**Barriers to the inclusion of women in mining sites in Chile: An analysis from the workers’ perspective**[[1]](#footnote-1)

**SUMMARY**

The mining industry is a sector traditionally linked to the male sex, despite the increasingly greater inclusion of women in this industry. The objective of this article is to identify the principal barriers to inclusion that women face in mining sites in Chile. For that, in-depth interviews taking on different thematic focuses have been held with 70 mining workers (men and women). The information has been analysed based on the grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (2002). The results show that women’s self-discrimination, family responsibilities, and male hegemony are the main barriers to the inclusion of women as workers in mining sites in Chile.

**Key Words: Inclusion barriers, mining, masculinity, Chile.**

**INTRODUCTION**

The barriers to the inclusion of women in labour sectors traditionally occupied by men are a phenomenon that affects the majority of countries in the XXI century. These barriers have a principal impact on economies in development such as Chile’s, taking into account the demographic changes that have occurred in the country during recent decades, which indicate an accelerated demographic shift, with a reduction in the growth of the population to less than 1% since 2010, which will continue to produce different effects on the income per capita, in the labour market, in the accumulation of human capital, and its relationship with social inequality (Cerda, 2008).

Chile has the lowest rate of female participation in the workforce at a Latin American level, close to 40%, compared to 61% in Brazil, 59% in Peru and the 56% registered in Colombia (INE, 2007; UNECLAC, 2008).

In this sense there are different studies that in different contexts evidence the gender segregation that women have experienced in being included in occupations that have historically been predominated by males, such as agriculture, automotive jobs, forestry, and mining (Tallichet, 1995, Salinas et. al, 2010). Even though this situation is slowly tending to change, thanks to the incorporation of technology, there is still resistance.

The strategic importance of copper mining in Chile is beyond doubt. Today, the companies that make up this sector produce 34% of this ore on a worldwide level, and since 2003 have been responsible for 7.4% of GDP and 58% of the country’s total exports (Mining Council, 2009). And it not only represents the biggest economic product but also concentrates a large workforce, reaching 197,197 workers in operating and administrative jobs (SERNAGEOMIN, 2011).

It is important to point out that this sector shows a 41% increase in the participation of women, which nevertheless amounts to only 7.4% compared 92.6% men. This segregation is intensified in operational areas where there are only 2.3% women (CASEN, 2006, 2009, Mining Council 2009). Comparatively, these figures are much lower than the progress this industry registers in Australia or Canada, where female inclusion in this line of business is between 20% and 30% (OIT, 2011; Mihychuk 2010).

In Chile, according to available data it is estimated that there will be a deficit of 23 thousand workers in mining companies by 2015, and this figure rises to a total of 69 thousand people if the entire contingent that works on sites is considered, such as those who provide support work as contractors (Wagner, 2011). This is a challenge for reducing the gender gap in the sector, and women need to be included in the area more rapidly. According to figures from National Women’s Service (SERNAM, 2011), the participation of women should be increased by at least 10%, from 11,760 to 25,000 by the year 2015. In order to do this, companies must train their workers, especially the women, in risk areas, driving trucks and heavy machinery, work inside the mine, and logistics (SERNAGEOMIN, 2011).

Based on this data, some questions arise that this study intends to answer: What are the barriers to including women in mining work in Chile? And, are there differences or similarities between the perceptions of male and female workers of the sector in this regard? The responses will make it possible to do strategic organizational planning that would enable increasing the inclusion of women in mining. For that purpose, an in-depth interview was held with a intentional sample of 70 workers (men and women) on mine sites. The data was analysed based on the grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (2002).

This article consists of three parts. The first is a review of the literature on the labour market and gender. In the second, the mining labour market in Chile is characterised. And in the third, the methodology is described and finally the main results are presented and discussed.

1. **Review of the Literature**

**Institutionalist theory and the dual market**

According to Castaño (1999), for the institutionalist theorists, the laws of supply and demand of labour are insufficient for understanding the phenomenon of inequality of participation or salaries between men and women, and therefore they believe it is indispensable to draw upon the regulatory or institutional context. In the labour market, two realities simultaneously coexist: on one hand a primary job market with expectations of stability, high incomes, and potentials for development for its members. On the other hand there is a secondary market where on the contrary, jobs are precarious in terms of the extension of their schedule, incomes are lower, and there are limited possibilities for professional development and growth.

The primary market is also subdivided into upper and lower primary. The first groups people who are in the high level organizational, professional, or technical hierarchies. And the second is where other jobs are found that offer stability, high incomes, and development. Women would have more fragile contractual conditions, lower incomes and less investment in their own development, more often participating in precarious sectors (secondary market). They are marginalised from the primary markets due to their own condition; that is, the role they have in the family and the lesser number of years of study or training for employment (Brunet and Alarcón, 2005). This is reflected in the mining industry, since the inclusion of women is lower.

Despite these disadvantages that have been addressed in various theories, women have experienced a significant increase in the rate of participation and in the years of working life, acquiring more autonomy and a strengthening of gender identities.

Research on the participation of this sector in the labour market has had a clear economic bias. Recently in the decade of the 90’s, studies were initiated from a gender perspective, seeking to analyse the symbolic and subjective aspects of female employment (Guadarrama and Torres, 2007). How gender relations give form to the production processes in society are addressed (Lamas, 2002; Burin and Meler, 2009).

Feminism as a focus of the political paradigm of gender has criticized the institutions that determine the subordination and exploitation of female work in the patriarchal family, in the distribution of jobs in companies according to gender, and in wage discrimination, among others. (Godio, 2001, England, 2005, England et.al. 2007, Rothstein, 2012,). Also, the studies that associate the labour market and gender (Shabbir and Di Gregorio 1996; Valenzuela Valenzuela et al., 2006; Kirkwood and Tootell 2008; Thompson et al. 2009; Avendaño 2008; Godoy 2008), seek to understand the impact of the adjustment processes and the transformations in production organization, in the sexual division of work and the system of economic and social relationships between men and women. They question the quality of female employment, the lower remunerations, non-salary benefits, regularity, and status. Even when women contribute the main or only income, the female workforce is constructed in the social imagination as “secondary” (Avendaño 2008).

**Barriers to inclusion and the mining labour market**

Research in mining at an international level reports relevant data regarding the barriers to inclusion in mining. Tallichet, (1995, 2000) in studies made of coal mining companies in the U.S., affirms that both sexualization and the workplace reinforce the hypothesis that men and women are intrinsically different in their physical and mechanical capabilities, and that the acceptance of these differences as something natural favours gender segregation at work, beyond the control of the organization. At the same time, women share a common feeling of being subordinated to a world of men, above all those who enter occupations stereotyped as masculine, such as mining. Lozena and Marinova (2010) affirm that Australian mining not only has negative impacts for the community related to lifestyle, the physical environment, and overall sustainability, but also deeply and specifically affects women. This involves an expression of domination of patriarchal values, where problems associated with gender discrepancy and bargaining power have traditionally marginalised them. Mayes and Pini, (2010) in a study of media reports of women in mining management in Australia, identified the predominance of a discourse that suggests that there a change of gender has been produced in the mining sector and in management through the removal of entry barriers, resulting in a significant number of women entering these traditionally masculinized fields.

On the other hand, studies also show that the barriers to the inclusion of women in the labour market in Chile exceed the insufficient training in the sector, given that variables such as age, education, activity, monthly income, gender gaps, and the distribution by sex of those occupied have influenced the lower participation (OIT, 2007; Valenzuela 2005). Furthermore, cultural factors in the country such as the degree of male chauvinism and related values; that is, the greater the degree of male chauvinism in women’s environment, the less will be their participation in the labour market (Contreras and Plaza, 2007). Palacios (2006) points out the high segmentation of women in the country, with a greater proportion of them in the service area. Furthermore, the family is the principal symbolic reference in Chilean society and there are prejudices regarding female employment that maintain labour segregation, producing genuine occupational stereotypes (Uribe- Echevarría 2008, Canan, et.al 2011).

Gier and Mercier, (2006) even affirm that mining constitutes the most masculine of all the industries, where women have been seen as less benefited by the development of this activity.

1. **Characterization of the mining labour market in Chile**

In Chile, from 1990 to 2008, mining represented 8% of GDP and 49% of the country’s exports. 80% of that percentage corresponded to copper exploitation. 40% of all copper mines are concentrated in the Region of Antofagasta, with 14 mining sites in its territory, followed by the Region of Atacama with nine. Then come Valparaíso with four, Tarapacá with three, the regions of Coquimbo and O’Higgins with two, and the Metropolitan Region with one. Regarding manpower, this sector provides direct jobs to 93.390 people (for the period from December 2008 to February 2009), which represents only 1.4% of the country’s total work force, but in regions with a high level of mining activity, such as Antofagasta or Atacama, this figure rises to close to 10%. Furthermore, the figures for indirect jobs multiply this several times over, above all in some cities in northern Chile such as Iquique, Calama, Antofagasta and Copiapó, which owe a large part of their income to mining (Compendium of Chilean Mining, 2009).

Mining is capital intensive and the elevated mechanization and high productivity require an ever larger number of people, who in turn are better compensated. It is the principal line of business for the country’s exports, which contribute a greater quantity of foreign currency. Mining is also important for fiscal resources. In 2008, the profits generated by CODELCO contributed nearly US$4,968 million to fiscal revenues (Compendium of Chilean Mining, 2009)

In 2001, 1,523 women worked in different areas of mining companies. During 2009 there were 2,149, which means a 41% increase in a course of 8 years (Mining Council, 2009). Also, the implementation of new technologies, as well as anti-discrimination policies promotes hiring in this sector, now not only in administrative positions but also in technical and operating positions. Between 2004 and 2008, there has been a 101% increase in the presence of women in the mining activity, going from 4,658 workers to 9,409 in this period (Mining Council, 2008).

Another important characteristic of the sector is the shift system covering 24 hours a day, since production does not stop. The work schedule is distributed in 4x3, 4x4, 5x2, 7x7 or 9x5 shifts, which means that the worker is on mining site for 4 days and has 3 days off, or 4 days on site and 4 days off, and so on successively. The shifts are defined according to the nature of the position and according to the distance of the mining site from the city.

But, the perception that women have regarding the area in which they operate, both in Chile and in other countries, continues to be unfavourable. For them, mining is a hostile sector where there is a stereotyped image of women, which influences the female workers’ adaptation process (ILO 2011; Mihychuk 2010).

**METHODOLOGY**

In order to identify the barriers to including women from the workers’ perspective, a qualitative focus has been used, in which the instrument for collecting information has been an in-depth interview with a thematic focus (barriers to the inclusion of women in mining sites). The interview was applied to mining workers who meet certain requirements: work in an operating part of the mine sites, work on shifts and having at least one year of work experience on a mining site in the Region of Antofagasta. So the sample was designed and information from 70 people who meet these characteristics was collected. The interviews were held between the months of September 2011 and May 2012. They were applied sequentially, such that once the first interview was held, it was transcribed and a preliminary analysis was made; then the second interview included the observations, and so on, successively. For each interview, authorization was requested from the interviewee through an informed consent, ensuring acceptance, confidentiality, and safeguarding their identity.

The information collected was analysed through the technique of analysis of the discourse according to thematic categories (Strauss and Corbin, 2002). This involves the recognition of the concepts, their properties and dimensions, following the categorization model of the grounded theory. For that, the thematic categories were identified and based on them associated sub themes and the segments of the discourses that exemplify that categorization were recognized.

**RESULTS**

Description of the sample:

Of the 70 workers interviewed, there were 40 men and 30 women. The average age of the men was 41 and of the women, 35. In the group of men, those who are married predominated, while in the women’s group, it was those who are single. The distribution of men was composed of 17 married, 10 single, and 3 divorced, while among the women, 21 are single and the rest divorced.

Analysis of the Results:

The analysis of the in-depth interviews enabled identifying three main barriers to female inclusion that were categorized into: Self-discrimination of the women regarding working in the industry; family responsibilities including caring for children, household work, and safeguarding the home; and masculine hegemony. Each of them is discussed below.

**1. Self-discrimination of female mining workers**

From the men’s perspective, the women’s self-discrimination is linked to the lack of confidence women have in their capabilities and the mining environment prepared especially for men, causing difficulties for women workers to adapt.

In contrast, from the women’s perspective the self-discrimination is related to the recognition that they are different from men and that these differences are reinforced in this production context. The women perceive the effects on their bodies and on their health, on their feminine identity, having to control their emotions and adapt their behaviour to the production environment. They face the hostility and masculine resistance through neutralization of gender, so that “*hopefully they won’t notice that they are women”.*

Discrimination is an ordering that establishes a hierarchy between men and women and it is the first differentiation that generates a symbolization of all aspects of life. In this sense, gender is a set of ideas on the sexual differences that attribute masculine and feminine characteristics to each sex (Lamas, 2003, 2005). In mining, this ordering maintains a binary structure: strong men – weak women; men active, women passive, and both male and female workers fall into this structure.

These results evidence the strength of the cognitive representation the subjects have in this labour framework. For women workers, the conditions under which they work, which are principally adapted for men (infrastructure, clothing, and meals) make it difficult for female workers to function in their daily duties on site. The need for them to incorporate themselves in a masculine organizational culture involves an intense adaptation process, and produces a “disciplining of the body” (Foucault 2002) in order to reach the expected level of productivity and respond to the hegemonic order that reigns in the industry. Some women workers have had a hysterectomy in order to eliminate menstruation. Others have stopped breastfeeding and also have reduced to a minimum their visits to the bathroom during the workday on site in order to minimize the controls that are activated on the interaction between men and women.

In consequence, in this first category, there is a differentiation between the perceptions of male and female workers. The men tend to reduce the reasons to those associated with self-discrimination of the women, granting the protagonist role to the women themselves, that they should be confident of their capabilities. In contrast, for women it is a complex factor, the cause of which is in the difference between men and women that results in physical, psychological and social factors. Chart 1 summarises the findings of this category.

Chart 1: Self-discrimination of female mining workers

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| **Sex** | **Sub categories** | **Discourses** |
| Men | * Lack of confidence in their capabilities * Mining environment | *“There are many women who self-discriminate against themselves; I think that for more women to work and be inserted, they just have to trust in themselves, believe that they are capable and just move ahead on this matter.”*  *“What women most have to grapple with is that the environment (mining) is prepared for men, so everything that is done* |
| Women | * Body and health * Feminine identity * Prejudices | *“Women’s health is very complicated in mining work, in fact menstruation, because women have haemorrhages due to the altitude. I know that of the seven of us who work in operations, there are three of us in the deposits who have had a hysterectomy”*  *“If they see you as weak, they don’t consider you for jobs; they say no, this is very “scandalous”. If something happens to you on an emotional level, you have to keep it to yourself; crying means weakness that you don’t know how to behave.”*  *“The discrimination from the men; they insult you, they put you last, they don’t let you work in peace. They tell me, listen, go home, go see your kids, your husband is cheating on you; they didn’t let me do the tests; they made me throw away the tests.”*  *“In mining, hopefully they won’t notice that you are a woman; you have to bring out the man you have inside.”* |

**2. Family responsibilities**

The identification of this category is linked to carrying for children, household work, safeguarding the home, and the distribution of roles in the family. In this category there is evidence of coincidence between the perceptions of the male and female workers: both groups indicate that the woman is the central axis of the family. The strength of this representation constitutes a fundamental barrier for the inclusion of women on mining sites. This representation is based on a model of a traditional family, where the roles are divided between the male provider and the woman caretaker and with that, the validity of the female identity associated with maternity.

Currently, there are significant differences between men and women regarding the way of establishing links with children, generating new tensions, above all for women. There is an extremely demanding omnipresent ideal figure of a mother that casts a heavy shadow, according to Araujo and Martuccelli, (2012), that must be conjugated with structural conditions that prevent responding to that desire (the requirement of entering and responding to the demands of the labour market): the collective representation that is made of the constant presence of the mother in the home as a decisive factor in the wellbeing of the children, leaving women prisoners of these representations and with greater vulnerability in evading the obstacles and meeting the challenges at work. In mining, the prevalence of these representations of the woman mother and the family has not undergone any changes, despite the modernizing transformations of industry and of Chilean society in general. On the contrary, the perceptions of men and women are an example of the tension that female workers experience when faced with the demands of the family.

There is evidence of a naturalization of the gender roles sustained in this traditional representation of the family; there female workers have a scarce margin of action and rather tend to assume the tensions or frustrations associated with not being able to respond to this representation.

Both men and women in mining confirm the dual dimension that the family has. On one hand they assign women greater responsibility for its maintenance and care, and at the same time constitute a barrier that is difficult to overcome in order to be compatible with the demands of the labour market. Even though it constitutes a tension for both, undoubtedly for women it becomes a symbolic barrier that imprisons them. Chart 2 summarizes the findings of this category.

Chart 2: Family responsabilities

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| **Sex** | **Sub categories** | **Discourses** |
| Men | * Father provider – woman caretaker | “*Generally women are accustomed to raising the children, being housewives; then exchanging that for a job in mining, I think that just like that, it may be the biggest obstacle they have…”*  *“One of the tensions is the family, the children… because mothers are very attached to their children; like any parent you can lose your concentration on the job”*  *“It gets complicated if they have young children and they have to work shifts. Like I just said, there are 7x7 and 4x4 shifts. The shifts are very long and when they have young children I imagine it is complicated for a mother to leave them for so long. That’s a male chauvinist thought because just the same, the man also goes away for a lot of days.”*  *“With the passing of the years it has been my wife who has taken on the role of head of the household since she is the one who makes the decisions as I’m not home half the year so I can’t give my opinion very much”.* |
| Women | * Make the roles of woman, mother and worker compatible | *“The discrimination from the men; they insult you, they put you last, they don’t let you work in peace. They tell me, listen, go home, go see your kids, your husband is cheating on you; they didn’t let me do the tests; they made me throw away the tests.”*  *A female heavy machinery operator said “they don’t look at you as a person who can work, they look at you as a sexual object.”*  *A female operator stated “in mining there is a lot of talk that there are “so many women”, and there aren’t that many women, they don’t give you a chance, and if they do, it is because of a commitment of the government to society, not because they want to.”*  *“There are no women in superintendent positions or in management, because of the children; a woman gives priority to the family. Superintendents can go up to the site on weekends, but if a woman was superintendent she couldn’t; mothers can’t … it’s so unfair.”* |

**3. Masculine hegemony**

The identification of this third category is related to the patriarchal model and its gender mainstreaming in this production context. In this category, men and women coincide. For men, it is the women who “must adapt”, because it is an activity for men and they are not going to change. Likewise, the high compensation and benefits that companies offer reinforce their role as provider in society and in the family. So in this category there is a sub category that arises, which is called the Male Chauvinist Culture. On their part, women perceive the obstacles related to this masculine predominance, and feel like sexual objects. The women coincide in that the inclusion of women in a mining site does not reflect a real or cultural change on the part of the company, but rather is in order to comply with regulations, driven by the State[[2]](#endnote-1) in order to favour equal opportunities and the participation of women. Therefore, from the women’s perspective, a sub category called Work Discrimination has been identified in this category.

There is work discrimination; women are even limited in acceding to higher positions. These results coincide with prior studies that report that this productive activity is the most masculine of all (Gier and Mercier, 2006). There is a set of characteristics, beliefs and functions particular to the activity that predominates on mining site: the language, the humour, the behaviour of the subjects, and sexuality, among other areas, where the man, as the subject of production, has occupied a central place. Manliness is valued as a central focus, naturalizing the particular intensity of masculinity on the part of the workers themselves. Even the women, although they resist, are equally absorbed by the organizational culture (Klubock 1995; Connell 2003, 2006; Vergara 2004, 2007).

Mining in cultural terms, more than a territory is a symbolic space defined by the imagination and is determinant in the construction of each person’s self-image (Lamas 2002). Finally, the masculinisation of the mining site favours discriminatory practices. Women’s differences compared to men are underrated, which is justified in a social order that functions as an immense symbolic machine that tends to ratify masculine dominance based on what supports it: the sexual distribution of the work (Bourdieu 2007). Masculinity is the organizing axis for the labour/mining structure. Therefore, knocking down the barriers to the inclusion of women on mining sites in Chile has implied, up until now, the articulation of a hegemonic model of masculinity naturalized in this productive order. Chart 3 summarises the findings of this category.

Chart 3: Masculine Hegemony

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| --- | --- | --- |
| **Sex** | **Sub category** | **Discourses** |
| Men | * Male chauvinist culture | *Male chauvinism manifests itself even in the way of expressing oneself… a man will never give in to a women, she has to adapt to living in a male chauvinist environment”*  *“Women must have the temperament and the ability to be able to accept the jokes and realize that they are just another miner up there (at the site), because they are not female miners, they are miners…”*  “*Culturally yes, the Chilean male chauvinist is stupidly chauvinist. They brag, they go out with ten different girls, they talk about it. I’m more macho than the others, I don’t wash at home, and I don’t cook at home. They don’t tell me what to do, I give the orders. If they try to impose themselves, ah no; I’m a miner and that is not women’s work.”*  *“Well, the biggest motivations for working in mining are the guarantees that mining gives you; that is, the guarantees and benefits, in addition to having a good salary that gives you a comfortable standard of living. Achieving a good safeguard of a better life that gives you peace of mind for your own and your family’s future”.*  *“The experience of male miners is very different from that of female miners; decision making always falls on the men, and compensation is different even when they perform the same job.”* |
| Women | * Work discrimination | *“The discrimination from the men; they insult you, they put you last, they don’t let you work in peace. They tell me, listen, go home, go see your kids, your husband is cheating on you; they didn’t let me do the tests; they made me throw away the tests.”*  *A female heavy machinery operator said “they don’t look at you as a person who can work, they look at you as a sexual object.”*    *A female operator stated “in mining there is a lot of talk that there are “so many women”, and there aren’t that many women, they don’t give you a chance, and if they do, it is because of a commitment of the government to society, not because they want to.”*  *“There are no women in superintendent positions or in management, because of the children; a woman gives priority to the family. Superintendents can go up to the site on weekends, but if a woman was superintendent she couldn’t; mothers can’t … it’s so unfair.”* |

**Conclusions**

The results show that the barriers to the inclusion of women in mining are based on processes related to the historical sexual distribution of the work and the elaboration of stereotypes and segregations that have legitimised typified gender labour practices. This work, focused on large-scale copper mining, evidences important similarities with other masculinized markets, where women are stigmatised as not suitable for “men’s jobs”.

Furthermore, for Chilean industry and that of other countries with similar levels of development in the sector, it constitutes an important finding to identify the self-discrimination of the female workers as a central barrier, since it involves stimulating the efforts they make in order to enter and remain in this industry. At the same time, it implies addressing topics such as work training in mining, broadening education with the development of competencies and abilities in more hostile productive settings, mitigating the high individual, family and social costs that this study reports. Women need to be empowered and improve their self-esteem. Training in this sense would contribute to them feeling more confident about their possibilities and being able to operate naturally in this mining environment that is so stigmatised by the majority presence of men.

In this same sense, it is a challenge for researchers to develop comprehensive models to analyse this problem, its complexity and the tensions associated with the perceptions that both men and women have of the place they occupy and of their positions at work.

It has also been identified how self-discrimination is perceived differently by male and female workers. For male workers it is basically a problem associated with the lack of confidence women have in themselves as being able to incorporate themselves into the mining site, while for women it is based on the differences that exist between the sexes. On the contrary, there was similarity in the perceptions regarding the obstacles that family responsibilities and masculine hegemony generate as barriers to inclusion.

In consequence, visualizing these barriers and their dimensions makes it possible to plan organizational strategies to increase the inclusion of women in mining, and with that reduce the high deficit of workers that the sector reports by 2015, generating not only an increase in women in the industry but also more favourable gender bargaining conditions in the area. Also, for the female workers, sharing the concerns and tensions more collectively in the work environment would strengthen the initiatives that are generated, whether from the companies themselves, the government, or the workers.

Reorienting the representations that related the feminine presence in these masculine spaces as a threat to men’s privileges involves broadening work opportunities for women as an advance for society in general, following the sense proposed by radical economic policy regarding the importance of addressing the segmentation and discrimination of the labour market, since a more democratic and less hierarchical society, with a more egalitarian distribution of resources will be a more efficient and prosperous society (Féliz, 2006).

The high compensation and gratifications that this industry offers offset the difficulties caused by the shift system and the separation from the family, producing a central motivation for the workers, where women are not an exception in this sense. But, in an international context, Chile is behind with regard to the changes that this industry has introduced in countries such as Canada or Australia, which have achieved rates of female participation greater than 20% (ILO, 2011).

Highlighted in this study is the strength of the mining culture and the centrality it has of the masculine identity as moulder of this context. This culture acts to order the mining social/work structure, and conditions gender relations, the sexual distribution of the work, the stereotypes, the activities and the permanence of women in this productive sector.

Finally, regarding the limitations of the study, it is suggested that future research take on the problem considering other variables with regard to male and female workers, such as the positions that workers or supervisors occupy, marital status, and socio-economic level, among others.

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1. This article is part of Fondecyt (National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development) project 1120026, Mining culture and masculinity. The sub representation of women in Chilean mining, an obstacle to sustainable development. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Good labour practices program with equality of gender and a seal of conciliation, “bpl-sello iguala”. Work is done with a group of large companies, both public and private, to create reference models of practices of gender equality in employment, through the voluntary implementation of actions, plans or programs of Good Labour Practices with Gender Equality. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)