend and integrate others’ research.

The objective of this chapter is to review and report the research done by others on the subject of woman discrimination in the South African mining industry. The chapter firstly looks at definition of discrimination, theories explaining discrimination, types and forms of discrimination. Secondly it looks at the historical background and development of woman discrimination in South Africa and the mining industry. Finally it looks at the current state of woman discrimination in the SA mining industry and how is it managed in the workplace. Understanding the history and reasons behind women discrimination in the South African mining industry is also at the core of this study because knowing how discrimination operates and its history might help us explain the persistence of woman discrimination.

2.2 DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination is defined in the Collins English Dictionary (2003) as unfair treatment of a person, racial group, minority, etc based on prejudice.
In the Businesses dictionary website (www.businessdictionary.com) discrimination is defined as bias or prejudice resulting in denial of opportunity, or unfair treatment regarding selection, promotion, or transfer. Discrimination is practiced commonly on the grounds of age, disability, ethnicity, origin, political belief, race, religion, sex, etc. factors which are irrelevant to a person's competence or suitability.

The South Africa Government Gazette No. 20876 of 9 February 2000 defines discrimination as any act or omission, including a policy, law, rule, practice, condition or situation which directly or indirectly imposes burdens, obligations or disadvantage or withholds benefits, opportunities or advantages from, any person on one or more of the on the grounds of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

The similarities identified in all these definitions are 'unfair treatment of a person or group of people' and it is 'based on 'prejudice'. Having considered all these definitions, discrimination can thus be viewed as direct or indirect unfair treatment, prejudice or bias against an individual or individuals based age, belief, birth, colour, culture, disability, ethnic or social origin, gender, HIVAIDS status, language, marital status, political opinion, pregnancy, race, religion, sex, sexual orientation.

2.3 THEORIES EXPLAINING DISCRIMINATION

The two main theories of discrimination are preference or taste-based discrimination and information-based discrimination. The preference or taste-based discrimination theory by Becker (1957) is of the view that discrimination is related to individual's preferences or taste. Individuals prefer not to interact with those discriminated against and they are unwilling to change their prior beliefs or negative stereotypes. They will not change their discriminatory behaviour even when they are provided with information about the productivity of those suffering from discrimination. Information-based discrimination theory comes from the work of Arrow (1973) and Phelps (1972) and it can be thought of
as "rejecting not tastes but perceptions or reality" (Arrow, 1973). According to this theory discrimination is based on group identity perceptions, such as race, gender or age, as a proxy for unobserved ability. The initial perceptions or beliefs of the discriminators change accordingly, once they are provided with information about the discriminated individuals. This theory relies on the information available to employers.

2.4 TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION

We distinguish between various kinds of discrimination such as fair and unfair, as well as direct and indirect discrimination. According to the Wikipedia website (en.wikipedia.org) fair discrimination can also be referred to as positive discrimination because positive discrimination refers to the discrimination obligation in the presence of just causes. The Employment Equity Act no. 55 of 1998 stipulates that it is not unfair discrimination to promote affirmative action consistent with the Act or to prefer or exclude any person on the basis of an inherent job requirement. The law sets out four grounds on which discrimination is generally allowed:

- Discrimination based on affirmative action;
- Discrimination based on inherent requirements of a particular job;
- Compulsory discrimination by law; and
- Discrimination based on productivity.

Unfair discrimination is also referred to as negative discrimination. Negative discrimination refers to discriminating without just cause (Mollamahmutoglu, 2004). Any employer's policy or practice showing favour, prejudice or bias against employees without just cause and which is not fair can be deemed to be unfair discrimination.

According to the CCMA Info Sheet (2002) unfair discrimination can occur directly or indirectly. Direct discrimination is easily identifiable and involves open and observable differential treatment between employees and job applicants on the basis of arbitrary grounds. Indirect discrimination, on the other hand, is not as easily recognisable as it is a more subtle form of discrimination. It occurs when a situation appears not to be an act
of discrimination, but in actual fact it has a discriminatory impact on a particular individual or group. It involves the application of policies and practices that are apparently neutral and do not explicitly distinguish between employees and job applicants but that, in reality, have a disproportionate and negative effect on certain individuals or groups.

2.4.1 Forms of discrimination

Discrimination can be in various forms. According to the Wikipedia website (en.wikipedia.org) the most common forms of discrimination in the work place are: Ableism or Disablism, Ageism, Colorism, Patriarchy, Sexism, Size discrimination or Sizeism, Sexualism and HIV/AIDS discrimination.

Sexism which is the core of this study is described in the Wikipedia website (en.wikipedia.org) as the belief or attitude that one gender or sex is inferior to, less competent, or less valuable than the other. It has institutional, cultural, interpersonal, and emotional dimensions and can be manifested in every form of behaviour from subtle gestures and language to covert exploitation and undemocratic structures that foster and perpetuate gender inequality (Willie, et al., 1995). It is discrimination on the basis of sex or gender. Sex refers to the physical differences that men and women are born with and which cannot be changed and gender refers to the different roles and identities that we are given depending on whether we are male or female

2.4.2 Forms of women discrimination

Discrimination against women manifests itself in the following forms (Kyser, 2008):

- Being called derogatory names.
- Being subjected of male chauvinist comments or jokes.
- Being closely monitored by the supervisor or line manager compared to fellow male colleagues for no reason and without an explanation.
• Being excluded from important meetings that someone in your position should attend.
• Being given "behind the scenes" assignments that offer little recognition whilst male counterparts are given assignments that bring more recognition.
• Being given harder assignments than your male counterparts. Assignments that you aren't trained for and currently not receiving training on, whilst male employees are being trained and giving them simpler assignments. You may then be punished for your poor performance.
• Being given menial assignments outside your job description, than your male counterparts or being given jobs traditionally thought to be women's work.
• Being treated with less respect than male employees.
• Being made to take tests that aren't required, or having to score higher than men on tests.
• Not being hired or considered for promotions you deserve. Being over looked for promotions.
• Being paid less compared to male counterparts who are in the same position.
• Being subjected to sexual harassment (e.g. fondling, groping, sexual explicit posters)

2.4.3 Stereotyping and women discrimination

Two issues are related to woman discrimination namely, ignorance of the discriminator and the distaste for working with people from different racial, ethnic, social group or gender and prefer to associate with others from their own group, the employer/s and/or worker/s have. The discriminator due to his/her ignorance or prejudice will make unfair assumptions about certain groups of workers, which often stems from false beliefs. Kyser (2008) is of the view that gender and sex discrimination often stems from false beliefs about women in the workplace such as:
• Women can't handle pressure like men can.
• Women can't think as critically as men can.
• Women can't lead others as well as men can.
• Women can't solve problems as well as men can.
Women should not compete and take jobs away from men because men are the breadwinners for the family.

2.5 BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CAUSES OF WOMEN DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Women discrimination in South Africa existed for thousands of years. The roots of women’s discrimination can be found in various factors and some of which are the following:

2.5.1 Culture

In the African culture patriarchy was at the core of family life. Men generally were unquestioned heads of the family, as well as the leaders, authority figures and decision-makers (Mungazi, 1996). Women’s responsibilities within the family and community were maternal. It was mainly around the home, child rearing, cooking, household chores, training and education of children in line with family and community expectations. Men’s natural role was to be household providers, breadwinners and disciplinarians. Because men were heads of theirs households and providers to their wives, women were expected to be submissive to their husbands. The notion of ‘natural roles’ within the family determining a gendered division of labour within and outside the home has been extremely influential, not only in theoretical terms but in the everyday actions of men and women, as both employees and employers (Collinson, Knights & Collinson, 1990).

2.5.2 Religion

South Africa is traditionally a very religious country with high rates of participation in religious life among all racial groups. Religion was and is still is very influential in South Africa. Whatever was endorsed by religion was adhered to by the majority of community members. Religion perpetuated gender inequity, stereotyping and discrimination by
encouraging that women must be subservient because it was a divine plan (Mungazi, 1996). This was done through religious scriptures, literature and norms which urged women to be subservient. Since religion was influential in South Africa, communities believed that women subservience is a right thing because it was endorsed by religion.

2.5.3 Upbringing

From childhood young girls were brought up to believe that they are only suitable to serve as wives and mothers. In some cases girls were often encouraged, or even pressured, into pursuing education in more stereotypical female-oriented professions, like teaching, nursing, care giving, retail, and office administration (Dipboye & Colella, 2005). Gender lines are drawn early, and exclusions for women continue throughout adulthood because social customs passed from generation to generation create gender boundaries which generally limit the ability of women to move, act or develop.

2.5.4 Education

According to Dipboye & Colella (2005) many young girls encounter teachers or counsellors who believe that girls lack the ability to succeed in science or mathematics. Those negative beliefs affect the student’s choices, self-concept, and aspirations. Young women who are told by authority figures that they are not smart enough to master or excel in science and mathematics are less likely to pursue careers in those fields, except for those who are unusually resilient and self-confident. Many young women, including the best and the brightest, have been persuaded that they are inferior.

2.6 HISTORY OF WOMEN DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINING INDUSTRY SINCE 1900

Discrimination existed within the mines in South Africa for many years and was practised in different forms. One of the forms was women discrimination or sexism. This form of discrimination existed as early as when asbestos, diamond and gold deposits
were discovered. Asbestos mining began in the north-western Cape in 1893. Diamond mining began in 1867 when Erasmus and Louisa Jacob discovered the first diamond in South Africa on their father's farm near the Orange River and Hopetown, but the diamond rush only began in earnest in 1868 (Turrell, 1986). Gold deposits were discovered in the latter half of the 19th century. The discovery of these minerals laid the foundations for transformation of South Africa from an essentially agricultural to a modern industrial economy. Mining became the most important industry in colonial South Africa and it remained at the heart of the economy in the 20th century (Malherbe & Segal, 2000). The discovery of these minerals also laid the foundations for discrimination.

Evidence of the existence of women discrimination was in the production model used by the mines during that era. The production model used might be caricatured as the “Indian army” model. At the top were the English commissioned officers, the mining engineers, geologists and mine managers. In the middle were the non-commissioned officers, the artisans, miners and shift bosses. At the bottom were the drillers and labourers (Coplan, 2000). Men worked on gold, diamond and asbestos mines and only a few women worked in asbestos mines. According to McCulloch (2003) initial division of labour between men and women in mines was spontaneous. From the beginning of asbestos mining in the North-West Cape, men dug adits into hillsides and dragged out the ore, women processed or cobbled the fibre. Men alone had experience of underground work, and so in the asbestos and other mine fields it was inevitable for men to work underground and women to do surface work. Economic activities open to women during that period were copping asbestos, sweeping mills, working on farms as domestics in white households, prostitution, brewing and selling beer.

The annual report of 1954 of the Department of Mines and Industries indicates that 274 women were at that stage employed in the South African mining environment. In 1963 almost 594 women were employed in different mineral mines (McCulloch, 2003). The rates of pay for copping were lower than for male jobs, which discouraged men from taking up such work. Men were paid a daily rate of between 1/- to 2/6 with food: the
women, most of who were wives of miners, were paid piece rates. They earned between 12/- and 15/- a month. Unlike the men they received no rations (McCulloch, 2003).

This labour pattern was enshrined in the various Mines Acts from 1911, which specifically forbade women from underground work. Some of the laws that perpetuated women discrimination are the Land Act of 1913 and the Pass Law. The Land Act of 1913 was passed to address the issue of labour shortage. The act encouraged “Native reserves” to be set up and these served as labour pools for the mines. Women were forced to remain in these reserves. This suited employers as they could justify low wages by arguing that women were subsisting in these areas with their families. In 1866 the Pass law was passed in the Transvaal. From 1872 all Africans (Pedi, Sotho and Tsonga from outside the boundaries of the Cape Colony were in a majority) had their freedom restricted by the pass system (Turrell, 1986). This law put restrictions on movement of all blacks, men and women working and living in urban areas.

Women discrimination persisted in the mining industry up until 1994 when the democratically elected government took power. According to McCulloch (2003) after the new post-apartheid constitution was adopted in 1997, all labour restrictions were swept away and new labour legislation and various campaigns were formed to ensure gender equality, to eliminate discrimination, to remove labour restrictions and to ensure all races and sexes have equal and fair access to the labour market. Some of the laws that were enacted are the South Africa Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995, Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997, South Africa Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, Skills Development Act 97 of 1998 and the Broad-Based-Black-Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act 53 of 2003. To achieve the objectives of the Broad-Based-Black-Economic Empowerment Act within the mining industry, the Department of Minerals and Energy (DME) introduced the Broad-Based-Socio-Economic Empowerment (BBSEE) Charter for the Mining Industry and the Balance Score Card. To show commitment to changing the face of the mining industry, to ensure that the laws are implemented, to ensure that the industry transforms from the top and to ensure women empowerment, the South
African government appointed female Ministers. The current minister of Minerals and Energy is Ms Susan Shabangu.

The above-mentioned laws regulate the labour market in all sectors of the South African economy, including the mining sector. To ensure that BBBEE (which includes advancement of women) takes place within the mining industry, the department of Minerals and Energy introduced the BBSEE Charter and the Balance Score Card.

- **BBSEE Charter for the South African Mining Industry**

According to the charter BBSEE refers to a social or economic strategy, plan, principle, approach or act, which is aimed at:

- Redressing the results of past or present discrimination based on race, gender or other disability of historically disadvantaged persons in the minerals and petroleum industry, related industries and in the value chain of such industries; and

- Transforming such industries so as to assist in, provide for, initiate, facilitate or benefit from the:
  - Ownership participation in existing or future mining, prospecting, exploration and beneficiation operations;
  - Participation in or control of management of such operations;
  - Development of management, scientific, engineering or other skills of Historically Disadvantaged South Africans (HDSA);
  - Involvement of or participation in the procurement chains of operations;
  - Integrated Socio-economic development for host communities, major labour sending areas and areas that due to unintended consequences of mining are becoming ghost towns by mobilising all stakeholder resources.

In terms of the Mining Charter all stakeholders undertake to create and enable the environment for the empowerment of HDSA's by subscribing to the to the eight pillars of the Mining Charter which are: Human Resource Development, Employment Equity, Housing and Living Conditions, Mine Community and Rural Development,
Migrant Labour, Procurement, Ownership and Beneficiation. According to the charter to ensuring high levels of inclusion and advancement of women, 10% of the total workforce must be made up of women by 2009.

**The Balance Scorecard**

The Balance Scorecard is a measuring tool. It measures the company progress in implementing requirements of the BBSEEE Mining Charter. The Scorecard gives the company a snapshot view of how its transformation process is progressing as measured against its transformation targets. It does not measure how sustainable or meaningful the transformation efforts have been (Woolley, 2005). The purpose of the Scorecard is to demonstrate compliance with the Mining Charter and is a requirement for the conversion of mining licenses (Woolley, 2005).

To ensure compliance to all the above mentioned laws, mining organisations started changing the culture of their organisations by employing and promoting women in predominantly male dominated positions and putting policies in place to remove the problem of discrimination. We now find women working alongside men in the mines found in South Africa, due to the introduction of these laws.

### 2.7 CURRENT STATE OF WOMEN DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINING INDUSTRY

After a century of mining activity in South Africa, the country remains one of the most geologically blessed regions in the world. It is still one of the world’s largest producers of gold, platinum, manganese, diamonds, chromium, vanadium and coal. Since the post-apartheid constitution was adopted in 1997 people may think that women discrimination in the mining industry doesn’t exist anymore considering the increasing number of women working in the mine. The reality according to the Commission for Employment Equity (CEE) Annual Report 2009/2010 discrimination still exists within this industry. The slow transformation of the industry is testimony to that. This was echoed by the minister of Mineral Resources, who said a detailed assessment of the progress on the
industry's transformation against the mining charter was done by her department and the findings of the assessment is that very little has been achieved since the charter was adopted in 2002. White men and women continue to dominate top management and technical positions in the mining industry and earn much more than their black counterparts, regardless of their skills and experience. She said the gender and racial distribution of the workforce in the sector is hardly reflective of the workforce diversification they had envisaged and this is reflected in the Commission for Employment Equity (CEE) Annual Report 2009/2010. According the CEE report after 10 years of affirmative action being adopted as policy, progress on diversification of management, core-skilled management and core-skilled workers remains minimal (Khuzwayo, 2010).

White male dominance at top management was also confirmed through a sample study of board of directors and executive management of 8 mining companies. The results of the sample analysis are illustrated in Table 1 and 2 and they show that woman representation in the boards and executive management is almost nonexistent. Male dominance at top management is also reflected in the results of the CEE Annual Report 2009/2010 (Annexure A).

Former Deputy President Mlambo-Ngcuka said at the launch of the Progressive Women’s Movement "We still have to fight to be CEOs, to be in boards and executive management. We have to use these positions to change things in private, public and social sectors once we are appointed and not maintain the status quo," (Davis, 2006). Bridgette Radebe who heads coal and platinum firm Mmakau Mining, said at a conference in 2004, women should agitate to move into mining companies' boardrooms or should start their own firms (Onstad, 2006).
Table 1: Board of directors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Fields</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AngloGold Ashanti</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRDGOLD Limited</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implats</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonmin</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exarro</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khumba Iron Ore</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2: Executive management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Fields</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AngloGold Ashanti</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRDGOLD Limited</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonmin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exarro</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khumba Iron Ore</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are numerous and complex reasons for the low representation of women in the mining industry and one of the reasons is the existence of women discrimination. The practice of women discrimination is perpetuated by various factors, some of which are illegitimate social, political, economic, civil and cultural barriers acculturated attitudes, chauvinism and sexism (Macdonald, 2003; Hoadley et al., 2003). These factors breed various forms of discrimination and some of the forms observed commonly in the South African mining industry are the following:
2.7.1 Negative attitudes toward women

Reinoud Boers of the Chamber of Mines believes that negative attitudes towards women in mining are an important constraint to women’s effective integration in the mining industry (Ranchod, 2001). Most of the negative attitudes that exist in this sector are influenced by stereotypical beliefs about women’s roles and abilities. Traditionally the stereotypical belief about gender roles is that men are seen as dominant, independent, competitive, and capable of leadership, interested in business (Geis, 1993). They are seen as being more capable of handling increased responsibility, authority, and autonomy than women (Heilman, 1983). On the other hand women are seen as submissive, dependent, caring, good at domestic tasks and child rearing, less competent than men and unsuited for authority or leadership (Geis, 1993). They cannot handle pressure like men, they can’t think critically like men, they can’t lead others as well as men can, they can’t solve problems like men, they can’t possibly do the work as they are mentally and physically weak, they are promiscuous and will contaminate work processes (Lazcano, 2002; Whittock, 2002).

These stereotypical beliefs influence the beliefs and attitudes held by males in the mining industry. They create a hostile working environment for women. This results in women ending up faced with less than welcoming reception from males. The hardest part of working in the mine industry is not the related tasks, but rather the dealing with and handling of prevailing attitudes of men about women not belonging in the mining industry. Underground managers also pose a further challenge. One black manager at the processing plant refused to have female miners in his team, saying that women react to platinum (Zwane & Ledwaba, 2007). There is a belief that the negative attitudes of some men do change with time, after the women have proved themselves. Once women start working underground, the initial sceptism and resistance of men seems to change into respect, when men realize that women are able to do the same work, as well as the men (Ranchod, 2001).
2.7.2 Harassment

Harassment can be conducted sexually or verbally. Sexual harassment along with verbal harassment, although occurring in every occupation, is more frequent when women enter traditionally male dominated fields (Coburn, 1997; Calitz, 2004). Studies suggest that harassment may extend to threats, demands and even bodily contact (Whittock, 2002). Since the entrance of women in the mining industry, they have endured physical and verbal harassment. Physical harassment is often in the form of fondling or groping and the verbal harassment is in the form of derogatory remarks, male chauvinist comments or male chauvinist jokes (Johnson, 2006).

In the African literature there are somewhat numerous references to sexual harassment of working women (Adeokun, 1981 and Karanje, 1981 for Nigeria; Schuster, 1979 for Lusaka; Obbo, 1980 for Uganda; Dinan, 1983 for Accra). The main themes of these studies were quid pro quo sexual harassment, which is a form of harassment commonly practiced within the mines in South Africa. Quid pro quo harassment occurs when job benefits, including employment, promotion, salary increases, shift or work assignments, performance expectations and other conditions of employment, are made contingent on the provision of sexual favours, usually to an employer, supervisor or agent of the employer who has the authority to make decisions about employment actions, or the rejection of a sexual advance or request for sexual favours results in a tangible employment detriment, a loss of a job benefit of the kind described above (www.stopvaw.org).

2.7.3 Sex segregation

The word sex segregation, which is sometimes called 'occupational segregation by sex' refers to the unequal distribution of men and women in the occupational structure. There are two forms of segregation, namely the vertical segregation and horizontal segregation. 'Vertical Segregation' describes the clustering of men at the top of occupational hierarchies and of women at the bottom and 'Horizontal Segregation'
describes the fact that at the same occupational level (that is within occupational classes or even occupations themselves) men and women have different job tasks (Marshall, 1998). Sex segregation by division occurs when women are assigned to the less prestigious, lucrative, visible, and critical divisions of the organization than their male counterparts (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1986; Mai-Dalton & Sullivan, 1981; Kanter, 1977).

Horizontal sex segregation is found in all occupation levels in the mines, but is more rife underground. Underground mining presents a very unique working environment. Working conditions can sometimes be difficult and hazardous and the work is gruelling (Singer, 2002). Women underground are generally not placed in jobs that are have gruelling work of working conditions are difficult and hazardous. They are mostly given menial assignments than their male counterparts, while they get equal pay and have to undergo the same physical test as men to be offered a job. Generally they only get to clean up, a term used for shovelling ore into bags for processing (Dikane, 2006). They are placed in jobs such as tip attendants, locomotives operators or hoist operators, station assistants who help in pushing material cars in and out of the cages (hoists), while others are involved in the delivery of material and others are onsetters, artisans or working in the workshops to do the cleaning operations there. They are gradually moved to jobs which were usually performed by the semi medically incapacitated employees, such as being tip attendant (Dikane, 2006). The reason why women underground are given menial assignments than their male counterparts is because they are considered unsuitable for most of the jobs performed by their male counterparts. They are considered unsuitable for certain jobs because they are deemed to lack muscular strength, to be less good at supervising and to be inappropriate for jobs where the current staff is male (Anker & Hein, 1986).

Male sex-typing creates a glass ceiling for women and 'window dressing' or tokenism. A glass ceiling (en.wikipedia.org) is an invisible organisational barrier that is associated with gender or sex roles. Davis (2006) describes it as an organisational level beyond which female managers are not promoted even though they are as qualified as their male counterparts. Few women break through the glass ceiling. Women’s progression
climbing the corporate ladder is generally slower than men because for some reason women’s rate of progression is halted somewhere along the way to the top (Hemenway, 1995). Not because they are inferior in anyway. The presence of a glass ceiling creates pay gaps between women and men. Since men climb the corporate ladder quicker than females they started with, they end up earning more than them. In some instance males and females holding the same position are place on the same salary grade or scale, but you will find that the male’s salary is at a higher level within the grade than the female’s salary (Morris, 2005).

Window dressing or Tokenism is when women are promoted to supposedly prominent positions, but have no real business power (Davis, 2006). Window dressing is one of the common forms of women discrimination generally found in some companies in South Africa, including the mining industry. To meet the Employment Equity targets, the Mining Charter targets and to get good BBBEE score rating, companies appoint women (especially black women) in prominent positions, but do not give them the decision-making power that normally comes with the position or job. The high degree of gender-related occupational segregation indicates that the mining industry provides overall a relatively inhospitable climate for women (Graham & Hotchkiss, 2003).

2.7.4 Discrimination against white women vs. discrimination against black women

Another issue of concern seems to be the unequal treatment of white females versus black females. The problem seems to relate to the appointment of women into positions. It appears that mining organisations tend to employ white women in professional and elite positions, while unskilled women in mining are likely to be black (Ranched, 2001). This problem is evident in the figures of the CEE 2009/2010 annual report. The figures show that the number of white women in middle and senior management positions, versus women from other races, is higher. White females who are also members of the designated group compared to women from other race groups; continue to benefit the most from affirmative action measures. It implies that to meet the Employment Equity
targets, mining companies promote or appoint mostly white women at professional and senior level instead of equally promoting women from all races.

2.8 REPORTING OF WOMEN DISCRIMINATION INCIDENTS TO MANAGEMENT

Few cases get reported to management. Mine officials acknowledge that some harassment is never reported (Johnson, 2006). One of the most complex and vexing questions is: Why do women who are in situations or relationships where they are harassed, abused, or humiliated remain silent about their pain and distress and why do they not leave the job or relationship (Willie, et al, 1995; Nixon, 2002; Jack, 1991) identifies three kinds of fears that may lead a woman to silence herself, namely a threat of annihilation or herself and/or her children, a feeling that she is unlovable and thinking that her feeling and perceptions are wrong or that her credibility will be questioned. To silence one’s self can be a way to stay “safe” If a woman feels “unsafe,” figuratively or literally, often she may shut down the capacity for expression in order to protect herself (Jack, 1991). The most common reasons in the mining industry are the fear of annihilation and victimization.

A woman interviewed by Duguid (2003) said they don’t report cases because they think that if they make an official complaint the managers might decide that the mine is no place for women. This fear is promoted by the structure of the workforce which is dominated by males at middle and upper management levels. It implies that chances of reporting the incidence to a female boss or senior are minimal.

Some victims of discrimination or sexual harassment just choose not to report such incidents because sexual harassment is often subtle and therefore difficult to provide evidence of the incidence (Duguid, 2003). Another reason why harassment cases are not reported is because some incidents are not harassment, but repayment of sexual favours. The male and the female have mutual consent that the male does the difficult task for her and she will she will repay through sex (Johnson, 2006).
2.9 CONCLUSION

Chapter 2 reviewed the available literature on woman discrimination, for this study. The most important focus of this chapter was on what is discrimination, what is woman discrimination, the history of woman discrimination in the mines as well as the current state and reporting of woman discrimination in the mines.