

**Understanding faultline activation and
gender discrimination in traditionally
segregated occupations**

by

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Abstract

This diversity study explored faultline activation and hidden power to understand the triggers of gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. This revealed the dimensions of power found in the South African mining context as well as the dynamic nature of gendered conflicts. Despite policy driving inclusion in historically gendered employment, societies are grappling to bring about real inclusion.

Most prior research considering gender was typically conducted by women, using women as the unit of analysis. In addition, such studies often focussed on women in the professions, at board level or women in politics. Due to the mixed findings in prior research, there has been a call for more nuanced studies that would reveal the hidden and complex power dimensions in diversity subgroups. This study explored gender discrimination by exploring men's beliefs as the dominant group or so-called 'in-group'.

Exploring the research topic – understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations – three questions were explored, namely 1) Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context? 2) Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines? 3) How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

Semi-structured in-depth interviews with 30 men from three different mining companies in South Africa produced rich data. This sample was split into subgroups age, race and tenure. The extreme contextual setting of hazardous mining in South Africa was ideal because of its historical context. This society has experienced rapid changes over the past 25 years. Important contributions in the current study revealed the hidden effects of power in this extreme, real-world setting. Power dimensions' influence why and how men discriminate against women, sometimes without realising it. Perpetual gendered conflicts create a simmering tension in mining, which negatively affects performance. Propositions linked to a conceptual framework offer opportunities to explore triggers of gender discrimination stemming from this extreme setting.

This diversity management study extended the use of faultline theory by building a framework of antecedent conditions that incorporates conflicts and effects. Furthermore, the framework provides substantial practice value for the design of diversity management interventions that could lead to greater inclusion. This study also offers substantial societal value, highlighting the ongoing challenges for women entering traditionally segregated occupations.

Key words: diversity management, faultline theory, triggers, gender, segregated occupations

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

CEM	categorisation-elaboration model
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources
DoE	Department of Energy
HR	human resources
ILO	International Labour Organisation
InAp	International Network on Innovative Apprenticeship
NEET	Not in Employment, Education or Training
OCB	organisational citizenship behaviour
SA	South Africa
SACP	South African Communist Party
SLP's	Social and Labour Plans
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
WEF	World Economic Forum

Chapter 1 Background and research problem

1.1 Introduction

Research involving gender discrimination, historically considered taboo, remains an interesting arena in which to explore diversity (Veldman, Meeussen, Van Laar, & Phalet, 2017). Where taboos exist, this becomes an opportunity for studying diversity because they remain blind spots (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, Al Ariss, & Özbilgin, 2012). Globally, the percentage of women entering the engineering trades is increasing along with other traditionally segregated occupations (Gamble, 2012). While at a macro (national) and micro (organisation) level policies promote access to these roles, not enough is being done to ensure inclusive practices engender productive work teams (Caven, Astor, & Diop, 2016; Shore, Cleveland, & Sanchez, 2018).

Examining gender discrimination in the workplace has been done at various levels and in different contexts. While most of these studies have been based in the field of women's gender or feminist studies (Kitch & Fonow, 2012), the current research was located in the diversity management field.

Diversity management researchers grapple with the complexities of studies using gender as a construct, which often produce contradictory findings (Benería, 1999; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). To understand these complexities, diversity studies have developed concepts separating surface and deep-level variables using faultline theory to explain contradictions (Bartunek, Rynes, & Ireland, 2006; Chatman, Sherman, & Doerr, 2015; Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002; Jonsen, Maznevski, & Schneider, 2011; Li & Hambrick, 2005; Van Knippenberg, Van Ginkel, & Homan, 2013).

In keeping with these recent developments, the current study separated the surface-level construct gender (that is, male artisans) with further separation into subgroups age, race and tenure (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998). In the interests of broadening diversity studies to speed up learning, Jackson, Joshi, and Erhardt (2003, p. 808) propose researchers incorporate "more than two dimensions". These dimensions with their subgroups are hypothetical dividing lines referred to in literature as 'faultlines' (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). This work saw the emergence of faultline theory (see 2.4). To explore the deep-level constructs, this study delved into artisan men's beliefs and attitudes, exposing the triggers of gender discrimination (that is, faultline activation) as well as how subtle and

explicit bias occurs (that is, behavioural disintegration), which in turn affects performance (Li & Hambrick, 2005).

Most prior studies involving gender have been conducted by women researchers (Benya, 2017; Martin, 2001; Martin, 1996; Smith, 2008; Smith, 2013; Yount, 1991). Typically, these studies favour women populations (so-called 'out-groups' [see Veldman, Meeussen, Van Laar, & Phalet, 2017, p. 9]) where the level of analysis has been that of company boards, politics and leadership roles. There has been a call to "focus on in-group populations" to establish their perspective to growing team heterogeneity (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 2011, p. 575).

After providing a thorough account of gender studies spanning the past five to six decades, Joshi, Neely, Emrich, Griffiths, and George (2015) encourage research favouring diverse contexts, and using an interdisciplinary lens. They further encourage gender researchers to strive for rigour to explore the varied complexities associated with the broad gender construct. To broaden the gender construct, dominant in-group populations can reveal valuable insights (Mannix & Neale, 2005).

Studying in-group populations holds the potential to explain stereotypical beliefs and social categorisation to reveal deeper understanding of these dominant sub-groups (Mannix & Neale, 2005). Out-group women participants have been studied extensively (Benya, 2017; Martin, 2001; Martin, 1996; Smith, 2008; Smith, 2013; Yount, 1991), producing detailed accounts of their lived experiences. To learn why women experience discrimination, more needs to be done to understand the triggers of gendered conflicts. For the current study, these different outcomes related to a fuller understanding of in-group contexts, antecedent conditions leading to gender conflicts, and how activated faultlines lead to gender discrimination.

Diversity studies have answered the call for more models to test broad-ranging conceptions empirically (Van Knippenberg & Mell, 2016). This has led to increased complexity as researchers obtain curvilinear results associated with mixed findings, particularly related to performance (Chen, Wang, Zhou, Chen, & Wu, 2017). This has spurred a call for more nuanced studies in real-world settings (Jonsen et al., 2011). The value of using real-world settings when using key dimensions of gender, age, race and tenure is key, especially as laboratory settings often produce positive different findings (Liebermann, Wegge, Jungmann, & Schmidt, 2013).

By exploring the triggers of faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations, the current study attempted to expose at meso level of analysis the triggers of gender discrimination (see section 2.6). Data obtained from the harsh and hazardous mining sector in South Africa helped to understand faultline activation and hidden power (see section 2.5) producing key propositions and frameworks for further studies. 'Hazardous mining' is the common term used for the underground mining operations in South Africa. For the balance of this thesis, hazardous mining will be referred to simply as 'mining'.

In the current study, this topic holds importance related not only to the theoretical contribution to faultline theory, but also to understanding how to manage the phenomenon of increasing numbers of women entering traditionally segregated occupations globally. By exploring male artisans' experiences of women entering the engineering trades, the triggers of gender discrimination provided a unique vantage for future research. Traditionally segregated occupations provide the ideal setting to explore gender discrimination (Stockdale & Nadler, 2012). Besides this setting, in the current study, the context of women working in the engineering trades of mining provided an ideal traditionally segregated occupational level of analysis.

Faultline theory holds the potential to help understand the antecedent conditions that lead to gender discrimination (Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1997; Seong, Kristof-Brown, Park, Hong, & Shin, 2015). With faultlines exposed, the triggers leading to behavioural disintegration can further research, and improve practices to build teams that are more inclusive. This cannot be achieved without a deep understanding of the dimensions of power hidden in context (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014). Together, the dimensions of power found in context along with faultline triggers provided a solid basis for understanding gender discrimination.

For diversity studies to be well grounded, the context in which studies are set have to be rigorously explained, as well as incorporated into the findings (Ahonen, Tienari, Meriläinen, & Pullen, 2014; Farndale, Biron, Briscoe, & Raghuram, 2015; Tatli et al., 2012). External and internal contextual variables and hidden influences (for example., power or ethics) influence diversity management (Pringle & Ryan, 2015; Shore et al., 2009). What is often hidden and what we do not know is found within context, which creates the potential for tension to exist between the micro and meso levels in an organisational context (Pringle & Ryan, 2015). The current research has honoured this

call with deep levels of contextual analysis and integration by incorporating context as a sub-question.

Context and power of are inextricably “intertwined processes” requiring care in unravelling the deeper effects of these constructs within studies (Ahonen et al., 2014, p. 15). Understanding power in particular is critical especially as power influences the subjection of human beings by those in possession of certain attributes including knowledge (Foucault, 1982). The works of Foucault (1982); Ahonen et al, (2014) re-established the importance of seeing a power “set of modalities, rationalities and relations of influence and effect that have their own specific histories, possibilities, and limitations” (p. 7). Making sense of diversity’s complexities, means the hidden dimensions of power have to be made visible (Ahonen et al., 2014; Fleming & Spicer, 2014).

The mere presence of women within an organisational structure does not mean an organisation is gender neutral (Acker, 1990). Instead, the historical domination of men in organisations has perpetuated the subjection of women because men retain power (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998). This notion was reinforced by Acker’s (1990) conceptualisation of the gendered organisation and the ideal worker, which sustain male hegemony and patriarchy.

Critical of prior research incorporating sex difference, Ely & Padavic, (2007, p. 1121), raised concerns at how sociocultural contexts were excluded. For example, they said gender identity was treated as a process within organisational contexts as opposed to the organisations being seen as the primary context. Ely and Padavic (2007) also brought the socially constructed gender concept into focus, highlighting how sex difference and gender were often meshed as one construct. From their review of prior research Ely and Padavic (2007) extracted common gender systemic constructs including how masculinity and femininity relate to gendered occupations. How gender identity is closely linked to sex difference, and how power, because of historical advantages, remained vested with men. Power dominance was found to be retained by men because of men’s greater representation in jobs, cultural and social practices, plus conceptions of masculinity and femininity, which counted against women.

Masculinity as a construct required greater attention as it was used broadly in many early studies ignoring the hidden complexities linked to power and context (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Collinson and Hearn (1996) outlined five pervasive masculinities as examples

including; authoritarianism; paternalism; entrepreneurialism; informalism and careerism. Authoritarianism referred to positional power and command and control behaviours. Paternalism highlighted the need to protect employees while emphasising company policy and rules where absolute conformance is required. Entrepreneurialism highlights strength by emphasising performance, competition and the achievement of targets. Informalism suggests men associate with other in-group members, (for example, golf club members) with whom they want to be symbolically linked to. This is done to emphasise their distance from family responsibilities and control over their personal lives. Finally, careerism is synonymous with competition, promotion and commitment to work where men demonstrate their masculinity by providing for their families.

In a later study, Hearn (2004) dissected the male hegemony construct highlighting the importance of this being done responsibly. Hearn (2004, p. 63) offered several guiding questions to ensure studies including men have utility. These included; “providing a way of showing and deconstructing the complexities of men’s power, of undermining men’s authority, of ending violence, and so on – or are they offering an easy means for men to intervene in gender politics and gender research, with little responsibility, little need for change, and even more space for exercising power and authority? How do they subvert patriarchy and how do they obscure or even reinforce patriarchy? Do they benefit women? And if so, which women?”

This study goes to great lengths in include power found in context because of the complexities of diversity. In addition, the explanatory power of detailed contextual analysis is key in exposing faultline activation (Thatcher & Patel, 2012). Thatcher and Patel (2012) also pointed to the numerous challenges in quantitatively trying to measure faultlines, their distance and activation between subgroups. They also pointed to the need a more in-depth understanding of the triggers of faultlines within different contexts.

The current study was supported by the relational model developed by Syed and Özbilgin (2009, p. 2446) to explore the structured contextual dimensions critical to broadening the understanding of context (Figure 1.1). This contextual analysis expands what we know relative to external context (macro), organisational (micro) and individual levels of analysis (meso). Figure 1.1 highlights the potential for hidden effects built into the model with potential to direct future research (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). Typically, these effects trigger how organisations (micro) respond to external (macro) context culminating in internal policies and practices. This is reflected by the overlapping micro and meso

contexts representing policy, practice and culture. The organisation as a whole – including management (micro) groups and individuals (meso) – plays out the positive, negative and sometimes mixed research findings on gender. This prompted the need for further investigation to understand the complexities of diversity management, particularly at micro and meso level of analysis (Jackson et al., 2003; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011; Raiden, 2016; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

This thesis incorporates context from prior literature as well as embedding the role of context from participant contributions. These perspectives reveal how power plays out, affecting gender discrimination as a result of activated faultlines.

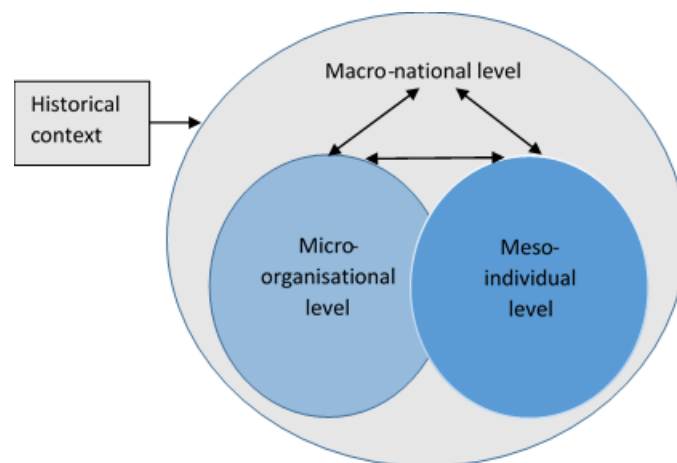


Figure 1.1: A relational perspective of diversity management

Source: Syed and Özbilgin (2009, p. 2446)

Figure 1.1 is used in the remainder of this chapter to explain the contextual realities for this study. Critically, this provides the grounding that positions history, macro, micro, and meso influences against the purpose and objectives of the study.

1.2 Background

This background highlights the role of context at a macro, micro and meso level. This context is explained in relation to women entering traditionally segregated occupations. The interpretations bring into sharp focus the utility of this study, including its objectives.

1.2.1 Historical context

South Africa's national culture, commonly referred to as 'the rainbow nation' because of its diversity, reflects 11 official languages. Demographic categories are broad racial,

language, cultural and religious backgrounds. Race is broken into observable categories of black, Indian, coloured, and white people along the former Apartheid racial demarcations. This is how the broader population still commonly sees these categories (Wood & Martin, 2008).

The separatist laws of the Apartheid era, enforcing racial segregation, also placed women at a disadvantage within the SA economy. Despite these policies having been abolished for more than 20 years, women, and in particular black women, remain disadvantaged because of the resultant poverty (Kornegay, 2000; Benya, 2017a). Racism was historically interlinked with patriarchy during Apartheid compounding the struggles for women who needed to organise themselves to counter the power found within the South African context (Meintjes, 1996).

Compounding this issue was the structured division of labour with white men enjoying the best education and the best-paid work. It was not until the late 1960s that black men started gaining access to semi-skilled occupations as a result of massive economic growth (Crankshaw, 1997). Prior to 1979, white trade unions controlled access to the skilled trades ensuring they were reserved for white men (Shen, Chanda, D'Netto, & Monga, 2009).

To redress these exclusionary legacies in the post-Apartheid (1994) era, a framework of employment legislation was established to ensure previously marginalised groups gain greater access to the economy. The Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998 (Employment Equity Act, 1998) aimed to bring about greater inclusion in the workplace, while the Skills Development Act No. 97 of 1998 (Skills Development Act, 1998) introduced the deliberate promotion of skills. Coupled with these Acts, the establishment of a gender commission (the Gender Commission of South Africa) monitors the progress in the country regarding promotion of gender inclusion in previously segregated occupations. Since 1994, South Africa has seen radical shifts in power from white male domination dispersed to black men and to a lesser extent white and black women (Booyesen, 2007).

Since the introduction of this legislation, large numbers of black men and increasing numbers of black women artisans have been entering workplaces. To illustrate the point, by quoting the Breakwater Monitor report of 1995 (see Motshabi, 1994), Horwitz, Bowmaker-Falconer, and Searll (1996, p. 135) reported white males in apprenticeships at 60.94%, black males at 30.91%, with coloureds and Asians at 5.82% and 2.33%

respectively. Since then, workforce transformation has seen changing demographic representation of gender and race in technically skilled occupations. Table 1.1 reflects these changing demographics (National Planning Commission, 2019).

Table 1.1: Workforce transformation: 2001–2017

Level	Year	White	African	Coloured	Indian	Male	Female
Technically skilled	2001	18%	58%	18%	6%	60%	40%
	2017	20%	62%	11%	6%	53%	47%

Source: National Planning Commission (2019)

Table 1.1 shows the increase in women as technically skilled from 40% in 2001 to 47% in 2017. Despite the high participation of women in these training opportunities (Janse van Rensburg, Visser, Wildschut, Roodt, & Kruss, 2012), there is little research documenting their experiences once qualified in their respective trade occupations.

Broad racial demographics of those entering apprenticeships have shifted too. In 2013, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges reported that the majority of students (more than 553 000) were African, while relatively smaller numbers were coloured (about 42 000), White (over 13 000), and Indian (about 4000). There were 327 091 females and 312 527 males (Department of Education [DoE], 2015, p. 28). These statistics are testament to the broad changes in demography with these traditionally segregated jobs.

Historically, the mining sector in particular has experienced widespread race and gender discrimination (Humby, 2014, p. 654). This has resulted in transformation within the mining sector becoming highly politicised (McKay, 2016, p. 14). Therefore, the historical context where black men and women were excluded from artisanal qualifications during Apartheid, makes South Africa an interesting country to explore diversity (Jonsen et al., 2011, p. 47). This is especially relevant because of the rapid changes within South African society since Apartheid was abolished (Wildschut, Meyer, & Akoojee, 2015).

Statistics shared by the Department of Mineral Resources of South Africa indicate a gradual growth in numbers of women in gold and platinum mining (Breytenbach, 2017). From a total complement of 226 760 full-time employees in 2016 within these sectors, 199 370 (88%) were male, while 27 390 (12%) were female. Comparing this to 2010 statistics there were 259 001 full-time employees where 237 690 (92%) were male, while

21 311 (8%) were female. Although most women worked above ground in administration or menial jobs, many of the additional female staff are now employed in more senior management positions, mining operations, and technical roles (Breytenbach, 2017).

1.2.2 Macro context – national level

The global youth unemployment phenomenon is commonly referred to as NEET (Not in Education, Employment, or Training) (Eichhorst, Rodríguez-Planas, Schmidl, & Zimmermann, 2015). The International Network on Innovative Apprenticeship (InAp) conference of 2013 (Gonon, & Smith, 2013), hosted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), explored NEET with follow-up studies examining the phenomenon in different contexts (Eichhorst, Rodríguez-Planas, Schmidl, & Zimmermann, 2015; Tamesberger, Leitgöb, & Bacher, 2014). NEET is particularly severe in South Africa with the majority of the population below the age of 25 and overall unemployment at 29% (Stats South Africa, 2019). There is a need to address post-secondary school skills development to facilitate job creation (Field, Musset, & Álvarez-Galván, 2014, p. 7).

Rospabé (2001) conducted research in South Africa to understand women's access to employment, participation, and wage disparities linked to race. Studies such as this one, coupled with global studies by the ILO, influence South African (SA) policy (Hansen, 2006, p. 91). Policy has been implemented at national and industry level to redress gender discrimination coupled with the introduction of racially reflective demographic representation in the trades (Gewer, 2010; Gonon & Smith, 2013; Janse van Rensburg, Visser, Wildschut, Roodt, & Kruss, 2012; Nzimande, 2012).

In countries around the world – including South Africa – diversity and its management remain a key issue where further research is required (George, Corbishley, Khayesi, Haas, & Tihanyi, 2016). This is re-iterated in the conference paper titled “The future of jobs employment, skills and workforce strategy for the fourth industrial revolution” presented to the World Economic Forum (WEF) (Higgins, 2016). Over 50% of leading global employers surveyed (N=371) confirmed equality to be a fundamental strategy for their future recruitment plans.

Against the backdrop highlighting the demand for artisan skills coupled with the pressing global problem relating to NEET, South Africa is struggling to develop female artisans in the mining sector with occupational stereotypes relating to gender being entrenched (Gamble, 2012). Horwitz (2013, p. 2435) highlighted the paradox relating to the oversupply of unskilled labour versus the skills required for economic growth in South

Africa. This finding was affirmed by Kraak (2013, p. 80) coupling youth unemployment of around 40% with poor post-secondary school education. Some estimates based on historical definitions of NEET placed youth unemployment as high as 63% encompassing more than 3 200 000 individuals (Oosthuizen & Cassim, 2014). Official statistics indicate current youth unemployment is 40.3% for people aged 15–35 (Stats South Africa, 2019).

Additional studies, more directly related to gender, highlight the need for additional research specifically targeting this primary construct. This lays the foundation for women's access to traditionally gender-segregated occupations. Grün (2004, p. 324) calls for wage allocation and hiring practices in labour market discrimination between male and female workers in South Africa to be examined. Needham and Papier (2011, p. 12) found limited studies covering post-secondary schooling as it relates to gender in South Africa.

In trying to establish, “which social groups, in terms of race, gender, or class, are more likely to obtain qualifications and access work opportunities”, Kruss and Wildschut (2015, p. 2) call for a more complex analysis to understand “gendered patterns of individual participation and progression” in terms of inequality of the apprenticeship pathway in South Africa. This was also raised in an earlier report prepared by Kruss et al. (2012, p. 27). It is widely accepted that by bringing women into traditionally segregated occupations the current skills gap will close (Christian, Evers, & Barrientos, 2013).

South Africa continues to experience a paradox where there is a shortage of skills yet an oversupply of labour (Horwitz, 2013, p. 2435). This is exacerbated by a schooling system that fails to develop youth for the job market and the historical exclusion of women from certain occupations, which served to narrow the availability of talent.

Global studies appear to point to gender as being a major determinant to “professional insertion” often because of the perceived cost by employers of taking on women (Santos, 2015, p. 125). Arguing in favour of apprenticeships being encouraged for women, Hogarth, Gambin, and Hasluck (2011, p. 53) claim this would bring about greater equality coupled with eroding gender stereotyping. An additional English study into retention and competence in an accelerated learning programme calls for “research into gender group differences to reduce inequality, improve female enrolment, and female completion rates” (Adams, 2013, p. 62). Campbell, McKay, Ross, and Thomson (2013) share the Scottish challenges with gender segregation in traditionally male occupations of promoting the rationale to include women in trade-related jobs. They argue that the

eradication of occupational segregation would lead to a contribution of 15 to 23 billion pounds to the United Kingdom (UK) economy.

In summary, South Africa enjoys a diverse population, which is comprised of many languages and culturally divergent groups. In trying to combat NEET, the SA government is driving policy for gender inclusion in previously segregated work environments (Department of Labour, 2018). Industry in general is heeding the call for increased access of women in these occupations in spite of the difficulties associated with this challenge (English & Hay, 2015; Minerals Council South Africa, 2018). The rationale for this inclusion should lead to a broadening of the talent pool as well as enabling women to participate meaningfully in the SA economy.

I remain unaware of how effectively this transition to include women is being managed at micro or meso level. In addition, I do not understand the full reality of how men employed as artisans in the mining sector perceive the increasing numbers of women entering these occupations at a micro level. Traditional diversity management studies delved into surface-level diversity (for example, race, gender, ethnicity and other observable primary attributes), whereas current research tends to examine deep-level constructs, such as values, beliefs and attitudes (Harrison et al., 1998). These deep-level constructs are typically explored at micro and meso level. The current study explored gender diversity at a meso level.

Other studies examining female inclusion in traditionally segregated environments have mainly explored women's experiences working in these environments (English & Hay, 2015; Powell & Sang, 2015; Smith, 2013a, 2013b; Taylor, Hamm, & Raykov, 2015; Wildschut & Meyer, 2016). These studies – typically exploring men's attitudes toward women in traditionally segregated work environments – obtained data from women (Brown, 2004; Taylor et al., 2015). Understanding men's perspectives will produce an improved understanding of how faultlines are activated, which result in gender discrimination. The faultlines existing between male artisans based on their age, prior socialisation and experience will reveal a deeper understanding that could mitigate future mixed findings.

The traditionally segregated work environment encompassing engineering trades is well suited to exploring this diversity management faultline, particularly in the SA mining sector. Besides extending the use of faultline theory, the practice and societal value of

exploring the phenomenon of increasing numbers of women entering artisanal occupations are unquestionable.

1.2.3 Micro context – industry and organisational levels

In their research looking into cross-cultural comparisons, Morris, Davis, and Allen (1994, p. 85) argue the need for a greater focus on cultural dimensions at a societal and organisational level. Shore et al. (2009, p. 128) asked for more research examining “downward and upward effects” and “between employees and units”. Pringle and Ryan (2015, p. 479) consequently suggest the requirement for “more complex” analysis around the influences of power between the micro and meso levels of analysis. Furthering the recommendations of Harrison et al. (1998), researchers have been searching for those hidden dimensions within diversity to understand their impact. It is at this micro level where organisations interpret and implement government policy within the cultural complexities of the organisation. These complexities are typically challenging in a country such as South Africa where there have been rapid changes at all levels of society since Apartheid was abolished.

SA business in general has observed the call for transformation ensuring the inclusion of previously disadvantaged groups (for example, black men, women, people with disabilities). Despite the change in demographics in many traditionally segregated occupations, I do not understand the discriminatory attitudes or triggers for behaviours of men in general. This leads us to the questions:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

There are undoubtedly intergroup tensions within the SA mining sector requiring further research (Van der Walt, Thasi, Jonck, & Chipunza, 2016). Hidden context at micro and meso level harbours important power dimensions. At macro level, policy is designed to drive social justice. At micro and meso levels, there are hidden dimensions of power. Where diversity is managed, understanding these power dimensions is key to effective diversity management (Ahonen et al., 2014, p. 5).

1.2.4 Meso context – individual and group level

South Africa, like most other countries including developed nations, remains challenged to introduce women successfully into traditionally segregated occupations (Ahonen et

al., 2014; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Pringle & Ryan, 2015; Santos, 2015). Powell and Sang (2015), using Bourdieu's theory relating to field of practice (Bourdieu, 1977), highlight the difficulties women experience entering the fields of engineering and construction in particular. They point to the prevalence of "everyday genderism and gender inequality in male-dominated professions" experienced with peers (Powell & Sang, 2015, p. 919). Other studies point to the vast majority of discrimination being most prevalent between peers (Doro & De Graaf-Smith, 2013; Raiden, 2016; Smith, 2013a). As highlighted earlier in this thesis, this is where hidden context requires increased research focus and where this research aimed to make a contribution by examining peer-to-peer discrimination.

English and Le Jeune (2012) conducted a study in the SA construction industry, specifically at the employment barriers for women in professional and trade occupations. They found a positive legislative environment encouraging the inclusion of women promoting their participation in construction. Highlighting a number of barriers that still exist, the major issue supported by literature remained a male-gendered culture in construction (English & Le Jeune, 2012, p. 150). To understand this culture fully, more research needs to be done to explore the inherent belief structures of males working in these environments (Powell & Sang, 2015, p. 920).

Within the SA context and abroad, there are limited diversity management studies focussing on meso levels. Diversity management needs to be explored at this level, especially in an environment such as mining where there has been widespread job segregation. Further, there are no studies conducted at this level to examine the phenomenon from a male perspective to understand the nature of discriminatory attitudes from a divergent male (that is, age, race and tenure) perspective in the SA mining environment fully. Ongoing discrimination against women in traditionally segregated work environments results in low morale, which could lead to premature career changes (Hur & Strickland, 2015; Martin, 2006; Skulmoski, 2015; Smith, 2013b). This reduces the skills available to an economy coupled with lower return on investment, which is particularly high in the case of engineering artisans (Ali, 2016; Netto, Shen, Chelliah, & Monga, 2014; Reskin, 1993). The current research addressed these issues at a peer-to-peer level using a conceptual model (Figure 1.2) to explore gender discrimination against female engineering artisans. This model formed the basis for this faultline study.

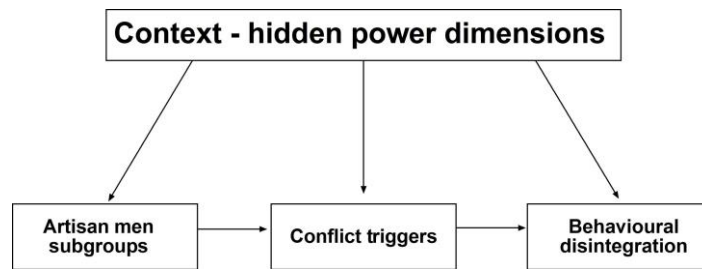


Figure 1.2: Conceptual study overview

Source: Author's own compilation

Men – as the unit of analysis – were chosen because most prior studies have focussed on women as the unit of analysis. Peer-to-peer discriminatory behaviour is rife in SA mining (Benya, 2009; Grün, 2004; Wildschut, 2016). The engineering trades have been chosen because they are traditionally highly gender-oriented occupations (Borghans, Weel, & Weinberg, 2014; Gouverneur, 2013; Grün, 2004; Humby, 2014; Powell & Sang, 2015; Rospabé, 2001). The gold and platinum mining sector in South Africa has been selected because, as in many other countries, it excludes female employment underground (Benya, 2009; Gouverneur, 2013; Laplonge, 2016; Rolston, 2014; Savage, 2000; Smith, 2008; Wildschut, 2016; Wildschut & Meyer, 2016; Yount, 1991). Understanding the gender influences against the historical backdrop and current macro and micro level, explanations were key to framing this study.

Broad underlying questions were developed to address the topic; understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

This contextual analysis reconfirmed the importance of producing rigorous diversity management research and grounds studies done in this area especially using qualitative methods (Ahonen et al., 2014; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Pettigrew, 2013; Pringle & Ryan, 2015).

1.3 Problem statement

There are a growing number of black male and female artisans entering the mining sector in South Africa (Minerals Council South Africa, 2018). Despite this trend, there has been

very little research to establish the consequences of employers implementing strategies to introduce black women into traditionally segregated occupations. This phenomenon provided the ideal context to explore diversity, especially as it relates to female inclusion in the mining sector of South Africa. With the country's turbulent past characterised by Apartheid, understanding men's attitudes toward black women entering previously segregated occupations is not only interesting but also essential. Guided by diversity management literature, faultline theory will help expose the gendered attitudes between diverse men, using age, race and tenure to explore difference (Mäs, Flache, Takács, & Jehn, 2013; Van Dijk, Meyer, Van Engen, & Loyn, 2017). This understanding complements prior research that has mainly focussed on women as the unit of analysis. Lifting the curtain on male attitudes and beliefs will help to understand the faultlines between male subgroups, as well as how they respond to women within this context.

Understanding faultline activation, antecedent conditions for conflict, with the resultant behavioural disintegration will provide valuable research findings. These findings will support future diversity studies, including faultline theory where its key propositions could be tested.

Numerous researchers – emanating mainly from the developed countries – studied the entry of women into traditionally segregated occupations (Jonsen et al., 2011; Shen et al., 2009). Many of these studies have been criticised for exhibiting a bias toward studying white women's experiences limiting the relevance for global utility (Reskin, 1993). The current study provided the unique vantage of a developing economy context coupled with the unique historical background of South Africa associated with Apartheid. With the origins of diversity management centred on equity in the workplace (Dwertmann, Nishii, & Van Knippenberg, 2016), the current study provided a task level and unit of analysis not commonly researched, namely engineering artisans who are male participants.

Syed and Özbilgin (2009, p. 2436) argue for "multilevel structural and institutional support" to ensure the equitable participation of all employees as a measure for effective diversity management. In the same article, they raise issues relating to the pure capitalist orientation of many diversity management studies often ignoring the relational aspects of diversity management. The current study intended to delve fully into the relational tensions that exist within traditionally segregated employment.

Considering the above observations, there are many unanswered questions relating to the rapid change in workplace demographics in South Africa and abroad. South Africa remains an interesting context to explore diversity because of the rapid changes since the abolition of Apartheid. This has prompted a research call from the scholarly community (George et al., 2016).

1.4 Purpose statement

The purpose of the current study was to extend the use of faultline theory to explore gender discrimination in traditionally segregated work environments. Conducting this study in South Africa mining was ideal because this environment was traditionally extremely conservative. Mining is a harsh environment and typically not seen as ideal for women (Benya, 2009; Gouverneur, 2013; Humby, 2014; Rolston, 2014). This extreme setting has the potential to explain faultline activation within a task-driven context. Despite extreme challenges, SA mining has seen increasing numbers of women employed in this industry sector (Minerals Council South Africa, 2018). This has been driven by legislation, with widespread poverty encouraging women to enter the mining industry.

For practice, this study could potentially influence the design of diversity management programmes as well as policies to redress gender discrimination. By exposing opportunities for development, the retention of skilled female workers can be improved. Besides the obvious economic benefits of retaining skilled employees, this research could encourage deeper societal engagement.

To explore the phenomenon of women entering the engineering trades in mining, data was collected using in-depth interviews with male artisans. This provided a unique vantage point to understand gender differences as most studies in the past used women as the unit of analysis. In addition, most faultline studies in the past attempted to use quantitative methods to measure faultlines. These analyses were complex and contradictory, typically weakened by not incorporating diverse contextual dimensions (Ahonen et al., 2014; Bell, Villado, Lukasik, Belau, & Briggs, 2011).

This research contribution will potentially provide opportunities to examine further influences on “organisational, work group, and individual learning” as well as “family/community and societal” outcomes (Shore et al., 2009, p. 128).

1.5 Research objectives/questions

The primary research objective was to understand faultline activation, hidden power and gender discrimination from a male-dominant in-group perspective. Understanding this relational view of male-gendered difference exposed the boundaries of faultline activation and hidden power in an extreme setting. This might help build key propositions for future research. Faultlines are typically exposed against surface-level demographic (that is, observable difference) and deep-level attitudinal or unobservable constructs. Traditionally, these faultline measures attempt to explain process, relationships, and task conflicts resulting in behavioural disintegration within and between subgroups (Chen et al., 2017; Dwertmann et al., 2016; Thatcher & Patel, 2012).

Figure 1.2 illustrates the conceptual model that was used to explore male participants' responses. These faultlines did not establish the factional faultline sizes quantitatively. Instead, the male subgroups' (for example, age, race, tenure) lived experiences were explored against the hidden dimensions of power. This revealed the triggers of conflict that result in behavioural disintegration. 'Tenure' refers to number of years in mining as opposed to specific knowledge or abilities. It therefore reflects mining experience and not trade-related occupational experience.

The three key questions linked to the topic; Understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations, aimed to understand faultline activation within a context with hidden power and strong gender discrimination:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

These questions have been informed by literature, and are expanded upon in Chapter 2.

1.6 Definition of key terms

This section highlights key terms or concepts that relate to the study and this thesis. These concepts underline the theoretical relevance of faultline theory, where women are entering mining in traditionally segregated occupations.

1.6.1 Faultlines

Diversity management in general is associated with understanding differences linked to a deeper, more objective view of how these differences shape the myriad of research agendas (Bartunek et al., 2006; Zhou & Shi, 2011). Faultline theory within diversity management is used to explain the sources of conflict resulting in behavioural disintegration (Li & Hambrick, 2005). This conflict holds the potential to affect performance negatively. Faultlines have been defined as “hypothetical dividing lines that may split a group into subgroups based on one or more attributes” (Lau & Murnighan, 1998, p. 328). Lau and Murnighan go on to explain the disruptive effects of faultlines seen as “social categorisations” resulting in “impaired communication, coordination, and cohesion” (pp. 328–329).

Faultline theory can also help explain complexities and contradictions from one context to the next (Pringle & Ryan, 2015). For example, faultline strength can depend on a number of group attributes, with perceived differences prompted by contextual experience creating distance between subgroups (Zanutto, Bezrukova, & Jehn, 2011). Where this distance exists in the presence of conflict, the potential for behavioural disintegration exists. This breakdown in behaviour has a negative influence on individual work group and intergroup outcomes (Li & Hambrick, 2005).

An example of this faultline activation with resultant effects can be found in Pearsall, Ellis, and Evans (2008), who used faultline theory to examine the effects of gender faultlines on team creativity. They found where gender faultlines were activated, team creativity was negatively affected. The activation of these faultlines was achieved by emphasising differences within the team linked to task or context. By activating gender faultlines, they found negative consequences of conflict reduced creativity.

1.6.2 Subgroups

Where faultlines are hypothetical dividing lines splitting groups along similar member characteristics (Lau & Murnighan, 1998), groups can splinter into subgroups based on identity (for example, cliques, values, relational ties or social status), resources (for example, coalitions, factions, alliances or blocs), or knowledge (for example, cohorts, informational subgroups clusters or task-related subgroups) (Carton & Cummings, 2012, p. 444). Subgroups introduce some complexity to diversity research. This is further muddied by varying contexts in which subgroups exist (Carton & Cummings, 2012; Meyer, Glenz, Antino, & Rico, 2014).

Another important distinction for groups relate to in-groups and out-groups (Guillaume, Dawson, Otaye-Ebede, Woods, & West, 2017; Mannix & Neale, 2005). While in-groups represent the dominant historical culture with established practices, out-groups are typically minority groups introduced into changing work contexts. Typically, these broad groups can resort to stereotyping or social categorisation to maintain status and ego (Li & Hambrick, 2005; Turner, 1975; Zanutto et al., 2011).

1.6.3 Surface and deep-level diversity

Surface-level attributes are observable differences comprising characteristics such as race, disability, gender or age. Deep-level attributes are unobservable with examples including culture, values, religion and personality (Harrison et al., 2002). While surface-level variables are easy to measure, deep-level constructs sometimes require more nuanced approaches to operationalise. When exploring gender bias, these deep-level constructs are often hidden, and they play out in subtle ways that are not easily observed (Harrison et al., 2002; Jonsen et al., 2011; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012).

The surface-level attributes of age, race and tenure have been chosen based on prior studies that have used them to explore gender difference. For example, older workers are typically associated with negative stereotypes as being “less productive, flexible, creative, and harder to train, more rigid and resistant to change, and less comfortable with technology” (Kulik, Perry, & Bourhis, 2000; Ringenbach & Jacobs, 1994; Rosen & Jerdee, 1976; Shore et al., 2009). Using mixed methods, English and Hay (2014) found younger men and women in the construction industry held less discriminatory views.

1.6.4 Age diversity

Age in the mining sector of South Africa could be viewed as a double-edged sword (Chrobot-Mason & Aramovich, 2013). On the one hand, older workers have enormous mining experience, while on the other hand, there could be resistance to change. With South Africa’s legacy of racial and gender discrimination in mining, which attitudes do older men hold towards women in mining? Age as an attribute triggering gender discrimination is important when researched in different contexts. Findings were expected to differ from one cultural context to the next. This is an important construct for future studies (Shore et al., 2009, p. 121).

1.6.6 Racial diversity

This study describes race as black or white. Understanding the differences in men's attitudes towards women working in the mining sector provided a key research contribution. In exploring these faultlines, these differences exposed hidden group attitudes as well as the "hidden influences of power" (Pringle & Ryan, 2015, p. 479). Depending on the cultural orientation, groups may be more or less dominant, which influences behavioural and performance outcomes (Chatman, Sherman, & Doerr, 2015, p. 5). While recognising that cultures are not static or unchanging, we can still use certain "markers to predict outcomes" (Bandura, 2000, p. 77).

1.6.7 Tenure diversity

I remain unsure of how tenure affects male attitudes toward women in the engineering trades. Understanding the attitudes of male artisans working alongside their female peers for longer or shorter periods of time provided valuable insights. I needed to establish whether men who had limited experience working alongside women artisans would hold more traditional views (Netto et al., 2014; Smith, 2013a; Starr, 2014).

The current study advanced faultline theory by separating the surface-level attributes (age, race and experience) and exploring the deep-level constructs and the triggers of gender discrimination at a meso level. Ormiston (2015, p. 225) highlights the fact that deep-level diversity relates to perceived differences among attributes not easily observable. This raises the importance of studying deep-level diversity because these constructs are subtle and complex (Combs & Luthans, 2007; Jonsen, Tatli, Özbilgin, & Bell, 2013; Kochan et al., 2003; Shore et al., 2009). Deep-level attitudes and beliefs have also been found to shift over time (Harrison et al., 2002). The complex interactions between surface- and deep-level variables influenced by context remain wide open, especially in developing economies (Shen et al., 2009, p. 247).

Deep-level constructs, explored to understand nuance, will reveal how gender faultlines are activated as a result of conflict (Pearsall et al., 2008, p. 231). Triggers of behavioural disintegration linked to deep-level attitudes or beliefs held by men employees, coupled with emotional and/or task conflict, reveal rich findings to support future studies. These findings are explicit because of the unique mining setting. This supported the advancement of theory because of the adoption of different researcher epistemology and methods (Bryman, 1984, p. 84).

1.6.8 Gender diversity

Gender has been chosen because it is often seen as the most prolific source of visible structure and a trigger of conflict in diversity (Nishii, 2013, p. 1755). Gender nowadays has been broadened from a mere traditional masculine–feminine observation of gender difference to include a much broader social meanings (Butler, 1999). These meanings spill over into gender roles at home, in society generally, and in workplaces (Reskin, 1993). Gender has been explored conceptually across behaviours exhibited by individuals, individual identities, practices, customs, occupational boundaries, sexual orientation, and intersectionality for example (Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). With the promotion of greater gender equality, role players in different societies have expanded the traditional view of gender to include these broader interpretations. These efforts have started to produce meaningful change despite the ongoing challenges for women (Wright, 2016). With the broadening constructs relating to gender, gender has become a complex multi-level construct that is not static in its interpretation (Martin, 2003; Ozturk & Tatli, 2016; Poleacovschi, 2014; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010).

The gender construct has also been expanded to behavioural traits that typically relate to specific work environments. For example, women working in policing, manual trades, mining, or other traditionally segregated occupations, will display behaviours, such as coping strategies, to fit into a particular work environment. This behaviour has been conceptualised as “doing gender” (Martin, 2003, 2006; Martin, 1996).

Studying gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations is important because societies continue to discriminate particularly at micro and meso level.

It is perhaps for this reason that despite more than 30 years of equity strategies in a range of male-dominated occupations, including manual trades and IT, political correctness and quotas have done little to change underlying gender relations in organisations and occupations (Smith, 2013b, p. 593).

The current study aimed to explore gender differences from a male perspective to develop a deep understanding of the triggers of behavioural disintegration and how this discrimination plays out in the workplace.

1.6.9 Engineering artisan (traditionally segregated occupations)

The word ‘artisan’ is used in many contexts to describe skilled work that is of high quality. The current study used this term to define engineering artisans who had been trained

over a minimum period of three years to qualify in a legally designated trade. As such, they are skilled employees. For the purpose of this study, the mining sector was used to explore the phenomenon of women entering the engineering trades as qualified engineering artisans.

Engineering trades refer to electricians, measurement control and instrumentation technicians, fitters, fitters and turners, boilermakers, welders, diesel mechanics, earth-moving equipment mechanics, auto electricians, and rigger ropes men as examples.

1.7 Importance and benefits of the current study

There is a major global drive for gender equality with the implementation of policy remaining an issue, particularly in South Africa (Chitiga, Cockburn, Decaluwé, Fofana, & Mabugu, 2007, p. 269). Gender is well researched relative to women participating in senior levels of management, including board level, and as policymakers in governments (Bratton, 2005; Grey, 2006). Additional research is required not only in government, management positions and the professions, but at lower organisational levels to explore the introduction of women into traditionally segregated occupations, including the engineering trades (Jonsen et al., 2011; Mannix & Neale, 2005).

1.7.1 Theoretical contributions

The growing requirements for diversity management researchers comprise not only comparing primary surface-level variables (gender, age, race, experience and tenure) but also exploring hidden effects of gender discrimination not easily observed yet activated using social power (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014; Kornegay, 2000; Powell & Sang, 2015; Starr, 2014). The current study aimed to use faultline theory to explore the attitudes held by men, and the triggers of behavioural disintegration resulting in gender discrimination. In addition, identifying the subtle implicit and explicit forms of discrimination was explored. This main theoretical contribution of the current study lies in not only exploring difference from a surface level, but also using inductive reasoning to explore deep-level constructs that activate faultlines associated with gender discrimination.

Since 2009, diversity management researchers have been encouraged to position their work with rigorously developed contextual interpretations. This helps readers understand the limiting and delimiting factors affecting any particular study (Ahonen et al., 2014; Pringle & Ryan, 2015). The current research used the model produced by Syed and

Özbilgin (2009, p. 2446) to explain the context for the study. This model provides a relational perspective of the contextual macro external environment, micro organisational, and meso group and/or individual levels.

Most diversity management has emerged from developed countries, especially in the United States of America and the rest of the developed world (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009, p. 2435). Since the 1980s, there has been a sharp increase in diversity management studies globally (Rawat & Basergekar, 2016, p. 488) with calls for a great focus on emerging world contexts for deeper theoretical insights. South Africa remains a key environment to explore diversity management. Jonsen et al. (2011, p. 47) emphasise the benefits of using the unique SA context to gain insights for developed countries experiencing quickening diversity demographics in workplaces. This is the South African reality after Apartheid.

The outcome of this diversity research will help future studies explore organisational, work group, and individual outcomes, as well as family, community and societal outcomes. Understanding prevailing discriminatory attitudes held by diverse men in traditionally segregated work environments provides a contribution to faultline theory. The chosen level and unit of analysis within the mining setting explored the boundaries of faultline activation and hidden power at the meso level.

Finally, this study contributes to each of the four recommendations for future research associated with gender and inclusion outlined by Farndale et al. (2015, pp. 684–686). These are stated as:

1. rigour in analysing and explaining ‘context-specific’ designs to explore phenomena properly;
2. an examination of ‘employee-level’ perspectives to understand relationships linked to policy and culture;
3. an integrated report of results to highlight the interdependence of constructs, instead of separate reporting for deeper understanding; and
4. an explicit definition of inclusion practices to share country-specific policies.

1.7.2 Practical contributions

Women, and in particular black SA women, are underrepresented in the labour market (Benya, 2013) There are increasing numbers of women entering the mining sector in South Africa as a result of government policy to promote gender equality (English & Hay, 2014, p. 144). This phenomenon is part of a global trend encouraged by members of the

International Labour Organisation (ILO) who place gender equality at the centre of global labour practices (Gonon & Smith, 2013; Tamesberger et al., 2014). It is unknown how effectively women are assimilated into workplaces, especially those employed in the engineering trades within the mining sector of South Africa.

The current research will help government and employers refine policy aimed at promoting female participation in traditionally segregated occupations. Understanding diverse male attitudes toward women entering the engineering trades in mining will expose opportunities for improved management practice to bring about meaningful change. This will lead to improved performance and increased retention of female artisans (Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015).

With this study being operationalised in a real-world setting, the findings offer enormous practice value for leadership. Williams and O'Reilly (1998, p. 78) raised the point that with increasing diversity, the management role becomes increasingly challenging. This challenge relates to maintaining performance in spite of increasing complexity relating to individual, group and inter-group conceptions. These practice contributions will not only be interesting, but will also attempt to provide valuable insights to guide management policy and practice. Understanding male-gendered faultline activation in traditionally segregated occupations will also highlight the societal challenges to the meaningful inclusion of women. Reducing stereotypical behaviours, which give rise to prejudice towards women, enables progress towards productive and more inclusive societies. (Buengeler, Leroy, & De Stobbeleir, 2018).

1.7.3 Methodological contributions

Data was collected from in-depth interviews with three different mining groups within the gold and platinum mining sectors, providing an extreme setting for a methodological contribution. This data collected from these different sites was triangulated. Additional triangulation explored differences within surface-level dimensions of age, race and tenure. Besides explaining differences between men of different ages, this multi-site data collection also sought to illuminate potential corporate cultural nuances affecting faultline activation. Men's experiences of working with women artisans revealed deep-level attitudes, beliefs and practices providing rich data.

Mining in South Africa is synonymous with historical racial and gender prejudice (Benya, 2017a; Humby, 2014). This extreme environment provided an interesting platform to

explore the phenomenon of increasing numbers of black women entering the traditionally segregated occupational categories of engineering trades.

Most studies examining women working in traditionally gender-segregated work environments gathered data from women (Martin, 2003; Martin, 1996; Powell & Sang, 2015; Smith, 2008; Smith, 2013a). Where men are included, there is a lack of in-depth data to understand what drives gender discrimination (Benya, 2009; English & Le Jeune, 2012; French & Strachan, 2015; Laplonge, 2016; Martin, 2003; Powell & Sang, 2015; Raiden, 2016; Savage, 2000; Smith, 2008; Wright, 2016; Yount, 1991).

The current study used gender-segregated male artisans in the engineering trades within the mining sector as its unit and level of analysis. Self-views are not always completely accurate, especially when they relate to predicting performance (Ehrlinger & Dunning, 2003). As such, gathering data from men provided a valuable perspective that has not been explored fully in prior research. This approach of the current study provided a unique perspective to understand faultline activation in a task-oriented setting, including how triggered conflict perpetuates gender discrimination.

Finally, as male researcher, examining the vantage men enjoy in mining proved to be invaluable. This gender awareness provided an opportunity to obtain in-depth data that a women researcher might have struggled to collect (Kornegay, 2000; Yassour-Borochowitz, 2012).

1.8 Overview of chapters

Chapter 1 introduced the detailed contextual background of this study guided by the relational model of Syed and Özbilgin (2009, p. 2446) depicted in Figure 1.1. This model captures the contextual dimensions now widely cited in diversity management studies. Each level, including external macro, organisational micro, and group/individual meso data, needs to be examined to provide rigour in diversity management studies. This analysis provided the contextual setting in which this study was grounded.

Chapter 2 focusses on the literature that formed the basis of this research. A chronological review of diversity management is provided, highlighting limitations and key contributions. Faultline theory emanating from the field of diversity management is discussed revealing how this study aimed to understand faultline activation within a context with hidden power and strong gender segregation. In addition, a review of the literature relating to women entering traditionally segregated occupations is revised. The

key contributions of this chapter built the rationale to deal with the primary topic structured around three questions. Finally, this chapter provides a prelude to the findings reflected in figure 2.4.

Chapter 3 outlines a detailed overview of the methodological approach coupled with the key assumptions bounding the study. This chapter describes the operationalisation of this work, including critical quality measures.

Chapter 4 provides detailed findings where key data is structured around context, the types of conflict and gender discrimination. This data also reflects antecedent conditions that have the potential to trigger gendered conflicts. This chapter incorporates specific data that reflects the topic of the research.

Chapter 5 discusses findings, highlighting the critical dimensions of power found in the mining context. Gender-specific studies are also incorporated to understand the intersections that affirm or contradict this literature. Eight power dimensions are proposed in a framework highlighting in-group and out-group dynamics linked to context. This discussion is related to question 1, aimed at producing a rigorously defined context.

Chapter 6 discusses questions 2 and 3 related to the antecedent conditions affecting gender faultlines, and the way activated faultlines result in gender discrimination. Finally, key propositions are built culminating in a conceptual framework that posits potential relationships linked to key constructs. Collectively, these propositions with the framework provide a theoretical contribution that explains how gendered faultlines are activated, culminating in conflicts that lead to behavioural disintegration.

Chapter 7 pulls together the principle theoretical findings, including implications for practice. Research limitations are also explained as well as directions for future research.

Finally, references, appendices – including abbreviations and questionnaires – are available in section 8 of this chapter.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Diversity management literature is broad, complex and often contradictory as is the literature incorporating gender. The current study primarily drew on diversity management and, in particular, faultline theory to explore the phenomenon of increasing

numbers of women entering the engineering trades in mining. There is a critical intersection between diversity and gender literature, which provides a strong underpinning rationale for their inclusion. This chapter conveys this logic.

The primary objective of the current study was to further understanding of faultline activation within a context with hidden power and strong gender segregation by exploring the subgroups separating male artisans by age, race and tenure. This study explored men's gendered attitudes and beliefs towards women artisans entering mining in South Africa. This industry was and still is fraught with racial and gender bias. In addition, the conditions of mining provide an extreme cultural and environmental setting ideal for exposing fractional faultlines. Prior literature guided this research to the main topic – **Understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations.**

Using deductive reasoning, this study was bounded by three questions linked to the main topic:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

By answering these questions, I attempted to understand the dimensions of power linked to context, as well as how these power dimensions play out through the lived experiences of men in mining. The resultant effect on performance will be evident too.

Figure 1.2 provides a conception of the individual elements within the three questions that relate to the main topic. This literature review builds an argument that positions the intended theoretical contribution.

2.2 Diversity management

Diversity management has risen to prominence as a result of a rapidly changing world. With globalisation, organisations are experiencing increased diversity (Lauring, 2013; Netto et al., 2014; Shen et al., 2009; Webber & Donahue, 2001). Following these global trends, diversity management literature has been expanded for more than four decades, trying to understand broad societal difference in today's workplaces (Klarsfeld, Ng, Booyesen, Christiansen, & Kuvaas, 2016). This progression in diversity management is best understood following a chronological path. This literature review has been

assimilated for the design of this study, strengthening both the theoretical and methodological contributions.

Traditional diversity management research examined constructs, such as social justice (Byrd, 2015), equal opportunities (Chrobot-Mason & Aramovich, 2013), regulation versus voluntarism (Klarsfeld, Ng, & Tatli, 2012), management (Ashikali & Groeneveld, 2015), leadership (Meyer et al., 2016), strategic business perspectives (Yong-Kwan Lim, Busenitz, & Chidambaram, 2013), ethics (Gotsis & Kortezi, 2013), creativity (Bassett-Jones, 2005; Chua, 2013), and performance (Van Knippenberg et al., 2013). Constructs within these studies were typically linked primarily to race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, and disability. Secondary constructs include education, work experience, marital status, functional positions, and leadership style (Kulik, 2014).

To make sense of the complexity found in diversity, studies have become increasingly reliant on theoretical frameworks or models to provide structure to complex dimensions. These frameworks (Byrd, 2015; Gotsis & Kortezi, 2013) and models (Guillaume et al., 2013; Santos, 2015) have become the preferred way to explain diversity from one context to the next. Diversity management literature incorporates, and continues to broaden the domain of diverse literature with broad constructs (Ozturk & Tatli, 2016). Theory has been developed through the incorporation of models and frameworks including the use of faultline theory. There is a growing body of literature that has broadened the understanding of these ambiguities found over the past four to six decades (Qin, Muenjohn, & Chhetri, 2014; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

In striving to explain the complexities of diversity, researchers rallied for the call to use frameworks especially from 2009 onwards. Joshi and Roh (2009) conducted a literature review spanning 1992 to 2008. They extracted '15 years of construct development', linking them to relevant contextual variables and included 'performance, relation and task-orientated diversity'. They found small but significant findings accounting for moderating variables within industry-, occupation- and team-level constructs. These multiplied in effect at industry and occupational level. On faultlines, they recognised there were inconsistent findings. Recommendations again included introducing contextual moderators to explain contradictions (Joshi & Roh, p. 621).

In their review of 80 diversity management articles spanning 40 years, Williams and O'Reilly (1998) sought to put demography into perspective. From this review, they found actual working groups produced greater ambiguity in research findings (p. 80). This

prompted a call away from laboratory settings to real-world or field settings where, for example, confounding variables, such as time or tenure, were used (Bell et al., 2011, p. 721). This sentiment was being posited as far back as 2003 (Jackson et al., 2003; Kochan et al., 2003). In their literature review from 1997–2002, Jackson et al. (2003) found research failed to reflect how to improve diversity management practices, to bring about meaningful change, if not positioned in real-world settings.

Furthering the call for research with practice value from a detailed literature review, Shen et al. (2009) discuss issues relating to the link between literature and practice. They found an over-reliance on policy to substantiate recruitment decisions versus improving human resources management practices was problematic. For practice, they suggested a framework to contextualise key issues for human resources practitioners. Advancing practice utility and based on their literature review, Syed and Özbilgin (2009) argue that diversity practice at micro and meso level is shaped by historical context. Understanding power dimensions through their relational model helped frame broad complexities. This contribution was positioned to aid better practice including more relevant policy from human resources executives and to guide cross-border research (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009).

Revisiting critique of prior research, Jonsen et al. (2011) found diversity studies were limited because of the US-centric dominance in the field. Furthermore, they claimed studies lacked a focus on “beliefs, values, or managerial interventions” (p. 35). This refers to deep-level constructs that further practice value. Commenting on laboratory studies, the authors felt these experiments limited the full impact of context (Jonsen et al., 2011, p. 44). Finally, they called for future research with suggestions including language diversity, cultural contextualisation of diversity, and social class diversity.

2.3 Surface- and deep-level diversity

Despite the concepts of surface- and deep-level diversity having been used in research for more than 20 years, it remains a popular way to explore difference (Liang, Shih, & Chiang, 2015). A good example of this approach is provided from the work of Harrison et al. (1998) who used time to measure its influence on surface- and deep-level diversity opposite work group cohesion. Using two samples to collect survey data from medium-sized hospitals and the deli divisions of large grocery stores, they split surface-level attributes along age, ethnicity and gender. Deep-level diversity constructs included satisfaction and organisational commitment. Key findings included the importance of

deep-level constructs possibly accounting for mixed results in prior studies. This meant that surface-level variables were less important than the deep level constructs (satisfaction and organisational commitment), especially if group members interacted regularly. Despite these findings, the researchers confirmed that different settings could produce different results (Harrison et al., 1998, p. 104). This was particularly relevant to the current study, which was well positioned to examine diversity in a developing world context.

The introduction of moderators has helped explain how surface-level and deep-level group functioning can change (McKay & McDaniel, 2006; Posthuma & Campion, 2009). For example, the amount of time a group spends together may reduce perceptions of surface-level difference and the exchange of task-related performance, reducing group dysfunction over time (Harrison et al., 2002). In adopting surface- and deep-level diversity research, the recommendations to include moderating and confounding variables using quantitative methods have become increasingly complex (Qin et al., 2014; Roberson, Ryan, & Ragins, 2017; William & O'Reilly, 1998; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). The risk of this increasing complexity is that these studies detract from providing clear practice value. Widening theory–practice gaps diminish the utility of research (Whetten, 1989, p. 494).

Bell et al. (2011, p. 730) examined demographic diversity against team performance, referring to the study as a 'meta-analysis'. They chose to examine different diversity variables, including functional background and organisational tenure as opposed to "highly job-related, less job-related" variables. They then introduced the concepts 'separation', 'variety' and 'disparity' into their model (Bell et al. 2011, p. 712). Surface-level variables were race, gender and age, while the confounding variable related to the setting being either laboratory or natural. The authors argued that traditional studies were "too simplistic" (p. 730) and did not incorporate enough variables to explain differences. This accounted for the 'numerous mixed results' when examining team performance and the lack of meta-analysis to align studies in the diversity management field (p. 730).

While this contribution to diversity management theory cannot be questioned, the complexity it introduces is substantial. This complexity raises the risk of increasing the theory–practice gap, which is of concern to many scholars (Ali, 2016; Benschop, Holgersson, Van den Brink, & Wahl, 2015; Corley & Gioia, 2011; Kulik, 2014). In addition,

adopting a practice perspective using more nuanced methods would account for the unique contexts in which each study is situated (Roberson et al., 2017).

2.4 Hidden dimensions of power

The dimensions of power are typically buried within context (Ahonen et al., 2014), influencing the formation of subgroups but also becoming effective predictors of behaviour (Carton & Cummings, 2013). Earlier diversity research has been critiqued for ignoring dimensions of power at the cost of helping to bring about a societal-level contribution (Ahonen et al., 2014). Too many prior studies have not ventured out of the confines of popular research claiming universal applicability (p. 10). Power as it relates to context has been under-represented limiting the potential utility of diversity research (Ahonen et al., 2014, p. 14).

Power is not always based on hierarchy or position. Instead, power is dynamic and shifts in real and perceived legitimacy for individuals or groups based on their response to dealing with immediate situational conditions (Aime, Humphrey, DeRue, & Paul, 2014). In rapidly changing societies, such as South Africa, these conceptions of power shifts are critical for diversity studies (Booyesen, 2007). Social identities linked to notions of power in society change rapidly in developing economies, with these social identity categorisations having profound consequences in workplaces (Booyesen, 2007, pp. 16–17). These underlying tensions typically lead to conflict between sub-groups.

Underlying tensions that exist within subgroups based on their shared power values, are critical precursors to understanding how conflict is triggered (Alipour, Mohammed, & Raghuram, 2018). These subgroups source power that exists from varying legacies, meshed around occupational and social discourses (Zanoni & Janssens, 2015).

At a meso team level, power can be dispersed through effective management practices. For example, where teams take collective responsibility for planning work assignments, this is shown to improve performance (Mathieu, Hollenbeck, Van Knippenberg, & Ilgen, 2017, p. 458). The effectiveness of these teams is also largely dependent on how the team has assimilated individuals, so they feel connected and able to deal with issues that arise (p. 462). This example highlights that positive team effects can be attributed to the effective use of power, and holds promise for reducing faultline size.

Policies aimed at creating inclusion try to bring about societal change (Bond & Haynes, 2014). At micro and meso level, overlooking the dimensions of power could derail well-

meaning efforts to achieve real inclusion and equality. Poor management practices coupled with stereotyped behaviour, which promote subgroup conflict, destroy the efficacy of diverse teams (Knights & Omanović, 2016). The dimensions of power as antecedent conditions in forming subgroups are of critical importance to explaining triggered conflict leading to behavioural disintegration.

2.5 Faultline theory

Diversity researchers have traditionally grappled with the broad dimensions within the diversity management field. This prompted the use of models and frameworks in an effort to create logical boundary conditions. A key theoretical contribution was provided by Lau and Murnighan (1998) conceptualising faultline theory. Lau and Murnighan explored how using primary dimensions to separate individuals and groups allowed researchers to explore deep-level difference between individuals and within groups. Activated faultlines were also found to encourage the formation of subgroups as a result of conflict (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). The existence of naturally occurring faultlines and subgroup formation prompted research to understand the “hypothetical dividing lines” so often quoted throughout the development of faultline theory (Chen et al., 2017, p. 2; Thatcher & Patel, 2012, p. 969).

In strengthening the use of faultline theory, Li and Hambrick (2005) used survey data from 71 joint venture management groups to examine factional groups. From this sample, they found support for their hypothesis that demographically different factional groups “possess pre-existing faultlines that required a new conception of demographic dissimilarity” (p. 794). Critical additional findings included “large demographic faultlines between factions engender task conflict, and emotional conflict, leading to behavioural disintegration. In turn, these conditions negatively affected performance” (Li & Hambrick, 2005, p. 794). The effect on performance highlights the importance of understanding faultline activation between sub-groups. Prior studies have revealed the strength of faultline theory as an effective means to explain some of the mixed or inconsistent findings in earlier diversity studies (Bacharach, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Webber & Donahue, 2001).

Figure 2.3 shows Li and Hambrick’s (2005) conceptual contribution to understand factional faultlines, group processes and performance outcomes. This figure suggests fractional faultline size affects emotional and task conflict, leading to behavioural disintegration that negatively affects performance.

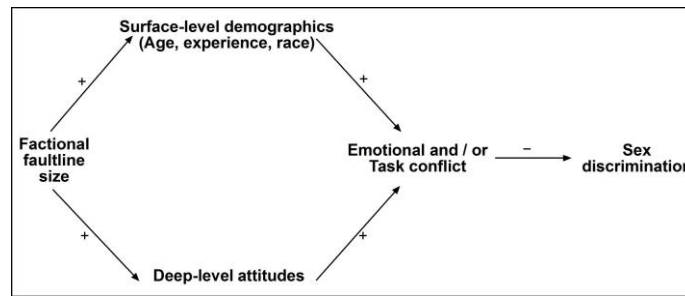


Figure 2.3: Conceptual model: Factional faultlines, group processes and performance

Source: Li and Hambrick (2005, p. 799)

Since the conception of faultline theory (Lau & Murnighan, 1998) and the key contribution of Li and Hambrick (2005), there was a surge of quantitative methods to measure differences using this theoretical model (Figure 2.3). This interest has been driven by the potential to explain mixed results in earlier studies resulting in curvilinear relationships, particularly related to performance (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Researchers have grappled to explain these mixed findings. In their critical literature review spanning 1995 to 2005, Van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007) subsequently called firstly for greater focus on mediating and moderating variables to explore the complexities of diversity. Secondly, they recommended increased use of frameworks to tie up loose individual theories, and finally, deeper insights following data collection to understand the role of processes in research findings. In addition, Van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007) suggested the need for more “complex conceptualisations” (p. 517) to explore a deeper understanding of diversity management.

Scholars have consistently been looking for ways to bring about deeper insights for diversity (Shore et al., 2009, p. 126). The role of context to explain contradictory findings has become key for offering rigour in diversity studies (Cooper, Patel, & Thatcher, 2014; Pringle & Ryan, 2015). After 2005, additional rigour for diversity studies has also called for the incorporation of more moderators found in context to explain variation (Guillaume et al., 2017; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Mannix & Neale, 2005; McKay & McDaniel, 2006; Shore et al., 2009). Shore et al. (2009) also conducted a literature review, extracting common themes to produce an integrated model that sought a level of sense-making from prior research. They contended that, despite an increase in the number of diversity studies covering varied dimensions, conclusions were often mixed. Researchers in general acknowledged the “explanatory power” of faultline theory using “members’ demographic

characteristics” (Shore et al., 2009, p. 127). Understanding these diversity characteristics can build insights for better management of diverse work teams.

Although faultline theory has made progress both in laboratory and field experiments, current research continues to produce mixed findings (Meyer & Glenz, 2013; Thatcher & Patel, 2012). Surveying 57 companies, Chen et al. (2017) confirmed an inverted U-shaped relationship between faultlines and performance. Additional findings showed a moderating relationship of a team’s climate of psychological safety reflected in the psychological safety climate. Curvilinear relationships increased with a weaker psychological safety climate (p. 13). These results are not uncommon, as reported by other studies, especially when isolating performance as a variable.

Despite the recommendations from prior research to make increased use of moderators to explain difference, curvilinear relationships still prevail (Chen et al., 2017; Colquitt & Zapata-Phelan, 2007; Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, 2006; Ormiston, 2015). Curvilinear relationships are characterised by two variables being related positively or negatively at a point, and then being inverted to relate to the opposite (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Although these relationships help explain the complexity of diversity, researchers have been encouraged to strive for more nuanced research. This is to understand deep-level constructs and how they could influence these curvilinear relationships (Bell et al., 2011; Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010; Klarsfeld et al., 2012; Kochan et al., 2003; Roberson et al., 2017; Shore et al., 2009; Smith, 2008).

While many researchers have sought to test variables associated with diversity quantitatively, Roberson et al. (2017) highlight the need for more nuanced methods. They argue that this nuanced approach will capture the complexity of identity linked to individual experiences (p. 494). They then specifically call for more qualitative enquiry to elicit “a greater understanding of unconscious or uncontrollable reactions to diversity experiences” (p. 494). Finally, they highlight the importance of a move away from US-centric research and the need for adopting a practice perspective to integrate theoretical perspectives across disciplines (Roberson et al., 2017, p. 495).

Of key importance to the evolution of faultline theory is the concept of faultline activation (Jehn & Bezrukova, 2010). In other words, what triggers different conflict types (that is, process, relationship or task)? Faultline activation has been examined extensively in the last decade with researchers using both surface-level variables and deep-level constructs. The mythical dividing lines within groups and the way faultlines are activated

with the resultant behavioural disintegration are key to exploring the effects of diverse teams (Chen et al., 2017; Chung et al., 2011; Meyer & Glenz, 2013; Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015; Pearsall et al., 2008; Thatcher & Patel, 2012). The current study leaned on the concept of faultline activation to explore male attitudes and the triggers of behavioural disintegration in traditionally segregated employment. Due to the importance of this concept, it is dealt with separately in this literature review (section 2.5).

Over the past 17 years (i.e. 2003–2019), faultline theory has provided a tangible basis for getting to grips with the broad complexities of diversity (Jackson et al., 2003; Klarsfeld, Ng, Booyesen, Christiansen, & Kuvaas, 2016). For example, faultlines have been studied in relation to group performance (Adair, Liang, & Hideg, 2017), conflict in work groups (Jehn, Bezrukova, & Thatcher, 2008), team functioning (Schölmerich, Schermuly, & Deller, 2016), goal faultlines in groups (Ellis, Mai, & Christian, 2013), and team learning (Rupert, Blomme, Dragt, & Jehn, 2016). Inherent in most recent studies is the emergence of well-defined contexts, and the use of models or frameworks to explain complexity (Cooper et al., 2014).

The major premise, namely that activated faultlines increase the potential for conflict remains a key tenant of faultline theory (Jehn et al., 2008). Moreover, reflecting backward to analyse prior studies to explore antecedent conditions that trigger conflict, activating faultlines, has produced interesting findings (Thatcher & Patel, 2011).

Essentially, activated faultlines result in conflict (Adair et al., 2017; Jehn et al., 2008), which incorporates substantial literature around the nature of different processes, relationships and task conflicts within and between groups (Jehn & Bezrukova, 2010). The current study addressed a gap in the literature relating to pre-existing gendered faultlines caused by process conflicts, which trigger relationship and task conflicts, which in turn lead to gender discrimination.

Relationship and task conflicts have been explored relatively well. Process conflict, however, is the least understood of the three conflict types (Greer, Jehn, & Mannix, 2008). By highlighting the effect of process conflicts in historically segregated employment, the current study highlighted how process conflict becomes an antecedent condition triggering relationship and task conflicts. A strong argument is also presented, which highlights how these conflicts perpetuate gender discrimination.

While gendered conflicts have been studied extensively, the current study provided unique adaptations, for instance understanding antecedent conditions leading to gendered

conflicts. These were teased out by the use of the extreme mining setting that incorporates historically segregated employment in a country synonymous with patriarchy and male-gendered hegemony.

Many broad constructs have been researched extensively in diversity management, particularly in developed economies. There is a call for more research in developing or transitional economies, especially as diversity affects multinational enterprises (George et al., 2016; Hofstede, 1986; Kossek et al., 2006; Shen et al., 2009; Singh, 2007). Further requirements for rigour include producing studies with deeper insights into contextual factors affecting key variables being studied (Shore et al., 2009; Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). The current study probed for these deeper insights by a strong focus on context with its hidden dimensions of power.

Researchers have added meaning to current research by introducing moderating variables as well as exploring more diverse levels and units of analysis. There is substantial guidance from prior research directing future development of diversity management theory. This section highlighted the background to this assertion, including the underpinning assumptions for the design of this study. Due to the complexities of trying to measure faultlines quantitatively and the mixed findings in previous research, the current research heeded the call for more nuanced research. This is particularly relevant to exploring the complexity of male-gendered discrimination using a faultline theory lens (Roberson et al., 2017).

2.6 Triggers (faultline activation)

Understanding process, relationship and task conflicts between subgroups is crucial, especially when this conflict leads to behavioural disintegration, negatively affecting performance (Li & Hambrick, 2005). When exploring these relationships relative to the concepts of surface- and deep-level diversity there have been some interesting findings.

Over time, surface-level demography affecting emotional conflict is reduced (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999) and surface-level demography affecting team morale becomes less critical. Instead, deep-level constructs become the main contributors to dysfunction (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999). Gender difference becomes less important, especially in groups that interact often with deep-level attitudes becoming more critical over time (Harrison et al., 1998). These findings are supported by Meyer, Shemla, and Schermuly (2011, p. 275) who found that surface-level attributes should not always be a default in

the design of faultline studies. Additional conclusions suggest variance in group members' deep-level beliefs or task situation could expand contextual knowledge better.

Pearsall et al. (2008, p. 230), using faultline theory, examined the effect of activated gender faultlines mediated by emotional conflict effecting team creativity. Their results showed the critical influence of faultline activation leading to the formation of subgroups relative to a task environment. From this review, it is clear that deep-level constructs become the main activators of behavioural disintegration resulting in reduced group cohesion, task conflict, discrimination or other forms of group dysfunction (Chua, 2013; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Li & Hambrick, 2005; Thatcher & Patel, 2012).

The concept of triggers activating dormant faultlines has become key in progressing faultline theory in the last decade (Chen et al., 2017; Chrobot-Mason, Ruderman, Weber, & Ernst, 2009; Chung et al., 2011; Thatcher & Patel, 2012). These studies have helped reveal the tensions existing between groups, including the events that trigger the activation of a faultline resulting in behavioural disintegration. This behavioural disintegration is triggered by conflicts typically leading to reduced performance or reduced team cohesion (Li & Hambrick, 2005, p. 807). Chrobot-Mason et al. (2009) building on the work of Lau and Murnighan (1998) provide an exemplary study incorporating faultline triggers.

In summary, globalised societies present leadership challenges when leaders are expected to produce results despite individual and group identities. Groups split in response to events that are triggered by management or peer actions. When groups split, individuals typically rally around those with similar identities. Key to faultlines is that they may lie dormant in the absence of a trigger (Schölmerich, Schermuly, & Deller, 2017). Although faultlines may lie dormant, this does not discount the potential for "inter-group anxiety and conflict" (Chrobot-Mason et al. 2009, p. 1766). This same study (p. 1775) points to five broad types of triggers, namely "differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliating action, and simple contact". These five triggers are incorporated in the discussion of results in Chapter 5.

Other studies have found activated gender faultlines where conflict was increased reduced team creativity (Pearsall et al., 2008). Bezrukova, Jehn, Zanutto, and Thatcher (2009) found activated faultlines, leading to higher levels of conflict, reduced job satisfaction and performance. In addition, the formation of subgroups placed their own

agendas ahead of that of the group when compared to groups whose faultlines had not been activated.

This prior research expanding on the triggers of faultlines was key to positioning this study, especially because of the extreme setting, namely –

1. the context of women in mining; and
2. women working in a traditionally segregated occupation, such as the engineering trades.

By understanding deep-level attitudes of male artisans towards their female peers as well as the triggers that activate subtle and explicit gender discrimination, the researcher was able to examine the discourse affecting faultline activation. Observing the advice of Meyer et al. (2011), faultlines and categorisations including gender should always be studied together as they may not always enjoy a linear relationship. They “can be independent of each other” (p. 246), explaining the paradox in the triggers of conflict.

2.7 Gender discrimination

There have been numerous studies exploring female experiences of entering traditionally gender-segregated occupations, particularly in science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM)-oriented occupations. Most prior research using women as the unit of analysis, examined the struggles women encounter and their coping strategies in traditionally segregated occupations (Doro & De Graaf-Smith, 2013; French & Strachan, 2015; Grey, 2006; Koenig et al., 2011; Smith, 2008; Smith, 2013a; Yount, 1991).

There are limited studies examining men’s surface- and deep-level attitudes towards women in traditionally segregated occupations. From a diversity management perspective, this is surprising. Understanding faultline activation with the triggers of conflict from a male in-group perspective should be apparent (Tsui et al., 2011, p. 575). Instead, studies have adopted more comparative methods to explain faultlines between male and female populations (Chung et al., 2015; Jehn & Bezrukova, 2010; Pearsall et al., 2008; Rico, Sánchez-Manzanares, Antino, & Lau, 2012). More research is needed to understand male attitudes towards women in the SA workplace (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010, p. 296). The current study set out to do this by exploring how men with different demographic (that is, surface-level) attributes hold attitudes (that is, deep-level) typifying faultlines. These mind-sets (Van Knippenberg et al., 2013), represented by their diversity

beliefs (Homan, Buengeler, Eckhoff, Van Ginkel, & Voelpel, 2015), hold the potential for conflict that can lead to gender discrimination. It was necessary to examine the literature framing the importance of research focussed on gender discrimination in the workplace before this literature review could be concluded.

In contexts where men were traditionally the dominant in-group, a key objective for industry is to create gender inclusive environments that help build the agency of women. Downplaying gender where seeing differences between men and women as natural and valuable, builds agency, increasing the confidence of women. These notions have reportedly had a positive effect on performance (Martin & Phillips, 2017). South Africa, as an emerging economy, has undergone rapid societal change and is grappling with gender issues.

In formulating South Africa's National Gender Policy Framework in 2000 (see Kornegay, 2000), The Office on the Status of Women highlighted a number of challenges (Kornegay, 2000, p. III–V). These included institutionalised gender relations, poverty, particularly for rural women, ways to redistribute the benefits of globalisation and HIV/AIDS. A major issue is violence against women, referring to the high incidence of rape and other forms of physical and psychological abuse of women and girls. South Africa is described as “The Rape Capital of the World” with one rape every five minutes, urging former President Mbeki to raise these concerns directly with his cabinet (Kornegay, 2000, p. 100). This social disorder, linked to patriarchy, translates into subtle or explicit discrimination affecting women entering the engineering trades in mining. Institutionalised cultural norms perpetuate discriminatory practices in mining (Benya, 2009; Humby, 2014; Wildschut, 2016).

Despite extensive diversity management research in the United States, human resources management practices are still mainly focussed on how to manage divergent employee groupings. Real equality has still not become the norm (Nkomo & Hoobler, 2014, p. 255). In South Africa, there are still disparities in equality. Despite the tremendous progress since 1994, the country is struggling to bring about more inclusive employment practices despite policy. This is a global experience where national and corporate policy encouraging inclusion are obstructed by culture (Fujimoto, Härtel, & Azmat, 2013). Where efforts are being made to target inclusivity, we do not fully understand the spill-over effects of male-gendered beliefs towards women in traditionally segregated occupations (Goshi, Neely, Emrich, Griffiths, & George, 2015, p. 1463).

The hegemonic culture within the mining context is closely linked to both the country and industry context where men with their masculinities embody the notion of mining work (Humby, 2014). This hegemonic advantage is reflected in men holding invisible dimensions of power over women highlighting the “peculiarities of hegemonic masculinity” (Hearn, 2004, p. 63). Men’s masculinities are therefore used by men to form powerful social groups which use various forms of violence to control women entering what is seen as their domains (Hearn, 2012). This violence, seen as an effective way to unravel male hegemony is multifaceted, reflected in “historical intersections of gender power, social divisions and ideology” (Hearn, 2012, p. 590). Within the South African context there is widespread rape, seen as one of the most extreme demonstrations of hegemonic violence (Jewkes, Watts, Abrahams, Penn-Kekana, & García-Moreno, 2000). From a sample of 1 700 South African men, 27% had reported raping a woman or girl (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Du, 2009). This highlights the importance of understanding hegemonic power which may differ from one context to the next (Hearn & Morrell, 2012). Irving and English (2015, p. 160) emphasise the global effort to maintain the policy drive to keep women’s issues at the core of national agendas. They argue in favour of challenging patriarchy in national cultures to bring about workplace inclusion for women. South Africa, as a member of the ILO, has successfully driven this global agenda with many women enjoying access to occupations previously seen as unattainable. While industry has observed the call to adhere to policy driving this change, there is limited research examining how effective diversity management practices have been. Smith (2013b, p. 592) asserts gender is “relational and dynamic”. This suggests that mere inclusion is not enough. This increased diversity has to be managed effectively. Despite policy ensuring more women gain access to segregated occupations, what happens on a day-to-day basis in workplaces goes mostly unnoticed (Smith, 2013b, pp. 592–593).

International research, mainly from developed countries, has uncovered varying constructs relating to women entering STEM occupations (MacPhee, Farro, & Canetto, 2013; Petersen & Hyde, 2014). Research into gender has worked across cultural, industry, group and individual levels of analysis. Key areas of study have examined self-efficacy and performance (Bandura, 1982; MacPhee et al., 2013), the role of parenting (Ginevra, Nota, & Ferrari, 2013; Santos, 2015; Taylor et al., 2015), and in particular stereotyping (Powell & Sang, 2015; Raiden, 2016; Reskin, 1993). This literature is broad using numerous theoretical lenses to examine gender issues. Using faultline theory to

explore gender discrimination in traditionally segregated employment, with male artisan participants, provides a different contribution because they represent the dominant in-group (Steffens, Haslam, Ryan, & Kessler, 2013).

Data obtained from studying women in traditionally segregated occupations has brought with it complexity and contradiction (Smith 2013a, p. 864). For example, women have to be both masculine and feminine to cope without threatening the male domain (p. 871). Other findings included that women are able to derive pleasure from working with their hands and still “be gendered” (p. 866). Women can be better artisans than men, as they are more nurturing (p. 867). This results in fewer mistakes and fewer injuries by being patient and planning properly. Women learn to work smart with their bodies instead of using brute force (p. 868). Males demonstrate mainly “hegemonic masculinity where being tough, strong and stoic” are seen as beneficial (p. 871). Smith (2013a) confirms that, what women say and do to cope in male-gendered workplaces could help gender equality studies. Although Smith (2013a) makes a good point, the flipside of this contention also applies. We need a deeper understanding of men’s lived experiences of gender to understand these discourses fully (Tsui et al., 2011, p. 575).

In a second article, Smith (2013b) noted that the prevalence of hegemonic masculinity in trade occupations makes this field perfect to examine gender. Smith (2013b) provides exceptional insights into these trade occupations that need to be complemented with further research. Understanding the triggers of subtle implicit and explicit bias by men could reveal crucial data for future diversity studies. Smith (2013b) found from the recruitment phase in trade occupations that all processes symbolise maleness (pp. 594–595). In this recruitment phase, women are seen as women, and they may be excluded from gaining access to historically segregated employment due to the lack of confidence in the work environments that are not accommodating. In other cases, women gain access easier because they are women (that is, policy). “Everyday sexism” exists where men verbally use policy “equity or anti-discrimination legislation” to intimidate or victimise women (Smith, 2013b, pp. 595–597). Moreover, humour is used to ridicule women, making them feel like outsiders (Smith, 2013b, p. 598).

The male body was often the focus of attention highlighting its advantages to the trade (Smith, 2013b). Women are often touched or threatened with widespread sexual harassment (p. 597). Sexism, racism and being shown pornography are typically produced through joke telling (p. 596). These instances were sometime outside the

organisational culture, which resulted in insecurity, leading to resignation (Smith 2013b, p. 596).

Women used different coping strategies by not confronting genderism every time they encountered it and choosing instead to “pick their battles” (Smith 2013b, p. 868). Once established in the trade, some women work on the periphery of the workplace choosing to avoid contact with male colleagues. This resulted in a lack of exposure to key tasks affecting performance. Women being intimidated was seen as part of their initiation into the trade (Smith, 2013b).

Another coping strategy included “hiding from femininity” (Smith 2013b, p. 867) with women for instance putting on weight as a subconscious means of covering up. Women being objectified through sexualised talk or jokes is commonplace. Often, women co-workers are included in these conversations. Women had to learn two different languages relating to the same situation – that of being more manly and that of remaining a woman. Communication in segregated work environments was typically statement-oriented. The male embodiment of trade occupations means women have to “negotiate the contradiction between their gender being highly visible and the effects of these gendering practices being highly invisible” (Smith 2013b, p. 600).

Policies and physical facilities do not change organisational politics according to Smith, (2013b). Much of the work women do goes largely unnoticed. Women in gender-segregated occupations have to toil through male-gendered culture leading to onerous and sometimes debilitating emotional issues. Being successful in trade occupations becomes infinitely more difficult for women, especially as men still wield the trade embodiment and socialised male power (Smith 2013b, pp. 862–872). This research, conducted by Smith (2013b), is cited widely. Her efforts to understand how women adapt in trying circumstances are exemplary. Her findings will be complemented by the different vantage point adopted by the current study of obtaining data from men. In addition, using faultline theory as the lens through which to observe this phenomenon produced interesting findings.

Powell and Sang (2015) conducted qualitative research in the United Kingdom, and focussed on women in professions within engineering and construction. These were also traditionally segregated occupations, which excluded women. Their sample however included male participants. Their findings echo many similar constructs identified by Smith, (2013b). Broadly, their results showed women experienced “everyday othering”

(Smith 2013b, pp. 923–925), with women being treated differently to their male counterparts. This included exclusion and sexist humour (pp. 925–926). Exclusion from groups both formal (work) and informal (social), plus task exclusion leads to a reduction in “social capital” or influence. Women also experienced “symbolic violence” as a result of these exclusionary behaviours perpetuating gender stereotypes (Smith 2013b, p. 925).

Women suffered further prejudice by potential childbirth, affecting potential job placement. Lack of historical exposure to women in the workplace takes time for men to come to grips with according to Smith (2013b). Women have to act ‘normally’ to become accepted and adapt to the male environment. In other instances, men expect women to act like men fostering the concept of “double blindness” (Smith 2013b, p. 930). Fundamental differences between sexes include, for instance, that women mostly do not want to work at muddy sites. When women compete with one another, some women preferring to align themselves with the masculine stereotype. “Female capital” is an advantage with excessive use of this leading to disadvantage (Smith 2013b, p. 930). In other words, women use their femininity to gain advantage in the workplace.

Smith, (2013b) also raised how quotas resulting in advantage for women (that is, job attainment or positive discrimination) resulted in resentment to the presence of women from men. Where women were in the minority in these workplaces they become highly visible, resulting in harsher assessments of performance. Smith, (2013b) found men believed they were better than women and that women were required to prove their ability to be accepted (Smith 2013b, pp. 920–933).

Although Powel and Sang (2015) conducted their research with professionals (for example, architects or engineers), many of the underlying constructs or conditions may also be relevant in mining within the engineering trades. As such, the data from this and other related gender studies provides valuable insights for understanding women’s challenges entering traditionally segregated workplaces.

In a South African study examining women in construction, English and Hay (2015) found that although there was no direct discrimination, women felt they had to work harder to earn respect (p. 160). Women also experienced greater barriers than men to entering the construction industry. English and Hay (2015) reported that mediation and training were needed to change attitudes in the construction industry. There was also evidence of sexual harassment and male chauvinism despite working conditions improving for

women. At the time of their study, the industry was becoming more progressive in dealing with family demands such as pregnancy. It was further found that women brought unique skills to the industry, termed “soft skills” (English & Hay, 2015, p. 158). These skills comprise listening, negotiating and keeping peace, while men are more aggressive. Positive traits women bring to construction include “teamwork, multi-tasking, quality finishing, courtesy, and reliability” (pp. 145–162). English and Hay (2015) refer in their study to the prevalence of some of the subtle and explicit bias experienced by women in construction as well as the value they bring to the industry. These findings and those in other studies quoted in this section, touch on the challenges women face and how they learn to cope in these traditional male domains. By producing deeper insights, the current research complemented results from these prior studies.

Wildschut and Meyer (2016) recently conducted a qualitative study in the mining and engineering sectors of South Africa. They found employers in these sectors were not representative of race and gender, with ongoing inequality linked to the history of the country. Workplace prejudices were reflected in negative attitudes towards maternity, while women encountered difficult physical challenges. Safety and hygiene including toilet facilities were not accommodating for women, with working conditions remaining hazardous. Race and age formed strong social boundary conditions within these sectors. Older white males were seen as more loyal and better performing than young artisans, typically those who were black, with limited training periods affecting the perceived quality of their work. There was strong evidence of direct racial discrimination in the mining sector. Language differences produced further occupational boundaries. These findings also helped guide the current research design.

This literature provides context to understand the challenges women face working in traditionally male-dominated occupations (English & Hay, 2015; Powell & Sang, 2015; Smith, 2013a, 2013b; Wildschut & Meyer, 2016a). Managing gender diversity needs to take cognisance of these findings to ensure policy does not reinforce gendered patterns (Raiden, 2016). Academics also need to find new models for understanding current research incorporating gender issues (Laplonge, 2016). While policy drives the inclusion of women into segregated occupations “what gets said and done on a daily basis” in these work environments perpetuates discrimination (Smith, 2013b, p. 594).

Explicit discrimination in the modern workplace is frowned upon, with many organisations having clearly defined disciplinary measures reserved for offenders. Bias occurs more

subtly however through social conditioning where the sexes “practice gender” (Martin, 2006, p. 255). Martin highlights how “non-reflexive” behaviour occurs as a result of people having societal power. Without consciously applying prejudice or bias, men create barriers in the workplace (Martin, 2006).

The barriers for women in traditionally segregated work environments – both within the trades and other environments, including information technology and policing for example – should not be overlooked. Within policing, Martin (1996) describes how men at the time of her study resented and resisted the presence of women in their ranks, seeing them as threatening their male identities (Martin, 1996, p. 2). This resulted in barriers, including sexist language, sexual harassment, performance pressures, paternalism and gender-related stereotypes. These dynamics are still widely prevalent in companies today more than 20 years later (Martin & Phillips, 2017).

Other studies have focussed on gender heterogeneous versus homogenous groups (Nishii, 2013) as well as gender difference in management (Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002), politics (Bratton, 2005) and other occupations such as architecture (Caven et al., 2016) as examples. It seems gender research is destined to continue deriving mixed findings against the backdrop of powerful cultural norms that perpetuate discrimination on a day-to-day basis (Mannix & Neale, 2005). This is especially relevant when research is done in different contexts where there will be overlap but subtly different findings too. History influences “social structure” with varying practices highlighting the importance of context (Martin 2003, p. 344).

This viewpoint is shared by Van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007) who found work group process and performance are not explained by broad primary diversity categorisations. Diversity studies cannot assume a linear expectation but have to delve deeply into the “dimensions of differentiation” paying more attention to the “moderators of social categorization, intergroup bias, and information/decision-making processes” (p. 534). This contribution again reinforces the need for more nuanced studies.

There are many tensions and contradictions relating to the economic realities of women participating in traditionally segregated employment (Beneria 1999, p. 73). National cultures characterised by patriarchy and male dominance are prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa, South and East Asia as well as the Muslim Middle East (Kandiyoti, 1988; Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). The prevalence of culturally entrenched patriarchy typically results in job segregation coupled with wage disparities between men and women in the same

occupations. This also affects the supply side of women entering traditionally segregated jobs (Stockdale & Nadler, 2012).

Gender inequality is typically seen as the oldest form of discrimination globally (Shen et al., 2009). In South Africa, this is compounded by the prevalence of historical racial inequality (Shen et al., 2009, p. 235). A study by Kruss and Wildschut (2015) highlighted the difficulties associated with access to apprenticeships determined by race and gender in South Africa. They go on to argue that the historical discriminatory employment practices still affect access to employment. These historically discriminatory patterns relating to class, gender and race in the mining sector remain pervasive (Humby, 2014, p. 654).

In trying to establish how gender research in diversity management could improve practice, researchers have looked at models associated with organisational justice (Fujimoto et al., 2013). Ethics has also been proposed where employees are performance-appraised to the extent they encourage inclusion and cooperation with minorities (Gotsis & Kortezi, 2013). Diversity remains a management challenge where research can play a key role to improve the lived reality for many women at work, plus lead to improved organisational effectiveness. Bringing about meaningful change is difficult without a balanced, deep understanding of diversities complex dimensions (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

In their literature review, Farndale et al. (2015) explored gender and inclusion from a global or multinational perspective. They used primary variables gender, age and nationality to explore national, organisational and team levels of analysis. Their study concluded with recommendations for future research to produce rigour in analysing and explaining "context-specific" designs to explore phenomenon properly (p. 684). Farndale et al. (2015) also suggested an examination of "employee-level" perspectives to understand relationships linked to policy and culture (p. 685). They promote integrated reporting of results to highlight the interdependence of variables instead of separate reporting for deeper understanding. Finally, Farndale et al., (2015) called for an explicit definition of inclusion practices to share country-specific policies taking context into consideration. These recommendations mirror some of the suggestions for future research utilised in diversity management literature (Ahonen et al., 2014; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Pringle & Ryan, 2015; Tatli et al., 2012).

This section has highlighted the challenges and coping strategies adopted by women in traditionally segregated occupations. Typically, these studies are conducted mainly by women researchers gathering data mainly from women participants (English & Hay, 2015; Powell & Sang, 2015; Smith, 2013a, 2013b). The current study sought to build an understanding of the triggers of male-gendered discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. Exploring hidden context and power through the faultline theory lens, provides a different perspective to broaden our understanding of this gender phenomenon.

2.8 Conclusion

The analysis of diversity management literature including faultline theory has touched on the crucial texts required to frame this study. This has included relevant literature covering surface- and deep-level diversity, the critical dimensions of power linked to context, and triggers leading faultline activation. The difficulties in measuring performance quantitatively were explained, showing a need for more nuanced studies.

The crucial inclusion of gender as a surface-level construct has also been expanded in this review. The review brought specific focus to prior studies of women entering traditionally segregated occupations providing a deeper level understanding of the challenges women face.

Together, the two bodies of literature incorporating faultline theory and gender have laid a platform that supported the approach of this study. The literature is expanded in the discussion of results in Chapter 5, where a more precise decomposition of the literature helps to explain the findings. As a prelude to sharing the key theoretical contribution of this study, the proposed framework has been foregrounded in this conclusion (Figure 2.4). The logic for this framework is closely supported by literature in chapter 7. This framework highlights the role process conflict and forms an antecedent condition negatively affecting relationship and subsequently task conflicts. Where gendered relationship conflicts exist because of activated faultlines, task conflict is destructive perpetuating gender discrimination.

Faultline activation has been studied widely in prior studies (Jehn & Bezrukova, 2010; Jehn et al., 2008; Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015; Pearsall et al., 2008). Despite this progression in knowledge, in-depth understanding of the triggers activating faultlines within specific contexts has not been fully explored. Chrobot-Mason et al., (2009)

developed a typology for faultline triggers included in figure 2.4. These related to the formation of social identity groups that perceived differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliation, and simple contact (p. 1775). Although these triggers are an effective typology to assess faultline activation, the antecedent conditions triggering the different types of conflict are less understood (Adair et al., 2017). Figure 2.7 highlights this gap highlighting the impact of process conflicts in triggering relationship and task conflicts.

Importantly, this model suggests men as the dominant in-group discriminate because of the existence of process conflict. This model also suggests a compounding effect when men perceive they are treated differently, that women hold different values and that women are not assimilated into the workplace effectively.

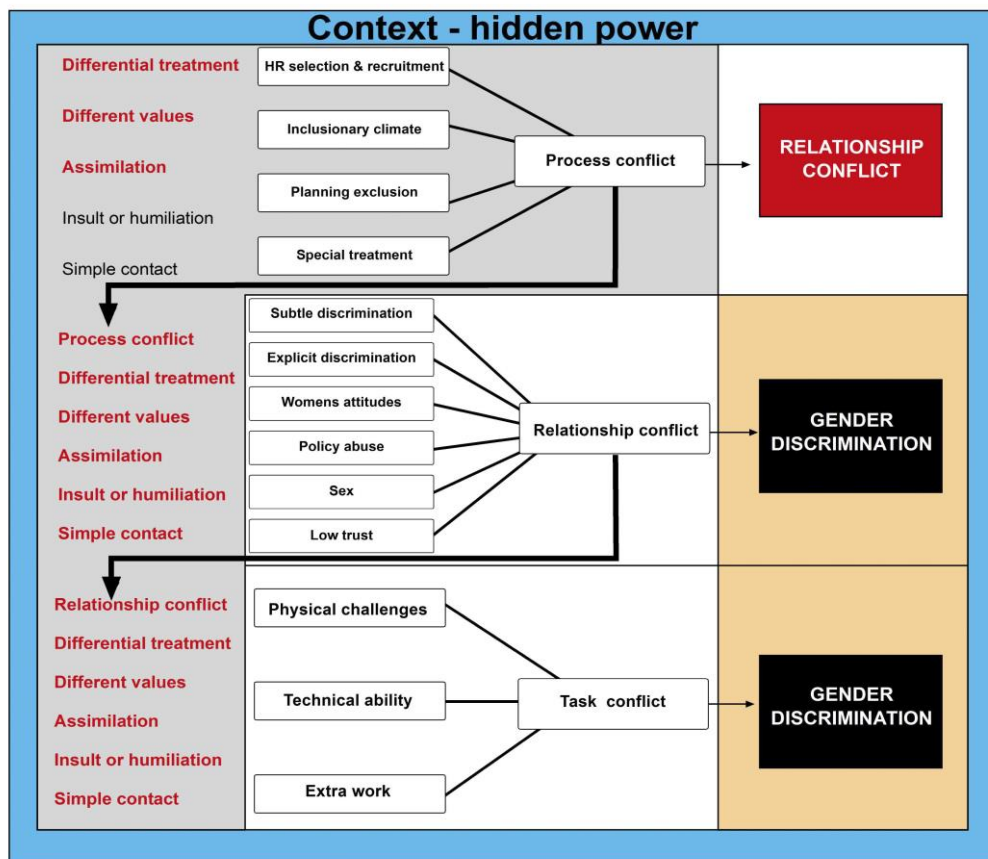


Figure 2.4: Framework for antecedent conditions and conflict

Source: Author's own compilation

Chapter 3 Research design

3.1 Introduction

The current research responded to the need for more nuanced studies to understand how power influences deep-level constructs triggering conflict from different male subgroups in a real-world setting. Power relates directly to context, with calls for diversity studies to expose the dynamic interaction of context and power (Thatcher & Patel, 2012, p. 994). Exposing this interaction could provide a deep understanding of subgroup formation and influence. Considering the dynamics of power in the mining setting will help build meaning around the beliefs and attitudes held by the men participating in this study, as well as how these mind-sets affect inclusion.

Rich data obtained from conducting 30 in-depth interviews, provided a solid foundation to explore the different dimensions related to the central research topic. Empirical quantitative methods have grappled with examining participants' deep-level attitudes and the triggers of gender faultlines. These studies struggled to explain the complexity, contradiction and account for contextual variation. In summary, attempts to explore everyday experiences of participants qualitatively are lacking in diversity studies (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013; Martin, 1996; Powell & Sang, 2015).

Diversity management needs more qualitative studies in natural, real world settings (Horwitz & Horwitz, 2007; Wegge, Roth, Neubach, Schmidt, & Kanfer, 2008). This is critical to understand the "complex, dynamic relationships associated with faultlines, and "methodologies that can obtain detailed descriptions of events that have occurred in the workplace" (Chrobot-Mason et al. 2009, p. 1770).

For example, using archival data to study workgroup performance, Bezrukova et al. (2009, p. 46) confirm the need for qualitative inquiry that supports survey data. In providing direction for researchers wishing to employ empirical methods to test faultline constructs, Meyer and Glenz (2013, p. 397) state subjectivist views of participants should not be ignored. Meyer et al. (2011, p. 275) emphasise the benefits of obtaining rich data by investigating faultlines using qualitative methods.

South Africa is an interesting place to explore diversity, especially as it has undergone rapid change since the abolishment of Apartheid coupled with the first free elections in 1994. Not surprisingly, gender and race are key sub- or identity groups, providing a basis for interesting research relative to the history of the country (Crankshaw, 1997).

Historically, white males enjoyed dominance over most mid- to higher-level positions in the country. Black women worked mostly as domestic helpers, while black men occupied most unskilled positions (Crankshaw, 1997). Recent race and gender statistics are reflected in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Population group and gender 2017

Population group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number of males	% of male population	Number of females	% of female population	Total number	% of total population
African	22 311 400	80.8	23 345 000	80.8	45 656 400	80.8
Coloured	2 403 400	8.7	2 559 500	8.9	4 962 900	8.8
Indian/Asian	719 300	2.6	689 800	2.4	1 409 100	2.5
White	2 186 500	7.9	2 307 100	8.0	4 493 500	8.0
Total	27 620 600	100	28 901 400	100	56 521 900	100

Source: Stats SA (2017)

In 2017, black men occupied most artisanal jobs in South Africa (Minerals Council South Africa, 2017), with increasing numbers of women entering trade occupations. This is confirmed by the Chamber of Mines (now the Minerals Council of South Africa) Mineral Council South Africa: Facts and figures pocket book of 2016 where women representation was 11 200 in 2002 increasing to 53 000 in 2015 (Chamber of Mines, 2016, p. 27). These statistics confirm the demographic reality of women entering the engineering trades in South Africa.

The boundary conditions in the current study were crucial to unlocking the triggers that activate faultlines (Lounsbury & Beckman, 2015, p. 301). Handfield (1998, p. 326) emphasises the need for researchers to assess the effects of “industry, organisation size, manufacturing processes, and inter-organizational effects in setting boundary assumptions on their observations”. The current study chose an extreme natural setting, namely hazardous mining in South Africa, coupled with traditionally extreme occupational segregation, the engineering trades, to explore gender discrimination. This setting helped expose the extremities of power in this context exposing antecedent conditions that enable activated faultlines to culminate in conflict and gender discrimination. This setting also laid a solid foundation for future research both in faultline theory and gender studies to look at different contexts, which include other non-traditional levels and units of analysis. This is key in broadening understanding for transferability from one context to the next (Lewis & Grimes, 1999; Pettigrew, 2013).

The method chosen to collect participant data comprised in-depth semi-structured interviews. Male participants were purposefully selected to include subgroups split by

surface-level demographics of age, race and tenure. Three different mining companies in the gold and platinum sectors of South Africa were chosen for data collection. Data was triangulated to account for the influence of culture and practices from one mining company to the next.

This approach provided a sound methodological strategy to unveil “deep-level hidden dimensions of diversity” (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007, p. 530). It also exposed much of what was unsaid in the daily lived experiences of the participants (p. 153). For practice, the deep-level exploration of peer-to-peer gender discrimination will help inform future policy and help design interventions to improve group functioning. This could reduce staff turnover among women artisans (Benya, 2009, p. 132). A detailed overview of the philosophical paradigms, chosen methods and design for this study is found in the remainder of this chapter.

3.1.1 Research paradigm or philosophy

The philosophical approach to this research adopted a pragmatic paradigm with the primary motive being to address the research topic with its related questions (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). A pragmatic approach was suited to this study as this point of view helped provide a fuller picture of a phenomenon (Bonoma, 1985; Esteves & Pastor, 2004; Kaplan & Duchon, 1988). Gender is often seen as complex and, at times, contradictory with women reporting different experiences from one study to the next (Benería, 1999). Pragmatism is again appropriate, especially against a contextual background that broadens studies to include age, race and experience (Irving & English, 2015, p. 160). Finally, where there are strong practice benefits for society, pragmatic designs are also seen as beneficial (Booyesen, 2007).

Most gender studies use women as the unit of analysis (Ayre, Mills, & Gill, 2013; Bezrukova, Spell, Perry, & Jehn, 2016; Doro & De Graaf-Smith, 2013; Smith, 2013a). The current study adopted the view that it is difficult to advance theoretical perspectives or provide a worldview if the phenomenon is not explored from multiple perspectives (Groenewald, 2004, p. 6). Approaching gender discrimination differently, this study attempted to address the research topic by generating data using in-depth interviews to explore male-gendered attitudes, linked to power dimensions that trigger subtle and explicit gender discrimination (Jehn et al., 2008; Jonsen et al., 2011).

3.1.2 *Ontology*

Ontology is associated with assumptions, which the researcher makes relating to his or her perception of social reality. In other words, there are multiple ways a phenomenon can be explored qualitatively depending on the ontological beliefs of the researcher. For example, Azorín and Cameron (2010, p. 96) describe a positivist view as “an objective view is out there to be found” while a constructivist will state, “each person has his or her own reality”. This study was based in a post-positivist ontology where “rigorous methods were applied” along with “systematic forms of inquiry” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 125). This post-positivist ontology accepts there is “critical realist” viewpoint where “there is a true reality one cannot fully comprehend (Morrow, 2007, p. 213).

The current study explored male engineering artisans’ views to construct an in-depth perspective of gender discrimination in the mining sector of South Africa. Men working as or training to become artisans were interviewed to establish their attitudes, beliefs and triggers activating faultlines that lead to subtle and explicit gender discrimination. The “historical ontology” (Nkomo & Hoobler, 2014, p. 246) particularly in prior qualitative studies used women as the units of analysis. This change in unit of analysis created a unique ontological adaption.

3.1.3 *Epistemology*

Epistemology is linked to the philosophical approach to the study (Lincoln, 1995). Included in this is the role of the researcher and the research objectives linked to the research question (Bryman, 1984). Diversity management requires in-depth research using nuanced approaches to unveil hidden power relating to context particularly at micro and meso level (Ahonen et al., 2014; Kelle, 2001). The context in which humans interact influences reality, which can be multi-faceted. Subjectivity is therefore best understood through interpretation (Kelle, 2001; Pettigrew, 2013).

Following a post-positivist stance, the current study integrated the views of the participants in an effort to interpret the data (Jonsen et al., 2011, p. 43). The combined subjectivist views from the in-depth interviews were used to understand gender discrimination from a male perspective reflected through the lens of faultline theory (Ormiston, 2015). By seeking an “insider’s perspective”, the researcher sought to develop shared meanings from the data collected (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988, p. 511). This approach aimed to use the selected method as the best way to address the central research topic (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 16).

The topic of this research and the questions that guided the overall design were closely linked to literature but also to the researcher's philosophical approach. The primary topic was **Understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations**. The questions formulated to address the topic were:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

This line of questioning was crafted from faultline theory (Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Li & Hambrick, 2005; Thatcher & Patel, 2012; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

3.1.4 Axiology

The current study centred on heuristic reflection as a means to explore the contradictions within diversity from one context to the next (Ferdman, 2017). As a male researcher exploring gender discrimination, the axiological position required sensitivity (Gotsis & Kortezi, 2013). Using an interpretive approach, the goal was to *verstehen* or in English understand the constructs separating "social sciences from the physical sciences by allowing access to the essential human aspects of individuals" (Hudson & Ozanne, 1988, p. 510). Hudson and Ozanne (1988, p. 511) add to their definition of *verstehen*, explaining that it goes beyond merely understanding. The term also implies the shaping of shared meaning while seeking deeper understanding.

The current study used in-depth interviews to gather subjective data relating to the male-gendered attitudes as well as triggers of gender discrimination towards female engineering artisan peers. Formulating the research questions and the interpretation of the data was affected by the researcher's view. Considering how these values have the potential to influence research, rigorous quality measures are outlined in the methodology section to deal with inadvertent researcher bias. The researcher recognised the challenge of a white middle-aged SA male conducting research on what is a sensitive topic. Cognisance of this axiological challenge was paramount, with guidance from external experts. Being a male researcher with the chosen unit of analysis (that is, men in the engineering trades) was seen as advantageous, with participants more open to sharing their views. An insider view was achieved. This is evidenced by the richness of the data shared in the next chapter.

3.2 Research design, approach and strategy of inquiry

This study sought to understand the antecedents to gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations in order to understand faultline activation within a context with hidden power and strong gender discrimination. The qualitative research design is explained in detail as well as commitments to achieving rigour (Shenton, 2004). Rigour was vital, especially in light of historical criticism questioning the utility of qualitative designs (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). As mentioned previously, this design reflects the required evidence to understand the topic linked to the overarching aim of the study, namely to understand faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations (Esteves & Pastor, 2004, p. 73).

3.2.1 Research design

Diversity management and gender studies are typically complex and sometimes contradictory in their findings (Roberson et al., 2017; Shore et al., 2009). The in-depth interviews provided a sufficiently broad picture of the hidden intrigue within this study leading to complete findings (Esteves & Pastor, 2004, p. 73). In other words, dualisms were better interpreted using this design, especially by gathering data from men in-groups.

No in-depth studies were available that explored male attitudes and triggers of behavioural disintegration towards women in the engineering trades, particularly as this relates to faultline theory. This supports the argument for qualitative designs that produce relevant nuanced data (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014; Pringle & Ryan, 2015). The engineering trade occupations are traditionally highly gender-segregated (Campbell et al., 2013; Kruss & Wildschut, 2015; Taylor et al., 2015). The in-depth interviews with male artisans working alongside female peers illuminated subgroups within the male population. In addition, they highlighted a flipside to the numerous gender studies that focussed on women participants. Using faultline theory to explore this research topic within mining in South Africa provided a unique research contribution. For managers, this research is expected to inform company policy. It will also form a basis to design diversity management programmes to bring about positive change for women entering traditionally segregated occupations.

Finally, the research design method has provided deeper understanding for developing congruence related to the conception of shared meaning (Corley & Gioia, 2011; Ghorashi

& Sabelis, 2014). The in-depth interviews provided individual reflections of the phenomenon of women entering traditionally segregated employment across a broad sample from three different mining sites. This broad sample helped understand the potential for “informant bias” (Pettigrew, 2013, p. 125).

3.2.2 Research approach

The research approach, derived from literature, used faultline theory to explore gender discrimination by male engineering artisans toward female peers. Male-gendered attitudes, beliefs and the triggers activating faultlines were explored within subgroups of the male population split across age, race and tenure. From this analysis, common themes helping to understand the deep-level constructs perpetuating gender discrimination were developed (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This conflict typically encourages subtle implicit and explicit bias, which are the products of behavioural disintegration (Meyer & Glenz, 2013). While Meyer and Glenz (2013) propose statistical measures to establish faultlines, the current study adopted a qualitative approach to cluster subgroup data into common themes (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 539). This furthers the recommendations for more qualitative designs to interpret the complex deep-level constructs in diversity management studies (Chan et al., 2013; Martin, 1996; Powell & Sang, 2015).

The in-depth interviews provided full understanding by highlighting the critical perspectives to discuss the research topic. The range of viewpoints from in-depth interviews strengthened this research contribution (Handfield, 1998, p. 333). The research approach was characterised by the use of deductive (for example, the literature review and use of theory) and inductive (for example, data analysis and coding) reasoning (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011; Arthur, 1994; Esteves & Pastor, 2004).

3.2.3 Strategy of inquiry

Mingers (2001, p. 245) defines research as being grounded in either the material, personal or social worlds, highlighting the subjectivity versus objectivity of how we observe and interpret phenomena in each. The current study focussed on the social world described as “inter-subjectivity because it is on the one hand a human world construction and on the other hand goes beyond and pre-exists any particular individual” (Mingers, 2001, pp. 244–245). In addition, the social world is the world within which we participate with its “complex multi-layering of language, meaning, social practices, rules, and resources that both enables and constraints our actions and is reproduced through

them” (Mingers, 2001, pp. 244–254). Power is the primary dimension of this world (Esteves & Pastor, 2004, p. 71). Power is commonly used as a construct in diversity studies as it can produce both positive and negative outcomes (Ahonen et al., 2014; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014; Pringle & Ryan, 2015; Thatcher & Patel, 2012). The current study revealed the different sources of power, as well as how these power dynamics influence subgroup formation.

These descriptions of the world and the hidden, complex dimensions of power in diversity subgroups led to a call for more nuanced studies (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014; Martin, 2003; Pringle & Ryan, 2015). This is a result of the often mixed findings from prior diversity management research (Horwitz & Horwitz, 2007; Mor Barak, 2015; Ormiston, 2015; Valchev, Van de Vijver, Nel, Rothmann, & Meiring, 2013; Webber & Donahue, 2001).

To avoid the challenges of striving for generalisability associated with mixed findings in quantitative approaches, the strategy of inquiry informed by literature adopted an interpretive stance. This pragmatic approach unveiled hidden meanings and provided possible explanations for the mixed findings in prior research (Mor Barak, 2015; Ormiston, 2015). This is especially true for studies using survey methods where U-shaped relationships have been reported extensively (Bell et al., 2011; Chen et al., 2017; Colquitt & Zapata-Phelan, 2007; Dwertmann et al., 2016; Guillaume et al., 2017; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Kossek et al., 2006; Li, & Hambrick, 2005; Pérez-Fuentes, 2013; Shore et al., 2009; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Zhou & Shi, 2011).

3.3 Research type

This qualitative research project used in-depth interviews to gather data. In deciding to adopt this method, other qualitative methods were discounted after careful consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of each. For example, grounded theory did not allow for the incorporation of a theoretical lens, but adopts bottom-up data analysis for theory to emerge (Gioia et al., 2013). Case study research limits the number of cases, aiming instead for a detailed account of a limited number of cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). This approach would not have accounted for the spread in subgroups. Narrative study would have provided too much unstructured data produced through “restorying” (Creswell, Hanson, Clark Plano, & Morales, 2007, p. 244).

Using in-depth interviews, additional participants could have been included if saturation was not achieved. The interviews helped to facilitate the gathering of sufficient rich data that shaped shared meanings (Lewis & Grimes, 1999, p. 681). After data collection and analysis, the choice of using in-depth interviews was affirmed to have been a good selection of method.

3.4 Population, sampling, and data collection

This section highlights the population used for this study. It also defines the sampling and data collection strategies.

3.4.1 Population

The population for this study comprised men working as engineering artisans, traditionally segregated occupations that historically did not allow women access. This population was narrowed to include a sample of men working as engineering artisans in mining. The mining sector was chosen because it was traditionally fraught with racial and gender discrimination. A further boundary was included to narrow this population to three mining companies in the gold and platinum sectors of South Africa.

3.4.2 Sampling

All the participants in this study were selected based on a purposeful strategy targeting male artisans employed in the mining sector of South Africa at the time of the study. The only exceptions were the two participants used in a pilot study who worked at an apprentice engineering training company. Although they were working as training instructors, both participants had prior experience working for mining companies alongside women artisans. All the participants were categorised by age, race and tenure. They were drawn from three different employers to ensure the micro factors associated with organisational culture and leadership were different from one site to the next, supporting data triangulation. This was planned to account for other unforeseen differences in context.

The majority of the participants were black, which accounted for the rapidly changing demographic profile of artisans working in mining. Williams and O'Reilly (1998, p. 108) emphasise the importance of sampling in gender studies. Quoting Ely (1994), they highlight how sampling can affect the nature or results of empirical data. As mentioned earlier, most previous studies examining the inclusion of women in traditionally

segregated occupations used women as the unit of analysis. The current study explored paradigms of men from a dominant in-group perspective.

A purposeful sample of between 18 and 21 participants was initially sought. Once the data collection process had started, a decision was made to extend this sample to 30 participants to ensure saturation was achieved, and to target younger participants below the age of 25 (Boyce & Neale, 2006, p. 4). Data saturation appeared from the 23rd interview. The decision to target younger participants proved valuable. Key data highlighting important additional insights relating to apprentices as a subgroup added interesting insights. Increasing the sample was one of the advantages of using in-depth interviews where data saturation may not be achieved, or where the data for the subgroup split of age, race or tenure revealed uniquely different themes (Dworkin, 2012; Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Table 3.3 summarises the participant demographics and company origin.

Table 3.3: Participant demographics and company origin

Interview	Alias	Age	Race	Trade	Tenure	Company
1	Jason	36	White	Instrumentation	5	Pilot
2	Aban	48	Black	Fitter	3	Pilot
3	Sipho	39	Black	Electric apprentice	3	Platinum A
4	Thabo	29	Black	Fitting apprentice	10	Platinum A
5	Bangizwe	48	Black	Electric apprentice	18	Platinum A
6	Bheka	41	Black	Fitter	14	Platinum A
7	Bert	51	White	Fitter	30	Platinum B
8	Deon	32	White	Fitter	7	Platinum B
9	Jasper	26	White	Millwright	5	Platinum B
10	Sizwe	36	Black	Diesel mechanic	12	Platinum B
11	Bheki	37	Black	Electrician	10	Platinum B
12	Hans	29	White	Diesel mechanic	5	Platinum B
13	Dumisani	41	Black	Fitter	14	Platinum A
14	Fanyana	47	Black	Fitter	3	Platinum A
15	Hluphizwe	36	Black	Fitter	7	Gold A
16	Khulekani	35	Black	Rigger	10	Gold A
17	Lindani	40	Black	Boilermaker	11	Gold A
18	Lungile	32	Black	Diesel mechanic	6	Gold A
19	Lungelo	36	Black	Electrician	11	Gold A
20	Brian	49	White	Boilermaker	25	Gold A
21	Mandla	42	Black	Instrumentation	17	Gold A

22	Maphikelela	28	Black	Fitter & turner	1	Platinum B
23	Craig	26	White	Diesel mechanic	2	Platinum B
24	Mfanafuthi	32	Black	Boilermaker	10	Platinum B
25	Mgwazeni	29	Black	Fitter	6	Platinum B
26	Mhambi	31	Black	Millwright	1	Platinum B
27	Jocques	48	White	Electrician	19	Platinum B
28	Mndeni	25	Black	Instrumentation	6	Gold A
29	Mondli	24	Black	Serviceman	1	Gold A
30	Deadpool	22	Black	Electrician	3	Gold A

The participants were selected based on differences in age, race and tenure. Age broadly categorised participants 18–25, 26–35, and above 35. ‘Youth’ is broadly defined as persons between 14 and 35 in South Africa (National Youth Commission Act, No. 19 1996) (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Apprentices are not employed in mining until they are at least 18 years old. ‘Race’ was defined in the current study as black or white, and ‘tenure’ was structured as five years and below, and years and above. Table 3.4 summarises the demographic spread of the participants.

Table 3.4: Subgroup demographics

Demographic subgroups summary					
Age	Total	Race	Total	Tenure	Total
18–25	3	Black	22	< 5 years	12
26–35	12	White	8	> 5 years	18
> 35	15				
Total	30		30		30

For homogeneity, the sample reflects a selected group of male artisans who shared their lived experiences, exposing gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. Early saturation can be associated with a tight homogenous group (Guest et al., 2006). In these scenarios where homogenous groups are targeted for data collection, smaller samples can be used. The additional dimensional splits of age, race, tenure, as is the case of the current study, required a broader sample (Guest et al., 2006). The “diverse conjectures” collected in the field were, “interesting, plausible, and appropriate” (Davis, 1971; Handfield, 1998). This confirmed the relevance of the sample selection. Participants were selected from three different mine sites so that data collected from each site could be triangulated, helping to explain broad contextual influences (Modell, 2009, p. 209).

3.4.3 Data collection

Gaining access to engineering artisans working in mining took some convincing, especially given the sensitive nature of this research. This process took five months (January to May 2018). Of the five mining companies that were approached, two agreed to participate, and individuals were recruited from a third mining site. Once access had been granted the interviews took place over two months on site (June and July 2018). The mining companies that participated in the study did so on condition that their

companies remained anonymous. They were reluctant to be embroiled in any political grandstanding arising from this research.

The retention of women artisans is a challenge in in most countries including South Africa (Adams, 2013; Ayre et al., 2013; Benya, 2017a; Skulmoski, 2015). With high costs to train an artisan, not keeping these qualified personnel 'on the tools' affects productivity. This helped persuade managers to provide access. Once permission had been granted, full cooperation of two mining groups was achieved. One company managed to release men who were doing refresher training (Platinum B) in one instance, and another (Gold A) paid the men overtime or gave them days off to be interviewed. Artisans working in mining are shift workers. This means special arrangements had to be made for their release. The participants from the third mining site (Platinum A) were approached individually, and were sourced from a training provider database. These participants represented six of the total sample of 30 participants.

Engineering artisans are proficient in the English language. This was discounted as a barrier to effective data collection as engineering artisans are trained in English and have to have a level of proficiency in the language to qualify as artisans. An additional potential barrier was the cultural background of the researcher who is a white middle-aged SA man. As most of these engineering artisans had trained and worked with white men, this was also discounted as a barrier. Neither language nor race was an issue during data collection as evidenced by the depth and richness of the data.

Data was gathered using in-depth semi-structured interviews. Due to the nature of the sample, which included a number of surface-level dimensions, namely gender, age, race and tenure difference, the sample was broadened to include 30 participants (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Although this method allows for a semi-structured approach, it is also sufficiently flexible to accommodate participant deviation and probing by the researcher (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012).

The interview linked to the research topic comprised 16 open-ended sub-questions linked to the three questions. Each participant was asked the same questions in the same order (Appendix C). Questions were followed up with probing questions only when participants did not provide adequate detail, or where clarity relating to their response was required. The average length of each interview was between 40 and 50 minutes.

Most men working as artisans in mining work alongside women artisans at some point or other, depending on the maintenance of breakdown requirements. This made the

planning of the interviews easier as all the participants had the required experience of working with female peers. After conducting the pilot interviews with two experienced artisans, this assumption was confirmed. Contacting the mining companies initially was done by phone, followed by e-mail to coordinate and schedule the interviews. An example of the general e-mail request that was sent to the mines after calling their management is shared in Appendix B. The participants' demographic profiles were tracked on an Excel spreadsheet. This ensured a relevant spread covering the selected diversity dimensions was achieved. Interestingly, many of the artisans working in mining at the time of this study were older than 25. A specific request was put to Gold A, who provided younger men for the final three interviews. These three men were in the process of completing their apprenticeships as engineering artisans.

During the interviews, extensive field notes were made. While creating memos in ATLAS.ti 0.7 after the interviews, these field notes were captured, and used during the analysis of the data. The field notes comprising reflections on the research process, the individual participants, and analysis of content were included. These field notes, captured as memos became a valuable source of additional data, contributing to the sense-making process (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2011).

Prior to conducting the in-depth interviews with the main sample, a pilot study was conducted with two participants. The researcher treated the pilot study participants the same as all the other participants in the main sample. For example, they signed informed consent after the research objectives were explained (See individual consent form, appendix A). The pilot process helped review and fine-tune the questionnaire and highlight salient insider views (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012, pp. 5–6). These two participants worked at an engineering training centre and both had prior experience in mining companies working with women. Pilot studies have been used successfully in other diversity studies to improve the quality of data collection (Bell et al., 2011; Harrison et al., 2002; Sabharwal, 2014).

The interviews were digitally recorded. Two devices were used to have a back-up audio file available. The interviews were professionally transcribed in ATLAS.ti 0.7. After receiving the transcriptions, they were reviewed against the original audio file to check accuracy and provide further reflection of the content. Where participants defaulted to using a different language, this was interpreted by the researcher's supervisor. During the interviews, field notes were also kept. These field notes were used as part of a

“memoing” regime (Groenewald, 2004, p. 13). The memos were written up on the same evening that the interviews were conducted. This ensured that the recollections of each interview were still fresh. Besides reflecting on the direct messages, particular attention was paid to the respondents’ body language, facial expressions and tone of voice. These impressions were used as part of the data analysis.

The data collected from the pilot interviews were used in the main sample as this was part of the “progressive” process to gathering data (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 1998, p. 3). The risks of contamination of data are more pronounced when using survey methods, and this method is typically not advised in when using those methods (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 1998).

In-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were selected as the method of gather data. The advantage of this method was the ability to probe with follow-up questions to explore deeper meanings for understanding (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 541). Guided by literature, open-ended questions were posed to develop a view of male-gendered values and beliefs (Guest et al., 2006, p. 75) To address the research topic (see section 1.4), faultline theory guided the questions used to explore the attitudes, beliefs and triggers leading to gender discrimination in mining. These questions also helped expose the dimension of power with conflict leading to subgroup formation.

Semi-structured, open-ended questions were clustered into three broad groups to probe the three questions (Appendix C). These questions were formulated to stimulate authentic responses (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006, p. 486).

Pilot data analysis: The interviews were recorded electronically with extensive field notes taken. Eisenhardt (1989, pp. 538–539) described field notes as “a running commentary to oneself”. This was key to stimulating reflexivity by questioning what the researcher was learning, stimulating deeper-level insights through observation using inductive reasoning. Reflexivity is essential especially in qualitative research. Reflexivity was experienced from formulating the research topic through to the collection and analysis of data, and finally to concluding the dissertation write-up. The researcher was affected by his context, rhetoric and personal values where conscious steps were taken to mitigate personal bias (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011, p. 248). Managing reflexivity relating to this study is covered in more detail in section 3.7.1.

Benefits of pilot study: The first benefit of the pilot study related to the refinement of the interview guide. While the initial guide was informed mainly by literature, the pilot

study highlighted contextual observations that required understanding (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012). This was adapted after each interview by carefully reviewing the recording and field notes.

The second benefit involved reflexivity, as the researcher was able to locate himself within the study. By comparing findings to key constructs in literature, the researcher was able to experience the iterative nature of qualitative research (Kaplan & Duchon, 1988). This process also helped build initial mental models of how men experienced working with women artisans in mining. This reflexivity guided the interpretations of discourse associated with each participant's version of his reality (Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech, & Zoran, 2009, p. 7). The process also helped identify questions that could be used to probe participants in the main sample.

The third benefit related to the considerable value of field notes (Kim, 2011). These notes guided the development of memos written up in ATLAS.ti. The discipline associated with this process supported the coding of the transcripts and the nuanced contributions each participant brought to the study.

The fourth benefit of the pilot highlighted the importance of selecting the right participants for the study (Boyce & Neale, 2006). To gain relevant insights, managing the costs associated with the researcher's time and direct monetary costs was essential. Requests for access to mining sites were refined to be as explicit as possible relating to participant selection.

The final benefit related to the researcher's own proficiency in conducting in-depth field interviews. Individual participants differ, and they require the researcher to interpret subtle cues that prompt adaption. These pilot interviews proved invaluable to the overall quality of the study. The next section deals with further relevant aspects of this research design.

3.5 Unit of analysis

Most studies exploring gender in traditionally segregated work typically focus on the barriers to women accessing these occupations, or the way women use tactics to cope in male-gendered environments (Duehr & Bono, 2006; Martin, 1996; Moore, 2015). Other studies linking gender and identity also explored how women adapt their behaviour to fit in with male-gendered environments (English & Le Jeune, 2012; Raiden, 2016; Savage, 2000). The current study adopted a unique approach using faultline theory to understand

the male-gendered perspective; therefore, men were the unit of analysis. This focus helped understand the attitudes, beliefs and triggers activating gender discrimination (that is, faultline activation). An additional key outcome related to the identification of subgroup emergence linked to the dimensions of power. The primary unit of analysis were men working in the engineering trades in SA mining. Table 3.5 summarises the level and unit of analysis for this study.

Table 3.5: Level and unit of analysis

Level of analysis	Detail
Nation	South Africa
Industries	Mining – hazardous gold and platinum
Task environment	Skilled engineering artisans
Method and unit of analysis	In-depth semi-structured interviews: male engineering artisans

3.6 Data analysis approach and methods

Qualitative research requires complex reasoning using deductive logic involving the collection of data about a select group of people pertaining to what they feel, think, believe, or how they behave (Arthur, 1994; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). The primary research topic and questions (see section 3.1.3) were formulated to understand faultline activation and power within an extreme setting. These questions were guided by literature. The analysis of the semi-structured data required deduction in an effort to look for emerging themes and categories. The open-ended questions helped to produce rich data coupled with the semi-structured approach to the interviews.

3.6.1 Search for understanding

Qualitative inquiry requires the researcher to search for understanding of some phenomenon that is typically intertwined in social complexity (Poland, 1995). Finding patterns that help explain data, while being cognisant of their own position in a study requires researchers to practice reflexivity (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2011). Beyond reflexivity, understanding the role of players is important. Where participants are “knowledge agents”, researchers are “glorified reporters whose main role is to give an adequate account of the informants’ experience” (Gioia et al., 2013, p.17).

Ben-Ari and Enosh (2011, p. 155) highlight four levels of analysis that can be used to broaden awareness, or make explicit the researcher’s liminal cognition. These are

observation, informants' accounts, text deliberation, and contextualisation and reconstruction. Each of these levels is highlighted below in relation to this study.

Observation was not a key method of data collection. Despite this, the researcher works in an industry that trains apprentice learners. Over the past 10 years, he has observed increasing numbers of women entering the engineering trades. Many bystanders have questioned how effective these women are working in these traditionally segregated occupations, or how they cope. This observation of the phenomenon, as well as not knowing the answers to the perennial questions, elevated interest in the phenomenon. This observation denotes the earliest encounter with the phenomenon in question (Ben-Ari & Enosh 2011, p. 156).

Informants' accounts related to their emic lived experience as the participants within the setting, while a researcher's etic role is as an outsider, benefited from an observer role (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2011). Close proximity to or being a part of a social order limits participants' ability to identify patterns or themes. The etic role of the researcher is key in building a realistic understanding from an outsider perspective (Ben-Ari & Enosh 2011, p. 156). Where multiple perspectives are collected from a homogenous group, these informant accounts become even more valuable in expanding a deeper understanding within the study.

Text deliberation centres on the etic role of the researcher. The iteration between literature, the written transcripts, and field notes helps to build patterns, categories, themes, or other dimensions of a study (Ari & Enosh 2011, pp. 156–157). Observations, coupled with informant accounts influence the etic contribution.

Contextualisation and reconstruction require critical levels of reflection of each level of this knowledge production schema (Kim, 2011). Awareness of respondent–researcher relationships as well as the broader context at macro, micro and meso level is of key importance in framing models or propositions.

Considering these theoretical perspectives, in reaching for deeper understanding, this research moved through these four levels of reflexivity. The turning points highlighted by Ben-Ari and Enosh (2011, p. 157) as “epiphanies” exist between the different levels of reflexive thinking. The current study produced a number of epiphanies, especially relating to the role of process conflict as an antecedent condition leading to relationship and task conflicts.

3.6.2 Maintaining focus

Besides maintaining a focus on key constructs, diversity studies require a concentration on building and integrating context into the findings (Daya, 2014; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Schneid, Isidor, Li, & Kabst, 2015). The main topic and its questions guided the data analysis, grouping responses to questions from the participants into logical codes. Overall context, included in the emic–participant and epic–researcher roles enabled a deductive and inductive logic for data analysis. This focus helped inform the coding scheme.

3.6.3 Coding scheme

Two initial processes defined the coding schema. Deduction related to the establishment of an a priori coding framework linked to the key constructs, while induction allowed for emerging themes from the data (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009). Although some researchers have challenged the notion of deduction in qualitative studies, there is always an element of deductive and inductive reasoning in data coding. In addition, some “qualitative purists” argue against being too close to literature as this could introduce implicit bias (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 16). Despite these debates, there is sufficient support for qualitative research grounded by a theoretical lens (Gioia et al., 2013; Humble, 2009).

Establishing the hidden dimensions of power, and triggers of conflict from different subgroups was important for coding. In addition, identifying the relationships between contextual power, the triggers of subtle and explicit bias were central in coding (Li & Hambrick, 2005; Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015; Thatcher & Patel, 2012; Van Knippenberg, Dawson, West, & Homan, 2011). This formed the initial a priori framework. Capturing contextual influences within the setting was also a priority (Li & Hambrick, 2005). ATLAS.ti 0.7 was used to group and code participant responses. A structured approach to using ATLAS.ti proved to be effective in organising and retrieving data sources, including transcripts, field notes, and memos. Once these documents had been coded, common codes were merged while related codes were linked. The memos were also linked to codes as well as group-related observations to codes. As new themes and sub-categories emerged, the researcher was able to develop meaning from the “repetitive patterns” (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2011, p. 156).

To develop further insights and structure, field notes written up as memos and the transcriptions were coded using ATLAS.ti 0.7 to look for emerging themes, patterns or

categories linking relationships (Handfield, 1998). Memos also helped reflect on the data, the participants, key aspects of the study, and the researcher’s position within the study.

Creswell et al. (2007, p. 248) confirm the need for an analytic strategy for data analysis.

The current study employed an approach recommended by (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 84) comprising six stages:

1. developing the code manual;
2. testing the reliability of the code;
3. summarising data and identifying initial themes;
4. applying template of codes and additional coding;
5. connecting the codes and identifying themes; and
6. corroborating and legitimating coded themes.

Their approach was strongly influenced by the contributions of Schutz (1967, 1970, 1973).

The coding was moderated by iteration, reflexivity and the lived experiences of the participants. Initial codes, based on theoretical relevance are summarised in Table 3.6:

Table 3.6: Coding priori template

Code label	Code source and description
Context	Context plays a vital role in diversity studies. How participants interpret or experience context is key. Context hides the dimensions of power, particularly at micro and meso level (Joshi & Roh, 2009; Pringle & Ryan, 2015).
Power	Power is vested in subgroups based on culture at national and industry level, position, policy and other dimensions. Power influences identity, as well as how people respond as individuals or within teams (Ahonen et al., 2014; Schmidt, 2008).
Subgroups	Identifying subgroups is key to identifying potential faultlines. Subgroups provide the hypothetical boundary conditions for surface-level and deep-level dimensions to be explored (Brannon, Carter, Murdock-Perriera, & Higginbotham, 2018; Chrobot-Mason, Ruderman, Weber, Ohlott, & Dalton, 2007).
Triggers	Where faultlines exist, they may not always be active. Emotional or task conflict are typically seen as triggers, stimulating the potential for conflict (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009; Joshi & Roh, 2009; Schölmerich et al., 2017).
Emotional conflict	A deep-level construct related to anger, frustration or disillusionment as examples (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; De Vos, van Zomeren, Gordijn, & Postmes, 2018).
Task conflict	A direct response to perceived poor performance (Harrison et al., 2002; Stanciu, 2017).

Behavioural disintegration	Subtle or explicit forms of negative behaviour that destructively affects an individual or subgroup. These could include backbiting, circle exclusion, overt confrontation or work sabotage (Bezrukova, Spell, Caldwell, & Burger, 2015; Li & Hambrick, 2005).
Performance	Mind-sets that hold pre-determined judgments of the ability of certain individuals or subgroups and what constitutes good or poor performance. Assessments of how performance is affected by conflict, being activated faultlines (Harrison et al., 2002; O'Neill & McLarnon, 2018; Seong et al., 2015).

To test the reliability of the codes (Stage 2), the researcher did not code texts jointly with the supervisor as did Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). Instead, the supervisor challenged the underpinning theoretical origins of the initial codes, as well as whether these codes would be sufficiently representative of the key constructs. As additional transcripts were coded, sub-categories began to emerge. The emergent categories were labelled and described in ATLAS.ti.

Summarising data and identifying initial themes was an iterative process (Guest et al., 2006). This required re-reading transcripts and memos, and summarising data to highlight key insights (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 86). This process broadened code sub-categories as the coding process was undertaken. Specific codes were revisited and frequently re-named to provide better description or meaning (Guest et al., 2006, p. 74).

The inductive process included re-reading large sections of texts to advance deeper meaning (Guest et al., 2006). After this inductive coding process where the researcher pushed for broad meanings, 814 codes existed. These codes were then revisited to establish where they shared common meaning related to the key objectives for the study. Some of these codes were merged, and others were linked to similar constructs. The code categories were reduced to 522 codes, which in turn were linked to 25 broad code categories reflected in Table 3.7. The 522 codes are reflected in section 8.4 in the exemplary or primary code list.

Table 3.7 Broad coding categories

Code category	Meaning
Context macro	The national legal, social, political and economic issues
Context micro	The industry and company issues
Context meso	Shop floor issues affecting teams and individuals

Attitude negative	Negative mind-sets determining reaction
Attitude positive	Positive mind-sets determining reaction
Belief negative	Negative presumptions or learnings from experience
Belief positive	Positive presumptions or learnings from experience
Power cash	Individuals or subgroups who can use cash to exert influence
Power culture	Power derived from patriarchy; national culture
Power tenure	Contextual knowledge that creates influence over others
Power industry	Industry culture – harsh hegemony
Power performance	Performance controls production; production is paramount
Power policy	Policy drives inclusion and protects subgroups
Power position	Management or supervisory power
Power respect	Respect is given and taken– earning respect builds power
Power gender	Gender used to control managers, colleagues or subordinates
Emotional conflict	Feelings of shame, disillusionment anger or frustration
Task conflict	Direct judgments of poor performance, physical limitations or technical limitations
Explicit discrimination	Verbal confirmation of discrimination, including acts of negative behaviour directed towards individuals or subgroups
Subtle discrimination	Bad language, circle exclusion, task allocation
Management	Management practices fostering or hindering inclusion
Race	Black men and white men– how they relate to the context and phenomenon
Triggers	How faultlines are activated by events or perceived attitudes held by women
Older men	How men interpret older men’s attitudes and behaviours
Younger men	How men interpret younger men’s attitudes and behaviours

Moving towards thematic analysis, sometimes referred to as “second-order” analysis, codes were assigned to families, which started to build common categories (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 81). This was supported by creating networked links to infer the existence of relationships between different constructs. This process is closely linked to Fereday and Muir-Cochrane’s (2006, pp. 89-90) Stages 5 and 6, “connecting the codes and identifying themes, and corroborating and legitimating coded themes”.

3.6.4 Thematic analysis

The analysis of the data was done over a five-month period (August to December 2018). This provided sufficient time to reflect on the emerging themes in relation to literature

(Poland, 1995). As key themes emerged, the thematic reflection helped reduce the data to re-focus the key constructs aimed at understanding faultline activation and hidden power within a context of strong gender segregation.

The primary data set comprised 30 in-depth interviews from divergent male groups split by age, race and tenure. The frequency-specific contributions within the data to support themes, as well as the number of themes that were raised in parallel, supported theme origination (Guest et al., 2006; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009). Emerging themes reflect similar patterns but also divergent perspectives (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 89). This provided opportunity for cross-case analysis, key in perusing validity or trustworthiness of the findings (Esteves & Pastor, 2004).

There were a number of iterations to confirm the final themes prior to engaging with the full interpretation of the findings (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 90). These themes were closely linked to the objectives of the study (see section 1.4). At this stage of the analysis, emerging patterns became clearer, such as the interconnected constructs that unveiled faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally occupations.

This research has been guided by literature referring to diversity management faultline theory and gender studies examining women in traditionally male-dominated work environments. This literature informed the research topic and the three supporting questions conceptualised in Figure 1.2. The qualitative content analysis process and cross-case analysis (Onwuegbuzie, & Leech, 2006, p. 490) identified relationships that revealed the intricate nuances of the mining context. Deep-level constructs, typically not apparent in this real-world mining setting, were also revealed. This nuanced approach supported the recommendations of recent diversity management studies to pursue more nuanced approaches (Bell et al., 2011, p. 710; Kochan et al., 2003, p. 17; Roberson et al., 2017, p. 493; Shore et al., 2009, p. 126).

3.7 Quality assurance and ethics

This section covers research quality assurance in terms of credibility and trustworthiness of the findings. Despite debates questioning the epistemological use of validity and reliability – deemed positivist approaches – the quality of the research needs to be detailed (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Esteves & Pastor, 2004; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Discussing objectivity, Lewis and Grimes (1999, pp. 673–674) deduce, “Objectivity presumes an external reality of deterministic and predictable relationships,

whereas subjectivity presumes contextually bound and fluid social constructions”. Regardless of these debates, qualitative studies require rigour in their approach, coupled with “critical self-reflection” (p. 685).

3.7.1 Analysis and findings – credibility and trustworthiness

There are many texts dealing with the potentially subjective nature of qualitative research (Ormiston, 2015; Rynes, 2002). Inherent in the method of data gathering where participants share their beliefs, the role of the researcher in interpreting this data and how findings are reported, all point to potential subjectivity (Arthur, 1994; Kelle, 2001; Lewis & Grimes, 1999). Proving findings that are credible or valid is therefore key to ensuring a truthful and accurate account of a social phenomenon (Groenewald, 2004).

Reflecting on the debates relating to qualitative rigour, Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001) evaluated the polarised epistemological differences coupled with defining quality measures to support the creative contributions of qualitative enquiry. Based on their synthesis of prior literature, they modelled primary and secondary validity criteria for qualitative researchers. These criteria comprised credibility, authenticity, criticality and integrity as the primary criteria, as well as explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence, and sensitivity as secondary criteria. This highlights similar opinions reflected in credibility, trustworthiness and dependability (Esteves & Pastor, 2004; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Patton, 1999).

For dependability, the importance of recording and accurately transcribing interactions with participants as well as writing detailed field notes was key (Eisenhardt, 1989, pp. 538–539). These field notes were written into ATLAS.ti as memos and coded. They were also linked to relevant codes to build categories, sub-categories and themes. Coupled with this was the need to interpret the nuances participants injected into conversations (Lewis & Grimes, 1999, p. 682). Each participant had a memo where the researcher recorded for example “Thoughts on Sizwe”. This helped build a picture of each participant’s physical and emotional responses, including individual mind-sets. While some men had positive inclusion beliefs, others did not. These beliefs affected how they responded in the interviews. Contradictions were embraced using cross-case analysis to help understand the subjective views of the participants (Eisenhardt, 1989). Coding or labelling the data using a structured approach was an essential activity (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 538).

The broad sample of 30 participants helped to obtain a level of saturation from around the 23rd interview. This was an important milestone in confirming the broad contributions of the participants, as no additional substantive findings were forthcoming. In other words, the same or similar findings were being raised by the remaining participants (Guest et al., 2006). The consistency in this approach moved the study towards building a reliable approach to provide a balanced perspective of how men respond to the phenomenon of women artisans entering mining.

Creswell and Miller (2000) outline eight validation strategies in qualitative research namely 'prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field, triangulation, peer reviewing and debriefing'. In addition, using 'negative case analysis to refine the hypothesis as inquiry advances, clarifying researcher bias, member checking soliciting participants' views', producing 'rich thick description', and 'external audits'. Cognisant of the time and cost constraints, the current research sought to clarify researcher bias, peer reviewing, producing rich thick descriptions, and triangulation to ensure credibility (Humble, 2009; Lincoln, 1995).

Critical self-reflection has also been referred to as the researcher's "liminal awareness" (Martin, 2003, p. 342) and reflexivity (Pettigrew, 2013). This is the extent to which the researcher is aware of his or her deep-level position within the study, how this affects the research, and the researcher's own bias.

Liminal awareness was observed against a backdrop of contextual challenges in South Africa. These included a turbulent political climate, poverty, widespread unemployment, and suppressed commodity prices. Being sensitive to the harsh realities of this context while striving to contribute to knowledge in this domain can be challenging. Despite these realities, Hudson and Ozanne (1988, p. 510), promoting the interpretive approach, viewed people as "committed to participation, actively creating and interacting in order to shape their environment". This also seemed to be the experience of the participants contributing to the current research.

The researcher's role, as a white middle-aged SA man, required reflection. In addition, being actively involved in a commercial venture that develops apprentice artisans also held the potential for pre-judging participant contributions. These realities were explored inwardly and with supervisors on an ongoing basis, especially when sharing field notes (Lewis & Grimes, 1999, p. 685).

In addition to the obvious sources of potential bias reflected in the previous paragraph, seeing the world through a man's eyes as well as gathering data from artisan men, the unit of analysis, required "reflexive reflexivity" (Martin, 2003, p. 356). Martin describes these concepts as, "reflexivity is a special kind of awareness" (p. 356). To be reflexive means to meditate on one's own thoughts, or engage in careful consideration. It also means to "ruminate, deliberate, cogitate, study or think carefully about something" (p. 356). To practice gender reflexively, one would carefully consider the content of one's actions and act only after careful consideration of the intent, content and effects of one's behaviour" (Martin, 2003, p. 356). Reflexivity is seen as key to delivering quality research that is ethically sound.

Both supervisor and co-supervisor were instrumental in providing peer reviewing. Difficulties in interpreting data, as well as challenging underlying assumptions reflecting potential bias helped inject credibility into the data analysis (Kim, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The social construction of findings is more rounded when the researcher is not the sole producer of findings (Whittemore et al., 2001). The different insights of both supervisors served to balance the findings (Bedeian, 2004). Fortunately, the co-supervisor in this project was a black SA man who is indirectly employed in, and very familiar with, the mining industry. This was extremely useful in helping to manage potential bias, as well as account for the multiple realities lived by different participants. Negative or contradictory information was disclosed and closely examined with the potential to follow it up with individual participants.

Rich thick description is achieved when "the setting, the participants, and the themes of a qualitative study" are portrayed "in rich detail" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 128). The setting for this study was well defined to give a sense of the extreme setting in mining. This setting provided an extreme context for understanding gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. The participants' contributions were foregrounded and analysed to provide insight into their character, as well as their prevailing bias. The emerging themes were built from providing a rigorous construction towards understanding the social phenomenon of women entering the hazardous setting as engineering artisans. The rich thick description set out to provide both credibility and authenticity (Whittemore et al., 2001, p. 530).

Besides producing rich thick descriptions to describe findings, triangulation was also adopted using the data from three different mining sites (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Triangulation is a hypothetical concept originating from terrestrial surveying where three bearings provide an accurate measure of angles and distances between points. Patton (1999, p. 1192) adds the metaphorical significance of the triangle as the “strongest geometric shape”. This notion of triangulation in qualitative and mixed methods research is commonly adopted to produce “credible findings” (Esteves & Pastor, 2004, p. 78).

Despite the costly effort to peruse this measure, the design warranted this level of commitment (Patton, 1999, p. 1192). The data obtained from these different sites aimed to increase the credibility of the findings by comparing or contrasting broad themes. Triangulation in this study examined “the consistency of different data sources within the same method” (Patton, 1999, p. 1193). Where context is key in exploring diversity, this study obtained data at a meso shop floor level. This was done in an effort to understand the lived experiences of male artisans working with their female peers. Using triangulation, the data from this study needed to explain the micro influences of company culture, politics, policy and effect of unionisation as examples.

The challenge for qualitative studies using triangulation is that they typically use small samples. Secondly, if qualitative studies ignore the influence of context, incorrect inferences can be drawn between the different sets of data (Risjord, Moloney, & Dunbar, 2001, p 9). Fortunately, the current study, using in-depth interviews produced sufficient data, linked to context that provided a well-grounded perspective from one site to the next.

ATLAS.ti was useful in separating document families. For triangulation, the data transcripts from each site were split, after which the primary document manager was used to scan the data for similarity and difference. The results of this analysis are presented in Chapter 4.

To conclude, the interview procedure with pilot study was pivotal to achieving credibility. The pilot study helped to reframe the interview guide, prior to engaging with the main participants. The preparation before, during and after the interviews with the participants provided consistency. By being consistent, the reliability of the findings was enhanced (Boyce & Neale, 2006; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Building trustworthiness in this research was an additional quality criterion. “Trustworthiness” hinges on transferability to other contexts, while dependability relates to the consistency of findings (Esteves & Pastor, 2004, p. 78).

Transferability in qualitative research has been debated widely, especially as interpretivists use small samples in specific contexts (Gioia et al., 2013, p. 24). Transferability in qualitative studies relates to how findings can be generalised across different settings (Eisenhardt, 1989). It also implies that “results should be generalized to a theory, named analytic generalization in contrast with statistical generalization” (Esteves & Pastor, 2004, p. 79). Gioia et al. (2013, p. 25) argue that qualitative research “should and can stand on its own”. They also posit propositions emanating for this type of research should assist further research but this “should not be mandatory” (p. 25). To promote transferability, the current study used thick description to provide sufficient explanation of the context and setting for the study. Unsure of where this research may be applied in different settings, transferability cannot be claimed. This evidence can be used by other researchers to test key propositions (Shenton, 2004, pp. 69–70). By using thick rich description, the current research provided as much broad evidence as possible to assist further research across this domain.

Consistency relates broadly to developing a transparent research design using relevant methods to collect data (Meyrick, 2006). These methods should be applied in a consistent approach with both “fairness and responsibility” (Patton, 1999, p. 1205). The researcher’s capability should be apparent in not “overpromising nor under producing” relative to the research project (Patton, 1999, p. 1205). The current study, aided by the pilot study, adopted a consistent methodology improving rigour and trustworthiness (Kim, 2011, p. 203). Closely associated with consistency is providing sufficient background evidence highlighting both competence and trustworthiness (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, pp. 81–82). A final imperative for research relates to ethics, as discussed in 3.7.2 below.

3.7.2 Ethics

Commenting on ethics, Jewkes, Watts, Abrahams, Penn-Kekana, and García-Moreno (2000, p. 94) highlight how research findings relating to gender need to be carefully interpreted and written to advance policy and practice. This is of significance, particularly in a country like South Africa where there is widespread violence targeting women and children (Van der Walt et al., 2016, p. 147). Conducting research that matters has been a cornerstone of this doctoral journey, with a personal objective to contribute to theory, while also providing a societal-level contribution.

For diversity management studies, Gotsis and Kortezi (2013) conducted a literature review to elaborate on the ethical paradigms within the discipline. Their contribution pulled together frameworks touching on the traditions of “dignity, organisational virtue and care, for reconceptualising diversity issues” (p. 948). The authors argue for the “ethically-grounded” practice of diversity to be designed so as to influence society as a whole positively (Gotsis & Kortezi, 2013, p. 965).

These ethical considerations were explored in depth prior to the data collection process. Due to the sensitivity of conducting research with enormous societal impact, the entire research process had to be ethically sound. This met the requirements of Guillaume et al. (2013, p. 40) who advocate that researchers carefully consider the ethical, legal and political implications of research findings. Protecting the participants was crucial to the companies that gave me access to their employees. Ethical consideration was also given to contribution to practice by the current study that will influence policy and inform future research.

The Gordon Institute of Business Studies facilitates the ethical clearance of all research projects. The process of applying to the ethics committee was completed in October 2017. To arrange access to corporate artisans and to individual participants, a corporate consent form and an individual participant consent form were produced (Appendix B). These informed consent forms highlighted key principles, namely contact details of the researcher, the purpose of the study, the participant’s role in the study, safety of the information (that is, confidentiality), and compensation. The participants were able to pull out of the interview at any point if they felt uncomfortable. The consent forms were discussed in detail with each participant prior to the interview. Participants agreed to take part by signing the consent form.

All data collected from this study was encrypted and stored at the university preventing accidental disclosure or damage. The researcher undertakes to use the data collected only for academic purposes to ensure no parties – whether individual or organisational – are affected negatively in any way.

3.7.3 *Researcher reflection*

When discussing this research with other academics, most were intrigued to learn about the harsh realities of the mining setting coupled with the struggles for women working in this context. The industry along with the broader South African society has experienced rapid change with substantial progress since 1994. Unfortunately, however, most of this

progress is measured numerically with the cost of policy inclusion not being measured. For example, there is not enough research to understand how women are affected by participating in certain traditionally segregated occupations. This means that there are sometimes unintentional victims of this rapid progress (Brannon et al., 2018).

In the next chapter, the rich data reflects the context, including how men dominate the mining setting in a multitude of ways. Interpreting findings from the sample of men required extraordinary caution. This rested mainly in trying to remain close to the data while at the same time striving to provide balanced interpretation.

This raised the issue of positionality (Lincoln, 1995). The researcher is a white middle-aged South African man. He is self-employed in a company that trains engineering apprentices with a significant part of that company's business servicing the mining sector. This situation presented potential barriers to "detachment" and "objectivity", requiring "honesty" and "authenticity" (Lincoln, 1995, p. 280). Initial consideration was given to positionality in relation to the majority of participants being black men. The option of using an experienced black researcher to assist in data collection was considered however, this would have potentially diluted the insider experience held by the primary researcher. With the extensive experience in managing a technical training centre, plus extensive experience in industry in South Africa, these concerns were put to rest. Post data collection, there were no significant barriers experienced in establishing rapport with the participants.

During coding and analysis, positionality was once again questioned. The co-supervisor being a black South African male provided valuable insights. To mitigate bias further, two women faculty members reviewed the thesis highlighting potential gender bias. These contributions provided valuable learning for me as a male researcher. A final measure included the appointment of a female editor who was specifically asked to highlight potential bias. These measures complemented the support obtained from my two supervisors.

Working on research highlighting societal imperfections will always raise uncomfortable discourse. It is however, through stimulating interest in these human challenges that sufficient pressure can be exerted for positive change. In this sense, producing research that matters remained an axiomatic objective.

3.8 Research design closing

This chapter provided a detailed overview of the methodology coupled with measures to adhere to quality research principles. Motivations for the approach have been clearly stated and were supported by relevant literature.

The pragmatic approach adopted in this research project provided a different vantage point, not typically found in traditional gender studies. Faultline theory provided an ideal theoretical lens to understand gender inclusion in traditionally segregated occupations. In addition, the level and unit of analysis positioned in the extreme setting of mining highlighted a strong methodological contribution.

Developments in the progression of faultline theory over the past 40 years have helped move diversity debates forward. The current research was designed to understand faultline activation and hidden power within the extreme setting of mining in South Africa. These hidden dimensions of power are best explored qualitatively (Ahonen et al., 2014).

Implicit in this research design are the objectives of contributing to theory and practice, while also providing a methodological contribution. Producing interesting research was also a key imperative. Interesting research is more likely influencing practice and future theory. Finally, the prospect of impacting society positively can be an outcome of interesting research. (Colquitt & Zapata-Phelan, 2007, p. 1292; Davis, 1971).

Chapter 4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

The bulk of the findings related to power, types of conflict and gender discrimination are to be found in this chapter, however, some findings have also been shared in chapters five and six. Chapter five integrates findings that address Question 1; which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context? Chapter six focusses on faultline conflicts leading to full integration of the findings in Figure 2.4. Sub-questions two and three are also addressed in chapter six namely; which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines, and how does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

Diversity management faultlines incorporated within this study confirmed that diversity is and will remain complex and contradictory. The chosen diversity dimensions related to gender, age, race and tenure. These surface-level dimensions helped structure this study to explore the deeper-level constructs against the contextual macro, micro and meso levels. Broad findings are foregrounded at macro (i.e. national) and micro (i.e. industry or company) level, although this study was positioned at meso level. This is where participants' lived experiences were played out within the broader context.

Key findings exposed the extreme setting of mining where male-gendered bias occurs. Understanding men's contributions in relation to power, conflict and the way these complex dimensions perpetuate gender discrimination provided an interesting contribution. These objectives were key in broadening our understanding of hidden power, faultline activation and gender discrimination in mining.

Context matters in diversity management studies as it has a direct effect on groups and subgroup formation (Joshi & Roh, 2009). The lived experiences of the participants showed how they related to their context. The rich thick description within these findings also contributed to the rigour of this study. Section 4.2 deals with the power dimensions influencing the way the dominant male in-group responded to women artisans entering mining.

4.2 Dimensions of power linked to context

The dimensions of power – often hidden in context – were revealed by the men who shared their experiences of working with women artisans in mining. These dimensions of power helped to highlight the competing tensions within the micro and meso levels of

context. Importantly, these power dimensions also bring understanding to how subgroups are established and how power is observed and used.

The dimension of power highlights a key perspective relating to culture, which further explains how men experience women entering the engineering trades. Patriarchy is closely associated with the hegemonic culture of mining (Benya, 2017a), but different, in that it supersedes the mining industry as part of a national culture.

4.2.1 Power and macro national culture

South Africa has one of the highest youth unemployment rates in the world. Out of a total adult population of 37.8 million, 9.6 million are unemployed (Bernstein, 2018). While total unemployment exceeds 25%, youth unemployment is estimated to be close to 60% (Bernstein, 2018; Eicker, Haseloff, & Lennartz, 2017). Recent statistics reveal that unemployment is increasing, reaching 29% (Stats South Africa, 2019). This poor economic performance has resulted in widespread poverty and inequality.

Government policy and poverty: Sharing findings with different interest groups prompted the inevitable question of why women are interested and prepared to enter the engineering trades, especially in mining where the culture and conditions are so tough. The reality is they have no choice if they want to provide for their families. Please note that all quotations are reproduced verbatim and unedited. Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) remarked:

Sometimes it's a poverty because you can see jobs, lack of jobs in our country ... I don't think a lady can just wake up and say I want to work in the mines. It's a poverty and the struggle ... maybe she wants to feed her children in order to get something, they got to put something on the table at the end of the day.

Fanyana provided a balanced account of how poverty narrows job opportunities, as women have few other options but to work anywhere they can find work. Reflecting on Fanyana, he was one of the participants who provided an open account of how women experience hardship working with men in mining. South Africa is a member of the ILO where the promotion of gender equality is one of the major objectives. As a result, South Africa has promoted legislation related to employment equity. Mining companies have to comply with this legislation by developing Social and Labour Plans (SLPs) linked to Mining Charter Agreements issued by the Department of Mineral Resources. Consequentially, there are an increasing number of women entering the mining engineering trades each year. These were traditionally highly racially and gender-

segregated occupations. Men have mixed feelings about this change especially against a backdrop of historically strong gender segregation in mining. Bangizwe (48, black, electrician apprentice, 18 years' experience) shared:

The government opened hands for them to go underground, we cannot do anything.

Bangizwe highlighted the broad acceptance of macro-micro policy allowing women into mining, but indicated some resistance. This subtle resistance was associated with a level of dissatisfaction with women entering mining, especially where women derive power from policy promoting their access to mining. Men reportedly discussed their frustrations privately among themselves highlighting what they say as unfairness related to affirmative action with the promotion of women into their ranks. They highlighted undertones of resentment at not being able to do anything about these policies.

These sentiments were typical of the older artisan men who were also dissatisfied with women entering mining. He highlighted his subtle (that is, implicit) dissatisfaction, as well as how men respond to this reality. Women gain power from policies at a micro level to include (affirmative action) them, and protect (sexual harassment) them. Other men had more positive views on inclusion. Craig (26, white, diesel mechanic, 2 years' experience) felt:

The economic climate at the moment is really not up to scratch, just earning a mediocre salary say, R20 000 [\$1 500] a month is not enough anymore especially if you want to start a family. And if women can do it, why not?

Craig's view was typical of the younger men who were more open to the inclusion of women. Although they help these inclusionary attitudes, they were not exempt from practicing gender discrimination. This is widely evident within this chapter.

From the participants' views expressed above, it seems there is clearly an acknowledgment of the economic hardships within the macro context. In spite of this, mixed feelings prevailed relating to the presence of women in mining. Some of these mixed feelings were associated with patriarchy and the hegemonic archetypes of male participants.

Patriarchy: The SA society is highly patriarchal with above average cases of rape and femicide (Booyesen, 2007; English & Le Jeune, 2012; Maluleke, 2018). This is a form of domination and control over women's bodies. Although rape and femicide do not seem to be a prevalent trend within the mining sector there were a couple of respondents who

were aware of more than one case where women were raped or murdered. On patriarchy, Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience) held a strong view:

Men in most cases, if you don't get along with them [men] or if you do not do what they want you to do, especially as woman, they'll get back to you because they believe they own all women in mining. As long as you're a woman in mining, and you are a subordinate somehow, they've got this belief that they own you, and they can say whatever to you however and you must just agree. You mustn't oppose because if you oppose or if you deny, then they're going to make your life miserable. They're gonna target you, definitely.

Mgwazeni highlighted how men feel they are dominant, entitled to lord over women. Regardless of policy, men enjoy the power of a national patriarchal order. This reinforces their hegemonic status, especially in mining where gender and racial segregation were the historical norms.

In another report from Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience), he highlighted that women are often targeted by men they know:

Sometimes you find a woman has physically spoken to that person, she [he] keep on doing something that she does not like, because last year the serious one we hear ... where the woman she was raped and killed underground.

Vivian de Klerk and David Gough (2002, p. 362) indicate that gender conflation in pronouns is a common grammatical feature of Black South African English (this is an accepted linguistic term for the sub-variety of English typically spoken by Black South Africans). This is a result of native-language transfer effect (i.e. their first languages do not have gender distinction for third person pronouns).

Sipho relayed a case that shocked the mining industry where a group of men raped and murdered a woman underground. A number of the participants raised the same case highlighting its significance. South African society has been damaged by its history of racial and gender segregation. Many men define their masculinity by their ability to perpetrate violence. Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience) talking broadly about SA society had this to say:

...people are starting to kill people, I mean men are starting to kill women and children all that, so I think it's getting very bad. They could be treated better cos these things of women violence and women rape – I think we men must change that cos we are killing our future.

Mndeni was a young man who seemed eager to see change in men's patriarchal beliefs and hegemonic masculinities linked to violence. Unions and politics also have a role to play in the broader macro environment, especially where women are affected. Compounding these macro factors includes widespread poverty, where there is high unemployment. Many women prostitute themselves, despite being employed, to improve their standards of living. In the interview with Bert (51, white, fitter, foreman, union representative, 30 years' experience), he shared his insider experience of women being murdered indirectly caused by poverty:

It was Angel. Also prostitution. She didn't get her money ... she went and got people to go beat the guys up and when they came underground, that's where they murdered her. It's not just underground that we've had a murder, we've had Site BB – two shootings in front of the gate, BBB we've had three, four besides Angle that's underground, we've had four that's been assaulted and shot, killed. Women.

When questioned about the trends relating to motives of men who assault or kill women, Bert highlighted other key macro issues related to union-driven politics and inter-cultural conflict. At the time of this study, Bert worked for a mine in an area of South Africa that was tormented by ongoing political and union strife. It is important that these reports of rape and femicide not be taken out of context. Rape and femicide is an issue in South Africa, but not prevalent throughout the mining industry.

What was prevalent throughout the industry was the reference to boyfriends (nyatsis). Nyatsis (women having boyfriends) seemed to be related to widespread poverty where women were reported to accept gifts, money and labour in exchange for sex. Men and women having sexual relationships was reported to happen at all levels including between colleagues and line managers within mining. This dimension of power is expanded on in section 4.2.7.

Mining men including management pursuing female colleagues seemed widespread. These practices appeared to objectify women who are vulnerable, particularly those at lower levels within mining.

Many of the gold and platinum mines are situated in the northern part of South Africa (Msiza, 2014). Thousands of migrants looking for work come from other provinces and/or neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, this has introduced many social problems within and around the mining regions, especially as these migrant men are separated from their families for extended periods of time (Benya, 2017a).

Poverty seems to create a condition where women remain victims of the system, even when finding employment. Against the backdrop of sub-Saharan Africa having one of the highest HIV infection rates in the world, the widespread issues in mining are worrying (Eicker et al., 2017; Humby, 2014). With many of the workers in mining being migrant labour from neighbouring countries or other provinces within South Africa (Humby, 2014), they typically work at the mines leaving their partners at home. This is reported to compound the problem as highlighted by Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience):

That's why most of the time when I see this HIV and AIDS in the mines [I realise] they start this things there. Serious, because you see people from Lesotho, Eastern Cape, they cannot go home every month.

The macro context has a strong influence on how power is experienced at a micro and meso level. These contributions from different participants bring meaning to this macro context of the study. Against a backdrop of high unemployment, poverty, patriarchy and a rapidly changing society after Apartheid, the micro context, informed by policy at macro level, is trying to bring about positive societal change.

Men are the head of the family and they take ownership and control of their wives and daughters. In most cases, they have a sense of ownership over women. Having women entering mining poses issues, as this belief system is challenged, especially when the women are in a traditionally segregated occupation such as the engineering trades.

Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience) is the head of home in every sense. His wife is expected to respect his wishes. He is responsible for the key decisions, including whether she can work or not. He described his beliefs, reflecting how he would feel if his wife wanted to work in mining. Hluphizwe confirmed he would not allow his wife to take a job in mining.

Hluphizwe's views reflecting of patriarchy were significant, leaving very little room for interpretation. Mining is a man's world. Women either have to fit in or they must leave. Men do not see why they should adapt at all. Where women work as artisans, men do not like taking instruction from them. This strong statement highlights the patriarchal societal status quo.

In other reports, men resisted receiving instruction from women artisans, instead, men like to be the ones giving the instructions. There was extensive use of language from the participants that reflected 'othering', using words like 'they' and 'them'. This is typical of language using broad generalisations to refer to out-groups. In addition, many of the

comments highlighted men's dominant mind-sets. This patriarchal culture has consequences for women, especially if they refuse to toe the line. This is evidenced throughout this chapter.

Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience) highlighted how men will target women who do not conform. Mgwazeni went on to share a heart-rending account of his wife working in the same mine as him as a general worker:

My wife is working in the mining industry. And I'm encouraging her to leave. She's the lowest, she's a general worker in mining. And I'm encouraging her to leave actually ... You know the mining industry is something else for women, it's something else, man. They're not seen as people, they're seen as things that can be used, things that men can use for their own benefits. The way they are treated, they're not respected for whom they are; and [the men] don't care. I've experienced it myself where I'm working with my woman there and men knowing me will still go after her – you can imagine how difficult it is – I am there every day with my wife, they see me there every day.

Mgwazeni after describing how men treat women, including his wife in front of him, and clearly emotionally upset, went on to describe how managers extort sex from younger women:

Those youngest ones, they still wanna go to school – it's a problem because being in the mining industry – it's something else. Even that young woman that still wants to go to school and study somewhere else, she will approach someone in a higher position or someone that can assist and that someone else will still treat her like the rest of them, and still want sexual pleasure – you give me this, then I'll give you that.

This last contribution highlighted patriarchy in that men with a sense of ownership of women believe women are there to be pursued for their own pleasure. This reflects the domination and control of women in the workplace, a spill-over of extreme societal patriarchy. Managers' positions also give them positional power. This power can be used in a positive way to build diverse teams, or in a subversive way by taking advantage of those in less privileged economic or social circumstances.

4.2.2 Power and macro industry culture

Mining contexts are typically harsh physical and cultural environments. These cultures are synonymous with male hegemony.

Hazardous mining conditions – surface versus underground: Mining companies were chosen to collect data because they are extreme areas from a cultural and work

environment perspective. One of the research objectives was to understand faultline activation and hidden power affecting gender discrimination in this harsh environment (see section 1.4). This section highlights the challenges experienced in this context relating to the physical conditions in mining, where many women are alleged to battle physically.

Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) described how he felt the first time he went underground:

It's a tough environment but if you can see underground, you might find it's like this – there is light somewhere – it's a different world actually. I was afraid my first time when I went underground ... I was almost thinking that 'ay, I'm going somewhere eish ... Actually, there are places which are dangerous, there are other places which you can see here 'ay everything is fine'. When I heard somebody is dead underground, that subject when I hear that somebody's dead it's the one that makes me not thinking of maybe one day working underground.

Many participants described working underground as being scary. They also highlight the physical conditions as being challenging. This includes heat, humidity, stale air, working at heights despite being underground, in confined spaces and muddy conditions.

Hot working conditions require employees to be physically fit with high levels of endurance, especially when entering these conditions on a daily basis. One of the participants (Mondi, 24, apprentice electrician, 1 year of experience) described how people become short tempered because of the conditions, affecting the culture underground.

The conditions of underground work coupled with production pressures make employees short-tempered, particularly at the stopes. Stopes are where the main ore bodies lie (Benya, 2017a). Once these areas are drilled and blasted, the ore is recovered and sent to the haulage where conditions improve. Within the stopes, it is hot, confined and noisy from the drilling. Participants described how it was common to access the stopes on their knees. The history of hegemony, linked to these conditions, encourages blindness to gender. Women have to fit in or leave, according to some participants.

Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience) also described the dangers of mining relaying an incident where a woman was killed during work. This woman was relieving herself behind mining machinery and was run over when it started moving. This confirms the scary work environment where rock falls and other hazards exist.

There were numerous accounts describing the difficulties of underground work environments. There seems to be an interplay related to the tough working conditions and the embodiment of maleness as it relates to these work contexts. When working underground particularly in winter when the days are shorter, underground workers would miss seeing daylight. This was reported to also affect the mind-set of employees where maleness takes on its full hegemonic personification.

Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience) also had a view on the change in mind-set when going underground:

When you just get in the cage, just move one step underground you change. Once the light is on, our mind is getting dark! You can feel you are in another world.

These changes in mind-set are part of mining. There is a strong culture, closely linked to the history of mining in South Africa. The mines in South Africa are deep and the hegemonic culture remains as strong as ever.

Industry culture: The gold industry was established in the late 1800s in Johannesburg (Minerals Council South Africa, 2018). It has always been dominated by men, and will not change quickly (Humby, 2014). People working underground do not care, according to some participants. They are detached from normal society, devoid of responsibility. They change when they go underground, and down there anything goes. In mining, people have to produce. Production comes first. It is physically demanding working underground, and many men do not believe women belong there. People change when they work underground. This reflects the industry culture.

Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) shared his experience of how women were forced to adapt in order to fit in:

You might think maybe your wife is a quiet somebody but not knowing that when she's on site she speaks like that; if maybe you can just hide yourself in the corner and listen, yoh, it's my wife is speaking that language! Sho. You change actually if you are a woman, when you go underground automatically your character changes ... In my view, ladies working underground, I think I don't support it. ... that place is not suitable for women.

In a 'man's world', rough language is normal. Men traditionally competed over production and 'sledging' or banter directed at each other was the norm, especially between the different cultures. Sledging originates from the game of cricket where players verbally exchange derogatory comments. This is often not meant to convey malice although in some instances it may (Watts, 2007). The increasing number of women entering this

traditionally male-dominated domain is challenging the way things were (Powell & Sang, 2015). In spite of some women becoming managers and the presence of women in the sector, it is still women who are expected to adapt to the powerful hegemonic mining culture. Brian (45, white, boilermaker, 17 years' experience) was disapproving of how some women had become. He said bad language and vulgarity was pervasive highlighting how women adapt to fit in. He described the context as "another world".

In spite of the prevailing culture, sexual harassment policy typically prohibits foul language (Benya, 2017a). If a woman reports a man's foul language seen as discriminatory behaviour, there can be serious consequences that could lead to disciplinary measures.

Many of the men, especially the older ones, do not appear to want to change. The new order has introduced complexity and a degree of tension reportedly experienced on a daily basis. Men are nervous to step out of line, and some resent the presence of women in mining. Women have gained power from policy, which some men resent. This has resulted in many of the men focussing on women's differences (physical and emotional) to highlight their lack of fit in the context.

Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience) did not believe women had the required mechanical or technical ability to do the work. In addition, he perceived women were just there for the money and did not take their trade seriously. The physical challenges faced by women coupled with their attitude to their work rendered them unsuitable for mining work, according to him. This is typical of men experiencing process and relationship conflicts. They tend to then focus on the tasks deemed fit for men only.

Unlike Sizwe, some of the men had empathy for women. They distanced themselves from the mining culture with genuine empathy for women who had to endure bad language. Mining culture can be described as tough, stoic, and aggressive. When the going gets tough, men reported that you have to be resilient and perform. Older men believed working as artisans in mining was not for women, suggesting they were only capable in the less physically demanding trades. Many of them said they preferred the old days were women working above ground in mainly administrative or support roles.

These views are discriminatory with many of the men voicing their dissatisfaction behind women's backs. Lungelo (36, black, electrician, 11 years' experience) said many of the men discuss the difficulties of working with women although never in their presence. This

is because women enjoy a different power associated with the sexual harassment policy, which is touched on later in this section:

Some other guys, they talk, no man, they suppose not to come, the women. The job for mining industry is heavy, so for them it's not right to work underground.

Despite some of these negative beliefs, there were also men who opposed these views. These men believed that you get strong women who can perform underground. Performance, in this sense, comprises both technical and physical ability to get the job done. These were views typically held by younger participants who had trained to become artisans with women. These men respected their women colleagues.

Maphikelela (28, black, fitter and turner, 1 year of experience):

My first ever job experience I was an artisan assistant, so I was an assistant to a woman. It was difficult but quite interesting to see that also a woman can work in the so-called 'male industry' because you know, men believe that women are not strong or powerful, but you know some women are strong, not only physically but also mentally they can think faster than men.

Craig (26, white, diesel mechanic, 2 years' experience) acknowledged the physiological differences of women, confirming Maphikelela's belief saying he believed there are strong "butch" women who can perform, although he said there were not many of them. He went on to say feminine women did not last in mining both socially and occupationally. He said manlier women learnt to adapt.

Although Craig believed there are strong, referred to by him as 'butch' women who are suited to artisanal work underground, he clearly believed they were a minority. Craig confirmed from his experience that more feminine women do not last in the trades underground. Despite Craig's discriminatory inference to strong women as 'butch', he held pro inclusionary beliefs. Fundamentally, women have to adapt to fit in. The industry culture provides men with a hidden dimension of power attached to the male embodiment that mining is physically and culturally a man's world. Anything goes, as long as you produce.

Thabo (29, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience) described his lived experience of the culture:

Underground everything's accepted. Unless the woman has a problem but everything is accepted. Underground people, they not good, cos they say everything. They can even swear you with your mom! Because we are men, we know, just leave him he's like that.

Even a grandfather with 59 years to 60 years. We treat each other as we are equal but since women came in, eish it's a little bit difficult because we used to play; not play as such but play with words.

The hankering after how things were in mining will not disappear in the short term, especially in a society like South Africa where patriarchy and male hegemony is widespread. Men enjoyed the lack of complexity associated with their traditionally homogenous gender environment. Now they have to make accommodations and they resist this, expecting women to conform to their traditional norms. Women are blamed for the distortion of what was seen as a natural well working gender structure.

The next dimension of power deals with this aspect of culture, which further entrenches how men experience women entering the engineering trades. Patriarchy is closely associated with the hegemonic culture of mining, but different in that it supersedes the mining industry as part of a national culture (Booyesen, 2007; Hofstede, 1994).

Hegemonic culture – production linked to men’s identities: Across the board, the participants commented on the importance of ‘being there to work’, and ‘the job comes first’. Mining is tough, requiring physically and mentally resilient employees. In mining, production is also typically linked to bonuses, so everyone in the team is expected to pull their weight. The mining industry embodies masculinity, with men want women’s mind-sets to change, and to adapt to fit their own. They expected women to demonstrate strength of character to perform despite the difficult conditions. Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years’ experience), in his account for the need to perform, felt women had to contribute too. He was one of the participants who felt real equity in the workplace occurred when women were able to do the exact same tasks as men, with no exceptions. Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years’ experience) as a younger respondent saw no difference between men and women in the workplace as long as everyone was producing. He also gave his reasons for the existence of the hegemony in mining:

The reason of that culture underground because we'd be fighting over a job it won't be anything personal most of the time ... so shouting at you because you don't want to do the job you are delaying all of us, and that language kicks in there. But ja, men, women we're all the same underground. ... there's no other motives behind that. ... unless you are a target somehow then that individual will also feel that this is more personal ... but other than that it's more general.

Interestingly, many of the younger men saw women as the same as them expecting them to be the same and perform the same. Mgwazeni described the context brilliantly highlighting aggressive behaviour linked to production. If women perform, men have no issues with them being around. He also hinted at how individuals can become targets when they are perceived to not perform or fit into the status quo. Male hegemonic culture is closely linked to the mining culture and traditional job segregation. For understanding power found in context and triggers of gender based conflicts leading to discrimination, this is where these contributions became invaluable. This is where power hidden within context helps to reveal the complexities of meso level conflict triggers.

Language – fit in or leave: Language can tell much about culture. In trying to explore the culture of the mining industry, language exposes the subtle cues to men's gendered bias. Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience) highlighted the pervasive mining culture including how it affects women in the industry. His comments highlight that not all men are the same. There was sufficient data showing how some of the participants distanced themselves from discriminatory behaviour for different reasons. Khulekani was an older man who believed women should be respected, regardless of the context. This contradiction is what makes diversity so interesting:

Some of them I don't know how did they grow up ... some of them they don't have that respect for a woman, they just say whatever they want to say around a woman, they don't care if she's a woman, they think as she's there she's just like anyone of us. I think it's a culture that exist in mining ... now they're still going on and on the next generation it carries on.

In contrast, there were however, many men who did not show respect towards women with one of them being Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience). He emphasised how typically younger men saw women as the same underground. He said the use of the F-word was normal regardless of gender. What happens underground stays underground, hence it commonly seen as another world.

Mgwazeni's view showed a lack of sensitivity towards women who seem to be expected to adapt to fit in. Younger participants believed that being the same meant women could be expected to be open to their hegemonic behaviours. Respecting difference seemed to be limited in the mining context. When asked how women cope with this harsh language, being treated the same as men, Mgwazeni said:

Some of them understand and some of them don't understand. I would say there're coping, they tend to understand at some point.

Mgwazeni's attitude seemed uncompromising towards women who are forced to 'understand'. Throughout this chapter, it is clear how women have to adjust to fit in. Most men made no accommodations to help make women more comfortable. This shows how the mining culture remains a male-dominated hegemonic order where women have to conform. There appeared to be limited effort to help women feel part of a more gender-neutral environment. Some women were reported to withdraw in the face of bad language with some maintaining their femininity. Women were reported to do whatever they could to fit in, highlighting the desperation of women struggling to assimilate within the context. Women have to fit in or leave seemed to be an accepted attitude held by many men resisting their hegemonic status being challenged by the presence of women.

The cage – pushing and overcrowding: In South Africa's deep vertical shaft mines, cages are used to transport workers. These cages hoist workers to and from their place of work. The cages are packed full with women and men sharing these spaces.

Maphikelela (28, black, fitter and turner, 1 year of experience) described his experience of entering the cages:

We are shoving inside the cage there – people wanting to knock off especially the stronger mining guys, they will push you just wanting to get into the cage. ... it's not good for the women.

Maphikelela was still young and battled to adapt even as a man entering the mining conditions. When many of the participants talked about being equal underground, they meant it quite literally. Men want women to be treated the same in all respects, and regardless of your gender, you will be treated equally. The cage highlighted the absence of respect for individuals.

Inputs from Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience), a slightly older black male, provided an extremely conservative view of women entering the engineering trades in mining. Mandla exhibited explicitly discriminatory views believing 95% of women cannot perform technically or physically when working in mining. He believed they entered mining not knowing the harsh realities of the environment. As a result, Mandla said women do not stay on the tools and pursue easier jobs, or push for promotion. Manda was of the opinion that women only did this work out

of desperation. Many men saw women as equals, making no compromised in their dealings with them.

Industry reputation, failed marriages: Participants reported relationships between men and women have become commonplace in mining. These relationships take on different forms. For example, some are monogamous while others include multiple partners. In addition, some relationships are based purely on an exchange of sex for labour, gifts, easier jobs or money. In other cases, depending on the circumstances, sex is extorted from women using varied tactics. In many cases, line managers are allegedly involved, sleeping with more junior women who work underground. These managers include human resources, foremen and supervisors. These relationships in mining culminate in high levels of divorce. Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) confirmed the widespread accounts of divorce.

In another account, Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience) added to this viewpoint stating:

Women underground, I don't know, I think it's gonna be a problem – especially if you are a guy, you are married you're working with the lady, you are married you're working with your wife underground and then at the same time, there's women around you I think that thing causes conflicts to your marriage ... I think most guys what they do they'll just start dating ladies where they work while they are also married in the shaft. I think that's gonna be a problem in future ...

Intimate relationships and divorce were reported as ongoing issues. Married men and women dating each other while working in the same shafts or teams poses an interesting challenge for mining, especially in managing this dynamic. Across all three mine sites where data was collected, men reported widespread relationships in mining. These relationships took on a number of forms, especially where sex and or cash was used to gain control and domination over one another.

Relationships at work cause conflict that affects individuals, teams and the organisation at large. The different relationships will be expanded upon in section 4.2.7, highlighting their significance in the sections that follow.

A final comment sums up the industries male hegemony and patriarchal beliefs beautifully. Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience), described the mining culture explaining men's beliefs and attitudes towards women:

It's a woman she is supposed to be submissive' irrespective of whatever they don't care – this is a man's world, and this is a man's territory, this job is for men, this area is for men, this environment is for men, it's not for women, actually we are doing you a favour – that's how they tend to treat women.

4.2.3 Power and macro/micro policy

At a company policy level, the mining companies are pressed by the government's Department of Minerals to push for societal change. These changes are typically around racial and gender targets, safety, and getting mining companies to do more for the surrounding communities.

Policy – slow change: Companies' mining licences are dependent on them demonstrating they have made progress against planned targets (Benya, 2017a). Mining companies have exceeded their overall targets relating to the introduction of women in mining (Minerals Council South Africa, 2018). This has however, come at an undisclosed societal cost. This cost relates to the well-being of women, including their psychological and physical health, as well as failed marriages. The harsh hegemonic culture women have to endure in mining has consequences.

Commenting with the introduction of women in mining, Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience) believed:

It's always been a bit awkward, because remember in the past, only men used to do that job. ... reality tells us whenever a man sees a woman in a closed position, where no-one can see them somehow a man will behave in a funny way. ... but it's only a matter of time before they actually get into their mind that listen, these people are here to stay, and we've got to work with them, we are a team.

There is a degree of positivity in this report from Hluphizwe who understood that taking advantage of the growing numbers of women in mining is wrong. This is despite its pervasive practice in mining. Some of these sentiments were echoed by other men.

Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience) expressed a view on the changing context and how men have begun to see women in mining as normal. This was the case for many men although there were also many contradicting views from younger participants. Traditionally, we expect older men to be more conservative, although this is not always the case. This interesting contradiction is covered in more detail in section 4.2.6.

Bert was a union shop steward and foreman at the time. He believed policy linked to the SLP (Social and Labour Plan) targets was not bringing about transformation quick enough. He did believe however, that women were getting promotion in the mines when they applied themselves, going beyond what was expected of them.

Some men did not like having women working with them claiming all the fun has gone out of the work environment. Sledging one another was part of the traditional culture, but now men feared policy where sledging women could result in dismissal.

Thabo (29, black, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience) explained how women, protected by policy, have taken the fun out of the workplace. It is this fun that made the job seem more tolerable according to him:

There's no hey baba [male parent or god], hey mama [female parent]. So, if you say Hey msebenzi [employee or worker] and they say ha, why you call me that? Why you call me that? You see it's more difficult working with women. Ja, because they can even tell you that they have rights, it's worse now. First time it was ... cos there were a little bit of women ... right now they are more, you see?

Men are clearly battling, having the hegemonic traditions challenged by the presence of women. Men struggle with what they see as an inequitable environment where women are advantaged because of policy. Examples of this relate to them not performing, refusing certain tasks, refusing call-outs and stand-by duties, and being protected by managers who give women easier work assignments. Some men also felt there was reverse discrimination relaying the difference in how performance is viewed. For example, how some men would assist women but refused to assist a fellow man. Men who cannot work independently were seen as incompetent.

In mining, being put on stand-by for emergency call-outs is disruptive. It can affect one's sleep, one's time with one's family, and one has to remain sober. If call-out duty occurs during a night shift, the miner has to report any time if needed for a breakdown. With many mines being situated in remote areas, the personal risks of driving at night are high, especially in South Africa where there is widespread violent crime. Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience) said some women refused call outs at night and managers could do nothing about it. He said if a man refused, he would be disciplined saying this was discriminatory.

Sizwe went on to add men, including foremen, are scared and battling to manage women. Foremen are unable to treat all employees the same. He said his foreman was

told never to call a specific woman to report for stand-by duties at night again. He was angry that he became the individual affected by this new protocol.

It is not easy to treat men and women equally in mining, not acknowledging the differences. Women and men are not the same. People have different attributes, bringing different value to teams. A manager who believes all miners are the same will inadvertently be entrenching hegemonic values. Sizwe resisted the notion of accommodations being made for women.

Lungile (32, black, diesel mechanic, 6 years' experience) typified this view when asked how women artisans are treated:

We are all equal. It's just that let's say I'm an assistant, and the woman is a female, then I'll feel like I must do her job because she cannot perform on other tasks because she's a female even though she's an artisan, but if I'm an assistant and there's a female artisan and there's a male artisan I'll prefer to work with the male than the female. But generally, we are all the same.

Lungile's view highlighted the tension with being the same, but women enjoying an easier work experience of being an artisan than men. Assistants reportedly preferred working with male artisans because if they work with women they end up doing all the difficult physical tasks. Other participants expressed frustration with the fact that women earn the same as men, but reportedly do far less work. Men seemed angered, especially if they knew the woman was capable of performing, but chose not to.

Some participants felt women enjoy power associated with policy. Many men, especially the younger ones, said they resist assisting women if they feel they are being taken advantage of. These younger men trained as apprentices together with many of those women, and knew their capabilities.

4.2.4 Power and position (meso)

Management appear to hold positional power that has a substantial influence on the climate that exists within different work teams. It became clear there was a need for effective planning, which included the whole team. Planning needs to include all artisans will perform tasks but, more importantly, also how assistants are allocated. Women given difficult physical assignments need to be given strong, experienced assistants who can help them. Where management demonstrated poor planning or poor values, the gender

faultlines appeared to strengthen with indications of continuous tension. These process conflicts affected relationships, in turn, manifesting in negative task conflicts.

At meso level, the importance of the role management plays in managing diverse teams is key. Without effective management of diversity, there is constant simmering tension. Mind-sets linked to attitudes and beliefs matter when it comes to effective management. Inconsistent management associated with style, ability and values spill over affecting the lived experiences of individual team members. As most of the focus of this study was at meso level, there was rich data dealing with men’s lived experiences. To highlight context at this level, two cases showing opposite extremes in mind-set are shared. Different questions were asked of these two participants to understand their beliefs regarding women entering the engineering trades in Table 4.8. These two very different individuals revealed their invaluable insights. These two cases are discussed thereafter highlighting the importance of these divergent beliefs to this dissertation. Both of these men are artisan foremen who are in charge of work teams.

Table 4.8: Manager cross-case analysis

Negative belief-centred manager: Mandla (42, black, instrumentation, 17 years’ experience)	Positive belief-centred manager: Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years’ experience)
<p>How did he feel about women entering the engineering trades:</p> <p><i>Out of 100 [women], 5% of the women are prepared to work and they are willing to work, and they can do their job ... 95% of them, they’re not participating that much with my experience. Mostly it’s a very low number of them [women] who do participate and out of that little can do it, but the rest 95% for me, no.</i></p> <p>Questioning why women choose to work in mining:</p> <p><i>Some of them, they were just told that OK, you can go work at the mine, then they come, check the situation, see OK this job is a bit heavier but because somebody doesn’t say no this one I cannot do, just come and then look, but a few percentage of the people that come willing and they know what they’re doing; but that’s very low.</i></p> <p>Confirming if he believed women were totally incompetent:</p>	<p>How did he feel about women entering the engineering trades:</p> <p><i>I think it’s high time that women get involved also in the mining sector because one would not just look at the physicality of a woman and say she doesn’t fit to work in the mine, because what we need in the mines, or what we need in any working environment it’s not just physicality. ... a lot of people are disqualifying due to physicality, so I think we need more than that, their knowledge as well, there are a lot of women that are doing much ... better ... than men. ... they should come in, ... we should be able to accommodate them ... understanding them and then working together with them because we need them.</i></p> <p>Questioning how women cope with the physical demands of the trades:</p> <p><i>Because that’s when our communication will come into play. She will tell them, ‘let’s do this and that and that’. You might find that she’s got a total knowledge of what needs to be</i></p>

Technically, I'll repeat. Technically 2 to 5% they're participating and doing, but the rest I mean I'm talking about the rest 95% not performing. There was one woman, electrician, you can see she's competing like we do, ... it was only one woman out of how many. That's why I said 5%.

Questioning if poverty pushes women to work in mining:

If you go to the college but you don't know what you gonna – you go to the college because you just got your matric and now you come to the situation where they said OK this is the job that you're gonna do. Because you're going through your training so, you just go for it because you want money, you want to take care of your kids.

Questioning if he believed women can enjoy working in the engineering trades:

The passion for the job is not there. Only few. You find that most of them after maybe two, three years' experience, they can feel that this is not the place, then they start applying for the compressor attendants you know, so they know that that's where they will be comfortable. Because most of the times they know – you see when they start, because they are new in the field you'll find there's a bit of interest but when time goes on, they realise that this is another industry it's not good for us. ... Now they start applying for better jobs where they will be comfortable, where they will fit into that field.

done but the physical part she does have, but not enough. ... as time goes on she will get used to it ... the experience of how that gets done – she will improve through that, ultimately she will start working with one assistant instead of two.

Questioning why some men do not believe women perform in the trades:

This is how it starts. If she comes to work your relationship with the woman, the way you treat her, the way you speak to her contributes towards that. In other words, if you start your relationship or talking to her in a very most comfortable way as if you are not at work, as if she's your sister – I'm not saying you shouldn't treat her that way of course you should give her that respect at her leniency – but look, she needs to understand that now she's at work. Now the mind-set needs to change, this is not home, this is not one of my relatives we are all site C [mine] employees therefore we've got to perform a task. So, whenever you approach a job you plan. ... You come on a call-out you say OK, we need to replace this pump, OK what do we need to do? Assessment, do that, do that, I'll do this part, you do that part or how do you see it, you understand? If you want her to be active, give her her part, do your part she will do her part, whenever she struggles, you assist but if you come to a job with her and you start talking to her, and then you'll be the first one to start with the spanners [tools] and continue, she will just be standing there looking at you – because your planning is not right. Let me tell you this, one of the reasons why they're saying that, is because they don't have proper planning of whatever task they are doing. If you've got no proper planning, nothing you do will be organised, things like this will be coming up and then that's when you're gonna be going back and saying no, we're working, and the women are just sitting there. Forgetting that 'what is it that we have done to trigger their mind to do what they're doing? So, it shouldn't be one-sided. Let's look at it from a bigger picture you'll see that somehow, we might have contributed towards them doing that.

Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience): Mandla worked in the mines all of his life. He experienced the change from the days when there were no women in the engineering trades to where there are an increasing number of

women entering the trades on an annual basis. Working his way up through the ranks, Mandla is now a qualified artisan and foreman, responsible for training apprentices.

Mandla believed women are not physically or technically capable of performing in mining. He also believed women are lazy, have poor attitudes and enter mining not aware of the conditions they will face. Besides being physically inferior and lazy, Mandla felt women are technically weak. In effect, he had the opinion women are useless working in the engineering trades underground.

Despite having tremendous exposure in mining, Mandla's diversity experience was negative with only one account of a woman who performed on a par with her male colleagues. Any women entering his team would have to cope with his predetermined attitude, namely that women are incompetent and lazy. In Mandla's view, women only enter mining for the money to feed their families. They do not take their trade seriously and have no passion for the job.

Not taking the trade seriously was an issue for many men who believed artisans should have pride in and respect for their trade. When women struggle, they look for easier, less physical jobs. Most women do not stay 'on the tools' for long. This is a general problem confronting the mining industry. It is not surprising that women who work for foremen, such as Mandla, do not last and tend to withdraw. With the cost to develop an artisan, this loss of skill has negative consequences.

In the remainder of the interview, Mandla went on to share how women try to subvert performance, encouraging men to slack off. He highlighted how women attempt to press harassment cases against managers when pushed to perform. In general, his experiences of working with women were negative, and so was his attitude towards them.

Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience): Hluphizwe had positive views on inclusion. He believed women belonged in mining working as artisans. His balanced view of working with women included that reasonable accommodations were required to help women assimilate in mining. When asked about his experience of working with women artisans in mining he highlighted less discriminatory views.

Hluphizwe's mind-set was completely different to that of Mandla. Although he accepted that women struggle physically with some of the tasks, he acknowledged women can be technically as competent and sometimes even more competent than men. Hluphizwe

believed that over time, women get used to the physical demands of the job and are able to cope. This could be said of any physical endeavour regardless of gender. Bodies do cope with new stresses over time. Hluphizwe went on to describe a balanced view of gender difference in mining.

Communication, as touched on by Hluphizwe, is critical to achieving productivity underground. The importance of planning is highlighted in section 4.3.1, where the absence of joint planning leads to process conflicts. Hluphizwe also believed women are technically competent, only lacking the endurance to keep up with men. He was also asked to share his experience of how men treat women entering mining. He explained how women are 'chatted up' by men, saying that over time, men get used to their presence and also start to change. Hluphizwe felt men realise that the work team is key to performance, and that performance is affected by intimate relationships.

While discussing a scenario where women do not perform, especially on call-outs and where women were reported to stand around watching the men work, Hluphizwe provided great insight helping to understand men's roles in perpetuating this behaviour. The role of planning work, including women, was also raised by other respondents as good management practice. Beyond simply planning effectively, Hluphizwe's mind-set was one where women are expected to perform, believing that they are capable. This was in sharp contrast to Mandla who believed women had no role to play working in the engineering trades in mining. The stark difference within these inter-case findings highlighted important insights into exploring the boundaries of faultline theory. They also substantiated the value of approaching this study from a nuanced perspective.

Another key role for managers is the allocation of assistants (that is, resources) during the planning of work for a shift. Assistants form an additional subgroup, as discussed below.

Allocation of resources – assistants: Working underground, the artisans are assigned assistants. Assistants are appointed to assist artisans, especially with more physically demanding tasks. This means carrying toolboxes, passing tools, and providing back-up for lifting and moving heavy equipment or machinery. The role of the assistant is not to do the work unless he or she is an apprentice being trained by an artisan. The allocation of assistants (resources) proved to be a source of ongoing tension.

Typically, the men preferred other men to work with them because men are generally physically stronger. For larger work assignments, artisans can be assigned more than

one assistant. Where the genders are mixed, this reportedly led to challenges relating to decision-making and perceived fairness. Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years' experience) highlights his experience of managing women assistants:

When you instruct her to do something, it's even very difficult it seems like maybe ... – you have to have a special treatment towards her as a lady. Let's say maybe you've got a male assistant and a lady – she needs some special treatment ... And it's very difficult to work with a woman in our industry.

Then that guy [assistant] seems like you as a supervisor you've got favouritism but it's not like that. ... when you instruct her so many things she thinks maybe you are not what can I put it? You are not treating her well. In the other hand, that male is thinking that you gave that lady special treatment.

Lindani pointed out how conflict arises between assistants from different genders. Often, these assistant move into apprenticeships later, or are already apprentices while working as assistants. The basis for beliefs and attitudes is already being set by the artisan managing these individuals. Lindani also said women artisans try to have experienced assistants who are competent so that the assistants could do most of the work.

Assistants are not expected to perform the work of an artisan. Assistants typically carry toolboxes, hand over tools and assist with heavy lifting and moving. This said, there are assistants who have been working underground for 20 to 30 years. Some of these men know the jobs as well as any artisan. This experience gives them power, especially over newly qualified artisans and women in general. This subject is covered in more detail later in these findings.

No trust: Managers were reported to always have to have witnesses when communicating with or giving instructions to staff, symptomatic of a low trust environment that signalled strong faultlines. It was reported one always needs a witness to cover oneself. This scenario is totally dysfunctional and clearly indicative of serious social challenges. Illustrating the point, Bert (51, white, fitter, 30 years' experience) noted:

You are forever two-two going together, so if it's two males and two females you've got your witnesses, but rather let there be somebody with you when you're speaking to somebody else or giving instructions or coaching sessions; have somebody else present that they can testify that this is what happened ...

As a foreman, continually needing a witness to communicate with one's staff, or having to encourage one's staff to have witnesses when talking to each other is dysfunctional.

This also highlights the strength to existing faultlines. Contributions like this highlight concern and reveal the level of ongoing tension in this context. When individuals have vendettas, there are reports of sabotage too. As an artisan, one is accountable to get one's work done. If one reports that the job is complete and it is not, you are accountable. Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) highlighted the risk of sabotage, as well as how managers can target one if one gets on their wrong side. This is also a means for managers to target women to extort sexual favours:

Each and every person got the witness ... if you want to sabotage me, it's so easy because I won't make things 100%. Actually no, not all of us are doing 100%, sometimes we just go between the lines and then that's where you can be caught.

Fanyana shared how managers target people they want out of their team, or how they can use their position to target women for sex. There were a number of reports where participants spoke about employees targeting one another with false cases. Typically, they use policy as a weapon to have people dismissed or have people moved to different sections of the mine. Trust seemed to be in short supply.

Losing one's job in a poverty-stricken country can be devastating. Even worse is losing one's job as a result of sexual harassment. Some women were reported to put false cases forward against colleagues or their superiors. Policy power was highlighted as a source of power.

Discussing how women could use false cases to get people dismissed or extort money from men, Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience) relayed a case where there was a big inflow of 20 women at once. He said that false harassment cases started almost immediately and included management:

Jocques went on to explain how a senior manager in a professional position was targeted by a woman underground trying to extort money from him. Although we are always hearing one side of these reports, the fact that the participants held these beliefs was enough to understand the sources of potential conflict and to reflect on the power dimensions. Believing that one could lose a year's pay to an individual holding a proverbial gun to your head is a major issue, not to mention the stigma of getting fired for harassment.

There is zero tolerance in the mines for blatant sexual harassment according to many of the participants. Men know they are on the back foot in most of these cases. This

explains the earlier reports highlighting the need for witnesses who will stand as allies, should this be required.

Many of the men harboured fears of being falsely accused of harassment, especially when in management positions. Government policy is encouraging more women to be channelled into mining. The harsh culture of mining has resulted in disciplinary policies being severe for those men who step out of line. The historical culture of mining encourages dysfunction, especially where there appeared to be an absence of effective management.

Extorting sex: The participants shared widespread accounts of managers at all levels extorting sex from women. This included human resources who would extort sex for money or jobs. Foremen expect sex in exchange for lighter duties, protection from other errant men, transfer or promotion.

Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) explained how women are taken advantage of by managers:

They take advantage of the situation of women underground, ... I have once talked to one of the lady working underground, she said I want to shift from that place where I'm working but my problem is that other guy want me before he can shift me ... for me to give myself to that man it won't happen I will rather struggle than to give myself to that man.

Then I said to her why can't you report that person? Some they have tried to report that incident, but they didn't help ... if maybe she think she can report that man, at the end of the day, if something is not done about that, they will be running after that person and then you know if a person want you to be fired, they can run after you until you don't have any place to hide.

Policy to report harassment should give women a degree of power. Positional power seemed much stronger than this policy advantage for women, especially for managers who possessed knowledge gained through experience, skills and status.

Extorting sex from another person could be an offence deemed criminal. The culture of mining and patriarchy seems so strong that men still do this, in spite of policy, stating that if caught, they could be dismissed and civilly prosecuted. Not surprisingly, at the time of the research, there was considerable dysfunction relating to work relationships described by the participants. This was reflected in a dire lack of trust in mining.

General perspectives: In additional feedback relating to management in mining, many of the participants were disillusioned. Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience) expressed frustration with managers who do not plan work for the team effectively and allocated heavy physical work to women who could not do certain jobs alone. Bheka was frustrated and angry. He put into question the hiring practices in the mine as well as the allocation of duties to women. There were many management inconsistencies from the different participants. These related mainly to inconsistent management that do not treat everyone the same. There were also strong beliefs that managers protect women with whom they sleep. Some men felt tasks were not fairly allocated with women not doing their fair share of the work.

Maphikelela (28, black, fitter and turner, 1 year of experience) was also cynical of line managers:

One other thing is that also our supervisors some of them they want to date these women, so the problem is that now when you address the issue with them, he is just gonna say I'm gonna take it up, but I don't know where is this place called 'up' ... So now, after hours he's gonna talk a different story with the woman.

Maphikelela highlighted how managers did not resolve conflict instead differing, or pretending they would deal with issues. This was not effective in building diverse teams that can perform. These behaviours could only ignite process and relationship conflict. Issues related to power and relationships including sex are expanded on in section 4.2.7.

Some of the managers in mining use their positional power in divisive ways to take advantage of women. This has a direct influence on performance. It also sets a poor example for other men working for these managers where objectifying women appears to be seen as normal behaviour.

These sections have highlighted context at different levels as seen by the participants, and described the setting against which the remainder of this chapter's findings are shared. The dimensions of power, the types of conflict, and how behavioural disintegration ensues were discussed. The micro and meso contexts are also better understood from the rich texts that follow.

4.2.5 Power and performance (meso)

One of the most significant powers in mining is the ability to perform associated with commitment to the job. For an artisan, this means one has the technical knowledge and

proficiency so that one is able to limit downtime while working against the clock. Artisans who perform are respected, especially if they are women. With production pressure and deadlines, individuals who are not perceived to be pulling their weight are typically not welcome. Most men do not have a problem working with women as long as they perform.

There were many reports from men highlighting their frustration – and sometimes anger – at what they perceived to be a lack of equity when working with women. Most of the men said that they felt as if they had two jobs because they would always be expected to help their female colleagues. Men made comments such as, “we earn equal pay so women should perform like men”. Artisan men who previously reported to women artisans as assistants complained that they did all the work while the women artisans looked on and were not performing.

Lungile (32, black, diesel mechanic, 6 years’ experience) said:

I must do extra I must work harder, so in most cases none of the guys wants to work with women, they don't like working with women, in the mines.

This perception was common, with many men having been frustrated or angry with women whom they perceived were not performing. When women do not perform they lose power. Men do not respect them and then give them menial tasks such as fetching water or tools. Not taking the trade seriously, and getting used to men doing most of the work creates a respect void, triggering behavioural disintegration. Many men said that when working with women, the work became infinitely more difficult.

Women who perform in the trades earn respect from the men. In an environment where some men struggle too, women who are committed to their work will get assistance from the men, be protected by men against other men, and not be targeted. This is the key to women earning respect from their peers while retaining their power and dignity. Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years’ experience) confirmed that women who perform are accepted, as did many other participants. As a result, respect emerged as a strong theme. Unfortunately, most men did not have completely positive experiences of working with women, believing they are lazy and do not committed.

Lazy women: All the respondents raised the physical limitations of women in performing certain tasks. Where some men were comfortable with this physical limitation, perceived laziness was not appreciated. Women can do most of the tasks underground. When they make no attempt to participate actively on the job, this creates tension.

Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience) believed most women in mining were not committed to their work. Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience) highlighted how he saw women using their gender to get out of work or be assigned easier jobs:

There's some limitations with the women ... physically you can't compare a man and a woman, and some women do use the fact that they are women to their advantage to get the men to help them; and that's where the fall starts.

This lack of commitment means extra work for men. This builds resentment and increases the risks of being targeted by men who lose respect for women. Complaining became a common sub-category during data analysis. Women were reported to complain about being tired because of sick children, menstruation, and also simply because they were women and should not be expected to participate in certain tasks. When women do not perform, the men reported having to pick up the slack for the team.

Where women were perceived to be using their gender to get easier work assignments, men became angry. Poorly trained foremen who did not manage these diverse teams effectively fomented process conflicts through ineffective planning. This seemed to then trigger relationship and task conflicts.

Certain women were perceived to be pushing for easier jobs continually. Some men, including managers, appeared to push back. Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience), talking of his issues managing individual team members, highlighted how men, particularly the younger ones, sometimes refuse to help women. This directly affected performance within these teams. Damaging relationship conflicts seemed to fuel the ongoing tensions in mining.

Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience) highlighted his anger at women on the same level doing the work of an assistant in handing tool to an artisan. Handing over tools on request is the job of an assistant. Where two artisans are assigned to a task, they are both expected to perform. Once bad habits are entrenched, they seem to cause ongoing conflict. In this sense historical process conflicts cause relationship conflicts highlighting negative task conflicts. Where there is simmering tension, task conflicts also build further relationship conflicts.

Most men reported only providing assistance to a female colleague if they perceived she was committed to the job. If this were not the case, men would make excuses to avoid helping. As such, assistance is only offered under certain conditions. Under poor

management, additional assistants are reportedly provided to women artisans to get the job done. Weak managers seemed to avoid dealing with poor performance, which perpetuates broad generalisations that all women cannot cope. This seemed to relate to process conflicts driven by ineffective line managers. Although women have policy on their side, men have patriarchy and hegemonic mining culture to maintain their dominance over women.

Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience) illustrated how men resisted if they perceived they were being caught:

She would still be around us, talking with us and all that but when it comes to an actual job ... they've always got excuses not to help. Men will have excuses! And you're gonna be forced to do it and you'll eventually see that women having one or two or three assistants isn't odd whatsoever.

From participant feedback, it would appear as if women are totally dependent on men. During shifts, men are expected to assist women. Standby or overtime, when men are not available, women reportedly leave the job if they cannot cope. Men seemed to resent the sense of having to work for women who do not perform, living with extra work.

Menstruation: Prior literature has highlighted the difficulties women face relating to family responsibility (that is, women's work) coupled with coping in their work life. Some men empathised with women who have to cope with their physical challenges, including menstruation.

Craig (26, white, diesel mechanic, 2 years' experience) raised this:

You working with heat and all that type of stuff – for a man, we don't have that much physical change in our bodies, but for a woman you know, especially if they've got that time of the month, it'll cause them to be more tired, whatever, moody ...

Craig showed his appreciation of difference, highlighting how mining conditions and menstruation make it difficult for women to perform consistently. Craig and other participants offered honest perspectives relating to the physical challenges women experience during menstruation. They appreciated these struggles although they were not always comfortable with women working as artisans underground. Their prejudices are captured in Tables 4.16 and 4.21.

Pregnancy: Some of the men resented how women fall pregnant soon after entering mining. This is potentially another way women choose to withdraw from the work

environment. Women, their bodies, and presence in mining was put into question. While they are on maternity leave, men have to cover their jobs until they return. Pregnancy builds resentment for men, especially where many men associate women with having to work harder because they cannot perform.

Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience) said:

Some of the women they just come in, few months she's pregnant – some of the women they just enjoy not working, just staying there, cos even if you're pregnant within four months they'll take out and you'll stay there for about a year and then you'll come back so I think most men are very angry about that cos now the lady still earns the same money while they're doing all the job underground.

Mndeni's comment as a young man is surprising as this is a view one would expect from an older, more conservative man. Most of the young participants held positive inclusionary views. Bangizwe (48, black, electrical apprentice, 18 years' experience) concurred with Mndeni saying women fell pregnant soon after being hired. This meant they could not work underground for extended periods including after the birth of their child.

While this may seem insensitive, not having back-up staff to assist men during pregnancy does result in extra work for them. These men acknowledged the differences between men and women. They also understood that these challenges had an influence on the overall work environment. The additional challenges of pregnancy and family responsibilities were sources of emotional conflict where most men seemed sympathetic, but frustrated at having to work harder to cover for women. Pregnancy was seen as affecting performance, and disrupting the traditional social order.

4.2.6 Power and respect – subgroup 'paradox' (meso)

Respect seemed to be fundamental to building teams that value inclusivity with many participants referring to it. From the 30 in-depth interviews, the complexity of diversity became real when observing a paradox across the different subgroups 'age', 'race' and 'tenure'. Understanding respect, linked to paradox, was important because it exposed the conditions that trigger conflict.

Comparing the categories of 'age', 'race' and 'tenure', the most significant dimension affecting attitude towards women appeared to be 'age'. The participants held clear views on age.

Age diversity: Younger men held more inclusive beliefs, respecting the need for inclusion. Many of these younger men had positive experiences of working with women. In addition, many of these positive views stemmed from their experiences of having trained alongside women as apprentices.

Many men of all ages felt women were ambitious, bright and wanted to study to get off the tools. The younger men in particular believed women were competent both technically and physically, especially if they had a strong assistant.

These younger participants in general provided a more balanced view of gender, accepting that one experiences difference in every subgroup regardless. Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience) confirmed this view from his experience saying one gets physically strong and weak people from both genders:

Usually you know which person can do what ... so, you're not gonna tell her lift that 50 kg steel; she's not gonna be able to do it ... but that's with men, women all around it's not gender-wise.

From the contributions of younger men, it would appear they are more open to inclusion than the older participants. However, there are older men that also have positive attitudes.

Later in the interview, Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience) introduced an interesting dynamic relating to age where older men were more inclined to assist women than younger men. This was interesting because older men seemed more opposed to women entering mining:

Some people help for covert reasons or whatever, but normally if a lady, if she's battling to roll a rock I'll step out of my way and help. But if I tell her next time call me if there's a rock, she's not gonna even attempt to do it. So, I think from the older-age men, they treat women with gloves, you understand? They want to help, and the younger ones are more like, you choose it, you do it ...

Although younger men were more open to inclusion they were less prepared to assist women. They were more inclined to adopt the attitude of equal work for equal pay, expecting women to perform. This behavioural dynamic was echoed by men of all ages.

The older participants saw older men as being more respectful and tolerant, whereas some of the younger men said the older men were more inclined to assist women with ulterior motives. Younger men were of the view that equal pay should mean equal work

– “You do your tasks; I will do mine.” Older men felt they had more traditional values where women are respected.

Although these accounts are based on the men’s experiences of working with women, there are differences between underground mining and other work environments. Training centres, where these young men train with women, are controlled environments. The physical conditions underground remain vastly different. Critically, one needs to be physically fit to endure from one shift to the next in such hazardous setting. Despite this, younger men claim to know the capability of women and still have hardened attitudes when it comes to assisting whom they see as lazy women.

Deadpool (22, black, electrician apprentice, 3 years’ experience) reaffirmed this view:

I’ve seen her, she’s a freelancer [free-loader] ... I don’t see myself just going to help her, because she has to earn her way, and pull her weight.

This dynamic, where younger men welcome inclusion having trained with women, but not assisting because they know a woman’s abilities, is interesting. Older men do not see this dynamic in the same way. Older men believe younger men are disrespectful and do not respect tradition in spite of them not believing women belong on the tools in mining.

Older men in general who had worked in mining for many years hankered after their past, believing it was better when times were more predictable, less complex and more fun. Younger men enjoyed having women present in mining. Although they were harder on women relating to their expectations of performance, they still valued this diversity.

Racial diversity: The most significant difference when comparing data from white and black men seemed to be white men’s distance from the social networks of their black colleagues. For example, many of the black participants had much deeper insights into the social norms relating to working with women colleagues than the white men did. It is perhaps because they are very few white women employed in the trades in mining with reduced social interaction across these racial divides. This does not assume that the white men were not involved in perpetuating gender discrimination. It did however appear to reflect a distance from the day-to-day experiences where black men interacted more closely with their women colleagues.

In addition to being outside of the social networks, white men seemed comfortable not engaging with women, or resisting participation in the politics of mining. Nor did these

men share the deep insights offered by their black colleagues. Their general attitude was that they were there to work, and that was it.

Brian (45, white, boilermaker, 17 years' experience) remained detached:

I don't know if it's ongoing [relationships], lots of times on the surface and underground but I don't actually look at those kinds of things, hey.

Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience) claimed he had heard of relationships in mining in exchange for work or money but had never seen it personally:

I heard about it ... I haven't seen it. I know a lot of stories with guy's that get sexual favours and the guy does the job for the ladies; ... I don't know if it's happening regularly.

South Africa has made tremendous progress towards building a more inclusive society over the past 25 years. In spite of this – as in most countries globally – individuals' identities are strongly influenced by surface-level differences. The white participants were detached from the broader majority of black men and women working as artisans underground. This may account for this difference in perception of the participants.

Tenure diversity: The subgroup 'tenure' was closely linked to age. Many of the older men had worked in mining longer than their younger peers. In an industry where production is everything, having tenure elevates your social status. In addition, these experienced employees know how to circumvent policy meant to protect people from harassment. In many instances, older men were newly qualified artisans or going through apprenticeships. This related to recognition of prior learning programmes aimed at qualifying more artisans. Many of these older men had worked as assistants before entering apprenticeship programmes.

Experience in mining does count in terms of understanding the different areas of work. Each area – whether it is in the plant, on the surface or underground – has unique challenges. Understanding these areas builds self-confidence while entering a new section as an apprentice or newly qualified artisan can be intimidating. Young apprentices or artisans are often thrown in the deep end and are expected to cope. Unfortunately, this opens them up to potential harassment.

When interviewing, Mhambi (31, black, millwright, 1 year of experience) he explained how women apprentices are viewed by more experienced staff:

There you're still a student so anyone can say whatever they feel or whatever they want knowing that nothing is gonna happen.

Apprentice artisans are vulnerable, lacking the self-confidence gained through experience. This can also lead to a situation where they are targeted for sex. This sex can be in exchange for labour, gifts, money or better marks through the institution where they are training. There were a number of respondents who highlighted the abuse of both men and women apprentices.

Two of the young apprentice men confirmed being targeted and directly intimidated by older men with more experience. Mondri (24, black, serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience) shared his experience of being called out to a stope while on standby:

Sometimes you have to share the section, have to go somewhere to do something then some other thing came underground, and said where you from, what you doing, those old men watched me like this ... did not want to help me. I ask them why? They say if they will help me; I have to give them something in return.

Mondri displayed utter contempt for those older men who tried to extort sex for labour from him while working under pressure as a young apprentice. In another instance, he had an older man offering him money for sex. This man gave Mondri R500 [\$71] to buy a cold drink, which probably cost R10 [\$0.71], then encouraged him to come to his house for more money. Mondri also shared more experience of this problem with older men. Some of these men are basic labourers (that is, general workers) while others are managers:

That's what they do even there are those guys – the shift boss – they do the same thing. Here take this R1 000 [\$42] I can see that you are working hard; take this, it's a gift from me. Obviously, she will take it, but the second time, and the third time she said no, actually, I want us to be something else then and they end up doing those things because of the money. Because already they feel guilty they take the money for the first time, they use it, for the second time and the third but some the situation will change.

At the time of the interview, Mondri changed his pronouns to refer to 'she' as though this happened to a woman apprentice. The researcher could not help but feel that he was referring to his own experience. Apprentices do not earn much money. Many of them are from poor families. Older and more experienced workers know this, and take advantage of the situation. Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience) confirmed this abuse not being directed at women exclusively while Jason (35, white, instrumentation technician, 5 years' experience) also shared an experience of new women artisans being targeted for sex by older, more experienced men. These

experienced men would befriend women before targeting them so they could skirt around the policy power held by women.

The disadvantage seemingly caused by an absence of power for apprentices relates to weak positional power, a lack of experience, knowledge of the section within which they work, being nervous in the underground context, and lacking economic power. They are vulnerable and targeted by experienced employees with longer service who earn more than them. Another way experienced workers can extort sex from young apprentices or newly qualified artisans is by sabotaging their work. Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) highlighted these examples:

Most people who are unskilled labour, they are wise and intelligent especially when it's coming to work, they are even more than people who've got qualification because they are used to that type of job for a longer time. You may find that person is working for a company for almost 20 years doing same job; you are qualified maybe you come here maybe you have almost a year or two years, or maybe a year as an artisan, you will find challenges because those people they know everything. They can maybe even sabotage you, somehow. If maybe you don't give them whatever they want.

If she want to work nicely, she need to repay you with something, some they demand sex to those ladies, and that becomes a challenge to a lady. ... because of the pressure that she's experiencing at that time, she went on and does something like that.

Younger employees seemed vulnerable to predatory, more experienced men. This does not speak well for the mining industry or society at large. In concluding, Mondi (24, black, serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience) said women were often paid by the men they slept with. He highlighted how women were seen as weak, unable to perform, and therefore taken advantage of.

Another theme mentioned in relation to no trust earlier in this chapter related to sabotage, which happens to non-compliant women or apprentices. This is an additional method experienced men can use their experience to create take advantage of the situation. It confirms the nature of power linked to tenure in this context.

4.2.7 Power and sex (meso)

Management has positional power. They, in some instances, appeared to use their position to protect women by assigning easier tasks, influence promotion, or take on men who challenge women who are not performing. The women being protected by managers who sleep with them, have favourable harassment policies that also protect them.

Experienced women can use this scenario to their advantage to make their work duties easier. Sex gives these women power. Sex creates a subgroup of men they control. On the flipside, men use sex to dominate and control women, especially those targeted, who do not perform. Sex is a form of domination and control used widely by both men and women to gain advantage.

Besides managers taking advantage of this situation, fellow artisans also 'date' women. Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience) speaks of the relationships in mining:

It's common. Very common. Especially in this industry. I've seen it a lot – women dating a guy while working together. When we're working, they feel for the women that maybe she can't perform some certain tasks, so they will need to help. They jump and help. When there's a woman working with a lot of guys, there tends to be a lot of conflict because some of the guys they just want attention from a woman, that cause trouble.

Unfortunately, the competition among men to date women leads to conflict. It is interesting that sex and not being able to perform are mentioned in the same paragraph. This highlights how women are targeted when they do not perform. This practice was confirmed by Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience) who laughed when he said:

You work for them ... so, sometimes there's an exchange of favour but I don't do it, OK? I hear and I understand – like, I do for you then you do for me. I think 10% of the time it happens. You get some people who respect themselves, they know who they are, but some they just come to work they hear that – even before they get their appointment they hear the men will work for you down there ... sorry for that!

It is concerning that a line manager (that is, a foreman) laughed about practices that are reported to have substantial negative social consequences for employees in mining. He went on to blame a minority of women for not respecting themselves and ignoring the role men play in encouraging these practices. Besides the social consequences of these practices, there are indirect consequences for the mining companies too.

Sex is exchanged for money, labour, gifts and airtime as examples. Most of these women come from impoverished backgrounds. The opportunity to earn a substantial amount of money by sleeping with colleagues seems to help ease the financial difficulties these women experience. Bert (51, white, fitter, foreman, union representative, 30 years' experience) highlighted the practice referring to them bluntly as "whoring". He went on to say it was better for them to "work on their backs" as they made substantially more

money without having to perform at work. Bert referred to the practice as 'whoring' while most of the black men refer to it as women having boyfriends (nyatsis) or dating.

This practice of exchanging sex for labour and/or money is reportedly increasing. This suggests the presence of conflict could also be increasing. Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience) highlighted his first experience of exchanging sex for labour:

So I would say to go back to my experience back in 2012 when I started working in mining, I remember we were hired – I think there were 25 ladies and 25 men – so when we got there, we were working for the electrical department so most women that's what they did – they never worked – the guys used to say 'OK I'll work for you, and then obviously you'll have to maybe date or something' – like sexual relations and all that. ... there's a lot of that whereby a lady is hired and then she does nothing at all.

The ability to control sex gives women power to negotiate an easier experience working within the male hegemony of mining. The ability to do less demanding work and earn substantial additional income is an easy way out from having to perform in some of the toughest work conditions known to man. Men use sex as a symbolic form of dominance and control over women reinforcing their hegemonic status in mining.

Sweet talker's/catch men: Linked closely to being lazy, many men perceived women to be sweet talkers who try to catch them by manipulating them into doing their work for them. In this case, sex goes beyond the physical act, using their sex to flirt with men in exchange for labour. Men reported that some of these women pitch for overtime but do not work. These women are often protected by management. As such, there are subtle forms of resistance that build against these women.

Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience) echoed other respondents who experienced emotional conflict. They felt women were taking advantage of them. They were not respecting the trade by not performing, being there only for the money. Dumisani explained how this manipulation happens:

The problem is when I arrived there, I realised that all the artisans they don't like, they say she's not working, almost every day, she's not working – when it's overtime she can come and work with us but doing nothing. The guys always we are undermining them. Even me, I did took her like that, the way they catch me, cos I didn't know her before so what I realised oh, she's not working but sometimes – when it's overtime you can see her.

A different participant Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience) described his emotional conflict linked to poor performance and not being able to hold women accountable. He raised how tensions in mining were ongoing because women tried to get out of work claiming harassment if men resisted these behaviours. On the face of it, one can empathise with Sizwe. There is, however, more to this perspective. Sizwe was in conflict regarding his experience of working with women, having little regard for women in general, or their contribution to production. From his experiences of working with women, he has become calloused, exhibiting an almost narcissist mind-set towards them. He knows how to 'punish' a woman by giving scary work assignments to them without his management being able to question him. Sizwe, because of his experience, is able to avoid harassment policies. At no point did any of the participants question why women withdraw in these strongly gendered contexts. This withdrawal, seen as poor work performance is dealt with in section 6.6.

Despite these negative views, Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience) was one of the few participants who felt it was men who were perpetuating poor performance because of their attitudes and beliefs':

But then they've created that themselves. If you keep on telling somebody you can't do something, he's not gonna do it anymore, understand what I'm saying? If you keep telling somebody, 'you're useless, you're useless' at the end of the day he's gonna be useless. It's the way she's introduced into the workplace, we know she can't give 100% and you must accommodate for that, but you mustn't take all the responsibility and all the force away from her from day one. They're creating that themselves.

The mixed reports from different men were encouraging. This showed that given effective management coupled with a good assimilation of women into work teams, they were able to perform as artisans in this extreme mining context. A point to note, though, is the general suitability of women in certain trades. Almost every participant, without exception, felt women were more suited to the electrical, or instrumentation trades as opposed to mechanical or boilermaking trades, which are more physically demanding. Some of these beliefs are highlighted in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Certain trades

Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience)	<i>Certain trades they can cope; others they can't because when it comes to instrumentation, it's much easier, it's light. When it comes to electrical, some departments on the electrical side, they can cope but the mechanical side, it's not for them, it's too physical.</i>
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Bheki (37, black, electrician, 10 years' experience)	<i>Maybe the instrumentation, because they don't work with heavy stuff, they normally work with softwares, not heavy things. And that's the only trade that I recommend for them.</i>
Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience)	<i>I can recommend for ladies, it's almost two [trades]. Electrical and instrument.</i>
Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years' experience)	<i>I think instruments, part of electrical, it suits them better, unlike boilermaker, fitting and rigging...</i>

This sentiment again highlighted the trades more suited to women were expressed by all the participants. There were only a couple of exceptions where men had come across an exceptionally strong woman who could perform in fitting or boilermaking. In discussing the physical demands of the trades underground, the role of assistants came up often. This role of assistants highlighted a source of ongoing conflict. Many of the respondents had worked their way up through the ranks before being offered an apprenticeship at the mine. They had worked for women artisans and had mixed experiences. Men in general felt women did not perform, but that women managed to manipulate men to work for them.

4.2.8 Power and cash (meso)

In a poverty-stricken society, cash seemed to be another source of power. This power can be used to buy sex as a man or if women used men for sex, could be used to enhance their lifestyles. Women accepting cash or gifts were reported to be widespread within mining. Mgwazeni (28, black, fitter, 6 years' experience) as a young artisan was refreshingly honest in terms of being gender neutral. He understood the harsh culture of mining and the daily struggles of women in mining. Mgwazeni opened up, explaining what he saw as the loss of dignity from being sucked into sexualised relationships with colleagues.

This mature perspective highlighted from Mgwazeni's experience is seemingly based on experience of seeing women making poor choices opting for the easy way to live within this context. Mgwazeni went on to explain the scale of the problem within the industry:

As regards relationships in mining. You'll find one woman with quite a number of guys and they'll be paying... Incidences where women have got multiple partners here, ja I have experienced that myself ... and ja they're taking money – they are taking money from these guys – these guys are paying left, right, centre – different guys moving from one guy to another for money, sitting there and not

working, this guy's gonna work for me because they have agreed that I benefit from you, you benefit from me so there is actually a lot of that!

Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) explained how some of these women enjoyed more prosperous lifestyles than their male counterparts in spite of earning the same salaries. They were reported to drive expensive cars, which should be unaffordable with the money they earned.

This practice of accepting money for sex affects productivity as well as how women's behaviours reinforce the stereotypes around women not wanting to work, being lazy and being sweet talkers. It is of concern that management participates in promoting or taking advantage of these women too. This does not bode well for women with integrity trying to build meaningful careers as artisans in this environment.

The mining companies have strict harassment policies that could result in summary dismissal. In an effort to dance around these policies, the men first befriend new women making sure they are not seen as engaging in any action that will be seen as unwanted by the women. After winning their confidence, they start propositioning the women.

Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience) explained his perspective on this:

Men in mining, they would say maybe to a lady 'I'll do everything for you, don't have to worry, I'll give you money I'll give you anything' then that's where they'll start dating or having sexual relations, ... I've seen that if the lady maybe she gets hired on the same day they will try and tell her how much they earn and all that – bragging to her – and then they start giving them [the women] money until something goes further, like starting the sexual relationship.

Once participating in the practice of receiving money for sex, these women then struggle to change this behaviour. Bheka (41, black, fitter, 15 years' experience) also had experience of management, including himself, taking advantage of more junior general workers who were living in poverty:

Underground production side they promise I'll give you promotion for this and that. ... you find that getting same salary the lady is a single parent, but she drives a car worth R5 000 [\$ 350] a month – how can this lady cope with paying a car, kids at school? Hawu. But there's no man. You can just ask herself how can she manage? ... Some others they just take advantage – the old men – hey madala [old man] give me R100 [\$7], I don't have petrol, maybe she can give me one she can turn around you see?

Others they don't bring food at work they know I'll buy the bread for her. Seriously, especially on production side because most of them are on the lower levels. But you can see they are living how can this lady manage? Two kids, a car, house, travelling 70 kilometres but me I'm struggling! Serious. Cos in the shaft there are tuck shops there find yourself buying airtime, cold drinks, everything so a lady cannot buy airtime there.

In this input, Bheka explained how the favours work for these women. They will allow other employees to have sex with them for promotion, petrol, lunch, airtime, cigarettes, groceries, cold drinks or cash. These women become skilled at 'playing men' and being 'sweet talkers'. Women who are involved in these practices live beyond their means. Unfortunately, this also has a broader performance impact on the teams where they work.

For those men who choose to have sex with other men, vulnerable apprentices are targets as highlighted earlier. Mondri (24, black, serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience) described how he and his female apprentice colleague were targeted for sex. Mondri was clearly conflicted in his feedback, struggling with a man old enough to be his father, attempting to lure both him and his woman colleague into having sex with him. Mondri battled to reconcile how he was supposed to respect an older person who was prepared to do this. Having cash is a form of power, especially in a poverty-stricken, developing economy and where you have vulnerable groups such as young apprentices. Cash coupled with male hegemony helped men maintain their control over women and vulnerable men.

4.2.9 Dimensions of power conclusion

Revealing the hidden dimensions of power provides an indication of how different subgroups are formed. These subgroups seemed to react to different power dynamics across paradoxical membership and group boundaries.

Management plays a pivotal role in forming the climate in these diverse teams. As such, their diversity beliefs are key including if they choose to belong to a specific subgroup or not. Where managers are part of a subgroup they have a significant influence on the power dynamic. For example, if management is protecting a woman, that woman automatically increases her power. In a different example, if they side with other men in believing women are useless, that group will enjoy power despite women having policy power.

These dimensions of power are not static nor do they represent construct siloes. There is some overlap between the different dimensions, which again highlight the complexity of power found in context. These power dimensions are extended to highlight their relevance to conflict triggers and types of conflict in the discussion chapter that follows.

4.3 Types of conflict

A deeper understanding of conflicts in this context builds a clear argument to explain the triggers of gender discrimination in these traditionally segregated occupations. Within the mining context, the dimensions of power influence the tensions within subgroups, as individuals have to coexist.

There have been three broad conflict types identified in research including process, relationship and task conflicts (Greer et al., 2008). Process conflicts are closely related to relationship conflicts because they can impact each other negatively (Greer et al., 2008). In other words, process conflicts can trigger relationship conflicts and visa-versa. Where process conflicts relate to how work gets done, relationship conflicts are triggered by differences in interpersonal, inter, or intra group issues. Task conflicts arise from disagreements over work issues such as how jobs are performed, or the contents of a report as examples (Adair et al., 2017; Jehn & Mannix, 2001; Thatcher & Patel, 2012).

Conflict types by their nature are dynamic (Jehn & Mannix, 2001), however in a longitudinal study, Thatcher and Patel, (2012) found that process conflicts in established teams were more likely to trigger relationship conflicts. Where relationship and process conflicts existed within teams these were found to expose or compound negative task conflicts.

The margins of social cohesion in mining appear to be thin, with respect appearing in short supply. This points to strong gender faultlines where the likelihood of process and relationship conflicts are more likely (Thatcher & Patel, (2012). This reality confirmed the chosen contexts suitability for this study. Extracts from the data highlighted how men experience conflict and how interpretations reveal the triggers of gender discrimination.

4.3.1 Process conflicts

Process conflicts were mentioned by a number of participants. For example, men reported poor selection and recruitment issues where small petite women were selected to work in mining. In addition, women were recruited into the wrong trades (fitting and boilermaking) because they were reportedly not strong enough. Human resources were

also criticised for not assimilating women into mining by helping new women understand the context and providing training to employees relating to the importance of diversity and inclusion. Poor team-level planning processes also affect inclusion. The allocation of assistants (that is, resources) and job allocation fomented more process conflict relating to differential treatment. Human resources selection and recruitment, weak integration reducing support for a positive diversity climate, and poor planning relate to triggers of assimilation and acculturation conflict. Typically, process conflicts in this study have been regarded as conflicts that could be avoidable under effective management. Figure 4.5 highlights process-related conflicts affecting gender discrimination in mining. These findings are discussed in detail to understand how power is exerted, triggering conflict that affects performance.

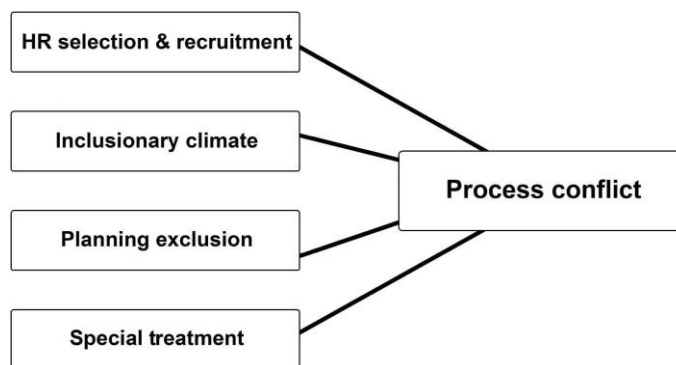


Figure 4.5: Process conflicts in mining

Source: Author's own compilation

HR recruitment and selection (assimilation): Men highlighted how human resources selection and recruitment failed to understand the context of women working in mining, especially in more challenging physical trades. This is highlighted in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: HR recruitment and selection

Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>How do they recruit the people? Especially there's another small, small, small ladies as a fitter, yoh!</i>
Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience)	<i>The mix is mostly women I don't know how they got the jobs I don't know but it seems there's something wrong.</i>
Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience)	<i>Most women, they don't stay in one place especially working with their hands and all that. Even if it's not really a promotion but they'll move you to underground and take you to offices, maybe to be a cleaner or assistant</i>

	<i>HR, [Human Resources] they don't work that long underground.</i>
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These contributions highlight a disconnect between HR recruitment and selection and the realities of mining. Some men express frustration related to process conflict where person–job fits are incompatible with their beliefs relating to women (that is, out-group) fitting into their notions of artisanal identity. Where women do not fit this identity, they will most likely not be respected, they will be seen as poor performers, and they will be targeted in one way or another. Most men believed women should be relegated to specific, less demanding trades as per Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Certain jobs only

Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>They can work but boilermaking, fitting it's a problem.</i>
Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience)	<i>Not all the jobs are for them.</i>

Dumisani and Khulekani highlighted further process conflict relating to women being placed in physically demanding trades for which they are not suited, such as boilermaking and fitting. All the participants shared the same view, namely that in most cases, women were more suited to the instrumentation and electrical trades. Working underground is physically demanding because of the conditions. All the comments by the men typified their dominance of national and industry culture where there are extensive othering and reference to 'girls' and 'ladies' as opposed to 'women'.

Inclusionary climate (training): Women entering the engineering trades appeared to be seen by men as a relatively new phenomenon. They also seemed to identify the need for support or training to ensure men see women not as objects but as valued team members. This challenge was felt to be particularly relevant to the older men subgroup that did not have the benefit of training alongside women as apprentices.

Table 4.12: Inclusionary climate (training)

Aban (48, black, fitter, 3 years' experience)	<i>When I started training, there wasn't any women at that stage, and then about two years afterwards we started getting them in the workshops. ... But gradually they've proven themselves and now it's like the norm really, I wouldn't say there is any difference, or challenges where that is concerned.</i>
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Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience)	<i>As apprentices there were a few ladies working with us, going up artisans, foremen. I'm an artisan, I've been living the experience, I've got about three years' foreman experience – so ladies work under me, with me, together so ja ...</i>
Craig (26, white, diesel mechanic, 2 years' experience)	<i>When they get into the job, the theoretical and the apprenticeship training is nothing, it's not even preparing you halfway for the actual job at hand.</i>
Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>Those old men, you need to get them right in their mind-set, you need to give them training, you need to make them understand how important it is to have a woman around here, and what is the importance as well, in treating her like she is supposed to be treated.</i>

Men highlighted how women were trained technically to enter mining but how employees have not been prepared for the rapid changes associated with policy power that has forced inclusion. The absence of effective inclusionary diversity practices seems to have opened the door to the abuse by dominant in-groups. Managers are responsible and should be accountable for diversity climates as they have the knowledge, resources and skills to moderate simple contact between team members.

Planning exclusion: Planning exclusion practices were seen as key in establishing behaviours of men working while women looked on. This reinforced in-group men taking control of production power while out-group women remained socially excluded and disempowered as highlighted in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Planning exclusion

Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>They don't have proper planning of whatever task they are doing. If you've got no proper planning, nothing you do will be organised, things like this will be coming up and then that's when you're gonna be going back and saying no, we're working, and the women are just sitting there.</i>
Mfanafuthi (32, black, boilermaker, 10 years' experience)	<i>I cannot give it to that lady; but if there's no other option it's only that lady, that's her task she must do it. Fortunately, we got older guys assistants who can assist those ladies if it's not the artisan.</i>

Some foremen and supervisors do not plan effectively, excluding artisans from the planning process. As a result, where assistants are not properly allocated, and men perceive they get the difficult – referred to as 'hard' – jobs, they become resentful. This absence of planning resulted in men taking charge of jobs and instructing women to perform menial tasks representing process conflict.

Special treatment: Special treatment appeared to be closely linked to insufficient inclusive team planning. Where managers did not consult their team deciding which

tasks were to be performed or which assistants to allocate and to whom, this deepened resentment by men who felt they were unfairly treated. This differential treatment was raised consistently by the men who felt they were being taken advantage of, and that they were always doing the majority of the work as artisans. Differential treatment raised anger, frustration and resentment, with strong potential to spill over into relationship conflict, especially given the extreme setting of mining. Table 4.14 highlights how men perceive special treatment for women.

Table 4.14: Special Treatment

Thabo (29, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience)	<i>You know that this person they are treated special. You gave her jobs, like duties, simple as that – make something, mark the register and then she just sit there.</i>
Bert (51, white, fitter, foreman, union representative, 30 years' experience)	<i>He won't let her do any work (foreman) she'll just sit in the office or whatever and just sit there being pretty for him for the day.</i>
Deon (32, white, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>Then maybe some of the men can say, ja but this one is getting the same salary that I do, but I must do her job.</i>
Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience)	<i>Me and you are on the same level, I have to work my arse off the whole day, she's maybe doing paperwork for the day because she can't do all the work.</i>
Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>So, I would say that women as well need to be given a little bit of knowledge in terms of that – they shouldn't come expecting that the men will be doing this, and they will be sitting. And the men as well shouldn't come with the idea of saying, we'll be working and then the women will be sitting because at the end of the day you don't have a team if you work like that so it's important to get them on the same page.</i>
Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years' experience)	<i>Whether they are lucky or maybe it's the management that they are planning it. That kind of person she can work with one, two the job will be done unlike she's working with someone who doesn't have experience, definitely the job will be standing, but I think the management maybe plays the role they know that even if this person can work with an experienced person, the job will move. So, they are lucky. It's what I've seen.</i>

Women seen as receiving favourable treatment or being protected leads to in-group resentment. Men, as the dominant in-group, already see women as advantaged through policy. Where men see managers as part of the women's in-group, this raises those women's status even further. In earlier reports, it was shown that young men look for opportunities to avoid helping women, while older men assist – but do so, in some cases, with ulterior motives.

4.3.2 Relationship conflicts

Relationship conflicts in mining appeared to be most damaging in the sense that they affect how men treat women. Men responded to process conflicts by discussing issues among themselves, which reinforces stereotypes. Where men were unable to raise conflict for fear of policy protection enjoyed by women, they resorted to other tactics to punish women.

Key to relationship conflicts were issues of trust. Men, including managers, highlighted the absence of trust in mining. The strength of the process conflicts then leads to relationship conflicts in mining. The weak relationships are captured in a few of the participant statements in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Trust and dysfunction

Participant	Low Trust
Bert (51, fitter, 30 years' experience)	<i>You are forever two-two going together, so if it's two males and two females you've got your witness.</i>
Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience)	<i>Each and every person got the witness.</i>
Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience)	<i>Especially if you're maybe in a senior position and you have to talk to them about something, you always make sure there's somebody else in the room; you won't talk alone with her.</i>

Needing a witness present before talking to an employee or colleague provides evidence of strong faultlines. This appeared to highlight tensions where conflict could easily be triggered easily. The absence of effective integration of women into this extreme context seemed to have heightened dysfunction.

Within mining, some participants described how they felt an ongoing simmering tension related to the presence of women. This seemed to magnify the weak diversity climate. Men displayed subtle and explicit biases. For example, men reported women having poor attitudes towards their trade and their work, taking unfair advantage of policy such as sexual harassment. Indirectly, men felt these behaviours affect performance leading to ongoing relationship conflict. Figure 4.6 highlights the relationship conflicts reported in mining. There is some overlap with some of the process conflicts. However, the process conflicts if dealt with by managers would reduce relationship conflict.

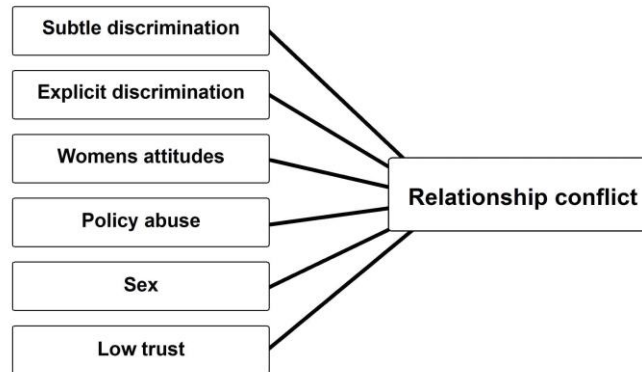


Figure 4.6: Relationship conflicts in mining

Source: Author's own compilation

Subtle (implicit) gender discrimination: The data collected from men highlighted implicit beliefs providing evidence for how men view women participating in the engineering trades in mining. These reports exposed bad language, psychological abuse and the risks to women in terms of their general well-being. These subtle cues demonstrated that for most men, it seemed that the women were not coping. These men highlighted how women entering mining were initially committed, but how this commitment waned over time.

Table 4.16: Subtle implicit gender discrimination

Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience)	<i>Some of them they'll be going to psychologists saying my foreman is on my case, I don't do my job, and it creates so much tension.</i>
Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>I don't want to work with the ladies because I used to speak the deep, deep language, the hard language so eish, it's a problem.</i>
Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience)	<i>Some maybe if you want to change occupation to go and work maybe to a place where it's easier for her, you know how some of men we are not good, we are negative towards ladies.</i>
Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience)	<i>Some of the guys they can talk very vulgar language, can use some strong words, swearing, sometimes I feel very bad for a woman around because they can talk the way they want.</i>
Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience)	<i>For me, it's not discrimination, if you can't perform your job and you are affecting my duties, my work, then I'll have to try move you to the other section so that I can get a team member who's willing to work, so I don't know if it's discrimination. Now they start applying for better jobs where they will be comfortable, where they will fit into that field. Most of the times they know – you see when they start, because they are new in the field you'll find there's a bit of interest but when time goes on, they realise that this is another industry it's not good for us. It's not for us.</i>

Craig (26, white, diesel mechanic, 2 years' experience)	<i>If it's for you go for it, if not, leave the job because you're gonna put yourself at stake. ... A lot of women come into this trade and they want to start as an artisan because it's an easy way in to a job, but they don't know what they're letting themselves in for.</i>
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Subtle discrimination was pervasive within these texts, as shared by the men. This was not surprising, especially as many men did not believe women belong in mining as artisans at all. Bad language, such as swearing or inappropriate joking, was openly acknowledged. Some participants reported how women are frequently mistreated in mining.

From the earlier analysis of power dimensions, women were categorised as out-groups in all nine dimensions, except policy power. Policy power seems easily subverted by experienced men who are able to manoeuvre around policy to defend the threat of women challenging their status in mining. The triad of conflict triggers (that is, process, relationship and task) appeared to intensify subtle discrimination affecting relational conflict negatively. This has the potential to influence task performance as men dominate performance power, telling women where they fit in and what to do.

The damaging effects of subtle discrimination resulting in withdrawal could account for why women consistently look for easier jobs, use policy as a weapon against men, sleep with managers to gain protection and easier jobs, stand and watch men as they do the work, and reportedly preferred to be pregnant to avoid being at work. Although men viewed these responses as women not being committed to the trade or their work, the issues seemed much deeper, triggered by process conflicts.

Explicit gender discrimination: There were widespread accounts of explicit discrimination affecting women. In some instances, men were not aware of how their language portrayed these discriminatory mind-sets. In many cases, men have lost respect for women. They responded to the perceived withdrawal of women by telling them what to do, issuing minor tasks, and discussed women within the in-group behind their backs. There were also reports of more junior general worker women being taken advantage of sexually and assistants taking advantage of women artisans. This highlighted how power dimensions came into play as the men did not openly confront women but punished them in subtle ways. Policy power was easily sidestepped by experienced men. Where men had cash and experienced powers, this also gave them

the confidence to take advantage of women in different ways, and across different hierarchical levels.

Table 4.17: Explicit gender discrimination

Thabo (29, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience)	<i>They just sit around, maybe they [men] can tell them [women] go and fetch water there, go and open water where you see, go and fetch something in the toolbox, go and surface, do this you see.</i>
Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>Then the lowest level, not the artisan levels, ay that one is a problem there because a gentleman, people they are – I don't know what can I say – they are abusing other husband's wives or I don't know</i>
Deon (32, white, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>In my opinion, they don't really belong underground.</i>
Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience)	<i>They can't make it. Mining industry is not for them.</i>
Bheki (37, black, electrician, 10 years' experience)	<i>There are some other jobs, which are light duties, yes they can do that.</i>
Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years' experience)	<i>They can bring them but just to add a number actually and do those minor jobs. Maybe they can be given the job that that's easier for them unlike the jobs that we men are doing.</i>
Mndeni (25, black, instrumentation technician, 6 years' experience)	<i>I would say electrical, and instrumentation I think that's basically for the ladies; but mechanical side I think it's strictly for men.</i>
Jason (35, white, instrumentation technician, 5 years' experience)	<i>On the mine there were a few (men mistreating women). I know the one artisan basically bartered with the ladies for physical acts, for 'taming'.</i>
Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>Look, in terms of discrimination, if you have listened to my explanation on how they are being treated, it's clearly there.</i>

Mondi (24, black, serviceman, 1 year of experience) highlighted explicitly discriminatory views relating to women's roles in society. He then went on to express how men blatantly express these views towards their female colleagues.

*Hamba lapa khaya Azikho lo jo kawena. Wena ayazi lo job. Thina funa kuvula lo stof. Lomuntu yazi niks, yazi f*k*I. Mina fonela lo foreman*

[Go home there is no job for you here. You don't know how to do this job we want to clear the working station [or] stope face so that we could work [or] start production. This person does not know what to do, knows nothing (Fuck-all). I will call the foreman [or] supervisor [or] shiftboss].

Attitudes relating to women not belonging in mining were examples of explicit discrimination. Men holding these views were evidence of diversity climates. Even

though some women battle in certain trades, this should not exclude women having strength and endurance from participation in those occupations. Broadly reserving employment for one group is explicitly discriminatory. Men targeting women for sex by sabotaging their work or trying to ‘tame’ them is also explicitly discriminatory. These relationship conflicts hold the potential to increase gender discrimination.

Women’s attitudes (lazy, not committed, taking advantage): At a meso level, men seem insensitive to the power relations at play in mining. Men have little understanding of these forces of dominance affecting how women feel and behave in response to their challenging environment. This is typically interpreted as laziness, lack of commitment and women taking advantage of men. In reality, women are more likely to be finding ways to cope, which leads to psychological and physical withdrawal.

Table 4.18: Judging women’s attitudes

Thabo (29, fitting apprentice, 10 years’ experience)	<i>Say out of hundred per cent, ninety per cent they are lazy but they know the job. They are not people of work; as we [men] see work. But women they say no, if I don’t work no problem John is there, Peter is there, you see? Most of the time that’s it – that’s our problem they don’t work as us, hard as us. Ten per cent you can see that women is working. So, they have capability but they don’t want to use it.</i>
Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years’ experience)	<i>It’s quite challenging; first of all, they are not people of work; as we see work. There are some ladies that can [whine] – she doesn’t want to work you see? I’ve got helpers [assistants] I can make a braai weekend for them, they can go and work.</i>
Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years’ experience)	<i>There’s guys who are gonna say ‘it’s your job you getting paid to do it so do it!’ and then the job is not gonna be getting done – that’s happened.</i>
Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years’ experience)	<i>They just feel like ‘I’m a woman I’m not supposed to be doing this hard stuff or work hard; I’m only supposed to be given soft jobs like that’ that’s how some of them they feel. If you give her a job she won’t say ‘no I’m going to do it’ she’ll be complaining and complaining so that you can be there for her. But that’s part of her job, you signed, when you signed your offer it included standby! And then you signed, but now you are here you don’t wanna do it. But some of them they’ll be just relaxed. You know, it’s not all about hard work or what, even if it’s light duty some of them they’ll say to you, no I’m tired I won’t do that, my baby was crying last night, you see. And then it creates that tension – there’s gonna be that light tension – even if some of the guys they won’t even show it – it’s gonna be there. They’ll be just sitting because they say it’s hard labour they not gonna do it.</i>
Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years’ experience)	<i>Even underground I saw the one, but I wasn’t work with her; they always doing like that [sitting handing tools].</i>
Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years’ experience)	<i>Women artisans they quite rely on their assistant, and I don’t know maybe they are lucky or it’s their strategy – normally they work with the experienced assistant who knows the work – so most of the job are done by their assistants.</i>

Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience)	<i>Women always feel like 'I wish I can quit, I wish I can go to the office' so, that's what it is. When it comes to technical can you ask her to go replace the plug? Then she looks at you like that, this man! But when you tell her OK go this is a paperwork, go give it to the engineer to sign, you can see she does have interest and she goes quickly. When she comes back, she's happy.</i>
Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience)	<i>I'm not here to work for you, you must work for yourself, if you want my help I will help you but I'm not gonna do your job for you' – that is what basically happens. Women - I will say it's not all of them that understand that you are there to do the job. It's just that they've agreed to the terms and whatever, and they've signed the contract they have to be there otherwise they will just be at home and get the salary.</i>

Men judge women's attitudes harshly, especially in the absence of understanding what power dimensions, triggers and types of conflict establish negative behaviours by women artisans. Men maintain their hegemony, expecting women to fit in or leave. Where management does not manage process conflicts to improve diversity climates, women will continue to opt out, which reproduces cycles of discrimination.

Policy abuse (false cases, promotion): Although women are a minority in mining, they hold in-group power related to policy. This policy – including employment equity, the Mining Charter and sexual harassment – provides legitimacy for their presence in mining. Men become resentful at the volume of perceived false cases against them for sexual harassment, including perceptions of unfair promotion favouring women.

Table 4.19: Policy abuse beliefs

Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience)	<i>I've seen it happen many times. The lady was starting to say the foreman is harassing her, and of which there was nothing like that, we were treated the same.</i>
Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years' experience)	<i>Women they get promoted quickly. I don't know what's the reason behind, but ja, I can see it. It happens quite often.</i>
Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience)	<i>I mean, it's an easy way to get paid. Cos then they gonna tell you I'll drop the cases but then you must pay me a year's salary and, in the meantime, it wasn't true there was nothing like that – in the 8 harassment cases, I know 1 that was real.</i>

Affirmative action policies (Van der Walt et al., 2016) as well as Mining Charter (Minerals Council South Africa, 2017) targets are pushing for more women in technical roles and into management. These policies combined with sexual harassment policies provide women with a source of legitimate in-group power, despite being in the minority in mining (Jonsen et al., 2013).

In some women subgroups, sexual harassment policies as reported by the participants, are felt to be used unfairly against men. In these instances, participating men were angered by what they saw as historical injustices where management generally took the woman's side. Management was seen as unfairly promoting women and was viewed negatively by men. Management contact related to process conflict was also activated through different values and differential treatment triggers.

Sex – the battleground: Participants reported both men and women using sex to control, punish or impose dominance over one another. Men can have sex with women if they have positional, cash or experiential power. Men can barter sex for labour, cash, gifts or promotion. Women can use sex to gain protection, enjoy easier work assignments, and obtain power or status from cash, with many of these behaviours reflecting women's physical and mental withdrawal from their work. Women using sex can be seen as a dual notion in that it does not always relate to physical acts. Non-physical acts were observed in the form of complaining or flirting.

Table 4.20: Sex in mining

Thabo (29, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience)	<i>The supervisors make women their concubines, so you can't take your concubine and make her work, you see?</i>
Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>A man looks at a woman and has a certain impression about that woman, that he might date her. And a lot of guys are doing that to their advantage knowing that the woman will sit back, so the guy would not mind working while the woman is sitting because they are dating each other so that's where it started.</i>
Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience)	<i>Incidences where women have got multiple partners here, ja. I have experienced that myself there; hence, I said I worked with more women. And ja, they're taking money – they are taking money from these guys – these guys are paying left, right, centre – different guys moving from one guy to another for money, sitting there and not working, this guy's gonna work for me because they have agreed that I benefit from you, you benefit from me so there is actually a lot of that!</i>

Men can use sex as a subtle form of domination and control over women. Some women retaliate, learning that through sex, men can be manipulated and controlled too. Using sex figuratively and practically, women are seen as 'sweet talkers' who catch men.

Men work for women, providing gifts and cash. When women sleep with managers, the status of such women is elevated as they enjoy easier work assignments, protection from their peers experienced assistants, and potentially promotion opportunities. These

represent process conflicts linked to special treatment. In instances where sex is being used subversively, relationship conflicts escalate. Sex in mining is a critical issue affecting society, families, personal health, psychological well-being and productivity.

The greatest source of emotional conflict from the participants related to what they perceived as a lack of equity or fairness relating to how women and men are treated. This pointed strongly to the fact that process conflict associated with assimilation, different values and differential treatment was affecting relationships. Men across all subgroups consistently stated that if women performed, they did not have a problem with them being in the engineering trades and working underground. Accepting these women however was conditional and fully dependent on those women's attitudes.

Emotional conflict ranged from anger to frustration, disappointment and resignation, i.e. just accepting the status quo. Maphikelela (28, black, fitter and turner, 1 year of experience) expressed his feelings, arguing that equity cuts both ways:

When it comes to grading of the salaries, they're not gonna say this woman is an electrician so, this man is an electrician but we're gonna put this amount because he's a man; he's gonna do the hard jobs. There's no such thing. You all get the same salary. If I get employed today, same time with a woman, we're gonna get the same salary so the problem is that now, they are using this word that they are women, and some of them they will tell you that, you know they are life-givers, you see? Which is true, they can bear kids, but when it comes to the workplace they should know that we are equal – that is why we've got gender equity and employment equity in the workplaces.

Maphikelela highlighted the hidden emotion held by many men who expect women appointed as artisans to perform, to take their trade seriously, not make excuses and be committed to their work. When asked about the cooperation of women working underground, Deon (32, white, fitter, 7 years' experience) felt at least 50% of the women working underground were uncooperative, and in spite of this, were protected by policy and management:

Men want the same treatment as women. This can only be established from management who have the positional power to change practice. Management can in this sense influence process conflicts. Where this is not the case, men are angered, leading to relationship conflict. Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience) raised many issues that highlighted his anger. He had an issue with women not being treated

the same because they were on the same level, earning the same pay. He believed women enjoyed preferential treatment, and were always hear before men.

Process conflicts in all cases seemed to precede relationship conflicts to become antecedent conditions that become a trigger of relationship conflicts. Besides the way subgroups perceive they are being treated, performance was continually highlighted. The question has to be asked whether this would continue to be the case in the absence of dysfunctional relationship conflict. Performance equity is the biggest factor relating to men respecting their women artisan peers or not. Where managers do not build inclusive teams that plan together and where tasks and assistants are fairly allocated, resentment results.

Brian (45, white, boilermaker, 17 years' experience) highlighted his disillusionment:

Also, we'll get the big jobs, and they just get like, small jobs even on weekends and all those things, but that's the foreman's problem you know he must see what jobs he puts out; if I always look on the Sunday labour and those things, they get all the small, little jobs even if it's their level then you get sent there to do the big jobs you know? And that's not alright, you know. But anyway ... That's why I'm also saying I just work here I; don't give the rules.

It was clear from Brian's last comment that he is resigning himself to the fact that he cannot do anything about this perceived inequity. He just has to accept the status quo. Process conflicts for Brian have won the day, so deep emotional resignation seems evident. Brian's subgroup, although part of the dominant in-group, should be cautious of not being associated with the separatist policies of South Africa's past. It is better just to accept the status quo. Thabo (29, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience) felt managers had soft spots for women and protect them. He went on to say women were protected by their rights, with men afraid to challenge them, having special privilege.

There is a feeling of helplessness amongst men. They feel they have no avenue to raise their grievances. In a sense, this protects managers who are not managing diversity effectively, or who are in relationships with women where those managers protect them. In addition, Thabo believed women enjoy promotion ahead of men even though they have less experience. This view was also expressed by a number of other men, especially where women were having sexual relations with management.

Lindani (40, black, boilermaker, 11 years' experience) also believed women were advantaged when it came to promotion. He raised the point:

Women, they get promoted quickly. I don't know whether is that because you see that if you can promote that guy then my job will be standing, at least when you promote the lady, it's still fine you know your job will still go out there, anything that causes women to be promoted quickly I don't know what's the reason behind, but ja, I can see it. It happens quite often.

Lindani later said a woman sleeping with management was believed to be the reason for getting promotion ahead of men. Although this could be the case, the reality is that women appeared to be pushed to get into management perhaps positions prematurely. Policy linked to employment equity (Department of Labour, 2018) and Mining Charter obligations (Benya, 2009; McKay, 2016) have targets to be met, which include the promotion of gender equity. Social modelling always has consequences; one has to take from one group to give to another (Chua, 2013). The emotional spill-over in the form of conflict will always perpetuate simmering tension.

Some men highlighted what they saw as inconsistent emotions displayed by women coupled with false harassment cases. This also led to these men holding negative attitudes towards women.

Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience) said about alleged false cases:

I hear from another one, a woman was abused, sexually harassed by another man then there was a case, it was on my area but I never see such a thing, but you can see sometimes maybe a man can just hold or grab a woman they don't care, they don't mind; and the women you can see they are used to it. But the problem is others they doing it, sometimes a woman feels like today I don't want to be touched. Then you can find they escalate it to complain, but you can find sometimes they keep on playing, holding her hand 'you are mine' then holding each other; but sometimes when she's angry or she's unhappy with something then you try to do it what you always do during all other days, then you can find you have a problem. Usually, women you must check her first, today is on the normal stage like every day she's happy, then you can play with her the way.

Sipho's behaviour or expectation of women being open to harassment is wrong. He admitted being part of this 'harassment game' where women are touched and allow men to touch them inappropriately. Regardless of whether women allow themselves to be touched, management should deal with this behaviour. Unfortunately, where there is an absence of effective management, these situations will trigger conflict at some point.

Bert (51, white, fitter, foreman, union representative, 30 years' experience) shared his experience of a growing number of false cases being brought against men. He said there had been a marked increase in false sexual harassment cases in recent years.

This increase in sexual harassment cases makes men uncomfortable. They fear women who could use this power to target them for various reasons even if they do not relate to harassment. Deon (32, white, fitter, 7 years' experience) also had experience of women lodging false cases against men:

If you have a problem with a woman doing whatever wrong, there's that case that she can get you for sexual harassment even a compliment can be sexual harassment – the law is written in the way – so yes, I think the men are toe-tipping around the women to try and stay out of their ways.

Deon highlighted the sensitivity of the climate underground. Some men feel women take advantage of their gender in order to get out of work. Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience) said this made him disappointed of some of the women he came across at work. This disappointment came about because his brother could easily perform all those duties but cannot find work.

Jocques also highlighted how bad habits including doing a woman's work for her, could become expected norms. Once again, management has to deal with these behaviours on an ongoing basis. With policy backing women, men have to tread carefully around women, creating a sense of mistrust. Although men get angry about the obstacles they come across, particularly related to performance, they cannot raise these issues for fear of being victimised.

In most cases, men learn to accept what they perceive as a lack of equity. Most men do not have an alternative but to work in the mines and have to learn to accept the policies of that environment. Where these process issues are not addressed, relationship conflict continues unabated.

Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience) explained how policy (macro and micro) advantages women and how men simply "switch off" ignoring their frustrations.

Mandla reflected on the emotional conflict related to policy as well as how men discussed their frustrations in private. He, like Brian, also felt disempowered to raise relationship conflicts openly. Relationship conflict is ongoing in mining but escalates under specific

conditions, including the allocation of tasks, unfair promotion and false harassment cases.

Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience) explained how perceived unfair promotion leads to behavioural disintegration in the form of an overlooked man sabotaging a woman's work:

Look, it's a personal choice, I forgive them. Why? Because they don't know what they're doing. They don't know that someday it's gonna catch up with them. You get a lady that gets promoted to that level OK? Now what are you doing to this guy? You don't even give training to this guy, you are aware that the man is hurt, you are aware that the man knows much better than the lady, and the lady will still be on top of this man. How do you expect this guy to perform? You understand? And now there comes a problem. This guy will automatically have an attitude to this woman – this guy also one of his problems is that he's got no self-management – he's just looking at the reality part of things which was that he was supposed to get that position, not the lady. When everybody also sees that, that gives the guy pressure you know 'oh why were you not appointed?' – now the woman will want to prove to this man that hey listen I'm in charge now. And the man will want to prove to this woman that listen, you know nothing I know better than you. And then you'll start having a lot of breakdowns and it goes down to a point whereby the man is sabotaging the woman because the man did not get a position, and stuff like that. So, relationships and whatever else you've mentioned, it's costing us as well.

Hluphizwe's account of unfair promotion triggering relationship conflict with subsequent sabotage associated with task conflict (that is, behavioural disintegration) affected performance and helped to reveal this extreme dysfunction. Where men cannot raise these issues openly, and where there is unresolved conflict, this will result in sabotage, which is not in the best interests of the team or the company. Most men reported discussing their frustrations in private amongst one another.

These conversations related to women not performing, are sensitive. Men will not admit their dissatisfaction publicly, and they have no safe spaces to disclose their dissatisfaction.

Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience) highlighted this practice of talking behind women's backs:

They don't really like to work with the women because they talk. We, as men, we talk sometimes we have our little chats.

Interestingly, Deon (32, white, fitter, 7 years' experience) did not believe men complain behind women's backs. This is a further example of how white men are not part of the social networks of their black colleagues, preferring to turn a blind eye to the ongoing tensions existing at the time of this research. Deon explained his view:

The men are not really complaining, you can sometimes see the dissatisfaction but they don't really talk about it, they don't really give you complaints.

The detachment from social groups means beliefs and attitudes are not aligned. The male subgroups separated by race often see deep-level diversity differently. Men talking behind women's backs fuels the simmering tensions, especially where there is no place for these men to raise their concerns. Where this simmering tension is not managed, events such as unfair promotion, a false allegation against a man, or a man feeling jilted by a woman, referred to as 'inconsistent emotion', will trigger task conflict, such as sabotage. The behavioural disintegration related to these relationship conflicts highlighted significant lack of trust across gender faultlines. This was incorporated as a key construct in Figure 4.6.

4.3.3 Task conflicts

Men reported widespread task conflict highlighting physical limitations, technical aptitude, slow completion of work and extra work for men. Task conflict was not always obvious or overt. For example, if men see women battling or working too slowly, they simply take the tools from her, in effect, taking performance power. Men reported women lacking the physical ability to complete tasks, including some women lacking technical ability (that is, knowledge). They said this resulted in extra work with jobs taking longer than necessary to complete. Figure 4.7 highlights the task conflicts in mining.

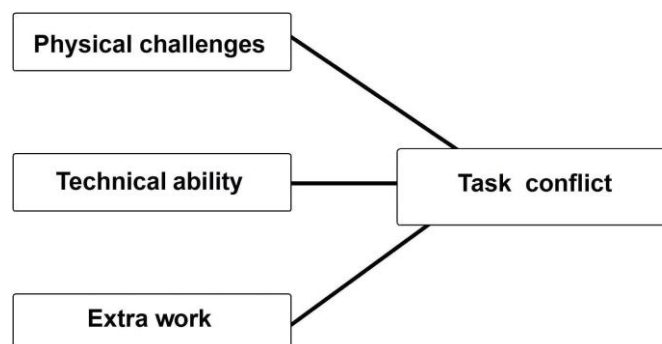


Figure 4.7: Task conflicts in mining

Source: Author's own compilation

Physical challenges (slow): The challenges for women are related to physical strength to complete certain tasks as well as endurance to work consistently in the meso context. All the respondents felt women were more suited to instrumentation and electrical trades where the physical demands were less significant.

Table 4.21: Reported physical limitations

Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience)	<i>When it comes to physical job they get tired easily, so they want to rest. They are not physically strong in other jobs underground. You find other men complaining, saying this job I do it within an hour and the woman is gonna do it within two hours.</i>
Thabo (29, black, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience)	<i>Work at underground is heavy; so heavy work for women is not – ah, they can't do it. They can't.</i>
Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>Because this is a man's job if there's no transport like manifold or fork lift I can just take the pipe and put it here and walk, walk but that lady she can't. She can't.</i>
Lungile (32, black, diesel mechanic, 6 years' experience)	<i>I personally don't have a problem working with them – it's only that most of us guys we don't like working with women we feel that most of the work that we do, it requires a lot of strength.</i>
Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience)	<i>Generally, in engineering. Lifting heavy objects, or when you've got a duty then maybe it's prolonged then they get tired, fatigued then you lose concentration.</i>
Jocques (48, white, electrician, 19 years' experience)	<i>There's some limitations with the women you can't compare them, physically you can't.</i>
Mondi (24, black serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience)	<i>Those people [women] they can stand the job but not the environment. They can't stand that temperature, so the reason they want the soft jobs so that they can manage because there's air, there's open space because sometimes you will get the confined spaces.</i>
Bangizwe (48, black, electrician apprentice, 18 years' experience)	<i>Sometimes we working hard, pulling hard things, so heavy things and so she says 'eish, my back, my back' you know time is going, she's wasting our time to finish the job.</i>
Lungelo (36, black, electrician, 11 years' experience)	<i>We need to help each other so we work together as a team, so now you get that situation to say this woman is not strong enough, so that job is standing or it's taking a long time to finish.</i>

Many respondents had issues with what they perceived to be a lack of respect for the trades and women not being committed to their work. Ongoing tension, with the presence of relationship conflicts seemed to exacerbate the focus on task conflicts. Working as an artisan traditionally invokes a sense of pride in one's occupation. Most organisations, including institutional training centres, try to instil pride from the time apprentices start

their training. Not respecting the trade challenges disrespects the identity of proud artisans.

Where men lose respect for women due to them not performing, this will most likely lead to behavioural disintegration. This behaviour can be subtle or explicit depending on the meso power dimensions.

Technical ability: For engineering artisans to perform, they have to be both technically and physically capable. Some participating men did not see women as being technically as competent as men, while other men saw women as being as good and in some cases better than men regarding their knowledge. Most of the younger men rated the knowledge of women with whom they trained positively.

Table 4.22: Women and technical competence

Sizwe (36, black, diesel mechanic, 12 years' experience)	<i>Knowledge side, they are not there. Formal knowledge, according to me, I'd say 80% of them they are not there.</i>
Craig (26, white, diesel mechanic, 2 years' experience)	<i>A lot of women what they'll do is they'll come into the job and then they think they're just gonna do 'that' – you've gotta be multi-skilled and a lot of women step into an artisan's position and they don't have that.</i>
Mondi (24, black serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience)	<i>Even us, I'm not saying the men are not intelligent, but some are slow, women can think fast, this is what I have seen so far.</i>
Deadpool (22, black, electrician apprentice, 3 years' experience)	<i>Women are very smart individuals I must say, that's something I've experienced. Women are very smart, they're very clever.</i>
Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience)	<i>A man is usually longer to stay on the tools than the ladies because they like to study further to get off the tools.</i>
Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>The other thing is the ladies are studying, yoh. I'm not saying we men can't but ladies ... In a short period of time. Most of the ladies that I know they are pushing on studies.</i>

Many of the younger participants had more inclusive attitudes towards the women with whom they had trained as apprentices. Despite this, and besides one or two negative views, most men felt women were technically competent but only battled physically. Those men holding negative views on inclusion typically saw women as not competent, or using their knowledge to study further to get off the tools.

Extra work (taking tools): Men reported having to do extra work because some women always needed assistance, or did not perform at all. In response to women not coping,

men reported often taking over jobs in the rush to complete them. Symbolically, men taking the tools from women immediately diminishes a women's power to perform. Losing this ability to contribute to production diminishes women's status. In terms of productivity, all artisans should be fully engaged in their work. If women stand idly while men work, this has broad ramifications for gender discrimination.

Table 4.23: Extra work

Thabo (29, black, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience)	<i>We just do job for them. It's common! Every, every shift you assist. You even get used to that. It's part of the job. You take the load off her and say no, take this and this, let me take this load let's go. Because most of the things they can't.</i>
Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>We just do job for them.</i>
Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience)	<i>I have to do my work and her work – that's happening, so that's definitely a fact.</i>
Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience)	<i>Sometimes I'm cross with her, just because of sometimes we are working overtime, it's too hard to work with someone who's just sitting there and giving you tools, doing nothing. Some of them they always standing behind the guy, always. That's the problem with the lady.</i>
Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience)	<i>The man has also got the culture of working whilst the woman is sitting. So, now we need to separate the two – this is no longer about a culture – this is a working environment there are principles, it's very important to set the principles and it's very important to explain to both parties that listen, this is [Site C], this is an artisan, and this is what an artisan's job is or job description is.</i>
Lungile (32, black, diesel mechanic, 6 years' experience)	<i>If you're working with a female, obviously you're gonna work much harder.</i>
Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years' experience)	<i>It's a big problem. Men actually they don't like it. It's one out of five men that would actually freely and open-heartedly go and help a woman – it's even a challenge for me – I can help you to a certain point, and I can only help you, but I cannot do the job for you I must be there to help you. So, what happens is most women when you tend to give a hand to help, they tend to leave it all up to you – it's more like you are doing it for them.</i>

Perceptions relating to women not being capable of performing in the engineering trades in mining retard efforts to introduce equality and inclusion. Activated faultlines in the presence of process and relationship conflicts draw attention to task performance, resulting in ongoing tension in mining.

Most of the task conflict seemed to relate to performance. This is not doing any work, working too slowly, chatting too much, walking slowly, or getting other artisans or

assistants to do the work women should be doing. There were numerous participant comments from men not having a problem with women in mining as long as they perform.

Bheki (37, black, electrician, 10 years' experience) said he would rather not have women in job categories where he sees them battling. Men were said to work harder to pick up the slack in the presence of women. He went on to reverse the situation showing how women assistants also translated into artisan men having to work harder to complete their duties. In these texts, there was no recognition of what may be causing women to withdraw or not participating actively in some of the more physical roles. Bheki represented an extreme case, as he did not favour inclusion. He was probably more prone to experiencing task conflict.

Artisans often work in teams when jobs are large, or where quick maintenance or breakdowns need attention. In this instance, if a woman behaves like an assistant, the man will experience all the pressure of the job. Dumisani explained his frustration at women not taking their trade seriously:

She just stands there and then maybe sometimes can give you tools, like an artisan assistant. She's a qualified artisan.

Most of the men, regardless of their background, said women struggle physically. This was related to actual physical strength and the endurance to work consistently through a shift. To get the work completed men have no choice but to assist the women in their section. In the difficult conditions of mining, doing extra work that a colleague cannot do was seen as burdensome, especially with the related fatigue.

A strong trend among the men who experienced the most task conflict related to those working as boilermakers or fitters. This confirms earlier views that most women are more suited to the electrical and instrumentation trades. Although being overworked, mines use bonus schemes to encourage teams in different sections to perform. This also leads to task conflict, as some men believe women work too slowly.

Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience) highlighted this issue:

I think they are treated equally because when we work we share the job, but the problem is just you find other men complaining; saying this job I do it within an hour and the woman is gonna do it within two hours that's the only complaint you find sometimes; but they can do the same job within a longer period than men. Sometimes you find the men complaining saying they don't get bonus because it's full of women then there's no production that is coming out. People they are talking after the rest, 'we don't get bonus

because there's too much women now they don't do work, they do longer job than us'. Ja, the men feel like they are working for the women. So, they feel like 90% of the job is done by them; so, the women is just doing one, two, three.

This lack of perceived performance triggers emotional conflict. Thabo (29, black, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience) highlighted the emotional pain related to the task conflict he was experiencing. He said he was providing for his wife and children, appreciating his job. The women in mining according to him want the job too, but when they get jobs they do not want to work. As a result, Thabo felt he was the one working for his family, plus women who did not perform at work.

Thabo believed women enjoyed special treatment. This entitlement means most women do not perform. Men have to pick up the slack to get the tasks completed. Thabo felt emotional pain, as he had to carry non-performing female colleagues. The men expected to pick up the slack were either the assistants or qualified artisans.

In mining engineering artisan teams, there is substantial evidence of task-related conflict compounded by relational conflict. Where women are sitting while men work, this has a directly negative consequence and potentially increases gender discrimination.

4.4 Gender discrimination

There was widespread evidence of discriminatory mind-sets, including subtle implicit and explicitly discriminatory behaviours. Men used their in-group power to assert their dominance in mining. Most men said they did not have a problem with women in mining as long as they performed. In light of this, the process problems that triggered relationship and task conflict seemed to perpetuate discrimination.

4.4.1 Subtle implicit discrimination

When reading the findings in this chapter, there are obvious attitudes and beliefs reflecting inherent bias towards women. Most of these prejudicial views, reflected in language, were seen as normal by the participants. For example, men referred to women as 'ladies' but also exhibited extensive othering with 'they' or 'their' references to women. These subtle cues pointed to the culture of SA men in general where traditional hegemonic gender roles are seen as normal.

Brian (45, white, boilermaker, 17 years' experience) exposed his bias reflected in his language:

Then they you know like, they complain when it gets hard, they say they're women and all those things, like the one there by us says she needs a lot of people because she's a woman.

This language referring to women in generalised terms as 'they' and 'the one', displays the subtlety in his speech reflecting a discriminatory attitude. Participating men held these attitudes coupled with the overriding perception that women were complaining and not capable of performing their role as artisans. At times, even when men held positive views they still discriminated. Mondri (24, serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience) referring to women as hard workers referred to women as "those people". Mondri did not believe women could cope in the harsh environmental conditions of mining. As mentioned earlier, where this environment was harsh, so was the hegemonic culture too. Women therefore had to adapt in multiple ways to fit in and cope. This harsh culture was reflected in swearing and rude jokes.

Fanyana (47, black, fitter, 3 years' experience) exposed this culture reflecting discrimination referred to men as being naughty diminishing the harshness of their behaviour to that of a child. He said it was common for men to make rude jokes in from of women and asking them if they had sex the night before they came to work.

Many of the participants spoke in the third person, clearly not wanting to be seen as being discriminatory towards their colleagues. Men knew it is not acceptable to use certain language in the workplace, but they did it anyway. Describing men as being 'naughty' also diminishes the obvious fact that men are exhibiting discriminatory behaviour. Men have always told dirty jokes and fooled around in underground mining. They have not changed despite the presence of women where this behaviour represents subtle discrimination.

Jason (35, white, instrumentation technician, 5 years' experience) said discrimination was more verbal than physical turning comments into jokes to cover themselves. As a white respondent, Jason was not fully connected to the social networks of the changing workforce. He was aware that there were 'relationships' that emerged from men 'hitting on women', but not aware of the pervasive practices where sex was extorted from women. Jason highlighted an important point in that men joke to get close to women, forming friendships that are linked to their negative behaviour. This helps them avoid getting reported for harassment.

Brian (45, white, boilermaker, 17 years' experience) explained how he believed women responded to subtle discrimination, which in his opinion was commonplace saying he observed women just withdrawing in the face of bad language or rude jokes. This withdrawal signified a coping strategy adopted by women. In other reports some women used a different strategy of playing along with the men to try to fit in. In these circumstances, women seemed to be subjected to ongoing subtle discrimination where they had to try to fit in. When there was an absence of management to deal with this misconduct, subtle discrimination continued unabated. Where women stayed on in the mining context, men said they eventually learnt to fit in and accept the men's behaviours. If they chose to resist or oppose men, they would be excluded from social circles.

Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience) explained how men held different conversations and changed the subject when women arrived:

Obviously, guys want to say what they want to say so, the guys will talk and if a lady comes closer then the talk will change.

This was subtle and expected, but not as extreme as the example given by Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience). He described how he used positional power to exclude mainly women whom he thought did not perform:

If I've got five people and the other four wants to perform and the other doesn't wanna perform, then my attitude towards him, I'll always exclude him. So, if I find that this one is not that good I will rather move her to the other section that is not demanding even if she's there or not there, it's the same, but you know we all need role players, someone who can take part in everything that we do.

Bearing in mind that Mandla was of the opinion that 95% of the women were not committed and did not perform, the context of his comment is important. Mandla reflected an extreme case representing patriarchy as well as the hegemonic culture of mining. When he said, "someone who can take part in everything that we do", this could include more than simply getting the work done. Some of the managers highlighted the importance of planning involving the broader team. Some of the weaker managers used planning subtly to create exclusion. Men often exclude women, preferring to tell women what to do.

Jasper (26, white, millwright, 5 years' experience) highlighted the culture of telling women what to do, excluding them from planning and relegating them to perform more menial tasks. Jasper remained politically correct for most of the interview until he dropped a

bombshell highlighting a common practice of women being allocated easier jobs (for example, paper work) while men have to “work their asses off”. He manoeuvred around the issues highlighting mainly positive experiences prior to this. At the time of the research, Jasper, as a foreman, allocated menial, less significant jobs to the women artisans as opposed to planning the work with his whole team.

Where women were seen as inferior, weak or unable to perform, men delegated menial tasks to qualified artisan women. Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years’ experience) described this mind-set linked to emotional conflict:

Sometimes the anger, like go and get poles there, you make things easier for the lady you find her on WhatsApp like ... you make things easy OK I'll tighten this and that and that you feel it's heavier for her, go and collect one-two-one-two.

Bheka also alluded to more explicit discrimination where ‘weak women’ were targeted using social media. He jokingly revealed how women perceived to be weak were targeted. Men who take over planning while excluding women control production. The power to produce gives them power and licence to delegate menial tasks to women. This behavioural disintegration is then normalised in that team. Production power represents a dimension that gives men influence to control and take advantage of women. Where women resisted this culture in certain teams, men talked behind their backs influencing other men to rally behind them.

Mgwazeni (29, black, fitter, 6 years’ experience) explains:

Men by themselves they'll be complaining by themselves, they'll sit individually and say 'she's not doing this and that and that and that' and as a result, that tends to be something else because it tends to be a certain group against a certain woman; and they tend to influence even those that hasn't experienced anything from that woman. They get rumours and all that kind of stuff and then tends to be a gang against this woman she doesn't wanna do this, ja you see that kind of individual person, eish this person is this and that; and then it builds up and builds up and builds up. It ends up being something else where I would say you more side-lined.

Being side-lined in mining must have consequences within the social setting. Side-lining women appears to be a form of subtle discrimination that in all likelihood creates pressure to conform, or submit to group norms. Men represent a powerful subgroup supported by patriarchy and the hegemonic mining culture. Where managers are included in this subgroup, women have limited power. This could account for the reports

of women complaining, studying hard to get promotion, not staying on the tools for long, or always looking for transfer or easier jobs.

4.4.2 Explicit discrimination

Policy encourages gender inclusion at macro and micro level, while additional policies at micro and meso level protect women from harassment. Most men avoided admitting being complicit in explicit discrimination that would be seen as lawfully or morally wrong. They understood discrimination is currently frowned upon. In spite of this, some men unwittingly communicated explicitly discriminatory views, while others reported explicit discriminatory behaviour committed either by themselves or their colleagues.

Explicit discrimination has many faces, including extorting sex, refusing to assist women, or taking over a woman's job while she is working. Explicit discrimination can also exist in beliefs that foster negative attitudes towards women. These include views that women cannot perform, that they should be excluded from certain trades or that they do not belong in mining at all.

Relationships that form in the workplace remain a complex issue that seemed closely linked to the mining culture. The practices of 'dating' by managers and co-workers and extorting sex are widespread in mining with the complexity of these different forms of relationships creating blurred boundaries.

The issue with these relationships appeared to be the effect on team morale and productivity, especially where there were relationship conflicts or relationships based on trade-offs. These trade-offs included sex for money, easier jobs or gifts. Even where relationships were monogamous, they were reported to cause conflict that affected performance. Where these relationships are mutually consensual, they would in all likelihood be more difficult to manage than those that constitute explicit harassment.

Sipho (39, black, electrical apprentice, 3 years' experience) explained how men grope or are encouraged to grope women:

And too much the others are touching; and all men say, 'do you want to touch?' also the women but the next day when you touch her, when you find her she's angry, then it's where the problems come. You can touch in front, anything, even grab your hand and say touch. Just like that, there's lots of stories underground and it's a true stories.

Some women lure men by allowing themselves to be touched. This leads to them exploiting that situation eventually having paying clients who will work for them, buy them

gifts or paying them for sex. Men get angry when women are not consistent in allowing themselves to be touched, which creates conflict. While this behaviour may not be seen as harassment, some would question the ethics of it. In other scenarios, where women are not compliant, men are more predatory in extorting sex from women.

This was illustrated by Mondi (24, black, serviceman apprentice, 1 year of experience) who highlighted the bartering of sex for work. Men reported using the tactic of 'If I help you, what will you do for me'?

Besides representing sexual harassment, extorting sex could be viewed as a criminal matter. Mondi's feedback was not isolated, with many respondents confirming this form of explicit discrimination where women are forced to comply. With a fuller understanding of the dimensions of power, putting a woman into a compromising situation where one knows she cannot perform opens the door to the bartering process. In other cases of explicit discrimination, men refused to assist women. These were typically younger men who had trained alongside women during their apprenticeships.

This stance of refusing to help women contains a level of duplicity. On the one hand, all artisans need help at some point during their work. Refusing to help with basic tasks that do not require physical assistance is not discriminatory versus jobs that require more than one person. Younger men could also be correct in saying older men are the ones helping in exchanging favours. This refusal to assist could be their way of resisting what they see women doing with their bodies, or simply because they know they are being played if they help.

Another form of explicit discrimination relates to men taking over a woman's job or task. Where production is power, literally taking the tools (that is, spanners) from a woman immediately removes her power to produce, bringing her status as an artisan into question.

Maphikelela (28, black, fitter and turner, 1 year of experience) highlighted this practice:

I can say physically whereby a man was taking spanners from a lady, saying that the lady's wasting time, she's wasting his time so the guy took the spanners from the lady and did the job, and then after doing the job – they were both artisans so the problem was that now after the guy took the spanners and then did the job, so the lady didn't learn anything from that breakdown. So, now what is gonna happen now the next time? It is gonna be the same guy doing the job because now he doesn't want the lady to learn also.

With production pressure, experienced men become frustrated when a woman is working too slowly. Instead of guiding the women or mentoring her, men are inclined to take over the work. This deprives the women of valuable experience, but also starts to instil bad habits where women can start to expect men to work for them.

Many younger men said older men were more prepared to assist women artisans. This was backed up by older men. Sometimes this assistance would be without expecting favours, other times there will be strings attached, and assistance would be conditional.

Bheka (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience) alluded to this mind-set said even if women could not cope, as long as they were cooperative it was ok. Bheka was one of the respondents who did not believe women should be working underground. He made it clear that in his opinion women were technically and physically inferior to men. He was the perfect example of patriarchy and the hegemonic mining culture. His attitude represented explicit discrimination, and so did his behaviour. Unfortunately, he was not alone in his views. Many of the men felt women artisans should be excluded from certain trades and job categories. This represented explicit discrimination, especially as there were some women who coped in these job categories. This highlighted the contradiction so widespread in diversity studies (Bezrukova et al., 2016; Geer & Jehn, 2007; Smith, 2013a).

Explicit discrimination is pervasive in the participants' comments, including how they witness women being treated. Thabo (29, black, fitting apprentice, 10 years' experience) highlighted his view when asked whether mining is a safe space for women to work in:

For men, yes. For women, no. They are not surviving even now. They are just surviving because of favours and special treatment, simple.

Thabo used the word 'surviving', which seemed to describe the daily struggles of women in mining aptly. Women are unsafe not only because of the mining environment, but also as a result of being exposed to predatory men expecting favours. Thabo continued:

Underground, no. No! Underground – it's a no-no. As first I said, they are not good on the hand work, physical. They are not good at that. Job underground it's heavy it's not for women, so I won't, because of this freedom what-what-what-what, so you just have to accept.

Some men, including Thabo, did not believe policy encouraging women to enter mining is good for them or the companies that adhere to such policies. Despite this, there is

nothing they can do but accept the status quo. Holding these explicit negative beliefs has to foster a negative environment for women.

In another example, Dumisani (41, black, fitter, 14 years' experience) shared his memory of a foreman's attitude towards hiring women underground saying he refused point blank to hire women. He highlighted how women constantly need help, especially in the boilermaking and fitting trades. Every respondent said women were more suited to the electrical and instrumentation trades. In some extreme cases a few of the participants said women should not be in the engineering trades at all.

Bheki (37, black, electrician, 10 years' experience) had an even more explicit view that women should not even be allowed to enter any trade:

If a woman can work underground I will send her underground yes, but ... they need to do light duty understand? Like starting the chair lift, sweep around, then start, stop, check the pull wire there's nothing physical she can work there it's fine. But just imagine that you give a lady the machine to drill – you think she'll survive? No way. That's where my problem is – the physical and normally underground we are working hard and not this thing of playing. There are some other jobs which are light duties, yes they can do that.

The engineering trades have traditionally been highly gender-segregated. Bheki (37, black, electrician, 10 years' experience) hankered after the past. While some men showed balanced views, including the physical ability of some women, some women were reported to be stronger than men. This contradiction confirmed the bias of those men such as Bheki. Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience) also provided a one-sided view referring to tasks involving the moving of three-tonne chain-gens, which he said women could not move. He said women should rather sweep the workshops, not heavy lifting. He went on to highlight a number of menial roles women could perform outside of the engineering trades. This would obviously exclude women. He ended saying women and men should not work together as this caused problems.

In reality, even a strong male would battle to move a three-tonne gen block and hook it onto an anchor point. Gen-blocks are also referred to as 'chain lever blocks'. They are anchored to a point and used to winch heavy objects towards the anchor point. ¹. Many

(JBS Tools, 2019): ¹ <http://jbstools.com/block-chain-gen-iii-jbs-3-tonne-3mtr/>

of the men gave examples of tasks women could not perform linking mining work to the embodiment of men.

Men and women artisans are assigned assistants underground. The artisans working at the surface in the processing plants, work alone. When assistance is required, this is mostly from co-workers. While Mndeni was open in terms of women working in less physically demanding trades, Deon (32, white, fitter, 7 years' experience) believed they should not be in mining at all:

In my opinion, women shouldn't be working in the mining industry – if they wanna make coffee, clean, be receptionist or work on a computer, 100%; but don't go work underground, don't do physical hard work that's my opinion.

Many participants were angry about what they saw as managers protecting women by assigning them easier jobs. They were also frustrated at not being allowed to speak out. Voicing one's dissatisfaction immediately flags one as holding discriminatory views. Policy seemed to protect women from this, highlighting the potential to provide them with a source of power. Despite this policy, women appeared to remain on the back foot, with some men saying women were scared in some teams, to exercise their rights to report subtle or explicit discrimination.

Khulekani (36, black, rigger, 10 years' experience) highlighted how the mining industry culture is more powerful than policy power saying women were scared to report harassment. He said mining was harsh towards women who stepped out of line.

The mining industry is an extreme setting, and was chosen to understand faultline activation and hidden power within a strongly gender segregated context (see section 2.5). In addition, the unit of analysis being men engineering artisans provides the ideal population from which to sample. This is especially relevant for gathering data related to a traditionally segregated occupation. Khulekani and the other participants' stories shared in this chapter contributed a rich bank of data to explore faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations.

4.5 Inter-site triangulation

A key quality measure for this study was to use triangulation to compare data collected from the three different mining sites. The aim of this inter-site comparison was to see whether there were substantially different findings from one site to the next. This was done by direct content analysis (Humble, 2009). An additional objective of using

triangulation was to identify potential researcher bias (that is, blind spots) in not picking up key themes from different sites during data analysis (Humble, 2009, p. 48). Table 4.24 confirms the number of interviews that were conducted at each site.

Table 4.24: Interviews by site

Data collection sites	Number of interviews
Pilot study	2
Platinum A	6
Platinum B	12
Gold A	10
Total	30

The pilot study was conducted at a technical training centre with two instructors with mining experience. Both participants, one black and the other white, had worked with women and had trained many women apprentices. These participants seemed less conflicted with the gender issues. As such, they had more balanced views, with seemingly little emotion related to the topic. As trainers, both saw women as being technically as competent or in some cases more competent than men. Like all the other participants, they raised the point of physical challenges in some trades although they did not believe this should preclude women from working in the engineering trades.

The data collected from the three different mining companies highlighted the same broad themes. In essence, this pointed to a dominant industry culture described in detail within the contextual findings (see section 4.2). What did introduce the main variation, appeared to be the meso-level influences of supervisors or foremen with their beliefs and management practices. This is what primarily influenced subgroup formation as well as the level of tension in these teams pointing to potentially strong faultlines across all three sites.

The only exceptions to this lack of variation from one site to the other were affected by specific regional socio-political tensions complicated by intense union rivalry. The murders and rape reported by the participants all emanated from the areas where sites A and B were located. It is for this reason that readers of this study are cautioned not to see murder and rape as synonymous with the SA mining industry.

4.6 Findings and conclusion

This chapter wove the context of mining as experienced by the participants into the findings. These generous participant contributions helped understand the hidden dimensions of power and the different conflicts with how they lead to behavioural disintegration.

A recurring theme seemed to relate to how process conflicts, including selection and recruitment, soft skills (that is, diversity) training, meso-level planning, and special treatment led to relationship conflicts. In addition, where process conflicts lead to relationship conflicts, relationship conflicts spill over raise task conflict. These findings provide a significant contribution, argued in detail in the discussion chapter that follows.

Where prior studies, particularly those referring to gender, have focussed predominantly on women participants, this study focussed on the lived experiences of men. It was encouraging to see the depth of rich data these men, many of whom felt disenfranchised, have shared. What was also encouraging was the level of awareness shared by these men relating to the struggles of women. Historically, many studies have assumed organisations are gender neutral especially where women are inserted because of policy. Unfortunately, many organisations encompassing whole industries and occupational groupings remain highly gendered. In these instances, work within these contexts embodies maleness where women entering these spaces are expected to conform or face different forms of violence (Acker, 1990).

Mining is clearly historically male dominated resulting it being highly gendered (Diamond, 2011; Klubock, 1996). This has consequences for how women's bodies are regarded by men and typically or objectified (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Where mining is associated with being aggressive, tough, stoic, dependable and strong, femininity is not welcomed. These findings highlight the pervasive mind-sets of men who make few accommodations to welcome women into this context where there are ongoing varying forms of violence. This has in its worst form included rape, murder, bartering for sex, and in general, using power to maintain hegemonic order.

By exploring men's attitudes and beliefs towards women entering the engineering trades, we gain a much deeper understanding of the antecedent conditions triggering conflict and how behavioural disintegration takes place. In the chapter that follows, these findings are integrated with literature, attempting to unravel the complexity of faultline activation

leading to gender discrimination. This discussion will highlight the value of choosing a different level and unit of analysis to, as well as how an extreme setting can provide potentially novel insights.

Chapter 5 Discussion – context and power

5.1 Introduction

The utility of basing diversity studies in natural settings has been of tremendous value to this study (English & Hay, 2015; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). Mining in South Africa provided an extreme context to understand faultline activation linked to hidden power at a meso level of analysis. This setting also provided an alternative to the purported US-centric dominance in prior diversity studies (Jonsen et al., 2011; Peretz, Levi, & Fried, 2015; Syed & Özbilgin, 2009).

Incorporating context into findings is important not only to establish boundary conditions, but also to provide future research with rich data to interpret or compare different settings (Roberson et al., 2017; Straube, Meinecke, Schneider, & Kauffeld, 2018; Van Dijk, Meyer, Van Engen, & Loyn, 2017). This context was woven into this research from the participants' lived experiences. This rich contextual foregrounding is reflected in Question 1: Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?

Besides the primary objective to understand faultline activation, this qualitative research firstly aimed to understand the dimensions of power found in the SA mining context. Secondly, it aimed to understand the antecedent factors (that is, triggers) that ignite gender conflicts, and finally, to understand how gender discrimination manifests from activated faultlines. Surface-level dimensions do not always explain difference, with deep-level constructs providing the main insights into diversity (Harrison et al., 1998; Harrison et al., 2002; Liang, Shih, & Chiang, 2015; Tekleab & Quigley, 2014). Although this study was structured around surface-level diversity, the key contributions were based on deep-level constructs, including other men's subgroups that emerged from the data analysis. Beyond the subgroups relating to age, race and tenure, the subgroups 'management', 'experienced assistants', and 'apprentices' were found to be relevant to the study too. Table 5.25 highlights these subgroups, their characteristics, and type.

Table 5.25: Subgroup types, characteristics and findings

Type of subgroup	Characteristics of inter-subgroup processes	Subgroup findings linked to type
Identity-based subgroups	Inter-subgroup processes are characterised by social identity (that is, threats to the identities of the team’s subgroups and fragmentation of the team’s identity)	<p>Older men: Do not believe women belong in mining and the engineering trades. Women are seen as physically weak, unable to perform. They believe they belong at home performing their traditional roles as mothers.</p> <p>Younger men: Have greater inclusionary beliefs. They believe women are capable of performing both physically and technically.</p> <p>Black men: See women who sleep with them and others as girlfriends as opposed to prostitutes. This is in spite of women accepting gifts, money or exchanging sex for labour or lighter duties.</p> <p>White men: White men deliberately detach themselves from the social networks of their colleagues. They are often unaware of the relationship dynamics relating to their peers.</p> <p>Tenure: Men with longer service believe women have introduced complexity to the work environment. They struggle to adapt to the presence of women whom they see introducing poor work values.</p>
Resource-based subgroups	Inter-subgroup processes are characterised by social dominance (for example, asymmetric perceptions of fairness and centralisation of power in the team)	<p>Management: Management have control over planning, task allocation, performance reviews, and promotion. They can use these resources to promote inclusion, or in dysfunctional ways to harass women. They can also allocate assistants who play a key role in mining. Managers can choose to be part of a subgroup influencing the power of that subgroup.</p> <p>Experienced assistants: Can exploit women whom they perceive as weak. They sabotage their work, or barter sex for labour.</p>
Knowledge-based subgroups	Inter-subgroup processes are characterised by information processing (for example, consideration of alternative sources of knowledge and the convergence of mental models).	<p>Management: Management understands the policy and internal company processes. They also have extensive knowledge of the task environment.</p>

		<p>Tenure: Tenure can make individuals more valuable as they develop knowledge of the trade and section to which they are assigned. Tenure is important in mining as it relates to productivity.</p> <p>Apprentices: Apprentices were a weak subgroup. Their lack of knowledge, age status and financial position renders them vulnerable.</p>
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The detailed findings highlighted in Chapter 4 reflected a richness commonly associated with qualitative studies. This chapter integrates these findings with the literature review from Chapter 2, exploring the findings against the three questions linked to the topic Understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

Each of the questions linked to the main topic are dealt with separately with first question covered in chapter 5, and the second two questions covered in chapter 6. The first question provides insights to the rigorously defined context linked to power dimensions found in South African mining.

From this discussion of results, key findings supporting prior literature are expanded. Understanding these findings against other studies also positioned propositions building the future utility of this study. Besides this theoretical contribution, the value of this research toward providing a methodological vantage and practice contributions is evident. This discussion of results has limited the discussion to the main theoretical contribution to faultline theory.

5.2 Hidden dimensions of power

To understand how power is linked to the context of mining, this research continued to use Syed and Özbilgin's (2009, p. 2447) relational framework to layer power dimensions broadly. This was done with the exception of including industry and organisational-level perspectives within the micro level as opposed to only using the organisational-level perspectives. Studies differ in how they treat these levels of analysis. For example, Orlitzky, Louche, Gond, and Chapple (2017, p. 21) treated their analysis as macro (national business system and country), micro (industry), and meso (firm) levels.

Dimensions of power are typically hidden in context. At macro level, power is easier to identify based on the history of a country and its prevailing culture. At micro and meso level, however, power dimensions are less obvious. Context and power are matted together to the extent that diversity cannot be studied without incorporating contextual-power relations (Ahonen et al., 2014; Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2014). Studying power has to be done realising that the boundaries spanning these constructs are not permanent

(Aime et al., 2014). This said, there are powerful dimensions that prevail in extreme contexts. The main objective of the current study was to understand faultline activation at a meso level of analysis. Despite this, the macro influence of context was broadly included to highlight power dimensions external to the micro and meso context.

A key objective for this study, linked to the main topic, was to understand the hidden dimensions of power in traditionally segregated occupations. Question 1 dealt with this aspect of the topic; Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context? (See section 1.4). Although it could be argued that these dimensions are not hidden, this dissertation has made them explicit to highlight how women are affected by context (Kossek, Su, & Wu, 2016).

This section covers these 'hidden dimensions' reflecting on how they influence subgroup formation. The exposed faultlines within these subgroups also helped to explain the triggers of conflict covered in section 6.2. The dimensions of power were revealed and categorised into eight broad categories. These power dimensions are described in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Power dimension descriptions

Context level	Power dimension	Description
Macro	National culture patriarchy	South Africa has strong elements of patriarchy still prevalent within its broader society. This sense of ownership of women provides a source of power for men.
Macro	Industry culture	Mining has a strong hegemonic culture linked to its history in South Africa. Mining is still seen as a man's domain where physical ability is key. Language is not adapted, and women are expected to fit in.
Macro or micro	Policy	Macro: Employment equity legislation, and the Mining Charter agreements with the Department of Minerals Resources (DMR) establish targets for women to enter mining. More women enter the trades in mining each year increasing their presence in mining. Micro: Sexual harassment policies protecting women also provide a source of power.
Meso	Position	Management has the ability to hire and fire, assign tasks, and is in control of planning. This gives them positional power.
Meso	Performance	Performance is linked directly to production. Individuals who have the ability to perform, and do so, gain power within their teams. This is closely linked to respect.

Meso	Respect	Respect is earned by performing and/or being virtuous. Women who perform and who respect themselves earn respect from their male peers.
Meso	Sex	Sex can be used as a form of domination, or as a tool to influence those around one. Sex can be traded for cash, gifts, labour or easier tasks. Sex with management also buys protection.
Meso	Cash	Cash gives one power, especially in a poverty-stricken country. Cash can be used to buy sex or can be used by women to elevate their social status and standards of living.

5.2.1 Macro context power dimensions (national and industry culture)

Women entering the engineering trades in mining do so against a national culture characterised by patriarchy (Benya, 2017a), coupled with a mining culture that is strongly hegemonic (Benya, 2009). Most youth completing high school prefer to go to university. If they are not accepted at university, their second and often only other chance to furthering their education is to attend a Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) college. With the mining and engineering sectors being the largest employers of engineering apprentices, many women now enter mining to qualify as artisans.

Understanding men's attitudes and beliefs towards women entering these engineering occupations is crucial. With men as a broad subgroup being the historical custodians of mining, coupled with national patriarchal dispositions, women are affected. Inevitably, this relates to cognition of "person–job and person–organisational fit" (Lee, Reiche, & Song, 2010, p. 154). Women are typically affected by the degree of social capital afforded to them by men who allow them to fit in on their terms (Lee et al., 2010).

Older men in general do not believe women belong in mining. They believe women enter mining only because they have no choice and because government policy has opened the door to their participation. No choice is a consequence of poverty, needing to put food on the table, while policy makes it easier for them to enter the mining industry. Younger men, on the other hand, are more in favour of inclusion of women, in most instances believing women belong in mining.

From the analysis of the male subgroups 'age', 'race' and 'tenure', age seemed to be the most significant faultline within the broader group of men. Older men mostly held more conservative views, including that women do not belong in mining and that they are not

as capable as men. This is important because these conservative mind-sets are more likely to trigger emotional conflict (Pelled et al., 1999).

A sense of ownership of women in general society spills over into the mining context. Men set the rules of the game and then become the referees judging how women fit in or not (Kandiyoti, 1988; Smith, 2013b). Murder and rape are extreme displays of patriarchal behaviour widely prevalent throughout South Africa (Maluleke, 2018). Although murder and rape is commonplace within the broader society there are a limited number of documented cases of murder and rape of women in mining (Benya, 2017a). This should not detract from the realities of the harsh hegemonic culture of mining. In these environments, production is everything. Men use strong language, not adapting around women. The cage symbolises the lack of respect for colleagues as women are pushed and shoved and squeezed into the confined space (Benya, 2017a). Some men believe all should be treated the same regardless of their gender, and women are consequently treated like men.

The prevailing attitude of the powerful male in-group towards women is that they needed to fit in or leave. Men were doing women a favour by allowing them access to their space. The context of this study in the extreme setting of mining highlighted how women are potentially more affected in societies with pervasive patriarchy than in other contexts (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 275). For gender studies, gaining deeper insights from men's lived experiences provided a unique opportunity to understand power found in context.

Studying women in manual trades and information technology, Smith (2013b) exposed the trends in hegemony in two different traditionally male occupations. She found that, despite the difference in context between these occupations, there were still strong similarities in how women "practiced gender" (p. 594). Hegemonic culture manifests from recruitment to the daily experiences of language, joking and everyday sexism women endure (Watts, 2007). Regardless of policy aimed at protecting women entering these environments, they have to navigate the rules of the game entrenched by men.

South Africa, despite its progressive legal system promoting gender, still has industries such as mining, engineering and construction representing male-dominant cultures (English & Le Jeune, 2012). Hegemonic maleness defines the culture of mining where the very nature of production has a close cultural association with the embodiment of men (Smith, 2013a; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015; Wildschut, Meyer, & Akoojee, 2015).

Working in mining is difficult for women, particularly during menstruation and pregnancy. Besides the difficulties experienced within the physical mining context, the persistent prejudice of men remains a barrier to real inclusion. Issues related to pregnancy are widespread with governments, societies and industries still needing to navigate this natural phenomenon in workplaces (Bratton, 2005; Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009; Rospabé, 2001). The current study explored faultline activation and hidden power within a context synonymous with strong gender segregation at a meso level of analysis (see chapter 6). These external macro influences from the historical national and mining contexts however have a bearing on the findings. They are touched on in more detail in the section that follows (see section 5.2.2).

5.2.2 *Macro–micro context and policy*

Despite the macro policies driving the inclusion of women, change remains relatively slow. This is synonymous with societal changes driven by national policies globally (Reskin, 1993; Singh, 2007; Taylor, 2011). While macro policy pushes industries to meet societal modelling targets, the real challenges of these variations in demography lie at a micro and meso level. It is at these levels where national policy is interpreted in micro (that is, industry or company) policy, and where power is played out between the subgroups of diversity (Pringle & Ryan, 2015). In the introductory chapter, it could be seen how South Africa's participation at the ILO has placed gender as a priority (Floro & Komatsu, 2011). National and industry policies have set targets through legislation and industry processes to drive inclusion. While mining has met gender targets (Chamber of Mines of South Africa, 2016), there remains widespread discrimination towards women in mining in general (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010; Grün, 2004).

At a micro– level, specific company policies are developed to advance and protect women (Netto et al., 2014). These policies provide a source of power for the women subgroup. Regarding policies aimed at advancing women (that is, employment equity or Mining Charter), some men believe these policies are unfair as women enjoy promotion ahead of them. In other instances, where policies protect women (that is, sexual harassment), some men also believe these policies are abused by women. Some of these men want to be treated equally, believing women receive special treatment. With more women entering mining, men feel threatened.

Employment equity targets aimed at advancing women give them a perceived source of power associated with elevated status. Some men would be threatened by this elevated status, believing women would enjoy promotion ahead of them (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016). Sexual harassment policy although not always effective in combatting harassment, also provides power, perceived to be giving women an advantage in dealing with men (Benya, 2017a). Some men claimed this policy is abused by women. Negative beliefs towards women as a result of policy affect the diversity climates in these contexts (Randel, Dean, Ehrhart, Chung, & Shore, 2016). When employees distrust the systems that guide benefits, including promotion, this negatively affects teamwork and ultimately performance (Fujimoto et al., 2013).

A narrow focus on policy has been called into question. Powell and Sang (2015) raised this narrow focus on policy suggesting gender diversity needs deeper reflection to explain how men defend their dominance in certain industries and occupational categories. Powell and Sang suggest more needs to be done to understand the gendered relations between men and women (p. 920). They also suggest more studies need to focus on understanding men's views in traditional-settings where women were excluded from occupational participation (p. 932). The current study addressed these calls for increased focus on men in-groups (see section 1.1), who historically enjoy the dominant role in traditionally segregated occupations (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010; Crary, 2017).

Despite the policy protection women enjoy in mining, experienced men have learned how to circumvent this only legitimate power women have (Benya, 2017a). One example of such strategies is that of befriending women before targeting them for sex (see section 4.2.6). Apprentice women and men seem particularly vulnerable because they lack experience and are mostly pulled into mining from impoverished backgrounds (see section 4.2.8). Sexual harassment policy would not be effective in these cases, especially where more experienced men have learnt how to manoeuvre around these policies to take advantage of the situation. In other cases, men barter sex for labour, cash or gifts. This is covered in more detail later in this discussion of results (see section 5.2.6).

Befriending women means that qualified artisans can say whatever happened was mutually consensual. Many industries gauge inclusion by the volume of minority groups introduced to their context (Adamson, Kelan, Lewis, Rumens, & Sliwa, 2016).

Unfortunately, real inclusion is mostly overlooked. This has prompted a call for close inspection of policy linked to deeper insights, which can lead to the eradication of discrimination (Adamson et al., 2016).

5.2.3 *Meso context and positional power*

There are significant texts dealing with the management of diverse teams. Typically, researchers deal with increasing diversity being experienced because of globalisation (Shemla & Wegge, 2018). These texts also delve deeply into change and ways to improve practices within teams. Conceptions aimed at improving inclusivity refer to improving psychological safety (Singh, Winkel, & Selvarajan, 2013), enhancing team identification (Shemla & Wegge, 2018), understanding paradox in diversity while learning to manage such tensions (Ferdman, 2017), and improving climates for inclusion (Nishii, 2013). These selected references represent a sprinkling of the many contributions discussing management of diversity to date.

Despite the sophistication of this knowledge progression, there remains a cavernous divide between research and practice (Kulik, 2014; Leary & Sandberg, 2017; Otaye-Ebede, 2018). In unequal societies, such as South Africa, despite sophisticated employment legislation, diversity management practice remains poor (Daya, 2014; Horwitz et al., 1996; Human, 1996). Regardless of policy intent, most managers and supervisors do not support diversity efforts, thwarting real inclusivity. Positional power is critical in developing diverse teams that perform (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2007; Meister, Jehn, & Thatcher, 2014; Pringle & Ryan, 2015). The powerful subgroups of managers and supervisors are critical elements within context.

The data collected from participants in this study points to high levels of dysfunction characterised by management inconsistency, poor values and varying levels of ability. This has perpetuated low trust environments coupled with concerning levels of dysfunctional gender practices. The cross-case analysis revealed in Table 4.8, highlighted the vast difference in mind-sets towards the inclusion of women. Both managers worked in the same mine; yet, they held vastly different views. This reflected the propensity for these managers to develop inclusive teams or not.

One could surmise the experiences of the women working for them were probably different too. Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience) saw women as outsiders, not able to perform. He held little respect for women artisans and

believed women were not capable performing, nor are interested in the trades in which they were employed. Hluphizwe (36, black, fitter, 7 years' experience), on the other hand, believed women should be able to participate in mining and the engineering trades. He held more accepting beliefs relating to the inclusion of women, believing it was men who encourage poor performance within diverse teams by taking over work, allowing women to be bystanders.

In their literature review pertaining to inclusion, Shore et al. (2017) brought together key learnings related to the inclusion construct. Inclusion, for them, related to organisations and societies that embraced difference to the extent that individuals can be their authentic selves, allowed to participate while being valued and treated as belonging to the broader group (Shore et al., 2017). Shore et al. (2017) also raised valuable insights by making the distinction between diversity and inclusion explicit. Diversity relates to targets to introduce difference mainly in response to legislation, while inclusion re-counts the lived experiences of people in different subgroups (Sabharwal, 2014). Shore et al. (2017) highlighted a key theme relating to their review and model construction pointing to the role of managers and supervisors who lead diverse organisations and teams. This theme included managers bearing the responsibility to bring about inclusive climates coupled with implementing effective inclusion practices.

Subgroups are key derivatives of groups with strong faultlines (Meyer, Shemla, Li, & Wegge, 2015). In other words, groups with strong faultlines are more likely to experience relational conflict between subgroups with weak ties (Mäs et al., 2013; Meyer et al., 2014). Managers have positional power with increased status, authority, resources and knowledge (Carton & Cummings, 2012). This means managers have the power to influence diversity climates (Boehm, Kunze, & Bruch, 2013; Nishii, 2013; Singh et al., 2013) and if they choose, they can moderate the power of that group (Randel et al., 2016).

Managers who extort sex from their staff or cannot talk to their staff without a witness is further evidence of the extreme settings success. Where prior research (Nishii, 2013; Shore et al., 2018) highlighted best practice for managers to build inclusive diversity climates, mining in South Africa provides the opposite extreme. Trust, coupled with psychological safety reported in prior studies (see Roussin, MacLean, & Rudolph, 2016; B. Singh et al., 2013) has been found to improve interpersonal team relations leading to positive performance outcomes for teams (Guillaume et al., 2017, p. 289). The findings

within the current study suggest extremely low trust coupled with widespread dysfunction, which includes direct management participation in gender discrimination.

South Africa has a strong unionised landscape held together by government's alliances with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Mining is highly politicised and unionised with recurring industrial action (Van der Walt et al., 2016; Wood & Martin, 2008). Despite this, unions do not promote the inclusion of women effectively, as they themselves are vestiges of masculine hegemony (Benya, 2013). Mining has low trust between managers and employees, and witnesses are required, even for basic communication, especially between men and women. Despite the policy power held by women, managers and other men continue to exploit women in mining. The unions do little to redress the challenges women face.

Managers extorting sex from women in exchange for transfer, promotion or easier jobs was a typically a widespread practice. Sex in mining is expanded upon in section 5.2.6 as a separate power dimension. In spite of the unionised environment, at a meso level, managers still have substantial power. Men enjoy power derived from national (that is, patriarchy) and industry (that is, male hegemonic) power, as they are still the dominant group in-group.

5.2.4 Meso context and performance

Performance has been studied broadly in different contexts with results reflecting the constructs 'gender diversity and team performance' (Schneid et al., 2015), and ' the role of conflict affecting performance of work groups' (Jehn et al., 1999) as examples. Where performance is introduced as a construct, this leads to complexity, especially in diverse teams (Bezrukova et al., 2009; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Orlitzky et al., 2017). When trying to measure performance using quantitative methods, curvilinear results are often obtained resulting in a call for more nuanced studies to understand performance in different contexts (Chen et al., 2017; Thatcher, Jehn, & Zanutto, 2003).

In mining, production output is seen as the most critical deliverable besides safety (Van der Walt et al., 2016). The ability to produce increases an individual's utility as an individual and within a team. In any context, understanding conflict with its influence on performance is important for diversity. Segmenting conflict has been done by separating

constructs such as emotion–task conflict (Bezrukova et al., 2009; Lau & Murnighan, 1998) and task–relationship conflict (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Simons et al., 2000).

While Lau and Murnighan (1998) found conflict broadly affects communication, Bezrukova et al. (2009, p. 44) found activated “social category faultlines” were “negatively associated with group performance”. They went on to explain that not all social categorisations accounted for poor performance in teams indicating the more complex nature of performance measures. Simons et al. (2000) tested the previous notions of task conflict facilitating good decision-making, with relationship conflict facilitating bad decisions. That found task conflict could be productive only if teams enjoyed trust as a broad moderator affecting the degree of relationship conflict (p. 109). De Dreu and Weingart (2003) revisited the debate of task-relationship conflict finding that, regardless of the context, both task and relationship conflicts were disruptive. They highlighted how relationship conflict was the more disruptive of the two, affecting member satisfaction in teams negatively.

The engineering trades provide an interesting occupational category to assess performance in that the hands of outcomes are measurable. Compared to other traditionally segregated occupations – including the professions or management for example – in the case of artisans, performance is measured in time, accuracy and commitment to the occupation gained from job satisfaction (Van der Walt et al., 2016). This commitment to the trade within engineering is traditionally associated with pride and sacrifice (Brown, 2004). These traditional notions of pride and sacrifice relate to engineering identity, which places emphasis in individual excellence.

Occupational identity therefore favours individual performance over that of teams (Brown, 2004, p. 251). Although artisans are expected to work in teams they often work independently of a team. As such, individual excellence is valued. Experienced artisans and managers know how long a job should take to complete, and can quickly assess whether an individual is competent or not. Performance earns individuals respect from colleagues and managers, elevating those competent artisans status (Hatmaker, 2013).

Most of the participants held the view that if women performed, they did not have a problem with them participating in mining. All the men were unanimous in that they felt most women struggled with some of the physical tasks. The men believed most women were more suited to the lighter, less physical electrical and instrumentation trades. While

some of the men had negative experiences working with women, there were others who had enjoyed positive experiences.

Men reported that they did not have respect for women artisans who did not perform. They believed they had to work harder picking up the slack for non-performance. Some men believed women lacked commitment to the job, continually making excuses or pushing for easier work to get out of key job assignments. In some cases, men felt women were 'sweet talkers, catching men' by manipulating them to do their work for them and taking advantage of being women. This poor performance leads to ongoing tension highlighting poor diversity climates.

The role of assistants was also highlighted as a source of conflict in mining. Qualified women artisans were reportedly doing the work of assistants. In addition, women artisans reportedly made their assistants do their work. The issues around assistants and their roles highlighted potential for emotional and task conflict. Where women performed, men in general said they had no problem with their inclusion. This seemed to reflect that women artisans' social status within the artisanal teams was affected by their willingness to contribute to the team's tasks. Prior research typically associated social status with supervisor-subordinate roles linked to organisational hierarchy (Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin, & Sarnell, 2011; Dwertmann & Boehm, 2016).

At individual level, personal status gained from performance could have a strong bearing on self-efficacy conceptions, especially in traditionally segregated occupations (MacPhee et al., 2013). Status is influenced strongly by subgroups depending on whether or not there is a perceived threat in allowing outsiders to enjoy elevated status (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014). These reactions to outgroups point to identity associations.

Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2018, p. 878) tested the dimensions of competence and warmth against broader surface-level dimensions, including "gender, ethnicity, race, class, age, and disability out-groups". They found mixed findings pertaining to dimensions of pity and envy related to competence and warmth depending on identity threats. They also found stereotypical support for predicting individuals with high status more likely to be seen as competent and where competition was intense, warmth in relations to be negatively affected.

These findings raise interesting issues for women seen as out-groups (Stanciu, 2017) with low status entering traditionally segregated employment contexts. Martin (2003)

found male behaviours towards women in engineering caused women to question their competence in the profession. Subtle forms of bias perpetuated self-doubt, making women feel “responsible for men’s failure to treat them as important, competent, and/or knowledgeable” (p. 359). Women in trade occupations doubting their own competence would be more likely not to show complete performance. In the architectural profession, Powell and Sang (2015) found women not being able to access continuous professional development and their traditional status in the occupational category, diminished their perceived utility. Critically, gatekeepers represented by dominant groups mean women have to work hard, sometimes harder than men, to be taken seriously or to be fairly appraised when performance matters (Powell & Sang, 2015; Reskin, 1993; Starr, 2014). The perceived social status of women in mining requires serious consideration in terms of these findings.

These issues and some of the performance-related contributions from men points to the concept of loafing covered extensively in prior literature (Ellis et al., 2013; Erez & Somech, 1996; Meyer, Schermuly, & Kauffeld, 2015; Schölmerich, Schermuly, & Deller, 2016, 2017; Wagner, 1995). Literature pertaining to social loafing is expanded upon in section 5.4 where performance is discussed in more detail.

The key objective for this section was to expand on the issues relating to performance to explain how performance is a source of power for individuals and teams. This is vital in providing rigorous contextual analysis linked to question 1.

5.2.5 *Meso context and respect (subgroup paradox)*

The current study used surface-level dimensions to understand subgroups within the male sample. The subgroups revealed a level of tension between older and younger artisan men. Much of this tension was associated with respect. Many of the older workers from the sample hankered after the past when mining was less complex without women. The younger men felt older men did not believe women belonged in mining. These broad and more nuanced findings are discussed in the remainder of this section.

Respect and age diversity: Gender and age diversity are the most well-recognised dimensions for social categorisation (Seong et al., 2015). With age, there are a number of stereotypes that prevail, such as that older workers are less flexible or less open to change (Posthuma & Campion, 2009, p. 168). The categories of older and younger men were split (ages: 18–25, 26–35 and 35 years’ and older) to understand potential faultlines

within these male subgroups and their attitudes towards women artisans entering mining. Although the ages of male respondents were split into three broad categories, they were analysed across two broad groupings of 'older' and 'younger' men as referred to by the participants.

The data suggests older men believed that, in general, they are more respectful than younger men. Older men saw respect being broadly directed at their work, women, management and at their broader societal behaviour. Although older men have more patriarchal beliefs, they believe women should still be respected, and that is why they assist women when they see them struggling in the workplace.

Older men in general did not believe women belonged in mining or the engineering trades. Many of the participants felt women were physically weak and technically inferior. In spite of these beliefs, they were more inclined than younger artisans, to assist women whom they perceived were battling physically.

The younger respondents saw older men as battling to adapt to women in mining. They acknowledged older men are more traditional, not enjoying seeing women struggle. Younger men generally had less respect for these older men or for women artisans whom they believe should be treated equally. Although young men held pro-inclusion beliefs, they seemed less inclined than older artisans to assist women on the job. Having trained alongside women as apprentices, they believed women were as competent as men, both practically and technically. They felt equal work should mean equal pay. They held hardened attitudes towards women whom they perceived as not performing.

Some of the younger respondents felt older men were not being chivalrous but assisted women for ulterior motives. They felt older men wanted to befriend women to have sex with them. Older men, in contrast, generally perceived younger men as having little respect for women because they were not prepared to assist them.

Paradox was clear in some respondents who distanced themselves from the behaviour of the subgroup to which one would expect them to belong. This paradox revealed younger respondents supporting assertions one would expect from their older peers.

Age diversity proved to be a strong predictor of respondents' beliefs and attitudes, and revealed interesting subgroup discourse. Respect became a strong theme with direct age-related links. Older, experienced workers place substantial value on respecting others and being respected. This is backed by literature (Kochan et al., 2003). Within the

engineering trades, younger artisans positive experiences of older artisans, bucks some stereotypes including older employees' difficulties with accepting change (Liebermann et al., 2013).

Age remains a critical dimension in trying to understand individual gender constructs in relation to team composition (Liebermann et al., 2013, p. 196). Traditionally, research delved into compositional debates based on either observable differences, such as age, race, gender, experience or tenure, or relational deep-level constructs, such as values, beliefs or culture as examples (Ellemers & Rink, 2016; Guillaume, Brodbeck, & Riketta, 2012; Harrison et al., 2002; Liang et al., 2015). Team composition remains important; however, deep-level group needs are equally important. For example, "neglecting the needs of majority employees leads to resistance to change" (Ellemers & Rink, 2016, p. 49). Employees who are made to feel included by pro-diversity beliefs of leaders, associated with a positive diversity climate, are also prone to perform better.

In industries, such as mining, the composition of teams is key, especially because of the difficult physical context of mining. In structuring teams, leaders should consider balanced teams that represent a cross-section of age, race, experience and gender.

Respect and racial diversity: The participation of white men in mining is decreasing over time. As far back as 2014, this trend was already firmly established (Msiza, 2014). Although proportionately, white men still occupied many of the skilled occupational positions, while 56% of artisans were black (Msiza, 2014). Recent statistics reflect 23% white men in skilled occupations in mining with 77% being black (Department of Labour, 2018).

White participants seemed removed from the social networks of their black male colleagues with the exception of two or three individuals. These men seemed to prefer distancing themselves from the social issues preferring to remain on the periphery, away from the politics within mining. It is not clear whether white men's declining representation in mining reflects a power shift with white men becoming an 'out-group', or whether white men prefer to distance themselves from the culture of black men for other reasons.

The racial distinctions of the male participants reflected the social potential isolation of the white men. Most of them said they were committed to their work, preferring not to be

involved socially or politically. Besides these observations, the age-related differences seemed to produce more difference than the construct race.

Race and gender have traditionally been viewed as key dimensions for studying difference. Identities in these categories are well established and typically do not shift significantly as does age, for example (Herring, 2009, p. 213). As in the United States, white men in South Africa are outnumbered as a demographic when comparing them to total workforce numbers for women and black men. Yet, white men traditionally hold ongoing status and power in key managerial occupations (Johnson, 2017). Most literature relates to glass ceilings (Mannix & Neale, 2005; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015) for non-white or women managers examining how white men retain power, or social stereotypes that reinforce gendered norms (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010).

In other cases, white men have been found to 'suffer psychological threat' by exposing their inherent bias against those they are supposed to treat fairly (Ellemers & Rink, 2016). In further studies, white men have felt threatened when diversity policy works against their identity or perceived employment security (Dover et al., 2016; Hunter, Blascovich, Lickel, Mendes, & Kowai-Bell, 2005; Norton & Sommers, 2011; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011).

In reflecting on these limited findings relating to race difference between men, racial faultlines between white and black men can benefit from further study to understand the effect of diminishing power within the white male subgroup. Further analysis would go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Respect and tenure diversity: Tenure coupled with experience appeared to bring with it knowledge of the trade and the production environment in mining. Where production is seen as paramount in mining (Benya, 2017b), tenure offers power over those with less experience of the work context. When not dealing with preventative maintenance, engineering artisans work in project teams and have to deal with breakdowns. Experienced artisans can assess the competence of their peers quickly by observing proficiency in approach and job execution. When working in deep-level mining especially, if workers are two to three kilometres underground, experience matters. Employees learn to improvise to get things done. Experience is gained through time where knowledge, abilities and skills are acquired (Lance, Hedge, & Alley, 1989). Tenure, on the other hand, relates to the time spent working in mining (Steffens, Shemla, Wegge, & Diestel, 2014).

Research relating to tenure was traditionally sparse; yet, it is seen as important because tenure has the potential to influence performance (Tesluk & Jacobs, 1998). Context affects how long individuals spend in a “career cycle” (p. 331). In mining, as in most environments, artisans, deemed a scarce skill typically do not stay ‘on-the-tools’ for very long (Horwitz, 2013). This is because of the perceived low status of the occupation, work conditions, referring to overtime and call-outs, weakening eyesight, and low job satisfaction. This means industries relying on these vital skills have to run programmes continually to create and develop artisanal capacity.

While ‘job experience’ refers to direct job-related competencies, ‘tenure’ refers to time in which other indirect knowledge of the work context can be attained (Sturman, 2003, p. 611). In a study covering prior literature relating to tenure, moderating variables affecting performance were examined (Guillaume et al., 2017). The research found conspicuous support for “faultlines, cross-categorization, and status differences between demographic subgroups” (p. 285).

Bell et al. (2011, p. 710) caution diversity researchers against the “oversimplification” of diversity concepts to mere “good or bad” notions related to practices impacting diverse teams. The nuanced nature of diversity, especially when working within a meso context, is affected by macro and micro power constructs. While Bell et al.’s (2011) statement rings true for quantitative studies, propositions or frameworks emanating from qualitative studies bring good and bad judgments related to the sense-making nature of the discipline (Tjosvold, 2008). This assertion is supported when trying to understand how some artisans with tenure use experience negatively to discriminate. In the current study, respect linked to status through tenure highlighted additional dysfunction. This tenure dysfunction was characterised by exploiting weaker subgroups, including women and apprentices.

Jason (35, white, instrumentation technician, 5 years’ experience) sharing his experience of lacking experience pointed out how entering a new section can be intimidating, especially for a young artisan. Apprentices and young artisans are often ‘thrown in the deep end’ and are expected to cope. Unfortunately, this opens them to potential harassment by more experienced employees with longer service. The young participants exposed to this harassment held contempt instead of respect for the older artisans who sought to take advantage of them and their fellow apprentices.

There is a long tradition of apprentices suffering at the hands of more experienced employees. In the past, this included corporal punishment in the form of being caned to instil discipline. This practice, which was widely used by schools and in artisan training institutions, was abolished in 1997 with the Abolition of Corporal Punishment Act, 1997 (No. 33 of 1997) (see Republic of South Africa, 1997).

The experiences of weaker subgroups within micro-meso contexts need more focus, particularly in developing economy contexts experiencing rapid change. The management challenges, particularly relating to ethics, also need attention.

5.2.6 Meso context and sex

The mining industry has exceeded the 10% target for women with the mining industry achieving 15% in 2017. Representation of women in mining increased from around 11 400 in 2002 to around 53 000 in 2015, increasing to 53 179 in 2017 (Minerals Council South Africa, 2017, 2018).

This rapid change relating to women being propelled into mining brings with it a number of challenges, especially for managers at meso level. Diversity is difficult to manage, even in developed economy contexts, and within the professions, politics and senior management. In a meso context, with supervisors, foremen and line managers being less exposed to diversity training in developing economies, helping build inclusive teams will remain challenging (Chen & Tang, 2018; Savage, 2000).

The participants reported sex in mining is pervasive with high incidents of work relationships culminating in divorce. While it is critical to change the historical legacies of mining associated with racial and gender prejudice (Humby, 2014), more needs to be done to manage diversity in mining (Laplonge, 2016).

Sexual harassment in mining has been covered in different global contexts, all highlighting the cultural propensity of male hegemony (Benya, 2009; 2013; Diamond, 2011; Klubock, 1996; Laplonge, 2016; Smith, 2008; Yount, 1991). Mining culture represents toughness, being stoic, yet engaging in joking behaviour (that is, 'sledging') as a means to navigate the difficulties of physical work conditions and culture (Yount, 1991).

Men reported women suffering in mining, experiencing anxiety with these stresses often leading to their premature resignation. The ethnographic study conducted by Yount

(1991) echoed some basic behaviours linked to cultural mining norms found in her study. This was despite having been conducted in coal mining in the United States during the 1980s. Her research highlighted how women coped in mining, producing two broad conceptions of flirting or tomboy persona. An extract from her abstract defines the gender roles women adopted to cope.

'Flirts' engaged in interactions with men in a way perceived to be seductive. They were likely to receive come-ons from men which Flirts interpreted as flattery. However, they experienced severe harassment as a consensus grew that the women were using their sexuality to obtain preferential treatment. 'Tomboys' emphasized an identity as miners and engaged in jocular/sexual interactions associated with the work role. They experienced a great deal of sexual 'razzing' but this was often intended and interpreted as friendly, inclusionary treatment. Those Tomboys who reciprocated the level of vulgarity typical of men, however, risked escalation of razzing into harassing episodes that distressed them.

Yount (1991), in another participant quotation, showed how women could use their femininity to reduce their workload. She relayed the experience of Fran, a 24-year-old, labourer who enjoyed manipulating men to do her work for her “[my boss] says, ‘I’ll help you shovel then you can sit and talk to me’. Like I said, I knew I was manipulating. But it came as second nature...”. In the same study, her data mirrored the perceptions held by some men that women are incapable mentally and physically and do not perform – “They’re just plain weak mentally and physically. They contribute virtually nothing to the crew except for causing desertion or apathy because they’re making the same wages but doing a third of the work” (p. 401). In another comment highlighting a male boss’s perception of women working in the sexualised, promiscuous environment of mining he said, “[a] woman would have to be a certain breed of woman to go down there, in the first place not a lady ... it’d be something out of the bars or whatever.”

The dynamics of this 1980s study are profoundly similar to the lived experiences of the men in the current study. Men experiencing women as manipulating and lazy lose respect for women. They then target them, making their life a misery. This is expanded upon when looking at the triggers of gender discrimination (see section 6.2).

In a different study in coal mining in Wyoming, Smith (2008) made interesting observations highlighting the binary nature of women’s adaption in response to culture. She confirms how normalised behaviour was disrupted in response to hegemony (p.

446). Smith (2008) then delved deeper into the culture of 'razzing' to make sense of how it related to sexual harassment. Interestingly, she found some women saw razzing as complementary and as comradery building, while others found this behaviour escalated to more extreme forms of harassment.

In the Chilean copper mining context, Klubock (1996) found widespread racial and class discrimination of Chilean workers by their North American supervisors. Sex was used as a form of domination to force subordination of the workforce. He investigated how "working-class masculinity" was being defined by copper mining (p. 435). Men, however, found pride in the status obtained by their strong earning potential, which was linked to their masculinity.

The mere presence of women in mining employed as artisans, a traditionally segregated occupation, presents a threat to male hegemony, also referred to a stereotype threat in literature (Wright, 2016). The traditional divisions of labour as well as institutionalised patriarchy are being challenged as capitalism drives societal change (Grey, 2006; Koenig et al., 2011; Pérez-Fuentes, 2013).

Where sex is used as a form of domination or control, it represents a form of power for an individual. Wright (2016) points to men using sex as a form of control over women in construction in the United Kingdom. In the SA mining context, women appear to also be using sex – both literally and figuratively – to gain power. This can also be related to their coping strategies within the context of poverty, hegemony and ongoing relational stresses at work (Benya, 2009; Hatmaker, 2013; Kandiyoti, 1988).

In some cases, women were reported to have multiple partners using sex for labour, gifts and/or money. In other cases, they flirt to get easier jobs or get men to work for them. When women establish relationships with a manager, the power of having the manager as part of their in-group, provides protection from other men and potentially leads to promotion, allocation of strong experienced assistants and easier task assignments.

Mining could be described as a hostile environment where out-groups, such as women, are treated in a hostile way (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011; Wiener & Hurt, 2000). Gender-based violence under the conditions found in this study has the potential to increase. This was confirmed by Cilliers and Smit (2006, p. 15) in reviewing the "changing psychodynamic diversity challenges" being experienced by SA workers with rapid change.

In the current study, men appeared to use sex to control women, finding skilful approaches to sidestep harassment policy. Women were firstly 'befriended' by men before going on to canvass them for sex. Men also bartered for sex using labour, gifts, or money to lure women into physical acts of 'taming'. Sex in this meso context provides a source of contextual power. Understood within the broader context in mining and national culture, sex related to cash also has overlapping power.

5.2.7 Meso context and cash

The literature on workplace sexual harassment deals with the two forms of harassment, namely *quid quo pro* (i.e. favour or advantage), and hostile environment. *Quid quo pro* relates to bargaining tactics used to offer benefits, such as promotion, training, salary increases, or to stop a threat relating to alleged transgressions. 'Hostile environment' relates to an individual's interpretation of relational and often repetitive language, jokes or suggestive innuendoes (Thacker & Gohmann, 1996; Wiener & Hurt, 2000).

Sexual harassment assumes there are a perpetrator and a victim. In the current study, where women were reportedly actively selling sex to their colleagues, women could be seen to be forgoing policy protection. Women were said to be increasing their earnings by prostituting themselves to their male colleagues. Men who have the cash have power to buy sex, while the women accepting the cash increase their social status by being able to buy nice cars and houses. Sex can be used as a form of resistance to push back against the dominance of men as a broad group. Using sex is also not always physical, but could just be flirting behaviour (Yount, 1991).

A search for prior literature in this regard proved difficult, with no records readily available related to the phenomenon of 'prostitution in the workplace' at the time of study. What did emerge, were texts dealing with men holding institutionalised societal and industry power over women, especially in traditional gender-segregated occupations. This is perpetuated through language, jokes, pornography, pin-ups of women and other hegemonic signals reinforcing stereotypes. This power sought to subvert women (Powell & Sang, 2015), forcing them to fit into a man's world (Fiske, 1993; Gruber, 1998; Martin, 2003; Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

Despite the lack of literature relating to 'prostitution' in work contexts, there are strong links between poverty and prostitution, where this translates into "brutality, shame, and grief" (Graham, 2015, p. 125). Racial and gender inequality in South Africa is still deep

seated long after the abolishment of Apartheid. This was amplified in rural areas where black women in particular suffer most (Floro & Komatsu, 2011). Although this may help understand the practices of women taking cash for sex, it requires further research in relation to how the work groups are affected. Accepting money for sex in a work environment is ethically wrong, as is extorting sex from a work colleague.

5.3 Context power conclusion

The dimensions of power in relation to context have received extensive global attention to expose their relationship to traditionally segregated employment in mining (Humby, 2014; Klubock, 1996; Laplonge, 2016; Smith, 2008). Although diversity dimensions have typically been explored as individual constructs, there is a degree of overlap where power can influence more than one construct (Holck, Muhr, & Villesèche, 2016). This overlap introduces some complexity especially as research is “moving away from studying main effects” towards identifying moderators that influence diversity effects such as performance (Guillaume et al., 2017, p. 276). In other words, there may be more than one construct affecting performance within diverse work team.

Overall, men hold national (patriarchy) and industry (hegemony) power providing them with a natural in-group dominance over women (Jewkes et al., 2000). This cultural entitlement is gained through patriarchy and the hegemonic culture within this macro context (Booyesen, 2007; Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010). Most men are still in management positions within mining in South Africa (Minerals Council South Africa, 2018). Positional power overlapping with industry and national power gives men in management positions additional sway. If these men are good performers with tenure, they become virtually untouchable (Benya, 2017b).

While not all men are bad, there is sufficient evidence to suggest there is ongoing sexual harassment of women. This refers to groping in the cage and ongoing subtle micro attacks that ensure women remain on the periphery (Benya, 2017b; Bond & Haynes, 2014). Line managers, including foremen and supervisors, hold significant power that could influence diversity climates through their beliefs and actions and the way they treat their teams (Guillaume et al., 2013). Power, and the way it is used, has a significant influence on conceptions of inclusion, engagement and performance of subgroups (Daya, 2014).

Table 5.27 highlights the relative strength (that is, power) men and women derive from each dimension. In some instances, these sources of power are shared as positive and negative, depending on how this power is generally used within mining.

Table 5.27: Gendered power dimension framework

Power dimension	Power direction men (Broad in-group)	Power direction women (Broad out-group)
Macro national culture	Positive (in-group)	Negative (out-group)
Macro industry culture	Positive (in-group)	Negative (out-group)
Macro / micro policy	Negative (out-group)	Positive (in-group)
Meso position	Positive (in-group)	Negative (out-group)
Meso performance	Positive (in-group)	Positive/negative (sub-groups)
Meso respect	Positive (in-group)	Positive/negative (sub-groups)
Meso sex	Positive/negative (in-group)	Positive/negative (sub-groups)
Meso cash	Positive (in-group)	Positive/negative (sub-groups)

Men as dominant in-groups derive power from the macro context. Synonymous with this power, is the tendency to dominate and control out-groups by stereotyping (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009). These social categorisations prevent out-groups from dislodging in-groups who feel threatened by the out-groups' presence (Guillaume et al., 2017).

Table 5.27 shows how men enjoy positive in-group benefits from all the power dimensions, except from macro policy promoting access for women and sexual harassment policy to protect women. This overlap in macro-micro context was explained in Figure 1.1 (also see Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). Women have mixed power dimensions, except for policy power where they are the in-group in spite of being the minority. Despite women enjoying policy power, this power can represent an illusion of power held by in-groups who maintain dominance with cultural, positional, experience and status (Fiske, 2000). This status has been found to diminish empathy and judge out-group harassment claims harshly (Kaiser et al., 2013). While women enjoy the benefit from policy power helping them gain access, they still struggle to be assimilated into mining.

In trying to fit in, women respond in different ways highlighted by either both positive or negative outcomes over time. These responses by women are well documented in prior

studies (Lee et al., 2010; Smith, 2013a; Yount, 1991). Women who perform in the engineering trades in mining appeared to be respected by men participants. This respect seemed to reduce the likelihood of them being targeted for harassment, as long as they were co-operative. This sentiment was confirmed in the current study by a number of participants.

Women in mining appear to be expected to be cooperative, not to step out of line or challenge men. There is tremendous support for subgroups having to fit into the dominant in-group culture in prior literature (Lee et al., 2010; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Seong et al., 2015). Men in mining expect women to fit in or leave. Men also seemed to hold power over some subgroup women in relation to sex, where men are able to use positional, cash or expert power to take advantage of women.

Women were also alleged to use sex for cash, gifts or protection or to gain easier work assignments. When women are able to have sex with managers, they pull that manager into their subgroup. Women can then manipulate these men or enjoy protection from other men as well as enjoy easier work assignments and potentially promotion too. For women, the power dynamics are strongly slanted against them with policy being the only real advantage (Riccò & Guerci, 2014). In all instances, women face difficulty, having to adapt to fit into the masculine-gendered mining context. For both men and women, an absence of power affects individual perceptions of inclusion (Daya, 2014, p. 302). This notion of inclusion, linked to identity, is important in that it affects individual and group conflict.

Sex in this study emerged as a mixed power dimension or construct. Men can use sex as a form of domination of women, while women can use sex as a means to lure managers or work colleagues to improve their mining work experience. Sex can also be a means to obtain cash, which provides a different dimension of power for women to elevate their social status. These power dimensions have been covered in detail in this chapter to understand how power, derived from context, influences faultline activation and gender discrimination. The power dimension framework (see Table 5.27) concludes the discussion of Question 1); Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?

Chapter 6 Discussion - conflict antecedents and gender discrimination

6.1 Introduction

Having built a detailed analysis of the dimensions of power related to context in chapter 5, the triggers of process, relationship and task conflict are discussed in the sections 6.1 to 6.5 of this chapter (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009; De Vos et al., 2018; Thatcher et al., 2003). This deals with Question 2): Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines? Here, conflict types with antecedent triggers of conflict are discussed, highlighting how they relate to power and gender discrimination within mining.

Key propositions are built to support the framework for antecedent conditions and conflict, (see Figure 2.4) explaining gender discrimination in the extreme setting of mining in South Africa. This framework builds its conceptions in three stages around process, relationship and task conflict.

Faultlines, as hypothetical dividing lines (see Meyer, Schermuly, et al., 2015), are well documented, as is the formation of subgroups (see Mäs et al., 2013) that emerge based on identity, or constructs hidden within context (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009; Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Meyer, Shemla, et al., 2015). The formation of subgroups in response to conflict with group-level effects is also well documented (Thatcher et al., 2003).

In an effort to explain the complexity relating to the triggers activating faultlines, there has been a push to introduce rigorous contextual influences and to increase the use of moderators to explain difference (Mannix & Neale, 2005; Pelled et al., 1999; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). This progression of theory has brought with it increasing levels of complexity, aligned to the very nature of diversity itself.

Conflict, as a concept associated with faultline activation, has also been studied in depth (Coleman et al., 2017; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Jehn & Bezrukova, 2010; Li & Hambrick, 2005; Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015; Tekleab & Quigley, 2014). Negative effects of conflict are important to faultline theory in that they affect team satisfaction with negative consequences affecting performance (Otake-Ebede, 2018).

Importantly, findings (see Adair et al., 2017; Schölmerich et al., 2017) suggest relationship conflict has greater negative effect than task conflict in more complex decision-making than in routine production or task-oriented teams. Relationship and task

conflict are stand-alone constructs (Amanuel, Quigley, & Tesluk, 2009). When surface conflicts arise, they can be beneficial; however, if they escalate, lower team satisfaction occurs, which affects performance negatively (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). The current research was more concerned with understanding how gender discrimination is triggered as opposed to investigating performance. Despite this, the damaging effects of gender discrimination affecting performance can highlight key antecedent concepts from prior studies (such as Greer et al., 2008; Harrison et al., 2002) trying to understand performance outcomes.

Further studies related to subgroup formation and conflict, covered group goal faultlines (Ellis et al., 2013) and the effect of time on subgroup conflict (Mäs et al., 2013). In a group goal faultline study, Ellis et al. (2013) used a categorisation-elaboration model (CEM) to define groups as “(a) groups with specific, difficult goals and (b) groups with do-your-best goals” (p. 948). The researchers found a difference in high task-oriented goals, where loafing became potentially more prominent for both groups compared to creative-oriented goals, where the difficult goals group outperformed the do-your-best group.

In relation to crisscrossing actors within subgroups, Mäs et al. (2013) identified interesting effects of time on conflict. They posited crisscrossing actors, characterised as having shared attributes with other subgroup members, and helped mediate conflict between groups. They also found that this mediation helped mitigate conflict over time resulting in strong consensus-building attributes within subgroups.

Many studies, including the two above, focussed on group levels of analysis ignoring the effect of real-world context, which includes the role of management. Meyer et al. (2015) raise this argument with particular reference to resources, and the inclusion of a manager in a specific subgroup or not. They claim two contributions, namely –

Differential effects on the individual performance of members of different subgroups, depending on the characteristics of the subgroup, and extend current conceptualizations of sub-group types by arguing that identity-based subgroups can expand to resource-based subgroups, if contextual circumstances [there: crises] make the resources that are held by a specific subgroup member [here: the team leader] especially important (p. 3).

These points were key in the current study in that the role of supervisors and foremen became central themes affecting gender discrimination against women artisans.

Groups splitting into subgroups from activated faultlines have received increased attention, especially in attempting to understand how performance is affected (Carton & Cummings, 2013; Meyer et al., 2015). Some of these conceptions, when combining divergent theory, introduce increased complexity when assessing subgroups according to identity, resources and knowledge. Yet, this complexity is necessary to understand the characteristics of these inter-subgroup processes (Carton & Cummings, 2012). The subgroups in the current study with their different power dimensions related to context, hold the potential to explain how activated faultlines lead to gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations.

Thatcher et al. (2003) pointed out the traditional approaches to looking at subgroup conflict, namely process, relationship and task conflicts. Process conflicts were narrowly seen as relating to how to complete projects or tasks. Relationship conflicts are non-task-related, and of a personal nature. Task conflicts centred on work-level outcomes. In a different study, Chrobot-Mason et al. (2009, p. 1775) pointed to five broad types of conflict triggers linked to member identity, namely “differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliating action, and simple contact”.

To move toward a conceptual framework that explains the interrelatedness of conflict types with conflict triggers, the current study pushed for a deeper understanding of the antecedent conditions triggering gender conflicts within historically segregated employment. Viewing conflict as being associated with simple task or broad relational or process conflicts limits understanding of the discourse from the antecedent conditions seen as triggers (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). This contribution also helped link conflict triggers more closely to context where different subgroups emerged.

In the remaining sections 6.2 to 6.6 of this chapter, the conflict types of Thatcher et al. (2003) and trigger mechanisms defined by Chrobot-Mason et al. (2009) are used to discuss conflict leading to gender discrimination in mining. The remainder of chapter 6 also incorporates key insights from the field study to explain participant experiences comparing them against prior literature. Findings are discussed, reviewing their relevance to faultline theory and gender discrimination. Gender discrimination, typically takes the form of subtle implicit or explicit discrimination commonly found in gender texts. These provide valuable insights to compare against the findings (Kossek, Su, & Wu, 2016; Martin, 2006; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012).

6.2 Conflict triggers and types

This section provides an overview of the conflict triggers and types found in literature (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009; Thatcher et al., 2003). The critical links between these key concepts are explained before offering a more precise discussion of how the antecedent conflict triggers relate to each of the conflict dimensions found in the mining context. Table 6.29 provides an overview of the conflict types linked to triggers as they relate to circumstances found in the extreme context of mining.

Table 6.28: Process, relationship and task conflicts

Circumstance	Conflict type	Antecedent condition
Managers plan jobs, and allocate work, and assistants (resources)	Process conflict	Differential treatment
Poor recruitment and selection of women artisans	Process conflict	Assimilation/Different values
Cannot discuss issues, women listened to before men – policy fear, and no conflict resolution	Process conflict	Assimilation/Differential treatment/Different values
Planning exclusion	Process conflict	Differential treatment
Women walk slowly, talk too much, not committed to job or trade, false harassment cases, inconsistent emotions	Relationship conflict	Simple contact Assimilation Different values Differential treatment Insult or humiliating action
Taking too long to complete jobs, not performing tasks at all, performing tasks of assistants	Task conflict	Simple contact Assimilation Different values Differential treatment Insult or humiliating Action

Evidence suggests process conflict is the most ambiguous conflict type, affecting relational and task conflict negatively (Greer et al., 2008). Process conflict refers to who does the work and how it gets done (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). At a meso level for mining, planning work for artisanal teams is short term in nature, and planning practices including the broader team were believed to improve team outcomes.

Participant experience suggested planning, which includes women and the broader team, could bring about an immediate improvement in team performance. Evidence from prior literature (such as Jehn et al., 1999; Wegge et al., 2012, 2008) suggests task complexity is key in determining positive or negative outcomes to conflict affecting performance. In the case of routine production-oriented tasks, conflict has negative consequences for teams, including reduced performance (Bradley, Anderson, Baur, & Klotz, 2015). On the positive side, routine task conflict is easily addressed, supporting the planning improvement point raised above (Jehn et al., 1999). In this instance, inclusive planning could reduce notions of differential treatment and improve perceptions relating to assimilation.

Relational conflict – as with process conflict – has the potential to harm performance most significantly (De Wit, Jehn, & Scheepers, 2013; Dechurch, Mesmer-Magnus, & Doty, 2013; O’Neill & McLarnon, 2018). Relationship conflict has a greater effect in that it reduces engagement and motivation to participate in a group. Relationship conflict works independently of task conflict, but exacerbates negative task conflict (De Wit et al., 2013). Managers can improve inclusion by understanding antecedent triggers while working to reduce process conflict (Adair et al., 2017).

The following section highlights the conflict triggers identified by Chrobot-Mason et al. (2009) as they relate to this study. These triggers – namely differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliating action and simple contact – were isolated from an in-depth study incorporating nine different countries (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). Interviews helped to isolate 99 events that were analysed to reduce the “identity based triggers” of conflict (p. 1781).

Differential treatment: Differential treatment in the form of unequal opportunities or treatment activates faultiness triggering the potential for conflict (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009, p. 1775). Where dominant groups feel they are being threatened by subgroups, this can evoke hostile treatment towards those subgroups (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011, p. 317). Typically, this hostile treatment can be subtle or explicit forms of bias. Subtle bias often manifests in the form of social circle or planning exclusion as an example (Gündemira, Homanb, Usovac, & Galinsky, 2017). Examples of explicit bias takes the form of telling dirty jokes, showing women pornography, unwanted advances or physical contact (Martin, 2006; Powell & Sang, 2015). Where these behaviours are exhibited by dominant groups, this activates a different trigger relating to hostile or humiliating action.

In the case of previously gender-segregated occupations, dominant in-groups expect women to fit in and not the other way around (Powell & Sang, 2015). As a result, where men are a dominant in-group they are angered or become frustrated at the perceived threat by the women to their identity (Homan, 2004; Van Knippenberg et al., 2013). This threat can lead to relational conflict (De Vos et al., 2018; Li & Hambrick, 2005). In the current research there were numerous instances of men reporting how they felt women had an advantage by enjoying special treatment through policy and management actions.

This reflected men in general believing women are advantaged because of affirmative action related to their sex. Women were also felt to gain additional advantage by enjoying relationships with management who then become part of their in-group. This confirms prior research relating to the presence of management within a subgroup increasing that group's power (Meyer et al., 2015). Combined, women enjoy power related to policy and intimate relationships with management. These advantages are seen to benefit women as being protected, having an easier work experience and better training opportunities, and enjoying promotion ahead of men.

Men reported experiencing frustration and anger and not being able to raise issues for fear of becoming identified as discriminatory. While men are the dominant in-group, they clearly felt threatened by the presence of women whom they perceived in many cases to be inferior artisans to them. It is common for in-groups to see out-groups as not their equal in terms of performance (Ely & Thomas, 2001), especially where faultline strength is increased (Thatcher & Patel, 2011). Men do not see their privileged power legacy associated with industry and national culture, how production symbolises being a man, nor the closely linked identity conceptions that benefit them (Joshi & Roh, 2009). These negative mind-sets towards women artisans in mining can be linked to process conflicts because inclusion has not been identified as something that has to be managed (Ferdman, 2017).

The ongoing simmering tension in mining raised notable process, relationship and task conflicts during the interviews. The reference to the tensions in mining pointed to issues of unresolved conflict. A recent study by De Vos et al. (2018) showed how in-groups allowed to express their opinions at perceived unfair treatment by an out-group increased the empathy of the out-group. In a further study by Adair et al. (2017), aiming to clarify how conflict can be used positively as a moderator, performance was positively affected

by exposing conflict in a strong faultline team. Conflict has been found to be constructive if the conditions or 'rules of the game' are firmly established.

For example, Tjosvold, Wong, Yi, and Chen (2014) advocate open-minded conversations focussed on achieving common objectives premised toward mutual benefit. In dealing with mutually beneficial objectives, the authors argue that in teaching individuals to engage in open-minded conversations, conflict can be constructive. Constructive conflict in turn translates to "quality resolutions, stronger relations, and individual development" (p. 547). In the current study, there was no evidence of differential treatment being effectively dealt with in the mining context.

Resource-based subgroups are characterised by social dominance (Carton & Cummings, 2012). Managers controlling resources in this instance, hold substantial dominant subgroup power. This power can influence how other men subgroups believe they are affected by differential treatment (Ferdman, 2017). Unfortunately, if managers are unable to identify and deal with conflict, preferring to suppress or ignore it, diversity climates will suffer (Leary & Sandberg, 2017). Anger, when not dealt with, will perpetuate conflict arising from differential treatment (De Vos et al., 2018).

Different values: Different values trigger social identity conflicts relating to basic beliefs or attitudes with subsequent judgments of behaviour. These "value judgments" are deep-level constructs (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009, p. 1775). At a value level, where social identity conflicts arise, this is typically linked to broader societal influences (Hofstede, 1994). These conflicts are therefore different to relational or interpersonal conflicts in that they can challenge the very core of an individual's behavioural premise (Booyesen, 2007; Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Carton and Cummings (2012) confirm how identity-based subgroups respond to threats based on their social identity. In a follow-up study, Carton and Cummings (2013, p. 733) confirmed the importance of "defusing discourses around identity". Importantly, in hierarchies, the skills to identify and defuse identity patterns become difficult, especially where lower-level managers, supervisors or foremen lack the "conflict resolution skills" to do so (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2007, p. 2030).

In the current study, most value judgments highlighted by the participants related to women, as a broad out-group, seen by men as lazy, not committed to their trade, and manipulative, using sex and policy to create advantage. This highlighted the threat to the

dominant in-group values linked to their identity. The participating men saw themselves as hardworking, proud, stoic and masculine. Values linked to broad subgroups related to women in terms of race, ethnicity and religion (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) were not raised at this meso level. Instead, the values at this level judged behaviour in relation to emotional, relational and task conflict associated mainly with performance.

A key theme relating to the difference in values between men and women artisans related to respect. In the current research, participating men did not respect women who were simply perceived to be in the trade for the money, not taking the trade or their work seriously. On the other hand, when women performed, even if they battled to do so, men respected them sometimes more than other men because they understood their challenges. The societal shifts in values pushing inclusion do not reflect the meso-level values of most men in traditionally gender-segregated employment (English & Le Jeune, 2012). This was confirmed in the current study by most of the participants in mining.

Some of the more general mind-sets of men subgroups judging difference in values were that older men did not believe women belong in mining and the engineering trades. Women were seen as physically weak and unable to perform. The older men believed women belonged at home performing their traditional roles as mothers. Younger men had more inclusionary beliefs. They believed women are capable of performing both physically and technically. Black men reportedly saw women who slept with them and others as girlfriends as opposed to prostitutes. This was in spite of them accepting gifts, money or exchanging sex for labour or lighter duties. Again, white men deliberately detached themselves from the social networks of their colleagues. They were often unaware of the relationship dynamics relating to their peers. Men with longer service or tenure believed women have introduced complexity to the work environment. They struggled to adapt to the presence of women whom they perceived as introducing poor work values.

For women entering the engineering trades in mining, there are untold pressures relating to family responsibilities over and above having to deal with in-group advantages from historic cultural norms. Interestingly, where women have small children, they value employment that is conducive to their child rearing responsibilities (Reskin, 1993; Walker, Taunsky, & Oliver, 1982). In mining, this different values trigger will continue to have a negative effect as women struggle with the national and industry cultures.

Black SA women, particularly from rural backgrounds, were seen as the most disadvantaged by Apartheids legacy (Kornegay, 2000; Wildschut et al., 2015). Benya (2009) highlights the long working hours for women who have to prepare children's lunches for school. Then they have to navigate the risky journey to the mines where they fear rape or other forms of violence. She confirmed how women have to wake up between "02:00 and 04:00 to get through their family responsibilities" and still get to work (p. 89). These responsibilities with additional stress, have been widely studied in different contexts (Stockdale & Nadler, 2012). In developed economies, women have more choice over their occupation; however in impoverished societies, women have limited choice (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013). Women working as artisans in mining have to contend with home responsibilities as well as the hostile environment of mining, where sharing common values may always be challenging.

Assimilation: When dominant in-group judgments are made expecting out-group behaviour to mirror theirs (Mannix & Neale, 2005), gender conflicts can be triggered. Expectations include the out-group falling in line with the dominant culture of the in-group (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). Assimilation relates to participant's stories of how identity or culture is not respected or where the dominant group expects behaviours that mirror theirs (Phillips, 2003).

In the current research, women not performing like men was one of the sources of significant negative sentiment towards the broad female out-group. Most of the participants said that, if women performed, they had no issues with them working as artisans in mining. All the respondents said there were certain tasks with which some battled, especially those related to the fitting and boilermaking trades.

An opportunity relating to assimilation could lie in promoting team-learning initiatives. Team learning helps to align group characteristics, reducing subgroup distance between individuals (Rupert et al., 2016). These positive team-learning outcomes are arguably still dependent on team composition and assimilation. Better assimilation can be achieved more easily in knowledge-based subgroups (Carton & Cummings, 2012). These are characterised by information processing and the construction of shared mental models that promote inclusion (Carton & Cummings, 2012). In task-oriented teams such as the engineering trades, as in this case, assimilation may be more challenging.

Choi and Sy (2009) found that, in task-oriented teams, organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB) increased in task-related conflicts as opposed to relational conflict where it decreased. Task conflicts are those associated with how work assignments are completed or decisions are related to work process (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2013). Relational conflicts are those associated with interpersonal conflicts triggering anger, frustration and disappointment as examples (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). OCB is defined as “the overall level of group members’ behaviour that contributes to the maintenance and enhancement of the social and psychological context of the group that facilitates its task performance” (Choi & Sy, 2009, p. 1034). As such, OCB provided a strong comparative construct to understand assimilation in the context of the engineering trades.

De Dreu and Weingart (2003) found relational conflict to be more significant than task conflict, reducing team satisfaction and performance in more complex teams versus task-oriented teams. Findings like this raise particular concern when related to this study’s findings. This is because most conflict reflected relational conflict as opposed to direct task conflicts.

When dominant in-groups do not see subgroups assimilating into their work environment, this opens the door to stereotyping and self-categorisation emphasising a sense of self (Mannix & Neale, 2005; Tajfel, Billings, & Bundy, 1971; Turner, 1975). In the current research, this formed mining men’s social identities reinforcing ‘us and them’ in- and out-groups (Mannix and Neale, 2005, p. 41). These processes in turn influence attitudes, motives, goals, decision-making and the broader organisation influencing organisational identity (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Phillips, 2003).

Through social categorisation, individuals position themselves within the social ecosystem (Turner, 1975), then developing expectations relating to in-group and out-group norms (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Mannix & Neale, 2005). When these expectations are not met, this typically triggers an emotional response designed to protect their emotional well-being and self-esteem (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Negative emotions have the potential to trigger conflict, increasing tension, and highlighting differences between groups (Mannix & Neale, 2005).

The participating men reported relational conflict stemming from them not believing women are prepared to assimilate. If not for policy protecting these women, the incidence

of harassment would no doubt escalate. Assimilation is closely linked to the dominant culture of the organisation. Where assimilation strategies are implemented, many of these initiatives are centred around creating an inclusionary culture thereby allaying fear by out-groups that they will not be valued or treated equally (Olsen & Martins, 2016). Importantly, assimilation relates to both in- and out-groups “conforming to the ethos and objectives” relating to inclusion (p. 664).

A second concept linked to assimilation is that of acculturation; “the way in which an organization deals with the existence of multiple social or cultural groups in its workforce” (Olsen & Martins, 2016, p. 662). Berry (1984, 1992, 1997) developed the concepts ‘acculturation strategies’, i.e. assimilation, marginalisation, separation, and integration integrated into a model to explain cultural migration, change and adaptation (Rupert, Jehn, Van Engen, & De Reuver, 2010). Further studies have prompted research to understand the effects of minority groups’ transitions into society, companies and groups (Gotsis & Grimani, 2016; Olsen & Martins, 2016; Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher, & Haslam, 2015; Rupert et al., 2010). A key principle of acculturation lies in the level of commitment garnered from minority groups, especially as there is increased pressure on them to conform (Raiden, 2016).

In a study testing whether effective leadership and pressure to conform stimulated heightened levels of commitment, Rupert et al. (2010) found minority groups showed stronger commitment when exposed to certain contextual conditions. These included socialisation and acculturation processes linked to effective leadership. In a complementary study (Ramos et al., 2015) built a case for acculturation preferences and personal direct contact improving well-being. Importantly, discerning these contact preferences was posited as key to understanding the acculturation strategy leading to improved well-being for minority groups (Ramos et al., 2015).

Effective acculturation strategies provide signals to employees and prospective employees regarding the diversity management stance, affecting the way companies are perceived (Olsen & Martins, 2016). The acculturation of women in the business context received specific attention from Hood and Koberg (1994) who found different patterns of differential assimilation and acculturation. Interestingly, they separate assimilation and acculturation as systems that interact separately, with individuals experiencing their influences to the processes at different times during engagement.

From the arguments presented in this section, combining team-learning initiatives with effective assimilation and acculturation strategies could positively affect gender inclusion in mining (Berry, 2016; Rupert et al., 2016). Contrary to some of the negative beliefs highlighted by some of the participants in the current study, there were also many positive beliefs shared by the men. Although mining served to provide the extreme setting this study required, there were men in this context that did accept inclusion willingly.

Simple contact: In poor-diversity climates experiencing tension, mere contact can trigger the activation of a faultline. Task and/or relational conflict could have negative consequences for individuals and team outcomes where faultlines have been activated (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). Where different identity groups have experienced deep-seated conflicts related to historical injustice, this provides further complication (Coleman et al., 2017). Weaker out-groups tend to band together to resist in-group dominance. This makes the role of managing diverse teams more difficult (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009; Tajfel et al., 1971).

Management has knowledge, controls resources and has the potential to influence group identities making management a significant subgroup (Carton & Cummings, 2012). This positional power has been found to have the ability to influence inclusionary practices and move between subgroups, moderating the diversity climate. This moderation serves to reduce faultline size by reducing relational- task- and, process-based conflicts (Chung et al., 2011; Guillaume et al., 2017; Guillaume et al., 2013; Nishii, 2013). Management's positional power became a strong theme within the context of this study, including how their actions and behaviours influenced simple contact.

Men experienced ongoing simmering tension in mining characterised by low trust requiring witnesses for basic interactions with women. This exposed the preponderance for simple contact to trigger conflict. Downey, Van der Werff, Thomas, and Plaut (2015, pp. 36–37) surveying 4 597 health sector employees tested employee engagement in relation to:

1. “diversity practices and employee engagement;
2. trust climate, mediating diversity practices and engagement; and
3. inclusion moderating the relationships between diversity practices and trust.”

Their results show a positive relationship between diversity practice and employee engagement, and dispel prior findings of operating ideology driving engagement. Firstly, they found employee interpretations of policy and practice fostered engagement. Secondly, diversity practices positively influenced all groups regardless of background. An additional conclusion suggested employees responded well to positive diversity initiatives forming an argument against prior research suggesting, “negative employee well-being” (Downey et al., 2015, p. 40).

Downey et al. (2015) further found support for positive trust climates underpinning diversity practices that encourage positive engagement. Finally, inclusion relating to perceived positive diversity practices was found to moderate actual diversity practices and trust climates “only when employees perceive high levels of inclusion” (p. 40).

Some men will harass women simply by coming into contact with them, especially those men holding patriarchal beliefs. This was exemplified by men expecting cooperation from women, taking over jobs women were working on, or instructing their female peers to do menial jobs. A further dire example of dysfunctional simple contact leading to gender discrimination related to men extorting sex from women.

Insult or humiliating action: The insult or humiliating action trigger relates to comments, language, jokes, other offensive subtle or explicit behaviour that demean or humiliate an out-group member or broader group (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). Men in this study were the dominant in-group. Overt insult or humiliating action of men was not pervasive. Instead, men reported insult or humiliating action taking place in subtle ways. Insult or humiliating action typically relates to conflict that has been triggered resulting in behavioural disintegration, potentially broadening the faultline size (Li & Hambrick, 2005).

Research has shown that the majority of gender discrimination is perpetuated by men against women, and that men’s experiences of sexual harassment are different to those of women (Raver & Gelfand, 2005). Where men may experience subtle forms of harassment, women’s experiences are broken into two distinct forms, namely sexist hostility and sexual hostility. Sexist hostility “comprises insulting verbal and nonverbal behaviours based on gender” (for example, making offensive sexist remarks), while sexual hostility “comprises insulting, explicitly sexual verbal and nonverbal behaviours (for example, repeatedly telling sexual stories)” (Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo,

1999; Raver & Gelfand, 2005, p. 387). This type of treatment of women represents strong forms of insult or humiliating action.

In the current study, examples of how men experienced insult or humiliating action related to believing women are 'sweet talkers' who catch them, as well as men being humiliated when their sexual advances were turned down. Some men also said women had inconsistent emotions, jilting them at times. Unfair harassment cases also represented humiliation for men. Women gain power only from policy, sex or cash. They also derive power from alliances with individual men who can protect them. Typically, these men in turn, build alliances to target women they see as uncooperative.

Where men perceived insult and humiliating action, this seems to reinforce their stereotypical beliefs. In the current research, it was reported that many men do not believe women belong in mining. They talked behind women's backs. Uncooperative women were isolated or excluded both socially and from the tasks they were employed to do. Men confirm their sex dominance by dirty jokes and directly swearing at women.

Sexual harassment is one form of discrimination leading to insult or humiliating action (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). Men from the data set highlighted numerous forms of subtle and explicit discrimination that showed their broad treatment of women as a sub-group.

Men's beliefs reflected in this study are consistent with experiences of women in traditionally segregated occupations (Martin, 2003; Reskin, 1993; Wright, 2016). These included men pursuing women sexually, extorting sex, and bartering for sex. Prokos and Padavic (2002) describe the objectification and denigration of women as the process by which men help build their own identities, while Wright (2016) suggests sex is used as a form of control over women.

At individual level, negative outcomes associated with sexual discrimination include low job satisfaction, psychological distress, anxiety and depression (Fitzgerald et al., 1999). To understand the link between gender discrimination and performance, Raver and Gelfand (2005) focussed on team processes. At a team level, salient points relating to task-relational conflict and "ambient sexual harassment", perpetuated team-level tensions. These tensions were found to permeate the broader organisation and affect financial performance (Raver & Gelfand, 2005, p. 388). Although the objective of this study was not to look at the effects of gender discrimination directly, it is important to understand how women respond in poor diversity climates. Unfortunately, women withdrawing provides men with the opportunity to justify their discriminatory mind-sets, often related to performance.

Ambient sexual relationship and relationship and task conflict have been found to relate negatively to team cohesion and team performance. Team relationship conflict and cohesion mediate the relationship between ambient sexual hostility and ultimately financial performance (Raver & Gelfand, 2005). The simple contact trigger is symptomatic of strong faultlines related to relationship conflict, but triggered by task conflict. This trigger can escalate relationship or task conflict from small events often linked to social identity conflicts (Li & Hambrick, 2005).

A deep understanding of conflict builds a stronger argument to explain the triggers of gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations (Bradley et al., 2015). Within the extreme mining context, the dimensions of power influence the tensions within subgroups, as individuals have to coexist. There are thin margins of social cohesion in mining, with respect being in short supply. Detailed extracts from the data in this study highlight how men experience conflict and how interpretations reveal the triggers of gender discrimination.

6.3 Process conflict

Men's emotions ranged from frustration to anger, disappointment and resentment increasing anxiety and tension. This is common for groups experiencing process conflict (Jehn & Mannix, 2001). These emotions have the potential to trigger relationship conflict, and task conflicts in turn as a result of simple contact with perceived insult or humiliating action from out-group members. Mining is failing to assimilate women into mining. The perceived different values and differential treatment are key triggers of process conflicts. These different conflict dynamics lead to women being targeted by the dominant in-group (Bradley et al., 2015; O'Neill & McLarnon, 2018). The antecedent conditions triggering conflicts, if understood, could provide deeper insights into the links between strong faultline triggers perpetuating gender discrimination.

There is still debate pertaining to faultlines and their strength relative to different types of conflict. In Adair et al. (2017, p. 30), this argument is raised, suggesting relational and process conflicts are directly related to faultline strength, but do not have the same associations. Adair et al., (2017) compared other findings where a first study found, negative effects of relationship conflict with faultline strength (Lau & Murnighan, 2005), and a second found "no effect of faultlines on task conflict" (Spell, Bezrukova, Haar & Spell, 2011). These variances in quantitative outcomes should be seen against the complexity of diversity with commensurate increased complexity of diversity conceptions and construct testing (Adair et al., 2017).

Key general discussion in Adair et al. (2017) suggests conflict raises difference and disagreement. Conflict has the potential to limit the negative effects of faultlines and could encourage communication between socially categorised subgroups if properly managed. To understand conflict in mining in relation to its effect on gender discrimination, this section highlights the dynamic effects of conflict (Jehn & Mannix, 2001) in the mining setting.

Process conflict is seen as the least understood of the three conflict constructs and is often seen as overlapping with task conflict (Scott et al., 2011). While task and relationship conflict have received the lion's share of research focus, process conflict plays a key role in triggering conflict (Greer et al., 2008). As a result, process conflict has the potential to be seen as an antecedent condition for relationship and task conflicts.

Data collected from in-group men in mining suggests process conflict was triggered by differential treatment, different values and poor assimilation. For example, participating men reported poor selection and recruitment issues where small petite women were selected to work in mining. Human resources were also criticised for not assimilating women into mining by helping prospective women understand the context and providing training to employees. The absence of diversity training for men and women in mining suggests both assimilation and different values triggering strengthened faultlines. This discounts the importance of diversity and inclusion.

Poor team-level planning processes also affect inclusion. The allocation of assistants and key resources as well as job allocation appeared to foment extensive process conflict relating to differential treatment.

Figure 6.8 highlights the antecedent conditions ‘differential treatment’, ‘different values’, and ‘assimilation’ process conflicts affecting relationship conflicts in mining. These findings are discussed in detail to understand how power influences the antecedent conditions that trigger conflict.

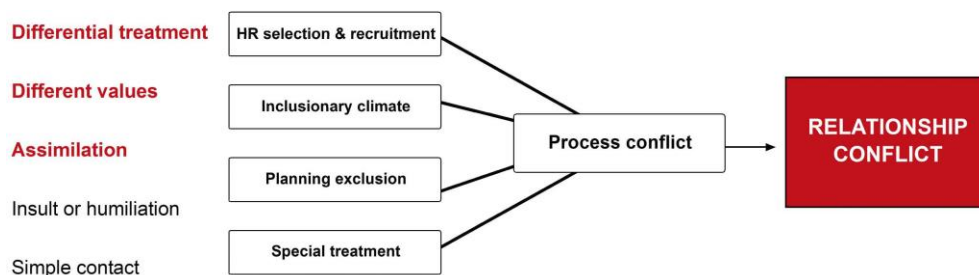


Figure 6.8: Antecedent conditions, process and relationship conflict

Source: Author’s own compilation

HR recruitment and selection (different values/assimilation): Most participants said they had no problems having women working as engineering artisans in mining as long as they performed. Men did, however, remark how human resources selection and recruitment failed to understand the context of women working in mining, especially in the more challenging physical trades. This process conflict related to assimilation and different values.

A number of participants highlighted a disconnect in terms of HR recruitment and selection and the realities of mining. They expressed frustration related to process conflict where person–job fits were seen as incompatible with their beliefs relating to

women (out-group) fitting into their notions of artisanal identity. Where women do not fit this identity, they will most likely not be respected, they will be seen as poor performers, and hence be targeted in one way or another. This in turn results in women not staying on the tools.

Further process conflict related to women being placed in physically demanding trades where they were seen as not physically suited to work. These trades were boilermaking and fitting. All the participants shared the same view that in most cases, women were more suited to the instrumentation and electrical trades. Working underground is physically demanding because of the conditions. All the comments by the men typified their dominance of culture (that is, industry and national) where there is extensive othering and references to 'girls' and 'ladies' as opposed to women (Powell & Sang, 2015).

Findings are consistent with literature where Daya (2014) found leadership affected inclusion by not having transparent recruitment and selection processes. Daya (2014) also suggested personality, locus of control, self-confidence – including self-esteem and power – needed to be understood to assimilate subgroups effectively.

This suggests women with a stronger internal locus, coupled with positive self-esteem would be more assertive in negotiating their assimilation within their teams. Where inclusive recruitment and selection are practiced, this should reduce the notion of men seeing women as 'visitors' who transition through engineering artisan jobs choosing to move on as quickly as they can (Moore, 2015, p. 225). Besides inclusive recruitment, this process also has to be accompanied by training of both in-groups and out-groups to ensure assimilation is effective (Peretz et al., 2015). Findings also suggest designing these interventions needs "appreciation of cultural values" to prioritise how practices could be targeted to bring about meaningful change (p. 897). This relates to the antecedent 'different values' trigger.

Inclusionary climate – assimilation, different values, differential treatment: Women entering the engineering trades, especially in mining, are still seen by men as a relatively new phenomenon. Participating men identified the need for support to ensure men see women not as objects but as valued team members. This challenge was felt to be particularly relevant to the older men subgroup that did not have the benefit of training alongside women as apprentices.

The absence of an inclusionary climate in mining's traditionally segregated occupations highlighted shortcomings in assimilation, different values and differential treatment. The absence of diversity initiatives to facilitate assimilation has negative consequences, mostly for women.

Men highlighted how women were trained technically to enter mining but how employees – both men and women – have not been prepared for the rapid changes associated with policy power that has forced inclusion. The absence of effective inclusionary diversity practices and training has opened the door for abuse by in-group men. This would typically play out as relationship or task conflict; however, abuse stems from a process conflicts emanating from management deficiencies.

Process conflicts relating to the inclusionary climate not being conducive to diversity are triggered by assimilation, different values and differential treatment at meso level. Recent developments in diversity training initiatives (see Fujimoto & Härtel, 2017) suggest assimilation and different values can be improved by the broad participation of all employees before, during and after diversity training interventions. Importantly, the authors point to involvement, participation and commitment from top management (Bezrukova, Spell, Perry, & Jehn, 2016; Fujimoto & Härtel, 2017). Managers are responsible and should be accountable for diversity climates as they have the knowledge, resources and skills associated with position power to improve the diversity experience of all employees (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2007; Jonsen et al., 2013).

Planning exclusion (assimilation, different values, differential treatment): Planning exclusion practices were seen as key in establishing behaviours of men working while women looked on. This reinforced in-group men taking control of production power while female out-groups remained socially excluded and disempowered.

Some foremen and supervisors in the current research did not plan effectively, excluding artisans from the planning process. As a result, where assistants were not properly allocated (that is, resources) and men perceived they got the difficult or physically challenging jobs they became resentful (that is, differential treatment). This absence of planning resulted in men taking charge of jobs, instructing women to perform menial tasks. Where women become used to being relegated to menial tasks, literature suggests they will withdraw (Fitzgerald et al., 1997), reinforcing perceptions held by men that women artisans are lazy or not committed (that is, different values). This process

conflict has potential to disrupt performance due to a lack of coordination (Smith & Hou, 2015). Joint planning as a team is an opportunity to practice inclusion and build team identity.

Daya (2014, p. 302) confirms how power misused made individuals feel “less valued”. This was evidenced through exclusion by managers, disempowering individuals through “reduced engagement and involvement in decision-making” (Daya, 2014, p. 302). At tactical level, involving all artisans within the team demonstrates practical inclusion with the potential to influence diversity beliefs (Riccò & Guerici, 2014). Planning can also inspire team reflexivity, found to relate to positive influences on inclusion with commensurate improvements in team creativity and performance (Schipper, Edmondson, & West, 2014).

Special treatment (differential treatment): Special treatment is closely linked to insufficient inclusive team planning. In the current research, where managers did not consult their team deciding which tasks were to be performed or which assistants to allocate to whom, this deepened resentment by men who felt they were unfairly treated. Differential treatment has the potential to spill over to relational and task conflicts as it sparks “identity threats”, seen as most prolific in faultline activation (Schölmerich et al., 2017, p. 185).

Women seen as receiving favourable treatment or as being protected leads to in-group resentment. Men as the dominant in-group already see women as advantaged through policy. Where men see managers as part of women’s in-groups, this raises women’s status even further. Participant reports in this study highlighted how young men look for opportunities to avoid helping women, while older men assist but do so, in some cases, with ulterior motives.

Process conflict has traditionally been seen as pertaining to “duty and resource delegation, such as who should do what and how much responsibility different people should get” (Jehn & Mannix, 2001, p. 339). This section argues for a broader conception to include how diversity climates are affected by organisational process. Process and relationship conflicts are the most damaging, especially when occurring simultaneously (O’Neill & McLarnon, 2018, p. 382), raising their importance for gender discrimination. Where process conflict is the least understood or least researched conflict type, such conflict requires more attention (Jehn et al., 2008).

Efforts to reduce process conflict will reduce faultline size and, in turn, limit relationship and negative task conflict. As such, process conflict has the potential to be included as an antecedent condition to relationship conflict. Addressing process conflict also holds potential to limit subgroup formation. Process conflict has been associated with “issues of duty and resource delegation, such as who should do what and how much responsibility different people should get” (Jehn & Mannix, 2001, p. 239).

Greer et al. (2008, p. 279) highlights how process conflict can be associated with “logistical issues, such as the scheduling of meetings and the assignment of work”. In this section, the researcher argues that process conflict can be triggered from outside the team, including practices by human resources.

There is an emerging body of literature focussing on how managers adopt practices that encourage inclusion and improve diversity climates (Leary & Sandberg, 2017; Shemla & Wegge, 2018). In the mining context, it appears the main thrust of inclusionary practices comprises using policy threat to dismiss in-group members that harass women. This is not enough to build inclusion, except that it serves to increase notions of reverse discrimination towards men. There is a strong argument for process conflict occurring where strong faultlines are activated to become an antecedent condition for relationship conflict.

To conclude, perceived differential treatment, different values and poor assimilation are exacerbated by poor HR selection and recruitment, weak inclusionary climates, planning exclusion and perceived special treatment. These manageable process conflicts represent antecedent conditions strengthening faultline size, with the potential to compound relationship conflicts. This leads to proposition 1.

Proposition 1: Where gender faultlines are strong, ongoing process conflicts relating to differential treatment, different values and assimilation will establish process conflict as an antecedent condition to relationship conflicts.

6.4 Relationship conflict

Relationship conflict in mining relates to all five conflict triggers, namely different values, differential treatment, assimilation, insult or humiliating action and simple contact. In the extreme setting of mining, the argument for including process conflict as an additional antecedent condition has been made (proposition 1). Conceptually, the three different

conflicts can be independent from one another; however, there is a dynamic interplay between conflict types (Jehn & Mannix, 2001).

Where relationship conflicts are triggered, they can reduce group flexibility while increasing bias relating to group decisions around tasks (De Wit et al., 2013). Scott et al. (2011) found a curvilinear relationship when relationship conflict was absent relative to task conflict. This relationship became linear when relationship conflict was experienced, and highlighted the potential for relationship conflict to mediate how task conflicts were experienced. In other words, in the absence of relationship conflict, task conflicts can be productive for groups (Janssen, Van de Vliert, & Veenstra, 1999).

In the current study, some participants described how they felt an ongoing simmering tension related to the presence of women. The damaging effects of process and relational conflict being experienced simultaneously were on show in mining (O'Neill & McLarnon, 2018). This seemed to magnify the weak diversity climate. Men displayed subtle implicit and explicit biases, and reported women having poor attitudes towards their trade and their work, policy abuse, and sexual dysfunction buttressing gender discrimination.

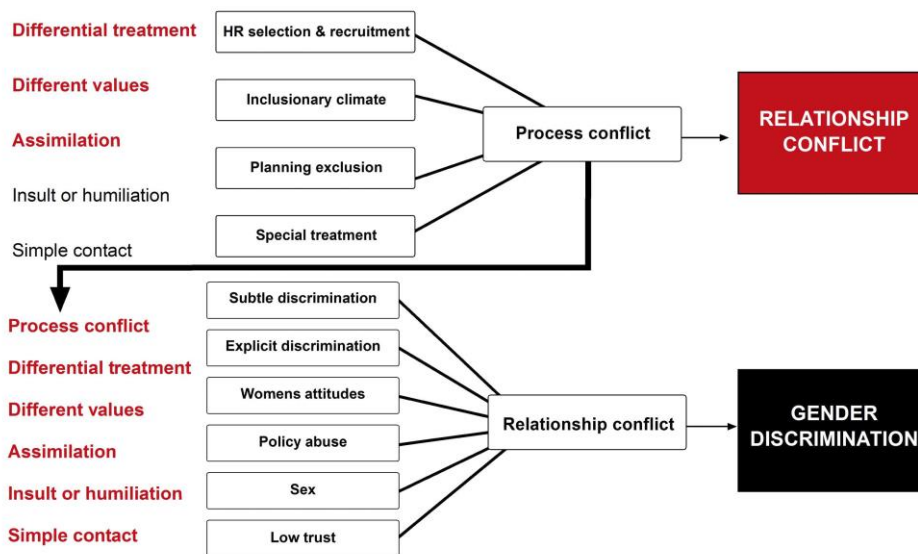


Figure 6.9: Antecedent conditions, relationship conflict and gender discrimination

Source: Author's own compilation

Subtle implicit discrimination: The data collected from men highlights implicit beliefs providing evidence of how men view women participating in the engineering trades in

mining. These reports exposed bad language, psychological abuse and the risks for women in terms of their general well-being. These subtle cues demonstrate that for most men, women are not coping. Sadly, Mandla (42, black, instrumentation technician, 17 years' experience) highlighted how women entering mining are initially committed, but this commitment wanes over time.

This seems to be consistent with prior literature suggesting women withdraw in the face of male hegemony (Jackson, Colquitt, Wesson, & Zapata-Phelan, 2006; Roberson et al., 2017). This withdrawal can be a passive response from out-group experience (Jackson et al., 2006) or it can take on different responses all agitating relational conflict. Evidence also suggests that, if conflicts are not disrupted, they can become normalised within organisational contexts bringing this understanding of perpetual gender discrimination into sharp focus (O'Neill & McLarnon, 2018). This is referred to as a team's "emergent state" (Mathieu et al., 2017, p. 352).

Subtle discrimination, particularly relating to harassment, is a way of signalling dominance over an out-group (Carton & Cummings, 2012). These approaches are often in the form of innuendoes, such as sexual approaches, comments, jokes, remarks or questions about sex life (Gruber, 1998; Watts, 2007). Subtle bias is also commonly referred to as 'implicit bias' (Kossek et al., 2016; Lai, Hoffman, & Nosek, 2013). These subjective biases held by in-group men spark backlashes against women entering their domain, increasing relational conflict while damaging the diversity climate (Kossek et al., 2016, p. 236). While dealing with explicit bias as it manifests can be easier, implicit bias is difficult to identify and remedy (Lai et al., 2013).

Subtle discrimination is pervasive within these texts as shared by participating men. This is not surprising, especially as many men do not believe women belong in mining as artisans at all. Bad language (that is, swearing or inappropriate joking) and open acknowledgment that women are frequently mistreated in mining are clear. From the earlier analysis of power dimensions, women are out-groups in all eight dimensions, except for policy where they obtain some support.

Policy power is easily subverted by experienced men who are able to manoeuvre around policy to defend the threat of women challenging their status within mining. The full gambit of antecedent conditions in the form of conflict triggers, such as process conflict, intensifies subtle discrimination, negatively affecting relational conflict. Most of this

conflict remains subtle, so men avoid harassment charges. Relationship conflicts have the potential to spill over, affecting task conflict as men dominate performance power, telling women where they fit in and what to do.

The damaging effects of subtle discrimination resulting in withdrawal could account for why women consistently look for easier jobs, use policy as a weapon against men, sleep with managers to gain protection and easier jobs, stand and watch men as they do the work, and prefer to be pregnant to avoid being at work. Although men view these responses as not being committed to the trade or their work, the issues might potentially be much deeper.

Explicit discrimination: In the current research, there were widespread accounts of explicit discrimination affecting women. In some instances, men were not aware of how their language portrayed their discriminatory mind-sets. Men in many cases have lost respect for women in mining. They reported responding to perceived withdrawal of women by telling them what to do, issuing minor tasks. The samples participant men also admitted discussing women within the in-group and behind their backs. There were also reports of more junior women doing general work being sexually taken advantage of, and experienced assistants also taking advantage of women artisans sexually. This highlighted how power dimensions came into play as the men reported that they do not openly confront women but punish them in subtle ways. Policy power is easily sidestepped by experienced men. Where men have cash and performance powers, this gives them the confidence to take advantage of women in different ways and across different hierarchical levels. The power of patriarchy and male hegemony are significant predictors of gender discrimination in mining (Benya, 2017a).

Although many studies (such as Kossek et al., 2016; Lai et al., 2013; Vinkenburt, 2017) have viewed explicit bias in relation to “employment opportunities, promotion, access to training, and how women are performance rated” (Kossek et al., 2016, p. 245), explicit bias could also include deeper-level constructs as in-group mind-sets. Typically, these traditional views of explicit bias relate to structural process-oriented conceptions. Where interventions to improve diversity climates do not include addressing “relational conflict”, they will lack impact (p. 243). Diversity interventions are arguably process conflict mitigation strategies, with the potential to reduce as an antecedent condition for relationship conflicts and the formation of subgroups (Adair et al., 2017).

Attitudes relating to women not belonging in mining are examples of explicit discrimination (Veldman, Meeussen, Van Laar, & Phalet, 2017). Men holding these views are evidence of poor assimilation and different values. Even though some women battle in certain trades, this should not exclude women who have the physical capability and endurance from participation in those occupations. Broadly reserving employment for one group is explicitly discriminatory. Men targeting women for sex by sabotaging their work or by trying to 'tame' them is also explicitly discriminatory. The broad antecedent conditions comprising ongoing process conflict are fertile circumstances for gender discrimination.

Women's attitudes (lazy, not committed, taking advantage): At meso level, participating men were not sensitive to the power relations at play in mining. They appeared to have little appreciation of the forces of dominance affecting how women feel and behave in response to their challenging context. The participating men typically interpreted women withdrawing as laziness, a lack of commitment and women taking advantage of them by using sex both figuratively and literally.

Men judge women's attitudes harshly, especially in the absence of understanding what power dimensions, triggers and types of conflict establish perceived negative behaviours by women artisans (Kossek et al., 2016). Men maintain their hegemony, expecting women to fit in or leave. Women and other minorities are judged more harshly in traditionally gender-segregated occupations (Rawat & Basergekar, 2016; Shemla & Wegge, 2018). In addition, women experiencing the symbolic violence (Powell & Sang, 2015) of every day "microaggressions" (Bond & Haynes, 2014, p. 176) will have less commitment, affecting how they respond. Literature has provided evidence of women detaching themselves from groups with whom they do not share identity. This detachment negatively affects team outcomes, including performance (Veldman et al., 2017). Where process conflicts are not managed to improve diversity climates, women will continue to opt out, reproducing cycles of relationship conflict that institutionalise discrimination (Farndale et al., 2015).

Policy abuse (false cases, promotion): Although women are a minority in mining, they hold in-group power related to policy. This policy provides legitimacy for their presence (that is, affirmative action, the Mining Charter, sexual harassment) in mining. Men were resentful at the volume of perceived false cases against them for sexual harassment, including perceptions of unfair promotion favouring women.

Affirmative action policies (see Department of Labour, 2018; Horwitz et al., 1996) as well as Mining Charter targets (see Minerals Council South Africa, 2018) are pushing for more women in technical roles and into management. These policies, combined with sexual harassment policies (see Malhotra & Srivastava, 2016), provide women with a source of legitimate in-group power, despite being in the minority. Where out-groups generally lack power to dominate in-groups, policy power creates a paradox favouring women (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988). Inclusion policies aim to give women a sense of belonging (Ayre et al., 2013); however, this can arguably not be achieved without understanding work contexts with the dynamics relating to conflict types and triggers.

In some women subgroups, sexual harassment policies are felt to be used unfairly against men. In these instances, participating men in the current research were angered by what they saw as historical injustices where management generally took the woman's side. Management was seen as unfairly promoting women, which was also viewed negatively by men. Relationship conflicts triggered by perceived policy abuse is damaging in that it activates all the triggers for conflict. Process conflicts added to these antecedent conditions suggest faultline strength would remain significant.

Sex – the battleground: In the current research, it was reported that both men and women used sex at different levels to control or punish, or to impose dominance over one another. Men can have sex with women if they have positional, cash or experiential/performance power. Men can barter sex for labour, cash or gifts or – if managers – for promotion. Women can use sex to gain protection, enjoy easier work assignments and obtain power or status from cash or promotion. Women using sex can be seen as a broad concept in that this does not always relate to physical acts. Non-physical acts were reported to be in the form of complaining or flirting.

Men can use sex as a subtle form of domination and control of women (Hill Collins, 2012). Some women in the current research appeared to take the fight back to men learning that, through sex, men can also be manipulated and controlled. Using sex figuratively and practically, women were seen as 'sweet talkers' that catch men. There are a number of texts that deal with flirting as a manipulation strategy to cope in male-dominated work cultures (see for instance, Smith, 2013a, 2013b; Wright, 2016; Yount, 1991).

Some men in the current study said they worked for female peers, providing gifts and cash. When women sleep with managers, their status seems to be elevated as they enjoy easier work assignments, protection from their peers, experienced assistants, and potentially promotion opportunity. Male managers have positional power, and they strengthen female out-groups if they are seen as part of that out-group (Randel et al., 2016). In these instances, where sex is being used subversively, a full battery of triggers is activated. Sex in mining is a critical issue affecting society, families, personal health, psychological well-being and productivity. Unfortunately, the practices of sex in mining seem to be institutionalised. This requires further research, as the damaging effects are far-reaching.

In conclusion, process conflict combined with the five triggers (differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliating action, simple contact) forms antecedent conditions. These conditions perpetuate subtle and explicit discrimination, perceived negative attitudes held by women, policy abuse and dysfunctional sexual practices. These conditions lead to relationship conflicts that promote broad and ongoing gender discrimination. This leads to proposition 2.

Proposition 2: Gendered relationship conflicts occurring from ongoing process conflict will activate faultlines triggered by all five conflict triggers. These combined triggers, including process conflict, will entrench subtle and explicit gender discrimination.

6.5 Task conflict

Task conflict is less significant than relationship conflict in organisations enjoying inclusive gender diversity climates (Nishii, 2013). Unfortunately, for mining in South Africa, this does not apply, with the converse appearing to be the norm. Participating men reported widespread task conflict highlighting physical limitations, technical aptitude, and extra work for men. In the presence of simmering tensions from ongoing process conflicts, with substantial relationship conflict, the antecedent conditions heightened the propensity for negative task conflict.

Task conflict, like relationship conflict, was activated by all five triggers. Men reported women lacking the physical ability to complete tasks, and some women lacking technical ability too. Men reported these task conflicts resulted in extra work with jobs taking longer than necessary to complete.

Physical challenges (slow): The physical challenges for women related to physical strength to do certain tasks and endurance to work consistently in the mining context. All the respondents felt women were more suited to instrumentation and electrical trades where the physical demands are less significant.

The physical limitations of women versus men have been discussed extensively in prior literature (Martin, 1996; Messing, Lippel, & Demers, 2000). In-groups like to project themselves as superior, defending their status by elevating their “uniqueness” (Martin, 1996 p. 4). More often than not, these issues relate to gendered relational boundaries as opposed to physical attributes (Human, 1996). These behavioural responses to maintaining ego, are also synonymous with conceptions of power found in context (Ahonen et al., 2014). In accordance, Cui (2017) reflects on classic economic theories of land labour and physical capital being the bedrock of production. These traditional notions of production power are still pervasive in framing mining identity. In other, more progressive contexts, this thinking has transitioned to modern relational utility associated with “trust, cooperation, and commitment to mutual goals” (p. 1243).

Technical ability: For engineering artisans to perform, they have to be both technically and physically capable. Some participating men did not see women as being technically as competent as men, while others saw women being as good as and in some cases better than men in terms of their knowledge. Most of the younger men found the knowledge of women with whom they trained at least on a par with their own technical ability and at times better.

Many of the younger participants held more inclusive attitudes towards women than the older men. These younger men had typically trained as apprentices with women and were aware of their technical abilities. Despite this, and besides one or two negative views, most men felt women were technically competent but only battled physically. Those men holding negative views on inclusion, typically saw women as not competent, wanting to study further to get off the tools, or saw women simply not fitting in.

In a study researching women enjoying longevity in engineering, Ayre et al. (2013) found interpersonal skills trumped technical skills. As far as relational conflict is concerned, this provides an interesting observation, as technical ability should be less of an issue unless relational conflict is present. Where relationships are strained, men would be more likely to focus attention on task-related issues (De Wit et al., 2013).

All engineering artisans, regardless of gender receive the same level of technical training culminating in a final trade test assessment (Van der Walt et al., 2016). It is not surprising that the technical ability of women should not be questioned. Unfortunately, some men might confuse technical ability with self-confidence, or other effects such as negative self-concept caused through poor workplace inclusion (Pekerti & Thomas, 2015) or efficacy (Ehrlinger & Dunning, 2003) causing woman to withdraw. This withdrawal is most likely what men experience when perceiving women lack technical competence.

Extra work (taking tools from women): Participating men in the current study reported having to do extra work because some women always needed assistance, or did not perform at all. In response to women not coping, men often take over jobs in the rush to complete the task. Symbolically, men taking the tools from women immediately diminishes women's power to perform. Losing this ability to contribute to production diminishes women's status. In terms of productivity, all artisans should be fully engaged in their work. If women stand aside while men work, this has broad ramifications for not only performance but also individuals and teams too. Taking performance power from women highlights the triggers relating to differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliating action and simple contact.

Generalised perceptions relating to women not being capable of performing in the engineering trades in mining retard efforts to introduce equality and inclusion (Ahonen et al., 2014). Activated faultlines related to task performance produce ongoing tension in mining. It would appear that process and relationship conflicts activate the triggers that perpetuate these task conflicts.

Task conflict under certain circumstances can be beneficial (De Dreu, 2008; Dechurch et al., 2013); however, in the absence of trust, conflict is affected by relational issues (Amanuel et al., 2009). Task conflict occurring simultaneously with relationship conflict, magnifies issues relating to work process and outcomes in interpersonal issues (Bradley et al., 2015). Relationship conflict raises negative emotions, reducing members' level of satisfaction, intentions to stay in the group, and feelings towards other group members (Jehn, 1995). In fragmented teams, where there are strong faultlines, teams will be less likely to discuss task conflict productively (Bradley et al., 2015). In the engineering artisan teams in mining, there is substantial evidence of task-related conflict compounded by relational conflict. Participating men complained about women sitting while they (the

men) worked. These conflicts have negative consequences affecting broad-based gender discrimination.

Process conflicts combined with the five conflict triggers become antecedent conditions for relationship conflicts. Where strong faultlines exist, these conflicts will compound relationship conflicts that will support ongoing broad gender discrimination. Ongoing relationship conflicts will, in turn, also become an antecedent condition for negative task conflicts. Task conflicts will entrench gender discrimination. This leads to proposition 3.

Proposition 3: Strong gender faultlines, where there are ongoing process and relationship conflicts, will become part of the five triggers of conflict that ignite task conflicts. These task conflicts will translate into perpetual gender discrimination in the absence of an inclusionary climate.

Figure 6.10 highlights the task conflicts in mining linked to the framework illustrating the dynamic nature of conflict. This figure is reintroduced from figure 2.4.

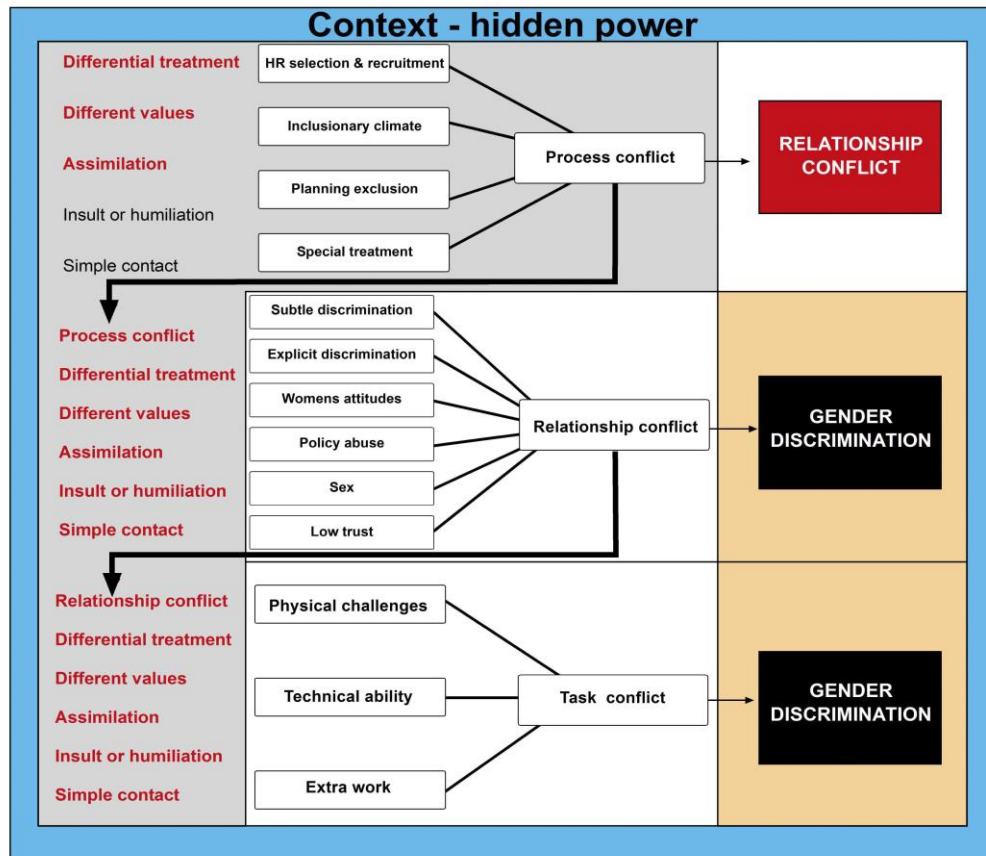


Figure 6.10: Framework for antecedent conditions and conflict

Source: Author's own compilation

Read in conjunction with the framework for antecedent conditions and conflict (Figure 2.4, also 6.10), propositions 1 to 3 are restated as:

Proposition 1: Where gender faultlines are strong, ongoing process conflicts relating to differential treatment, different values and assimilation will establish process conflict as an antecedent condition to relationship conflicts.

Proposition 2: Gendered relationship conflicts occurring from ongoing process conflict will activate faultlines triggered by all five conflict triggers. These combined triggers including process conflict, will entrench subtle and explicit gender discrimination.

Proposition 3: Strong gender faultlines, where there are ongoing process and relationship conflicts, will become part of the five triggers of conflict that ignite task conflicts. These task conflicts will translate into perpetual gender discrimination in the absence of an inclusionary climate.

6.6 Gender discrimination

The purpose of this study was to understand faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. Three questions guided this research:

1. Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
2. Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
3. How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

The eight dimensions of power have detailed the power dimensions found in SA mines. These dimensions were summarised in a framework (Table 5.27) highlighting their significance for in-groups and out-groups linked to the subgroup categories 'age', 'race' and 'tenure'. These constructs have been used to create meaning from the in-group life experiences of men working in the engineering trades. In the preceding sections (sections 6.1 - 6.5), the antecedent conditions leading to conflict and gender discrimination were examined. The framework depicting the antecedents (see Figure 2.4 also 6.10) supported by three key propositions offers explanation for the dynamic nature of conflict in extreme settings.

Gender has been covered extensively throughout this thesis highlighting its relevance to faultline theory, including prior texts studying the gender diversity construct (see for instance Martin & Phillips, 2017; Martin, 2006; Smith, 2013b). A significant aspect of faultline theory relates to the effect of activated faultlines on team-level performance, extensively spotlighted in literature (Bell et al., 2011; Kochan et al., 2003; Nederveen, Van Knippenberg, & Van Dierendonck, 2013). Faultline theory studies have examined performance in different contexts (see Schölmerich et al., 2017; Zhang, Liang, & Zhang, 2015), at different levels (see Pearsall et al., 2008; Van Knippenberg et al., 2011), using varied complex variables (Meyer et al., 2014), while applying diverse methodologies (Adair et al., 2017). Despite the mixed findings from diverse studies, researchers agree, team-level diversity is complex and sometimes contradictory (Guillaume et al., 2012; Meyer et al., 2014). Performance complexity was described as "job performance is a

highly complex multidimensional construct, with many differences in its meaning depending on who is evaluating it, how it is evaluated, what aspect is being evaluated” (Sturman, 2003, p. 610).

While the overall objective of this study was not to explore performance, performance was relevant in the sense that men judge outgroup performance harshly in traditionally segregated work environments (Vinkenbarg, 2017). This highlights the potential for bias from dominant in-groups.

In trying to unravel the main effects within diverse teams, research has struggled to produce consistency relating to team-level performance (Bell et al., 2011; Jackson et al., 2003; Li & Hambrick, 2005). This spurred explicit definition of contextual settings using moderating and mediating variables to try and explain findings, and investigation into subgroups to explain their formation (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). In an example of this argument, Woehr, Arciniega, and Poling (2013) found broad value dimensions in diverse teams produced improved performance compared to a singular value dimension. For example, Woehr et al. (2013) emphasise the power of diverse values and how such values affect team process.

An additional study also looked at how mediating relationship conflict and how moderating safety climate variables influence team performance. They incorporated complexity to explain “how and under what conditions power values diversity can influence team performance” (Alipour et al., 2018, p. 232). Key findings are:

1. firstly, a strong “participative safety climate” influenced power values diversity in reducing relationship conflict;
2. secondly, “reduced relationship conflict” improved team performance; and
3. finally, when “workload sharing diminished”, this increased team conflict, negatively affecting performance (pp. 241–242).

Studies including dimensions related to gender, age, race and tenure have produced mixed findings (Joshi & Roh, 2009) supported by prior literature (Kirkman, Tesluk, & Rosen, 2004; Kochan et al., 2003). For example, Kochan et al. (2003) found team performance was less affected by diversity (that is, race and gender) but greatly affected by organisational context, and group processes were seen as moderating performance. From these findings, Kochan et al. (2003) recommended more field studies that adopted more nuanced approaches.

Kirkman et al. (2004) investigated:

- heterogeneous team demography (age, race, gender, tenure and team tenure) on member–team empowerment experience;
- team members reported effectiveness and the external team leader reported team effectiveness related to increased demographic heterogeneity;
- demographic heterogeneity and team effectiveness mediated by team empowerment (that is, team leader, team member performance ratings); and
- team leader demographic (race) fit (that is, perceived status) linked to team demography related to team empowerment and effectiveness (that is, team leader, member performance ratings).

Findings showed that racial diversity had a negative influence on “team empowerment experiences” (p. 358). “Race heterogeneity” negatively affected team outcomes, turnover and performance. Findings “held for race but not for gender age and tenure” (p. 359). Team empowerment was a “robust mediator” of race heterogeneity and team effectiveness (p. 360). Finally, higher empowerment and improved team leader ratings were recorded where team leader fit (treated as race) was representative of the team. These findings highlight the potential for complexity in understanding performance within groups.

Looking more closely at the damaging effects of conflict, team member satisfaction is negatively associated with conflict, although this is more so for relationship conflict versus team conflict (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). With much of the conflict in the context of the current study pointing to relational conflict, there were also consequences for individuals, particularly where sexual harassment was pervasive. Raver and Gelfand (2005, p. 388) raised this issue, confirming prior literature, which found sexual harassment led to ‘low job satisfaction, psychological distress, anxiety, and depression’ (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Closer engagement with the work of Fitzgerald et al. (1997) suggests women suffering sexual harassment also “withdraw psychologically” (p. 579). This could explain why men see women as lazy or not committed to their work as artisans in mining.

From a faultline theory perspective, activated faultlines that trigger conflict leading to behavioural disintegration have consequences (Li & Hambrick, 2005). This includes

impaired communication, reduced satisfaction, psychological withdrawal, and reduced commitment to the group (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; Jehn et al., 2008; Tsui et al., 2011).

Recent focus on the importance of developing inclusive diversity climates is encouraging, especially as this broadens diversity research from narrow individual or group-level outcomes. For example, Gotsis and Grimani (2016) and Randel et al. (2016) highlight the role of leadership in promoting positive diversity climates and the need for managing simple contact. This is reinforced by Shore et al. (2017) who built a diversity promotion and prevention model to integrate top management inclusionary policy and practices. Inclusionary climates are critical in promoting diversity (Shore et al., 2018); however, without understanding the dimensions of power found in context (Ahonen et al., 2014), as well as the triggers of conflict (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009), these intentions to foster inclusion can be elusive.

The current study pulled together two broad bodies of literature including faultline theory and gender in traditionally segregated occupations to understand faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. Valuable insights were found in text dealing with gender in traditionally segregated employment. Some of these studies have isolated the outcomes of subtle and explicit discrimination, such as how gendered norms and everyday practices have a bearing on the success of women entering historically gender-segregated occupations (Hatmaker, 2013; Powell & Sang, 2015). Practices of men in these occupations are mostly aimed at maintaining their status and perceived performance, reinforcing gendered norms (Hatmaker, 2013, p. 394).

Performance for female out-groups can be affected by a lack of access to resources, such as social networks (Powell & Sang, 2015, p. 925). A lack of access means social capital negatively affects opportunities to learn and be motivated to contribute (Aguinis, Ji, & Joo, 2018; Kurma & Vinnicombe, 2010). Collectively, the lack of access to social networks as well as experiences of subtle and explicit bias have been found to hold negative consequences (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2013). Where subtle discrimination – for example “language, jokes, lack of eye contact, social circle exclusion” – is ambiguous and less obvious, it was found to be as detrimental to outgroups as explicit discrimination (p. 1605). Findings were supported by prior literature, confirming:

1. firstly, outgroups attributing blame to themselves because pervasive bias was externalised, which affected “psychological well-being”;

2. secondly, difficulty in narrowing down the experience of being subtly abused increased “anxiety and stress”, and the “accumulative nature” and “frequency of subtle discrimination” deepened its impact when compared to explicit discrimination (p. 1606).

Dealing with subtle discrimination is difficult as it is often less obvious (Jones et al., 2013; Vinkenburg, 2017). Subtle cues used by in-groups have been described as “microaggressions” leading to “worsened job attitudes, decreased performance, and increased turnover” (Jones et al., 2013, p. 1607). Interestingly, Martin (2006, p. 255) points to most in-groups being unaware of the subtle gender cues they project with targets being on the “wrong end of power”. Women entering the engineering trades, undergo at least three years training to qualify. Artisans that get through apprentice training, especially in mining, are competent in most cases.

The engineering trades are physically challenging but even more so in the mining context (Benya, 2017b). When adding masculine hegemony and national patriarchy, this makes the challenge for women extreme. Trade occupations are typically seen as a male domain propped up by hegemonic masculinity. This masculinity is closely linked to identity reflected in strength, skill and violence (Butler, 1999; Smith, 2013a). Violence is not necessarily physical but could be symbolic violence in the form of men maintaining their dominance of the trades and mining in general (Powell & Sang, 2015). This is evidenced in the hostile environment within which women have to compete to be accepted in mining. Understanding how performance is affected in diverse teams in mining requires both deeper and broader analysis to explain the influence of power and triggers of conflict.

6.7 Conclusion

This discussion comprised reflection on the power dimensions found in the mining context and the antecedent triggers of conflict leading gender discrimination. These concepts were expanded to include the findings, and were summarised in this chapter. Critically, prior literature highlights process (for example, how work gets done), relationship (including interpersonal issues), and task conflicts seen as work-specific issues (Jehn & Mannix, 2001; Thatcher & Patel, 2012). Some studies have highlighted process conflicts at group or team levels of analysis (Kochan et al., 2003). Consequently, arguments that broaden process conflict to include broader constructs are important. The

broader influences, impacting groups have a strong bearing on how process conflicts are triggered (Alipour et al., 2018). Process conflict was expanded to reflect on the broader influences of this conflict outside the immediate team. This included human resources recruitment and selection, and the absence of diversity training to improve assimilation. Participating men identified these as issues in mining, affecting relationships within their teams.

Recent arguments question the relevance of task conflict, suggesting it does not affect faultline size (Adair et al., 2017). In contrast, process and relationship conflicts were found to influence faultline size directly (Adair et al., 2017). This supports the argument of the current study that process and relationship conflicts become antecedent conditions for task conflict. In extreme contexts, where the faultline triggers differential treatment, different values and assimilation are evident, process, followed by relationship conflicts are the main outcomes. Task conflict however, should not be ignored, as it highlights the potential to understand the emergent state of teams (Geer & Jehn, 2007) based on whether or not this conflict is positive or negative for team satisfaction (Meyer et al., 2011).

This chapter concluded with a suggested framework (Figure 2.4) for understanding conflict types, the way power dimensions come into play, and conflict triggers that are activated as a result. Finally, in the analysis of each conflict type, the key propositions support the framework developed from Figures 6.8 and 6.9. This chapter concluded questions 2) Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines? and Question 3) How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

Chapter 7 Conclusion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. Three questions guided this research:

- 1) Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
- 2) Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
- 3) How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

This final chapter highlights key methodological, theoretical and practice findings. The limitations of this research bound this contribution, and recommendations for future research add to the potential extension of the diversity faultline theory.

7.2 Principle findings

The principle findings are methodological, theoretical and potential practice contributions. These findings are summarised to clarify the key assertions from this study.

7.2.1 *Theoretical findings*

This study set out to extend the use of faultline theory by exploring gender discrimination within a traditionally segregated work context. In addition, this research sought to understand faultline activation and gender discrimination from a dominant male in-group perspective. The intention of these objectives was to understand faultline activation and hidden power in an extreme setting synonymous with strong gender segregation, to produce novel insights.

Many prior faultline studies ignored the requirements for rich contextual settings (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2009). It is not possible for a single study to claim understanding of multiple contexts, especially as power, found in context is typically hidden. In addition, triggers of conflict require in-depth studies to identify contextual “distal and proximal” factors (p. 1788). Chrobot-Mason, et al. (2009) also suggested there was insufficient research into management behaviour, found in context that assisted or hindered triggers of conflict. This research addresses these requirements, advancing the understanding and explanatory power of faultline theory.

In a more recent study, Chen et al.,(2017, p. 15) suggested a need for more faultline studies incorporating different philosophical approaches to develop “sub-level frameworks” versus team level approaches, incorporating conflict, communication and information utilisation. In other words, studies that delved in meso levels of analysis to understand these processes. Again this study responds to these requirements.

A further contribution includes this studies real world setting, a requirement highlighted frequently to improve findings from laboratory experiments (Logel et al., 2009; Pearsall et al., 2008). Laboratory settings do not always produce the micro and meso level hidden contextual findings to explain constructs effectively. This study expands the boundaries of faultline theory by exposing the hidden gendered power dimensions in the SA mining context. In addition, the deeper understanding gained from this research helped to explain the triggers of different conflict, plus how they lead to the maintenance of male hegemony. This hegemonic order coupled with perpetual process conflicts increases relationship, and in turn negative task conflicts.

Many prior faultline studies employing quantitative methods have derived mixed or contradictory findings (Geer & Jehn, 2007; Schneid et al., 2015). The nuanced outcomes presented in this study explain this contradiction found in diversity, and also highlight a key contribution relating to the dynamic nature of antecedent conditions affecting how gender conflicts are triggered.

For question 1, the power dimensions extracted from the data reflected the history of South Africa, defused into the macro (that is, cultural), micro (that is, industry), and meso (that is, company, group or individual) contexts of mining. The eight dimensions found in this extreme setting confirmed prior findings highlighting the prevalence of patriarchy in the SA society (Kornegay, 2000), and male hegemony in mining (Benya, 2017a; Humby, 2014). Critically, with the presence of widespread poverty in South Africa (Humby, 2014), these findings highlighted how poverty coupled with patriarchy and male hegemony influenced how men respond to women in mining.

The findings suggest men maintain dominance within the mining context across all nine power dimensions, except as it relates to policy and gender, where this power can be mixed depending on which women they encounter. These findings are broadly consistent with prior literature relating to women in traditionally gender-segregated occupations (Raiden, 2016; Reskin, 1993; Stockdale & Nadler, 2012).

There were a few areas that differed from prior research; however, these areas related mainly to the context of SA mining being associated with extreme poverty. This brought power related to sex and cash into sharp focus. Men and women responded to these powers in different ways to dominate and/or avoid control, establishing perpetual process and relationship conflicts that also played out, affecting how task performance was judged by men. The tension in mining highlighted interesting differences in the subgroups 'age', 'race' and 'tenure'.

Some of these differences included most older men seeing younger men as disrespectful, not being prepared to assist female peers, despite older men not believing women belonged in mining. Some younger men also saw older men as disrespectful in that they targeted women – and occasionally men – for sex. Younger men had more inclusionary beliefs; however, they were not prepared to assist their peers, especially as they believed they were technically and physically capable. Most men believed if women performed, they had no problem with them being present in mining. This notion, coupled with general empathy for women working within mining, holds the potential for building diversity practice improvements covered in sections 4.22, and 7.21.

Regarding racial diversity, black men were a stronger in-group with white men having become a subgroup within the in-group. This was reflected in the social distance white men displayed from their black male peers. Many of the white male respondents were unaware of social norms active between their peers. Some white men preferred to remain distant, saying they were there to work and not to make enduring friendships or be involved in politics. They reflected othering when referring to their male colleagues.

For tenure, men who had been in mining for extended periods of time learned how to side-step the policy power held by women. Men who were managers, peers or experienced general workers knew how to use experience, positional, physical acts of sex and cash power to control women. Despite women having policy power, experienced men having the power to produce, are valued. Women struggle to use their policy advantage to dislodge these entrenched top performers, even when they discriminate against women (Benya, 2017a). A key contribution is a framework explaining the eight power dimensions used by the in-group (that is, men) against the out-group (that is, women) in the SA mining context (Table 5.27). This framework supports the need for a well-defined contextual setting.

Questions 2 and 3 examined the antecedent conditions triggering conflict culminating in gender discrimination, as well as how gender discrimination manifests from activated faultlines. From this review, the five triggers – differential treatment, different values, assimilation, insult or humiliating action and simple contact – were integrated into a framework (Figure 2.4). These triggers were incorporated from the detailed review of Chrobot-Mason et al. (2009) who also advanced our understanding of faultline activation.

Faultline theory is underpinned by the premise that where strong faultlines exist, the potential for conflict increases (Choi & Sy, 2009; Thatcher et al., 2003). By exploring the boundaries of faultline activation and hidden power in an extreme setting, strong gender faultlines were exposed. This helped to reveal the dynamic antecedent conditions of conflict types (that is, process relationship, task) as they relate to the triggers of gender discrimination. Importantly, this framework also built an argument suggesting process conflict becomes an antecedent condition along with the five triggers leading to relationship conflict. In turn, where relationships experience tension, process and relationship conflicts work as antecedents to stage task conflict. Taken together, relationship and task conflict lead to ongoing gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations.

These propositions were built by incorporating nuanced data to identify the dynamics of conflict leading to gender discrimination. The extreme context was ideal to study gender discrimination in the traditionally segregated engineering artisan occupations. The data exposed the dimensions of power. Combined with interpretations of this data, faultline literature gave a deeper understanding of how conflict affects gender discrimination and performance (Chen & Tang, 2018; Guillaume et al., 2017). The different types of conflict (that is, process, relationship or task) were used to understand how men respond to women out-groups. Men's implicit and explicit views affect women and how women respond within these male dominated environments (Carton & Cummings, 2012; Chen et al., 2017). The conceptual framework encapsulated this contribution to address questions 2 and 3.

The findings suggest process conflicts relate to the triggers of differential treatment, different values and assimilation. The concept of process conflict was broadened to highlight conflict emanating from outside the group including HR recruitment and selection as well as the absence of diversity training. Where there was a disconnect between HR and the realities of the mining context, men said women struggled in the

physically demanding trades of fitting, rigging and boilermaking. This highlighted the 'assimilation' trigger. The absence of an inclusionary climate related to no efforts from mining management to provide training to assimilate women. Besides assimilation, differential treatment and different values became triggers of additional process conflict.

These findings are broadly consistent with findings by Daya (2014) who raised the importance of leadership roles in managing inclusionary climates with particular reference to recruitment and selection practices in an emerging market context. Leadership plays a critical role in managing diversity climates (Randel et al., 2016), and influencing the trigger of different values affecting identity-based conflicts (Sabharwal, 2014; Veldman et al., 2017). Poor assimilation has been found to promote stereotypical responses from in-groups who become more inclined to judge different values. This creates victims of out-groups confirming the existence of process conflict (Fiske, 1993, 2000; Fiske et al., 2018). The literature on process conflict confirmed the influence of leadership in affecting how inclusionary climates do or do not exist.

For relationship conflicts, there was further confirmation from literature highlighting how these conflicts are most damaging for performance (Alipour et al., 2018; Amanuel et al., 2009; Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015). Findings suggested all five triggers – including process conflict as an additional antecedent condition – activated faultlines, providing further evidence of the destructive power of relationship conflict. Activated relationship conflict encouraged subtle implicit discrimination (Ellemers & Rink, 2016), especially where men are afraid to express their views for fear of policy threat (Jones et al., 2013).

In the current study, the presence of relationship conflict was most harmful for women as men reinforced negative attitudes that also led to implicit and explicit discrimination. Unfortunately, these implicit and explicit views resulted in women withdrawing or opting out of team and work processes (Kossek et al., 2016). This withdrawal has also been found to be a psychologically withdrawal from the team (Humphrey & Aime, 2014). In turn, behaviours became dysfunctional with the physical acts of sex being used as a weapon to inflict domination control (that is, in-group) and as a survival tactic (that is, out-group).

Task conflicts reflected men wanting to maintain their egos and self-esteem as the masters of 'their domain' highlighting how women lacked the physical and technical attributes to perform (Mannix & Neale, 2005). Task conflicts are typical, especially in the

presence of relationship conflict (Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015). Men complained of having to work harder because women were not pulling their weight. These men were unaware that women were withdrawing in the face of ongoing resistance to their presence in mining.

Task conflicts were compounded by the antecedent conditions of the five triggers as well as process and relationship conflicts. This confirmed the findings of Janssen et al. (1999) who found relationship conflict mediated task conflicts. Triggered relationship conflict increased negative emotion and tension, and is detrimental for task conflicts, whereas task conflicts in the absence of relationship conflicts are beneficial (de Wit et al., 2013).

There were a few areas, which differed from traditional faultline studies, which included gender. This extreme context of the current study highlighted practices such as physical acts including sex, and use of sex, which potentially muddies the diversity landscape. It is common practice for female out-groups to use gender adaptations to cope in traditionally segregated occupations. For example, Yount (1991) highlighted how women cope with some emphasising their femininity, using flirtation, or being tomboys to fit in. Against each strategy, in-group men respond differently to women, with women experiencing varied psychological and physical well-being challenges (Veldman et al., 2017). This phenomenon is not isolated to the mining industry, as there have been many mainstream media reports of sexual harassment including rape and murder within South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2000; Kornegay, 2000; Maluleke, 2018; Nleya & Thompson, 2009). This could be a consequence of social inequality, including patriarchy and widespread poverty (Chitiga et al., 2007; Kruss & Wildschut, 2015), still prevalent throughout the country. These practices highlight societal-level issues hampering efforts to foster equality in this rapidly changing context.

7.2.2 Methodological findings

An extremely physically challenging working environment, such as the SA deep-level gold and platinum mining sector, was chosen to understand faultline activation within a context with hidden power and strong gender discrimination. This was furthered by calls for more studies outside of laboratory or experimental settings (Gündemir, Dovidio, Homan, & De Dreu, 2017, p. 184). Using in-depth interviews, the call for “more nuanced studies” (Roberson et al., 2017, p. 493) was heeded in order to understand the intricate complexities of diversity. This is especially needed as many prior studies using

quantitative approaches obtained mixed findings and curvilinear results (Chen et al., 2017).

Data collected from men working as engineering artisans provided a unique level and unit of analysis, especially as most diversity studies so far have chosen out-groups to explore diversity experiences (Tsui et al., 2011). In addition, working with employees in mid-level skills as opposed to politics (Dahlerup, 1988), management (Kossek et al., 2016), board representation (Crucke & Knockaert, 2016) or the professions (Powell & Sang, 2015) provided an interesting unit and level of analysis.

The setting, using mid-level engineering skills, in underground mining was indeed a rich setting. Participants revealed interesting data reflecting how men experienced working with women artisans in mining. By trying to understand the triggers of gender discrimination, it was useful to reflect on prior literature incorporating gender also. In a similar study in a SA mining setting, the masculinised culture of mining coupled with the patriarchal societal heritage was affirmed (Benya, 2017b). Women historically played an outsider role in mining, serving migrant labour as mistresses and providing a “home away from home” family structure (p. 511). Despite radical change over the past few decades driven mainly by quotas, women still remain marginalised in spite of them being present within mining. This is revealed in the “everyday practices” of men within this context relating to perpetual harassment, and training practices that reinforce gendered exclusion (p. 511).

Despite many of the male participants having empathy for women in mining, there remains widespread implicit and explicit gender discrimination. Even though women enjoy minority out-group power related to policy, they are excluded from production power with men conveying ongoing subtle and explicit cues. These are imposed consciously and unconsciously through language, jokes, harassment and controlling work. When women withdraw, they are stereotyped as lazy and not committed. Most participating men felt women should fit in or leave.

Women respond with mixed but predictable patterns in an effort to fit in. Some women try to perform to show men they are as capable as men. Men reported ‘butch women’ as coping better. Although these women gain performance power, they are targeted for not being feminine enough (Benya, 2017b, p. 519). In other reports, women try to gain

respect through using legitimised policy power or using their gender to obtain protection, but still living out their historic subservience.

Diversity scholars have been striving for rigour in defining the contextual settings (Cooper et al., 2014). This is seen as essential in helping further diversity research explain unique underlying moderating or mediating variables relative to a specific context. This extreme setting of the current study, combined with an interesting level and unit of analysis provided an in-group perspective that sought to explain faultline activation from a developing economy perspective.

7.3 Implications for practice

Guillaume et al. (2013) question how organisations remain unsure of what societal factors influence diversity policies, procedures and practices. This study has highlighted detailed contextual background from literature and data, using this to foreground themes relating to power. Question 1 (see section 1.4) incorporated the opportunity to provide a rigorously defined contextual setting as required from prior literature (Joshi & Roh, 2009). For diversity interventions, context is key in any approach to improve inclusion (Bezrukova et al., 2016) and other effects (Homan et al., 2015, p. 1462). For all apprentices entering the engineering trades, qualified artisans, and the people who manage them, diversity training seems to be a key future requirement. At present, most training focusses on technical outcomes as opposed to key issues, such as inclusion. There is an opportunity for stakeholder companies to incorporate diversity training at the outset of apprentice training.

Management skills need to be improved as well as interventions to address mind-sets, particularly at a meso-level where supervisors and foremen enjoy positional power. Management enjoy status, knowledge and resources, holding positional power to influence diversity significantly (Meyer et al., 2016). Line managers need to become more adept at managing process and relationship conflicts. This is especially relevant if employees are encouraged to raise conflicts openly.

At strategic level, senior managers should be involved in diversity initiatives, setting an example for the rest of the organisation (Randel et al., 2016). Diversity has to tackle the key issue of inclusionary values related to building common team identities (Nishii, 2013). Effective strategies will also radically reduce process conflict by involving staff in change (Jehn & Mannix, 2001, p. 240).

Where relationship conflicts are most damaging, effective strategies for dealing with relationship conflict have to address the triggers of assimilation, different values and differential treatment. Besides dealing with process conflict, encouraging open conversations will help people feel like insiders and as part of finding diversity solutions (Ferdman, 2017). Open conversations have also been found to improve psychological safety climates, improving trust (Chen et al., 2017) and developing “out-group empathy” (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2007, p. 2018).

Where task conflict is concerned, reductions in process and relationship conflict will see less emphasis being placed on task conflict (Scott et al., 2011). At meso level, building individual agency, particularly among out-groups, is key. This should include communication skills and stronger independence from in-group norms relating to behaviour and practices (Martin & Phillips, 2017).

Some participants raised the matter of responsibility for women to ask for help when men want to take over a job, women need to learn to reject that help if they do not require it. Men also need to be sensitised about how their behaviour encourages women to withdraw. Losing performance power is a significant loss for a woman working as an engineering artisan. Effective training can help women establish agency (Martin & Phillips, 2017). With the support of an inclusionary climate, this would also benefit diverse teams, especially to help older workers become pro inclusion.

There are a number of texts dealing with cross-cutting or diverse team composition (Nishii, 2013; Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015; Sawyer, Houlette, & Yeagley, 2006). Cross-cutting relates to team composition, including raising conflict with the primary objective to build common team identity (Martin & Phillips, 2017, p. 22). This holds some potential for mining, although it needs to be used with caution and should not be seen as a panacea to resolving diversity issues. If cross-cutting is introduced in mature diversity climates that can discuss issues openly, this has the potential to reduce bias and conflict while improving group satisfaction (Nishii, 2013). Activating faultlines without understanding the dimensional influences could outweigh the benefits of cross-cutting, leading to relationship conflicts that reduce trust and respect (Oliveira & Scherbaum, 2015). As such, cross-cutting needs to be contained within a broader strategy that supports team compositional plans.

The SA society is damaged, as evidenced by violent crime against women and children (Jewkes et al., 2000; Nleya & Thompson, 2009). Unfortunately, this culture spills over into workplaces too. Diversity training, needs to teach women to be assertive, which is synonymous with developing self-efficacy (Vancouver, Thompson, & Williams, 2001). Building efficacy is vital to helping improve individual performance (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998) and supports broader efforts for women to enjoy full inclusion into productive work teams.

In dealing with dominant forms of masculinity, the mining industry has to address the root of the issue stemming from men's identities despite them still being viewed broadly as a high-status group (Dover et al., 2016). Sexist attitudes create unwelcoming environments for women who experience both subtle and explicit forms of bias (Logel et al., 2009). Therefore, despite this in-group's perceiving pro identity based messages being seen as a threat (Dover et al., 2016), the mining industry collectively has to deal with ongoing varying forms of violence against women. This includes proactive policies, effective training interventions across all structures, and harsh punishment, not excluding criminal prosecution for offenders.

In summary, diversity training for all employees within the mining ecosystem is critical, despite these types of interventions having been questioned (Combs & Luthans, 2007). Top management support is also essential, especially in influencing the power dynamics within context. If top managers are seen as advocates of positive change, their association supporting gender diversity will influence values and identity (Janssens & Zanoni, 2014). Management skills need to be developed to help resolve process and relationship conflicts (Amanuel et al., 2009). Addressing these conflicts will change the nature of task conflict from discriminatory to productive learning opportunities (De Wit et al., 2013).

Finally, it is important to hold line managers accountable for building an inclusionary climate (Human, 1996). Performance management has to include support for diversity initiatives, which includes effective management practice at a meso level. This would lead to a reduction in process conflicts, seemingly prevalent in triggering relationship conflict.

7.4 Research limitations

This study has been limited to understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations. Findings have therefore been confined to answering the three questions, namely –

- Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?
- Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?
- How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?

This study has deliberately not included data collection from female out-groups, although prior literature mostly included this vantage point for looking at gender discrimination. Working with in-group data has provided a unique adaption to broaden understanding of faultline triggers and gender discrimination. The findings of this study do not imply that prior studies using women as the unit of analysis have lacked utility. Instead, this research aimed to complement prior research in an effort to understand why men respond to women in traditionally segregated occupations as they often do.

This study was further limited to single interviews with the participants. All the men who had been interviewed were shift workers, which limited the potential for follow-up interviews. The interviews however did produce rich thick data.

Collecting qualitative data means that the researcher has been the primary conduit for the collection and analysis of that data to produce findings. This entangled collection and analysis role holds the potential for bias (Elo et al., 2014). Every effort to disclose the potential for bias while mitigating its effects has been detailed in Chapter 3.

The two biggest employers of women in the engineering trades of South Africa are the engineering and mining sectors (Wildschut & Meyer, 2016b). This study has been limited to exploring this phenomenon in the mining sector because of its historical gender and racial prejudice highlighted by prior policy (Humby, 2014).

7.5 Future research

Future research into faultline activation and gender discrimination could focus on different settings to empirically test the antecedent conditions highlighted in Figure 2.4. For example, further study could test the triggers in task teams versus knowledge teams to look for differences in team effects. It would also be interesting to understand whether

the different triggers would be as relevant for men sitting on boards or who work in the professions, as they are for artisan men working in mining alongside female peers.

Without further research to understand the effect of process conflict, I will not know the extent to which this conflict plays a pivotal role affecting faultline activation. For practice, the concept of process conflict needs to be understood within the broader context of organisational settings. A narrow focus on team-level process conflict will limit new findings, especially where they ignore the broader influences of process conflicts from outside those groups. Longitudinal studies testing this effect over a period of planned inclusion interventions could provide useful data, especially in different contexts.

7.6 Conclusion

This study supported the argument for the increased use of frameworks to understand the overlap in divergent literature related to diversity (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). It also heeded calls for nuanced studies that explain the complexities of diversity (Roberson et al., 2017; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). These deeper insights are required, especially to account for influence of context in diversity studies (Pringle & Ryan, 2015).

On the face of it, the findings of this study suggest men in traditionally segregated occupations still possess significant power. There are numerous texts explaining how men exert subtle and explicit displays of “microaggressions” causing women to withdraw (Bond & Haynes, 2014; Brannon et al., 2018; Coleman et al., 2017; Foldy & Buckley, 2017; Jones et al., 2013; Shore et al., 2018). This withdrawal process attracts harsh judgments from male in-groups reinforcing cycles of gender discrimination, while negatively affecting performance.

If the tentative conclusions for this study are confirmed, this will mean studies are able to build on the power dimension framework depicted in Table 5.27 and comparing it to other emerging economies. This framework related to question 1. Secondly, future studies will be able to test the antecedent triggers and conflict types affecting gender discrimination summarised in Figure 2.4, which reflected on questions 2 and 3.

On the question whether diversity pays, Herring (2009, p. 220) built a case for diversity, confirming its value in fostering creativity from ‘out of the box’ thinking putting minorities ‘in the box’. Herring posits effective diversity practices could improve company bottom

line performance. A follow-up study refuting Herring's contribution, tested for diversity's utility, arguing the incorrect use of variables. In this study, Stojmenovska, Bol, and Leopold (2017, p. 1) found diversity has "nonconsequential" outcomes for business.

These arguments are mute in developing economies where there is large-scale evidence of women who have historically suffered the most (Chitiga et al., 2007). As such, diversity is an imperative to bring about equity within the broader societal context of developing economies. What remains important is the need to manage diversity more effectively, because relying on quotas driven by policy can do more harm than good both for companies and society at large.

8 Reference list

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT & NON-DISCLOSURE DOCUMENTS

8.2 Consent and nondisclosure documents

E-Mail Request for Access

Good Morning

Thank you for taking my call this morning.

As mentioned earlier I am currently doing my PhD through the Gordon Institute of Business Studies (GIBS). I am conducting a qualitative study which seeks to understand what triggers subtle and explicit gender discrimination in hazardous mining. This will require a one to one interview of approximately 45 minutes per participant.

The sample profile I am looking for should include:

1. Male artisans working in hazardous mining who have worked with women artisans (10-12 participants);
2. The age profile should include where possible; (18 – 25, 26 – 35, and above 35), and;
3. 90% should be black males.

I will be collecting data from three different hazardous mining sites including both gold and platinum sectors. Once I have finalised my report, I would be happy to share my findings with you and your management team. Obviously, individual contributions will be held in the strictest confidence. In addition, the names of the organisations who participated in the study will also be confidential. All recording will be encrypted post analysis, and stored by me in a secure environment.

I have attached both my ethics clearance letter from GIBS, and an example of an interview consent form which each participant will be required to sign. I appreciate you considering assisting me with my study.

Corporate consent form

The Manager

Company Name

Date

Dear Sir/Madam

Permission for your organisation to participate in an academic research study

I am a registered PhD student at GIBS, University of Pretoria. My supervisors are Professor Roy Johnson and co-supervisor, Dr Sizwe Phakathi. The title of my research is: Understanding faultline activation and gender discrimination in traditionally segregated occupations.

The objective of the study is to understand diverse male artisans' beliefs relating to women artisans, plus the triggers of subtle and explicit bias towards these co-workers'. This research will provide insights that will assist companies employing women in traditionally segregated occupations such as the engineering trades.

I am requesting consent to conduct interviews with a sample of your male engineering artisans in your organisation. In addition, I am specifically looking at interviewing artisans who work in mining.

Please note the following:

1. Your participation in this study is very important to me.
2. I am mindful, however, that some respondents may be wary of providing frank disclosure. But please be aware that all components of the study will be treated as strictly confidential, and that every effort will be made to keep the identity of the organisation and any of the individuals associated with the organisation, secure. For example, there will be no reference made mentioning the name of your organisation, or the individuals that participate in this study.
3. All interviews will be digitally recorded for data collection. These recordings will be stored without identifiers. In other words, no names will be digitally recorded, nor will the identities of the individual participants be exposed in this research.
4. Your organisation may, however, choose to cease participation at any time without any negative consequences.
5. The individual participants will be given the option to participate on a voluntary basis.

6. The results of the study will be used for academic purposes and may be published in an academic journal. On request, I will discuss interim results of this specific case study with you, and provide you with a summary of the findings.
7. A number of similar organisations have agreed in principle to participate in this study, and your organisation's participation will result in me being able to obtain a holistic view.

To assist you in reaching a decision, I have attached to this letter:

- A copy of the ethical clearance certificate issued by the University of Pretoria.
- A copy of the informed consent letter that each individual will be required to sign, should they decide to participate.
- A copy the interview guides which I intend using in my research.

Should you require any further information, or have any questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact me or either of my supervisors? Our contact details are as follows:

Researcher: Sean Jones

Email: sjones@artisantraining.co.za

Phone: 0837772892

Supervisor: Professor Roy D. Johnson

Email: roy_d_johnson@hotmail.com

Co-Supervisor: Dr Sizwe Phakathi

Email: sphakathi@chamberofmines.org.za

Please sign below to indicate that:

1. You have read and understood the information provided above.
2. You give your consent for your organisation to participate in the study on a voluntary basis.
3. You are mandated by your organisation to give such consent.

Initials and Surname

Position in the Organisation

Signature

Date

Yours sincerely,

Sean Jones

Interview Consent Form (Individual Participants)

Consent Statement

I am conducting research on *women working in the engineering trades in the mining sector of South Africa*. Our interview is expected to last about 60 to 90 minute. This will help me understand your perspective having worked with female artisans in the mining sector. **Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw at any time without penalty.** All data will be kept confidential. If you have any concerns, please contact me or my supervisor/s. Our details are provided below.

Researcher: Sean Jones

Email: sjones@artisantraining.co.za

Phone: 0837772892

Supervisor: Professor Roy D. Johnson

Email: roy_d_johnson@hotmail.com

Co-Supervisor: Dr Sizwe Phakathi

Email: sphakathi@chamberofmines.org.za

Signature of participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to conduct exploratory research to understand how male artisans experience working with female artisans in the engineering trades in the hazardous mining sector of South Africa.

Your role in the study

You will be asked to share your knowledge and experience working alongside women in the mining sector. The questions below outline some of the topics we will cover in the interview. You will be provided with the outcomes of the research after it has been completed. Your input will remain confidential, with your identity not being revealed.

During the interview, you will be asked to stay to the topic, but will be welcome to share relevant information that will enhance the study.

Example of Interview Questions

What are your experiences of working with women artisans in hazardous mining?

How do you feel about women as hazardous mining artisans?

Do you have examples of how women artisans cope with working in hazardous mining?

Describe the culture of hazardous mining?

APPENDIX B

Interview protocol

8.3 Interview protocol

Working with women in the engineering trades in hazardous mining in South Africa.

Time of interview: _____

Date of Interview: _____

Place: _____

Interviewer: _____

Interviewee: _____

Position of Interviewee: _____

Greet the participant and introduce yourself. Briefly describe the research project; I am conducting research to understand how male artisans such as yourselves experience working alongside women working as artisans in hazardous mining. Your views are important to help understand the positive and negative experiences you have had underground.

Explain the consent process and have the informed consent form signed.

Confirm relevant demographics and work data including: age, trade, place of work, home language, and tenure.

Company: _____

Age: _____

Trade: _____

Tenure: _____

Note: Focus the interview to collect data to answer the Sub-Questions:

General questions:

<p>Question 1:</p> <p>Which hidden dimensions of power exist within the mining context?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Where do women artisans fit into the culture of hazardous mining? 2. How do you feel about women artisans working in hazardous mining? 3. How long have you worked alongside women artisans? 4. Are there certain tasks women artisans cannot perform hazardous? Which, Why, Examples 5. Do you believe women artisans have the physical attributes for the job? Why, Examples 6. Do you believe women artisans are as technically competent as males? Why, Examples
<p>Question 2:</p> <p>Which antecedent conditions strengthen gender faultlines?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. In general, how are women artisans treated by men in the work environment? Why, Examples 8. When working with female artisans are you ever frustrated by them? When, Why, Examples 9. How do you react to situations where you see a women artisan may be struggling with her work? Why, Examples 10. Can women artisans work independently of their male counterparts? Examples
<p>Question 3:</p> <p>How does gender discrimination manifest from activated faultlines?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Are women ever excluded from men's social groups or tasks? How, Why, Examples 12. How do you treat women artisans when you are working? Why, Examples 13. Do you adapt your language when working with women peers? How, Why, Examples 14. Do you know of colleagues that have mistreated women artisans? Examples 15. What is your reaction to woman artisans failing to do their jobs? Examples

	<p>16. If you were responsible for employing the artisan workforce, would you include women artisans? Why</p>
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APPENDIX C

Exemplary code list

8.4 Exemplary Code List

ATTITUDE_NEG

Attitude_Neg_A-Political_Men
Attitude_Neg_Anger_Unfairness
Attitude_NegAnything_Goes
Attitude_Neg_Blame_Management
Attitude_Neg_Catch_Men
Attitude_Neg_Choice_Decision
Attitude_Neg_Collect_Overtime
Attitude_Neg_Conditional_Assistance
Attitude_Neg_Conditional_Inclusion
Attitude_Neg_Coping_Mechanism
Attitude_Neg_Denial_Discrimination
Attitude_Neg_Denial_Issues
Attitude_Neg_Desensitised_View
Attitude_Neg_Different_Underground
Attitude_Neg_Discuss_Performance
Attitude_Neg_Disrespect_Othering
Attitude_Neg_Expect_Performance
Attitude_Neg_Feel_Akward
Attitude_Neg_Friendship_Touching
Attitude_Neg_Hegemonic_Trades-Men
Attitude_Neg_Help_Psychologist
Attitude_Neg_Just_Accept
Attitude_Neg_Language_Adaption
Attitude_Neg_Lazy_Trigger
Attitude_Neg_Married_Women
Attitude_Neg_Migrant_Labour
Attitude_Neg_Mining_Reputation

ATTITUDE_NEG

Attitude_Neg_Mixed_Feelings
Attitude_Neg_Opportunist_Men
Attitude_Neg_Patriarchy_Ownership
Attitude_Neg_Performance_Respect
Attitude_Neg_Play_Women
Attitude_Neg_Poor_Planning
Attitude_Neg_Pregnancy_Workload
Attitude_Neg_Questioning_Discrimination
Attitude_Neg_Ratio_High
Attitude_Neg_Refuse_To-Assist
Attitude_Neg_Respect_Undermining
Attitude_Neg_Unhappy_Leave
Attitude_Neg_Wives_Underground
Attitude_Neg_Women_Adapt
Attitude_Neg_Women_Assistants
Attitude_Neg_Women_Feel

ATTITUDE_POS

Attitude_Pos_Accommodate_Women
Attitude_Pos_Adjust_Time
Attitude_Pos_Admitting_Frequency
Attitude_Pos_Age_50/50
Attitude_Pos_Ambitious_Women
Attitude_Pos_Ask_Help
Attitude_Pos_Assertive_Women
Attitude_Pos_Assist_Teamwork
Attitude_Pos_Brain_Difference
Attitude_Pos_Callous_Insensitive
Attitude_Pos_Changed_Matured

Attitude_Pos_Compassion
Attitude_Pos_Distancing
Attitude_Pos_Divorce_Marraiges
Attitude_Pos_Don't_Genralise
Attitude_Pos_Embracing_Difference
Attitude_Pos_Embracing_Inclusion
Attitude_Pos_Flexible_Attitude
Attitude_Pos_Hiring_Practices
Attitude_Pos_Honesty_Admitting
Attitude_Pos_Language_Adaption
Attitude_Pos_Men_Cautious
Attitude_Pos_Men_Perpetuating
Attitude_Pos_No_Difference
Attitude_Pos_No_Proof
Attitude_Pos_No_Strings
Attitude_Pos_Nyatsi_Problem
Attitude_Pos_Perform_No-Issues
Attitude_Pos_Pride_Respect
Attitude_Pos_Promotion_Merit
Attitude_Pos_Qualified_Alongside
Attitude_Pos_Questioning_Bias
Attitude_Pos_Rebel_Worker
Attitude_Pos_Recognising_Pride
Attitude_Pos_Relationship_Complexity
Attitude_Pos_Self_Control
Attitude_Pos_Strong_Assistant
Attitude_Pos_Up_Bringing
Attitude_Pos_Warning_Women
Attitude_Pos_Willing_Learner
Attitude_Pos_Women_Brighter
Attitude_Pos_Work_Harder

Attitude_Pos_Working_Together
Attitude_Positive_Gender_Awareness

BELIEF_NEG

Belief_Neg_Marital_Divorce
Belief_Neg_Accept_Limitations
Belief_Neg_Allowed_In
Belief_Neg_Apprentice_Artisan
Belief_Neg_Apprentice_Harassment
Belief_Neg_Big_Influx
Belief_Neg_Cannot_Perform
Belief_Neg_Certain_Trades
Belief_Neg_Comparing_Work
Belief_Neg_Competing
Belief_Neg_Contractor_Cost
Belief_Neg_Control_Sex
Belief_Neg_Cope_Emotionally
Belief_Neg_Discouraging_Women
Belief_Neg_Discrimination_Cases
Belief_Neg_Don't_Belong
Belief_Neg_Education_Difference
Belief_Neg_Enjoy_Women
Belief_Neg_Enter_Mining
Belief_Neg_Experience_Power
Belief_Neg_Experienced_Assistants
Belief_Neg_False_Allagations
Belief_Neg_Family_Responsibilities
Belief_Neg_Fatigued_Stubborn
Belief_Neg_Feel_Threatened
Belief_Neg_Gen-Worker_Artisan
Belief_Neg_Go_Beyond
Belief_Neg_Good_Money

Belief_Neg_Harrassment_Dualisms	Belief_Neg_Policy_Abuse
Belief_Neg_Harrassment_Increasing	Belief_Neg_Production_Pressure
Belief_Neg_Inconsistent_Emotion	Belief_Neg_Recruitment_Selection
Belief_Neg_Just_Money	Belief_Neg_Rough_Women
Belief_Neg_Justifying	Belief_Neg_Same_Level
Belief_Neg_Labour_Food	Belief_Neg_Same_Underground
Belief_Neg_Language_Adaption	Belief_Neg_Self_Confidence
Belief_Neg_Lazy_Women	Belief_Neg_Single_Men
Belief_Neg_Limited_Discrimination	Belief_Neg_Sometimes_Loose-it
Belief_Neg_Male_Domain	Belief_Neg_Stopes_Rough
Belief_Neg_Many_Difficulties	Belief_Neg_Strange_Men
Belief_Neg_Mechanically_Minded	Belief_Neg_Subvert_Performance
Belief_Neg_Men_Better	Belief_Neg_Tenure_Tools
Belief_Neg_Menstration_Performance	Belief_Neg_Trained_Escape
Belief_Neg_Migrant_Labour	Belief_Neg_Under_Wing
Belief_Neg_Mindsets_Underground	Belief_Neg_Underground_Culture
Belief_Neg_Mining_Stereotypes	Belief_Neg_Womanly_Disputes
Belief_Neg_Minority_Guy's	Belief_Neg_Women_Change
Belief_Neg_Money_Relationship	Belief_Neg_Women_Power
Belief_Neg_Most_Women	Belief_Neg_Women_Scared
Belief_Neg_Mostly_Women	Belief_Neg_Women_Struggle
Belief_Neg_Need_Assistance	Belief_Neg_Women_Women
Belief_Neg_New_Excluded	Belief_Neg_Wronged_Women
Belief_Neg_Newly_Qualified	Belief_Neg_Younger Men_Disrespectful
Belief_Neg_No-Respect_Underground	Belief_Negative_Unfair_Promotion
Belief_Neg_No_Choice	BELIEF_POS
Belief_Neg_Not_Stopes	Belief_Pos_Advancement_Slow
Belief_Neg_Nyatsi_Corruption	Belief_Pos_Protecting Women
Belief_Neg_Physical_Ability	Belief_Pos_Acknowledging_Difference
Belief_Neg_Physical_Demands	Belief_Pos_Advise_Women
Belief_Neg_Physical_Shape	Belief_Pos_Any_Trade

Belief_Pos_Assertive_Women	Belief_Pos_Older_Father
Belief_Pos_Attributes_Difference	Belief_Pos_Parenting_Equality
Belief_Pos_Basic_Behaviour	Belief_Pos_Physical_Mental
Belief_Pos_Battering	Belief_Pos_Policy_Deterrent
Belief_Pos_Better_Performers	Belief_Pos_Possibly_Perpetrators
Belief_Pos_Both_Genders	Belief_Pos_Poverty_Recognition
Belief_Pos_Butch_Fit-In	Belief_Pos_Relationship_Types
Belief_Pos_Can_Perform	Belief_Pos_Resilience_Required
Belief_Pos_Change_Slow	Belief_Pos_Respecting_Cultures
Belief_Pos_Clever_Women	Belief_Pos_Share_Work
Belief_Pos_Communication	Belief_Pos_Still_Stigma
Belief_Pos_Eager_Learn	Belief_Pos_Treated_Equally
Belief_Pos_Earn_Respect	Belief_Pos_Trying_Hard
Belief_Pos_Emphasis_Physicality	Belief_Pos_Uncomfortable_Harrassment
Belief_Pos_Ends_Badly	Belief_Pos_Understanding_Them
Belief_Pos_Engineering_Easy	Belief_Pos_Women_Afraid
Belief_Pos_Good_Managment	Belief_Pos_Women_Belong
Belief_Pos_Haulage_Respect	Blief_Pos_Retain_Power
Belief_Pos_Health_Issues	CONSEQUENCES
Belief_Pos_Helping_Women	Consequences_Attention_Conflict
Belief_Pos_Job_Discrimination	Consequences_Behavioural_Dysfunction
Belief_Pos_Knowledge	Consequences_Company_Production
Belief_Pos_Language_Adaption	Consequences_HIV_AIDS
Belief_Pos_Loosing_Dignity	Consequences_Job_Loss
Belief_Pos_Men_Change	CONTEXT
Belief_Pos_Men_Assistance	Context-Cultural_Diversity
Belief_Pos_Mindsets_Women	Context_AA_Mining-Charter
Belief_Pos_Mix_Socially	Context_Age_Diversity
Belief_Pos_Most_Guy's	Context_Artisans_Gen-Workers
Belief_Pos_Multi_Tasking	Context_Assistant_Surface
Belief_Pos_No_Respect	Context_Broad_Considerations

Context_Call-Out_Risk
Context_Chasing_Bonuses
Context_Culture_Complexity
Context_Different_Characters
Context_Different_Shafts
Context_Easier_Jobs
Context_Easily_Accepted
Context_Easy_Relationships
Context_Entrenched_Behaviour
Context_Emotionally_Affected
Context_Environment_Knowledge
Context_Extravagant_Lifestyles
Context_Failed_Marraiges
Context_Family_Violence
Context_Fanagalo_Bridging
Context_Fear_Honesty
Context_First_Women
Context_Fitness_Important
Context_Hard_Language
Context_Haulage_Stopes
Context_History_Changed
Context_Inclusion_Dilemma
Context_Low_Trust
Context_Management_Underground
Context_Migrant_Labour
Context_Money_Power
Context_More_Supervision
Context_More_Women
Context_Murder_Trauma
Context_Physical_Difficulty
Context_Policy_Protection

Context_Political_Violence
Context_Poverty_Prostitution
Context_Production_Pressure
Context_Relationships_Common
Context_Responsibility_Family
Context_Socially_Seperate
Context_Socially_Together
Context_Standby_Alone
Context_Team_Crew
Context_Underground_Allowance
Context_Underground_Conditions
Context_Vulnerable_Apprentices
Context_Women_Outnumbered
Context_Work_Experience

CULTURE

Culture_Assumed_Natural
Culture_Changed_Less-Fun
Culture_Claiming_Women
Culture_Cultural_Nuance
Culture_Fit-In_Leave
Culture_Hegemony
Culture_Hugging_Women
Culture_Ignorant_Men
Culture_Job_Production
Culture_Limited_Opinion
Culture_No_Swearing
Culture_Patriarchy_Ownership
Culture_Rape_Femicide
Culture_Relationships_Sex
Culture_Slaai_Braai
Culture_Stick_Together

Culture_Traditional_Conservative
 Culture_White_Men
 Culture_Women_Objects
 EMOTION_CONFLICT
 Emotion_Conflict_AA
 Emotion_Conflict_Attitude_Managed
 Emotion_Conflict_Avoid_Issues
 Emotion_Conflict_Discrimination_Performance
 Emotion_Conflict_Dissapointing_Choices
 Emotion_Conflict_Emotion_Feelings
 Emotion_Conflict_Equal Pay_Equal Performance
 Emotion_Conflict_False_Cases
 Emotion_Conflict_Guilty_Help
 Emotion_Conflict_Ignorance
 Emotion_Conflict_Involved_Discrimination
 Emotion_Conflict_Jilted_Hurt
 Emotion_Conflict_Manager
 Emotion_Conflict_Maternity_Benefits
 Emotion_Conflict_Men_Talk
 Emotion_Conflict_Mood_Swings
 Emotion_Conflict_Nyatsi_Managers
 Emotion_Conflict_Promotion_Feelings
 Emotion_Conflict_Prostitution_Murder
 Emotion_Conflict_Psychology_Assistance
 Emotion_Conflict_Same_Treatment
 Emotion_Conflict_Standby_Assistance
 Emotion_Conflict_Trade_Seriously
 Emotion_Conflict_Value_Teamwork
 Emotion_Conflict_Voicing_Out
 Emotion_Conflict_Womens_Attitude

Emotional_Conflict_Conflicted_Reporting
 Emotional_Conflict_Performance_Pressure
EXPLICIT_DISCRIMINATION
 Explicit_Discrimination_Apprentice
 Explicit_Discrimination_Assumed_Natural
 Explicit_Discrimination_Bater_Sex
 Explicit_Discrimination_Bragging
 Explicit_Discrimination_Cannot_Perform
 Explicit_Discrimination_Contiousness
 Explicit_Discrimination_Easy_Jobs
 Explicit_Discrimination_Harrassment_Charges
 Explicit_Discrimination_Hugging_Women
 Explicit_Discrimination_Involvement
 Explicit_Discrimination_Jilted_Proposal
 Explicit_Discrimination_Laughing
 Explicit_Discrimination_Management_Victimisation
 Explicit_Discrimination_Many_Difficulties
 Explicit_Discrimination_Men_Better
 Explicit_Discrimination_Murder_Women
 Explicit_Discrimination_Never_Hire
 Explicit_Discrimination_Patriarchy_Ownership
 Explicit_Discrimination_Relentless_Pursuit
 Explicit_Discrimination_Rude_Jokes
 Explicit_Discrimination_Sabotage_Jobs
 Explicit_Discrimination_Sexual_Harrassment
 Explicit_Discrimination_Simply_Attracted
 Explicit_Discrimination_Summary_Dismissal
 Explicit_Discrimination_Sweet_Talkers

Explicit_Discrimination_Taking_Spanners
Explicit_Discrimination_Technically_Inferior
Explicit_Discrimination_Using_Women
Explicit_Discrimination_Verbal_Abuse
Explicit_Discrimination_Whoring_Prostitution

MANAGEMENT

Management_Abuse_Joking
Management_Adapt_Language
Management_Allocate_Tasks
Management_Artisan_Accountable
Management_Cause_Poor-Performance
Management_Controlling_Assistants
Management_Culture_Underperformance
Management_Culture_Understanding
Management_Cycle_Intervention
Management_Deep_End
Management_Different_Underground
Management_Dismissals_Discrimination
Management_Diversity_Training
Management_Extorting_Sex
Management_Family_Responsibilities
Management_Fear_Respect
Management_Femaline_Women
Management_How_Women
Management_HR_Experience
Management_Justifying_Approach
Management_Language_Teasing
Management_More_Assistants
Management_Motivating_Employees
Management_No_Job-Rotation

Management_No_Orientation
Management_Not_Effective
Management_Outside_Issues
Management_Percieved_Harrassment
Management_Policies_Bind
Management_Policies_Fair
Management_Policy_AA
Management_Policy_Fear
Management_Position_Power
Management_Positional_Preaching
Management_Poverty_Threat
Management_Power_Vacume
Management_Presence_Behaviour
Management_Production_Pressure
Management_Promote_Diversity
Management_Prompt_Reprisal
Management_Protect_Women
Management_Pushing_Production
Management_Pushing_Women
Management_Safety_Caring
Management_Same_Treatment
Management_Sensitivity_Training
Management_Sex_Staff
Management_Slow_Absorption
Management_Streight_Talk
Management_Suggestions
Management_Task_Allocation
Management_Transient_Workforce
Management_Treated_Equally
Management_Treating_Women
Management_Underground_Context

Management_Understand_Discrimination

Management_Work_Attrition

Managing_Women_Tactics

Managment_Gender_Conflict

Managment_Whole_Job

OLDER_MEN

Older_Men_Age_Confirmation

Older_Men_Conflict-Young-Men

Older_Men_Exclud_Women

Older_Men_Gifts_Guilt

Older_Men_Have_Respect

Older_Men_Lack_Patience

Older_Men_Long_Service

Older_Men_Lure_Apprentice

Older_Men_More Conservative

Older_Men_More_Committed

Older_Men_More_Tolerent

Older_Men_More_Traditional

Older_Men_No_Comment

Older_Men_No_Women

Older_Men_Pay_Sex

Older_Men_Problem_Assisting

Older_Men_Religious_Conviction

Older_Men_Resent_Adapting

Older_Men_Resent_Instruction

Older_Men_Respect_Tradition

Older_Men_Sex_Men

Older_Men_Stope_Bater

Older_Men_Will_Tease

SEX

Sex_Nyatsi_Boyfriend/s

Sex_Apprentice

Sex_Bartering_Taming

Sex_Compitation_Targeting

Sex_Creates_Conflict

Sex_During_Work

Sex_Extorting_Sex

Sex_For_Gifts

Sex_For_Labour

Sex_For_Money

Sex_Intimidating_Objectifying

Sex_Management_Promotion

Sex_Nyatsi_Management

Sex_Secret_Affairs

Sex_Whoring_Management

SUBTLE_DISCRIMINATION

Subtle_Discrimination_Allocate_Work

Subtle_Discrimination_Apprentice

Subtle_Discrimination_Bater_Food

Subtle_Discrimination_Behind_Back

Subtle_Discrimination_Circle_Exclusion

Subtle_Discrimination_Cultural_Generalisation

Subtle_Discrimination_Examples

Subtle_Discrimination_Fit-In_Co-operate

Subtle_Discrimination_Friendships_Relationships

Subtle_Discrimination_Girl_Women

Subtle_Discrimination_Help_Psychologist

Subtle_Discrimination_Influencing_Others

Subtle_Discrimination_Joking

Subtle_Discrimination_Language_Jonking

Subtle_Discrimination_More_Verbal

Subtle_Discrimination_Planning_Exclusion
Subtle_Discrimination_Political_Correctness
Subtle_Discrimination_Scared_Women
Subtle_Discrimination_Tell_Them
Subtle_Discrimination_Their_Black
Subtle_Discrimination_They_Men
Subtle_Discrimination_Unwitting_Language
Subtle_Discrimination_Women_Adapt

TASK_CONFLICT

Task_Conflict_Anger
Task_Conflict_Assistants_Perform
Task_Conflict_Attitude
Task_Conflict_Avoid_Helping
Task_Conflict_Complains_Difficult
Task_Conflict_Earn_Money
Task_Conflict_Management_Dysfunction
Task_Conflict_Ongoing_Tension
Task_Conflict_Physical_Ability
Task_Conflict_Physical_Example

Task_Conflict_Promotion_Sabotage
Task_Conflict_Refusing_Call-Outs
Task_Conflict_Taking_Spanners
Task_Conflict_Team_Rules
Task_Conflict_Trade_Seriously

YOUNGER_MEN

Younger_Men_Positive_Experience
Younger_Men_Apprentice_Training
Younger_Men_Comming_Through
Younger_Men_Conditional_Assistance
Younger_Men_Girlfriends
Younger_Men_Immature
Younger_Men_Integration
Younger_Men_Lack_Respect
Younger_Men_Naive_Apprentice
Younger_Men_Political_Correctness
Younger_Men_Refusing_Work
Younger_Men_Respectful_View
Younger_Men_Value_Diversity