

Submission 344 – CARE Australia

CARE Australia seeks a world of hope, tolerance and social justice, where poverty has been overcome and all people live with dignity and security. Formed in 1987 CARE Australia has a special focus on gender equality to bring lasting development to communities. CARE Australia has earned an international reputation for our innovative, sustainable and effective long-term development projects and our ability to respond quickly to humanitarian disaster situations. CARE Australia is a member of the CARE International confederation of 14 autonomous members working in 95 countries undertaking development assistance and disaster relief. The primary geographic focus of CARE Australia is the Pacific and South-East Asia where we manage all programs and activities of the CARE International confederation in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Vanuatu and Vietnam. During 2017-18 CARE Australia assisted over 2.1 million people across 28 countries, including responding to 13 emergencies across 19 countries.

Relevant to this inquiry is our work through the 'Enhancing Women's Voice to STOP Sexual Harassment' (STOP) project. The project is working in four countries in the Mekong to address sexual harassment in the garment industry. Through this project, CARE is developing models to support industry, government, and civil society in preventing and responding to sexual harassment. The project will develop, test and adapt workplace models for preventing and responding to sexual harassment in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, ensuring violence-free workplaces.

Attached is an examination of best practice ways to tackle sexual harassment in the workplace, prepared as part of the STOP project. "WHAT WORKS? Reducing sexual harassment in the workplace: A rapid review of evidence" argues any efforts must employ a 'whole of organisation' approach. Designing a holistic approach is dependent on strong corporate policies, including comprehensive complaint management processes and training for staff. Workplace leaders play a key role in shifting workplace norms by becoming 'champions of change' and sending a strong message about the type of workplace behaviour that will not be tolerated. Also attached is a summary of an industry-wide study undertaken with the garment industry in Cambodia, to examine the prevalence and productivity cost of sexual harassment of workers in the industry. In an industry whose success relies heavily on migrant women's labour, sexual harassment is therefore not only a human rights issue but also an economic issue, with appropriate investment required to create a safe, respectful and competitive work environment for all its employees.

More than one third of the world's countries have no laws prohibiting sexual harassment at work. Around the world, millions of working women are vulnerable in the places where they work. The work of the Australian Human Rights Commission in reviewing sexual harassment in Australian workplaces is welcome, and timely. Currently the International Labor Organization is debating the establishment of a new convention and recommendation on ending violence and harassment in the world of work. Attached is a new report providing an overview of sexual harassment and the need for a

global response prepared by CARE Australia.

We hope the Commission finds these reports useful in considering the way forward to address sexual harassment. We would welcome the opportunity to discuss our work in the region further.



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“I know I cannot quit.”

The Prevalence and Productivity Cost of Sexual Harassment to the Cambodian Garment Industry

RESEARCH SUMMARY | MARCH 2017



INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment in the workplace and the community is a form of violence against women and a human rights violation. It remains a **serious and widespread problem** for workers in the Cambodian garment industry. This research finds that it also represents significant financial costs to employers – totalling almost **USD 89 million per annum**.ⁱ

Since the mid-1990s the total annual output of Cambodia’s garment sector has grown from an estimated USD 20 million to over USD 5 billion today, now representing almost a third of the country’s Gross Domestic Product¹ and 80 per cent of its exports.² **85 per cent³ of this 600,000 strong workforce are women.**⁴

“Sometimes, of course I think about not going to work anymore because of this [sexual harassment]. But then I think about my family condition and I know I cannot quit.”

Female garment worker

This multibillion dollar industry has contributed significantly to Cambodia’s economy, providing new opportunities for millions of people. However, **women workers are limited socially and economically from claiming their rights, leaving them at risk of exploitation and abuse.** Low wages, fixed-term contracts⁵, substandard working conditions, long hours, and sexual harassment are some of the daily challenges facing women workers - limiting their voice, opportunities for leadership, and access to rights and protections across the industry.

In an industry in which success relies heavily on women’s labour, **sexual harassment is not only a human rights issue but also an economic issue.** Sexual harassment costs the industry money; investment is also required to create a safe, respectful and gender equitable environment for all employees. For this reason, CARE commissioned this research study to **examine the prevalence and productivity cost of sexual harassment of workers to the Cambodian garment industry.** The study was conducted by CARE in cooperation with the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia (GMAC).

This report presents the findings of a large-scale, nationally representative survey of sexual harassment in the Cambodian garment industry. It combines quantitative survey data from 1,287 workersⁱⁱ (1,085 women and 198 men) across 52 factories, with 25 qualitative interviews and 9 focus groups conducted in a variety of different living and working environments.

KEY FINDINGS

1. The productivity cost of sexual harassment in the garment industry is estimated at **USD 89 million per annum**.ⁱⁱⁱ
 2. Sexual harassment is a regular occurrence. **Nearly one in three women garment factory workers report experiencing sexually harassing behaviours** in the workplace over the last 12 months.
 3. **One in four men** surveyed (50 of the 198 men) reported being asked **questions of a sexual nature** in the workplace.
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i. This is a rounded figure from USD 88,742,695.

ii. All gender analysis is based on the total of 1283 where gender was recorded for survey participants.

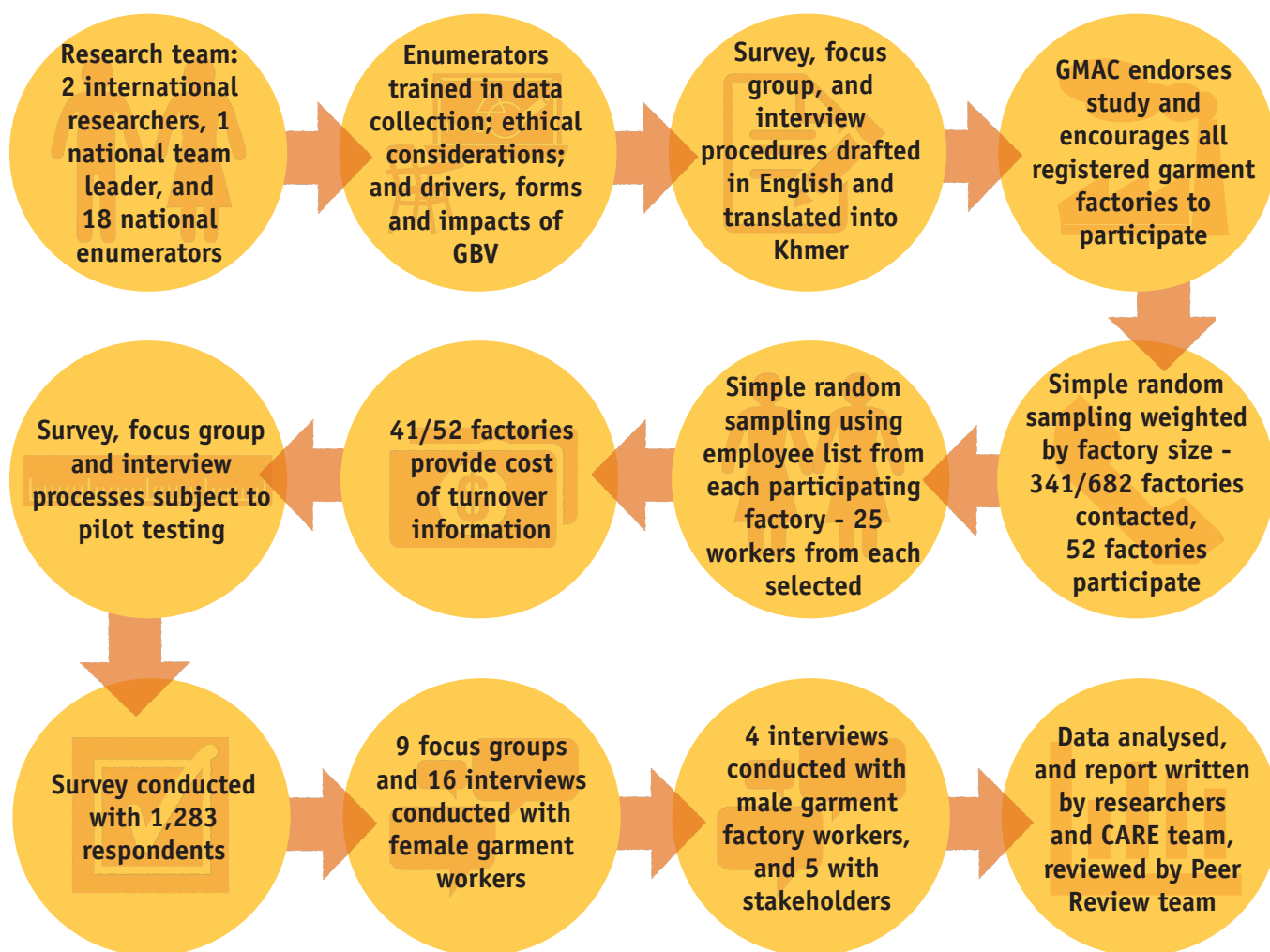
iii. Based on quantitative data collected between March 2016 to June 2016 where participants were asked to recall ways in which their work performance was affected by sexual harassment over the previous 12 months.

METHODOLOGY

The safety of respondents and the research team was paramount and informed all decisions throughout the study.

The design and implementation of the study complied with World Health Organisation ethical guidelines for researching violence against women.⁶ Verbal informed consent was sought from all participants. Respondents were given the opportunity to select a safe space and convenient time for the one-on-one interview; sometimes she/he chose to conduct the interview over the phone for safety and ease to their work schedules. There was no additional support requested and no respondent chose to opt out of or discontinue the interview. At the end of each interview, the respondent was provided with a small pocket-sized booklet and explanation of health and other services available. The research team ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents throughout the study. Data analysis in the study has not been presented at factory level, both to protect factory anonymity and also protect workers from fear of reprisal. The final dataset of survey responses is password protected and access is restricted to the four members of the core research team.

The research process took 15 months, from December 2015 to March 2017. Field work was conducted from February 2016 to June 2016.



SEXUAL HARASSMENT

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) sexual harassment is defined as any “sex-based behaviour that is unwelcome and offensive to its recipient”.⁷

Sexual harassment is a barrier to equal participation in paid work; it undermines equal participation in the workplace; and it reduces the quality of working life. This leads to productivity costs for businesses.

Sexual harassment perpetuates and is perpetuated by gender inequality. Gender inequality is characterised by unequal value afforded to men and women and an unequal distribution of power, resources and opportunity. It is often rooted in laws or policies formally constraining the rights and opportunities of women, and is reinforced and maintained through informal mechanisms, like negative gender norms. When women are considered to have less value and fewer rights than men, and are barred from accessing resources and opportunities, they are more vulnerable to experiencing sexual harassment. Sexual harassment in turn also entrenches these barriers and attitudes, limiting women’s choices and opportunities.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IS A FORM OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE.

It may be:

- **physical**, including physical and sexual violence, touching, or unnecessary close proximity.
 - **verbal**, such as comments and questions about appearance, life-style, or sexual orientation, or offensive phone calls
 - **non-verbal**, including leering, whistling, sexually-suggestive gestures, or the display of pornographic materials.
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The majority of women in the garment industry are not on equal terms to their male colleagues. Harmful gender norms and structures both in and out of the factory mean that they are largely excluded from certain types of work (such as leadership roles), get paid less than men, receive less education and training than men, are recognised less for their contributions, and are more likely to be exploited and harassed in their workplace.

This research estimates the cost of sexual harassment to productivity within garment factories and notes the scope of the problem and testimonies of the workers. It does not count the cost to individuals and society of the broader harms caused, which can include poor health and serious emotional and psychological distress. Other studies examining national rates of gender-based violence (GBV) estimate the cost of GBV to women, households and economies to be high.⁸

This study measured indirect tangible costs as a result of loss of productivity due to sexual harassment in three different ways: turnover costs, absenteeism costs, and presenteeism costs.

MEASURING PRODUCTIVITY

Turnover costs: costs of workers leaving the factory due to sexual harassment, including time to fill a vacancy, training for new workers and other costs

Absenteeism costs: costs of days missed from work due to sexual harassment.

Presenteeism costs: costs due to lost productivity from working while not in a fully functional state of mind due to sexual harassment.

GARMENT FACTORY WORKERS

Young migrant women are most at risk of being targeted by men who harass.

According to the survey conducted by this study, a typical garment factory worker in Cambodia is a 27-year-old internal migrant woman working outside of her home province. She left school after grade seven and earns USD 145 per month, or USD 209 per month including overtime and bonuses. Men typically have one more year of schooling than women, and earn on average USD 16 more than women per month, or USD 19 more including overtime and bonuses.

Women who are younger, unmarried, internal migrants, living (alone or with friends and family) and working outside their home provinces, are more likely to experience sexual harassment in their communities than those who are older, married, from Phnom Penh, and/or living with their spouse or parents. Migrants were twice as likely to experience sexual harassment than non-migrant peers on their way to and from work.

“You cannot hide...”: Chanthavy’s story

Two years ago, Chanthavy*, now aged 24, left her parents’ home in Prey Veng province to find work in Phnom Penh. She moved into a shared room, rented by older cousins who had left the province a few years before her. Her cousins secured her a job at the garment factory where they worked and Chanthavy has worked there ever since. When her cousins married, they moved out of the room and now she lives alone. She is single.

“I have lived in this area for two years, but I don’t know many members of the community. There are many problems here in the community - last week somebody stole a neighbour’s motorbike. People always steal small things, like clothes when we leave them out to dry.

Women feel afraid. We only go out to work and then come back to the house. We fear staying outside. Women who work late tell stories about how they meet gangsters in the street on the way home from the late shift - other women hear their warnings and try not to go out after work ... The risk to women is increasing because there are so many bad boys now, young people who go crazy on drugs ...

You cannot hide. Almost every morning, we meet problems on the way to work, with men calling out to us and chasing us. Two months ago, it happened to me, at 6am on the way to the factory. I was walking and two men began to chase me. It was light at that time but quiet where we were. I ran to where there would be many people. This happens to many women, but we don’t report it to the factory. Before, we used to report it, but they didn’t do anything. The men in this community see it happening. They hear us calling for help, but they won’t help us. They are scared of the bad boys because sometimes they carry knives or guns. I have no male relatives here so I have no one to look out for me.

Some men also cause problems in the factory. They fight and spread rumours about the women workers, especially the young ones. If you have a problem with a man at the factory, you can report it to the bosses. If something violent happens, the factory might call for the police in the commune.

Many women change jobs because of [these problems], like one woman who was attacked by a gang outside work. They hurt her and stole her money. She was frightened, so she moved to [another factory] ... Of course, everybody knows some factories are better than others. Many [at the factory where I work] want to work at [another factory] - they have good rooms there: cheap, close to the factory, security to keep the bad boys out, no drugs allowed. But those factories are always full. We didn’t change factories ourselves, though, because we have adapted to the problems. We know not to walk alone, but to wait and walk together.”

**Chanthavy is a participant in this study. Her name has been changed to protect her identity.*

USD 89 MILLION PER ANNUM...

In total, sexual harassment cost the industry USD 88,742,695, or 0.52 per cent of Cambodia's 2015 GDP.¹⁰

Turnover costs	USD 85,184
Absenteeism costs	USD 545,000
Presenteeism costs	USD 88,112,511
Total	USD 88,742,695 per annum^{iv}

To estimate the costs of sexual harassment in lost productivity, this study examined turnover costs, absenteeism, and presenteeism among a representative sample of the 546,467^v workers in the Cambodian garment industry. Between the months of March and May 2016, workers were asked to recall incidents of sexual harassment over the last 12 months:

- 1.17 per cent of workers surveyed reported having moved factories as a result of sexual harassment.
- 3.3 per cent of workers reported taking an average of 3.9 days per year off work as a direct result of sexual harassment.
- 13.5 per cent of workers stated their productivity was significantly affected by sexual harassment, estimating that on average, they were able to work half as effectively. Representing over 99 per cent of the cost to productivity, **presenteeism caused by sexual harassment is a significant problem.**

CALCULATING THE COST OF LOSS TO PRODUCTIVITY

TURNOVER COSTS

USD 13.31 (costs of training) x (1.17% of the sample or approx. 6,400 workers)



AN ESTIMATED COST OF
USD 85,184 PER ANNUM ACROSS THE INDUSTRY

ABSENTEEISM COSTS

3.3% of workers taking an average of 3.9 days per year off work as a direct result of sexual harassment: approx. 69,550 work days missed or 102 days/factory/year^{vi}



AN ESTIMATED COST OF
USD 545,000 (APPROX) ACROSS THE INDUSTRY

PRESENTEEISM COSTS

USD 99.38^{iv} in lost value per month for the 13.5% of workers reporting productivity losses due to sexual harassment



AN ESTIMATED COST OF
USD 88,112,511 PER ANNUM ACROSS THE INDUSTRY

iv. See Chapter 6 in the technical report.

v. This figure has been extrapolated from the sample data to reflect the full 682 factories registered with GMAC at the time of the survey. 365 (28.4 per cent) of all workers in the sample experienced some form of sexual harassment in the workplace (see Table 5 in the technical report). We asked these workers to estimate the effect that sexual harassment had on their productivity. 174 workers (13.5 per cent) of all workers in the sample indicated that sexual harassment had some effect on productivity, with the mean effect reported at 49.67 per cent among these 174 workers.

vi. 365 (28.4 per cent) of all workers in the sample experienced some form of sexual harassment in the workplace (see Table 5 in the technical report). We asked these workers to estimate the effect that sexual harassment had on their productivity. 174 workers (13.5 per cent) of all workers in the sample indicated that sexual harassment had some effect on productivity, with the mean effect reported at 49.67 per cent among these 174 workers.

NEARLY 1 IN 3 WOMEN...

Nearly one in three female garment workers reported experiencing sexual harassment in their workplace over the last 12 months.^{vii}

Of these women, 68.2 per cent reported *“being made to feel uncomfortable or unsafe”*. 32.5 per cent reported *“receiving unwanted leers, sexual comments, noises or gestures”*. 19.5 per cent also reported being referred to in *“sexist or degrading terms”*.^{viii}

Outside the workplace^{ix}, women and men in the garment industry perceive a regular and daily risk of sexual harassment. 16.5 per cent of women and 7.6 per cent of men have experienced sexual harassment outside the factory over the last 12 months.^x

“We all experience problems with men on the way to and from work. They shout things at us and try to embarrass us, but I try not to care. It doesn’t happen too often, just once or twice a week. Everybody experiences this [but] ... I know I cannot quit.”

Female Garment Worker

Despite the fact the journey to and from work is generally undertaken during daylight hours and usually in the company of many other workers, many women reported regular harassment and abuse.

Outside the factory, the most common experiences of sexual harassment included being stared or leered at, whistled at and subjected to inappropriate comments. Migrant women workers were more than twice as likely to experience sexual harassment than non-migrant women workers on their way to and from work.

In order to avoid unpleasant and threatening situations, many female workers avoided going out as much as possible, making sure when they did so that they arranged for somebody to accompany them. Women were generally expected – by each other as well as the wider community – to stay home at night and to avoid leisure activities, especially without someone to accompany them.

Ultimately, women workers learned quickly that their mobility was confined, which limited work and leisure options. Their voices have been silenced by sexual harassment, both in the workplace and in the community.

“First of all [a woman] has to stay inside till morning – even if you have a problem... If somebody comes to knock on your door, then you don’t open it. You have to be afraid and listen at the wall to see if it is who they say [because] sometimes they pretend to be someone else.”

Female Garment Worker



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vii. See Table 5 in the technical report.

viii. See Table 6 in the technical report.

ix. In the community and while commuting to and from work.

x. Based on data collected between March to June 2016 where participants were asked to recall ways in which their work performance was affected by sexual harassment over the previous 12 months.

Many workers find the legal system for reporting sexual harassment to be ineffective, explaining that authorities are both disinterested and disempowered.

At the national level, the *Labour Law 1997* and the *Criminal Code 2009* exist as regulatory frameworks related to sexual harassment and the *National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018* (NAPVAW) serves as the government's statement of intent to address violence against women, which includes sexual harassment.

The Criminal Code includes provisions for various sexual offences that are against the law, such as rape, sexual assault and indecent exposure; but its definition of sexual harassment is narrow and does not cover the broader range of behaviours understood to constitute sexual harassment. Similarly, while the Labour Law states that 'all form of sexual violation (harassment) is strictly forbidden', it does not include a clear definition of sexual harassment in the workplace.

"If it's not violent, they [the garment factory] give a warning. They say that if a worker has three warnings, then they should be fired. But I've never seen that happen at my factory..."

Female Garment Worker

The NAPVAW is a comprehensive plan of action involving a multi-sector coordinated approach from state institutions, civil society, private sector, development partners and citizens. Its aim is to provide a comprehensive plan for action to combat violence.



Women bear the burden of responsibility to prevent sexual harassment.

There is an absence of a minimum level of protective or preventative measures in the garment industry, like a standard policy for sexual harassment across the industry, or recognition and action against sexual harassment from senior levels of management. As a result, women workers reported they have little means to protect themselves or to receive appropriate support from factory management and duty bearers in the community.

“If you have a big problem – like you are sick at work – then they will take you to the hospital. But if it’s a problem between two workers, then they will fire you both.”

Female Garment Worker

“[Sometimes the male workers] talk about taking a girl to have [sex with] . . . When this happens, she doesn’t change factory, but she changes the place she works, like if he works on one side [of the factory] then she would move to the other side.”

Female Garment Worker

As a result, women developed other coping strategies – such as moving to another part of the factory, walking to and from the factory in groups, and not leaving their rooms at night or avoiding restaurants and bars. These coping mechanisms restricted women’s freedom and mobility and put the onus on women to protect themselves and bear responsibility for what happens to them, encouraging a culture of victim-blaming.

Authority figures offer very little assistance to garment workers – either preventative or investigatory – in relation to sexual harassment. Instead, they reinforce unequal and restrictive gender norms that lay the blame for harassment on victims, and in particular female victims.

“Women have to be very moral, not pretend to be a sexy girl or a bad girl. If people see that you are an honourable girl, then people cannot harass you. Even if they do, then we can report it to the authorities and the man will be punished. From my own perspective [though], some of them go out and some of them call their boyfriend or girlfriend to come to their rented room, they go out at night and drink and so on. If they act like this, then they already have a relationship with a boyfriend or girlfriend, so they cannot say they [suffer] harassment.”

Male Village Leader

This cultural narrative, in which women were strongly criticised for experiencing harassment, is a key theme to emerge from the focus groups and interviews. This indicates an environment in which the responsibility to prevent sexual harassment lies primarily in women’s restriction of their own freedom of movement. Female workers in the communities interviewed for this study tended to view after-hours leisure as irresponsible, as it was thought to increase the risk of sexual assault. Indeed, most female workers viewed sexual harassment as a problem partly of their own making and hence, their responsibility to overcome.

“If you stay in your room at night then you are 100 per cent safe, but if you want to go out, then you will end up getting involved with gangs and you’ll face problems.”

Female Garment Worker

HARMFUL GENDER NORMS...

One in four men surveyed (55 out of the 198 men) reported being exposed to uncomfortable or harassing behaviours and being asked questions of a sexual nature.

Male workers consistently and more often reported harassment in the form of inappropriate jokes, sexual rumours or as recipients of unwanted sexualised communication. The forms of harassment appear different for men in that they may pressure them to participate in a workplace culture of sexual harassment. Over one in five had heard or experienced inappropriate jokes in the workplace and 9 per cent were shown offensive or pornographic images. Both the Employee Survey and the qualitative findings reveal women and men adapt to and accept sexual harassment as the norm in the garment factory environment, indicating that men may become passive or active participants of harassment.^{xi} Men are both perpetrators and victims of sexual harassment; traditional masculine values in society in general are replicated in factory settings, and reward behaviours like sexual posturing, bravado and denigrating women, while a man reporting sexual harassment is seen to be feminine.

While men make up only 15 per cent of the employee population they generally hold higher positions (greater levels of responsibility and authority) and thereby will have greater control over workplace culture (e.g. normalisation of sexualised behaviour and harassment). Further research is needed to better understand gender enculturation - where people 'learn' the requirements of their surrounding culture and acquire attitudes, language values and behaviours appropriate or necessary in that culture - in factories.

“[Sexual harassment] is a problem inside the factory. [When these things happen], some people care and some people don't. Normally those who care, only care the first time and then it becomes normal.”

Male Garment Worker



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xi. See Chapter 5, Section 5.1 Harassment in Factories, in technical report.

CONCLUSIONS

This study shows that sexual harassment remains a serious issue for women workers in the Cambodian garment industry, and it is associated with considerable costs to the factories themselves.

The social and economic costs of sexual harassment in the workplace are high, as the acts of workplace violence affect not only the direct survivors and perpetrators, but also include indirect victims (including secondary survivors and future generations), the factory, and society at large (e.g. increasing the strain on medical and mental health care systems, and contributing to overall lower quality of life, isolation, unemployment and productivity which affects GDP). As evidenced in this study, sexual harassment can discourage women and men from working and reduce productivity.

The research reveals a day-to-day tolerance and adaptation to sexual harassment caused by unequal gender norms. Responsibility is placed on women to prevent and protect themselves from harassment, and they are blamed and shamed when they experience harassment. These norms and approaches should be challenged and replaced by a comprehensive, coordinated and systematic response that is based on the principle that all women have a right to be free from violence, including sexual harassment.

Women should not be expected to limit their movement or ignore harassment. **Factories have a duty to provide safe and decent work conditions** to their employees; and **authorities have a responsibility** to ensure that community members are safe.

Action is required at all levels, including: strengthening national legislation and oversight; improving factory conditions and codes of conduct; committing community authorities (such as local leaders, police and unions) to take sexual harassment seriously; and empowering workers to know and demand their rights.

Another key finding of this research was men's experience of sexual harassment. However, this research study did not explore in detail how men and women experience sexual harassment differently, how their coping mechanisms differ, and the impacts of their harassment on workplace culture and gender norms among male colleagues. We recommend further studies conduct additional in-depth research with men in the garment industry to explore in detail: men's experiences of harassment, whether as perpetrators, witnesses, or victims; and the drivers of sexual harassment in workplace culture.

More broadly, efforts must be made to address the root cause of sexual harassment: gender inequality. Derogatory attitudes towards women must be addressed both through workplace processes, and through targeted campaigns in the broader community. This is a task that involves everyone working together: **government, industry and civil society.**

RECOMMENDATIONS

Preventing and reducing sexual harassment requires a coordinated response. The following recommendations are directed at the Royal Government of Cambodia, local authorities in communities surrounding garment factories, the garment industry, unions, civil society, and the ILO's Better Factories Cambodia Program.

CARE endorses the overall objectives and activities put forward by the Royal Government of Cambodia in the National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2014-2018 (NAPVAW). The detailed recommendations below highlight particular activities under this plan which directly relate to the findings of this report.

CARE's overall recommendations are threefold:

1. Improve productivity, prevention and protections through industry and Government jointly promoting harassment-free work and community environments.
2. Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment.
3. Invest in and support programs, law and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protection against sexual harassment.

1. Improve productivity, prevention and protections through industry and Government jointly promoting harassment-free work and community environments.

1.1. Given the impact of sexual harassment on women's well-being and workforce productivity, CARE endorses and recommends prioritising the following activities identified in the "Community and Workplace" and "Capacity Building" sections of the NAPVAW by both Government and industry stakeholders:

- "Design, implement and evaluate interventions to prevent violence against women in both public and private spaces with increased mobilization of civil society participation and initiatives."¹²
- "Promote safe, harassment-free and respectful public and private workplace environments through raising awareness of labour rights, ensuring policies and mechanisms to prevent and respond to workplace harassment, and working with employers to create safe and harassment-free work environment."¹³
- Increase the capacity of all key actors to understand the physical, psychological and financial impact of violence against women.¹⁴

1.2. Given the identified gaps in workplace-level protections, CARE recommends garment factories, with the support of the industry body GMAC:

- Develop and/or adopt and implement workplace-level policies (in line with international best practice) which put processes in place to prevent, respond to and monitor sexual harassment.
- Train all management and staff on sexual harassment, gender equality, and bystander intervention to ensure that the workplace-level policy is properly understood and implemented.
- Provide necessary awareness to workers on the workplace policy, and their rights and responsibility to report incidents in the factory to the designated management staff.
- Task appropriate employees with responsibility and expertise in addressing sexual harassment and creating cultural change so that sexual harassment is no longer tolerated. This may involve establishing a sexual harassment committee or explicitly and publicly tasking an existing committee or individuals with this mandate.
- Create linkages, dialogue and reporting mechanisms (where appropriate) between other workplace and community stakeholders, such as unions, commune authorities, landlords, and police to address and prevent sexual harassment that occurs both inside and outside the workplace.

1.3. Given the identified gaps in workplace-level protections, CARE recommends the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training:

- Include identifying policies and protections from sexual harassment, and the implementation thereof, in the Inspection Checklist.
- Train Labour Inspectors on sexual harassment and gender and facilitate ongoing knowledge sharing between officials and factory management through the labour inspection process.

2. Work towards better legal protections against sexual harassment.

2.1 Given the gaps in the implementation of the law identified by the legal analysis and qualitative findings of this report, CARE endorses and recommends prioritising the following activities identified in the “Multi-sectoral Coordinated Response Mechanism”, “Effective Police Protection” and “Legal Aid and Access to Justice” sections of the NAPVAW by both Government and industry stakeholders:

- “Develop a coordinated response mechanism between ministries, institutions, service providers, civil society, private sector and other key actors to promote a coordinated prevention and response strategy at the national level and to build knowledge and skills.”¹⁵
- “Clarify operational standards and codes of conduct, review and share at all levels to promote improved police response to violence against women.”¹⁶
- “Legal and justice reform process considers and discusses violence against women issues.”¹⁷

2.2. Furthermore, CARE recommends that the Government of Cambodia:

- Begin a consultative law reform process to consider an appropriate new or existing legal mechanism or institutional body that has the power to give legal remedy for people who suffer detriment due to sexual harassment.
- Create new legislation or amend existing law to create easy-to-access, affordable legal remedy for all forms of workplace and/ or community sexual harassment, including vicarious responsibility (accountability) of employers, which cannot be remedied at a workplace level.



Garment workers sign commitments to listen to their peers, show support and report to the authorities when they hear of sexual harassment as part of CARE’s Sexual Harassment Stops Here campaign. ©2015 Jenny Conrad/CARE

3. Invest in and support programs, laws and policies that continue to build the reputation of Cambodia as a country committed to gender equality, appropriate labour standards and protections against sexual harassment.

3.1 Given the high prevalence and cost of sexual harassment to the garment industry and the potential for Cambodia to set itself apart as a destination for responsible investment, CARE recommends that the Government, industry stakeholders, and the ILO's Better Factories Initiative:

- Through a consultative process with stakeholders, agree to a Cambodian industry-wide common code of conduct to address sexual harassment in the workplace.
- Coordinate with suppliers and retailers to adopt international standards of responsible investment with regards to sexual harassment, and reflect this commitment to international standards through monitoring and auditing protocols.
- Endorse and support the global movement for a labour convention on ending violence in the workplace.

3.2. Given the intersections of women's workers right to be free from sexual harassment and the loss of productivity to industry caused by sexual harassment, CARE recommends that industry stakeholders, unions and civil society work together to:

- Ensure representation of women in factory committees and union structures so that women's voice and experience of sexual harassment is brought to the fore as a workplace issue and, in turn, fed back to factory management for action. A possible mechanism would be setting targets for women's membership of committees.
- Endorse and engage with public campaigns which aim to promote respectful relationships, change harmful gendered social norms and engage all community members to intervene in sexual harassment and gender based violence.



Garment workers review details of who to contact if they see or experience sexual harassment.
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The technical report “I know I cannot quit.” The Prevalence and Productivity Cost of Sexual Harassment to the Cambodian Garment Industry is available at www.care-cambodia.org and www.care.org.au.

A great many people came together to enable this study to be conducted; to all of those involved, a sincere thank you. In particular, thanks and gratitude to the 1,287 factory workers who participated in the study, generously providing their limited time to recall painful experiences of hardship, harassment and violence. Without their generosity, this research would not have been possible.

All photographs included in this research summary are illustrative only and do not feature any survey participants.



“I know I cannot quit.”

The Prevalence and Productivity Cost of Sexual Harassment to the Cambodian Garment Industry

Sexual harassment in the workplace and the community is a form of violence against women and a human rights violation.

Of the 600,000 workers employed by Cambodia’s garment sector, 85 per cent are women. However, despite their high rate of participation in the garment industry, women are not on equal terms with their male colleagues. They are largely excluded from certain types of work (such as leadership roles), get paid less than men, receive less education and training than men, and are more likely to be exploited and harassed in their workplace.

Since the mid-1990s the total annual output of the garment sector has grown from an estimated USD 20 million to over USD 5 billion today, almost a third of national Gross Domestic Product. In an industry whose success relies heavily on migrant women’s labour, sexual harassment is therefore not only a human rights issue but also an economic issue worth addressing, with appropriate investment required to create a safe, respectful and competitive work environment for all its employees.

For this reason, CARE has conducted this study in cooperation with the Garment Manufacturers Association of Cambodia (GMAC). It was funded through the Australian NGO Cooperation Program (ANCP), from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and the Australian public.

CARE has worked to improve conditions for marginalised women workers, including women in the garment sector; the entertainment, hospitality and tourism industry; and more recently, the construction industry. This includes nearly a decade of work tackling sexual harassment in the workplace and community.

In the garment sector, we work with government to strengthen garment factory management and law enforcement authorities’ ability to implement laws effectively. We engage with employers and the private sector to ensure effective policies and procedures are in place to protect workers and adequate services are available to employees. We train factory workers to have the knowledge, confidence and skills to make informed decisions about their lives and demand the sexual and reproductive health rights and services they need. We also address harmful social and legal gender norms around sexual harassment through broader community outreach and advocacy.

The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect those of CARE International, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, or any other participating organisations.

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What Works? Preventing & Responding to Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

A Rapid Review of Evidence

November 2018

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The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of CARE Australia and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the Australian Government.

Cover page photo: The cover image shows an HR manager from one of CARE's partner factories in Cambodia who has shown leadership in preventing and responding to workplace sexual harassment.

Image: CARE/GMB Films



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Glossary

Discrimination	Discrimination is rooted in prejudice and occurs when a person or a group of people, is treated less favourably than another person or group because of their race, colour, national or ethnic origin, sex pregnancy or marital status, age, disability, religion or sexual preference.
Sexual Harassment	Sexual harassment is any unwanted, unwelcome or uninvited behaviour of a sexual nature which could be expected to make a person feel humiliated, intimidated or offended.
Gender-Based Violence	Any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. The violence is specifically 'directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately' (CEDAW, Article 1).
Gender harassment	A broad range of verbal and nonverbal behaviours not aimed at sexual cooperation but convey insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes based on one's gender (Leskinen, E & Cortina, L., 2014).
Gender norms	A subset of social norms (see below) about socially shared expectations about behaviour that apply to individuals based on socially identified sex.
Harasser	Person or people who sexually harasses another person.
Organisational Culture	A set of shared assumptions that guide what happens in organisations by defining appropriate behaviour for various situations. Organisational culture affects the way people and groups interact with each other, with clients, and with stakeholders. It can also affect how much employees identify with their organisation.
Social norms	Social norms are behavioural rules constructed and shared by a group and are different from individually held beliefs and attitudes. A social norm is made up by one's beliefs about what others do and by one's beliefs about what others think one should do.
Target	Person or people who have experienced some form of sexual harassment. The word victim is problematic as it perpetuates stereotypes about lack of agency or resilience of people targeted by these behaviours.
Workplace	A workplace covers any site or location that a person attends to carry out their work or trade. A workplace includes any online activity which relates to work, including on- and off-site work-related events including social events, emailing, texting, tweeting or other social media activity, and any other activities that have a connection to the workplace.

Executive Summary

This evidence review occurs at a time of change and a movement globally to stop sexual harassment. Harassment, abuse and exploitation, and their denial, have a significant impact on women and men of diverse races, gender identities, expressions and sexual orientations, on people with the courage to speak out, on the many individuals who have been unable to take action.

Sexual harassment adversely impacts people and business, it results in significant physical and mental health consequences, costs to business operations, and can affect all employees in the workplace. This rapid review seeks to gain and share insight on promising global approaches to addressing harassment in the workplace. It is hoped that robust evidence of what works to address this sensitive and pervasive issue will guide the practice, and accountability of employers to workplace health and safety.

The evidence shows significant convergence around several themes, including:

- The importance of sustained leadership engagement and commitment;
- Broader efforts to prevent sexual harassment by shifting social norms;
- ‘Whole of organisation’ approaches that include formalised governance approaches and policies, effective complaints mechanisms and ongoing staff training; and
- Embedding organisational approaches in a broader commitment to gender equality.

Table 1 below contextualises the findings within a whole-systems (ecological) approach and articulates how leadership can address sexual harassment in the workplace through systemic and sustainable efforts.

Society	Community and Stakeholder	Organisational Policies	Organisational leadership	Workplace Norms and Practices
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisations have a societal obligation to prevent/address sexual harassment. • Social movements like #metoo can help organisations contextualise the issue and gain support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with policy makers to develop comprehensive legislation to protect against sexual harassment. • Nurture academic and other partnerships to build needed evidence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Widely share new workplace policies and practices. • Utilise ‘whole of organisation’ approaches to prevention. • Centre leadership capacity to design prevention approaches. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote leadership buy-in. • Develop clearly communicated policies. • Work with informal leaders to shift organisational norms. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop comprehensive trainings. • Promote positive bystander models. • Provide opportunities to build new norms, beliefs, and behaviours.

Table 1: Summary of findings within a whole systems approach

This review and its recommendations are intended to provide evidence-based design principles to guide work in stopping sexual harassment in the workplace. Where evidence is lacking, we point to promising practice. Documenting and building on these recommendations and continually reframing good practice approaches will inform greater efforts to improve working conditions globally.

Review limitations

There are several limitations to this review. Firstly, the underreporting of violence in the workplace impacts the capacity to assess the prevalence, and measure the effectiveness of interventions to address it. Secondly, a large proportion of existing research comes from developed country contexts; these settings are different from the setting of garment factories in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (Mekong countries). However, despite limited evidence from Mekong countries, we believe many of the findings, specifically as they relate to social norms, can inform strong programming in the region. Finally, this is a *rapid* review of evidence and does not purport to be comprehensive coverage of all available literature.

Introduction

Enhancing Women's Voice to Stop Sexual Harassment

The Enhancing Women's Voice to Stop Sexual Harassment (STOP) project is operating in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (2017-2021).¹ The project is working with the garment industry and government in the Mekong to design and implement workplace models and mechanisms for preventing and responding to sexual harassment. The project builds on a model developed by CARE in Cambodia, the Sexual Harassment Prevention Package for Garment Factories which includes a workplace policy, an implementation guide and multi-media training designed to engage women workers.

The STOP project has three objectives:

1. Supporting garment factories to develop effective workplace mechanisms to respond to sexual harassment;
2. Supporting female garment factory workers to feel safe to report sexual harassment, and through engaging with garment factories, to do so free from negative consequences; and
3. Strengthening the national regulatory environment of factories to promote laws, policies and mechanisms to address sexual harassment in the workplace

Reviewing the evidence: what works?

CARE is committed to evidence-based programming. This rapid review was conducted to identify evidence from across disciplines to answer the question, what works to prevent and respond to sexual harassment in the workplace.

The rapid review is not an investigation into the prevalence and types of sexual harassment in the Mekong region. This information will be developed by CARE in project locations through legal and situational analyses. The review synthesises the literature on sexual harassment specifically and draws on broader public health evidence regarding the prevention of violence. It draws on literature from social psychology in addressing and changing social norms, and from organisational development and psychology on changing workplace culture and practices. It looks at evidence from development studies on gender transformative programming.

This rapid review seeks to answer the question
What works to prevent and respond to sexual harassment in the workplace?

The report has two parts:

Part A – Locates workplaces *within* a socio-ecological model of violence and reviews the evidence regarding prevention of violence against women, and models for prevention of sexual harassment in workplaces. It explores literature from various disciplines that address sexual harassment in the workplace and good practice advice for workplaces.

Part B – Looks *inside* the business and reviews evidence and promising practice to guide the organisation's response. It assesses existing knowledge about organisational leadership, workplace strategies and policies, practices and norms and learning and capability. It also identifies evidence

¹ The project is funded by the Australian Government through Australian Aid and in particular through the Gender Action Platform and the Australian NGO Cooperation Partnership.

gaps. This section provides executable actions that can inform workplace programs to address sexual harassment in garment factories.

The evidence in this review will inform the adaptation of CARE’s model for sexual harassment prevention in Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam.

PART A: FRAMING SEXUAL HARASSMENT			
What is sexual harassment?	What works to prevent violence against women?	Sexual Harassment in the Workplace	Models for addressing sexual harassment in the workplace
PART B: REVIEW OF EVIDENCE OF WHAT WORKS			
What works to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace?	What steps can organisations take to prevent sexual harassment?		

Table 2: Framework for the report

Part A: Framing Sexual Harassment

What is Sexual Harassment?

Sexual harassment is a continuum of sexual and/or sexist behaviours which negatively impact on the person or people who are harassed. Sexual harassment shares common drivers with violence against women. This section explores evidence supporting approaches to understand and address violence against women, and the role of workplaces within those efforts.

Definitions of sexual harassment

Most definitions of sexual harassment focus on behavioural elements of the harassment (Fileborn, 2013). A 2012 review of evidence on sexual harassment in the workplace summarised that it could take several forms. These are:

- Explicitly sexual verbal and nonverbal behaviours;
- Insulting verbal and nonverbal behaviours that are not sexual but drawing on gender-based beliefs, including sexist hostility (Fitzgerald et al., 1997);
- Unwanted sexual attention; and
- Sexual coercion (requests or threats for sexual cooperation in return for job security or benefits) (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2012; Chung et al., 2012).

Sexual harassment is any unwanted, unwelcome or uninvited behaviour of a sexual nature which could be expected to make a person feel humiliated, intimidated or offended (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008).

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines sexual harassment as sex-based and sexual behaviour that is unwelcome, unreasonable and offensive to its recipient (ILO, 2015). The ILO's conceptualisation of sexual harassment as a serious form of discrimination links to sex-based social policies and labour market norms, sex segregation of workplaces, the location of workers in particular occupations and specific contract types (McDonald et al., 2015).

Sexual harassment creates hostile work environments

Sexual harassment creates a hostile work environment for individuals and groups of employees who are the targets of harassment, and often, for those who choose to report harassment. Sexual harassment is not always understood as a form of violence against women (Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, 2015). For example, workplaces, where sexist jokes and comments create and perpetuate a sexist organisational climate (sexist hostility), are not always viewed as sites of sexual violence. However, research shows more frequent though less intense workplace experiences (sexist jokes, remarks, ignoring women during meetings) can negatively affect occupational wellbeing as much as less frequent yet more intense forms of mistreatment at work (sexual coercion or physical forms of sexual harassment) (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Evidence shows that over time, the impact of the less intense experiences can have similar effects on individual employees as experiences of less frequent but more serious forms of sexual harassment (Sojo et al., 2015).

Women who experience sexually harassing behaviours often do not label or name their experiences as sexual harassment *per se* (Holland & Cortina, 2013), and are often less able to recognise the broad spectrum of behaviour that constitutes unlawful sexual harassment – such as offensive banter,

jokes and unwelcome sexual advances (Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, 2015).

Attitudes about violence against women influence perceptions about the seriousness of different forms of sexual harassment. Violence against women, including sexual harassment, can be implicitly or explicitly condoned by social norms that trivialise the impact of specific acts towards women (Chung, et al., 2012; Our Watch, ANROWS & VicHealth, 2015).

In the workplace, sexual harassment may also take the form of 'quid pro quo' behaviours resulting in a hostile environment for the target and bystanders. Quid pro quo behaviours occur when:

- Benefits, such as employment, promotion, salary increases, shift or additional work, performance expectations and other conditions of employment, are made dependent on the provision of sexual favours, by an employer, supervisor or agent of the employer who has the authority to make decisions about employment; or
- The rejection of a sexual advance or request for sexual favour results in a tangible employment detriment, a loss of a job benefit of the kind described above.

Quid pro quo sexual harassment can result in specific employment actions or economic disadvantage, such as being fired, demoted or having changed terms of employment.

In summary, common elements in the definitions of sexual harassment in the workplace are that it:

- Occurs in the place of work or a work-related environment;
- Occurs because of the person's sex and/or it is related to or about sex;
- Is unwelcome, unwanted, uninvited, not returned, not mutual; and
- Affects the work environment itself (hostile work environment sexual harassment) or terms or conditions of employment (quid pro quo sexual harassment).

Sexual harassment as a form of discrimination

In addition to being a form of violence and/or creating a hostile workplace, sexual harassment is a form of discrimination. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), requires countries to take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in a range of settings, including in workplaces (UN General Assembly, 18 December 1979).

According to the CEDAW Committee, the term 'discrimination' includes gender-based violence as it is a violation of human rights. Violence against women is defined in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) and CEDAW's General Recommendation 19 and 35 as:

any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to when, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (UN General Assembly, 20 December 1993).

Sexual harassment is considered a form of violence against women as women are the most likely targets of sexual harassment.

Protecting sex-based social standing and power can motivate sexual harassment (McDonald et al., 2015) and is linked to gender norms associated with sexual bravado, posturing and sanctioned

denigration of feminine behaviours (Holmes & Flood, 2013). Hence, men may be punished for differing from heterosexual norms and gender roles (McDonald et al., 2015) with the use of sexual harassment as a tool to police 'appropriate' ways of 'doing gender' and penalising gender non-conformity. Such gender policing occurs between members of the same gender, and individuals who challenge gender norms or power dynamics are particularly targeted (McDonald et al., 2015).

Similarly, women may act as 'honorary men' to fit in with the dominant gender culture (McDonald et al., 2015). For example, applied research into attitudes of policewomen about other policewomen noted that adopting the behaviours of men was the way they 'fitted in' and were able to survive in the organisation (Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, 2015). Women managers, who act as 'honorary men,' are likely to use non-physical harassment such as sexualised language towards women subordinates.

The risk of experiencing sexual harassment is higher for some people because of their identities, attributes or circumstances. In a study on race and citizenship status, women of colour consistently mentioned experiencing a 'mix action', where sexualised harassment was not simply sexual harassment (Welsh et al., 2006). For example, a Filipino live-in care giver described her experience as *'a mix. It's a mix action. You don't know if the person is doing it to you because of the colour of your skin and the type of job that you have, you're doing a dirty job in the house so you don't know if it is harassment or sexual harassment'* (Welsh et al., 2006). The Our Watch National Framework, notes that 'other forms of social, political and historical discrimination and disadvantage intersect with, and affect the relative influence of drivers and reinforcing factors in any one context' (Our Watch et al., 2015).

Insight for the STOP project:

CARE's research into the prevalence and cost of sexual harassment in Cambodia found that 1 in 4 men were the subject of sexually harassing behaviours. In Myanmar, early assessments of sexual harassment suggest female to female harassment, which sits within the framework of the gender harassment, is more common. Gender policing / gender harassment require attention in behaviour change programs.

Sexual harassment reflects an abuse of power, in other words 'having and maintaining control over women in either an intimate or working relationships, with the overall consequence women's social status remains relatively unequal to that of men' (Chung et al., 2012). While the way in which the abuse of power occurs varies across communities, ethnicities, countries and class, men throughout the world are associated with greater power and authority (Our Watch et al., 2015).

The socio-ecological model (Figure 1) frames causes and responses to violence against women (see Appendix 1 for further information). The concentric circles place individuals at the centre, with violence against women (including sexual harassment) being experienced individually and interpersonally, in the context of community and societal attitudes, practices and structures (Michau et al., 2015).

The implication of this is that organisations, workforces and workplaces can play a tangible role in transforming the experience of women and having positive impacts on gender equality beyond the workplace.

The following section examines the available evidence for relevance and implications for workplaces at each level of the model, as well as research gaps which program and policy stakeholders may be best placed to address.



Figure 1: Transformation of power across the ecological model from Michau et al (2014), p. 4

Understanding sexual harassment within a socio-ecological model

Individuals, their attitudes and beliefs, are at the core of the ecological model. This includes attitudes and beliefs about women and men, their identity, their roles and how they should behave between and amongst one another. These attitudes can drive gender inequality, a pre condition to violence against women, of which sexual harassment is a form.

Attitudes that support violence include (VicHealth, 2012):

- Justifying violence against women;
- Excusing violence by attributing it to external factors;
- Trivialising the impact of violence, based on the view that the impacts of violence are not serious or are not sufficiently serious to warrant action by women themselves, the community or public agencies;
- Minimising violence by denying its seriousness, denying that it occurs or denying that certain behaviours are indeed violence at all; and
- Shifting blame for the violence from the perpetrator to the victim or holding women at least partially responsible for their targeting or for preventing targeting.

Attitudes are “an individual construct. It is an individually held belief that has an evaluative component – suggesting that something is good, bad, exciting, boring, sacrilegious, disgusting etc.” (Heise, 2016).

Building on the work of Heise (2016), the Our Watch Framework places individual attitudes in the context of social ecology to frame ‘individual behaviour in a social context’. The framework highlights the *interrelationships* between people’s attitudes, social norms, practices and structures noting, ‘this inter-relationship is crucial, because attitudes and behaviours are not always consistent, people may hold a pro-gender equality attitude but not intervene in discrimination or violence, similarly, they may hold sexist beliefs but not perpetrate sexual harassment’ (Our Watch et al., 2015). Also, each level influences and is influenced by other levels. Women experience violence at an individual level, but the experience and its impacts also have social and broader implications (Webster & Flood, 2015) as gender-based roles are carried into the workplace (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2013). There are three ways in which community-level understandings influence the extent to which violence against women is or is not tolerated. These include (Webster & Flood, 2015):

- **Social practices** – individual and collective patterns of behaviour, including everyday interaction, sexual behaviour, child-rearing practices, gendered divisions of labour and patterns of decision-making in families, in organisations and at the societal level. Evidence suggests that working with social norms offers the most promise for bringing change;
- **Social norms** – implicit or explicit rules of conduct and models of behaviour expected by a society or group. These might include norms or expectations about the acceptability of wife beating in different circumstances, social stigma for divorced or single women, linking male honour to women’s sexual purity, or men’s right to control and discipline women; and
- **Social structures** – at the relationship, organisational and institutional levels. Social structures are patterned social arrangements in a given context. Structures can be formal (such as legislation) or informal (such as the gender hierarchy in a family).

Sexual harassment and social norms

The term ‘social norm’ is used widely across disciplines. Heise (2016) defines a norm as:

a social construct. It exists as a collectively shared belief about what others do (what is typical) and what is expected of what others do (what is appropriate). Social norms are generally maintained by social approval and/or disapproval.

The Our Watch National Framework defines social norms as the ‘rules of conduct and models of behaviour expected by society or social group. They are ground in the customs, traditions and value systems that develop over time in a society or social group’ (Our Watch et al., 2015). Similarly, CARE International defines norms as ‘behavioural rules constructed and shared by a group that are different from individually held beliefs or attitudes’ (CARE International, 2017). Practices, norms and structures, internalised in individual psyches, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours are reflected in decisions to use violent or disrespectful behaviour towards women, and influence how individuals respond to those behaviours (Webster & Flood, 2015). Families, organisational and community cultures and society-wide institutions such as the media transmit norms. Social norms can be informal (such as a widely held expectation that women will perform childcare) or formal (such as a law stating that physical forms of violence are a crime).

Beliefs about what others typically do, or a perceived consensus about patterns of behaviour (for example, men typically hit their wives), are called ‘descriptive norms’. ‘Injunctive norms’ articulate what is appropriate or what individuals ought to do (Cooper et al., 2014). Table 3 below summarises the difference between social norms and individually held attitudes or behaviour.

	Terminology	Definition
	Attitude	What I think
	Behaviour	What I do
Social Norms	Empirical Expectations	What I think others do (or descriptive norms)
	Normative Expectations	What I think others expect me to do/what I should do according to others (or injunctive norms)
	Social sanctions / rewards for non-compliance ²	What I think others will do to sanction or reward behaviour

Table 3: Distinguishing Social Norms, Attitudes, Behaviours

The UK Department for International Development (DFID) points out that social norms exist within 'reference groups'. Reference groups are the group of people who are important to a person when they are making a decision (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). An individual's desire to meet the social expectations of their reference groups, to avoid implicit or explicit sanction can be a powerful motivation for people to 'fit in' whether or not they agree with those norms (Paluck & Ball, 2010). DFID further notes that social approval, or avoiding disapproval, can be more important to people than formal sanctions (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). For example, a barrier preventing men from taking action when they encounter violence against women is their concern about social costs and their status within a group (Powell 2014). Similarly, loss of face is a deterring factor for Asian American men to prevent harassment (Hall et.al., 2006).

Norms are dynamic and can change over time. Norms about the behaviour of people within a reference group can be informed by observation or through conversation, and institutional signals, that is workplace policies, expectations or informal rules can impact these norms (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). The challenge for programming is to harness change opportunities and discussed in Part B of this review.

The role of social norms in addressing violence against women

Both the attitudes of individuals and social norms may contribute to perpetuating gender inequality. Commonly held assumptions or beliefs, implicit and explicit rules or expectations about the 'way we do things' (VicHealth, 2012) can either perpetuate or prevent sexual harassment and other forms of violence against women. Cooper et al., (2014) note that clinical psychological approaches theorise violence against women as learned behaviour and see it as 'errors of judgement in thinking and focuses on skills training and anger management'.

Norms about gender (gender norms) influence how men and women see themselves and each other as men and women, their sexuality, and allocation of power and resources. A recent DFID report, states:

Violence is often, although not always, a part of dominant constructions of masculinity in many societies. If there are social expectations that men control women, then physical and sexual force are often seen as 'legitimate' ways to exert this control. This control also extends to punishment and sanction of those who resist, rebel or transgress gender norms, such as public shaming of female adulterers, homophobic and anti-lesbian violence. This helps to explain why men are the primary perpetrators of violence and why women are so often the victims, but also why sexual minorities are frequently the victims of gender violence. (Alexander-Scott, Bell, & Holden, 2016).

Some researchers argue that violence against women is a reflection that violence, in general, is a learned social practice (Our Watch et al., 2015). The Our Watch Framework (2015) asserts that:

this (social learning theory) does not explain the specifically gendered patterns of violence against women. Studies show that people learn about violence not in isolation, but in the context of learning about and experiencing social norms about gender and gender (in)equality, particularly masculine gender identities.

The following expressions of gender norms are associated with higher levels of violence against women: (Our Watch et al., 2015):

- Condoning of violence against women;
- Men's control of decision-making and limits to women's independence;
- Rigid gender roles and identities; and
- Male peer relations that emphasise aggression and disrespect towards women.

Figure 2 maps the intersecting factors and the relationship between violence supportive attitudes and gender inequality (Webster & Flood, 2015).

Examples of social and gender norms that support violence against women and girls (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016):

- A man has a right to assert power over a woman and is considered socially superior;
- A man has a right to physically discipline a woman for "incorrect" behaviour;
- Physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflict in a relationship;
- Intimate partner violence is a 'taboo' subject;
- Divorce is shameful;
- Sex is a man's right in marriage;
- Sexual activity (including rape) is a marker of masculinity; and
- Girls are responsible for controlling a man's sexual urges.

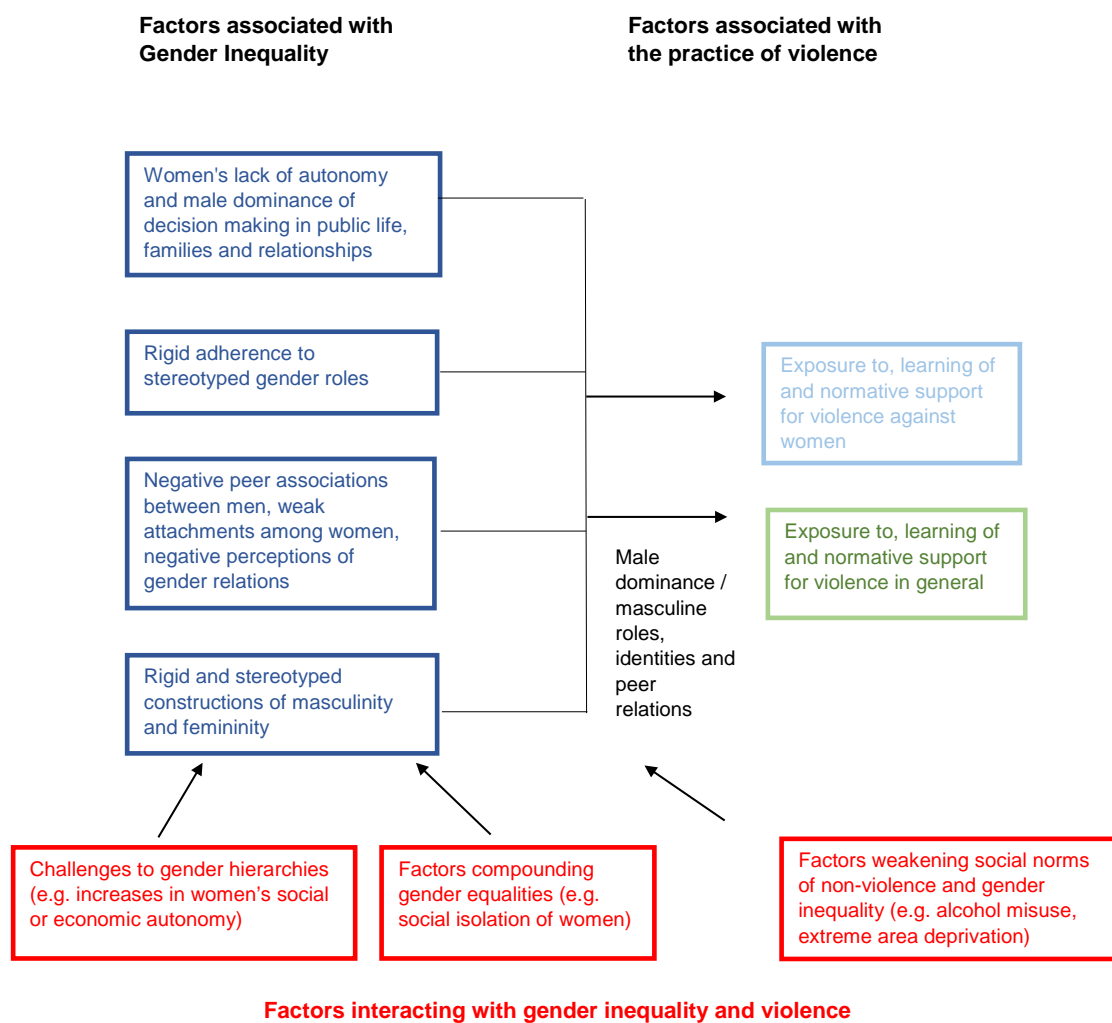


Figure 2: Correlates of violence against women: Webster & Flood, 2015 (reproduced)

Importantly for programs in workplaces, norms are properties of a situation itself. Two different norms can operate about how men behave within the context of a family and in the context of their workplace (Paluck & Ball 2010).

In the workplace, there are connections between men's identity and paid work. Paid work is central to the way in which men define their value and being, reflecting social norms that men support their families economically, and equating the 'breadwinner role' with full masculine and adult status (Holmes & Flood, 2013). This is consistent with the international evidence (Gender and Development Network, Gender Action for Peace and Security and UK SRHR Network, 2015):

almost everywhere men are still seen as the primary income earners or 'breadwinners', and the main decision makers. Meanwhile, women are expected to be obedient and caring and to do the majority of unpaid care work and household duties. Discriminatory norms around 'women's work' continue to entrench occupational segregation in the workplace, even when new employment opportunities arise, leading to the concentration of women in low paid and vulnerable employment.

When violence supportive community attitudes become embedded in the social framework, they influence the perpetration of violence, the way in which women and those around them respond to it and inhibit broader efforts to eliminate violence (Webster & Flood, 2015).

Social norms theory proposes that certain behaviours (e.g. violence and disrespect of women) are more common when formal and informal sanctions against them are weak (Webster et al., 2014).

Attitudes and social norms that excuse, justify or trivialise the use of violence against women can undermine efforts to hold perpetrators to account. Webster and Flood note implications for women seeking support or justice, citing evidence that 'men who use violence against women have been found to be particularly likely to justify and excuse their violent behaviour' (Webster & Flood, 2015). Webster and Flood's findings are consistent with findings that negative social norms about violence against women can result in a 'culture of silence' where targets are blamed, and violence is justified, excused, trivialised, denied, minimised or hidden from view (VicHealth, 2012).

Conversely, to develop and maintain social norms *against* violence, it is important to 'demonstrate that individuals who use violence will be held accountable' (Webster & Flood, 2015).

Not all individuals may hold (personal) attitudes that agree with harmful social norms. However fear of negative social outcomes increases barriers for taking steps to address specific incidents of violence or disrespect. This has implications for targets reporting such incidents, or, for bystanders to intervene. Intervention takes courage. If the weight of consensus lies with the negative norm, social norms shifts are particularly challenged. For example, Cooper et al. (2014), research on social norms about female genital mutilation (FGM) found, where the weight of social norms was in support of the practice of FGM, families were still having their daughters cut *even if they privately disagreed with the practice*.

The role of bystanders in addressing violence against women

In relation to violence against women, bystander actions are those that respond to violence and prevent it (Powell, 2014). Bystander approaches are based on the view that it is the responsibility of individuals *not* to use violence, rather than the responsibility of targets to *avoid* it. The rationale behind the action is that there is a shared community responsibility to do so. Powell (2014) describes the focus of bystander approaches as:

- **Intervention**—Intervening to stop an incident of sexual violence that is occurring, by calling the police, reporting the incident to security or an authority figure (such as a manager at a workplace);
- **Tertiary prevention**—Supporting a target (or confronting a perpetrator), to respond to the physical, psychological and social harms of sexual violence, by validating their disclosure of an incident (or following up with them after having witnessed an incident) and assisting them to make contact with appropriate support services;

Evidence provided by members of Victoria Police to the Independent Review into Victoria Police demonstrated police work was significantly affected by dominant attitudes and norms about:

- Gender identity or commonly held ideas about the characteristics and qualities that men and women are expected to have. For example, the attitude that women are best suited to looking after children because they are innately nurturing;
- Gender role norms or commonly held ideas about the roles women and men should take in public and private life, such as women as carers and men as breadwinners, or, in the context of policing, women should hold support roles to men's roles as physical, tough police members; and
- How men interact with other men (such as the 'brotherhood' or 'boys club'); how women interact with other women and how men and women interact with each other in public and private life.

The Independent Review's findings concluded that:

- Victoria Police employees' perceived that being a 'good police [member]' required individuals to be tough, resilient, strong, and sexually assertive, attributes that reflect gender-related social norms about being a man;
- Consequently, women employees were regarded as less competent and committed to the job because of their caring responsibilities and many felt the need to 'prove themselves'; and
- Victim-blaming attitudes were widely held about women who experienced or reported sexual harassment.

Source: Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, 2015

- **Secondary prevention**—Recognising and addressing a situation where the heightened risk of violence is present. Examples might include: keeping an eye out for the safety of friends, peers, colleagues or family members and being aware of, and taking action in response to, what is happening in one’s surroundings (such as offering to take a drunk friend home); and
- **Primary prevention**—Strengthening work preventing violence, promoting gender equity and challenging sexist, discriminatory, violence-supportive attitudes and behaviours in peer groups, organisations and communities. Examples might include: challenging a friend on their use of sexist slang, expressing discontent with a colleague for telling a sexist joke, or getting involved in a review of hiring and promotion practices at work or a local community group.

There is some debate about the use of the word ‘bystander’ as minimising perpetrators’ responsibility for their use of violence. Also, some see the concept as minimising the fact that all people exist within cultures or communities that implicitly or explicitly condone violence against women. The discourse and evidence on effectiveness of bystander approaches is still development (McDonald et al., 2016). However, the bystander concept is increasingly understood as a potential vehicle to promote a shift in social norms and behaviours, as it offers the potential for public and visible demonstrations of alternate positive behaviours, in addition, it is an accessible concept (Powell, 2014).

In one example of promising practice, applicable in workplace contexts, Green et al., (2018) developed a mass media experiment in Uganda aimed at constructing new public norms regarding bystander intervention in intimate partner violence situations. Green et al., (2018) found an increasing willingness to report as a new public norm *reduced judgement against bystanders*, resulting in a reduction in the number of households experiencing violence against women, even though there was little evidence of attitude change regarding the acceptability of violence. Women were less likely to believe they would be labelled a gossip if they were to report an incident of violence against women, and their willingness to speak out increased substantially (Green et al., 2018).

What works to prevent violence against women?

As the problem of violence against women is understood to be multi-layered and multi-faceted, there is growing evidence that its prevention requires similarly multi-layered interventions. Michau et al. (2015) summarise a consistent theme in the literature on addressing the prevention of violence against women:

Programmes often opt to work with a single population group (e.g. men or women experiencing violence) or sector (e.g. health care, police or judiciary), without making the necessary connections with other groups, issues, and institutions.

This review considers evidence most relevant to an employer’s sphere of influence within workplaces and workforces and explores principles that may be adapted to workplace settings. Our Watch conducted a review and rating of interventions across a broad range of sites and themes. Table 4 summarises a list of primary prevention programs, from that review, that have the potential to be adopted or adapted by employers/workplaces (for example adapting school-based programs to a workplace context). The ratings are as those of Webster and Flood (2015), where interventions are considered:

- **Effective** – if they have been shown to be effective in preventing violence against women
- **Promising** – if found to have an impact on risk factors, but not on violence directly
- **Conflicting** – where some evaluations show the interventions to be effective and others show that they are not
- **Ineffective** – when current studies have not established a positive impact on violence against women or its risk factors.

Community mobilisation and strengthening	
Community mobilisation, involving community-driven, participatory projects that engage multiple stakeholders to address gender norms.	Effective (evidence from low and middle-income countries only)
Organisational development	
Whole-of-school programs involving teachers and other school staff, pupils, reporting mechanisms, parents and the local community, along with national advocacy. A variety of strategies are used such as curriculum and group-based programs, policy reform, advocacy.	Promising
Organisational auditing processes to identify and address structures and practices contributing to gender inequality and violence against women. Involves developing audit tools and processes for engaging staff, community members and volunteers in using these to reflect on organisational cultures and processes and plan reform. Inducements may be used to encourage or support compliance (funding, awards).	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Advocacy	
Skills training and capacity-building for organisations and community members advocating for gender equality and the elimination of violence against women.	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Leadership programs that identify and support influential, non-violent individuals to speak out and play a leadership role regarding gender inequality and the elimination of violence against women. These may be targeted to prominent individuals or delivered through informal peer groups (such as among young people) or organisational settings (such as workplaces). These are based on social norms theory which proposes that the views of prominent others are influential in shifting social norms (Webster et al., 2014).	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Individual or group, direct participation programs, providing education, support and skills development	
School or community programs to improve women's and girls' agency. Can include other components such as safe spaces, mentoring and life skills training.	Effective
Individual or group, direct participation programs, providing education, support and skills development	
School or community programs to improve women's and girls' agency. Can include other components such as safe spaces, mentoring and life skills training.	Effective
Economic empowerment and income supplements plus gender equality training.	Effective
Collectivisation. Supporting women's and girls' empowerment by strengthening supportive links to other women and girls in similar circumstances (such as a collective for sex workers).	Effective
Peer education - Supporting individuals from particular sub-populations to educate their peers on gender norms and violence against women.	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
School programs and community workshops with men and boys to promote changes in social norms and behaviours that encourage violence against women and gender inequality.	Effective
School and community workshops to promote changes in norms and behaviour that encourage violence against women and gender inequality, which in contrast to the above, involve both men and women.	Effective
Programs to strengthen individual skills and knowledge to take positive or pro-social action about attitudes and behaviours supporting violence (such as the belief that women deserve violence) and precursors to violence (such as sexist attitudes). Often referred to as 'bystander' programs'. Typically implemented as part of a broader program of community/organisational mobilisation.	Conflicting evidence (emphasis in many current evaluations is on bystander responses to violence, as opposed to its precursors, and on bystander approaches as 'stand-alone' interventions) Successfully implemented in Australia

Table 4: Evidence for primary prevention programs, derived from Webster and Flood (2015), pp65-66

Assessments of the effectiveness of emerging practice in addressing violence against women have consistently noted that all programs should be developed with the understanding of its multi-level and interrelated context, drivers and implications. This is the case for both responding to violence against women, such as initiatives to reduce intimate partner violence, as for initiatives designed to prevent violence by working to enhance gender equality in different ways. Part B of this review sets out the elements of programs that have proven or promising results in workplace contexts.

Cooper et al. (2014) recommend that programs:

conscientiously develop a theory of the specific form of violence they aim to reduce and intervene by examining the individual, situational, and societal factors that support the most frequent instances of that violence. For example, a program to address power asymmetry within an ongoing relationship should be conceptualised differently than a program to encourage help-seeking behaviour.

Similarly, McDonald et al.,'s (2015) extensive research and evaluation of work to 'change attitudes, behaviours and social norms which prevent other forms of interpersonal violence' confirms the need for a comprehensive suite of strategies rather than individual, unconnected initiatives'.

Examples of long-term programs to support the prevention of violence

Significant practice and recommendations exist around pathways for shifting behaviours, which flow from deeply entrenched norms (McDonald et al., 2015). Addressing gender inequality as a driver of violence against women is a broad approach that can be taken. For example, In 2016, UN Women published a *Compendium of Good Practices in Training for Gender Equality*. This publication offers in-depth information on ten different good practices of feminist programming, including detailed outlines of training courses, examples of dealing with challenges that arise in training for gender equality and a collection of tools and activities for use in such training initiatives. It gives insights into the modalities of training and how this affects outcome, participatory planning considerations, examples of how theories of gender effect training, and the need to embed training in long-term programs for change. The Compendium underlines the importance of adapting training to cultural, political, and sectoral context (UN Women Training Centre, 2016).

CARE's approach to transformation through methodologies such as Social Analysis and Action (SAA), which operates through a five-step process, starting with staff capacity, and going on to reflect with the community, plan for action, implement plans, and evaluate. The approach surfaces and stimulates reflection on social norms, and has evidence of success in Ethiopia on economic and sexual reproductive health outcomes for adolescent girls, in Kenya and Rwanda with family planning programs. Results from project monitoring and evaluation have shown reduce intimate partner violence as one of many outcomes of programs adopting SAA. (CARE International, 2016).

Another example is the successful Indashyikirwa Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) prevention program implemented by CARE in Rwanda which seeks to build skills to manage triggers of IPV. Indashyikirwa is a 5-month, 20-session curriculum designed to identify the causes and the economic, emotional, physical and sexual consequences of IPV. One of the underlying themes is that raising awareness of power inequalities that underpin all forms of IPV is useful for raising awareness of the consequences of violence (Stern & Niyibizi, 2018). The curriculum is structured to address knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviours, and moves from intensive self-reflection to community actions (Stern & Nyiratunga, 2017).

The norms element of Indashyikirwa includes the SASA³-adapted community activism component. In the program evaluated, twenty-five per cent of trained couples implemented this through public discussion and debate. Adapted SASA activism tools exposed groups of people to the opinions of

³ SASA! Is a community mobilization approach developed by Raising Voices for prevention of violence against women and HIV www.raisingvoices.org

others, and people could change together, or just become aware that others didn't agree with (or were changing their minds about) established harmful norms around relationships and household roles. This affected people's perceptions about what behaviour was common and appropriate by others in their community, especially their peers and neighbours.

The major limitation for applying these proven approaches in workplaces is that of time and resources. The UN Women compendium notes the depth and length of engagement required to challenge gender norms that perpetuate sexual harassment. '*A four to five-day training never provides enough time. Gender transformation is a journey, and in five days you only scratch the surface of content to be covered*' - Jane Kato-Wallace, Senior Programme Officer, Promundo-US (UN Women Training Centre, 2016). The time-constrained factory environment does not provide space for training that operates at these depths and lengths of time. It is therefore essential to adapt the strongest aspects of these approaches and packages to a workplace setting.

Insight for the STOP project:

Program staff and participating workplaces should be supported by appropriate policies and principles to support decision making in response to disclosures, confidentiality, appropriate referral pathways and risk considerations, including when a program participant is in serious and/or imminent danger.

Program staff and participating workplaces should receive training in trauma informed responses to disclosures of sexual harassment and sexual assault, as well as training to avoid collusion with harassers.

Program partnership with local services responding to sexual violence may be appropriate.

Shifting social norms

This section examines the process by which social norms have shifted in practice and the tools used to achieve this shift. There has been promising work done to shift violence supportive social norms as part of an ecological approach.

It is important to note that much of this work was done in community contexts and not yet tested within a workplace setting. There is evidence on the effectiveness of shifting workplace norms in non-academic (grey) literature, but there is a less academic/rigorous analysis of the effectiveness of these efforts. The effectiveness of shifting workplace norms is something that the STOP project could contribute to when sharing learning.

Tankard and Paluck (2012) identify five conditions under which norms and behaviours are *most likely* to shift.

1. When individuals identify with the source of the normative information;
2. When new norms are believable representations of group opinions and behaviours;
3. When the individual's personal views are closer to the new normative information;
4. Where the new normative information is widely shared within the reference group; and
5. When new normative descriptions are contextualised.

1. When individuals identify with the source of normative information.

The source of information for norms may be an individual, group or institution. Where individuals do not identify with the source of normative information (person, group or institution), they are less likely to be influenced by it. Tankard and Paluck (2016) identify two important implications of this. First, identifying the correct reference group is vital. Secondly, identifying which individuals, groups or institutions that are influential within the group is central to shifting norms.

This evidence provides important background to Part B of this review as part of the discussion on leadership. In the context of a factory workplace, shared status as employees may help individuals to identify as part of a group. The physical proximity of employees to each other can also be a factor in supporting work to shift norms. As Tankard and Paluck (2016) note, 'physical proximity can affect the number of opportunities people have to observe how group members behave'.

Insight for the STOP project:

Influential individuals and groups are important in their capacity to influence positive norm shifts of the broader group. Early identification of the social norms held by influencers is important to identify support and capacity building is required for them to undertake this role. Careful assessment of the likelihood they will engage positively will be an important precursor to successful workplace efforts (VicHealth, 2012).

2. When new norms are believable representations of group opinions and behaviours.

Presented norms do not have to be accurate, but they do have to be believable or plausible. They can also be presented at the early stages of change or gaining of momentum, for example, 'more and more people believe that ...' (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Further research is needed to assess the ideal 'distance' between a current norm and a norm that is presented and the level of ambition presented norms can represent without losing credibility (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

3. When the individual's personal views are closer to the new normative information.

As well as assessing the distance between their perception of the current norms and presented norms, individuals also assess how closely the presented norms align with their attitudes. Where presented norms align with individual attitudes, they are seen to 'licence' or validate those attitudes. Where presented normative information is more closely aligned, norm change interventions are more likely to be successful.

Conversely, where presented norms do not support individuals' attitudes and perceptions of current norms, individuals may be motivated to comply with presented norms if they think there will be negative social consequences for not doing so. Tankard and Paluck (2016) note:

The requirement of a strong norm to overcome personal opinions presents a challenge for norm change interventions: the normative information must persuade recipients that they might feel socially isolated, awkward, or rejected for deviating from the norm.

Tankard and Paluck (2016) note that further research is required to understand how norm change interventions can operate when individuals oppose them. Individuals may separate themselves from a reference group if they strongly oppose presented norms. This presents real challenges to address sexual harassment and underlines the importance of understanding existing social norms to inform programming.

4. *Where the new normative information is widely shared within the reference group*

Where the new normative information is widely shared within the reference group, awareness that others are receiving the same information can serve as proof that the norm is recognised, enacted or endorsed within a group. In Mexico, a fictional radio program that rejected violence against women strengthened perceptions of social norms rejecting violence against women only when the program was transmitted socially (to groups or through community loudspeakers). It did not have the same effect when transmitted individually (CDs) (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

5. *Where normative descriptions are contextualised*

Norms are more likely to shift when normative descriptions are contextualised by giving positive feedback for behaviour in line with norm (rather than raising awareness about prevalence and risk reproducing problematic norms); or; emphasising the dispersion or difference of accepted behaviours, or indicating the general direction in which norms are moving (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Paluck and Ball (2010) provide a thorough assessment of what works in social norms marketing to different communities and provides useful principles for consideration in designing such campaigns. At an organisational level, educational resources and social norms campaigns targeted such as poster/website campaigns, staff newsletter articles, workplace forums or events may have promise (Chung et al., 2012).

Evidence gap

The STOP Project has an opportunity to document progress and build evidence around the acceptable distance between existing and presented norms and whether this changes over time or program stage. Research might also consider the mechanism built into programs to give participants 'permission' to change their perceptions over time to align with new norms.

Shifting social norms through looking at social ecology

The DFID Guidance Note on Social Norms (Alexander-Scott, Bell, & Holden, 2016) provides a framework for shifting social norms that focuses on a social ecology of factors that drive and sustain harmful behaviours. Social norms exist within a broader political, social, economic, relationship and community context in any approach to addressing all forms of violence against women (Michau et al., 2015), including sexual harassment. DFID proposes a framework that draws on some of the evidence outlined above. Conditions 2-5 of Tankard and Paluck (2016) are reflected in the DFID model and conditions 1 and 3 can be considered as necessary steps before building an approach using the DFID model (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).

The DFID Framework is summarised in Table 5 below and discussion below provides evidence of good practice against this framework. Key findings from this section include:

- Social norms are dynamic, subjective and public
- Social norms can be shaped by sharing information about what others do or believe
- Socially powerful individuals can be key to modelling new norms
- New norms need to be shaped by avoiding reinforcing old norms
- Social sanctions and social rewards are powerful levers for change

Change social expectations	Dispel misconceptions and reframe issue
	Shift individual attitudes towards harmful behaviours
	Promote public debate and deliberation about the norm
	Promote a positive alternative
	Provide opportunities for public and collective change
Publicise the change	Publicise role model and benefits of new behaviour
	Avoid reinforcing negative behaviour
	Develop a strategy to extend norm change beyond people directly involved in the program.
Catalyse and reinforce new positive behaviours and norms	Provide opportunities for new behaviour (social practices)
	Create new rewards and sanctions

Table 5: The DFID Framework for implementing programs to change social norms

Change social expectations

1. Dispel misconceptions and reframe the issue

Social norms are not necessarily objectively correct. The concept of pluralistic ignorance (where a majority of individuals within a reference group assume a norm that they do not personally support, assuming that others' compliance with it show majority support) is one way in which to effect norms shift (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016; Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

Changing perceptions and building new social norms can in part be achieved by presenting summary information about current behaviours or norms to a group, for example, '94% of people who see sexual harassment report it to their line manager'. This summary information is intended to replace an individual's personal and subjective norm perceptions with new information (Tankard and Paluck 2016), in this example, a subjective belief that no one reports it is replaced by information showing the opposite preferred behaviour is actually taking place.

This kind of intervention could take the form of social norms marketing which includes media such as posters, online or newspaper advertisements, community events, television advertisements, flyers, email, or other mass communication materials (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). In developing the content and messaging of such communications, consideration of Tankard and Paluck's condition 2 (believable) and 3 (license and/or motivating) is important. Returning to the example, if 94% is not believable it would need adjustment.

2. Shift individual attitudes towards harmful behaviours

The DFID Framework notes that where social support for a norm is strong, a preliminary focus on attitude change may be required to enable subsequent attempts to weaken and replace the norm. It sets out some ways to do this (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). One way is to prioritise normative influences (presenting descriptive norms) as people's normative perceptions can be more malleable than their attitudes (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Tankard and Paluck's condition 3 (motivating norm described above) suggests that in these instances, messages will need to consider how interventions motivate individuals to comply with a norm which they disagree.

3. Promote public debate and deliberation about the norm

Reflecting research that distinguishes between individual's personally held attitudes and perceptions about existing social norms, interventions that provide information to people individually (such as written communications) may influence their perceptions about what other people think. It is important that there are opportunities for people to interact to learn what others in the reference group think. This can be done at a group level, such as in discussions, direct participation or workshops, or on a broader scale such as through edutainment programs (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). This is underpinned by the understanding that social norms are dynamic, and that perceptions about social norms can be influenced by individuals, new summary information about the group or 'institutional signals' (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

4. Promote a positive alternative

Harmful social norms are more likely to be recur if not replaced with positive norms (Paluck & Ball, 2010). The benefits of the new behaviour should be clear. The sections below, 'Publicise the change' and 'Catalyse and reinforce new positive behaviours and norms' cover this in depth.

5. Provide opportunities for public and collective change

Tankard and Paluck (2016) note that the source of the new norm can be other people's public behaviour, summary information about a group and institutional signals. Part B of this review outlines ways in which organisations can give 'institutional signals' through leadership, workforce capability, communications, bystander intervention and workplace culture and practices.

Publicise the change

1. Publicise role model and benefits of new behaviour

Building on debate and deliberation can be used to shift social norms. This approach is consistent with Tankard and Paluck's condition 4 (widely disseminated new norms) to reinforce the awareness that others are receiving the same information as a proof of recognition, enactment or endorsement of behaviour or opinion.

To shift social norms, 'interventions must create new beliefs, within an individual's reference group, so that the collective expectations of the people important to them allow new behaviours to emerge'. This new belief need not be a new attitude, such as, 'I believe that sexual harassment is wrong'. It can be a belief about the social norm such as 'I believe that the community will now sanction me for this behaviour, I will lose face if caught so I will desist' (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).

Chung et al., (2012) citing Banyard et al., (2004) note the importance of presenting anti-violence messages in ways that 'do not alienate people and make them less likely to engage. Anti-violence messages can be perceived as accusatory of men and assuming that all women are victims without agency'. This is addressed further in Part B of this review, including in the sections on leadership, learning and capability.

An unintended consequence of presenting new descriptive norms is where individuals are already 'outperforming them' and feel they are 'ahead' of the norm. Tankard and Paluck (2016) cite a controlled study in which individuals began to use more electricity if they learned that they were consuming less than their neighbours.

2. Avoid reinforcing negative behaviour

The DFID Framework notes that the way in which information is presented to raise awareness can have unintended consequences that can strengthen perceptions that a norm is typical. Careful messaging is required to ensure that it doesn't unintentionally reinforce stereotypes, such as that men should protect women, and women are the weaker sex (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).

Tankard and Paluck (2016) explain that while it may be understandable to wish to ‘call out’ bad behaviour, the social norms perspective suggests that doing so can inadvertently describe the behaviour as descriptively normative (or typical) and thereby license it.

3. Develop a diffusion strategy to catalyse broader societal change

Given resource limitations, developing strategies to extend the impact of programs beyond direct participants and scaling up should be included in program planning. There has been little research about how norms change efforts can be scaled up to change community perceptions (Tankard & Paluck, 2016) although recent research by Green et al. (2018) may provide some insights (page 17).

Catalyse and reinforce new positive behaviours and norms

1. Provide opportunities for new behaviour (social practices)

The DFID Framework notes research by Paluck and Ball (2010) that finds that interventions are more likely to be successful if they provide clear guidance on the new or presented norm and also provide opportunities for people to put it into practice (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). This has implications for the type and content of training offered as set out in Part B of this review.

2. Create new rewards and sanctions

As noted above, social norms are dynamic and evolve. As norms begin to shift, the DFID Framework points to the need to establish appropriate rewards. For individuals who are adopting new norms, their reward might be a personal sense of self-esteem and belonging, or there might be external recognition of their contribution. For sanction, the DFID framework references legal and policy changes that might create sanctions, as well as send a signal to recalcitrant individuals (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).

Insight for the STOP Project:

Principles underpinning social norms approaches should be incorporated into both organisational change processes and the messaging, training, capacity building and communications efforts designed to bring change to effect.

Bystander approaches

As noted above, bystander approaches can ‘build shared individual and community responsibility for responding to and preventing sexual violence by encouraging people not directly involved in violence as a victim or perpetrator to take action’ (Powell et al., 2015). All individuals can influence norm perception and behaviour by calling attention to the existing norm in a situation, and, either reinforce it with the positive observation of compliance with the desired norm, or, punish a person deviating from the expected norm (Tankard and Paluck, 2010). For example, in Kenya, passengers’ heckling of unsafe minibus drivers was effective as a social punishment to enforce the safe driving norm (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

Adopting a bystander approach broadens the possibility of roles that may be played by a group – from either target or perpetrator to provide a positive role and identity for participants. Highlighting the diversity of possible roles may reduce backlash (Powell et al., 2015). There are generally two types of bystanders – active and passive. Active bystanders intervene or take action in response to an observed situation, while passive bystanders do not intervene or take action when observing a situation.

Research on bystander approaches in the area of violence against women is limited and has mainly focused on university and education settings. While bystander approaches have been introduced in some workplaces, they have not been the subject of rigorous evaluation or research. Table 6 outlines work by Taket and Crisp (2017) to summarise the available evidence about the impact of bystander approaches at individual and community/organisation levels.

Enablers	Barriers
Individual level	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of what constitutes violence against women • Awareness of harm caused by violence against women • Perception of responsibility to intervene • Perceived ability to intervene – skills • Perceived confidence to intervene • Desire to educate perpetrator • Empathy for and desire to support targets • Self-validation, catharsis – expressing anger, disapproval etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenge of motivation and engaging • The ambiguous nature of some everyday sexism and heterosexism • Exclusive group identity; male peer groups based on violence/aggressive masculinities • Fear of violence or being targeted by the perpetrator; fear that masculinity will be called into question; fear of other consequences of being proactive (e.g. fear of being punished for underage drinking) • Perception that action would be ineffective/lack of confidence to act effectively • Lack of knowledge about how to intervene • Rigid adherence to traditional gender roles; attitudes supporting male dominance • Impression management, preserving interpersonal relations • Younger age in relation to the prospective perpetrator • Lower position in relation to organisation hierarchy
Community/ organisation level	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modelling of respectful behaviour by senior groups in the setting • Key groups in the organisation/ community have prosocial norms • Policies supporting prosocial norms and accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modelling of disrespectful behaviour by senior groups in the setting • Antagonism to the programme from key groups in the organisation/community (e.g. parents or teachers for school-based programmes)

Table 6: Enablers and Barriers to Bystander Action

While bystander intervention in sexual harassment is complex, there are opportunities for intervention. McMahon and Banyard (2012) have framed bystander interventions in relation to sexual assault by using a violence prevention framework (which share the same framing as those used by McDonald et al., (2015) and Hunt et al., (2010) in education settings.

Reactive Bystander Opportunities	Primary Prevention (before the assault)		Secondary Prevention (during the assault)	Tertiary Prevention (after the assault)
	Low risk	High risk		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends make a sexist joke or use sexist language to describe women and girls • Activities or rituals are held where women's bodies are ranked or rated • Pornographic or sexualizing posters of women and girls are displayed • Friends make rape or abuse jokes • Friends or classmates blame a victim of sexual violence in conversation or class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A friend is bringing an intoxicated woman to his room • A friend says he plans to intoxicate a woman to have sex • A woman is being harassed by a group of men • A woman who is passed out on a couch is being approached or touched by a man 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Witnessing a group rape • Hearing cries for help or distress • Walking in on a situation where an individual appears to be either physically forced or verbally coerced into sex • Directly observing an intoxicated victim being sexually assaulted by a perpetrator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A friend or classmate discloses that she is a survivor • A friend is seeking information for herself or another person on where to go for help for an assault • There is suspicion that a friend or classmate is a perpetrator • Authorities or residence life are looking for information on a possible sexual assault • A police or judicial investigation needs corroboration
Proactive Bystander Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking a course on gender based violence • Joining a peer education group • Participating in Take Back the Night • Volunteering at a local sexual assault organization • Arranging an educational program on sexual assault for a dorm or student organization • Changing student organizational policies to address sexual assault 			

Figure 3: Bystander opportunities for the prevention of sexual violence

McDonald et al., (2015) suggest four categories of intervention based on the immediacy of the situation (high or low) and the involvement of the bystander (high or low).

High immediacy interventions occur in an ongoing incident and focus on interrupting the ongoing incident:

- Low involvement: involve private support without public connection to the incident, e.g. redirection of harasser attention, removal of the target, interruption without judgement; and
- High involvement: strong involvement publicly and socially, e.g. challenging harasser to stop harassment, publicly naming the conduct, publicly encouraging the target to report or other actions, taking an active and identifiable role.

Low immediacy interventions occur at a later point in time and represent an attempt to prevent future harassment:

- Low involvement: involve private support without public connection to the incident (s), e.g. covert efforts to separate target/harasser, giving private advice to target, social support behind the scenes; and
- High involvement: strong social involvement in a public and social scene, e.g. reporting on target's behalf, offering to accompany target when they report, confronting the harasser after an incident.

Insight for the STOP project:

- Understanding norms about reporting sexual harassment require careful assessment and should inform project design
- Bystander intervention can take a range of forms which can be acknowledged in policy and/or procedures
- Bystander intervention approaches can be embedded in training and other engagement opportunities to staff
- Bystander intervention in higher risk incidents may need a nuanced approach and should be trained separately to standardised policy and procedure training
- Support for bystanders can be built into the program and/or considered in partnership with specialist organisations

People need to be supported to challenge behaviours (Powell et al., 2015) because there are perceived costs to intervening and because there can be uncertainty about what to do. Steps identified for bystanders, in a workplace context, need to be realistic, achievable and appropriate to the personnel level in the organisation, their roles and responsibilities and ability to effect organisational and attitudinal change. Active bystander training is crucial for successful intervention and support (Powell et al., 2015). Evidence on the impact of bystander intervention (from dating violence and sexual assault evidence) reinforces this need for support, particularly in high risk or secondary prevention circumstances. Witte et al., (2017) found that helping is associated with positive outcomes for people who intervene, however, they also found symptoms of vicarious trauma where events are perceived to be traumatic. In other research, those with less experience in helping, or, who have experienced harassing behaviours are more likely to experience vicarious trauma (Baird & Jenkins, 2003 as cited by Witte et al., 2017).

The target of harassment may also experience repercussions from bystander intervention. Closer analysis of applying whistle-blower analysis to efforts to improve responses to sexual harassment complaints, including preventing such targeting may be beneficial, as 'both whistleblowing and sexual harassment complaints processes can be viewed through justice theories, particularly procedural and distributive justice in organisational models' (McDonald et al., 2015).

Evidence Gap

Further research might include one or more of the following areas:

- Impact of bystander approaches in workplaces on perceived norms about the point, on continuum of behaviours, at which sexual harassment becomes unacceptable and bystander intervention acceptable;
- The conditions in which bystander intervention is consistent with social norms (such as nature of employment, rank, gender, social position)
- Types of bystander actions that are permissible under existing norms
- Repercussions for the target following bystander intervention; and
- Impact of bystander approach on norms and behaviour or the role that bystander action can play in shifting descriptive norms.

Working within a socio-ecological model

Businesses operate within markets, communities and sectors, they employ people, sell products, buy materials and make investments. This locates businesses, and consequently workplaces in a complex web of relationships that can support and reinforce efforts to prevent and respond to violence against women, and in particular, sexual harassment.

Workplaces within the community

The socio-ecological model, locates workplaces at the community level. Workforces may overlap with multiple communities depending on the organisation's employee profile, the location of housing and the nature of the employment relationship with the organisation.

When working with organisations and workplaces, it is important to have an understanding of structural and external contextual factors as well as an organisation's policies, processes and practices. This understanding must include the extent to which they have enabled, left unchallenged or supported gender inequality as the key driver of sexual harassment.

For example, experimental research randomly assigned men who had a high likelihood of sexually harassing behaviours to two conditions: one where the environment was professional and one where the environment was suggestive of sexual behaviour. While both groups of men had similar baseline propensity to harass, the *likelihood of harassment was much greater in the environment which had a harassing authority figure*⁴ (Cooper et al., 2014).

In its National Framework, Our Watch highlights the need to work with ‘industry and employer networks, unions, employment agencies and the public and private sectors’ at the organisation level. This is supported by findings from the Royal Commission into Family Violence in Victoria, which found that workplaces provide an opportunity to reach people in their communities and can be an important setting for social change alongside other local, community and societal settings.

Organisations and organisational culture have the potential to influence social norms, by modelling gender equitable workplace processes, practices and policies. They can also build confidence capacity of their workforce to challenge sexist and inappropriate sexual behaviour they have individually experience or on others’ behalf (Chung et al., 2012). However, while ‘theoretical ideas about how institutions can signal new norms are intriguing, empirical support for causal change is currently lacking’ (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

Evidence Gap

The STOP project is well placed to build evidence on the effect on social norms regarding: the conditions required for ‘institutional signals’ such as the development and implementation of a sexual harassment policy to result in a positive shift of employee norms about sexual harassment, its prevalence, the point along the continuum of sexually harassing behaviours at which it becomes unacceptable, when and who is permitted to be an active bystander, and the implications of norms for disclosure in the workplace.

In its National Framework, Our Watch⁵ notes that workplaces may provide unique engagement opportunities with men and groups who were vulnerable or otherwise difficult to engage with through other settings (such as education, sports or healthcare). A range of strategies have been employed in workplaces, predominantly in developed countries, to shift men’s gender relations in workplaces (Holmes & Flood 2013). Evidence about the effectiveness of these strategies is very limited. The strategies include:

- Raising men’s awareness (discussed in Part B, Workplace Practices and Norms);
- Addressing sexist and disrespectful behaviours (discussed in Part B, Workplace Strategies and Policies, Workplace Practices and Norms);
- Disrupting the masculine status quo (discussed in Part B, Leadership);
- Educating male professionals (discussed in Part B, Capacity and Capability);
- Fostering male advocates in the workplace (discussed in Part B, Leadership);
- Involving men in shifting the structures and systems that produce inequality (Discussed in Part B, Leadership, Workplace Practices and Norms); and
- Men’s work in the home (for example seeing flexible working as an issue equally for men and women).

⁴ Emphasis added

⁵ These findings drew on earlier research undertaken by VicHealth which noted the influence of employers on individual and group behaviour and their potential role in modelling non-violent, equitable and respectful gender relations.

Organisational development strategies can also support primary prevention efforts. Concerning social norms, Tankard and Paluck (2016) write that an 'institution's decisions and innovations can signal which behaviours or opinions are common or desirable in a group. Institutions may change perceptions of norms directly, as when individuals make a direct inference about norms based on an institutional signal'. Workforce development can involve building the skills of relevant workforces to implement primary prevention activity either informally and opportunistically, or, at a more formal level (VicHealth, 2012). The implication of this framing is significant for three key reasons (Webster & Flood, 2015):

1. Firstly, it implies that organisations and workplaces can play a **significant and shared** role in responding to preventing violence against women, and specifically sexual harassment;
2. Secondly, it provides a **framework to guide** organisations and workplaces in their efforts to respond to and prevent sexual harassment from occurring in the first place; and
3. Thirdly, it provides scope to **engage with people at all levels** of the social ecology.

Workplaces within society

At a societal level (Figure 1 Society circle), structural factors relating to violence against women include national legal and policy frameworks as they apply to business and employment conditions, as well as public health, education and service provision. Laws can 'establish the public unacceptability of violence against women and girls, and serve as practical methods of legal recourse for women and girls, [but] they are insufficient as prevention and response mechanisms' (Michau et al., 2015). As discussed previously, there is a substantial body of international law and national laws to address sex discrimination and sexual harassment worldwide.

Applied research into an Australia workplace (Victoria Police) focussing on sex discrimination and sexual harassment, noted that legal approaches, based on behavioural definitions of sexual harassment had not, by themselves, been sufficient to see the reduction of sexual harassment in workplaces. The Independent Review into Sex Discrimination and Sexual Harassment (2015) noted:

Historically, Australian organisational responses to sexual harassment and sex discrimination and initiatives to improve gender equity have been based on legislative, and compensation requirements set out in the Equal Opportunity legislation. These responses have been progressed without considering the principles that underpin this legislation more broadly, including a need to proactively address the drivers of discrimination and systemic inequality.

In short, laws have required organisations to show they have taken reasonable precautions, over time, demonstrated through the development and implementation of policy, training and complaint processes. However, these initiatives have not been successful in achieving gender equity.

The Review notes that these approaches were not derived from an understanding of the drivers of sexual harassment and sex discrimination. Experience of the sectors engaged with the issue of violence against women, which acknowledge the drivers of systemic inequality and harm, provide effective lessons and evidence on action needed to reduce sexual harassment and sex discrimination (VicHealth, 2012).

This conclusion is supported by Tankard and Paluck's (2016) finding that 'institutional support for or denouncements of certain behaviours are not necessarily enough to influence perceptions of norms, or indeed to change actual rates of behaviour'. While laws may send important signals about the acceptability of particular behaviours, they are most likely to be effective when they are consistent with social norms and shifts in laws alone are insufficient to shift social norms (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). McDonald et al. (2015) notes the absence of discussion of broader employment and social policies in the literature on sexual harassment and propose future research could focus on the links between gendered concerns at the organisational level and broader social and labour market policies.

Evidence gap

The STOP project provides an opportunity to conduct field research on the role that employment security, employment conditions have on workplace descriptive norms related to the prevalence and tolerance for sexual and gender harassment; and the impact of the STOP project on shifting norms; the extent to which current legal and regulatory requirements are perceived (in existence or relevant) by employees and their perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment; pervasiveness of sexual harassment; the extent to which it is tolerated and the conditions in which it is tolerated.

Customary or indigenous laws and religious practice may exist alongside formal legal frameworks. The attitudes of health policy makers and service providers about whether violence against women is a private matter between individuals or a matter for the criminal justice system may reinforce dominant cultural norms and expectations of attitudes to the use of violence against women (Michau et al., 2015).

Unions can play a role in promoting change for workers and supporting staff who experience sexual harassment. They can also support prevention initiatives through awareness raising, providing formal and informal leadership for shifting workplaces strategies, practices and norms. Canadian unions provide 'comprehensive anti-violence programs that include kits to be used by union locals, handbooks on building safer communities and workplaces (with instructions about how to conduct workplace safety audits) and training workshops for union leadership, members and union staff about the problems of violence against women' (Premier's Action Committee on Family Violence Prevention 2001). Furthermore, the Union for Canadian Auto Workers runs a Women's Advocate Program in workplaces to provide tailored responses and support for female workers experiencing violence and harassment in the workplace (Chung et al., 2012).

Evidence gap

There is a lack of evidence on the impact of unions engaging in efforts to shift social norms within a workplace including at a leadership level to 'set the agenda' and leadership directions on sexual harassment, and/or influencing social norms with the broader workforce.

In order to engage with unions, businesses may commence a process of 'social dialogue' which is a 'process involving representatives of workers, employers and/or governments, that can take the form of collective bargaining, workplace cooperation and undertaken as tripartite or bipartite social dialogue'. The ILO and OECD present a business case for social dialogue,⁶ pointing to several benefits that are relevant to sexual harassment prevention and response:

⁶ The ILO/OECD identify key factors facilitate effective social dialogue: Respect for freedom of association; Legal and institutional support; Independent and representative Workers and employers organisations; Commitment to engage; Technical capacity, knowledge and access; Processes for effective coordination of bargaining; Frameworks for workplace cooperation; and Effective coordination by trade unions in multi-union contexts. The ability to access these facilitating factors is crucial to a decision whether or not to pursue a social dialogue approach.

-
- Social dialogue can manage conflict for fair and stable workplaces
 - Social dialogue helps improve the design of training systems and retention of skills
 - Social dialogue creates and contributes to the wider enabling environment for enterprise sustainability
 - Social dialogue can play a role in improving transparency and accountability, thus offsetting the risk

The most successful, societal level interventions to prevent violence against women appear to be those that sought to 'transform gender relations rather than simply changing attitudes and behaviours' (Webster & Flood, 2015). Gender transformative approaches:

encourage critical awareness of gender roles and norms. Transformative approaches included ways to create more equitable gender norms, in order to foster more equitable power relationships between women and men, and between women and others in the community. They promote women's rights and dignity; challenge unfair and unequal distribution of resources and allocation of duties between men and women; and consider specific needs of women and men (Webster & Flood, 2015).

Some businesses have operated with this intent, working with community organisations in a number of ways. This includes:

- Making donations to organisations responding to intimate partner violence;
- Establishing partnerships to access expertise and knowledge about violence against women to inform workplace strategies, policies and build understanding amongst their workforces; or
- Lending their voices to public causes or campaigns to raise awareness about violence against women.

Public-facing initiatives promote responsible business behaviour. However, it is important that they are linked and embedded in internal workplace changes and improvements (Chung et al., 2012).

Defining Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Workplaces are not homogenous, differing by sector, ownership, size, work environments and work itself (Powell et al., 2015). The geography of workplaces and where their employees live also differ. The rapid review has located sexual harassment:

- As a form of violence against women, that shares common cause with other forms of violence against women, and
- Within a socio-ecological model.

This section reviews evidence on sexual harassment within the workplace context. The section focusses on efforts within the workplace context and is largely located within the individual, interpersonal and community levels of the socio-ecological model (Figure 1).

At the level of the organisation, there has been a considerable exploration of the factors that enable or constrain sexual harassment from being reported when it occurs in workplaces. Reviewing evidence about the prevalence and reporting behaviours for sexual harassment in workplaces is outside the scope of this rapid review. However, it is important to note that underreporting is considered widespread. For example, Hunt et al., (2010) note that the UK Industrial Society found that only 5% of people who experienced sexual harassment at work had ever made a formal complaint against their harasser.

In their evidence review, McDonald et al., (2015) note considerable evidence 'that procedures for raising a complaint of sexual harassment do not adequately translate to effective voice mechanisms and often undermine reporting'.

Workplace incivility

Sexual harassment is more than 'incivility', bringing with it the dynamics of gendered violence. However, the study of incivility underlines the role of management direction and guidelines on mistreatment levels amongst staff. That is, incivility arises from patterns of social interaction that are implicitly sanctioned by the management environment (Leiter et al., 2011).

Workplace incivility may be described as rude or discourteous behaviour that conveys disrespect toward others (Leiter et al., 2011). Schilpzand et al., (2016) distinguish workplace incivility, from other negative interpersonal behaviours by its low severity (unlike bullying or other forms aggression), unclear intent to harm, or the formal power differentials between people. However, incivility is positively related to sexual and gender harassment, and is negatively related to all facets of job, life and health satisfaction and well-being (Schilpzand et al., 2016 citing Lim and Cortina, 2005).

McDonald et al (2015a) reviews and summarises evidence as follows:

'Indeed, there is strong evidence to suggest that employees often perceive grievance processes to be:

- Adversarial and hostile (Marshall 2005; Vijayasiri 2008);
- Lacking confidentiality (Marshall 2005);
- Risky in terms of isolation or reprisal from the workgroup (Bowen & Blackmon 2003; Vijayasiri 2008); and
- Likely to fall on deaf ears (Harlos 2001).

Men in particular, who are less likely than women to name sexually harassing behaviours as sexual harassment (Nielsen et al., 2010), appear to be less willing to engage with formal complaint processes because doing so calls attention to their nonconformity to a traditional masculine stereotype (Stockdale et al., 1999; O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2000).

Grievance procedures in sexual harassment are often ineffective because the dual discourses of legal compliance and risk management in corporate policies (Charlesworth 2002; Thornton 2002) do more to protect employers from liability (a 'bureaucratic vaccine against lawsuits') than to protect or assist complainants' (Edelman, Erlanger and Lande 1993; Marshall 2005; Dobbin and Kelly 2007).

In the context of the socio-ecological model, workplace incivility can be explored at the level of interpersonal relationships where research has found that organisations can influence the way in which employees interact. For example, Leiter et al., (2011) sought to quantify the effectiveness of ‘an organisational, unit-level intervention aimed at improving social relationships and civility as a means of improving employee and organisational outcomes’.

Consistent with a discussion about what works to shift social norms, having a focus on developing new social norms about what is appropriate (injunctive norms) is important. Leiter et al., (2011) propose that effective interventions addressing workplace incivility enable participants to interrupt negative exchanges and promote positive exchanges, inspiring ‘reciprocal action and building goodwill throughout the group’.

Workplace power

‘Sexual harassment tends to be prevalent where there are increased power differentials between men and women’ (Hunt et al., 2010). Across the literature concerned with workplace sexual harassment – organisational psychology, social psychology, feminist discourse, prevention of gender-based violence – there is agreement that power, and in particular, power inequality between men and women is a significant contributing factor to harassment.

CARE’s work in factories has shown that the power and hierarchy dynamics in relation to sexual harassment in garment factories are myriad and complex. Factories are typically hierarchical with distinct power relations between levels of employees. High power differentials between men and women are known to be an environmental factor that contributes to sexual harassment. Kabat-Farr and Cortina (2013) refer to a ‘think manager—think male’ mindset which has informed rejection of women in positions of power and notes that stereotypes about masculinity (such as those of leadership and rationality) explain why men benefit where workplaces are predominantly women.

Conversely, research suggests women in positions of leadership are likely to be harassed **because** they are in leadership, that is, sexual harassment is a way of enforcing appropriate gender behaviour by those who view their supervisory power as illegitimate or easily undermined. Harassment acts to take away the power of women in supervisory roles by equating them with lower ranking employees. Harassment programs must include the possibility that the target of harassment is of higher rank in the organisation than the harasser.

Roles of organisations within a community

Individual and social norms can be enabled or disabled in workplaces by the organisation’s operating environment. VicHealth’s *More than Ready Report* (2012) emphasises the role of organisational policies and culture as an enabler or constraint on social norms that allow violence against women, including sexual harassment to proceed uninterrupted. This section reviews research into the framing and mechanisms within organisations that can be used to understand, and ultimately prevent or respond to sexual harassment.

Organisational climate

Sexual harassment in organisations can be understood ‘at the level of group culture - an organisational climate’. At an organisational level, **sexual harassment⁷** is a function of two conditions (Fitzgerald et al., 1997):

- Organisational climate; and
- Job gender context.

⁷ Emphasis added

The organisational climate dimension of Fitzgerald et al., (1997) refers to organisational characteristics that communicate tolerance of sexual harassment. Women employees experienced considerably higher levels of harassment when they thought their organisations tolerated sexual harassment (for example complaints not being taken seriously), were concerned about making complaints, or that there were unlikely to be consequences for perpetrators, (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). The concept of 'organisational climate' is similar to that of workplace culture. Within the ecological model, it can be understood to be at the community level and be informed by the social norms that exist within a particular workplace ('the way we do things around here').

The job context dimension identified by Fitzgerald et al., (1997), relates to the gendered nature of the workgroup, for example, ratios of male to female workers, the level of security, the type of work being undertaken, including the level of skills required (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Job context is consistent with the socio-ecological model's individual, interpersonal and community levels. It sets out social norms relating to occupational gender roles and the value placed on the type of work done by men and women, and the level of skills and job security of those roles.

Thinking about work and the workplace in terms of organisational climate and job context may provide a useful and accessible reference point from which to engage organisations and employees. As Chamberlain et al., (2008) point out:

Although individuals act out sexual harassment, they do so within the context of organisations, which have been assigned a shared burden of responsibility...

Further according to McDonald et al., (2015):

... a focus on organisational and work-group level dynamics offers more comprehensive and nuanced explanatory potential... than do notions of attraction, occupation sex relations or roles, or exploitative or coercive power.

Models for addressing sexual harassment in the workplace

Models to inform organisational approaches to sexual harassment have been developed. These have evolved to reflect the growing evidence base about the drivers and the context in which sexual harassment occurs.

Drawing from their literature review of sexual harassment in the workplace, Hunt et al., (2010) developed an intervention model for workplaces to address sexual harassment. The model draws on the work of Fitzgerald et al. (1997) with the view that sexual harassment should be seen as an issue 'which needs to be addressed by the organisation, rather than simply increasing and improving and individuals' skills to deal with harassment' (Hunt et al., 2010).

A workplace's decisions and innovations can signal the commonly accepted or desirable behaviours or opinions expected from employees. This can be explicitly through policy, or implicitly, through organisational changes that affect behaviour and therefore norms (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Addressing the explicit organisational context requires considering all the visible and practical elements of an organisation's operations.

Hunt et al., (2010) propose an organisational intervention model to address sexual harassment with interventions, which in summary are implemented in the following stages:

- Primary level – effective policies and procedures including education about sexual harassment and responding to it in a workplace
- Secondary level – effective complaints procedures and employees support, and
- Tertiary level – rehabilitation and follow-up stage.

In this framing, Hunt et al., (2010) propose a framework in which primary interventions refers to activities which take place before any injustice occurs, secondary interventions are immediate responses after an incident of sexual harassment has occurred, and tertiary prevention refers to long-term recovery responses. This approach differs from the socio-ecological model for violence against women discussed earlier in the definitions of primary, secondary and tertiary preventions.

McDonald et al., (2015) also adopt this approach and propose a workplace model for effective sexual harassment prevention which sets out the ideal components for workplaces to adopt in implementing a model. The work adopts a prevention strategy typology originating from the violence prevention literature, comprising primary, secondary and tertiary prevention (McDonald et al., 2015). Figure 4 shows the elements proposed: message, management and monitoring. In this proposed workplace model, each element would be formalised or otherwise included in the policy, guidance material and training activities of an organisation.⁸ The authors note the importance of an integrated approach as ‘a written policy on its own is insufficient. A policy that is not implemented through communication, education and enforcement will be of little or no use’. Also there is a need for ‘effective high-level management and modelling, including the formulation and communication of policies relevant to sexual harassment as well as to *gender equality*⁹ more broadly, and the allocation of appropriate resources for policy and training as a success factor’. Training should ‘explicitly address gender-relevant cultural issues’. The authors point to a study by Ely & Meyerson of workplace safety initiatives that broke down ‘gender stereotypes that conflate displays of masculinity with competency, thereby disrupting the gender status quo (‘undoing gender’) which often supports sexual harassment and other gendered workplace harms’ (McDonald et al., 2015). Unlike earlier intervention models, McDonald et al., (2015) include a commitment to broader gender equality as an essential element of an effective sexual harassment policy.

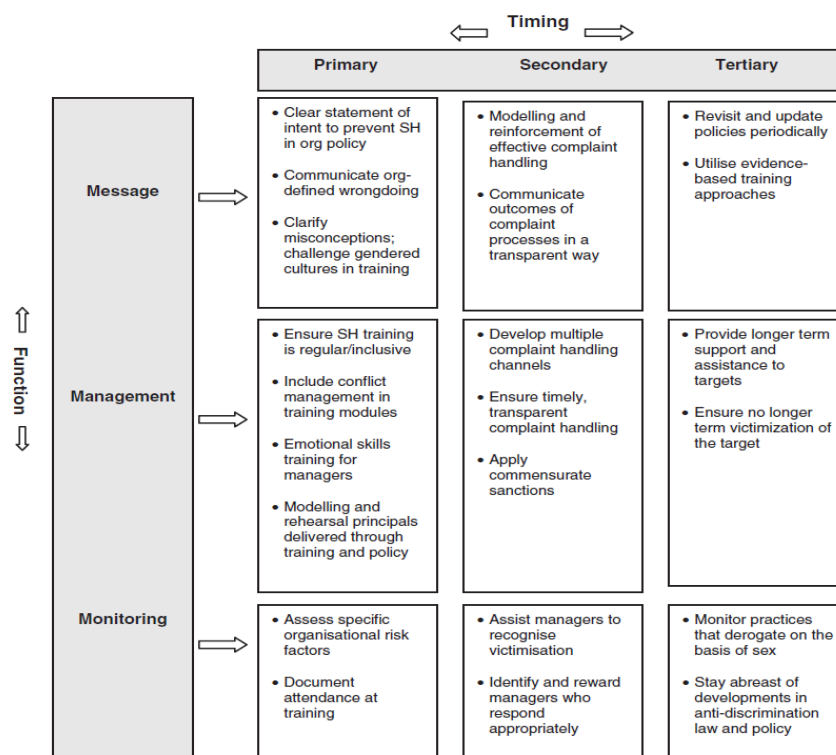


Figure 4: McDonald et al., (2015) Model for sexual harassment prevention

⁸ This definition of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention differs from the general public health approach which is used in violence against women prevention literature, which is: Primary: whole of population initiatives that address the underlying drivers of violence; Secondary: aims to change the trajectory for individuals at higher than average risk; Tertiary: support survivors and holds perpetrators to account. (See Our Watch (2017) *Putting the Prevention of Violence Against Women into Practice: How to change the story*, Victoria Health, 2017 at 34.). In McDonald’s formulation the classification reflects the timing of the intervention in relationship to an anticipated or actual incident of sexual harassment. This aligns with the work of Paluck.

⁹ Author’s italics

Evidence gap:

There has been little research into complex and multi-component interventions to transform masculinities within workplaces. The STOP Project could focus on masculinities in workplace contexts, working with men as managers, bystanders and employees separately and together with women to shift social norms about men and women at work.

The Australian Human Rights Commission lists five steps to prevent sexual harassment, which it argues are non-negotiables in a sexual harassment prevention model (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008):

- Get high-level management support;
- Write and implement a sexual harassment policy;
- Provide regular training and information on sexual harassment to all staff and management;
- Encourage appropriate conduct by managers; and
- Create a positive workplace environment.

The work of McDonald et al., (2015) supports these steps, which reinforces the need for a strong understanding of what constitutes injustice and wrongdoing by senior management and throughout the organisation, high visibility of expected behavioural norms, organisational resourcing for message communication and training and incentives for good practice and commitment to broader gender equality goals. This organisational model has the greatest overlap with the socio-ecological model discussed earlier.

Powell et al., (2015) argue that positive organisational change occurs in the broader context of creating gender equity. This has significant implications for the scope of work within workplaces as it entails other organisational functions about sexual harassment such as workplace employment practices, remuneration, workplace flexibility, promotion pathways and so on.

It also noted that primary prevention (of violence against women) programming could be integrated into a workplace setting (Powell et al., 2015). Six key features (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009) underpin organisational approaches:

- **Comprehensiveness or a 'whole-of-organisation' approach:** utilising multiple strategies designed to initiate change at multiple levels within an organisation (e.g. individual, colleagues and management), and for multiple outcomes (e.g. staff knowledge and attitudes, formal policy and practices, as well as informal culture and behaviours);
- **Addressing structural factors:** targeting structural and underlying causes of social problems for change rather than focusing only on individual behaviour or the 'symptoms' of larger problems;
- **Contextualised programming:** designing intervention strategies that are consistent with the broader social, economic and political context of the workplace/organisation;
- **Health and strengths promotion:** simultaneously working to enhance existing workplace/organisational resources and strengths while addressing risk factors;
- **Staff engagement:** collaborating with workplace/organisational members in the process of identifying targets for change and designing change strategies; and
- **Theory-based:** grounding strategy design in a sound theoretical rationale.

The review undertaken by Powell et al., (2015), informed Our Watch’s development of the *Workplace Equality and Respect Standards* (2017) and accompanying tools for workplaces to prevent violence against women. Powell et al., (2015) summarised examples of interventions across the spectrum from primary prevention (building gender equality in workplaces) to responding to violence against women in the workplace after it occurs, these are set out in Table 7.

Model	Area of focus	Example Activities
Responding to Violence	Knowledge / Attitudes	Awareness-raising communications across organisation about the extent and nature of intimate partner violence and how to support staff who may be experiencing it. Leadership is active in speaking about intimate partner violence. Support/referral Information for potential targets and perpetrators made available throughout the workplace.
	Behaviours / Informal Culture / Practices	Managers and key contact staff trained to recognise the signs of family violence, respond appropriately to disclosures, and refer to services.
	Structures / Formal Policies / Procedures	Family Violence Leave Provisions , and Flexible Work Policy & Safety Planning in addition to legislative requirements (e.g. Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth), and Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012 (Cth)).
Preventing Violence Against Women	Knowledge / Attitudes	Awareness-raising communications across organisation about the extent and nature of violence against women, and the connection between sexism, rigid gender-roles and gender stereotyping in supporting violence against women. Leadership is active in speaking about violence against women, and challenging sexist cultures and practices within workplaces.
	Behaviours / Informal Culture / Practices	Managers and key contact staff trained in recognising and responding to sexism and discriminatory or exclusive gendered practices. Staff trained in taking pro-social action as bystanders when they witness sexism and discriminatory or exclusive gendered practices.
	Structures / Formal Policies / Procedures	Employee Codes of Conduct and/or Values Statements commit to intolerance of sexism, discrimination and violence against women, in addition to meeting legislative requirements (e.g. Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth), and Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012 (Cth)).
Promoting Gender Equity & Respect	Attitudes / Norms	Awareness-raising communications across organisation about the foundations and causes of gender inequality, sexism, discrimination, unconscious gender bias and promoting respectful relationships. Leadership is active in speaking about valuing females and males equally, promoting the same rights, opportunities and rewards across the organisation including women’s equal participation in decision-making and pay structures.
	Behaviours / Informal Culture / Practices	Managers are trained to recognise and address unconscious gender bias in workplace decision-making and practice. Leadership training for women to encourage and promote women in leadership positions.
	Structures / Formal Policies / Procedures	Reporting to the Workplace Gender Equality Agency. Building a gender equality strategy in consultation with staff. Review of hiring and promotion policies and practices to attract and retain quality women employees.

Table 7: Table of the spectrum of activities from primary prevention to responses to violence against women, including sexual harassment (Powell et al. 2015)

Unlike the models proposed by Hunt et al., (2010) and McDonald et al., (2015a), the Our Watch model is framed around business functions required to build gender equality (reduce gender inequality as the driver of violence against women) rather than the points at which different types of interventions are required (prior to individual incidents of sexual harassment or after it has occurred). Earlier models give greater weight to responding to incidents of sexual harassment, and focus on preventing individual incidents of sexual harassment without addressing its root causes or factors outside the workplace. McDonald et al., (2015) note in proposing their model that there is a significant opportunity for new research:

The conceptual framing of sexual harassment as an individual problem, rather than one with causes and consequences at a systemic level (McCann 2005; McDonald & Charlesworth 2013), has limited the development of effective organisational responses. The development of comprehensive response frameworks that address workplace sexual harassment has also been conceptually limited in that the sexual harassment literature has developed as largely distinct from other potentially relevant perspectives on workplace misconduct and injustice. That is, while the sexual harassment literature is cross-disciplinary, underpinned by concepts from sociology, psychology, organisational and feminist studies, and law, it has evolved in a relative silo from other perspectives on organisational wrongdoing that could provide useful insights in preventing and redressing sexual harassment.

McDonald et al., (2015), propose organisations undertake approaches that are consistent with those proposed in broader primary prevention literature to reduce gender inequality. Powell et al., (2015) note that 'stakeholders identified different entry points into the development of a workplace program...Promising practice in the sector means working with organisations to see where they are at and what topics and issues they are comfortable with and slowly working together to transform attitudes and facilitate organisational and cultural change' (Powell et al., 2015).

At the same time, the interventions proposed by Powell et al., (2015) require whole of organisational approaches with closely overlapping elements (for example leadership, capability, effective policies and communications). Our Watch's proposed five standards are discussed in more detail in Part B:

1. Secure the commitment of leaders and staff;
2. Ensure conditions support gender equality;
3. Reject sexist and discriminatory culture;
4. Support staff and stakeholders who experience violence; and
5. Integrate gender equality into your core business.

Insight for the STOP project:

Consider leadership and employee starting points, existing norms and understanding where an organisation is on its pathway to respond better and ultimately prevent violence against women, starting and sequencing work to support believable and iterative changes to workplace norm and processes will need to be done on a case-by-case basis. For example, individual leaders may have family members who have been sexually harassed and feel committed to begin work at the response end, or there may be union focus on workplace safety. For others, talking about sexual harassment may be distasteful and focusing upstream (such as on setting standards of behaviour or focusing on emerging customer requirements) may be a more conducive starting point.

Using the Our Watch self-assessment tool as a framework for Table 8 makes it evident that approaches suggested by Hunt et al., (2010) and McDonald et al., (2015) can be understood as a subset of the model proposed by the Our Watch standards. Against each of these standards, organisations can focus on leadership, strategy and norms and practices. To support implementation of these standards, Our Watch has developed a toolkit for workplaces which include a self-assessment tool, an implementation guide, a staff survey, as well as other resources such as templates, good practice examples and guidance on communications, engaging leaders and dealing with backlash (Our Watch et al., 2015).

Our Watch Standards				Elements of workplace primary, secondary and tertiary intervention models
Standard	Element	Element	Element	
	<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Norms and Practices</i>	
Secure commitment of leaders and staff in preventing violence against women	•			Partially indicated although note a feature of intervention models. McDonald et al (2015) indicate that sexual harassment policies should be implemented alongside broader gender equality policies.
Ensure conditions support gender equality				Not required. The literature on best practice sexual harassment policies defines sexual harassment behaviourally. Maybe a feature of other workplace policies such as workplace discrimination or equal opportunity
Reject sexist and discriminatory culture				Not required in sexual harassment policies. Maybe a feature of other workplace policies such as workplace discrimination or equal opportunity
Support staff and stakeholders who experience violence	•			Leadership required to initiate and maintain and enforce whole of organisational processes.
		•		Development, implementation and communication of workplace sexual harassment policies and complaints mechanisms.
		•		Provide regular training to employees to ensure they understand their rights and responsibilities concerning workplace policy, its implementation and complaints mechanism.
			•	McDonald et al (2015) suggest communicating outcomes of complaint processes in transparent ways. (See figure 4)
Integrate gender equality into your core business		•		Not required for gender equality. Maybe a feature of other policies such as workplace discrimination or equal opportunity. The whole of organisational approaches recognised as necessary to lead and sustain sexual harassment policy positions and processes. McDonald et al (2015) note requirements to monitor training attendance, identify and reward managers who respond appropriately, monitor practice, and stay ahead of practice in anti-discrimination law and policy.

Table 8: Mapping the Our Watch framework against alternate models

Part B: Review of the evidence – what works to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace?

The framing of prevention and resulting models may differ. However, all models reviewed imply that any attempt to address sexual harassment must take a whole of organisation approach. In choosing an approach, leaders should consider organisational readiness to engage with the practical measures that can be taken and the learning required to make the shift. Organisations should aim to shift understanding upstream linking sexual harassment to violence against women and ultimately to gender equality and equity.

This section of the rapid review explores the evidence about the elements comprising these models. Rigorous evidence about the longer term impact of primary prevention interventions (those that address gender inequality) in workplaces is very limited. The section discusses promising examples of practice. Notwithstanding the complexities of operating within a workplace context (resourcing, time commitments and so on), the underpinning principles remain relevant.

Chung et al., (2012) point to the need for review and evaluation of initiatives to support a growing evidence base for what works in practice and to achieve outcomes. One avenue is that programs 'examine gender equity and violence prevention [through] workplace audits and surveys [that] could be combined to include both related components in research, monitoring and evaluation'.

Audits can include a gender analysis of the workforce profile, recruitment, rates of progression, opportunities for learning and development opportunities, organisation culture and environment, and workplace policies and procedures. In Australia, publicly available reports on such audits include independent reviews into Victoria Police, South Australia Police, Australian Federal Police and others.¹⁰

This section looks at four components for successful workplace interventions to prevent and respond to sexual harassment:

1. Leadership commitment;
2. Policies, planning and strategies;
3. Workplace practices and norms; and
4. Training, learning and capacity.

Insight for the STOP project:

A policy and process audit is a useful starting point to gain leadership's insights and expectations about workplace processes and behaviours and terms and conditions of employment. Where policies are non-existent, the STOP project will need to understand the mechanisms through which these expectations are set and how they are communicated within workplaces, and what feedback mechanism leadership has about their implementation and performance.

¹⁰ These can be seen at <http://www.humanrightscommission.vic.gov.au/index.php/component/k2/item/1056-independent-review-into-sex-discrimination-and-sexual-harassment-including-predatory-behaviour-in-victoria-police>, <http://www.eoc.sa.gov.au/eo-resources/EOC-Independent-Review>, <https://www.afp.gov.au/culturalchange>

Leadership Commitment

Effective workplace measures need a visible and proactive stance by organisational leaders against sexual harassment (Gruber, 1998; Hunt et al., 2010; McDonald et al., 2015).

Experience in gaining leadership commitment in Australia involved pitching this as either a business case, a moral case, or both, and in doing so compelling corporate and business sectors to recognise the costs of violence. Not surprisingly, however, research has identified that the diverse contexts of organisations have implications for the rationale that will motivate leadership and clarify the best pathway for them to begin work. Convincing leaders that the benefits to the organisations (business case) will also benefit the leaders themselves underpins most approaches to change (Holmes & Flood, 2013). For success, such approaches to change requires men who are leaders to recognise and relinquish their power as men, which may be intertwined with their professional profile and character, in a very public way. Holmes and Flood (2013) note a range of leadership responses from outright hostility, passive resistance (acknowledgement without commitment) to supporting initiatives to prevent violence against women in the workplace (including sexual harassment and gender harassment). A later section provides more information about responding to resistance.

Engaging male leaders and men as champions of change to buy into the work of preventing sexual harassment recognise that men are predominantly responsible for perpetrating sexual harassment (Holmes & Flood, 2013). The independent review into Victoria Police noted that 'it will be important for all managers to be mindful of the individual and collective credibility of their leadership and to reflect deeply on their experiences and accountability when advocating for change' (Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, 2015).

Strategies to engage men reflect the varied gendered context of workplaces, as well as the different stages of readiness for leaders and their organisations to engage. Powell et al. (2015) point to the need for research on the effectiveness of increasing leaders' awareness of gendered power relations, at different stages of change (Powell et al., 2015). Following an organisational change process (discussed in Policies, Planning and Strategy) sends the message that leadership support the development and introduction of a policy to prevent and respond to sexual harassment (McDonald et al., 2015). Building senior management and executive level support requires consistent focus and effort.

In addition to understanding the existing gender norms, an understanding of leadership norms and practices is necessary to frame engagement with leadership. Applied research into leadership approaches (in reviews of police forces within Australia, military services in Australia and US) point to a command and control approach to leadership and management. Holmes and Flood (2013) characterise leaders as 'tough, take-no-nonsense, authoritarian...careful not to show any weakness, and expects no dissent. Looking mainly to consolidate his power, this leader consults minimally if at all and is not interested in empowering other people' (Holmes & Flood, 2013). This leadership style creates a workplace culture in which managers learn or perceive it as the only management option. Importantly, two types of leadership - authoritarian and laissez-faire styles – are associated with increased likelihood of harassment and bullying taking place in an organisation (Hunt et al., 2010). Identifying motivating starting points to engage with such leaders can be challenging. Tankard and Paluck (2016) note that leaders can influence behaviour 'without directly asking employees to change their behaviour'

Working with bodies outside an individual workplace to sponsor and support men's change is one way of engaging male leaders through less threatening entry points, one example may be through industry bodies, or through management training programs (Powell et al., 2015). Engaging male leaders effectively should ensure that survivors are adequately supported, and, should not detract from wider efforts to improve the number of women in leadership. Male Champions of Change programs have provided a platform for CEOs to engage in dialogue and shared a commitment to improving gender equality in their workplaces.¹¹

¹¹ See for example <http://malechampionsofchange.com/>, <http://malechampionsofchange.com/male-champions-change-fire-emergency/>

Insight for the STOP project:

Consider both personal and organisational motivations for leaders to engage with the Project. For example, notwithstanding the literature regarding the benefits of diversity for organisational performance, many men in leadership talk about their daughters' career prospects as driving their personal commitment to improve diversity.

Framing change

Developing the right messages is critical. Chung et al., (2012) suggest promising approaches include working with local women's service providers in a partnership and, testing prevention messages with a representative group of employees to consider how the language and messaging will be perceived across the workforce (Chung et al., 2012). VicHealth (2018) guidance on framing interventions encourages designing interventions based on social norms theory by identifying existing norms and understanding the reference group. VicHealth guidance identifies the elements required to frame messaging as:

continually articulate the rationale and benefits, noting the benefits to men as well as to women offer clear, compelling accounts of the problem and the solutions – real-life stories and personal accounts from within our organisations and settings are extraordinarily powerful acknowledge that gender is personal, interpersonal and structural and that it involves unequal relations of power.

In Vic Health's discussion of framing gender equality in a union context, framing of gender equality in terms of the shared values of an occupational health and safety issues, one of 'standing together' and 'leaving no one behind' had particular resonance. VicHealth also produced a toolkit based on pilot activities in eight diverse Victorian workplaces, which provides tools for organisations to start the engagement, whatever their starting point is. The toolkit provides messaging tested in Victorian workplaces and indicates program design principles that may be relevant in other contexts (VicHealth, 2012).

Formal leadership focus on implementation

In choosing a starting point for work, the program will need to consider where it is most likely to gain traction (Powell et al., 2015). Historically, legal requirements in many jurisdictions such as the U.S and Australia have meant organisational strategy and its implementation has been guided by legal requirements. Consequently, approaches have focused on responding to sexual harassment in the first instance.

The Australian Human Rights Commission outlines ways employers can use sexual harassment policy development to signal their intention to take action against sexual harassment. The Commission suggests employers officially launch the policy, gain endorsement from the highest senior manager, distribute the policy widely, include the policy in induction, request employees to sign that they have understood the policy, display the policy, and assign responsibility for circulating and reviewing the policy (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008). In doing so, it is important to note that middle management can be perceived as the group most resistant to change (Powell et al., 2015).

Individual champions or key figures are critical to creating change. Research in Australia recommended that champions be in leadership and middle management and that a person should have key responsibilities to address sexual harassment. That person should be supported appropriately to minimise the risk of their burn out. The same research noted that there was a risk of key responsibilities to address sexual harassment falling to the relatively few women in leadership, even though, senior and mid-level managers are overwhelmingly men (Powell et al., 2015). Where possible, avoid shifting responsibilities to address sexual harassment to women in a leadership position.

In designing interventions, consider workplace performance imperatives that drive middle management. Workplace performance imperatives can support framing the shift of behaviour and norms required. Some middle managers may be interested in engaging in efforts to prevent and respond to sexual harassment; their performance measures can constrain or enable those efforts.

Perceptions of commitment

A range of factors undermines employees perception of an organisation's commitment to addressing sexual harassment. Chung et al. (2016) note evidence from North American workplaces emphasised that senior employees with decision making power must promote policies and changes if they are to create change in the workplace, and that as the issue moved outside the human resources function this was particularly important, as complaints individualised and could become a private issue for individual workers.

Good work can be undone where complaints are not 'seen' to be fairly addressed. For organisations who fail to gain and maintain leadership support, there are risks. In a study of the US military, Vijayasiri (2008) found organisations that encourage employees to report sexual harassment through policy dissemination and training can fail them in implementation, potentially due to a lack of leadership commitment.

This lack of meaningful follow-through of an organisation's public 'commitment' can make people less willing and confident to report. In other words, if employees perceive a disconnect between the protections promised by the sexual harassment policy and the effectiveness of complaint handling in practice, this could discourage employees from making further reports of sexual harassment. In the long term, this is likely to undermine organisational change. Sexual harassment training is less successful when employees are cynical towards an organisation's commitment to change and value of staff and believe that their workgroup is unethical (Cheung et al., 2017).

Informal leadership

In work on changing perceived social norms, models have identified the concept of social referents, people who are particularly influential over others' perceptions of norms. In the development discourse, these people may be called 'changemakers', or, 'agents of change'. They need not be high in status or leaders to be effective, their relevance to driving norm change comes from personal connections to targets and their number of connections throughout the group. Where an individual within a reference group is influential or popular, individuals will look to that person to understand a social norm and will assume that others do too (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

In work in schools in which individual (social referents) were trained to model anti-harassment behaviours, students with multiple points of connection to the referent were more likely to perceive harassment as not desirable (Tankard and Paluck, 2016). How social referents engaged through anti-harassment work included, public speaking about the importance of not harassing, performing skits, talking to peers, and selling merchandise with anti-harassment messages (Tankard & Paluck, 2016).

Informal leaders can play a role in building perceptions that work to prevent and responding to sexual harassment is an ongoing priority, not only a temporary promotion. One example is that a network of workplace advisers can support employees to build their knowledge and confidence about the issue and their role (Chung et al., 2012).

There is little evidence about the effectiveness of engaging informal champions of change for gender equality in workplaces. Organisations such as White Ribbon in Canada and Australia provide tools for engaging men, through a public pledge for men 'never to remain silent about violence against women', the appointment of ambassadors, organising events for White Ribbon Day and workplace accreditation process. At this stage, there is no evidence regarding whether or not these are effective initiatives. The implications of public scrutiny of the value of branded programs such as White Ribbon, such as publicity

around the poor screening of ambassadors, should be considered in the context of efforts to shift social norms as discussed in the section on Workplace Practices and Norms.

Holmes and Flood (2012) cite a report from the United States that listed three characteristics that enabled men to be more gender aware and have greater potential to act as informal leaders. Those characteristics were defiance of some masculine norms, having women mentors and having a strong sense of fair play. They suggested where there is no formal leadership engagement; these characteristics may help guide identification of informal leaders (Holmes & Flood, 2013).

Insights for STOP the project:

- Identifying ways to engage organisational leadership to support change and sustain ongoing commitment to implementation is a critical early step.
- Engagement strategies need build from the starting point of leaders' and organisational readiness (start where it's warm) and support their evolution.
- Leadership can be engaged through internal and external mechanism and platforms.
- Informal leaders, including men, will be important to identify and influence workplace norms.

Policies, planning, and strategies

Strategy and planning

Organisations will vary in their readiness and motivation for change. Figure 5 describes one view of a process of organisational change from the 'awareness pre-contemplation' stage, when knowledge and awareness needs to be raised for the benefits of change, to the 'reinforcement maintenance' stage, when organisational change is internalised, and new behaviours are substituted for old ways of working (Powell et al., 2015).

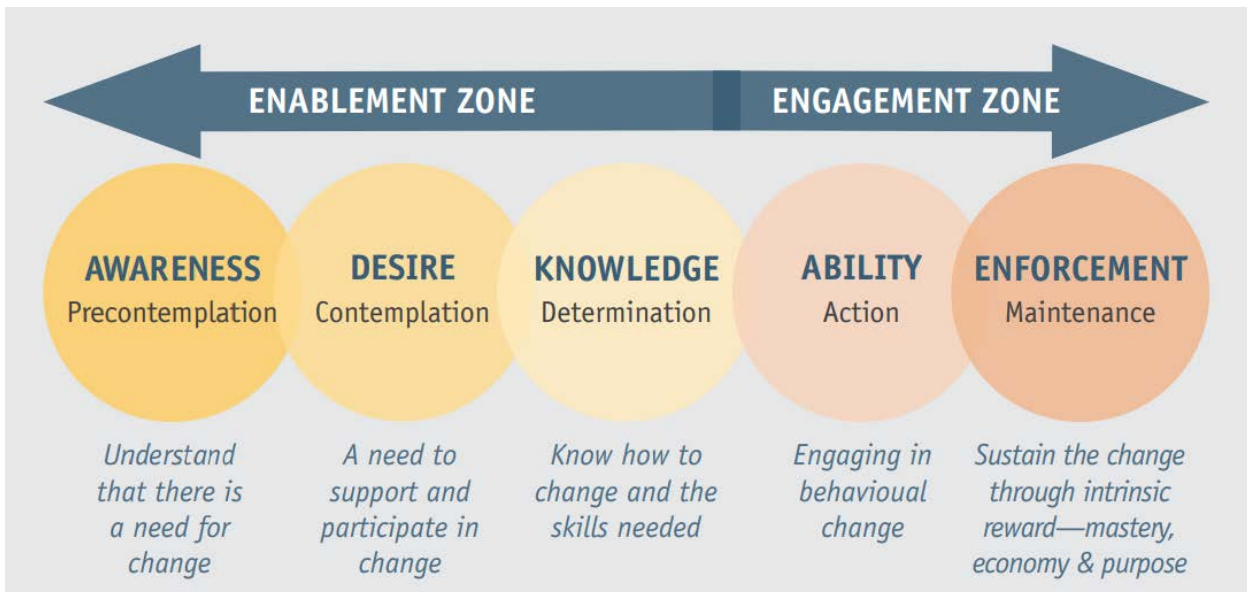


Figure 5: Organisational change process (reproduced)

Understanding where an organisation is in this process is essential for planning a relevant and achievable program of work. Chung et al., (2012) cite research that classifies organisational culture into three types – compliant, reactive and proactive - to indicate why some workplaces can work to address sexual harassment more easily than others. Workplaces with compliant and reactive organisational cultures are more likely to be motivated by 'regulatory requirements and management direction' while proactive organisational cultures are more likely to support diversity as being productive and valuable. Chung et al., (2012) suggest identifying the culture will be key to identifying starting points for work.

Workplace surveys, assessments and audits can provide useful information about worker experiences and can commence a process of engagement. There is a range of tools available such as the Occupational Health and Safety Council of Ontario model (2010), or the Our Watch Framework provides a self-assessment tool (Chung et al., 2012). Should employees be engaged in a benchmarking exercise, whether in the form of a survey, assessment or audit, it is important to communicate ensuing planning or intended activities so that, employees do not become disengaged from or cynical about the process.

Policies

Sexual harassment is routinely under-reported (Vijayasiri, 2008), and so it is likely that the effectiveness of a policy is linked to the systems and culture in which it is implemented, as well as workplace and broader social norms.

As mapped against the Our Watch standards in Table 8 sexual harassment policies can be seen as part of an organisation's efforts against Standard 5 (Support). There may be other workplace policies in place,

such as anti-discrimination policies, equal opportunity policies or diversity and inclusion policies that complement the sexual harassment policy. For example, recruitment and promotion processes or workplace flexibility provisions.

While designed to equip sporting associations to implement comprehensive and well-supported bystander program, the VicHealth *Stepping in* bystander action toolkit provides useful guidance for small organisations to consider the policy and programming requirements to promote gender equality (VicHealth, 2012).

The sexual harassment policy is a core component of the explicit organisational environment, sending a clear message about what is expected in the organisation. Research suggests that workplace sexual harassment policies do affect both men's and women's behaviour (Gruber, 1998). However, research documenting the effect of policies on preventing or reducing sexual harassment is scarce (Hunt et al., 2010).

Policy content

Sexual harassment policies have traditionally focused on responding to sexual harassment and providing information to employees about what individuals should expect from their employer if they experience sexual harassment.

Chung et al., (2012) note that while their intent should be to say that sexual harassment (as a form of violence against women) is unacceptable, zero-tolerance policy approaches have been criticised. As we will see in our discussion of evidence about what works to shift social norms, zero-tolerance statements alone are not sufficient if they do not create a dialogue about why violence against women is important to address. Zero-tolerance approaches can also make a target fearful of making a complaint (Chung et al., 2012). Where the target or others see the consequences for the harassers as not proportionate to the seriousness of complaint, reporting may represent an unnecessarily high social cost for the target.

A policy should be based on principles of procedural fairness and aligned with principles of natural justice (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008). A complainant should perceive the process to be fair, even if they do not agree with the outcome (McDonald et al., 2015). Gruber (1998), McDonald et al., (2015), and the Australian Human Rights Commission identify core content for sexual harassment policies:

- The inclusion of a statement of intent to enforce the policy seriously and promptly, with specifications of penalties;
- An outline of the organisation's objectives regarding sexual harassment;
- An unambiguous definition of sexual harassment;
- Examples of sexual harassment that may be relevant to the particular working environment;
- A statement that sexual harassment is against the law;
- The circumstances in which sexual harassment may occur;
- The consequences / penalties for policy breach;
- Responsibilities of management and staff;
- Information on where individuals can get help, advice or make a complaint;
- A summary of the options available for dealing with sexual harassment;

-
- Outline of grievance mechanisms - these should be perceived to be accessible, and in ones in which employees can have confidence and provide some choice to potential targets of harassment, for example, the Australian Human Rights Commission recommends both an informal complaints procedure and a formal complaints procedure for flexibility;
 - Offer multiple reporting channels - for example, a supervisor, another manager or a designated complaints officer;
 - Outline the process that will take place following a report of harassment – this should be safe and credible processes which follow principles of procedural fairness; and
 - Outline support and follow up after a decision is made on the complaint.

McDonald et al., (2015) cite research that asserts that sexual harassment policies should take into account gender power differentials and policies should be defined in gender-specific terms.

Policy development

In part, social norms and perceived power relationships between employees and their employer influences the development of workplace policies.

Hunt et al., (2010) proposed that policies should be based on empowerment principles, not protectionist principles to avoid increasing sex segregation or prohibition of all relationships (Hunt et al., 2010). Experience in Bangladesh in export processing zones found very low sexual harassment, but this was accompanied by minimal worker freedom, restrictions on all communications between workers and minute regulation of worker movements (Siddiqui, 2009).

Developing workplace policies in consultation with employees may be one opportunity for organisations to build workforce engagement with the policy if it is perceived safe by employees to engage in that way. Consultative processes are considered to result in better policies. Consultation enhances buy-in at all levels of organisations because sexual harassment is portrayed as a 'community concern' rather than an individual problem resulting in reactive, disciplinary procedures (McDonald et al., 2015). Further, consultation to develop sexual harassment policies may also act to protect those who would seek to make a complaint from further negative consequences.

Including discussion of other forms of engagement with employees as part of policy development processes can be an opportunity to initiate a broader conversation about gender equality. Assessments of current norms and organisational readiness of each workplace will inform the appropriateness such efforts. The section below on workplace practices and norms discusses the importance of drawing on evidence about what works to shift social norms in any engagement process.

Communication of sexual harassment policy

Gruber (1998) notes that the message of sexual harassment policies and procedures may be as important as the content. That is 'What an organisation does regarding creating and implementing policies and procedures may change the climate of the organisation if these efforts are perceived to be credible' (Gruber, 1998). Communication and launch of the policy is a key step in overall change efforts.

Communication about and the launch of the policy provides a platform to demonstrate:

- Leadership commitment – communication about and launch of the policy is an ideal space to show leadership backing and support for the policy;

- The process of development – a consultative process in which employees were involved is likely to enhance the credibility of the policy;
- Employee confidence – the launch of the policy can outline how the mechanism works and its fairness, therefore increasing confidence to use it;
- Training and Implementation Plans –outlining expectations and requirements about training (see section on Training, Learning and Capacity) and timelines for policy implementation; and
- The broader workplace environment – modelling the changes sought in the wider workplace environment so that it reinforces the desired norms in the workplace

The discussion and evidence about what constitutes a good sexual harassment policy highlight the need to articulate what sexually harassing behaviours are, expected standard of behaviour, what the organisation will do to build an understanding of its policy, and how the organisation will respond to reports of sexual harassment.

At an organisational level, educational resources and targeted social norms campaigns such as poster/website campaigns, staff newsletter articles, workplace forums or events have promise (Chung et al., 2012). It is critical for organisations to understand that the development and implementation of sexual harassment policies are a **necessary but not sufficient** condition to embark on a broader effort to shift norms about violence against women in the workplace.

Complaints management

Complaints management is a cornerstone of sexual harassment policies. Guidance on sexual harassment complaint handling acknowledges the complexity and sensitivities that are often present in complaints of sexual harassment (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008; McDonald et al., 2015). Those reporting sexual harassment face barriers such as perceptions of an adversarial and hostile process, lack of confidentiality, risk regarding isolation and reprisal, and concerns about the lack of a result once a complaint is made (McDonald et al., 2015).

Appropriate, transparent and fair systems are essential to support policy implementation. Ideally, this will include independent stakeholder engagement or oversight. However, there are other means to achieve transparency. Systems to support the policy need to take barriers and sensitivities into account: clearly articulating policy and process, and, providing supporting guidance material so that there is clarity for all staff.

Informal complaints

Informal complaints procedures emphasise resolution rather than proof of wrongdoing. This method of resolution might be more suitable for less serious complaints and where the parties are likely to continue to come into contact with one another at work. Information resolution can include a supervisor or another person of some authority conveying privately that sexual harassment behaviours are unacceptable and must stop.

Formal complaints

Undertaking a formal investigation may be more appropriate if the allegations are serious, the power imbalance is great, there is fear of retaliation, and/ or informal procedures have not worked. According to the Australian Human Rights Commission, formal complaint procedures usually include:

- Investigation of the allegations;
- Application of the principles of procedural fairness;
- Making a finding as to whether the harassment occurred;
- Submitting a report with a recommended course of action to a decision-maker; and
- Implementation of the outcome.

Source: Australian Human Rights Commission - Options for Informal and Formal Complaints, p. 33

As noted above, procedural fairness is a key component of an effective system. Procedural fairness refers to the basic elements required in a complaint process to ensure a just outcome, including (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008):

- Notice of the complaint to the alleged harasser so they can respond to the allegations;
- Notice to the complainant if the alleged harasser has a different version of events so they too can respond;
- A chance to be heard given to all parties; and
- The decision maker is impartial and acts honestly, without bias.

Procedural fairness can be embodied in broader systems, and according to the Australian Human Rights Commission and McDonald et al., (2015), these include the following elements.

- **Multiple reporting channels** - for example, a supervisor, another manager or a designated complaints officer (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008); and
- **Flexibility in the formality of procedure** - the Australian Human Rights Commission recommends both an informal complaints procedure and a formal complaints procedure for flexibility, refer to the text box below.
- **Timely investigations** - some studies say that this less important than safety and credibility (McDonald et al., 2015).
- **The option to access mediation** - some evidence shows that the use of an 'outside' mediator is effective in resolving workplace disputes (McDonald et al., 2015) and studies have also found that universities with a more consultative approach in managing complaints had higher reporting rates (Hunt et al., 2010).
- **A safe process that manages the fear of and potential for retaliation** - retaliation is regularly and reasonably feared (Bergman et. at. 2002). There is a correlation between a greater fear of reporting and a higher prevalence of harassment (Reese & Lendenburg, 2003). Vijayasiri's (2008) study found that a fear of co-worker mistreatment due to complaining about harassment was a reason for the lack of reporting. Longer term oversight may be needed to support a person who has experienced harassment and to ensure there is no retaliation or further targeting (McDonald et al., 2015). Studies have shown that people who report sexual harassment are perceived as 'less feminine and not likable' and 'less trustworthy' than those who did not report (Signal et al., 2003).
- **Commensurate sanctions** - weak sanctions indicate 'a climate of tolerance (McDonald et al., 2015).
- **Acknowledging an evidence deficit in formal investigations** - often the behaviour takes place in private, without witnesses. Even if evidence cannot substantiate a complaint, it does not mean that the harassment did not occur or the person making the complaint is not telling the truth. The finding may be that the evidence was inconclusive (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008; McDonald et al., 2015).

Continuous improvement

Complaint handling should not end with a finding or not of harassment, a report and action taken. An organisation's workplace policy and guidance material should address this. McDonald et al., (2015) state:

Longer-term interventions in particular have been largely neglected in the extant literature, highlighting the need to balance the current emphases on policy and training (primary prevention) and short-term responses (secondary preventions) with strategies that address some of the significant longer term damage caused by sexual harassment.

Insights for the STOP project

- Where possible, empowerment principles should underpin policy development.
 - Policy content needs to balance best practice and legal obligations with what will be deliverable and be supported by ongoing leadership commitment.
 - Policies need to be clear about objectives, processes and penalties – policies can change and evolve over time as organisations' approaches become more sophisticated.
 - Communicate and launch the sexual harassment policy for widespread awareness and contribution to change efforts.
 - Ensure the communication of policy builds in leadership accountability for its implementation, outlines action plans for training, and supports messaging about expected norms in the broader workplace environment.
- Set out a complaints process that is characterised by:
- Flexible entry points
 - Procedural fairness
 - Monitoring and continuous improvement
 - Communication of summarised complaints data
 - Safe and appropriate referral pathways to service providers with expertise in sexual harm should be identified.
- Consider whether or how policies addressing sexual harassment interact with other policies and strategies that are designed to address gender inequality.
 - Consider partnering with a women's service to support process (as noted in the section on framing change) to seek content expertise and/or develop referral pathways (see complaints section).

Organisations should incorporate responsibilities for revisiting records and processes for improvement over time, including:

- Proper complaint recording systems (with confidentiality);
- Analysis of complaints to alert the organisations to patterns of unacceptable behaviour so prevention strategies can be targeted (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2008);
- Learning lessons from and improving training; and
- Revisiting and improving the sexual harassment policy and guidance material, especially if there are legal changes.

By gathering information, consolidating and reviewing it, organisations can gain insight into the particular organisational norms and practices that are shaping occurrences of sexual harassment. Shifting the focus from the aberrant behaviour of individuals to a systemic level allows effective challenging of the status quo (McDonald et al., 2015).

Summary information about matters such as sexual harassment complaints and their handling can be used to model the explicit organisational context and shape norms. Tankard and Paluck (2016) find that sharing summary information can help to shift people's perception of a norm (of what is typical among their reference group).

External referrals

Where an issue of sexual harassment has the potential to escalate to criminal matter (such as sexual assault and/or has significant impacts on an individual's health and well-being), there is a need to engage service providers in supporting survivors and providing them with appropriate information regarding law and justice actors. Hunt et al., (2010) include referral and psychosocial support as part of secondary and tertiary interventions for workplaces. While ideal, this may not be practical in many settings. For engagement with law and justice agencies, specialised law enforcement units are increasingly being established, such as women's police stations and specialised domestic violence courts. These seek to create standards and spaces where reporting is encouraged, and responsiveness prioritised (Paluck & Ball, 2010).

Workplace practices and norms

Organisational culture is a set of shared assumptions that guide what happens in organisations by defining appropriate behaviour for various situations (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). As discussed in Part A, workplace culture gives expression to social norms about leadership, work and gender, among other things. There is a significant body of research examining organisational identity and culture which is outside of this review's scope. However, research on preventing sexual harassment in workplaces, consistently, include organisational culture as a critical element of any effective program of work.

Research in social psychology finds that strong norms of equal opportunity and job and diversity training can motivate organisations 'to behave in non-discriminatory ways (Correll, et al., 2007), and not merely to be negatively influenced by their implicit associations (Mitchell & Tetlock, 2008), and even explicit evaluations' (Al Ramiah et al., 2010).

Bell et al. (2002), cited by Hunt et al., (2010) argue for a strong organisational culture, which aims to show intolerance of sexual harassment. McDonald et al., (2015) and the Australian Human Rights Commission also underscore the importance of the wider workplace culture.

Undertaking interventions in the workplace environment to change perceived norms can be integrated into wider workplace settings, such as through:

- Building employees shared understanding about sexual harassment (employee understanding);
- Addressing management approaches and styles of leaders (see sections on leadership and training for supervisors and managers);
- The use of social referents or informal leaders to lead wider campaigns regarding norms change Embedding organisation responses to bystander intervention (see training for bystanders section); and
- Having a responsive complaint system and sharing summary data about outcomes of complaints.

As discussed in Part A, in workplaces where women experience a low-level culture of jokes, being belittled or demeaned, or being stereotyped by their gender, can create a hostile workplace for women and this can have significant impacts on them. Wood (2012) suggested a no 'just joking' policy, in which bystanders would name sexist or inappropriate jokes in the workplace.

The Centre for Workplace Leadership, at the University of Melbourne, highlights the role of the organisation in creating workplace norms and culture where individuals are empowered to speak out against harmful workplace behaviours. The Centre suggests the following actions can foster the creation of a workplace that empowers individuals to speak out against harmful workplace behaviours.

Normalizing bystander action: Organisational policies and practices should communicate the idea of maintaining shared responsibility to keep a respectful organisational culture.

Bystander pledge: The organisation can have employees sign a pledge to act as a bystander.

Consistency: The organisation should demonstrate consistency in its stance on workplace behavioural norms through regular messages and communications.

Educate employees: Sometimes employees fail to confront harmful workplace behaviours simply because they do not recognise the actions as such. The organisation should educate its employees on these harmful behaviours and how to be a bystander in an accessible, clear, and non-threatening way.

Leading by example: All levels of management must demonstrate a genuine commitment to the program. A genuine commitment can be demonstrated by clearly adhering to workplace behavioural norms and by offering support to victims and fostering trusting relationships, so people will feel comfortable reporting their negative workplace experiences.

Accessible information: Educational information regarding harassment and incivility (including additional resources) should be readily available to all employees.

Training, Learning, and Capacity

A sexual harassment policy needs to be supported by training and education for staff and leaders (VicHealth, 2012). Sexual harassment training increases people's understanding of what sexual harassment is. VicHealth (2012) included teaching and learning strategies as a key step in preparation for initiating and maintaining progress in initiatives to prevent violence against women and build respectful workplaces.

Sexual harassment prevention training is one way of demonstrating an organisation's commitment to addressing harassment and ensure that there is a collective understanding of expected workplace behaviours and processes.

Training which aims to raise awareness and clarify myths about sexual harassment, inform about policies and procedures, and challenge organisational and societal gender norms, has a significant amount of content to cover. However, research shows that individuals with prior training about sexual harassment reject sexual harassment myths, such as that women have ulterior motives for reporting, more than untrained individuals do.

Much of the literature has focused on training, training outcomes, methodologies and so on which is discussed as 'formal training'. However, as set out in Part A, there is considerable evidence about other approaches to identify and shift social norms that might be considered in the context of employee capability and linked to their role and workplace.

Training Interventions

Managers and employees are required to understand what is expected of them, and, what their options are with respect to responding to and preventing sexual harassment. There is a range of roles that employees can be expected to play - including as a complainant, bystander, manager or peer.

McDonald et al., (2015) propose that training should be tailored to the organisation and account for broader issues such as culture, context, legal frameworks and gender dynamics within society. They identify four principles in the development of training content:

1. Training should be organisation specific, taking into account situations where harassment is likely to occur, women's role, status and positions in the organisation;
2. Training should raise awareness and clarify misconceptions and highlight and reinforce acceptable behavioural norms;
3. Training should challenge gendered organisational norms; and
4. Training for managers should include conflict management, communication and emotional skills.

Does sexual harassment training work?

Evidence shows that sexual harassment training works when it is part of a holistic approach to address sexual harassment in workplaces. Where workplaces used holistic approaches that included policies, complaints management and training, Gruber and Smith (1995) found that women responded more assertively to unwanted sexual attention. Gruber (1998) also found that men's behaviour was affected by policies and procedures and that the form of harassment affected depended on the strategies used in the workplace. Gruber (1998) found that both informational and proactive methods helped to curtail 'harassment generally and, in particular, environmental forms of sexual harassment such as denigrating sexual comments about women or pornographic posters and pinups'. For more serious forms of harassment, information alone was not effective, but proactive strategies for dealing with harassment were (Gruber, 1998).

A holistic approach

Participation in sexual harassment training can encourage people to seek organisational interventions (Vijayasiri, 2008). As discussed earlier, employees will be less likely to seek support or make a complaint if they do not think it will be treated seriously or if they are concerned about repercussions for doing so. Where the conditions are supportive though, there is evidence that training can have positive impacts on the workplace. Reese and Lendenburg (2003) found in their study of the US public service that sexual harassment training is critical for change:

training is the critical link between sexual harassment policies and perceived positive outcomes. In short, even the best policy, absent a commitment to training, is unlikely to have the desired workplace outcomes.

Holmes and Flood (2013), citing Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2003), note that various studies have shown that workplace training can improve attitudes towards sexual harassment. For example, a 2014 study of sexual harassment training outcomes in the US Federal government found the proportion of agency staff having received sexual harassment training is positively related to the probability that a federal employee considers unwanted sexual behaviour at work to be a form of sexual harassment (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2003).

Targeting Training

Different employees will require different knowledge, understanding and competencies to perform their roles. Buckner (2014) and McDonald et al., (2015) state that training to women should reflect employees specific role with an organisation and their potential experience of sexual harassment so that it is relatable and useful.

Training for managers and supervisors

Training should be targeted differently to managers. If a goal is to equip managers with specific skills to respond to sexual harassment, which should be an overt focus of the training, then informing them of their role and responsibilities (Hunt et al., 2010) is essential. Role-playing scenarios and focusing on attributes, such as empathy, and skills, such as listening could raise awareness of role and responsibilities.¹² Chung et al., (2012) list training and development for management and leadership staff to identify and respond to violence as an important element of promising practice.

As discussed earlier, two leadership styles - authoritarian and laissez fair – are associated with increased likelihood of harassment and bullying taking place in an organisation (Hunt et al., 2010). If a goal is to avoid these styles then focusing on improving leadership and management styles must be a priority.

Universal training

Evidence at an organisational level suggests that training should be conducted regularly and universally, across all levels, and be included in induction processes. Training should not be targeted only to certain groups or be limited to those who attend voluntarily (McDonald et al., 2015).

There is evidence to suggest that universal training is the best way to change organisational culture and that the more employees trained, the more effective the training is overall. A study in the US found ‘widespread training with the agency has an effect over and above that attributable to individual training

¹² In a 2014 study of managers who had received sexual harassment training, Buckner et al found that while training does sensitise people to sexual harassment, it also results in “false positive” identifications. Managers who had received more training were more likely to perceive a situation to be sexual harassment when it in fact was not. However, the authors of that study state that “managerial overreaction might be an effective component of an organisation’s prevention and correction program”.

*itself*¹³, ... the overall agency training rate is more important in predicting individual views than is the training status of the individual' (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2003).

The Our Watch Framework notes that the aim of a comprehensive suite of strategies to prevent violence should reach everyone. However, reaching everyone does not mean that everyone gets the same intervention. Tailored strategies for 'different communities, contexts and audiences are needed to ensure relevance across a diverse population. Each strategy should be carefully tailored to ensure it is appropriate and meaningful for the group of people it aims to engage' (Our Watch et al., 2015). The need for tailored training is reiterated in VicHealth's (2012) toolkit which notes the diversity of reference groups, ranging from supportive of the change to the entrenched opposition, identifying influential individuals who will help to persuade the 'movable middle' with whose increasing support, may lead to the intended shift in social norms (VicHealth, 2012).

Gender-specific training

Researchers have asserted that training should be tailored to the experiences of men and women (Bingham & Scherer, 2001). Training for women, who are more likely to experience harassment, is often focussed on increasing awareness and confidence about how to make complaints. Neglecting men's concerns about issues such as false accusations and due process risks making male training recipients defensive and unreceptive. A focus on empowering the person who experiences sexual harassment 'might heighten men's expectations of being accused, leading them to attribute more blame to victims as a psychological defence against being blamed in the future' (Bingham & Scherer, 2001).

Holmes and Flood (2013) note that training focused on men's role in primary prevention of violence against women and building gender equitable workplaces has been limited. Most commonly, social marketing campaigns have been used. Holmes and Flood (2013) note the rise of workplace-based strategies to raise men's awareness of gender issues.

Bingham and Scherer (2001) studied the outcomes of sexual harassment training in a university, comparing a group of people who received training with those who did not. Their findings show that training can have a negative effect on the attitudes of men and that 'some male participants appear to have responded defiantly to the university's intent to constrain and punish overt sexual harassment'. The men who took part in the training were less likely to view coercion of a subordinate as sexual harassment, less willing to report sexual harassment and more likely to 'blame the victim'. The training style and content focussed on 'power-coercive strategies' where participants were given information about punishment for perpetrators of sexual harassment. The authors hypothesise that a different approach may have better results and they recommend 'normative re-educative techniques' as more conducive to change (Bingham & Scherer, 2001).

Holmes and Flood (2013) identify some barriers to engaging men in workplace training to positively change their attitudes and behaviours:

- Men are not as receptive as women to organisational efforts to eliminate gender bias (Prime, Moss-Racusin, & Foust-Cummings, 2009);
- Men are less supportive of diversity program for minorities (affirmative action programs) and more likely to respond with backlash than women; and
- Lack of clarity about whether men can say 'no' to violence against women without saying 'yes' to gender equality).

In broader forms of knowledge development (i.e. beyond formal training), there is potential for unintended negative consequences in relation to how men and boys react to programs. Interventions may, in the name of awareness raising, promote perceptions of descriptive social norms that gender based violence

¹³ emphasis added

is typical and too common or inevitable to resist. Such perceptions may promote backlash, for example, men may react to interventions seeking to empower women by increasing their political opposition to women's rights and their efforts to control individual women's lives (Paluck & Ball, 2010). Language usage may be a critical concern, particularly in male-dominated work environments, where men participating may feel immediately confronted.

Men-only programs may address these challenges where they promote honest and reflective discussion among men which challenge socially constructed views of masculinity. Our Watch notes that oversight by or partnership with women can help ensure that the impact of gender norms is addressed (Our Watch et al., 2015). A core feature of these programs is providing alternative scripts and behaviours for participants to identify new behaviour options. In practice, this may mean workplaces develop prevention materials and messages in consultation with local violence-against-women service providers (partnership approach) and/or pilot-test prevention messages with a representative working group or committee of staff to consider how the language used will be more broadly received or interpreted across the organisation (Chung et al., 2012).

The broader evidence regarding workplace practices have not been addressed in this review. However, Holmes and Flood (2013) suggest one way to engage men in conversations is to pose questions about 'processes and habits' of how men and women interact in the workplace. For example, do employee consultation policies require an appropriate balance of representation of men and women? Do men always chair meetings? Are meetings scheduled at times that are more difficult for caregivers? Questions about such practices can be considered in the context of work to identify and shift social norms. Identifying the right questions requires care, as work practices may reflect a range of norms beyond gender, such as those about leadership, work and so on (Holmes & Flood, 2013).

Unconscious bias training

Holmes and Flood (2013) refer to the growing attention given by workplaces to unconscious bias and the way in which workplaces make decisions. In the workplace context, this attention has focused on unconscious bias during recruitment and promotion processes. Unconscious bias training has been provided to a growing number of workplaces in developed countries (Holmes & Flood, 2013) and is seen as a promising 'vehicle through which they raise awareness of the informal cultures and practices shaping and structuring workplaces' (Powell et al., 2015). As Holmes & Flood (2013) note 'to date, informal cultures and practices remain the most challenging area to address in prevention work'. However, the evidence on its effectiveness of reducing sexual harassment, in particular, is extremely limited.

Training for bystanders

Bystander training is crucial for supporting people to develop the skills and tools needed to intervene. As discussed earlier, most attention on bystander training has been bystander interventions at the time of an incident. VicHealth, in partnership with organisations, has piloted workplace interventions to build the capacity of employees to intervene when comments in the workplace are sexist (Powell et al., 2015). This training is premised on the understanding that bystanders understand when their colleagues are sexist or derogatory.

Holmes and Flood (2013) note that where 'men do not believe or accept that they are sexist... there may be a place for an educative strategy that invites men to reflect on the way language functions to reinforce stereotyping and unequal power, or to explore the relative respectfulness of various situations' (Holmes & Flood, 2013).

The Centre for Workplace Leadership suggests the below framework for bystanders in taking action about workplace incivility. Many of these may be useful in addressing situations that are regarded as having low risks, such as interrupting gender harassment or unwanted sexual attention. More specific training and

support about sexual harassment would be needed to support bystander intervention on higher risk behaviour of harassers or at the point at which harassment is occurring such as:

- Training should be designed to be universal, contextualised to the organisation and focus on the roles that people are expected to play as managers, bystanders, or targets;
- Training may be tailored to increase engagement of specific cohorts of people to achieve universal reach;
- Training to men should avoid potential negative outcomes of alienation and defensiveness and equip them to engage constructively;
- Drawing on social norms theory, consider the development of believable norms on which to base alternative scripts and behaviours for participants to identify new behaviours; and
- Developing prevention materials and messages in consultation with local violence-against-women service providers (partnership approach).

Training design

As outlined in Part A, much of the workplace based sexual harassment training literature focuses on its impact on reporting or the outcomes of organisational responses to sexual harassment. VicHealth (2018) summarises the key aspects of teaching and learning strategies as depicted in Figure 6 following (VicHealth, 2012).

Environment	Content	Teachers	Teaching Practice	Innoculate against misinformation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe space • Respectful and supportive learning • Small rather than large groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framing strategies • Conceptual framework that builds awareness of social structures and power relations • Use personal accounts and live experiences • Storytelling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content experts • Knowledgeable and skilled educators • Authentic, credible and empathetic • Self-reflective • Open-hearted and compassionate • Led by managers and supervisors (if organisational training) • Draw on mentors, female or male 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address risk factors • Sufficient length and intensity • Participatory (role-plays, simulations, interactive learning, storytelling, discovery) • Engage emotions • Foster empathy • Appeal to values of the group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employ sound arguments with fact / myth / fallacy approach • Acknowledge doubts and fears

Figure 6: VicHealth (2018) Summary Teaching and Learning Strategies (reproduced)

Trainers

Another consideration is the importance of the trainer. The gender of the trainer may be important to create an environment where people can participate freely. Women may feel more comfortable talking about sexual harassment without the presence of men, either in training or as the trainer. Additionally, training is more successful when trainers mitigate against hierarchies of power and privilege that distance them from participants. Trainers should be trained so that they are aware of and responding to power inequalities and addressing their own biases (UN Women Training Centre, 2016).

Training should be provided by trainers who are content experts, authentic and empathetic. As a precursor to this work, VicHealth (2018) reminds program managers and practitioners of the importance of being able to recognise and respond to resistance and indicated helpful tools to support these efforts (VicHealth, 2012).

Similarly, engagement in training or other program activities may give employees the confidence to disclose their own experience of sexual harassment or other forms of sexual violence directly to members of the STOP project. Staff should have the capacity to respond appropriately to such disclosures.

Insight for the STOP project:

Ensure program staff have access to learning to support them to respond appropriately to disclosures of sexual harassment or other forms of sexual harm, as well as responding to resistance in the training context, as well as through broader engagement in work to shift social norms.

CARE employees may disclose experiences of sexual harassment or other forms of sexual violence to the project. Staff capacity to respond to disclosures should be developed to include this scenario.

Training Approaches & Resistance

Holmes and Flood (2013) propose that 'education programs that are intensive, lengthy, and use a variety of teaching approaches have been shown to produce a positive and lasting change in attitudes and behaviours related to violence against women'(Holmes & Flood, 2013).

Paluck and Ball (2010) suggest that a possible way to soften resistance is to ensure that discussions can occur over long time frames so that those opposed to the idea have time to reconsider their positions (Paluck & Ball, 2010). Longer time frames for discussions has implications training design and framing of messages to ensure that people can 'change their minds' without losing face.

VicHealth (2012) reiterates the need for training that is sufficiently long, intense, framed to engage people emotionally and foster empathy in ways that are relevant to the group. In the context of training to shift social norms, Paluck and Ball (2010) note research in many contexts has found face-to-face delivery is likely to have the most social influence. This influence can 'powerfully boost and can significantly undercut the messages of the program' (Paluck & Ball, 2010).

Practitioners in workplace initiatives to prevent violence against women and build gender equality consistently experience resistance. VicHealth has developed an evidence-based tool for practitioners (*En)countering resistance: Strategies to respond to resistance to gender equality initiatives* (VicHealth, 2012). The tool sets out the forms of resistance and approaches to prepare for and respond resistance.

These are set out in Figure 7 below.

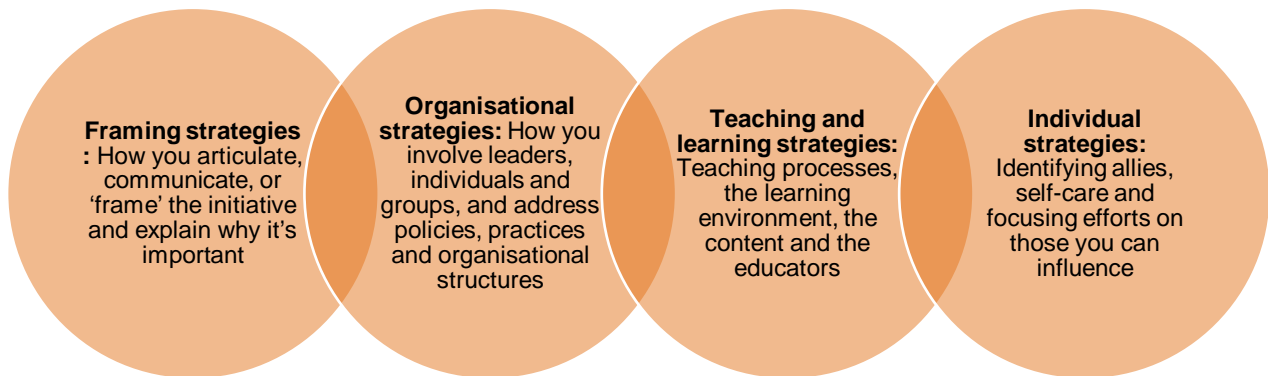


Figure 7: VicHealth Strategies to prepare for and respond to resistance, p.5

Training techniques

Training that is interactive and participatory can support developing new norms and shared meanings, changes in attitudes, values, skills and new ways of relating (Bingham & Scherer, 2001). VicHealth (2018) notes that messages should be framed by leading with the facts, noting and debunking myths, and then explain the fallacy that the myth uses to distort the fact (Our Watch et al., 2015).

There is evidence from social psychology of approaches that can reduce prejudice and which are relevant to training technique. Research has identified five ideal conditions for reducing prejudice, and notes, that positive changes may occur despite not meeting all ideal conditions.

The first step in reducing prejudice is to increase contact between members of different groups. Interventions which increase contact between different groups can reduce prejudice to wider groups - extending to members of other groups seen as 'different' - not just reducing prejudice between individuals or between specific groups.

Evidence around techniques and approaches for training approaches in relation to violence prevention includes the following techniques:

- **Modelling and Rehearsal** - McDonald et al., (2015) note that techniques such as modelling and rehearsal are useful to clarify misconceptions about sexual harassment. Interactive approaches such as rehearsal allow participants to practice interpersonal skills in challenging situations (McDonald et al., 2015). Modelling is a lower risk and useful tool where participants learn from observation (Hunt et al., 2010).

Designing training to reduce prejudice and discrimination

Prejudice, drawing conclusions about a person, group of people, or situation, prior to evaluating relevant evidence, drives discrimination. Contact between groups should meet five ideal conditions in order to reduce prejudice and discrimination:

- Groups should cooperate towards shared goals;
- Contact between groups should be enjoyable;
- Groups should be of roughly equal status;
- Group members should disconfirm each other's negative stereotypes; and
- Group members should have the potential to become friends.

- **Expressive Writing** - Kirk et al., (2011) found that expressive writing reduced workplace incivility compared to employees who did not undertake expressive writing (20 minutes per day for three days in a row). Expressive writing assumes a level of literacy in participants that may not be present in a factory context.
- **Multi-media** – inclusion of multi-media may increase engagement and can draw on increasing evidence of the effectiveness of 'edutainment' which is developing in several contexts in Africa such as Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). Such educational entertaining incorporates characters who model healthy, respectful, or safe behaviours. Educational entertaining markets the normative behaviour to a large audience in a subtle non-intrusive way that parallels the way individuals observe the behaviour in real life.
- **Case studies, for role play and role negotiations**, can be effective in training programs to enable participants to practice communication skills in challenging situations and state their expectations of supervisors and co-workers (Hunt et al., 2010). Role play and role negotiations can help address culture and norms regarding how individuals are treated in the workplace and may offer the potential for addressing power imbalances in a safe space.
- **Draw on evidence to enhance user experience in digital communications** – these offer principles for engaging users based on psychological principles and may be applicable in a training manual, course or context.
- **Contribute to reducing underlying prejudice and discrimination** – by increasing contact between individuals and designing training activities based on evidence from social psychology

Social modelling techniques may also be of use. Male facilitators in Program H in Latin America and the Caribbean, communicate through role play, videos, group discussions, 'brainstorming' and reflection. Program H that focuses on attitude change, and aims to communicate gender equitable social norms and transfer relationship skills in peer-to-peer educational sessions (Paluck & Ball, 2010).

Insights for the STOP project:

- Training should be intensive and provide opportunities to take participants on a long learning journey.
- Training content should include work that addresses underlying attitudes and provides opportunities to build new norms and behaviours.
- Audience engagement is key to successful training outcomes – choosing the right starting point is critical.
- Design methodology with underlying issues of prejudice and discrimination in mind including for example, shared problem solving, fun activities and opportunities to get to know others in greater depth
- Consider aligned communication and engagement strategies, such as social marketing to reinforce learning outcomes.

What steps can organisations take to prevent sexual harassment?

In this final section, we make recommendations on the steps organisations can take to prevent and respond to sexual harassment. These recommendations are subject to the limitations of this rapid review outlined at the start of this report.

Using an ecological model to design interventions

The socio-ecological model was central to the development of early violence prevention work, and has become the widely accepted theoretical and programming model by international practitioners addressing violence against women (Michau et al., 2015). As a framework, it centres individuals and considers the various factors that impact on their lives.

Figure 8 shows the concentric circles of an ecological model that illustrates the communal, social, and structural factors that can impact a person's experience of violence, including sexual harassment, and translates the model of Michau et al. (2015) into a workplace setting.

In Figure 8, this framework is translated for organisations, and implies that incorporating multifaceted approaches to addressing violence in the workplace is essential and can have a ripple effect in transforming the experience of employees beyond work.

Drawing on insights from the promising practices outlined in this review, we adapted the socio-ecological model (Figure 1) and reframed it to centre organisations and their commitment to preventing sexual harassment in the workplace. Beginning in the innermost circle, we condense recommendations as follows (Figure 8).

Workplace practices and norms

Shifting workplace practice and norms requires continued and concerted efforts from leadership. Although changing workplace norms can be slow, organisations can earnestly begin the process of norms change through developing comprehensive training. Training should be:

- Intensive and provide opportunities to address underlying attitudes and build new norms and behaviours;
- Contextualised to the organisation and focused on the roles that people are expected to play as managers, bystanders, or targets; and
- Achieve universal reach and provide safe and respectful training environment, training may be tailored to increase engagement of specific cohorts of people.



Figure 8: Adaptation of the ecological model for prevention of sexual harassment in the workplace

Organisational and program leadership

Within the organisation, leadership is critical to developing and supporting workplace approaches to prevent violence against women. Workplaces can enact the following steps to strengthen organisation and leadership engagement:

- Employ and train on a 'whole of organisation' approach to ensure systemic prevention and response to sexual harassment.
- Consider both personal and organisational motivations for leaders to engage with proposed approaches and models.
- Allow leadership to play a strong role in designing prevention approaches, including policy directions, content, systems for supporting the policy, and communications regarding its launch and intended impact.
- Identify and work with informal leaders to shift social norms, to reduce tolerance for sexual harassment, to reduce the perceived costs of bystander action, and build safe and respectful workplaces.

Organisational strategies and policies

Strategies and policies play an important role as an 'institutional signal' if appropriately conceived, communicated, monitored, and enforced. In working to develop these signals, organisations should consider the following:

- Planning for new policies and strategies should explore existing norms and organisational readiness. Change processes need to start where real and iterative changes to workplace mechanisms can happen;
- A policy and process audit can be a useful way to begin to gain leadership's insights and expectations about workplace processes and behaviours. Where policies are non-existent, understanding the mechanisms which set expectations and how expectations are communicated within workplaces will be important, as will understanding what feedback mechanisms leadership has about their implementation and performance;
- Sexual harassment policies serve a range of functions and can evolve. Policy content needs to balance best practice and legal obligations with what will be deliverable and be supported by ongoing leadership commitment. Policies should include a good practice complaints function and be clear about objectives, processes, penalties, and include referral pathways to specialist sexual assault services; and
- Ensure the communication of policy builds in leadership accountability for its implementation, outlines action plans for training, and supports messaging about expected norms in the broader workplace environment.

Community and Stakeholders

The community external to the workplace is where social norms are shaped and reinforced. Social norms about sexual harassment exist across people's working and non-working lives. In addition to employees, other key stakeholders operate at this level, including policymakers. Consider the following when thinking about the community and other stakeholders:

-
- Opportunities to work with policymakers and other stakeholders to develop comprehensive legislation to protect against sexual harassment in the workplace; and
 - Academic partnership or other approaches to build rigorous and much-needed evidence about what works to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace.

Society

Organisations have legal obligations to prevent and/or respond to sexual harassment to avoid liability for injuries sustained at work. Social movements, such as #metoo or publicity about workplace safety issues and incidents also impact the markets in which organisations operate. Consider partnering with policy and movement partners to engage in larger dialogues and identify intersectional and systematic approaches to addressing sexual harassment in the workplace.

THE #METOO MOVEMENT

#metoo is a social media movement looking to share and respond to individual instances of sexual harassment. A primary part of the campaign was to highlight the prevalence and scope of sexual harassment, providing opportunities for solidarity around the world. The movement has grown to capture stories from particular industries (#aidtoo #metoomilitary). While confined to social media with a focus on promoting empowerment through empathy (as articulated by founder Tarana Burke), the attention given to sexual harassment through the campaign is resulting in changes to workplace policies and practices.

Annex 1: The evolution of a socio-ecological approach to violence against women

At a population level, violence against women is caused by and reinforces gender inequality. Gender inequality reflects the unequal distribution of power, resources, and opportunities between women and men. These inequalities are often reflected in laws or policies which have disadvantaged women and are reinforced through informal means by individuals, communities, organisational or societies (Our Watch et al. 2016).

As described above, early definitions of sexual harassment focused on behavioural typologies and the extent to which they had a detrimental impact on individual targets. These definitions have informed legislative efforts to frame sexual harassment across many jurisdictions, including in international law. Cooper, Paluck and Fletcher (2014) note that the fields of legal research (and clinical psychology) have focused their efforts at the individual level, and different jurisdictions around the world have sought to focus on individuals' experiences of sexual assault.

Definitions that describe the form of behaviour of individual harassers do not reflect the underlying social, cultural and gendered elements of sexual harassment (Fileborn, 2013). Internationally, there has been an increased focus on primary prevention of violence against women that aims to stop violence before it starts, rather than only responding to it after it has occurred.

An integrated and holistic approach to preventing violence against women

There is a consensus that the factors operate in society across various levels of the socio-ecological model to create and reinforce violence against women. First developed to understand and respond to child development (Bronfenbrenner 1994), the socio-ecological model has since been used to explain many complex social phenomena and has been used widely in public health research and policy.

It is based on the idea that the causes of such phenomena lie at multiple and interrelated levels of the social ecology. While these levels are conceptualised differently by different theorists, in the literature on violence against women three levels are commonly distinguished – individual and relationship, organisational and community, and societal.

In 2002, the World Health Organisation published the World Report on Violence and Health (WHO Report). The WHO Report recommends that violence prevention initiatives should be based on public health approaches to evidence. It also noted that '[t]he public health approach does not replace criminal justice and human rights responses to violence, rather it complements their activities and offers them additional tools and sources of collaboration' (Krug et al., 2002).

FIGURE 1.3
Ecological model for understanding violence

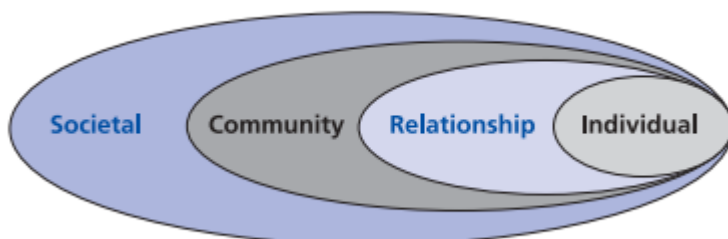


Figure 9: The ecological model of understanding violence: Figure 3 from WHO 2002 Report, p.12

Application of this model to violence against women was first proposed by Lori Heise in 1998 (co-author of the WHO Report 2002), who has since refined her work. The model is probabilistic and sets out factors that increase the probability of violence against women in a society, and this is increased further where multiple factors are present at multiple levels (Heise 2012; Webster & Flood, 2015).

Michau et al., (2014) note the evolution towards an ecological approach to prevent violence against women and the particular experiences and insights of women’s groups in low and middle-income countries. They noted that individual attitudes and community norms that helped to sustain violence against women and girls required intervention at other levels of the social ecology Michau et al (2014). The concentric circles of Figure 1 (reproduced full size on the following page) place individuals at the centre, with violence against women (including sexual harassment) being experienced individually and interpersonally, in the context of community and societal attitudes, practices and structures Michau et al (2014).

Consequently, to prevent violence against women, Michau et al., (2014) and other research undertaken (Heise 2012; Fulu et al., 2013, 2014; Webster & Flood 2015) suggests that interventions are most likely to be successful when they combine multiple strategies and target more than one level of the community or organisation.

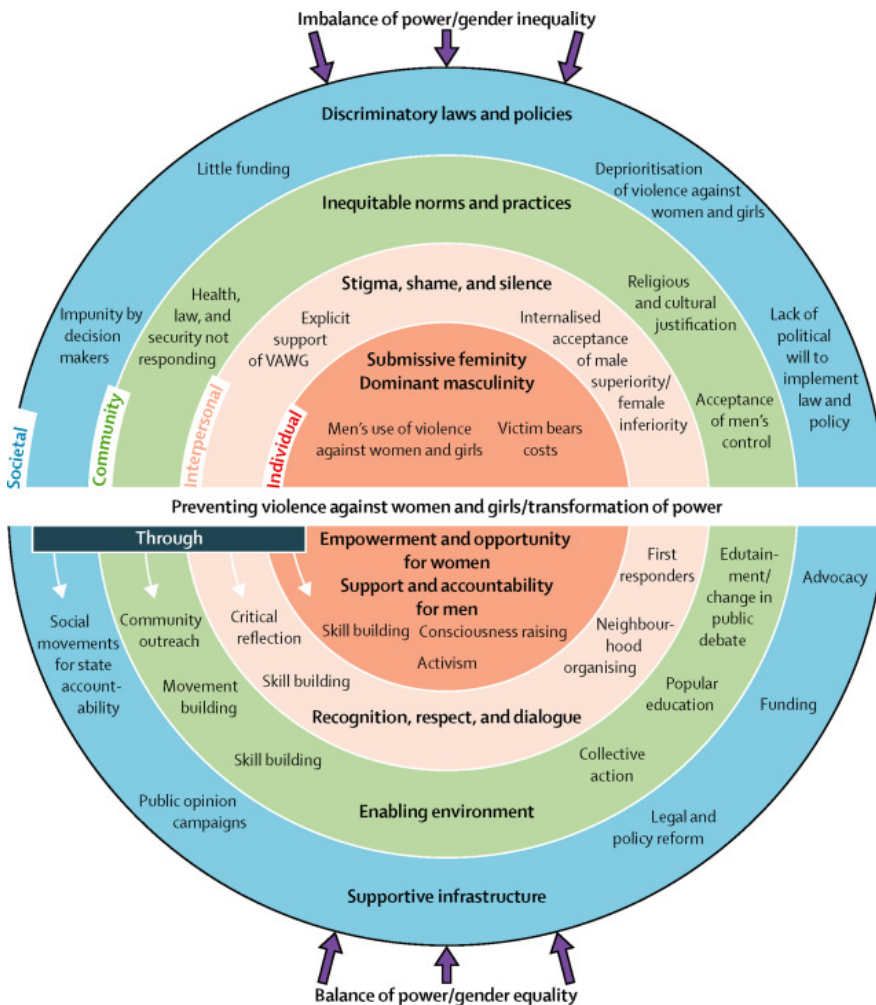


Figure 1 (full size image): Transformation of power across the ecological model from Michau et al (2014), p. 4

Michau et al (2014) note that the socio-ecological model has become the widely accepted theoretical and programming model. It was central to the development of early work in Australia lead by VicHealth. In

developing the VicHealth Framework the authors note that ‘factors underlying and contributing to violence against women and the means of prevention lie in a range of environments (such as schools, sports settings, faith-based institutions) and at multiple levels of influence – individual/relationship (including families), community and organisational, and societal’ (VicHealth 2007).

The VicHealth Framework informed the development of the Victorian Government’s *A Right to Respect: Victoria’s Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women 2010-2020*, the first such public policy commitment and investment in primary prevention of violence against women working at individual, community and societal levels. Primary prevention was subsequently prioritised in the *Australian National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their children 2010-2022*. VicHealth reviewed its Framework and partnered with Our Watch and the Australian National Research (ANROWS) in 2013 and developed an Australian national framework to prevent violence against women and children, published in 2016.

Annex 2: What works in to prevent violence against women

What works from Webster and Flood (2015) evidence review. The ratings are as assessed by Webster and Flood (2015), where interventions are considered:

- Effective – if they have been shown to be effective in preventing violence against women
- Promising – if found to have an impact on risk factors, but not on violence directly
- Conflicting – where some evaluations show the interventions to be effective and others show that they are not
- Ineffective – when current studies have not established a positive impact on violence against women or its risk factors.

Interventions to prevent violence against women – the current state of evidence for effectiveness	Assessment based on available evidence of effectiveness
Policy, legislative and institutional reform	
Macro-level reforms designed to address specific aspects of human rights and gender inequality established in research to be strongly linked with violence against women (for example, ensuring women's economic autonomy through reform of superannuation policy)	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Efforts to reform the media's representation/reporting of gender relations, women and violence against women (including self-regulation)	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Strengthening infrastructure and transport, for example by improving the safety of public transport and street lighting (prevention of non-partner sexual assault only)	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Community mobilisation and strengthening	
Community mobilisation, involving community-driven, participatory projects that engage multiple stakeholders to address gender norms	Effective (evidence from low and middle-income countries only)
Organisational development	
Whole-of-school programs involving teachers and other school staff, pupils, reporting mechanisms, parents and the local community, along with national advocacy. A variety of strategies are used (such as curriculum and group-based programs, policy reform, advocacy)	Promising
Multi-strategy approaches with media outlets to promote the responsible portrayal of women, girls and violence against women in the media (such as involving advocacy, training, guidelines)	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Organisational auditing processes to identify and address structures and practices contributing to gender inequality and violence against women. Involves developing audit tools and processes for engaging staff, community members and volunteers in using these to reflect on organisational cultures and processes and plan reform. Inducements may be used to encourage or support compliance (funding, awards)	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Communications and social marketing	
Social marketing campaigns or edutainment (that is, education built into entertainment such as a drama series) plus group	Promising

Interventions to prevent violence against women – the current state of evidence for effectiveness	Assessment based on available evidence of effectiveness
education. Long-term programs engaging social media, mobile applications, thematic television series, posters, together with interpersonal communication activities	
Single component communications campaigns (such as a campaign with advertisements through television and print media)	Ineffective
Advocacy	
Skills training and capacity-building for organisations and community members advocating for gender equality and the elimination of violence against women	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Leadership programs that identify and support influential, non-violent individuals to speak out and play a leadership role regarding gender inequality and the elimination of violence against women. These may be targeted to prominent individuals or be delivered through informal peer groups (such as among young people) or organisational settings (such as workplaces). These are based on social norms theory which proposes that the views of prominent others are influential in shifting social norms (Webster et al., 2014).	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Individual or group, direct participation programs, providing education, support and skills development	
School or community programs to improve women’s and girls’ agency. Can include other components such as safe spaces, mentoring and life skills training	Effective
Economic empowerment and income supplements including micro-finance, vocational training, job placement or cash or asset transfers (such as land reform)	Conflicting evidence
Economic empowerment and income supplements plus gender equality training	Effective
Collectivisation. Supporting women’s and girls’ empowerment by strengthening supportive links to other women and girls in similar circumstances (such as a collective for sex workers)	Effective
Peer education - Supporting individuals from particular sub-populations to educate their peers on gender norms and violence against women	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
School programs and community workshops with men and boys to promote changes in social norms and behaviours that encourage violence against women and gender inequality	Effective
School and community workshops to promote changes in norms and behaviour that encourage violence against women and gender inequality, which in contrast to the above, involve both men and women	Effective
Programs to support young people to engage critically with media and popular culture representations of women and gender relations often referred to as strengthening media literacy. Based on the theory that the negative influences of the media on constructions of masculinities and femininities and behaviours can be lessened by encouraging young people to engage in a critical way with the media	Successfully implemented but not yet evaluated for impact on violence/precursors to violence
Programs to strengthen individual skills and knowledge to take positive or pro-social action in relation to attitudes and behaviours supporting violence (such as the belief that women deserve violence) and precursors to violence (such as sexist attitudes). Often referred to as ‘bystander’ programs. Typically	Conflicting evidence (emphasis in many current evaluations is on bystander responses to violence, as opposed to its precursors, and on bystander approaches as ‘stand-alone’ interventions)

Interventions to prevent violence against women – the current state of evidence for effectiveness	Assessment based on available evidence of effectiveness
implemented as part of a broader program of community/organisational mobilisation	Have been successfully implemented in Australia
Programs to support the skills of parents (both men and women) to promote gender equality and non-violence in their parenting practices (noting that these programs differ from the parenting programs below which have the goals of preventing child abuse)	Not yet systematically assessed
Group or relationship-level interventions for equitable and respectful relationships Couple interventions to support them to maintain equitable and respectful relationships have been successfully implemented (e.g. among couples expecting a first child). There may be some potential in such programs as preventive measures at the population or sub-population level. However, relationship level interventions without a gender transformative approach may inadvertently compound gender inequality and hence be harmful to women.	Conflicting evidence
Protective behaviours programs. Group programs teaching women and girls how to modify their behaviour to reduce the risk of sexual assault and/or to defend themselves in the event of being threatened with assault.	Conflicting evidence. Such programs may increase victim-blaming (itself contributing by way of social norms to sexual violence). If they encourage women and girls to curtail their movements and divert attention from perpetration as a human rights violation, such programs would be incompatible with a rights-based approach. Promoting self-defence in the absence of comprehensive skills training has been found to increase risk. Ideally these programs would be implemented alongside those promoting changes in norms pertaining to gender and violence among men and boys.
Collaborating with other policy settings to address issues of common concern	
Nurse home-visiting programs aimed to strengthen parenting attitudes and skills, noting that the primary purpose and benefits of such programs are the prevention of child abuse. These programs are distinguished from those above which have an emphasis on promoting skills to raise children in ways that promote gender equality and non-violence.	Promising for intimate partner violence (effective for reducing child abuse and neglect)
Regulation to reduce the density of alcohol outlets or reduce alcohol consumption (through taxation, rationing, regulating trading hours)	Effective, although optimally should be implemented alongside other interventions addressing normative support for violence against women

Annex 3: Collated Insights for the STOP Project

Insight 1:

- Program staff and participating workplaces should be supported by appropriate policies and principles to support decision making in response to disclosures, confidentiality, appropriate referral pathways and risk considerations, including when a program participant is in serious and/or imminent danger.
- Program staff and participating workplaces should receive training in trauma informed responses to disclosures of sexual harassment and sexual assault, as well as training to avoid collusion with harassers.
- Program partnership with local services responding to sexual violence may be appropriate.

Insight 2:

- Influential individuals and groups are important in their capacity to influence positive norm shifts of the broader group. Early identification of the social norms held by influencers is important to identify support and capacity building is required for them to undertake this role. Careful assessment of the likelihood they will engage positively will be an important precursor to successful workplace efforts (VicHealth, 2012).

Insight 3:

- Principles underpinning social norms approaches should be incorporated into both organisational change processes and the messaging, training and capacity building and communications efforts designed to bring change to effect.

Insight 4:

- Understanding norms about reporting sexual harassment require careful assessment and should inform project design
- Bystander intervention can take a range of forms which can be acknowledged in policy and/or procedures
- Bystander intervention approaches can be embedded in training and other engagement opportunities to staff
- Bystander intervention in higher risk incidents may need a nuanced approach and should be trained separately to standardised policy and procedure training
- Support for bystanders can be built into the program and/or considered in partnership with specialist organisations

Insight 5:

- Consider leadership and employee starting points, existing norms and understanding where an organisation is on its pathway to respond better and ultimately prevent violence against women, starting and sequencing work to support believable and iterative changes to workplace norm and processes will need to be done on a case-by-case basis. For example, individual leaders may have family members who have been sexually harassed and feel committed to begin work at the response

end, or there may be union focus on workplace safety. For others, talking about sexual harassment may be distasteful and focusing upstream (such as on setting standards of behaviour or focusing on emerging customer requirements) may be a more conducive starting point.

Insight 6:

- A policy and process audit is a useful starting point to gain leadership's insights and expectations about workplace processes and behaviours and terms and conditions of employment. Where policies are non-existent, the STOP project will need to understand the mechanisms through which these expectations are set and how they are communicated within workplaces, and what feedback mechanism leadership has about their implementation and performance.

Insight 7:

- Consider both personal and organisational motivations for leaders to engage with the Project. For example, notwithstanding the literature regarding the benefits of diversity for organisational performance, many men in leadership talk about their daughters' career prospects as driving their personal commitment to improve diversity.

Insight 8:

- Identifying ways to engage organisational leadership to support change and sustain ongoing commitment to implementation is a critical early step.
- Engagement strategies need build from the starting point of leaders' and organisational readiness (start where it's warm) and support their evolution.
- Leadership can be engaged through internal and external mechanism and platforms.
- Informal leaders, including men, will be important to identify and influence workplace norms.

Insight 9:

- Where possible, empowerment principles should underpin policy development.
- Policy content needs to balance best practice and legal obligations with what will be deliverable and be supported by ongoing leadership commitment.
- Policies need to be clear about objectives, processes and penalties – policies can change and evolve over time as organisations' approaches become more sophisticated.
- Communicate and launch the sexual harassment policy for widespread awareness and contribution to change efforts.
- Ensure the communication of policy builds in leadership accountability for its implementation, outlines action plans for training, and supports messaging about expected norms in the broader workplace environment.
- Set out a complaints process that is characterised by:
 - Flexible entry points
 - Procedural fairness
 - Monitoring and continuous improvement
 - Communication of summarised complaints data
 - Safe and appropriate referral pathways to service providers with expertise in sexual harm should be identified.

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- Consider whether or how policies addressing sexual harassment interact with other policies and strategies that are designed to address gender inequality.
 - Consider partnering with a women's service to support process (as noted in the section on framing change) to seek content expertise and/or develop referral pathways (see complaints section).

Insight 10

- Ensure program staff have access to learning to support them to respond appropriately to disclosures of sexual harassment or other forms of sexual harm, as well as responding to resistance in the training context, as well as through broader engagement in work to shift social norms.
- CARE employees may disclose experiences of sexual harassment or other forms of sexual violence to the project. Staff capacity to respond to disclosures should be developed to include this scenario.

Insight 11:

- Training should be intensive and provide opportunities to take participants on a long learning journey.
- Training content should include work that addresses underlying attitudes and provides opportunities to build new norms and behaviours.
- Audience engagement is key to successful training outcomes – choosing the right starting point is critical.
- Design methodology with underlying issues of prejudice and discrimination in mind including for example, shared problem solving, fun activities and opportunities to get to know others in greater depth
- Consider aligned communication and engagement strategies, such as social marketing to reinforce learning outcomes.

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About CARE

CARE works with poor communities in developing countries to end extreme poverty and injustice.

Our long-term aid programs provide food, clean water, basic healthcare and education and create opportunities for people to build a better future for themselves.

We also deliver emergency aid to survivors of natural disasters and conflict, and help people rebuild their lives.

We have 70 years' experience in successfully fighting poverty, and last year we helped change the lives of 72 million people around the world.



This Is Not Working



**A global opportunity
for change**

March 2019



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A global opportunity for change



Foreword

Like many Australians, I started my working life in retail and hospitality jobs – on my feet, serving customers. Later in my career, I've focused on supporting people in different ways – working to influence laws and practices, to deliver social justice, and equality between women and men. I know these kinds of positions are not the experience of the majority of Australian women. The most common jobs for women in Australia include sales assistants, and registered nurses.¹ A quarter of working women are in professional occupations including teachers and clinical hospital and medical staff.² Our workspace is not necessarily behind a desk – it can be behind the wheel of a car or truck, in a paddock or greenhouse on the farm, or on our feet in a school or hospital. Different places of work, but there are similar challenges we all face – whether from colleagues, bosses or customers. What we all have in common is a desire to get our job done free from abuse and harassment.

Around the world, while the opportunities for women in the formal workforce are growing, in the majority of countries women are still denied the same rights and access to jobs as men.³ More than 2.7 billion women are legally restricted in their job choices, often based on spurious health claims.⁴ For women across the globe, their employment situation is likely to be more vulnerable – without protection or access to remedies if something goes wrong. Globally, over 2 billion people are in informal employment, with women more likely to be in the most vulnerable positions.⁵ Women go to work to contribute to their community, support families and grow their own careers. We do not go to work to suffer harassment or violence, and then cope with the physical, emotional and economic toll it brings.

Women worldwide experience sexual harassment at work⁶, yet more than one-third of the world's countries

do not have any laws prohibiting workplace harassment. There is no international legal standard which specifically protects women at work from this abuse, leaving nearly 235 million women vulnerable every day.⁷ Workplace harassment is a global problem requiring a global response.

This a matter of women's fundamental human rights. Furthermore, there's a real economic benefit to tackling sexual harassment at work. Some estimates show that advancing women's equality could result in an additional \$4.5 trillion of annual GDP by 2025 for the Asia-Pacific region.⁸ Through CARE's work in female-dominated workplaces like garment factories in Bangladesh, coffee plantations in Papua New Guinea, and tea fields in Sri Lanka, we have seen positive results from supporting women to challenge forced labour and exploitation. There are economic as well as social gains when women are empowered, and workplaces develop practices that ensure workers have a voice. In Sri Lanka we found that for every dollar invested in empowering workers, tea businesses gained more than US\$26 in returns.⁹

We also know our work alone is not enough to challenge the global pervasiveness of gender-based harassment and violence.

A global opportunity for change

In 2019, we have a momentous opportunity to change the game. If adopted, the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention on ending violence and harassment in the world of work will be the first internationally binding commitment of its kind. It will ensure countries endorse new protections. Last year, CARE Australia, with nearly 5,000 supporters, influenced the Australian Government to vote for this binding Convention – one that will include all working women, everywhere.

However, our job is not done. Once again, we ask for your support, to stand with CARE and more than 160,000 people from a diverse group of countries including the US, France, UK, Pakistan, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala and Honduras who have joined us to call for robust international standards to end violence and harassment at work.

As ILO negotiations continue, some of the world's lowest-paid, most vulnerable women are at risk of being excluded from the Convention's remit. Women working in private homes as maids or nannies, or on the streets as sex workers and market stall vendors, or migrants working far from home, are all threatened with being left out of these new standards. If this new global law is going to protect the world's poorest and most vulnerable women, we need to make sure the current draft of the Convention is not watered down during the ILO negotiations in June 2019. Strong international standards will benefit employers too, reducing turnover costs, and supporting a productive workforce.

Whether you sit at a desk, wield a scalpel, drive a train, or serve customers in a store, you do not deserve harassment. From factory to field, home to the street – no one's job should leave them vulnerable to violence.

Sally Moyle,
Chief Executive, CARE Australia
March 2019

If you have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace, or you have observed sexual harassment and want to do something about it, the Australian Human Rights Commission can investigate and resolve complaints of discrimination, harassment and bullying. Visit www.humanrights.gov.au for more information.

If you, a child, or another person is in immediate danger of assault call 000

For sexual assault, domestic and family violence counselling services call 1800 RESPECT (1800 737 732) for 24/7 phone services or visit www.1800respect.org.au

Front cover image: © CARE

A global problem

Everybody, everywhere has the right to work free from violence and harassment.

In at least 18 countries, husbands can legally prevent their wives from working. 104 economies have laws in place to stop women working in certain jobs, just because they are women.¹⁰ In 130 countries around the world, laws have been enacted that recognise abuse in workplaces, but for many women these laws are too often weak and unenforced.¹¹

There are still too many countries where there are no legal processes against sexual harassment, leaving nearly 235 million women vulnerable every single day.

Sexual harassment is any unwanted, unwelcome, or uninvited behaviour of a sexual nature that makes a person feel humiliated, intimidated, or offended.¹² Sexual harassment can take many forms including sexist and sexual hostility, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion. In countries where sexual harassment in the workplace has been defined, some common elements include it:

- occurs in the place of work or in a work-related environment
- occurs because of the person's sex and/or it is related to or about sex
- is unwelcome, unwanted, uninvited, not returned, not mutual, and
- affects the work environment itself or terms or conditions of employment.¹³

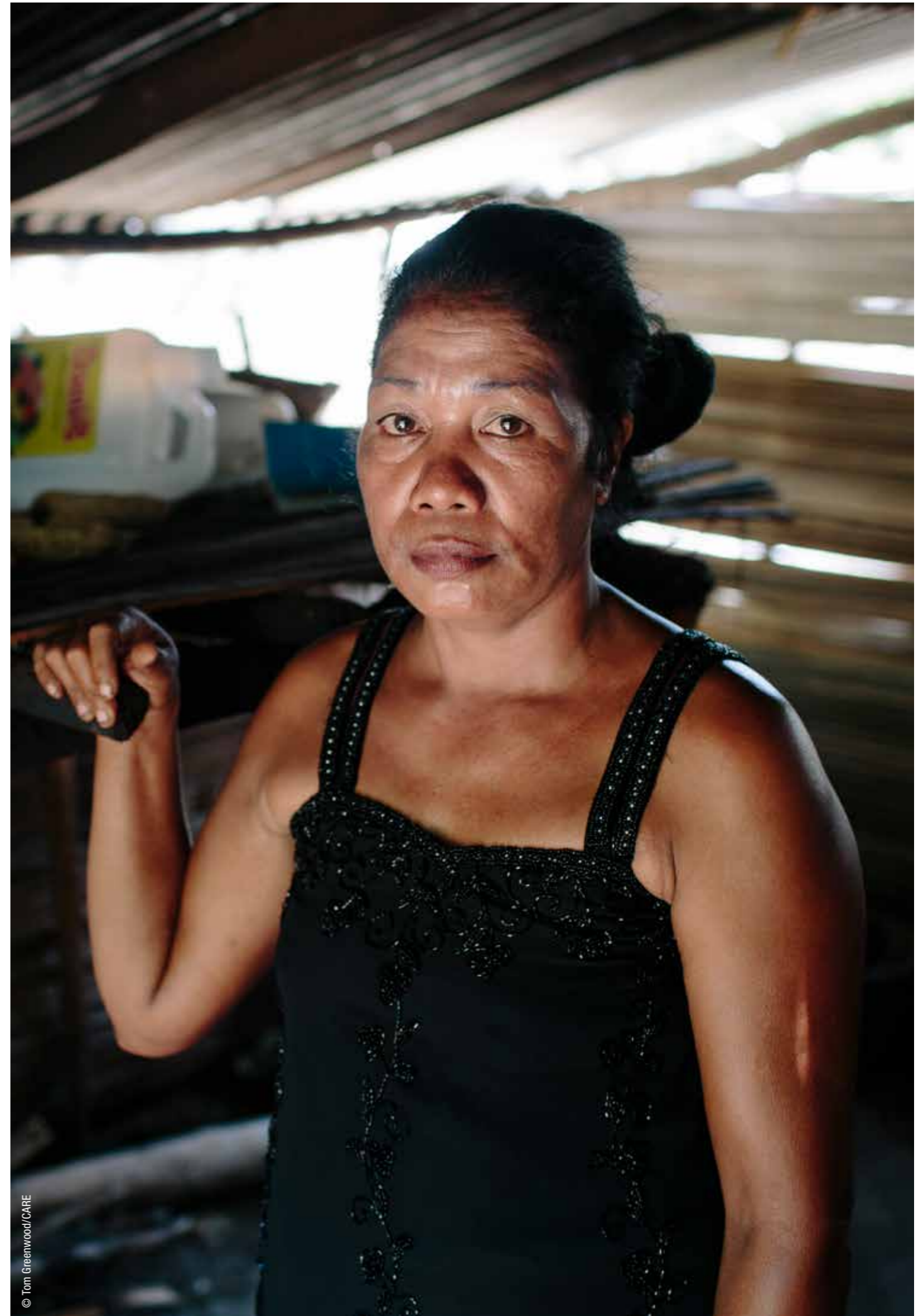
By defining what is appropriate behaviour for genders, social norms limit women's choice of whether to work and where they work.¹⁴

The impact of sexual harassment is long lasting, and devastating. If a young woman is harassed early in her career, it is probable she will suffer long-term psychological effects,¹⁵ and Australian evidence shows it is young women (aged 18 to 29) who are more likely to have experienced sexual harassment at work.¹⁶

Women harassed in male-dominated industries (such as the military) are twice as likely to report a heart attack later in life compared with women who were not harassed.¹⁷ One US study found 80% of women experiencing sexual harassment left their job within two years.¹⁸ The first groundbreaking studies on sexual harassment, from the 1970s, clearly showed sexual harassment 'undercuts women's autonomy outside the home'.¹⁹

Globally, while sexual harassment is experienced in all professions, it is most common in industries dominated by men, particularly those where men control the highest-ranking jobs in the business.²⁰ Women also generally participate in the labour market at significantly lower rates than men. In countries across the world, women are denied employment under laws claiming to protect their health and wellbeing including preventing women from working at night, forbidding them from working while pregnant, from lifting certain objects or tools, being near certain chemicals, or forcing an earlier retirement age.²¹

Today's global economy frames women as a cheap, flexible labour force informed by outdated notions of domesticity and sexuality.²² With men setting the rules, hiring the workers, and dominating the workforce, it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy that sexual harassment is both a symptom and a driver of male dominance across workplaces.²³



A focus on Asia and Latin America

Participation in the workforce looks a little different closer to home. Developing countries across Asia have high participation rates of women in the workforce. This is linked to prevailing poverty and limited access to social protections or welfare safety nets, meaning women have little option but to work – even though harassment, ill-treatment and unsafe conditions remain. Across the Mekong region, women's participation in the workforce is high, with 81% of women in Cambodia actively seeking paid employment or working. It is 77% in Lao PDR, and 73% in Vietnam. The male labour participation rate across Asia and the Pacific is 71-89%. In the Asia region's more developed countries such as the Republic of Korea, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia and the Philippines, the female participation rate is only 50%.²⁴

Across the Mekong region and other parts of Asia, even if the jobs are unsafe, or unregulated, women have to work. Women are ending up in vulnerable employment, and at rates higher than men are. In vulnerable employment, workers cannot access protections or supports such as employment watchdogs or unions if something goes wrong, and working in a family business can make it hard to challenge management. Most working women in Cambodia (57%), Indonesia (56%), India (81%) the Lao PDR (89%) and Vietnam (62%) are in vulnerable employment.²⁶

Across Latin America, one in every four women earning a wage works in someone else's home, with only 10% of these women having a legal contract.²⁷ During their working day, they are often subjected to unwanted advances or demeaning behaviours by their employers. Often we consider the home as separate to our jobs or as a safe haven, but for nearly 20 million women in the Latin American and Caribbean region it is their place of work.²⁸ Domestic work has been identified by the ILO as high-risk for forced labour and modern slavery.²⁹ With no basic benefits, or little chance to negotiate labour protections, domestic workers are at considerable risk of physical or sexual violence.³⁰ Behind the closed doors of their employer's home, domestic workers have little chance to access police, unions or often family. The option of leaving is not realistic, as it would give rise to unemployment and homelessness.

Case Study:

Sunita - Construction Worker, Nepal

Sunita and her husband Ramesh married young. They have one daughter and live together with Ramesh's parents in the Lalitpur district of Nepal.

Both Sunita and Ramesh work as manual labourers for their livelihood. As work in the construction sector is seasonal, they are not often employed in the same site.

On 8 March 2018, Sunita was working at the home of a middle-aged male relative in her village. At around 1pm when she returned after delivering bricks, he was the only one present in the house. He took advantage of the isolated environment and grabbed Sunita by the wrists and molested her. She cried for help but he covered her mouth and continued to molest her.

Her repeated attempts to escape failed until she grabbed a pot and struck him on the head. She then ran outside and cried for help. All the villagers including her husband arrived, and the culprit was beaten by the crowd, then submitted to police custody.

The incident left Sunita sleepless for many nights, and she now feels that women are not safe anywhere:

“A place of work should be dignified and safe. I know that most women in the construction sector have been abused and working in such an unsafe environment is a huge challenge for us.”

Through various initiatives, such as the Safe Justice and Sambodhan projects, CARE works with individual households, communities, and local governments to tackle the cultural norms that lead to gender-based violence.

By focusing on women's empowerment, engaging men and boys, facilitating community dialogues, and strengthening laws, CARE is supporting marginalised communities and people of all genders to exercise their right to a life of dignity, security, freedom and safety.

Definitions

Vulnerable Employment

Vulnerable employment is defined by the ILO as own-account (self-employed, running market stalls for example) or unpaid family work (such as workers in a family business including family owned and operated shops, and farms). Those in vulnerable employment are less likely to have formal work arrangements, leaving them without decent work conditions, adequate social security, or access to other legal protections.²⁵

Informal Work

Informal work is done beyond the reach of formal laws and enforcement mechanisms, and is often insecure, poorly remunerated and lacking social protections. This includes cash-in-hand work, and other jobs without formal employment contracts.

Dignified work

CARE defines dignified work as women gaining respect and recognition through earning a living wage, exercising greater agency (the knowledge and ability to make choices) and experiencing equitable relations at work and in the home and benefiting from structures that respond to the needs of women and men equally and with dignity.

The business cost of violence

The presence of conditions that hinder the ability of women to realise their full capabilities has economic consequences.³¹

The economic impacts of sexual harassment are becoming increasingly well-known. Apart from a decline of a woman's earning capacity – harassment and violence costs employers too.³² There is a strong economic benefit to ensuring gender equality in the workplace, and supporting women in the labour market.

In just one year (2015), sexual harassment charges filed with the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission cost organisations and harassers US\$46 million, on top of any monetary damages awarded through litigation.³³

An Australian study in 2018 found each reported individual sexual harassment case cost a company AU\$25,000 on average to resolve.³⁴ Another study found US corporations lose about US\$22,500 in productivity for every harassed individual.³⁵ In Cambodia, CARE's research found the cost of sexual harassment to the garment manufacturing industry to be approximately US\$89 million per year, the equivalent of 0.52% of the country's GDP.³⁶

In Australia, the Human Rights Commission is currently reviewing our sexual harassment laws with a final report due in late 2019. Their survey of 10,000 Australians found almost two in five women (39%) and just over one in four men (26%) experienced sexual harassment in the workplace in the last five years.³⁷ A similar ACTU survey found over six out of ten workers had witnessed sexual harassment.³⁸ However, only 17% of those who had experienced sexual harassment made a formal complaint and over two-thirds of those who witnessed or were aware of sexual harassment did nothing to prevent it or limit the harm that it caused.⁴⁰

When someone in Australia who had experienced sexual harassment did seek advice or support, they turned to friends or family.⁴¹ Informal networks are vital to identifying and responding to sexual harassment, but many of us do not know what to do when something happens. The impact on women, through reduced working opportunities, and increased health risks, compounds the challenge.

In the time of #metoo and growing global awareness of sexual harassment, governments need to step up and provide clear pathways for reporting and support resources.

'Patriarchy is deeply ingrained in most Asian countries'⁴² and this enables persistent imbalance and restrictions in economic opportunities for women. As noted by the Asian Development Bank Institute 'government intervention, through the legislation and execution of concrete plans of action, is a crucial component'⁴³ in progressing towards gender equality in the economy.

Countries that do have workplace sexual harassment laws in place are also more likely to have women with majority ownership in businesses.⁴⁴ And there will be strong benefit for the whole economy too, as McKinsey Global Institute found 'advancing women's equality could result in an estimated \$4.5 trillion of additional GDP in 2025' for the Asia-Pacific region.⁴⁵

It would be helpful if employers started by acknowledging that gendered violence is likely to exist in their organisations.⁴⁶

Globally, employers are under increasing scrutiny regarding practices in their supply chains, recognising the broad reach, across borders, of many corporations. The spread in the stages of production, short lead times and short-term buyer-supplier relationships reduce visibility and control over a business' supply chain and can create challenges for meeting human rights responsibilities.



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Governments too are looking to implement laws, giving local enforcement to international standards such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW has been ratified by 189 states since 1979.

Despite significant progress, 35 of these countries do not have legislation on sexual harassment, 59 do not have legislation on sexual harassment in the workplace, and 157 do not have legislation on sexual harassment in public spaces.⁴⁷ Global mechanisms – such as UN and ILO conventions send a strong message of what the international benchmark is. Adhering to national and international labour standards brings benefits to workers and business, ensures a clear mandate to operate, and helps build brand equity.

Government intervention, through legislation and execution of concrete plans of action, is a crucial component in addressing deeply rooted gender discrimination and achieving gender equality.⁴⁸

Sorya's story



At 34, Cambodian Sorya already has 16 years of experience in the garment industry. She has been working in factories since she was 18. In that time she has experienced more than her fair share of sexual harassment at work.

“Sometimes my colleagues would hug me from behind and call me ‘honey.’ Sometimes they would tease me verbally. I tried to accept it but in my heart I was so mad and really wanted them to stop.”

Sorya tried to take their behaviour as jokes, and would dismiss it, not daring to demand they stop touching her because she was worried about her job. There was no sexual harassment policy in her workplace to support her.

Back then, she did not even know it was called sexual harassment – she just knew it made her mad, and made her not want to go to work. However Sorya is the sole earner in her family. Her husband is a stay-at-home dad and looks after their three children aged 6, 12, and 15. So the whole family depends on her.

No matter how much sexual harassment she experienced from her colleagues, she still had to go to work.

“It was very hard for me and I was so angry.” Once, while cutting fabric at work, a male colleague grabbed her from behind, and she almost lost control: “My hand holding the scissors was trembling and I almost struck him with the scissors. But I held back my anger and told him that it was too much and to stop it.”

When CARE brought its Enhancing Women's Voice to Stop Sexual Harassment (STOP) project to Sorya's workplace, things changed. The project helps create safer environments for women workers in garment factories by reducing sexual harassment through training for workers and management, the development of an effective policy, and the implementation of safe reporting mechanisms.

Thanks to her involvement in CARE's STOP project, Sorya now understands that her colleagues' behaviour was sexual harassment.

“I never knew anything about sexual harassment. Only after I engaged with CARE did I learn about it. Now we know that activities such as hugging without consent, poking our cheeks, or other small things that have physical or verbal aspects are not considered acceptable actions at all.”

“Before there was no sexual harassment policy in my garment factory at all, but now we have one after CARE engaged with us. It helps us solve issues quickly. Workers now feel safe and secure because they can depend on the policy and other people.”

“I learnt about many things from CARE, including violence against women and children, sexual harassment, and so many other things I cannot count them all. I have changed myself a lot.”

Sorya is committed to stopping sexual harassment in her workplace, and now trains others in what is acceptable behaviour and the importance of reporting harassment – something that takes confidence to do.

“CARE staff taught me a lot about sexual harassment and now I share this knowledge with others. Everyone used to view it differently. They thought sexual harassment was only when people did extreme things such as force a kiss or sexual intercourse. I tell them that it is not only about this, but it is more than that. I share what I learnt from CARE with them, so they now all understand what sexual harassment is. Now they all understand more about sexual harassment, and with some of my complaints about the harassers, no one acts or jokes inappropriately anymore.”

CARE continues to work in factories like Sorya's, as well as engage with governments to strengthen the regulation of factories and enshrine in law the policies and mechanisms that will help address sexual harassment in the workplace.

The Fix

Effective solutions will involve changing both work cultures and societal expectations beyond the workplace.⁴⁹

CARE's experience shows we can build the personal capacity of individual workers with improved knowledge, skills and confidence; and through encouraging social dialogue and collective action, power relations between women workers, their employers and families are changed.

Organisations such as CARE work with local factories and women's organisations because we know the presence of strong women's movements are more important for progressing women's rights than the number of women legislators or national wealth.⁵⁰ A study of 70 countries over 40 years looking at violence against women, found the 'most important and consistent factor for driving policy change is feminist activism,'⁵¹ including women-led advocacy and social movements.

We know that increasing individual women's capabilities can lead to temporary increases in their opportunities and income but their economic empowerment can only be achieved through also transforming unequal power relations and discriminatory structures. CARE's programs tackle long-term changes in social norms and economic structures, as well as supporting women to fulfil their rights.

CARE has also examined best practice ways to tackle sexual harassment in the workplace. *WHAT WORKS? Reducing sexual harassment in the workplace: A rapid review of evidence* argues any efforts must employ a 'whole of organisation' approach. Designing a holistic approach is dependent on strong corporate policies, including comprehensive complaint management processes and training for staff. Workplace leaders play a key role in shifting workplace norms by becoming 'champions of change' and sending a strong message about the type of workplace behaviour that will not be tolerated.⁵²

International Labour Organization

In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles helped mark the end of World War I and established the International Labour Organization.⁵³ World leaders recognised social justice as a key component of peace, and justice in the world of work needed significant improvement.

Workers were being increasingly exploited in a rapidly expanding industrial world, and markets were no longer confined to country borders, or particular trade routes. Cooperation was needed to support standard working conditions everywhere, building more stable markets and global economic interaction.

Some of the first Conventions adopted by government, employers and unions working together through the unique tripartite system of the ILO included regulation of working hours and protections for women if they became mothers.⁵⁴ Now, one hundred years on, we have the first-ever global attempt to tackle violence and harassment at work. If adopted, the Convention will be the first internationally binding commitment to ending violence and harassment in the world of work.

Adhering to national and international labour standards brings benefits to workers and businesses, ensures a licence to operate, and helps build brand equity.⁵⁵

In June 2019, governments, employers and workers' representatives will meet at the International Labour Conference (ILC) – the highest decision-making body of the ILO. This is the opportunity to agree to a new global treaty, an ILO Convention, and guidelines to end violence and harassment in the world of work. During the ILC in 2018 (#ILC2018), most governments publicly declared their support, but until the text of a strong ILO Convention is agreed and adopted, we must make sure all governments – working with employers and unions – negotiate a truly relevant and inclusive treaty.

Adoption of an ILO Convention would be the first step to building global accountability on this issue – and

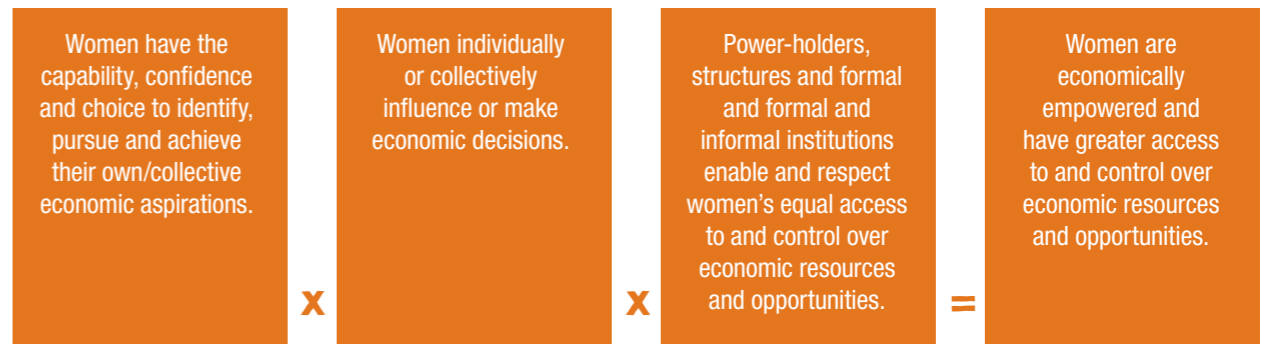


changing the narrative for women everywhere. Signatory governments would need to address these matters, making responsibilities clear for all sectors. Global standards are what countries and companies look to, in support of successful trade arrangements, and that will mean governments implementing legislation against violence and harassment in the world of work at a national level. The bar can be raised to protect even more women in countries across the world.

International regulatory frameworks set standards of obligations on businesses and protections for workers. Complying with international standards related to preventing violence, harassment, and discrimination requires enterprises to take a gendered approach – one that understands the relationship between gender, power and inequality. Multinational corporations are taking positive steps, adopting codes of conduct and global framework agreements to ensure women's rights are protected and promoted in the global supply chain.

Decent work for all is possible but societies have to make it happen.⁵⁶

CARE's Women's Economic Empowerment Theory of Change



Words Matter:

Key Issues for a new Convention.

Following the 2018 International Labour Conference, #ILC2018, the ILO issued a report of the deliberations and agreements reached by government, union and employer representatives. This 'Brown Report'⁵⁷ includes a proposed Convention on ending violence and harassment in the world of work, to be reviewed prior to the ILC in June 2019.

Violence and Harassment – it's a range of behaviours

During #ILC2018 there was agreement to define violence and harassment broadly, as "a range of unacceptable behaviours and practices, or threats thereof...". The word 'range' signifies a recognition that an unacceptable action could contain elements of both harassment and violence. It is vital that the multiplicity and diverse forms of violence and harassment remain included in the Convention.

This definition reflects many national laws, as outlined by an 80-country survey.⁵⁸ In the majority of countries, violence and harassment in the world of work was defined to include both physical and psychological conduct.⁵⁹ The study also found definitions of various forms of violence most often focus on the result or effect of the conduct (e.g. harm, loss of dignity) as opposed to the nature of the act or conduct.

The broad wording of the Brown Report ensures the definition of violence and harassment is fit-for-purpose to cover the full range of behaviours that should be prohibited. This includes emerging or new forms of violence and harassment such as the increasing use of technology and social media to stalk and harass workers. Too narrow a definition could leave many workers still vulnerable.

Workers – we need to include everyone

A broad definition of 'worker' was agreed at #ILC2018 and is fundamental to a 'leave no one behind' approach when it comes to ending violence and harassment in the world of work. The definition proposed in the Brown Report ensures workers in all sectors most in need of protection are not excluded, whether they work in the formal or informal economy, in rural or urban areas, and irrespective of contractual status. With a shared responsibility to protect the rights of workers, governments can look at local solutions, even when employers continue to marginalise certain workplaces and jobs. The definition also future-proofs the standards and ensures protection is in place in a rapidly-changing world of work.

Workers in vulnerable employment could at last be covered by some legal protections, whether they work as a maid in Argentina, a farm hand in Queensland, or a garment worker in Cambodia.

World of work – it's everywhere

Governments and employers should support the agreed scope of the 'world of work'. The proposed text in the Brown Report provides a welcome, necessary and implementable broad scope of the 'world of work' recognising situations of workplace violence and harassment can happen beyond the physical workplace.

Employers' groups have raised concerns they could not, and should not, be held liable for all harm caused in environments outside their sphere of control. However, the proposed definition of the world of work does not allocate responsibility: it simply describes the environments which may be considered to be within the world of work (i.e. sufficiently linked to or arising out of work) and where it could therefore reasonably be expected action can be taken to prevent and redress violence and harassment.

However, the appeal to a narrow definition of workplace risks excluding millions of workers, including some of the groups CARE works most closely with, such as domestic workers, home-based workers and workers in the informal economy (e.g. street vendors). As noted by the worker representative during the #ILC2018 negotiations, "the concept of the 'world of work' is often taken into account when addressing occupational safety and health risks or the duty of care owed by employers."⁶⁰

Governments and workers have responsibilities, as was acknowledged by representatives during the #ILC2018 negotiations. However, employers can take steps to minimize the risk of violence and harassment in the world of work, even when this is not in their direct control. They can demonstrate leadership, recognising the impact workplace harassment has more broadly on workers' capacity to be productive and fit employees. A safer, productive community is a good outcome for everybody.

Show your support

Tell the Australian Government to use our vote at the International Labour Conference to ensure no woman is left unprotected by sexual harassment laws.

2019 is set to be a momentous year for women's workplace rights. In June, governments, unions and employer bodies will come together to vote on the first global Convention on ending violence and harassment in the world of work.

Last year CARE Australia, with the help of 4,436 supporters, successfully influenced the Australian Government to vote in favour of a binding Convention. But our job is not done.

As negotiations continue, some of the world's lowest-paid, most vulnerable women are at risk of being excluded from the Convention's scope. If this global law is going to protect the world's poorest and most vulnerable women, we need to make sure the current draft of the convention is not watered down. We need the Australian Government to back an agreement that contains inclusive definitions of 'worker' and 'workplace', so that all women around the world are protected.

Visit www.caretoact.org.au and sign the petition to help ensure everybody, everywhere, has the right to work free from violence and harassment.

#ThisIsNotWorking

Current laws

How workplace sexual harassment is addressed across the region.



Australia

Female Population: 12,074,743
Female Labour Force (% of total labour force): 46%

The *Sex Discrimination Act (1984)* prohibits discriminatory treatment on the basis of sex; gender identity; intersex status; sexual orientation; marital or relationship status (including same-sex couples); family responsibilities; pregnancy or potential pregnancy; or because an individual is breastfeeding. The Act also makes sexual harassment against the law.

Under law, sexual harassment is prohibited in all work-related activities, including applying for a job, being in a workplace, at training courses or conferences, interaction with customers, or in any place carrying out functions related to work.

Individuals can pursue complaints through the Australian Human Rights Commission. Discrimination and harassment are also prohibited through state and territory based legislation, and complaints based on these laws may be pursued through the appropriate state or territory based agency.

At a federal level, the *Fair Work Act (2009)* provides remedy for workers experiencing bullying in the workplace, and protections for workers based on anti-discrimination law. Criminal law, as applicable in each state or territory, covers acts of violence that may occur in a place of work.



Cambodia

Female Population: 8,072,646
Female Labour Force (% of total labour force): 50%

There are no specific comprehensive laws or regulations focused on workplace violence or harassment, and there is no legal definition of harassment or bullying under current labour laws.

The *Labour Law (1997)* does include numerous articles focused on discrimination and misconduct including the prohibition of 'sexual violation', and sexual harassment is an offence under the *Criminal Code (2010)*. In the Criminal Code sexual harassment is the 'abuse of one person of the authority conferred by his or her function against another person for the purpose of applying pressure repeatedly in order to obtain sexual favours'. The code does not expressly provide for, nor prohibit, its application in the workplace. However as the definition is not robust, the Code doesn't adequately address the broad range of issues encompassed within sexual harassment.

The Labour Law defines a worker broadly, as 'every person of all sex and nationality, who has entered into an employment contract in return of remuneration under the direction and management of another person, whether that person is natural or legal entity, public or private'. Hence enforcement of the laws is not as active within informal places of work.



India

Female Population: 637,908,142
Female Labour Force (% of total labour force): 25%

India has a specific law prohibiting sexual harassment at the workplace, and provide a redress mechanism for complaints. *The Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act (2013)* is actively enforced and applies across informal and formal workplaces. However, work is still needed on implementation of all aspects of the law, including compliance with redressal mechanisms and the need to convene local committees with the authority to address complaints.

An online portal www.shebox.nic.in has been established by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, which provides an online complaints management system and supports workers in places where processes are not in place.



Laos

Female Population: 3,392,922
Female Labour Force
(% of total labour force): 50%

There are no specific laws targeting sexual harassment, or addressing workplace violence and harassment. The *Labor Law (2013)* prohibits employers from 'violating the personal rights of employees, particularly female employees, through speech, sight, text, touch or touch inappropriate areas,' but does not define harassment, bullying or violence. The Labor Law also provides a contract may be cancelled and compensation sought for 'sexual harassment on the part of the employer or the employer ignores the occurrence of such actions'. These laws apply to both formal and informal working environments, excepting a range of civil servants and other state employees, and household workers. This Labor Law is scheduled for review prior to 2020.

The *Law on Anti-Violence Against Women and Children (2014)* includes coverage of 'domestic and foreign individuals, legal entities and organisations, the State and private sectors', and provides a definition of violence that includes rape, forced sex, sexual violations, gossiping, insulting, humiliating others, causing loss of reputation, honour of psychological stress and discrimination. Prosecutions under this law to date have not prioritised sexual harassment, rather being focused on gender-based violence such as rape, prostitution and human trafficking.



Myanmar

Female Population: 27,040,191
Female Labour Force
(% of total labour force): 47%

There is no specific law or rule addressing violence and harassment in the workplace in Myanmar. However the Prevention of and Protection of Violence Against Women Bill drafted in 2013 calls for the protection of women from all forms violence including sexual violence, and harassment in the work place. This bill is still before parliament for debate and adoption.

In 2017, a draft Occupational Safety and Health law was also proposed. CARE and other NGOs have lobbied to see the inclusion of clauses to address psychological harm, inclusive of sexual harassment, to this Bill.

The current labour laws do not separate formal and informal workplaces, and domestic workers are recognised as employees. The *Settlement of Labour Dispute Law (2012)* requires employers to establish Workplace Coordination Committees to address labour disputes, and hear claims for compensation arising from injury or accidents occurring due to employment. An Arbitration Council hears matters that cannot be settled at the workplace level. Over 60% of published cases taken to the Arbitration Council have involved foreign-owned factories.



Vietnam

Female Population: 46,834,625
Female Labour Force
(% of total labour force): 48%

The Labour Code legislates against the maltreatment of employees and committing sexual harassment at the workplace, and any such action can result in the unilateral termination of employment contracts. However, there is no express definition of maltreatment or sexual harassment. There are also no legal standards for concerning such activities in informal workplaces.

The Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs, with the Vietnam General Confederation of Labour, and Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry issued a Code of Conduct on Sexual Harassment in the Workplace for Viet Nam in 2015. The code is voluntary and does not have any legal effect but does put forward recommendations on developing, implementing and monitoring sexual harassment workplace policies.



Other international obligations

The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights are based on international law, and provide a framework of 'Protect, Respect, Remedy' for States and companies on human rights in business operations. The Guiding Principles apply to all States and to all business enterprises, both transnational and others, regardless of their size, sector, location, ownership and structure. The Guiding Principles set out a state duty to prevent human rights abuses, a responsibility of business to respect human rights of individuals, and to provide access to survivors to judicial and non-judicial remedies.

The Principles are reflected and adapted in a range of other international guidelines and agreements including the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises and International Finance Corporation Performance Standards.

Endnotes

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Thank you!

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