Evaluation of the Potential for Adapting the Green Dot Bystander Intervention Program for the Construction Trades in Oregon

Maura Kelly, PhD

Sasha Bassett, MS Candidate

Department of Sociology

Portland State University

June 2015

Portland State
UNIVERSITY

:: REPORT AUTHORS

Maura Kelly currently holds the position of Assistant Professor of Sociology at Portland State University. She has a PhD in Sociology from the University of Connecticut. Dr. Kelly's research interests focus on gender, sexualities, race/ethnicity, and work and occupations. For more information about Dr. Kelly, including access to reports on her prior research projects on the highway construction workforce, see www.pdx.edu/sociology/maura-kelly.

Sasha Bassett is currently competing her MS in sociology at Portland State University. She has a double-bachelor's degree in sociology and behavioral science with a minor in human rights from San Jose State University. Her research interests focus on gender, inequality and deviance.

:: TABLE OF CONTENTS

:: INTRODUCTION

The problem of harassment in the construction trades

Research has consistently shown that experiences of harassment are prevalent in the trades; further, harassment disproportionately, but not exclusively, is targeted towards women and racial/ethnic minorities (Burd-Sharps et al 2014, Kelly et al 2015). In a recent survey of 519 apprentices in the construction trades, participants were asked if they had experienced harassment or discrimination based on their gender, race/ethnicity, or any other form of harassment or discrimination; overall 38% of apprentices reported they had experienced one or more forms of harassment or discrimination, with patterns by gender and race/ethnicity (see Figure 1). Participants in this study also reported that sexual harassment and hearing sexist and racist jokes were common experiences (see Figure 1). Overall, many apprentices experience their worksites as hostile work environments (Burd-Sharps et al 2014, Kelly et al 2015).

Figure 1. Discrimination and harassment on the job among apprentices in the highway construction trades, by race/ethnicity and gender
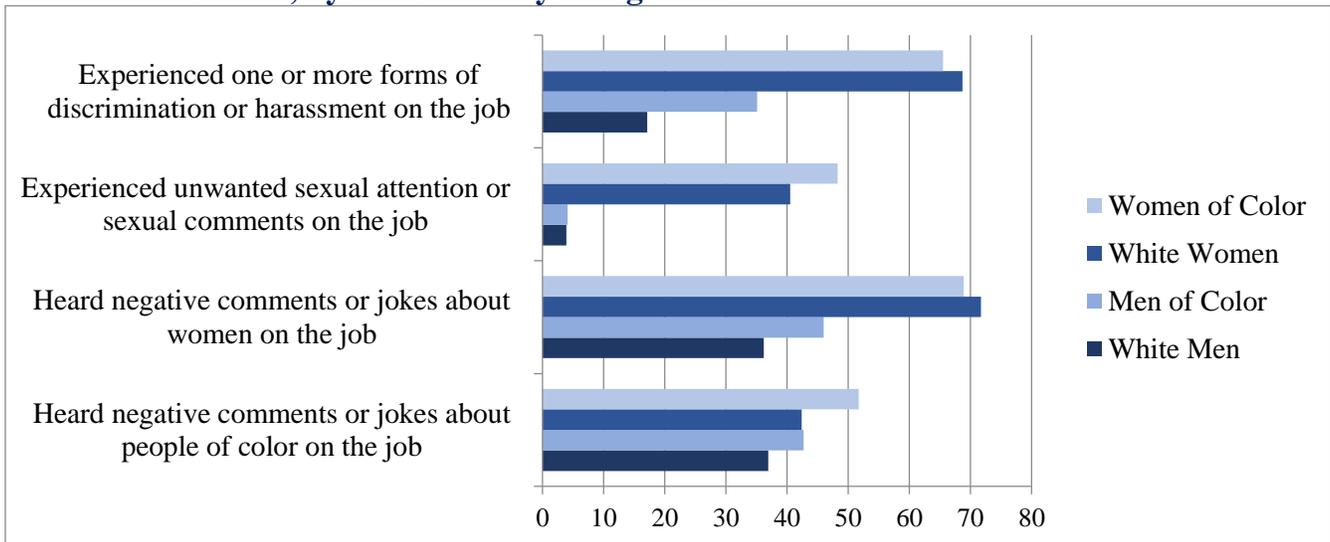
Source: Burd-Sharps et al 2014

The problem of harassment in the trades has negative consequences for both workers and companies. Harassment can result in lower productivity, for example, an apprentice who is being "hazed" by being prevented from doing their work (e.g. having someone hide their tools). Harassment can also pose safety issues as sometimes harassment takes the form of making someone do a task in an unsafe way (e.g. carrying a load that is too heavy for one person). Harassment can also lead to issues with retention of workers. This can be particularly problematic for retention of women and people of color as harassment often takes the form of sexism and racism.

In Oregon, the construction trades have demonstrated low rates of recruitment and retention of women and people of color. Between 2011 and early 2014, 83.4% of apprentices completing their programs were white men (Burd-Sharps et al 2014). Women and people of color face a variety of challenges in the trades, including interpersonal interactions, hiring practices, and

supervisory practices (Kelly et al 2015). In order to provide equal opportunities to all members of an increasingly diverse transportation workforce, issues of harassment must be addressed.

The current project

This project was conducted by researchers from the Department of Sociology at Portland State University (PSU) in partnership with the staff of Oregon Tradeswomen Inc (OTI), Green Dot etc Inc (Green Dot), and Portland Community College (PCC). The goal of the project was to evaluate the potential for adapting the Green Dot bystander intervention program for the construction trades in Oregon in order to reduce harassment on construction job sites. The intent of bystander interventions is to encourage people to intervene when they see harassment occurring and, ultimately, to change the social norms so that harassment is viewed as unacceptable (see Box 1 on Green Dot Strategy). The Green Dot program has primarily been used on college campuses but Green Dot has also developed adaptations for community and statewide organizations and for the military.

In order to assess the potential for the Green Dot program for the trades in Oregon, staff from PSU, OTI, Green Dot, and PCC worked together to plan and implement focus groups with stakeholders in the construction trades. Ten qualitative focus groups were held to over a two day period in February 2015 (for more detail on the methods, see Appendix A). There were a total of 42 participants in the focus groups, representing tradespeople, supervisors/ foremen, contractor staff, union staff, apprenticeship program staff, as well as staff of other community organizations (for more detail on the demographics of the sample, see Appendix B). In the focus groups, participants were asked about harassing behaviors they had observed or heard about as well as questions aimed as assessing how the Green Dot strategy might best be implemented in the trades.

> **BOX 1: The Green Dot Strategy**
>
> "The Green Dot etc. strategy is a comprehensive approach to violence prevention that capitalizes on the power of peer and cultural influence across all levels of the socio-ecological model. Informed by social change theory, the model targets all community members as potential bystanders, and seeks to engage them, through awareness, education, and skills-practice, in proactive behaviors that establish intolerance of violence as the norm, as well as reactive interventions in high-risk situations – resulting in the ultimate reduction of violence. Specifically, the program targets influential and respected individuals from across community subgroups. The goal is for these groups to engage in a basic education program that will equip them to integrate moments of prevention within existing relationships and daily activities. By doing so, new norms will be introduced and those within their sphere of influence will be significantly influenced to move from passive agreement that violence is wrong, to active intervention." From www.livethegreendot.com

In this report, we first review the findings from the focus groups. We then discuss the May 2015 report written by Green Dot staff: "Preventing Hazing, Harassment, and Bullying in Oregon's Trades: Findings and Recommendations." We provide our response to the Green Dot report and suggestions for implementation. Finally, we offer a discussion of our main findings and recommendations.

:: FINDINGS FROM THE FOCUS GROUPS

In this section, we document the findings of the focus groups. We first describe participants' perceptions of harassment in the trades. We then examine participants' views on bystander intervention as well as informal and formal reporting of harassment. We end by discussing participants' optimism about changing construction culture.

Harassment in the construction trades

Research has demonstrated harassment towards apprentices is pervasive throughout the trades in various degrees (see Burd-Sharps et al 2014; Kelly et al 2015). In our focus groups, many participants recounted witnessing verbal abuse towards apprentices or experiencing it themselves in their own work experiences. A majority of respondents indicated that harassment towards apprentices is deeply embedded into the culture of construction trades and that feelings of being targeted are normal across demographic groups.

> *"There's this general underlying tone that you are the apprentice, you're going to get picked on, that kind of stuff... Most of the time we hear about things where people feel intimidated... They [know that] their boss is picking on them or a coworker is calling them names or something like that... They're not necessarily sure if it's because they're an apprentice, because they're a person of color, because they're a woman, that kind of stuff, or if it's normal" ~ Female Open Shop Apprentice Program Staff*

Cultural norms with regards to the treatment of apprentices allow journeyworkers, foremen and supervisors to charge them with tasks on the jobsite that may not necessarily suit their skills. This tends to happen to women and racial minorities at disproportionate rates when compared to white males (Kelly et al 2015). In some cases, this may result in a foreman or journeyman belittling an apprentice and/or making degrading comments about the quality of their work; in more extreme cases, an apprentice may be disciplined for poor performance through physical confrontation or screaming in their face.

BOX 2: Note on terminology

Terms like harassment, hazing, bullying, discrimination, aggression, and violence can be in a variety of ways and sometimes are used interchangeably. In this report, we use *harassment* to describe negative or disrespectful behavior directed at individuals (we view hazing and bullying as forms of harassment). We use the term *hostile workplace* to describe behaviors that may make workers feel uncomfortable but are not directed at specific individuals. We use the tem *discrimination* to describe unequal treatment or unequal access to opportunities on the jobsite or in the industry. We use the term *violence* to refer specifically to physical violence (this was not identified as a major issue in the trades). In the Green Dot report, harassment, hazing, and bullying are separately defined (Pp 5). They then offer a new term *Power-Based Personal Aggression (PBPA)* defined as "any behavior that uses power, control/or intimidation to harm another" (Pp 7). This aligns with our working definition of harassment.

> *"Well, I've been screamed at, right in the face. Screamed at and I was an apprentice, you know, but then just, you know, probably five or six years ago I was screamed at, so you*

know it all depends... I give that guy my best, you know, and that's what you feel like so it really diminishes you" ~ Male General Contractor

Ultimately, harassing behavior (above and beyond "normal" treatment of apprentices) in the construction trades tends to be focused towards individuals who do not conform to the crew's norms. Due to this, harassment is not always intentional. Most tradespeople gave accounts of overhearing jokes and other conversations that made them (or someone else) uncomfortable (see also Burd-Sharps et al 2014). While all apprentices can be impacted by this norm, those who differ in significant and easily-identifiable ways tend to be targeted (both directly and indirectly) by these conversations. While usually consisting of overtly sexist, racist, or homophobic content, failure to play along with an offensive joke can result in individuals being ostracized and socially isolated from other crew members, and in many cases, this results in a loss of future work for the individual who vocalizes their discomfort.

"[You need] earplugs. Seriously, earplugs. With a hard hat on. Seriously. It is his fault. But you have got to have a tough skin." ~ Tradesman of Color

While ingrained into the overall experience of apprentices, harassment continues to impact the experiences of marginalized populations in disproportionate numbers. Women and people of color describe how "minority" status impacted their treatment as being mainly due to novelty.

"That is a really big deal because you stand out. [Laughs] You know, when you are coming to work every day on time.... You come in as a white guy and it is just another white guy that comes in the trade. He is late and it's just one day. But if you come in and you are Black, maybe just one day, you just stand out. It's like 'oh, he's late'. It's a really big deal." ~Tradesman of Color

In many situations, however, this translates into marginalized groups being perceived by foremen and supervisors as being less skilled than white men, and so they're delegated less skilled tasks to perform on the jobsite (e.g. sweeping the dry shack, digging ditches, or manually moving lumber). This has a cyclical effect, where an apprentice from a traditionally marginalized group may not be learning or performing their trade even though they may technically be able to journey out.

"I've heard of one case... and it was super complicated but it was a female sheet metal worker who had got to the point where she was ready, by her hours, to journey out but she was making a case to the state board that she wanted to stay in her trade... she had actually not received the same amount of training as her male counterparts based on the technical skills and her journey-level teachers were supposed to have trained her in the hours she got... She was making a very compelling case just on the data alone that she was treated differently. She was not prepared even though she had what would be the minimum amount of hours that she didn't feel comfortable calling herself a journey-level person and being sent to a worksite to do journey-level work consistently." ~ Male Pre-Apprenticeship Program Staff

Additionally, many perceive that workers from marginalized groups are often expected to perform at a level that is twice or three times the expectation of their white male counterparts.

"It's not just a matter of setting an even playing field, even, because in order for [women] to succeed, and the [racial] minorities are in the same predicament, I guarantee that almost any minority worker out there, they have to work three times as hard as a white, male worker, that guy better – he better not only be one of the hardest workers, he better be sharp cause otherwise, it's going to be really hard for him." ~ Male General Contractor

For marginalized workers, the nature of finding and maintaining construction work presents a significant challenge. Informal networks that convey vital information about where the next job will take place and whose team might need help often occur through male social networks. In many cases this reflects a "good ol' boys club", where social exclusion from job networks impacts women and racial minorities to various degrees within companies.

"So something I've encountered as women is I do really excellent work and I don't get phone numbers… One of the younger journeymen I was working with was like 'If my wife knew I was texting a woman, I would be in so much trouble' or like that kind of thing. It's not exactly 'harassment', but it's a definite side effect" ~ White Tradeswoman

Between trades, competitive tension drives journeyworkers and apprentices to "mess around" with each other in several ways. Disrespectful conduct between members of different trades is known to take the form of verbal harassment, moving or discarding tools and materials, and tampering with someone's completed work. In many circumstances, pranking, while intended to be a form of humor, can escalate between trades to a point where it becomes detrimental to safety on the jobsite:

"I mean it's pretty easy for people to be in a group and have off-color conversations. I mean, we all do it, probably when we don't even mean to… I mean maybe you feel ok maybe I really shouldn't be doing this and maybe if there was somebody of that group in there you probably wouldn't be doing it. But its crossing another line, another boundary to then go out and walk past somebody and call them a name or be slanderous in some way to them as you walk past or the next line and you know, destroy their work or steal their tools. I mean there's various levels or, you know, say the next boundary where you're actually physically accosting somebody or whatever I mean it's – you don't just all of a sudden end up all, you don't on day one go physically assault somebody, you start at day one and you're in these conversations and you do the next thing and you do the next thing and then that's where it goes" ~ Male General Contractor

In sum, harassment on a jobsites is prevalent in the trades and potentially affects all types of workers; apprentices, women, and people of color are the most likely to be affected by harassment.

Bystander intervention

In the focus groups, the researchers were interested in finding out to what degree bystanders were currently intervening when the observed harassment occurring as well as general attitudes towards the idea of bystander intervention. While identified as a potentially useful strategy, participants overwhelmingly favored solutions that addressed harassment through direct confrontation rather than through other means. However, cultural norms specific to the construction trades impact patterns of reporting or intervening in harassment on jobsites in ways

which make the bystander approach problematic. Concerns with regards to productivity and issues of company allegiance tend to hinder people in supervisory positions (i.e. foremen, supervisors, superintendents) from disrupting harassment among their workers.

> *"He gets his numbers. He gets the most out of his guys; they work and they wouldn't say they work in fear, but in a roundabout way that's how they put it. And so these guys are getting production out of people by [that] way" ~ Male Union Apprenticeship Staff*

Among workers, bystanders to harassment typically do not intervene out of fear of losing work or becoming targets themselves. When intervention does occur, particularly among peers on a jobsite, humor is utilized in some circumstances to diffuse uncomfortable moments. While workers have the option of reporting harassment through the conventional chain of command, being labeled a troublemaker holds severe negative consequences for the reporter. Participants reported that it is common that when harassment is reported to foremen and supervisors, the result is that the person who reports the incident is laid off. Due to this fear, workers were highly skeptical of bystander intervention as being an effective solution to harassment on jobsites

> *"It's one thing to say that we support coming forward if somebody's offending you. It's another to really mean it. I don't think… Either on a union level or a company level, I don't always think that they mean it." ~ White Tradeswoman*

Additionally, tactics offered through bystander intervention were not seen as particularly efficient or useful by workers since they were not seen adequate for disrupting hostile workplace culture in a broader sense. Many participants identified that bystanders who intervene and report harassment often do at the risk of becoming the focus of the harassment or losing their job altogether.

> *"I think they're afraid they're going to lose their job for the most part. Either that or they are afraid that then they'll be the target. Or it could be somebody who has worked their way into the group and they don't want to lose that status again and be seen as inferior or something like that. I think for the most part it's just that they're afraid of retaliation." ~ Female Open Shop Apprentice Program Staff*

This is indicative of responses from all levels of workers; that they were extremely unlikely to step in for peers on a jobsite due to pervasive norms concerning what it means to be "part of the group" in the trades. However, the multiple layers of group allegiance within construction trades (e.g. union/non-union, company, trade) only further complicate where the line of acceptable behavior is drawn.

> *"I am personally banned from a contractor for standing up... There was one of these things where I went from one jobsite to another and I told him I was going to charge him the gas, what we normally do. I was carrying my tools offsite and he actually said something about 'Oh you union guys.' I am thinking 'You are a union brother, why would you say that to me'. I flat out told him to his face 'I would rather be known as a union guy than a company guy.' So I got known as a 'union guy' on that site. Not only was I labelled for standing up on that jobsite but I was also banned by the company for standing up for the crew. So now, I can never go back to work for that contractor." ~ White Tradesman*

Informal reporting strategies

Considering the risk for reporters, delegation of intervention was suggested as a potentially successful method of informal reporting. In this respect, bringing an issue to a sympathetic person in a position of power (e.g. journeyworker, foremen or supervisor, superintendent, apprentice coordinator, classroom instructor, shop steward or other union staff member) who can take steps to address the issue with a verbal warning that does not become a formal record holds potential to yield positive results. For example, an apprentice being harassed by another apprentice could reach out to a journeyworker who would then tell the harasser to "cut it out."

> *"Normally when people aren't being treated right or something is going astray, you have good guys working around you. They just fix it themselves. Nothing is reported. The super doesn't know. The job boss doesn't know. It's handled onsite at the time and if it escalates then I guess people higher up find out, but usually with men if it escalates, we all know how that looks." ~ White Tradeswoman*

> *"It seems like they go to the instructors a lot and I think that's because they are tradespeople. They're coming from the jobsite to class to teach and so they feel comfortable talking to them." ~ Female Non-Union Apprenticeship Program Staff*

Currently routes of informal reporting allow workers to go to apprentice program staff or union staff with concerns, but this structure assumes that the training staff are not only equipped to assist apprentices and journeyworkers when faced with harassment, but are open to hearing the complaint in the first place. Overall, processes of informal reporting seem unclear and inconsistent across companies, with a great deal a variation between trades. Due to this, having a clear and consistent avenue for informally reporting harassment throughout the industry is an important first step, but it cannot resolve larger issues of harassment alone. Ultimately, formal reporting channels must also be addressed as problematic as informal means of reporting harassment appeared to be preferred among apprentices in particular.

Formal reporting strategies

Current avenues for formal reporting include bringing the issue directly to one's supervisor, filing an identifiable complaint through existing 800 numbers, or going to a union or HR representative with the issue. Several participants emphasized the importance of pursuing grievances through the formal chain of command.

> *"They need to start exercising a chain of command. I came from the military you know, and I believe in chain of commands… I think a lot can be solved when you go to your foreman and confront him directly – 'I do not appreciate this behavior or this is not a safe thing,' then if he doesn't answer it, you go to your shop steward, and then you go work yourself up that chain of command" ~ Male Union Apprenticeship Staff*

While this is important for accountability within and between trades, in many cases, the formal channel for filing grievances is unclear. Companies that offer anonymous phone reporting services through 800 numbers indicate that the service is under-used by workers, and cases of harassment often yield unsatisfactory results when reports are kept confidential through these means. However, for individuals who have knowledge of the system and choose to pursue formal reporting as an intervention strategy, it is almost always done so with hesitation. In many

cases, instances of harassment are underreported through formal channels due to the consequences (formal and informal) for reporting. Workers who "make waves" by complaining about team members are seen as oppositional to productivity efforts; in a majority of cases, this person is eventually removed from the worksite through a process known as the "one-man layoff".

> *"They come up with a lot of different things to give you that, one-man lay off... I've seen it happen. I've seen it where they hire five or more people every other day and they will lay one person off on Friday and he hasn't been there a week." ~ Tradesman of Color*

Due to stigma and fear of being laid off for no apparent reason, there is a gradient of perceived severity that impacts patterns of reporting. Sometimes harassing behavior is interpreted as a normal part of construction culture and is not seen as that big of an issue. On the other hand, overt instances of server discrimination are sometimes reported, with a variety of outcomes based on the identities of the harasser, victim, and reporter. However, consequences for harassing behaviors were generally viewed as minimal to non-existent.

> *"[That] guy knows how to do the job, and he's going to get the foreman job. It doesn't matter if he drinks or if he doesn't know how to talk to people, or whatever, as long as he's making money for that company." ~ Tradeswoman of Color*

Participants reported that it was more often the person being harassed who would be re-assigned or laid off than the person perpetrating the harassing.

Optimism about possibilities for change

Overall, participants stated that they thought the nature of construction culture can change for the better in order to create less hostile job sites. Many workers reported that the culture of the trades had already shifted a great deal over the past ten to twenty years. Entry of women and racial/ethnic minorities into the construction trades has significantly challenged what is deemed acceptable in jobsites. However, some also note how differential pathways for entry into the trades shape behaviors within the industry.

> *"There's things that go on among the journeyman and the people with power and they think it is acceptable. They think it is acceptable. A lot of them have been grandfathered into the trade which means they didn't have to go through an apprenticeship. And those are the individuals I see as being the most detrimental to minorities and people of color." ~ Tradesman of Color*

Regardless of entry point, participants across groups hinted at a sense of inevitability with respect to the shifting culture of the construction trades. Tradespeople, particularly those with considerable experience in their trade, recognized generational differences between themselves and the newer cohorts of apprentices.

> *"I think this generation is coming out and I think it's really good… they're a lot more accepting of everything, it just amazes me how they're just so easygoing. Whereas you still have a lot of people from the very old generation in the trades and they don't look at it the same you know? … That generation is starting to retire and leave, and what we're left with is my generation that is willing to accept, but then we still got the older generation in our ear and I think it's trying to get our generation that's the next retiring*

batches to really embrace the whole [idea of] equality and 'let's be accepting.'" ~ Male Union Apprenticeship Staff

Experienced tradespeople were not alone in their belief that changing jobsite norms are inevitable. Participants from all groups indicated to some extent that there was little hope in reaching the oldest generation of tradespeople, and that meaningful change could (and would) accompany their retirement. Apprentices of color in particular seemed particularly excited about this prospect.

> *"We can wait until we weed them out. They're already old… We're young, we're strong, we're resilient. we're women. They'll be gone soon." ~ Tradeswoman of Color*

In broader terms, participants' tended to frame the inevitability of cultural change on jobsites in terms of demographic saturation among workers. Participants of color and white women indicated that the shifting demographics of the trades has tended to accelerate these cultural shifts on the job, suggesting that a diversified workforce is necessary to ensure new norms are created and upheld.

> *"I've noticed that once you get a majority in there, it is an environment and it is something normal. You have got a bunch of brothers and then you have a bunch of white guys. Yeah they should know how to work with each other now that there are more of them... It is an ideal situation, but that is one of the ways that it can change. It has to be an environment [with] everybody."~ Tradesman of Color*

Several respondents indicated that having a small numbers of women and racial/ethnic minorities wasn't enough; that there needed to be a significant number of workers from each demographic group on jobsites.

> *"I think what allows it to continue is the lack of critical mass or lack of having enough diverse people that look like me on the job that I think that can create a countervailing culture" ~ Female Pre-Apprenticeship Program Staff*

Beyond demographics, a distinct lack of personal agency among workers stands as a large barrier to change. Norms that dictate "what happens on the crew stays on the crew" or that "snitches get stitches" reinforce the notion that retaliation is to be expected when making work-related grievances known.

> *"Employees need to be reassured that they can report this stuff without any consequences to them. You know, to feel safe about reporting it. I think the culture is a huge factor… bullying is just rampant and people are afraid because sometimes it is people fairly high up ranking officials are the abusers. They get away with it because of that structure that exists" ~ White Tradesman*

In several cases, respondents indicated that accelerated cultural change could happen within the construction trades if there were top-down support for it. Some participants called for state-level intervention on the issue.

> *"I believe it is changing... It's one step at a time. There is definitely some kind of [need for] organization or something mandated within the state... Something that when people referred to it, whether it is OSHA, it is something important in the trades. It is knowing they got your back… don't even worry about it." ~Tradesman of Color*

Others indicated that high-level company buy-in is essential in ensuring full implementation of anti-harassment policies.

> *"I just think it needs to be a zero tolerance thing... the employers themselves need to buckle down and when they start hearing about stuff like that they need to start letting people go, or at least having a policy in place for dealing with harassment. It does seem really often that people don't report or they just let it go because it's just normal on the jobsite and that's what needs to change, it can't be normal on the jobsite. It's got to be that it's abnormal, you shouldn't be harassing people." ~ Female Pre-Apprenticeship Program Staff*

> *"I think [things] can change. But its, I think management need 100% behind having a system in place and then having a system where people can report. And then having those reports taken seriously and each one investigated. And then have consequences. Have real consequences for the bully no matter what level of management they are in. The company needs to take it really seriously." ~ White Tradesman*

Ultimately, we view the success of bystander intervention as an approach to addressing harassment in the moment on jobsites is directly linked to the level of company support given to individual workers of all levels to intervene as bystanders, informally report, and formally report their negative experiences on jobsites.

:: PSU RESEARCHERS' RESPONSE TO THE GREEN DOT REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Overall, we find much to like about Green Dot's proposal to adapt their program for the trades in Oregon as described in the May 2015 report: "Preventing Hazing, Harassment, and Bullying in Oregon's Trades: Findings and Recommendations." However, we have concerns that some of the aspects of the program that have been successful in other context may not work in the trades. In short, we suggest that this program needs some further tailoring to the trades. Our critiques would apply to many bystander intervention programs.

Strengths of the Green Dot approach

We appreciate that the Green Dot approach addresses a very specific issue (reducing harassment pervasive in construction culture) and provides a very specific strategy to address this issue (bystander intervention), which that has been proven to be successful in other contexts.

Making the goal clear: In the report, Green Dot notes two ideas central to the implementation of the program: "1. PBPA [harassment] will not be tolerated in the trades. 2. Everyone is expected to do their part." (Pp 18) We agree this should be the central message of the program.

A strategy for achieving this this goal: By focusing on a very specific goal, we see real possibility for change. However, as detailed below, we would like to see some elaboration on this strategy as well as some more specific tailoring for the trades.

Focus on how harassment affects everybody. A strength of this program is that is focused on how to create a workplace where everyone feels respected rather than framing this as a "diversity issue." We see how this approach can balance this core message with information about how harassment may disproportionately affect women, people of color, or sexual minorities. We believe this message is likely to resonate in the trades.

Those in positions of power are most able to successfully intervene using a direct approach. This point is explicitly identified in the report (Pp 14) and reiterated in examples how different groups within the trades might respond (Table 4, Pp 19). However, we have concerns that this central insight is not consistently attended through in the discussion of implementing the program.

Weakness of the Green Dot Approach

Our overall critique is that in order to more fully adapt the Green Dot program for the trades, we think that there needs to be further attention to how power functions in the trades and on construction worksites.

Overestimate of the agency of workers on the job site (particularly apprentices and other more junior workers). The Green Dot report outlines a variety of barriers to intervention identified by participants in the focus groups (Pp 9-13). The report also details how these might affect realistic intervention strategies (Pp 14-16). However, the report lists a variety of "realistic solutions" (Table 3 Pp 17) that, in our reading of the focus group data and previous research, are largely not very realistic for many workers in the trades. We would suggest focusing on those in positions of power who are the most able to intervene.

"Bottom up" versus "top down" approach. The bystander intervention approach seems to be essentially a bottom up approach. For example, the report states "It is up to all members of [Oregon's] trades community to communicate to current and new members what is expected." (Pp 18). However, in the focus groups, we repeated heard that workers perceive they have very little power to create change in construction culture and that change must come from the company, in other words, a "top down" approach. There are some examples of how the implementation of Green Dot would incorporate a "top-down approach'; for examples, one example from the report of implementing an intervention at the organizational level was "A company requires all supervisors to include a 1-2 minute anti-harassment talk in their morning meeting with workers" (Pp 27). This is exactly the kind of "top down" approach we believe is needed. If this program were to be successfully implemented in the trades, there needs to be much more emphasis on company buy-in and follow through regarding the goals and implementation of the program.

Lack of emphasis on company policies and practices regarding harassment. The report does not include a discussion of revisiting company policies and practices. Further, the report notes "confusing policies and procedures can silence workers who have experienced PBPA… and pose challenges to an effective intervention process for supervisors, management, and HR…" (Pp 20). We would suggest that as part of implementing the Green Dot program, there must be a focus on company policies and practices. In contexts where company policies are "confusing" and consequences for violating policies are minimal to non-existent (which does often seem to be the case), these policies and practices needs to revised. We would suggest incorporating discussion of informal and formal reporting is critical to the success of the program. It must be clear that company policies around harassment will be enforced.

Lack of emphasis on informal reporting: The Green Dot report does include some discussions of informal reporting (what Green Dot refers to as the strategy of "delegating"). However, we would like to see company policies and practices for informal reporting and verbal sanctioning be an integral part of the program. Informal reporting might result in a quick statement of "cut it out" from a foreman to an apprentice for a minor issue or a longer conversation between a superintendent and a journeyworker for informal reports of ongoing issues of harassment. In the company policies, it should be clear that informal reporting and sanctioning would not result in a written or formal complaint.

Lack of emphasis on formal reporting: There is even less discussion of formal reporting in the Green Dot report. Formal reporting is challenging and workers expressed a lot of concern on this issue; however, there must be a system of formal reporting for severe or ongoing harassment that cannot be successfully addressed through bystander intervention or informal reporting. In order for there to be any "teeth" to the program, there need to be real consequences for ongoing harassment. Given the negative attitudes towards formal reporting and generally resistance to making formal reports, more emphasis should be put on bystander intervention and informal reporting in the implementation of the program.

Lack of discussion of the role of shop stewards or other analogous positions: In addition to further discussion of informal and formal reporting, we would also like to see further discussion about how the role of the shop steward (for union worksites) or similar positions in open-shop job sites (e.g. an ombudsman) might support the implementation of the program.

Focus on harassment directed at individuals versus hostile workplace issues and systemic discrimination. In the report, Green Dot staff focused primarily on *harassment directed at individuals* (e.g. insulting a worker, yelling in a worker's face). However, in the focus groups, participants also spoke about at least two other kinds of concerning behaviors: *behavior contributing to a hostile workplace* (e.g. using racial slurs not directed at a specific person, sexually explicit stories that make some workers uncomfortable) and *systematic discrimination* (e.g. not receiving on-the job mentoring, not being trained on skills relevant to the trade, doing low-skill repetitive work, being first to be let go in a reduction in force, exclusion from networks). Research has shown that systematic discrimination disproportionately, but not exclusively, affects women and people of color (Burd-Sharps et al, 2014; Kelly et al 2015). In the report, Green Dot staff refers to this type of experience as a form of hazing (Pp 5). However, from our research, we see hazing/harassment as different from systematic discrimination (Kelly et al 2015). It seems the Green Dot program is best equipped to address harassment directed at individuals and behavior perpetuating a hostile workplace. However, there may be some ways that the Green Dot program could be used to partially address these larger issues related to systemic discrimination (e.g. a journeyworker could speak up if he notices a woman apprentice is always flagging traffic rather than learning the skills for her trade).

Knowledge of the trades. If the Green Dot adaptation for the trades goes forward, we would suggest that Green Dot staff do some additional reading about issues in the trades and improve their familiarity with terms related to the trades. There are some small examples in the report of a lack of knowledge about the trades (e.g. grouping in Table 4, Pp 19). The Green Dot staff should also become more familiar with the role of unions in the trades. This specific knowledge will be critical for developing appropriate curricular materials. PSU researchers and OTI staff could be good resources.

Aspects of the Green Dot approach that need further discussion

Power-Based Personal Aggression (PBPA). Green Dot defined PBPA as "any behavior that uses power, control/or intimidation to harm another" (Pp 7). We agree with Green Dot's assessment that there is no obvious term that will best resonate with tradespeople. Terms like harassment, hazing, bullying, discrimination, aggression, and violence each come with some unique connotations. However, we would like to see some further discussion with people in the trades before going forward with a new term/acronym.

The use of the "distract" technique for bystander intervention. While this technique has been effective in other settings, we are not as optimistic as the Green Dot staff that this will work in the trades. First, in focus groups, most people did not see this as a viable approach. This was partly because many workers (particularly apprentices and other more junior workers) viewed any sort of bystander intervention as too personally risky. Others noted that it is not always possible to move a harasser to another location or change tasks while at work (examples of the "distract" approach). Second, distraction does not fundamentally disrupt a hostile workplace culture and may actually serve to undermine the message that harassment is not acceptable.

Comments on the Green Dot proposal for implementation

Overall, we find that Green Dot has a strong plan for implementation. However, we would like to see some revision to this plan based on the critiques outlined above. Further, some areas of the implementation plan need further clarification.

Single contractor but multiple sites. We agree that this seems to be the best option, particularly given our focus in this report on the importance of company buy-in. Green Dot suggests a single large worksite to pilot to study. We agree that a medium to large site (i.e. one with multiple trades and several levels of hierarchy) would be ideal. We would suggest at least two worksites from the same company for the pilot study as each worksite has unique dynamics, often dependent on the leadership (e.g. superintendent, foremen/supervisors).

Need to address relationship building with contractor: As having buy-in from the contractor is essential, we would like to see some discussion of this relationship building as part of the implementation plan. This would need to include multiple conversations and including the contractor in the planning for the implementation, incorporating their feedback as the program is developed.

Consider some minor revisions to plan for trainings: We think overall Green Dot has a solid plan for trainings (Pp 30-31). First, we see overview talks for office staff (we assume this would include company leadership and HR staff, but clarity would be helpful here) and superintendents as critical. It might be helpful to have company leadership and superintends in the same room to make the message explicit to superintendents that this is now company policy and practice. Leadership training for foremen and supervisors is also critical (note: the Green Dot report seems to confuse the terms superintendent and supervisor). Whether this training is mandatory or optional (possibly with an incentive) is something that should be discussed. We suggest that the leadership training for "early adopters" or "socially influential" workers might be separate from the training for foremen/supervisors. These trainings should be optional and may need some incentive (further detail is needed on that point as well). The 15 minute worksite talk may be a bit too long. This is something that will have to be negotiated with the company.

Incorporate 1-2 minute worksite talks: In addition to the trainings described in the report, we would encourage the inclusion of ongoing worksite talks. We heard in the focus groups that it would be essential for workers to hear consistent and ongoing messages about the program. Many focus group participants suggested these could be integrated into safety meetings or "toolbox talks." We would like to see this sort of content included in the curriculum adapted by Green Dot. It may be that they are conceptualizing these as the "15 minute worksite talks"; however, we heard in focus groups that shorter talks may be preferable.

Clarify need for social marketing: We would like to see more information on what these materials will include and what they will be used for.

Refine program evaluation and clarify who will conduct this evaluation: This evaluation plan has many key components but also needs some refinement and clarification; however, we would recommend an outside party (not Green Dot staff) do the evaluation in order to ensure an objective evaluation of the implementation of the program.

:: CONCLUSION

Main findings

Construction culture results in all types of workers having to deal with harassment. Research on the trades in Oregon (Burd-Sharps et al, 2014; Kelly et al 2015) as well as the findings from these focus groups has demonstrated that harassment is an issue prevalent throughout the construction trades. This research also demonstrates that apprentices, women, and people of color are especially impacted by harassment.

Construction culture needs to change in order to create workplaces where all workers feel respected. Under the current conditions, tradespeople too often feel disrespected at work. In order to make this change, we must work to eliminate the harassing behaviors contributing to a hostile workplace.

Change in construction culture is possible. There was a fundamental change in construction culture around issues of safety. Taking steps to change policies, practices, and ideologies to promote the physical safety of workers had positive outcomes for the industry. Similarly, we expect that reducing workplace harassment will have positive impact on productivity (e.g. quality work, retention of workers) as well as increase the physical safety of workers. The participants in the focus groups felt hopeful about the possibility of changing construction culture.

An adaptation of the Green Dot program is a viable option for creating change in construction culture. We see significant potential in the Green Dot approach, that is, training people to intervene when they see harassment on the job site and, eventually, changing norms around appropriate behavior at work. We have some specific suggestions about how the Green Dot program may be more fully adapted to fit the unique context of the construction trades.

Recommendations

Work with Green Dot to further adapt the program for the trades. We have identified some key areas where the Green Dot program should be further tailored for the trades in Oregon. Most centrally, we suggest the Green Dot program should address how power functions in the trades and on construction worksites and focus on integrating elements of a "top-down" as well as a "bottom-up" approach to creating change.

Secure company level commitment to changes in policies, practices, and ideologies that comes from the top down. Choosing the right company to pilot the Green Dot program will be essential. In order for this program to be successful, there needs to be support from the top and enforced at all levels of supervision. We would recommend a company that has demonstrated willingness to work with partner organizations and a commitment to workforce diversity. The right company will be willing to revisit their policies and practices regarding harassment in order to create an organizational context in which the Green Dot program can be successful.

Revisiting company policies and practices regarding harassment. Once a company has been identified, it will be critical to work with that company to assess the current policies and practices regarding harassment and revise them as necessary. Revised company policies should include: (1) expectations for bystander intervention (i.e. all employees are expected to speak up when they witness harassment, with those in positions of power having the most responsibility),

(2) the process for informally addressing harassment that is not stopped through bystander intervention (e.g. who a person should informally report harassment to, the role of a shop steward or other similar position on a job site), (3) the process for formally reporting harassment that severe or ongoing harassment that is not successfully addressed through bystander intervention or informal reporting, (4) consequences for harassment (we recommend minimizing the use of strategy of removing the victim of harassment from the jobsite rather than the perpetrator). In revisiting policies and processes for addressing harassment, the company should coordinate with apprentice programs and unions (if applicable).

Implement trainings on harassment and bystander intervention. Once the Green Dot program is revised, an appropriate company has been identified, and company policies and practices around harassment have been addressed, we recommend implementing a pilot of the program at two job sites of a single company.

:: APPENDIX A: METHODS

This study was conducted by researchers from the Department of Sociology at Portland State University (PSU) in partnership with the staff of Oregon Tradeswomen Inc (OTI), Green Dot etc Inc (Green Dot), and Portland Community College (PCC), with funding from the Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industry (BOLI), Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT), and City of Portland and Metropolitan Alliance for Workforce Equity Community Benefits Agreement (CBA).

Green Dot staff worked with PSU researchers to recruit and train focus group facilitators and note-takers. PCC staff were responsible for securing the location for interviews to take place and coordinating participant RSVPs, while OTI was primarily responsible for locating and inviting individuals who met inclusion criteria for the study to participate in focus groups; they targeted workers in the construction trades as well as contractors, employers, and relevant stakeholders. To ensure safe spaces for the workers to share experiences, OTI specifically recruited white men, white women, men of color, and women of color to participate in race/gender matched groups. Recruitment was done via email, phone calls, and face-to-face conversations with contractors, employers and other known stakeholders from coalition groups as well as workers and representatives from relevant companies and unions. Participation was voluntary; all individuals who were available, met the criteria for inclusion, and demonstrated interest in participating were included in the study. This process was performed primarily by OTI with input from Green Dot staff and PSU researchers.

Ten qualitative focus groups were held to over a two day period in February, 2015 in Northeast Portland. Focus group sessions took place in a private meeting space at a local community college's satellite facility. Upon arrival, participants' basic demographic information was collected in the form of a short survey as part of the written consent process. This information was de-identified and analyzed for descriptive statistical analysis (See Appendix B). A total of 42 individuals participated in this study. Once all participants had arrived and completed the demographic survey, the focus group interview began. In general, focus groups lasted between 90 and 120 minutes. All focus groups were audiotaped. The facilitator would introduce discussion topics covering issues of worker well-being, causes of workplace harassment, hazing, violence or aggression, and resources available to workers who experience a hostile workplace among others.

Focus groups were transcribed, and de-identified to protect the identities of respondents. Transcripts were then reviewed for accuracy and uploaded into Dedoose, a qualitative coding software, for analysis. The transcripts were coded by PSU researchers, directed by themes indicated by the relevant literature as well as themes that emerged from our readings of the transcripts.

Green Dot staff produced a report titled "Preventing Hazing, Harassment, and Bullying in Oregon's Trades: Findings and Recommendations" in May 2015. PSU researchers produced this report in June 2015.

:: APPENDIX B: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Category	Number	Attitudinal Responses	Number
Gender		Harassment, hazing or violence towards **APPRENTICES** is…	
Men	17	Major Problem	9
Women	25	Minor Problem	26
Total	**42**	Not a Problem	3
Race or Ethnicity		Total	38
White	30		
Black/African American	8	**SEXUAL HARASSMENT** is…	
Hispanic/Latino	1		
Asian	0	Major Problem	6
Other	3	Minor Problem	23
Total	**42**	Not a Problem	9
Sexual Identity		**Total**	**38**
Straight	34	Harassment, hazing or violence towards **WOMEN** is…	
GLBQ	7		
Other	0		
Total	**41**	Major Problem	11
Age Group		Minor Problem	22
Under 25	2	Not a Problem	6
25-30	4	**Total**	**39**
31-35	4		
36-40	4	Harassment, hazing or violence towards **PEOPLE OF COLOR** is…	
41-45	4		
46-50	2	Major Problem	13
51-55	2	Minor Problem	19
56-60	4	Not a Problem	7
61+	3	**Total**	**39**
Total	**29**	Harassment, hazing or violence towards **LGBT PEOPLE** is…	
Position within Trades			
Tradesperson	18		
Staff of Contractor	9	Major Problem	13
Staff of Union	4	Minor Problem	16
Other Stakeholder	11	Not a Problem	8
Total	**42**	**Total**	**37**

Source: Green Dot Focus Groups (N=42). Conducted February 26-27, 2015 in Portland OR.

:: REFERENCES AND ADDITIONAL READINGS

Berik, Günseli, Cihan Bilginsoy, and Larry S. Williams. 2011. "Gender and Racial Training Gaps in Oregon Apprenticeship Programs." *Labor Studies Journal* 36:221-244.

Bilginsoy, Cihan. 2013. "Union Wage Gap in the U.S. Construction Sector: 1983-2007." *Industrial Relations* 52(3):677-701.

Burd-Sharps, Sarah, Kristen Lewis, and Maura Kelly. 2014. "Building a More Diverse Skilled Workforce in the Highway Trades: Are Oregon's Current Efforts Working?" Final report submitted to the Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industries and Oregon Department of Transportation. Available at http://www.pdx.edu/sociology/maura-kelly

Byrd, Barbara. 1999. "Women in Carpentry Apprenticeship: A Case Study." *Labor Studies Journal* 24(3):3-22.

Cohen, Marjorie and Kate Braid. 2000. "Training and Equity Initiatives on the British Columbia Vancouver Island Highway Project: A Model for Large-Scale Construction Projects." *Labor Studies Journal* 25(3):70-103

Denissen, Amy M. 2010a. "Crossing the Line: How Women in the Building Trades Interpret and Respond to Sexual Conduct at Work." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 39*(3):297-327.

---. 2010b. "The Right Tools for the Job: Constructing Gender Meanings and Identities in the Male-Dominated Building Trades." *Human Relations 63*(7):1051-1069.

Denissen, Amy M., and Abigail C. Saguy. 2014. "Gendered Homophobia and the Contradictions of Workplace Discrimination for Women in the Building Trades." *Gender & Society* 28(3): 381-403.

Duke, Michael R., Luke Bergmann, Carol B. Cunradi, and Genevieve M. Ames. 2013. "Like Swallowing a Butcher Knife: Layoffs, Masculinity, and Couple Conflict in the United States Construction Industry." *Human Organization* 72(4):293-301.

Frank, Miriam. 2001. "Hard Hats & Homophobia: Lesbians in the Building Trades." *New Labor Forum* 8: 25-36.

Greed, Clara. 2000. "Women in the Construction Professions: Achieving Critical Mass." *Gender, Work and Organization* 7(3):181-196.

Hegewisch, Ariane and Brigid O'Farrell. 2015. "Women in the Construction Trades: Earnings, Workplace Discrimination, and the Promise of Green Jobs." Report by the Institute for Women's Policy Research. Available at http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/women-in-the-construction-trades-earnings-workplace-discrimination-and-the-promise-of-green-jobs.

Hunte, Roberta Suzette. 2012. *"My Walk Has Never Been Average": Black Tradeswomen Negotiating Intersections of Race and Gender in Long-Term Careers in the U.S. Building Trades.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Available by request: hunte@pdx.edu

Kelly, Maura and Lindsey Wilkinson. 2012. "Apprenticeship Needs Assessment in Heavy Highway Construction Workforce" Final report submitted the Oregon Bureau of Labor

and Industries and Oregon Department of Transportation. Available at
http://www.pdx.edu/sociology/maura-kelly

Kelly, Maura, Lindsey Wilkinson, Maura Pisciotta, and Larry S. Williams. 2015. "When
Working Hard is not enough for Female and Racial/Ethnic Minority Apprentices in the
Highway Trades." *Sociological Forum* 30(2):415-438.

Kelly, Maura. 2013. "Evaluation of the Effect of Supportive Services on the Success of
Apprentices in a Highway Trade." Final report submitted to Oregon Transportation
Research and Education Consortium, the Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industry, and
Oregon Department of Transportation. Available at
http://www.pdx.edu/sociology/maura-kelly

Lingard, Helen and Valerie Francis. 2004. "The Work-Life Experiences of Office and Site-
Based Employees in the Australian Construction Industry." *Construction Management &
Economics* 22(9):991-1002.

Moccio, Francine. 2009. *Live Wire: Women and Brotherhood in the Electrical Industry*.
Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Paap, Kris. 2006. *Working Construction: Why White Working-Class Men Put Themselves – and
the Labor Movement – in Harm's Way*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

---. 2008. "How Good Men of the Union Justify Inequality." *Labor Studies Journal* 33(4):371-
392.

Price, Vivian. 2002. "Race, Affirmative Action, and Women's Employment in US Highway
Construction." *Feminist Economics* 8(2):87-113.

Waldinger, Roger; Bailey, Thomas. 1991. "The Continuing Significance of Race: Racial
Conflict and Racial Discrimination in Construction." *Politics and Society* 19(3): 291-323.

Watts, Jacqueline. 2007. "Porn, Pride and Pessimism: Experiences of Women Working in
Professional Construction Roles." *Work, Employment & Society* 21(2):299-316.