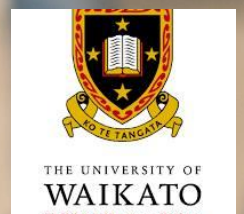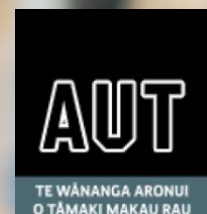# CONCODE TŪHURA

Creating a Theory of Change for a Bystander Culture in Construction and Infrastructure

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28 February 2024

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Executive Summary

This research was contracted by Construction and Infrastructure Centre of Vocational Excellence (ConCOVE) to develop a Theory of Change (ToC) for embedding a bystander culture within the construction and infrastructure sector. This report contains the research details of the project and is intended to be considered in light of the adjoining document 'On Site Upstanders', which presents the resultant ToC.

The process to develop the ToC involved a series of workshops held in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and online, with a range of stakeholder representatives including public sector organisations, sector member organisations, individual tradeswomen, and gendered harm and inclusive work advocates/experts. In total, there were 47 participants who attended these workshops.

Initial problem definition revealed that women on-site perceived they did not 'fit in', which was reinforced by experiences of sexual harassment, hostile work environments, and assumptions of the 'ideal worker' within the sector. In focusing on this defined problem, the overarching impact statement for the ToC was co-created by workshop participants, alongside the long- and short-term outcomes. Finally, a set of initiatives to initiate this change were developed by participants and supported by relevant literature. The resultant ToC is presented in the adjoining document.

The recommendations in this report are to support the endorsement and implementation of the Theory of Change. These are in addition to the initiatives contained in the ToC:

1. Endorsement of ToC by keystone stakeholders ConCOVE, Waihanga Ara Rau and Hanga Aro Rau

2. Implementation of the ToC

    a. Creation of Steering Group

    b. Dissemination of ToC

        i. Development of Website/'Hub' to profile and store resources/learning and highlight early adopters

        ii. Presentation at sub-sector conferences for the 2024 period to introduce framework and workshop steps members can take, and in 2025 to present progress.

        iii. Meeting with additional interest groups/stakeholders, including training providers, government procurement governance groups

3. Review and Evaluation

4. Supporting Theories of Change

    a. Training ToC: This supporting piece will explore the change required to embed a Bystander focus through sector vocational training
    b. Procurement ToC: This supporting piece will explore how to embed minimum standards into procurement contracts (e.g.: toilets, facilities, requirement for bystander training) and address low-cost drivers of the sector

5. Further Research

    a. What motivates people to act as bystanders, and what barriers to acting arise

b. Why women leave the sector, and what might drive them to return

c. Perceptions of young people about to join/new to the sector

1   Contents

1. Introduction

The purpose of this report is to present the research which underpins the adjoining 'On-Site Upstanders' document, which presents a theory of change (ToC) to address: sexual harassment, hostile work environments, and assumptions about the ideal workers in the Aotearoa New Zealand Construction and Infrastructure sector. Specifically, this report presents a review of literature underpinning the research, the research methodology, themes which underpin the ToC, and recommendations for the next steps towards implementation of the ToC. The adjoining document details the ToC, the proposed initiatives, and the roles and responsibilities of sector stakeholders.

Background

Despite an ongoing commitment to gender equality in employment, 60% of working women in Aotearoa New Zealand are concentrated in the four industrial categories of healthcare and social assistance, wholesale and retail, education and training, and other business services, and are underrepresented in managerial and leadership roles (Statistics New Zealand, 2021). Moreover, women in Aotearoa New Zealand experience significant barriers to inclusive work experiences including pay inequality (Human Rights Commission, 2021; Ministry of Women, 2021; Pacheo, Li & Cochrane, 2017), hostile work environments, and persistent rates of sexual harassment (Human Rights Commission, 2022).

To respond to these unequal outcomes, a growing body of international and Aotearoa New Zealand research and commissioned reports are examining the experiences of women working in a range of male-dominated fields, including within the police force, fire services, military, aviation, construction, and transport; and in occupations such as senior managerial,

leadership, and administrative roles, truck driving, engineering, and software development (Dyer, Hurd & Algera, 2022; Dorrance Hall & Gettings, 2020; Griffith, 2019; Ministry of Defence, 2014).

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand Construction & Infrastructure sector, and despite a skill shortage, women currently makeup only 18% of the sector workforce (Waihanga Ara Rau, 2021). Of these, only 13% are 'on site', with a larger proportion being in administrative or professional service roles (Waihanga Ara Rau, 2021). Additionally, barriers for women on site remain of concern, with a recent survey revealing that in the past five years 30% of construction sector employees had experienced sexual harassment, 17% experienced bullying, and 16% experienced racial harassment (Human Rights Commission, 2022). While all forms of bullying and harassment are of concern, sexual harassment is more prevalent than bullying and racial discrimination. Moreover, international and domestic research reinforces that, while anyone may be targeted, most sexual harassment victims are women (Duff, 2018), and most perpetrators are those who hold more power relative to the harassed (Human Rights Commission, 2022; UN Women, 2019). Thus, sexual harassment is a particularly gendered employment barrier experienced by women. Despite the prevalence, sexual harassment and gendered forms of workplace incivility are particularly underreported, due to the stigma, uncertainty surrounding what constitutes sexual harassment, and 'grooming' nature of the behaviour (Colmar Brunton, 2018; Employment New Zealand, nd; UN Women, 2019). For example, the Human Rights Commission (2022) found that of all workers who experienced significant impact from sexual harassment, only 24% made any form of complaint. Of these, 42% felt they needed more support. International evidence and national statistics confirm that the reporting rates are even lower. Therefore, the prevalence of sexual

harassment and incivility towards women on site represent significant barriers to positive on-site experiences for women.

These experiences of hostile work environments (Mink, 2000) as evidenced by the presence of threatening, bullying, or harassing behaviours (Alterman, Luckhaupt, Dahlhamer, Ward & Calvert, 2013, p. 661), sexual harassment (Griffith, 2019), and workplace incivility (Dorrance Hall & Gettings, 2020), are more pronounced for women working in male-dominated industries and occupations (Dyer & Hurd, 2021). Moreover, work practices in male-dominated industries do not easily support family responsibilities, and equipment is not gender-neutral. These barriers are occurring amidst a context of ongoing skills shortages and against the backdrop of an industry-wide goal to increase women in construction and infrastructure from current levels to 30% representation by 2040 (BCITO, 2018). Achieving this goal will likely require creating more inclusive work practices and eliminating hostile work environments, with a number of initiatives already underway, as listed here.

Current Initiatives

There are a number of current initiatives being undertaken by groups within the construction and infrastructure sector designed that directly address bullying and harassment or encourage inclusive workforce. These include:

- 'Stand up, Step In': Active Bystander Guidelines (Waihanga Ara Rau/Hanga Ara Rau)
- 'Keep it Decent' Guidelines (Waihanga Ara Rau/Hanga Ara Rau)

- BCITO Te Pūkenga has a goal of increasing women's participation in the sector to 30%. Initiatives include the 'Building Women' Facebook group and a series highlighting women in trades

- Construction Accord: have a strategic commitment to finding 'new ways of recruiting and retaining a diverse workforce, including more women, Māori, Pasifika and people with disabilities' (Construction Accord, 2022). The Construction Accord is being discontinued under the current New Zealand Government.

- Diversity Agenda 2023-2025 (Engineering New Zealand & New Zealand Institute of Architects and ACE New Zealand): Initial goal to see 20% women engineers and architects, has now been expanded beyond gender to encourage a diverse workforce. Includes a range of strategic goals and tactics https://diversityagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/Diversity-Agenda_Strategy-Launch_2025_web.pdf

In addition, individual organisations within the sector have also developed their own initiatives, including

- Downer – Wāhine Kotahitanga: A support network for 'young women who are embarking on a career within the construction industry' (https://people.downergroup.co.nz/inclusion-and-belonging/)

- Fulton Hogan – 'Our Road to Success' women in leadership programme

While these initiatives have a different focus and target group, they share an interest in increasing diverse participation within the sector, without necessarily seeking broader cultural change. Similarly, while the Bystander guidelines and the 'Keep it Decent' campaigns make a positive start, neither represent a whole-of-sector systemic culture approach to addressing the barriers women experience within the sector, in particular sexual harassment

and hostile work environments. Therefore, this project aims to develop a sector-wide ToC to embed a Bystander culture and move towards eliminating sexual harassment and hostile work behaviours towards women in the construction and infrastructure sector.

Report Structure

The remainder of this report is as follows: the next section summarises the extant literature on the barriers experienced by women in male dominated industries, the traditional responses to these barriers, and introduces a bystander response to building inclusive workplaces. Then the method used to work alongside sector-wide stakeholders is outlined, including a description of the workshop approach used to develop the ToC. The situational analysis which underpins the ToC is then presented. This analysis defines the problem to be addressed by the ToC and was generated from workshop participant insights. Finally, conclusions, limitations, and recommendations for implementation of the ToC are presented.

2   Literature Review

Women are gaining traction in traditionally male-dominated occupations and industries globally, including the police force (du Plessis et al., 2021), fire services (Dyer & Hurd, 2021), military (Ministry of Defence, 2014), aviation, transport and logistics (Ghalebeigi, Gekara, & Madani, 2023), mining (Mahlasela, 2023), forestry (Johansson et al., 2020), as well as construction (Rubine, 2019). A review of this literature confirms that women working in male dominated industries and occupations share many of the same experiences. However, despite the shared nature of many experiences, it is also important to recognise that different groups of women may experience different outcomes based on other intersectional characteristics (for example, ethnicity, age, sexuality) (Wright, 2016). Therefore, this literature is organised around the three emergent themes of: 1) the barriers experienced by women in male dominated industries, including intersectional considerations 2) the traditional strategies designed to enhance women's access to, retention in, and movement within male-dominated industries, and 3) bystander interventions as a response to addressing women's experiences in male dominated industries and occupations.

2.1   Barriers to Male-dominated Industries

Women working in male-dominated industries and occupations consistently reveal experiencing barriers that affect their employment, health, and wellbeing. These barriers include encountering gendered workplace cultures, hostile work environments and incivility, sexual harassment, and work-life incompatibilities. Collectively, these barriers act to reinforce to women that these are male-oriented workspaces.

2.1.1 Encountering Gendered Cultures

Male-dominated industries are often described as being based on masculine norms (Bridges, Wulff, & Bamberry, 2023) and the needs of male bodies. Male norms are partly upheld by masculine behavioural norms where men build alliances, show loyalty to each other, and create power blocs that favour men's access to and mobility within construction and male dominated industries (Galea et al., 2022; Cardador et al., 2022).

Despite a so-called 'female advantage' (Paustian-Underdahl, Slattery Walker and Woehr, 2014), leading from the stereotyped feminine traits, which are purported to advantage women in team-based and leadership situations, within male-dominated industries, we see ongoing gender discrimination arising from these skill assumptions. Johansson et al., (2020) link this discrimination to the male norms and describe the formation of a hierarchy of skills. In this hierarchy, women's apparent 'feminine' skills, such as being good listeners, are highlighted, meanwhile their technical skills go unacknowledged (Johansson, et al., 2020), and their credentials are questioned (Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2023). Furthermore, by being seen as helpers, women have difficulty accessing technical training (Wilson et al., 2023) and must be proactive in their own career development (Bridges et al., 2022). It is also found that unless leaders support the women within these industries, their voice within team settings is often ignored or downplayed (Farh et al, 2022), largely due to assumptions made about skills and technical expertise.

Additionally, the male body as the standard for a 'normal' worker affects women's experiences of bodily functions, including their access to toilets (Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2023, p. 10) and appropriate on-site facilities to manage menstruation (Kansake et al., 2021). As a result, this embedded gender discrimination affects women's pay, access to jobs, poorer career opportunities, and job security (Kansake et al., 2021; Pruitt, 2018; Saeed & Riaz, 2023).

However, these cultures and outcomes are also often attributed to the lack of women in the workplace, and as such the solution offered is to bring more women into the workplace (Ringblom & Johansson, 2019). In this sense, the focus tends to fall on the number of women in the workplace as both problem and solution, rather than a focus on wider workplace cultures and norms.

2.1.2 Hostile Work Environments and Incivility

Women often experience male dominated industries as hostile and intimidating work environments (Mink, 2000). Not only are women subjected to heightened organisational sexism, such as gendered pay gaps and limited career opportunities, but they experience interpersonal sexism expressed as direct comments (Rubin et al., 2019), harassment (Johansson, et al., 2020), or bullying (Alterman, Luckhaupt, Dahlhamer, Ward, and Calvert., 2013). Acts of incivility and marginalisation in male dominated industries disrespect and exclude women, with examples including discrediting women's qualifications and experiences, isolating women, and punishing women for possessing feminine qualities (Dorrance Hall and Gettings, 2020).

2.1.3 Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment is defined as unwanted or offensive attention of a sexual nature (Human Rights Act, 1993). Sexual harassment takes many forms including verbal, visual, or physical behaviours, ranging from jokes, innuendo, to requests for sexual favours, rape, and sexual assault (Kansake et al., 2021; Mink, 2000). Nearly half of all women are likely to experience some of form of sexual harassment during their working lives (Latcheva, 2017). Within male-dominated industries and occupations, including construction, sexual harassment of women is more pronounced (Dyer & Hurd, 2021; Raj et al., 2020; Riddle & Heaton, 2023). Harassers include senior staff, colleagues, and clients (Kansake et al., 2021). Documented examples in

construction include women leaders routinely experiencing sexual harassment in the US (Lekchiri, & Kamm, 2020), women being asked for sexual favours during recruitment in both the US and Ghana (Kansake et al., 2021), and women industrial health inspectors being subject to sexual harassment and violence while on construction site visits in Korea (Park et al, 2022). Most incidents go unreported for fears of revictimisation, including escalation to assault and rape, reduced salaries, lost job opportunities, transfers, and job loss (Kansake et al., 2021). Indeed, reporting does often result in unfavourable outcomes for the victim, with the most common outcome being victims leaving their employment (Ahmed, 2021). As such, sexual harassment within male dominated industries and occupations serves to remind women that they are viewed as women and not as skilled employees (Johansson, et al., 2020).

Considering these outcomes, targets of sexual harassment often experience a diminished sense of agency and see organisations not as a support, but rather as part of the ongoing process of harassment (Malvini Redden & Scarduzio, 2024). This underscores the need for organisations to do more to respond consistently and effectively to victims of sexual harassment.

2.1.4 Work-Family Incompatibilities

Male dominated industries are often structured around long-hours with little recognition of, or support for, work life balance and family obligations (Lekchiri & Kamm, 2020; Bridges, Wulff, & Bamberry, 2023; Dorrance Hall and Gettings, 2020). These inflexible structures are based on assumptions that men provide financial support, while women are responsible for taking care of the family and home.

Long-hours work-cultures and the notion of an 'unencumbered ideal worker' are at odds with women's family commitments and reproductive roles (Dorrance Hall and Gettings,

2020; Lekchiri & Kamm, 2020), and present barriers including making it difficult for some women to start families (Germain, Herzog, & Hamilton, 2012; Madsen et al., 2023). Organisational inflexibility is often managed by individual women, for example, by remaining childless (O'Neil, Hopkins and Bilimoria 2008), by forgoing promotions in favour of spending time with children (Bishu & Headley, 2020), or by leaving male dominated occupations and industries (Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2023; Madsen et al., 2023).

2.1.5   Influence of Intersectional Characteristics

Women who also have other aspects of their identity which are marginalised often experience compounded barriers within male dominated industries (Ringblom & Johansson, 2020). For example, Māori wahine, Pasifika women, young (or older) women and LGBTQi+ identifying women experience compounded sets of barriers. One explanation of this is seen in Acker's (2006) Inequality regimes, whereby sets of interconnected processes and organisational cultural practices create a framework of inequality, impacting different members depending on their intersectional characteristics. These regimes are difficult to see and to change, as some intersectional characteristics are more visibly open to discrimination than others. As such, for most people working within this context, the full set of barriers will not be visible.

In a study of women across the UK construction and transport sectors, Wright (2016) found that these women experienced *both* the shared experiences and intersectional-based experiences. For example, it was found that LGBTQi+ women were considered both 'the token woman' (p. 353), alongside assumptions that they would also be able to be 'one of the boys' and an assumption of masculine traits accompanying their sexuality. Similarly, women of other ethnicities found that, positively, they could forge connections with ethnically-

aligned men in the workplace which could be a source of support. However, these same women reported that, in some cases, it was assumed these connections would result in sexual attention. Additionally, some of these women did not feel they could seek support from other women in their workplaces (Wright, 2016).

2.1.6 Summary

Combined, these barriers effect women's career opportunities, their performance, absentee rates, job satisfaction, and turnover (Griffith, 2019; Johnson, Widnall, & Frazier 2018). These barriers impact women's physical, mental, and economic wellbeing (McLaughlin, Uggen and Blackstone, 2017; Riddle & Heaton, 2023; Rotimi et al., 2023; Sojo et al., 2016); and ultimately lead to feelings of not belonging within the workplace (Rubin et al., 2019). In the next section we review the traditional responses to women's experiences in male dominated industries and occupations.

2.2 Traditional Responses

International agencies, governments, education and training institutions, employing organisations, and women have responded to the challenges and barriers experienced by women when accessing male dominated industries. These traditional responses are briefly described below.

2.2.1 International Agency Policy Response

Removing barriers to education, training, and employment experienced by women is fundamental to achieving ILO's gender equality goals as set out in their Decent Work Agenda (ILO, nd) and in the ILO Conventions, most notably Conventions No. 100 (Equal Remuneration Convention), No. 111 (Discrimination, Employment and Occupation), No. 156 (Workers with Family Commitments), and No. 183 (Maternity Protection). Similarly, addressing barriers

experienced by women in education, training, and employment are embedded in United Nations Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN Women, nd), and the UN's Sustainable Development Goals 4 (Quality Education), 5 (Gender Equality), 8 (Decent Work), and 10 (Reduced Inequalities) (United Nations, nd). Advances towards gender equality at the global level are published in the annual Gender Gap Reports by the World Economic Forum, at a national level in the four-yearly CEDAW reporting to United Nations Women (nd), and via SDGs in the United Nations (2023) Gender Snapshot. In not one instance, has gender equality been achieved.

2.2.2 Government Policy Response

Within Aotearoa New Zealand, a minimum anti-discrimination framework has been developing since 1960 with the introduction of the Government Service Equal Pay Act. Since then, successive Aotearoa New Zealand governments have ratified several ILO and United Nations conventions (Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment, 2015), developed a minimum anti-discrimination legal framework, and an administration, monitoring and compliance framework that includes, but not limited to, the Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment, the Human Rights Commission, the Ministry for Women, and the employment court system. Collectively, this minimum anti-discrimination legislation sets out a framework for removing gendered barriers to education, training, and throughout the employment cycle (Dyer & Hurd, 2012). Despite this framework, gender gaps persist in education and employment outcomes, and women still experience barriers in male dominated industries in Aotearoa New Zealand (Dyer, Hurd, and Algera, 2021). It is argued that gender discrimination should be sanctioned like any other employment infringement (Kansake, et al., 2021), and as such, these persistent gendered outcomes should be of key concern to organisations and policymakers seeking equality.

2.2.3 Education and Training Response

Access to education and training opportunities is seen as a prerequisite to breaking down barriers for women entering male dominated industries and occupations. In their work, Rönnlund & Tollefsen (2023) noted teachers praised women trainees in non-traditional occupations for being more 'careful and responsible' compared to their male counterparts (p. 7); effectively reinforcing 'feminine' skills, initially seeming to provide an advantage, but effectively undermining their substantive job-related skills and qualifications. Moreover, while women trainees had positive experiences during their internships, and felt looked after and cared for by intern supervisors, this did not translate to their post-graduation employment , where they encountered masculine cultures that funnelled women out leading to turnover (Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2023). Powel and Song (2015) similarly found that diversity recruitment drives did not translate into on-the-job employment benefits for women, instead, these diversity drives reinforced perceptions that women are less qualified than male counterparts.

While education and post-training recruitment drives focus on helping women prepare for and enter male-dominated fields, and masculine work cultures, little effort is given to employment retention of women (Johansson, et al., 2020; Powel and Song 2015; Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2023). These approaches reinforce the requirement that women must change to fit, rather than develop the capacity of all trainees to challenge masculine cultures and power structures, ultimately leading to high turnover of women in male dominated industries (Johansson, et al., 2020; Powel and Song 2015; Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2023).

2.2.4 Organisational Responses

Typical organisational responses to attracting women into male-dominated industries include designing job descriptions, recruitment drives, and selection strategies to align with actual job tasks (Danbold & Bendersky, 2020). Retention and career progression strategies typically focus on offering flexibility, childcare, scholarships, mentoring and networking opportunities (Jimoh et al., 2016), work-life balance initiatives (Lefrançois & Trottier, 2022), access to personal protective equipment for women (Kansake et al., 2021), and training and development (French and Strachan, 2009). Initiatives to respond to workplace incivility and sexual harassment have tended to take a risk-mitigation focus, emphasising individual responsibility.

2.2.5 Individual Women's Responses

Individual strategies that women are both encouraged to use and have adopted include seeking out mentors, establishing networks (Durbin, Lopes & Warren, 2020), building resilience to masculinised norms (Bridges, Wulff, & Bamberry, 2023, p. 269), and 'playing by the rules' to avoid the disadvantages associated with being a women and feminine stereotypes (Godwin, Stevens, & Brenner, 2006). Women have also been found to simultaneously question and confirm gendered stereotypes by adapting to male attributes and drawing on feminine stereotyped skills and competencies (Pruitt, 2018). Women leaders have also achieved short term-gains in the face of prevailing cultures (Campuzano, 2019). Women working collectively to build solidarity through mentoring and networking relationships, have challenged male dominated workplaces (Durbin, Lopes & Warren, 2020).

These individual and collective strategies within the context of masculine cultures have been found to have a limited effect on women. Attempts to be resilient and accommodate

existing norms have not been accompanied by changes in male dominated industries that enable women to stay and thrive (Tokbaeva and Achtenhagen, 2023). Moreover, these traditional strategies appear to leave the systemic issues intact by hiding gendered norms, poor behaviour, and the effects on women who must negotiate their 'ongoing survival', (Bridges, Wulff, & Bamberry, 2023, p. 269). By adapting to male norms, women's presence in male dominated industries does not challenge existing "gendered values, skills and division of labour [or] … organizational structures" that favour male experience at the expense of women's needs (Johansson, et al., 2020, p. 939).

2.3   Bystander/Upstander Responses

In contrast to individual-focused responses, bystander responses are underpinned by the notion of allyship, a mechanism to mitigate workplace discrimination (Cheng et al., 2019) which describes the use of nonstigmatized allies who 'engage in behaviour that support or advocate on behalf of a stigmatized group or group member' (Sabat et al., 2013, p.480). However, researchers have also noted that while allies are an important aspect of responding to hostile work environments, they are not effective without addressing the wider contextual issues. For example, it has been found (Lizzio-Wilson et al., 2023) that if those seen as allies are engaged in harassing behaviour, this is viewed more positively than those who are not considered allies. In agreement, Dinh et al (2022) discuss the role of power and perception of morality ('moral crediting') on perceptions of sexual harassment. This leads to the potential of reinforcing undesirable behaviour, as others perceive the behaviour of the ally as aligned to positive work behaviour. Lizzio-Wilson (2023) explains how 'male allies can replicate inequality within the feminist movement by, for example, providing dependency-oriented support (Shnabel et al., 2016; Wakefield et al., 2012; Wiley & Dunne, 2019) or receiving

disproportionate praise for their work as feminists relative to women (Macomber, 2018; Peretz,2020). Therefore, it is important to also ensure a consistent framework to respond to any undesirable behaviour, and a focus on wider cultural change, rather than relying on 'champions'.

Going further than allyship, which can be a spectrum of passive-active intention, the term 'observer intervention' (Ghumman et al., 2024) is used to describe allyship, advocacy and bystander actions. This spectrum can indicate the level of action involved, noting that there is a difference between actions which constitute 'good colleagues' as opposed to 'visible advocacy' (Warren & Bordoloi, 2023). There have been a number of factors which influence whether allies or observers will act, including 'perceptions of what types of actions are required, situational ambiguity, group size, and personal responsibility' (Ghumman et al., 2024).

Aligned, bystander initiatives look to empower those witnessing undesirable behaviour, actions or processes, to intervene on behalf of those being targeted (Collins et al, 2021; Kuntz et al, 2023). Barriers to intervening that are generally included in Bystander development initiatives include

- Developing an individual's ability to recognise the behaviours, actions, and to assess as needing intervention
- Developing an individual's sense that they have the agency to take action, and which actions are appropriate in given situations
- Assessing contextual factors that might inhibit individual's ability to act

A new term which has emerged, largely from the business consulting arena, is 'Upstander' (Hopke, 2022). It is argued that the term 'bystander' infers standing by passively and not

acting. Therefore, some propose the use of the term 'upstander' to make clear that the required behaviour is active intervention. However, despite the term used, Upstander/Bystander intervention programmes are largely similar, and becoming common in many large organisations (Mental Health Foundation, n.d.; Office of ESafety Commissioner, n.d.).

However, despite the uptake of bystander/upstander initiatives, there is still limited evidence of effectiveness due to lack of research, alongside limited understanding of recognised indicators to assess the impact of these interventions (Kuntz et al, 2023). Moreover, it has been shown that poorly designed interventions may, in fact, be more damaging to the desired outcomes of bystander interventions and may diminish over a short period of time (Kuntz et al 2023). Due to this, it is important to both carefully design programmes, but also to embed an ongoing programme of change, and corresponding opportunities to assess outcomes, to effect long-term and meaningful change.

2.3.1 Summary

Although there has been significant work at the global, national organisational, and individual level, women still face barriers to entering, staying in, and having positive experiences within male dominated industries. Moreover, most responses still focus on increasing the number of women in these industries, rather than addressing the underlying behaviour and culture. In addition, most responses place responsibility for adapting and responding on the individual, and particularly on women. However, it has been shown that the most common response to harassment and gendered incivility is not to act, but to leave employment. Therefore, to achieve gender equality and enable women to enter, move around, and stay within male dominated industries will require systemic change (Tokbaeva and Achtenhagen, 2023, p. 225).

Because of this, there has been a call for a shift in focus that includes attention to bystander/upstander responses to be part of systemic change.

3 Methodology

3.1 A Grounded Theory of Change

This research followed a ToC approach, underpinned by grounded theory methodology (Voith et al., 2023). A ToC, originally aligned to development theory, is an approach designed to a) describe the underlying mechanisms which contribute to a particular outcome (Voith et al., 2023), and b) manage change initiatives within complex systems and contexts, and which are designed to respond to 'wicked problems' (Murphy & Jones, 2021). A ToC 'is a method that explains how a given intervention, or set of interventions, are expected to lead to specific change' (UNDG, 2016, p. 3), and is often co-created with the stakeholders of the change. A ToC is typically presented visually, although may also be narrative in form (Voith et al., 2023).

The ToC has an element of non-linearity (Mayne, 2023) through the inclusion of feedback loops and supporting activities. These iterative loops enable a revision of initiatives when feedback does not support progress towards the desired outcome (Mayne, 2023), and the development of new more supportive theories of change as new aspects of the problem arise. In addition, the TOC accounts for contextual factors upon which the framework might be contingent, those factors which enable or constrain the desired change.

The process to develop a ToC is founded on a co-creation approach, bringing together stakeholders to decide on the desired impact and outcomes, and then identifying initiatives that will help influence that change (Murphy & Jones, 2021). Further, activities and inputs to successfully deliver these initiatives, along with roles and responsibilities of the various system stakeholder groups are also included. There may also be different theories of change developed at different stages of the program of work, or for different groups of stakeholders (Funnell & Rogers, 2011).

The development of this ToC was underpinned by a grounded theory approach, recognising that it was important for the research to be 'grounded in the lived experience' (Voith et al., 2023) of those working within the sector. The grounded theory approach to ToC enabled researchers to engage multiple times with stakeholders, to iteratively build the framework, and to check assumptions throughout the process (Voith et al., 2023).

3.1.1   Small Group Workshops

Data was collected through a series of workshops with individual tradeswomen, sector stakeholders, and experts in gendered harm. This process drew on a focus group method (Acocella 2021), to facilitate larger conversational workshops. In particular, this method employed the exploratory-descriptive function of focus groups, '*to collect a wide range of perspectives and aspects on a phenomenon*' (Acocella, 2021). This is appropriate, as there is little currently known about sector-wide responses to sexual harassment and hostile work environments in construction and infrastructure. Moreover, there is little known about applying a ToC approach at a sector-wide level. To gain a variety of perspectives, the focus groups were designed to have some internal homogeneity alongside heterogeneity across groups (Acocella 2021).

Recruitment of participants was facilitated by utilising the ConCOVE network, using a purposive sampling method (Creswell, 2009) to recruit individuals which represented sector stakeholders (sector organisations and public sector organisations), individual tradeswomen, and gendered harm experts.

Workshops were held in Auckland (2), Wellington (2), Christchurch (2) and online (3). Each workshop was facilitated around a series of questions. Participants were grouped into smaller groups of 2-4, and were encouraged to record written responses to these questions

on post-it notes and large sheet paper, which were gathered at the end of the session. Discussion in the groups were also audio recorded, with consent.

3.1.2 Participants

In total, 51 participants indicated interest, with 47 attending the workshops. Participants came from sector organisations (15), public sector organisations (13), Gendered harm experts (9) and individual tradeswomen (8). There were 45 women and 2 men represented in the initial participant group. Additionally, there were three feedback meetings held with wider sector stakeholders (see details below). These groups included a total of 18 individuals, including 10 women and 8 men. Therefore, there were a total of 63 people feeding into the ToC, including 55 women and 10 men.

3.1.3 Analysis

Aligned with a grounded theory approach, the data was analysed using a thematic analytical process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Specifically, data was initially open-coded, before a second stage of axial coding resulted in agreement on themes in each of the following sections:

- What is the overarching problem?

- Short term outcomes

- Long term outcomes

- Desired Impact

- Enablers and Contextual Factors

- Stakeholders

These themes were then interpreted through the lens of the literature on gendered workplaces, women in male dominated industries, sexual harassment and bystander intervention (See Section 3). The resultant themes informed the development of the first draft ToC, which was the basis of the subsequent feedback process.

3.1.4 Feedback Process

Aligned to a grounded theory approach, which enables findings to be refined as the result of further interaction with participants (Voith et al., 2023), a significant feedback process was followed to ensure that the themes and ToC was reflective of participants experiences and the dynamics of the sector.

Specifically, the draft was emailed to participants, and feedback was sought both via email and via a 2-hour online feedback session. In addition to participant feedback, consultation was held with interest groups, including the ConCOVE team, who provided feedback on the contextual factors within the sector. Consultation also occurred with representatives from Tier 1 firms, and a group of senior men from the sector. The men's group was convened to mitigate the low number of men represented in the sector organisation participant group. By the end of this consultation, it was clear that we had reached data saturation, both in terms of the themes, and the feedback, as we were not seeing new feedback raised.

As a result of the feedback, we prioritised the participant feedback, and utilised the additional consultation feedback to contextualise the participant feedback further. This combined research was again triangulated with the extant literature, resulting in a revised ToC.

3.1.5 Ethics Approval

Ethics approval was granted by AUT Ethics Committee (23/198) and endorsed by the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee. Informed consent was sought prior to the start of any data collection. Individual participants were not identifiable within the context of group discussion and could opt to not participate in any aspect of the discussion that they were not comfortable with.

4   Situational Analysis: Defining the Problem to Solve

As described by Funnell an Rogers (2011), underpinning a ToC is a situational analysis, canvassing stakeholders for agreement on the nature of the problem. In this research, this step was carried out as the first question in the workshops. An analysis of themes which arose from participants revealed the following framework, which describes the experience of being on site as a woman. Insights from this framework underpin the ToC.

```
Societal          Assumptions          As seen in          Outcomes          Result
Assumptions                                                                   Do not 'fit in'
              →   Expectations of   →   Physical       →   Sexual        →
                  'ideal worker' =      Environment        Harassment
                  male
Sector                                                                        Response
History       →                    →   Gender Role    →   Hostile Work  →     Change to fit in
                                       Expectations        Environments

                                                           Interpretation of
                                                           Women on site
```
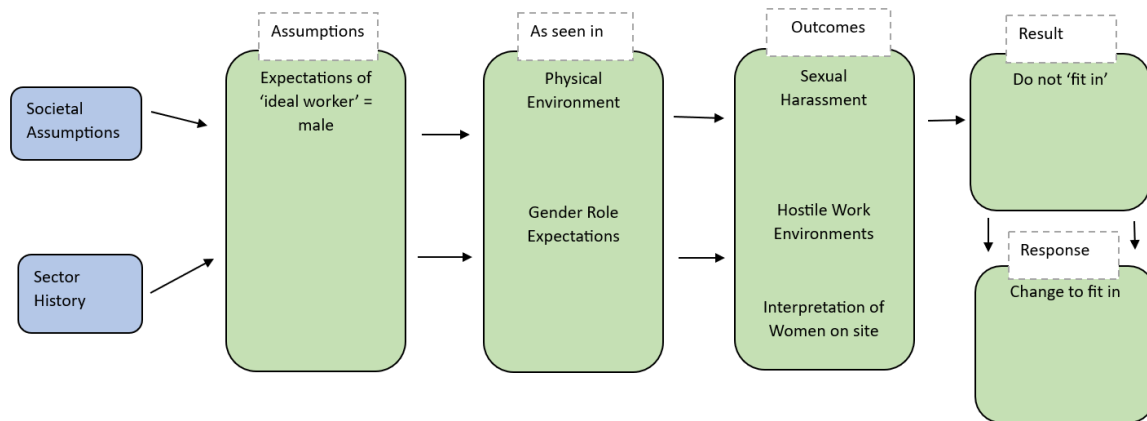
4.1   Assumptions: The expectation of 'ideal' worker being male

Participants described on-site expectations as being framed around the assumption that workers would be male. It is well recognised that in male dominated industries, this assumption is underpinned by both wider societal assumptions around which occupations are appropriate for each gender (Bridges, Wulff & Bamberry, 2023), an assumption that is reinforced by the historical workforce composition of the industry . This expectation of the gender of workers is seen in taken-for-granted behaviours and culture that, as described by participants, was *'not a place for a woman' (Group 4)*, and involved *'working in the masculine'*

(Group 6). The assumption that the ideal construction and infrastructure worker is male was seen in a number of aspects, including physical environment, gender role expectations and binary gender assumptions.

4.1.1   Physical Environment

For participants, many aspects of the physical work environment expressed this ideal worker assumption, including provision of basic facilities such as toilets and sanitary disposal bins, appropriately fitting PPE and equipment. It was also viewed that the structure of work, with limited opportunity for flexibility in hours, fixed toolbox meeting times, and a lack of parental leave policies, reinforced the underlying assumptions. Moreover, the lack of women on site *'Being the token woman' (Group 5)*, lack of visible career path for women and lack of training opportunities *'Uncertain about the work and my capability' (Group 6)*, also reinforced this view that the environment was not conducive to a diverse workforce.

4.1.2   Gendered Role Expectations

Participants described experiences of embedded gender role expectations and unconscious bias. Examples included *'the expectation I will have kids' (Group 1)*, and that the lack of women on site was because *'women gossip' (Group 8)*. Others spoke of being *'given the job of coffee-making, dishwasher cleaning and present buying' (Group 5)*. These experiences reflect the feeling that there was a difference in the value attributed to the time of men and women on site (Group 1), with men's time being seen as more valuable in technical roles and tasks.

There were also accounts of *'needing to manage men on site' (Group 6)*. In addition, these expectations were also seen in actions such as paternalism, where a senior male on site would take on the role of '*father figure*' to the women on site.

4.2   On-Site Outcomes

The experienced outcomes of this environment, underpinned by the assumption of the ideal worker being male, included sexual harassment, hostile work environments, and interpretations of women on site.

4.2.1   Sexual Harassment

Participants described behaviours on site that included experiences of sexual harassment. Comments included *'You need to expect harassment' (Group 2), 'Be careful how you dress' (Group 3),* and *'Being seen first as a sexual object' (Group 8)*. Other participants described being followed, needing to be careful who they gave personal details to, and challenges with coworkers respecting social media and technology boundaries (including taking unsolicited photos on site). Others experienced on site pornographic calendars (Group 5).

4.2.2   Hostile Work Environments

Hostile work environments were also a common experience noted, with the environment described as being *'hostile… uncomfortable' (Group 3)*, and characterised as *'Hazing 101' (Group 4)*. When they raised concerns about this environment, participants described dismissive comments such as *'What do you expect'* and *'You don't see us trying to get a girl job' (Group 4).* This environment left women on site feeling *'hyper alert and sensitive' (Group 6)*, an experience described as *'emotionally stressful' (Group 6)*.

4.2.3   Interpretations of Women on Site

Another outcome related to the way in which women were talked about, or viewed, on site. A number of participants described how there was a perception that women on site *'had a*

cruisy time and don't have to meet the same requirements' (Group 1), or were *'Seen as a threat' (Group 6).*

4.3   Result: 'We don't fit in'

The result of this work environment was a feeling that women do not *'fit in'* on site. This feeling of not belonging on site was reflected in many ways, and for many began from their first interaction with the industry. For example, participants described being *'warned and prepared by my manager' (Group 1)* on their first day on site around behaviour and language expectations, and the need for them to *'act like one of the boys to fit in, or else' (Group 10).* Participants also spoke of becoming used to comments from both the public and colleagues, which reinforced the sense that they did not fit in on site. Others commented on needing to be *'repetitive in reinforcing your value' (Group 2)*, and *'needing to work harder to prove themselves' (Group 6)*, both of which felt tiring and stressful.

4.3.1   Response: Adjust Behaviour to Fit

The response to feeling as though they did not fit in on site was to adjust their behaviour to align with the expectations of the ideal assumed worker. For example, one participant noted that '*I adjust my dress sense and demeanour to suit the male environment' (Group 4)*. Others spoke of having to *'compromise with normalised behaviour' (Group 3)*, needing to *'Change the way I talk' (Group 9)*, and a sense that they were *'Transform[ing] to one of the guys' (Group 6).* This adjusting resulted in the women participants expressing feeling that they were *'Not fully in your being' (Group 6)* and *'Not able to bring your whole self to work' (Group 5).*

4.3.2 Summary

The above themes represent a situational analysis which defines the problem to be addressed in the ToC. Although the starting point was sexual harassment and associated hostile work environments, it is clear from the above framework that these outcomes are driven by a number of interrelated factors. While the ToC is designed to be actionable and focused, it is important to underpin the actionable initiatives with a contextual understanding.

5 Conclusion

This report has provided the supporting research framing for the ToC developed in this project, titled 'On-Site Upstanders'. In particular, this report has summarised the literature on women in male dominated industries, hostile work environments, sexual harassment, traditional responses and bystander interventions. Following, the research method, underpinned by a grounded ToC methodology, was presented. The findings to emerge from the situational analysis, which define and contextualise the problem to be addressed by the ToC, were discussed.

5.1 Limitations

There are a number of limitations with the ToC, largely driven by scope, time and cost constraints. These represent opportunities for future research and reviews of the ToC. Many of these limitations involved underrepresentation of some groups at the workshops.

- Despite the call for workshop participants being open for both Sector organisations and public sector organisations, there was an underrepresentation of male participants across these groups. To mitigate this, a separate group of men from the sector was held to feedback on the draft ToC. Notwithstanding, future work to explore men's experiences of women on site would add valuable context to the situational analysis.

- Many of the sector organisations represented at the workshops were larger organisations, leading to an underrepresentation from smaller firms and sub-contracting firms. While there were some smaller firms and sub-contractors represented, this did not mirror the degree of their representation in the sector

- Most participants had significant experience in the sector, and as such there was an underrepresentation of those new to the industry. This represents a significant future opportunity.

6   Recommendations/Next Steps:

The key recommendations arising from the research are the initiatives contained in the Theory of Change. However, in order for this to be achieved, the ToC needs to be endorsed, and implemented. As such, there are a number of specific recommendations arising out of the development of the ToC:

1. Endorsement of ToC by keystone stakeholders ConCOVE, Waihanga Ara Rau and Hanga Aro Rau

2. Implementation of the ToC

   The implementation of the ToC will require a number of actions and activities. The key initial steps recommended are:

   a. Creation of Steering Group

   It is suggested that a Steering Group is convened to lead the implementation and review of the ToC. It is suggested that members are representatives of a range of stakeholders, including:

   - Waihanga Ara Rau/Hanga Ara Rau
   - ConCOVE
   - Researchers
   - Tier 1 Firms
   - Sub-contracting/Small firm representative
   - Construction Accord
   - Training providers

   It is recommended that the steering group meets once per month to monitor progress and to plan the next stages of implementation. This steering group could also be responsible for some aspects of dissemination (below), presenting to, and meeting with, high-level groups as required.

b. Dissemination of ToC

In order to be effective, the ToC needs to be a visible part of the sector conversations. It is suggested that this is achieved through a multi-faceted approach, with the following key activities:

    i. Development of Website/'Hub' to profile and store resources/learning and highlight early adopters

    ii. Presentation at sub-sector conferences for the 2024 period to introduce framework and workshop steps members can take, and in 2025 to present progress.

    iii. Meeting with additional interest groups/stakeholders, including training providers and government procurement governance groups

3. Review and Evaluation

It is recommended that the ToC is evaluated and reviewed at least annually, possibly more often during the initial implementation phases. It is also recommended that the ToC is reviewed upon the completion of any complimentary research, which might add additional context (for example, the current project on experiences of women in construction and infrastructure, BY Who).

4. Supporting Theories of Change

During activities 1a-c, there may be supporting theories of change that arise, which will support the achievement of the overarching ToC objectives. It is recommended that this is a clear and acknowledged part of the process of implementation. Examples may include:

- Training ToC: This supporting piece will explore the change required to embed a Bystander focus through sector vocational training

- Procurement ToC: This supporting piece will explore how to embed minimum standards into procurement contracts (e.g.: toilets, facilities, requirement for bystander training) and address low-cost drivers of the sector

5. Further Research

While there is currently research being undertaken on women's experience within the construction and infrastructure sector currently commissioned by ConCOVE, to feed into future reviews of the ToC, and to support additional understanding of the nature of barriers facing women in the sector, it is recommended that a project exploring why women leave the sector, and what might drive them to return, would fill a significant gap in current understanding. There is also a need to explore men's experiences of women in construction and infrastructure, and why some people act, and others do not, when they encounter unacceptable behaviour. There is limited research in these areas internationally, and certainly within this sector. This research would underpin future workforce training and development initiatives. Another current gap is exploring the perceptions of young people about to join or those who are new to the sector.

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