“Just go to work”:

Gendered harassment in resource extraction work in Canada

by

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Abstract

This Master's thesis examines tradeswomen's experiences of and responses to gendered harassment at camp-based work in resource extraction industries in western Canada. This study predominantly features women working in the Alberta oil sands industry. Gendered harassment at work has been identified as a major issue in recent years (Curtis et al., 2018; Denissen, 2010; Wade & Jones, 2019) and this study aims to better understand tradeswomen's day-to-day experiences of harassment in work camps. I utilize constructivist grounded theory methodology and critical feminist geography as the theoretical framework for the project. I find that tradeswomen employ a wide range of affective, material, and social strategies to manage harassment. I introduce two concepts, "just go to work" (JGTW) and "me vs. other girls," to illuminate these strategies for self-preservation in the masculine occupational culture of work. This is labour that tradeswomen must perform in addition to their demanding work duties and schedules. JGTW demonstrates how gendered harassment is embedded into the masculinist culture of work of the trades. This study begins to address this gap in scholarly literature to capture the shifting cultural context of the oil sands industry and identifies new areas for future research.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Griffin Kelly. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board 1, “Just the way it is: Tradeswomen’s experiences of gendered harassment at work”, No. Pro00091631, July 12, 2019, and amendment No. Pro00091631_AME1, November 8, 2019.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Molly, the first woman I interviewed for this project, works as a pipeline insulator. Molly loves the satisfaction of seeing a completed pipeline and thinking "I did this!" It was challenging work; Molly's job required throwing insulation 20 feet in the air over a pipeline, working outdoors in all weather conditions, like blowing snow and temperatures as low as -40 degrees, while keeping watch for bears coming out of the forest and standing in muskeg up to her hips. But this was not all she had to contend with. Molly said that while working and staying at camp, "You have to be careful of what you're wearing, of what you say, who you look at, because guys think being nice is flirting. Guys think that you're in camp to get laid." I asked Molly what it felt like to cope with that, and she said, "You have to take it in, take it as it is, and whatever." As Molly's experiences show, the intense conditions of work for tradeswomen in natural resource extraction industries are further complicated by gendered harassment on the job (Curtis et al., 2018; Denissen, 2010a; Houser, 2018).

Extraction trades work offers a rewarding and viable career for many women, like Molly, in Canada. This work offers high wages, skill development, and paths for career progression. However, there are major barriers to success for tradeswomen in the industry, including and especially gendered harassment. Scholarly literature on women in the trades has documented gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, and health problems at work for women (Cherry et al., 2018; Curtis et al., 2018; Denissen, 2010a; Moir et al., 2011). Harassment is shaped by the masculine occupational culture of work in the trades. In turn, this culture also conditions women's responses to harassment. As Molly said, she is "careful" while at work in

order to manage her co-workers' behaviour. Such actions are part of the wide range of affective, material, and social strategies that tradeswomen employ to combat harassment on the job.

The research question for my project is: What are tradeswomen's experiences of and responses to gendered harassment (GH) at camp-based work in resource extraction industries in western Canada? Gendered harassment is defined in two categories, sexual advance harassment (SAH), which consists of sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention, and gender-based harassment (GH), a range of degrading and hostile behaviours based on one's gender (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2014). This project focuses on GH, although GH and SAH often interlinked. There is a need for study of women's day to day experiences and range of formal and informal responses to harassment in order to better understand this topic (Denissen, 2010). There is a need to identify where the issues lie and where change may be possible in order to address GH.

For this project, I conducted 13 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with tradeswomen in camp-based resource extractive work. Using a critical feminist geography lens and grounded theory approach, I attend to how women "just go to work" (JGTW) in this precarious environment. "Just go to work" is a phrase that came up in varying forms throughout the interviews and became an important in vivo concept throughout the analysis. JGTW encompasses a wide range of practices, detailed in this thesis, that women utilize to manage and deflect harassment. Women in the trades must regularly carve out space for themselves on the job if they are to survive, let alone thrive, in this environment. The labour of "just go to work" is both ever-present and deeply invisible and entails both proactive management of GH and a basic acceptance of the masculinist work culture. As Molly said, she has to be careful each day of her actions and appearance at work, but that she also has to simply "take it as it is." Focused by necessity on daily preservation of self and job, JGTW strategies are always at risk of reproducing

the very masculine culture of work they are designed to withstand. In this project, I explore this notion, and demonstrate how gendered harassment, and responses to it, are embedded in the masculine culture of resource extractive work.

I use the term "strategies" throughout the thesis to capture the range of everyday endeavours that women undertake to JGTW. While the concept of strategy is sometimes used in sociological literature to mean actions that involve strategic focus on a particular aim, I use it more generally to refer to actions and practices that women use to manage and navigate a masculine occupational culture where gendered harassment is prevalent (Sanders, 2005). As I show in the thesis, these strategies are both formally taught and experientially learned over time and one's career. They include both habitual comportments and event-based decision-making. All of them involve affective and material labour oriented to sustaining the viability of going to work. Finally, drawing on Cindi Katz's three-part typology, I assert that JGTW exhibits the tension between what she dubs *resilience* and *reworking* (2004).

In recent years, gendered harassment in the workplace has been identified as a crucial issue. This was spurred by the MeToo movement, beginning in the media industry in the United States, and rolling outward to other sectors (Wade & Jones, 2019). This led to sensational exposés and criminal court cases, most notably that of film producer Harvey Weinstein. He was convicted of rape in early 2020 (Kantor & Twohey, 2020). For natural resource industries in Canada, the MeToo movement has not garnered the same level of attention. However, there is a growing awareness of harassment and discrimination and its impact on workers, such as recent provincial legislation aimed at sexual harassment (Minister of Labour, 2017). In the context of the Alberta oil sands and other resource-based economies, harassment is exacerbated by a work culture of "frontier masculinity" or "rigger culture," resulting, at times, in a toxic masculine

workplace (Goldenberg et al., 2010; Miller, 2004; O'Shaughnessy, 2011). This shifting cultural context and growing awareness of the problem warrants study. The culture of frontier masculinity is deeply embedded in extraction work. This is a major barrier to progressive change and the reduction of harassment in the industry. Therefore, understanding GH in this unique context is important, yet there is very little research on the topic.

The majority of the literature on women in the trades was produced during the 1980s and 1990s. This scholarship was focused on collecting the narratives of female "pioneers" working in a variety of male-dominated fields, including policing, construction, and natural resource industries like logging and fishing (Jones, 1995; Kurtz, 1981; Martin, 1988; Schroedel, 1985; Eisenberg, 1998). These narratives form a crucial starting point for this study, as scholars documented gendered harassment and found that it is often linked to racism, ageism, and homophobia (Eisenberg, 1998; Martin, 1988; Schroedel, 1985). However, there has been little scholarship on women working in the trades in the last 15 years, let alone in the specific context of the Alberta oil sands industry and associated natural resource projects. In Ness's (2012) review of literature on women in construction, she highlights the scholarly focus on women in construction management or associated industries, like engineering, rather than manual/skilled labour positions, especially in the UK context. The literature needs to be updated to reflect the experiences of women in 2019 and to capture the unique context of the Albertan oil economy. This research project aims to fill the gap.

In this introduction to the thesis, I begin with a description of the context of natural resource extraction work, including work camps and mobile work practices. The second section details the grounded theory methodology and research design. Afterwards, I present the conceptual framework for the project, critical feminist geography. Then I offer a review of the

literature on hegemonic masculinity and harassment in the workplace. In the fifth section, I introduce "just go to work" and "me vs. other girls," the two concepts that are most central to my analysis. Finally, I lay out the structure of the rest of the thesis.

Context: Resource Extraction Work

This section provides a brief overview of the oil sands, the use of mobile workers and work camps, and the changing conditions of work in the province in 2019 during the time of the study. I should note that while my project set out to examine tradeswomen's experiences in the oil sands, during interview recruitment this expanded to include two women working in natural resource extraction projects in B.C. due to scarcity of participants. These sites have features and cultural norms similar to those found in the oil sand; they use mobile work practices and draw from a similar mobile workforce. Mobile workers hold a permanent residence elsewhere, and travel to a work site or camp for temporary work rotations (Dorow, 2015). Therefore, while the participants do not exclusively work in the Alberta oil sands context, the majority do, and share a similar occupational culture. This context and political economy warrants study due its impact on the conditions of work.

The oil industry has been a key economic driver for the province of Alberta through extraction work and subsidiary industries. The world's largest known reserve of fossil fuels lies in the Athabasca oil sands in northern Alberta, where the Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo (RMWB) is located, including the city of Fort McMurray (Alberta Energy, 2018). The remote northern location of the industry creates unique conditions and challenges for oil workers and their families. These include isolation on remote work sites, extended periods of time away from family, and lack of access to mental and physical health resources (Angel, 2014; Dorow,

2015). This is further complicated by the boom and bust nature of oil pricing due to external economic forces and production tactics like shift work and the flexibilization of work (Ennis 2016; Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018; Preston et al. 2000). Of particular importance is the use of "temporary, flexibilized, sub-contracted, and mobile workers" in the oil sands which increased by ten times between 2000 and 2015 (RMWB, 2018). Mobile workers may drive, bus, or fly (often referred to as FIFO, fly in, fly out) to work for rotation periods (usually 1 week or longer) and stay at a work camp. For example, a "14/7 shift" would consist of 14 days at work, made up of daily 10-12 hour shifts while staying at a work camp. This is followed by 7 days off away from camp usually back home in a permanent residence. Many participants in this project commuted to work camps near Fort McMurray and returned to their homes in the Edmonton area, some 500 kilometers south, during their time off.

The oil sands workers staying at industrial camps are typically white, male, and Canadian-born, while the camp staff are typically female, racialized non-white, and foreign born (Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018). Dorow and Mandizadza argue that gender, race, and class mediate "who is mobile or immobile" and what kind of work they perform (2018, p. 1242). There are very few female oil sands workers present at the camps. The RMWB census, which included mobile workers in camps (referred to as the shadow population), found that there are "more males (54.9%) than females (45.1%)" and they attribute this gap to "the type of employment associated with the primary resource-based industries in the region" (2018). Women with children are discouraged from engaging in mobile work due to their social reproductive duties at home and gendered discourses of the oil economy (Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018). The women who do choose to engage in trades work are typically young, single, and childless; Cherry et al. found in

an earlier study of women in construction that less than half of their participants had children (1991).

Work camps are a space where tradeswomen must negotiate the gendered elements of the trades. The oil sands industry is male-dominated and subject to a masculine occupational culture; it is both culturally and numerically dominated by men (O'Shaughnessy, 2011; McDonald, 2012). This occupational culture has consequences for all gender identities and expressions, but I have chosen to focus on women's gendered experiences because of my interest in the additional gendered labour women perform and the limitations of a MA thesis.

Tradeswomen are at risk of physical, gendered, and sexual harassment, sexual assault, and violence at work (Cherry et al., 2018; Denissen, 2010a; Kurtz, 1981). By working and living in camp in this environment, tradeswomen increase their exposure to risk. Work camps host post-work leisure and social reproduction processes, like eating, sleeping, hygiene, and self-care. These are intimate spaces in which gendered dynamics are salient (Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018; Filteau, 2014; O'Shaughnessy, 2011; Pirotta, 2009).

The spatial-structural elements of the oil fields create a particular set of workplace conditions for employees that are crucial to the gendered discourses of trades work. This includes the isolation of the oil fields in northern Alberta, mobile work, and work camps. Mobile work is of particular importance. Camps are often geographically isolated, located nearby the extraction site. The process of long-distance commuting forces individuals to engage in the "spatial and temporal re-reorganization" of life, including social reproduction processes and work practices (Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018, p. 1241). Being away from home for extended periods of time can cause intense stress, including negative effects on workers' mental and physical health (strain of

shift work or exhaustion) and strain their relationships back home. This type of work cycle is disruptive for workers (Angel, 2014; Barclay, 2016; Goldenberg et al., 2010).

The masculinism and gendered inequality of work camps and extractive industries spill over into the surrounding area, with potential consequences for isolated, remote communities (Amnesty International, 2016). This was notably highlighted in the Firelight report (2017), commissioned by the Nak'azdli Whut'en and Lake Babine First Nations as part of the environmental assessment process for the Prince Rupert gas terminal. The report detailed the negative impact oil and gas work camps have on Indigenous communities, particularly for women and youth, due to increased rates of sexual assault and sex trafficking (Gibson et al., 2017). Indigenous women and girls are the most likely to be negatively impacted by such projects and least likely to experience the economic benefits (Gibson et al., 2017, p. 3). Camps may perpetuate historical colonial violence by the state and by oil and gas workers (Gibson et al., 2017, p. 18). RCMP data in northern BC showed a 38 % increase in sexual assaults during the first year of the construction phase of an industrial project (Shandro et al. 2014, cited in Gibson et al., 2017, p. 22).

The context of mobile work in natural resource extractive industries is further complicated by the changing circumstances of work, particularly for Alberta during the current economic downturn. Race and gender mediate workers' access to work and high wages in extractive industries in the province (Alook, Hill, & Hussey, 2017; Lahey, 2016). During economic boom periods, the province utilizes international migrant labour, particularly temporary foreign workers (TFW) (Barnetson & Forester, 2014). However, these migrants worker predominantly act as a "hyperflexible" secondary workforce, for service or care positions, instead of higher paying primary construction work (Foster & Barnetson, 2017). Other

marginalized groups are also over-represented in secondary sector positions, such as women, youth, Indigenous peoples, and permanent immigrants (Foster & Barnetson, 2017). This contributes to economic and social inequality in the labour market. While marginalized groups make some advancements during boom periods they lose ground during bust periods (Foster & Barnetson, 2017). While there is not yet data on the current downturn, fuelled by changing economic conditions and COVID-19, the historical evidence suggests that the current conditions will most severely impact marginalized workers in extractive industries.

There is a growing awareness of the need for a shift in workplace culture and greater representation and equity in the oil workforce of marginalized communities. Major players in the oil and gas industry have begun to adopt inclusion and diversity policies aimed at recruiting and retaining a diverse set of workers to varying degrees of effectiveness. The provincial government has also implemented measures for recruitment and hiring (Foster & Barnetson, 2017). In 2017, the NDP provincial government changed the occupational health and safety (OHS) protocol to include gendered harassment and violence. Bill 30, The Act to Protect the Health and Well-Being of Working Albertans, bars harassment and violence on work sites (Minister of Labour, 2017). It also offers time off to seek assistance or recover from domestic violence (Minister of Labour, 2017). However, tradeswomen continue to report a gap between industry and provincial policy and their experiences at work (Thomson, 2018).

Methodology and Research Design

I utilized grounded theory as the methodology for data collection and analysis. Constructivist grounded theory, as formulated by Charmaz, is an "inductive, comparative, iterative, and interactive method" that allows the researcher to develop new theoretical formations about a

research topic (2011, p. 347). This methodology begins with and focuses on the lived experiences of participants which allows the researcher to attend to how participants "construct their worlds" (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1162).

Charmaz's formulation of grounded theory is derived from symbolic interactionism and influenced by Marxism and phenomenology. It is a revised version of earlier more objectivist forms of grounded theory. In symbolic interactionism, "Human action depends upon the meanings that people ascribe to their situations," resulting from shared interactions predominantly based in language (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1161). Phenomenology asserts that subjective reality takes varied forms and that an individual's lived experience has numerous dimensions and realities (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1161). Charmaz utilizes Marxism to link this subjective consciousness to larger social structures, to demonstrate how society influences the individual.

Glaser and Strauss's earlier iteration of grounded theory took a more positivist approach in contrast to Charmaz's phenomenological leanings. Glaser and Strauss argue that concepts emerge on their own from the data, suggesting an "external reality, unaltered by the observer's presence," whereas Charmaz stresses the "active stance" of the researcher (1990, p. 1164). The researcher's choices, values, philosophical beliefs, and prior knowledge shape every stage of the work. They are not a passive observer as in the empirical science tradition (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1162). This allows researchers to continually ask questions like: how, why, under what conditions, with which consequences, how do people construct their beliefs, why do they think/feel/act the way they do (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1165)?

Charmaz states that constructivist grounded theory practitioners move "inductively upward from data to theoretical rendering" in order to build a new understanding of the chosen topic (2011, p. 350). The steps for grounded theory are:

> (1) creating and refining the research and data collection questions,
> (2) raising of terms to concepts,
> (3) asking more conceptual questions on a generic level,
> (4) making further discoveries and clarifying concepts through writing and rewriting (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1162).

Through this thesis process, I attempted to follow this path, and detail these steps below. To conduct this project, I began with an interest in tradeswomen's experiences of work from a 2019 exploratory research project that was conducted in partnership with Women Building Futures, an Edmonton-based charity that trains women to work in the trades. With the initial findings from that exploratory study and a review of the literature, I crafted the research question: What are tradeswomen's experiences of gendered harassment at camp-based work in the oil sands economy? This question was later revised to capture the shift in focus to women's responses to GH.

To investigate this question, I chose in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews as my main method. I designed the interview guide to gather information about women's experiences of long-distance commuting, daily routines in camp, social and professional relationships at work and at camp, their impressions of gender dynamics within their industry, and advice for other women entering the trades (interview guide appendix 1). This guide provided a general outline, but the interviews were semi-structured in order to allow interviewees to communicate their personal narratives (Charmaz, 2011; Roseneil, 2004). This method is effective for collecting information about personal experience and reflections.

While creating the interview guide, I planned the sample selection requirements for the project. My original goal was to limit the study to tradeswomen working in the oil sands industry of Alberta, but I had difficulty with recruitment due to the scarcity of women in the trades. Therefore, I expanded to include participants with experience in natural resource extraction projects other than the oil sands and outside of the province. I recruited tradeswomen with at least six months of experience working in a natural resource industry and staying at camp accommodations provided by their employer. I sought out women from a variety of construction trades and required that they have experience working in a group and/or crew setting.

I recruited women to participate in this project through Women Building Futures (WBF), the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT), and established industry contacts. WBF has locations in Edmonton and Fort McMurray and trains women to work in construction, maintenance, and driving industries. NAIT is a college located in Edmonton that offers skilled trades training for journeymen certification and other construction related diplomas. Both organizations distributed my recruitment letter to their extensive alumni contact lists. This allowed me to reach a wider range of participants than through exclusive snowball sampling from prior contacts. Additionally, both organizations are based in Edmonton, and therefore a portion of their alumni were accessible for in-person interviews. I also distributed recruitment letters to prior contacts.

I provided my contact information in the introductory letter and potential participants contacted me. I determined if the individual met the recruitment criteria and we decided on an interview time and location. Once interviews began I employed snowball sampling to recruit additional participants. With this method of recruitment, I interviewed 13 tradeswomen who met the criteria of the project. 11 worked in the AB oil sands and 2 worked in BC. They worked in

the following jobs: electrician (5 participants), welder/ironworker (2), heavy-duty mechanic (2), plumber/pipefitter (1), steamfitter/pipefitter (1), pipeline coater (1), insulator (1).

The 13 interviews took place between July and December of 2019. They were on average 1.5 hours long with the shortest interview lasting 50 minutes and the longest being two hours in length. The in-person interviews were conducted in or nearby Edmonton, Alberta at a time and place that was convenient for the participant, based on their work schedule and whereabouts in the city. The interview locations were selected for accessibility, ease of transportation, and comfort for participants. The majority of the interviews took place at cafes in the participant's neighbourhood. Two of the interviews were conducted over the phone because the participants did not live in Edmonton. Childcare was a necessity for one participant and therefore we met at an establishment that offered free childcare for patrons.

The participants were aged 24-49, with the majority in their early 30s. From the literature, I suspected that the majority of my sample would be younger, childless women (Cherry et al., 1991; Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018). While information on dependents and children was not collected, only 3 of the 13 participants reported having children. I also did not collect information on race and ethnicity. While I do not have specific data, the majority of participants presented as white; a few did talk about having a racialized identity. This became especially salient in the narrative of the one participant who identified as Indigenous.

All interviews were recorded using a digital audio recorder at the consent of the interviewee. All participants were informed about the ethics protocol of the project and consented to participation in the study (consent form appendix 2). They were not compensated for participation.

My goal for each interview was to hold a "directed conversation" in order to generate "detailed, vivid data" (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1167). I avoided an "overly directive" interview structure, in order to allow participants to share the stories they felt were relevant or pressing (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1167). It was my goal to study gendered harassment, but from the earliest interviews, I learned that GH is often simultaneously experienced alongside SAH and/or physical and sexual violence. This sensitive, personal information made it even more imperative that I allow the participants to speak freely.

As per grounded theory, I began the data analysis process during data collection. After conducting an interview, I wrote notes about the interview context, emotions, notable or new topics of discussion, and an overall impression. These memos allowed me to compare interviews throughout the data collection phase of the project in order to develop the power, depth, and comprehensiveness of future theoretical categories (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1163). This also provided me with an opportunity to examine competing explanations and outliers in the data (Maxwell, 2013, p. 148). For example, I noticed that multiple participants approached the interview with the goal of communicating either a specific incident of trauma at work or to dispel myths about gender discrimination in the industry. By memoing, I was able to note this pattern and alter my interview guide (Charmaz, 2011, p. 349). I started asking reflective "how" questions when I noticed the participant's approach (How did that incident affect you? How do you think that myth came to be?). This allowed me to follow up with specific questions when this occurred in future interviews.

Through reviewing grounded theory literature, I understand that the traditional goal of the methodology is to reach "saturation" during data collection, when "the learner hears nothing new" (Stern, 2007, p. 117). In the context and timeline of a Master's thesis project, I sought,

rather, to gain an "intimate familiarity," with the concepts of my project through this method (Lofland and Lofland, 1983, cited in Charmaz, 1990, p. 1164). I understand intimate familiarity as the full exploration of the events, meanings, and issues within the research question, a sense of knowing the data backwards and forwards, when I could quickly recall different elements or stories, and apply them to emerging concepts.

While conducting the interviews, I was very conscious of Charmaz's point about the interaction between researcher and data. She encourages the researcher to examine what questions and sociological concepts they bring to the data. The researcher's values shape the process and results, which has the ability to prevent them from seeing new concepts and/or to block further analysis. The concept and experience of GH was always "with me" throughout the time I was working on the project. Many of the young women I talked to in a non-academic capacity during this time were thinking about the MeToo movement, moving from academia to office environments, and interacting with GH at work for the first time. I tried to memo and reflect on these conversations as much as possible, in order to separately process my own feelings and reactions to these conversations and the interviews I was conducting.

Participants also frequently asked about or made references to my own experiences of GH or SAH. They would often say, "you know?" or "you know what I mean" when telling a story about an incident of harassment or men's behaviour at work. I would often answer yes, because, as previously stated, these issues were at the top of my mind. DeVault argues that feminist qualitative researchers must be attuned to phrases like "you know" as they signal "the realm of not-quite articulated experience," a problem with no name that they might not be fully conscious of or have been taught to ignore (1990, p.103). These phrases are a request for understanding and signal the joint production of knowledge between researcher and participant (DeVault, 1990).

This interaction also served to develop rapport between the participant and I, to make them feel comfortable, and develop a sense of shared recognition of experience. This disclosure and level of honesty highlights my subjective position as a researcher (Thwaites, 2017).

This became particularly salient during interviews where participants shared stories of physical or sexual violence at work. I was able to listen actively and engage with the participant during the interview, but later, when I was writing about these stories, I found it difficult to conduct analysis and incorporate them into the thesis. There is a degree of emotional labour involved in interviews, to maintain a calm, professional façade while also sympathizing with the participant (Hochschild, 1983; Thwaites, 2017). When I was engaging with this material on my own, I was better attuned to my personal reaction to the stories, but I was still managing my own reactions to a degree. I want to maintain this level of sensitivity to the data, while also striving to understand the context, conditions, and meanings of these stories.

I transcribed the interviews-verbatim as soon as possible after they were conducted. I then wrote summaries of each interview and reflection memos. I used the post-interview memos to build my coding scheme and my understanding of the content of each interview. I coded the data in NVivo12, a qualitative research software program. Using this software, I organized the data, generated general codes, and then consolidated codes into parent nodes. As I coded each interview, I wrote memos about significant coding patterns and questions. This is where the iterative nature of grounded theory became central to the project, as I worked and reworked the data in order to build theoretical categories.

Charmaz asserts that codes and categories should reflect emerging ideas rather than only describing the topics. I tried to code for processes, actions, assumptions, and consequences rather than topics, in order to develop greater analytical precision (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1168). One way

of doing this is to engage in comparison, by taking a topic like experience, period of time, or a relationship and juxtaposing data from each person against one another. This is what I did for harassment. I looked at the different types of harassment, different response mechanisms, reactions, and definitions. Through memoing and coding, I tried to pull out concepts from these stories. This allowed me to refine parent nodes in NVivo and group them with others to create the analytical framework.

This process allowed me to identify key terms and important codes and then to "raise" these terms to concepts (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1162). Following Charmaz, I followed the emerging concepts from the data (1990, p. 1162); or, as put by Stern, the "cream" that rose to the top when reflecting on the data (2007, p. 118). I identified and organized the theoretical categories. I returned to the literature, looked at where these theoretical categories landed and compared to previously published work on the topic, considered how they should be framed in relation to other work. After this process, I began writing up the data and editing.

There are limitations associated with the methodology of this project. First, the study relied, in part, on snowball sampling and therefore may contain self-selection bias. Another limitation of the study is that it did not gather demographic data about race/ethnicity, identification with Indigenous group or groups, and marital status or dependents. While some of these elements came up organically in interviews, there was not an active effort to gather this information and therefore a gap in knowledge about the participants. In relation to race-related data, I did not ask explicitly about experiences of racism. Kimberlé Crenshaw asserts that discussions of gender tend to focus on white middle class women, and because race and gender mediate one another, this presents a gap in understanding the dynamics of power (1989). This is

a major limitation of the project that I have attempted to note throughout analysis and the conclusion.

The project adhered to the University of Alberta and Tri-Council Policy on research ethics in order to keep the information collected in the study anonymous and confidential. The project received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board (approval number Pro00091631). In addition, due to recruitment through NAIT, the study also received approval from the NAIT Research Ethics Board (approval number 2019-17). Participants were asked to describe their experiences of work site culture that could have led to the disclosure of sensitive information about their employer or co-workers. It is therefore necessary to keep research participants' identities anonymous to maintain and protect their relationships with their employers and colleagues (Clark, 2007). I have followed the Tri-Council policy and ethics practices in order to do so. All research participants were informed of these risks at the time of recruitment. The interviews were conducted in comfortable, safe interviewing environments that were convenient for the participant. Throughout the process, it was always my goal to ensure that the benefits of this project outweigh the harm.

Critical Feminist Geography as Conceptual Framework

I utilize critical feminist geography for the theoretical framework of the project. This informs my understanding of harassment, and affective and embodied labour, within the trades. I have selected critical feminist geography because it pulls together the social and embodied elements of work. McDowell notes that sociologists of the body and sexuality often miss or under-emphasize the social relationships of work, while sociologists of work frequently overlook the embodied nature of work (2009, p. 12). In this study of harassment, I examine the embodied, social, and structural elements of work. This requires crossing the conventional borders between

Sociology of the Body and of Work. I find that critical feminist geography, in tandem with many feminist sociologists of work, pulls together these forces in order to better understand contemporary work environments and women's experiences in them.

By affective, I am referring to both the affective labour tradeswomen perform and their affective experiences of harassment. I draw from Hardt's definition of affective labour: that which "produces or manipulates affects such as a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement or passion" (1999, p. 96). I examine the affective labour tradeswomen perform in order to navigate, avoid, and combat harassment from their co-workers. Bolton critiques Hardt and Negri (2000, 2005) for defining affective labour as "intangible" and therefore immeasurable which obscures the materiality and productive contributions of emotion work. While I draw only from Hardt (1999), Bolton's criticism is important, as it highlights the materiality of affective labour. I separate affective and material work for heuristic reasons but understand them to be deeply intertwined (McDowell, 2003). Affective experiences are rooted in the material realties of harassment and the embodied nature of work.

By material, I am referring to the social structures and conditions, such as the fixed boundaries of the workplace (office building, store, construction site), regional location, and/or structural conditions like the economy or legislation (McDowell, 2009, p. 15; O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011, p. 137). All work relies on a range of embodied attributes and skills (McDowell, 2009). The construction of masculinity relies on bodily performances, particular in the workplace, to demonstrate and produce the idealized hegemonic masculinity (McDowell, 2003). For tradeswomen, the embodied elements of work extend to intimate and gendered labour and the risk of physical and sexual violence.

Different bodies are produced or treated differently according to the regime of work, as "some bodies disrupt accepted notions of 'appropriate' embodied employment and are constructed as 'out of place' in their workplace" (England & Lawson, 2004, p. 83). Appropriateness is mediated by race, class, sexuality, gender identity and expression, among other factors. Gendered identities are inscribed onto bodies through discursive practices, which I understand to be the re/production of ideologies, stereotypes, and cultural norms (O'Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011, p. 138).

This is of particular importance for women in the trades. Construction work in the oil economy is predominantly filled by white, Canadian-born men (Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018). The highly physical and dangerous nature of the work is closely associated with hegemonic "frontier masculinity," predicated on the myth of the romanticized cowboy hero, the independent, competitive, self-sufficient man (Miller, 2004). The presence of women onsite has the potential to disrupt or reinforce the masculine culture of work. Women are targeted with harassment, and their bodies are subjected to gendered risks; in addition to the regular hazards of the job, they are also exposed to physical and sexual violence from co-workers. These risks are heightened in the shared, enclosed, and intimate spaces of work camps.

Intimacy often refers to privacy, family, relationships, and personal connection, and is therefore traditionally considered to be feminine (Pratt & Rosner, 2012). Intimacy is relational, it holds affective and material force and it is a source of knowledge and way of knowing (McDowell, 2009; Pratt & Rosner, 2012). Wilson argues that intimacy relates to feelings, public feelings, and biopolitics (2012, p. 32). Intimate life is not contained in the private sphere, it plays a direct role in government and the economy, and in turn the public sphere regulates intimacy (Wilson, 2012, p. 31).

Pratt & Rosner argue that global capital systems rely on "gendered and intimate forms of labour" to regulate the workforce, such as the regulation of bathroom visits and restrictions on maternity leave (2012, p. 16). There are many examples of gendered and intimate labour within the trades; women report a lack of change rooms and bathrooms for women on the job site, sexual coercion within the apprenticeship program, and termination of contract due to pregnancy (Luxton & Corman, 2001; Martin, 1988; Thomson, 2018). These intimate forms of labour have both affective and material consequences for women. They connect to and extend women's experiences of harassment at work. Feminist geography allows for examination of the ways in which the spatial-structural conditions and women's intimate embodied experiences of harassment are intertwined in the context of natural resource extraction. Finally, critical feminist geography offers tools to examine gender equality advocacy work. I utilize Cindi Katz's work on resilience, reworking, and resistance (2004) in the conclusion.

Review of Relevant Literature

Masculine Occupational Culture

Critical feminist geographers point to the importance of masculinity in occupational culture. McDowell argues that the workplace is the "most significant arena for the social construction of masculinity" (2009, p. 131). While masculinity is diverse in its forms and representations at work, especially in manual labour jobs, the "idealized masculine embodiment, especially when compared to a hegemonic version of fragile femininity, is constructed through its associations with physical strength" (McDowell, 2009, p. 129). Social hierarchy and social differentiation effect working class bodies, such as divisive, embodied elements of the job, like

skilled/unskilled, heavy/light, dangerous/less dangerous, dirty/clean, and mobile/immobile work (Morgan, 1992, p.; cited in Wolkowitz, 2006, p. 64).

Studies of masculine occupational culture in construction specifically have found that masculine culture is "functional for the employers" because it allows management to maintain poor working conditions (workers do not complain about poor conditions in order to demonstrate masculine resiliency) and absolves management of enforcing safety changes as workers are held liable by the culture (Ness, 2012, p. 669). The masculine identity is formed in relation to work practices like dangerous physical work and long hours in the construction trades (Reed, 2007). These risks are mental and physical with the potential long-term consequences for employees.

Occupations become gendered through a wide range of practices, from hiring and training to interactions between workers on and off construction job sites (Acker, 1990; Reskin and Padavic, 1988, cited in Denissen, 2010b). Through these processes, the construction trades have become dominated by a male occupational culture. The trades are a site of "double dominance," where men are both culturally and numerically dominant (de Hass and Timmerman, 2009 cited in McDonald, 2012, p. 9). This has been widely identified in the literature on the trades in Europe (Agapiou, 2002; Ibáñez, 2016; Menches & Abraham, 2007), the U.S. (Eisenberg, 1998; Schroedel, 1985), and Canada (Goldenberg et al., 2010; O'Shaughnessy, 2011).

The masculine occupational culture of work takes on a specific form in the oil economy of "frontier masculinity" which permeates all areas of the industry, from the trades to corporate roles (Dorow, 2016; Miller, 2004; O'Shaughnessy, 2011). Miller argues that Albertan frontier masculinity is a derivative of cowboy culture, ranching, and the gold rush (2004). This culture encourages "power, competitiveness and self-interest" (Miller, 2004, p. 62), resulting in a "hegemonic form of rural masculinity" (O'Shaughnessy, 2011, p. 17). It has tight ties with

"rigger culture," associated with oil and gas work and pipeline construction (Goldenberg et al., 2010). Both are a form of hegemonic toxic masculinity built on sexism, homophobia, individualism, and apathy towards self-care (Filteau, 2014; Goldenberg et al., 2010; Miller, 2004). Houser further argues that frontier masculinity is accompanied by "conservative political beliefs, traditional expectations of sex and gender roles, and the heroism and celebration of the male body as a vector for physical accomplishment" (2018, p. 89). The hierarchical structure of the trades makes the skills of "competence, confidence, physicality" essential for workers (Houser, 2018, p. 89). Nagy and Teixeira link this form of masculinity to neoliberalism, as the independence and toughness is accompanied by the "inherent assumption that the procurement of success is solely the outcome of an individual's level of hard work" (Nagy & Teixeira, 2020, p. 160). This places responsibility on the worker for their ability to survive the extreme conditions of work.

This culture is continuously reproduced through the attitudes, behaviours, and actions of workers and management. It is passed on to new employees who must conform or adapt to the culture, the difficulty of which may vary for individuals depending on how they differ from the norms of the culture (Gibson et al., 2017). Filteau found that oil rig workers who adapted to frontier masculinity at work experience the highest rate of professional success (2014). As previously noted, this frontier masculinity has negative consequences for men – to strive to fit this rigid mold can have severe effects on their physical and mental health (Angel, 2014). Exercising extreme bravado, power, and competitiveness has intense risks. These stressors in resource extraction industries can result in a "culture of substance abuse" among employees and, in some cases, suicide (Barton, 2007, cited in Angel, 2014). Filteau argues in his study of oil rigging that this masculinity has evolved to be more conscious of safety culture and team-based,

thereby producing a "new dominant masculinity predicated on safety" (2014, p. 404). There is flexibility and potential for change in this environment. However, there are additional gendered hazards for women in this climate that will be further explored in this thesis.

Workplace Harassment

The majority of the literature on harassment is found in the fields of Psychology and Law. These subjects take a practical and structural approach to harassment by focusing on its frequency, conditions, and policy implications. The literature does not offer a conclusive figure of the rate of harassment in the workplace, but it does show that it is persistent over time and across sectors (McDonald, 2012). Kabat-Farr and Cortina argue that occupational legislation and jurisprudence on harassment have evolved over time, but the academic definition has remained inert (2014). A commonly used definition for sex-based harassment is: "behavior that derogates, demeans, or humiliates an individual based on that individual's sex" (Berdahl, 2007, p. 644). This refers to a wide range of behaviour and focuses on sex instead of gender identity and/or expression.

Kabat-Farr and Cortina update Berdahl's definition by separating out sexual-advance harassment (SAH) and gender-based harassment (GH). These two terms form an "approach-rejection typology" that is frequently used in Psychology to describe harassment (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2014, p. 60). SAH is composed of sexual coercion, "bribes or threats to alter the victim's conditions of employment depending on sexual behavior," and unwanted sexual attention, "romantic or sexual advances that are unwelcome, unreciprocated, and unpleasant to the recipient" (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2014, p. 60). GH consists of "a broad range of verbal and nonverbal behaviors not aimed at sexual cooperation but that convey insulting, hostile, and

degrading attitudes" based on one's gender (Fitzgerald et al., 1997, p. 430). GH aims to isolate the victim from both male and female peers.

GH relates to workplace bullying and psychological harassment. Workplace bullying is defined as repeated and persistent negative behavior involving a power imbalance and results in a hostile work environment (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Salin, 2005; Vartia, 1996). Studies have found that workplace bullying is often highly gendered. When women are underrepresented at work they report significantly higher rates of bullying (Björkqvist et al., 1994; Eriksen & Einarsen, 2004). Kabat-Farr and Cortina found that when women are underrepresented in a work group they experience an elevated risk of GH (2014, p. 67). In addition, while men are typically bullied by male supervisors, women are bullied by both men and women across the spectrum of supervisors, colleagues, and subordinates (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Hoel & Cooper, 2000).

It is important to note that the majority of sexual harassment research is conducted on white women, who are predominantly heterosexual, with full citizenship rights, and from a variety of class backgrounds (Welsh et al., 2006). This constrains the widely used definitions of harassment. Welsh et al. demonstrate that, for women living in Canada, race and citizenship impact the frequency and experience of harassment and how one defines harassment (2006). In Yoder and Aniakudo's study of Black women firefighters in the U.S. participants argued that they do not differentiate between racism and GH/SAH as the experiences are always intertwined (1997). While different parts of one's identity may be salient at different times, participants stated that they are always living on the double edge of being Black and female, resulting in subordination through exclusion in their firehalls (1997). Rosependa et al. argue that the confluence of gender, race, and class serve to maintain inequalities outside of work in larger society (1998).

SAH and GH are also differentially experienced among different groups of women. Buchanan et al. argue that white women are often treated in a paternalistic and protective manner, whereas Black women are sexualized and subjected to "jezebel" stereotype (2006). They hypothesize that this means Black women are more likely to be subjected to SAH and white women to GH. In a literature review, they find studies where women of colour report more frequent experiences of sexual harassment than white women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Cortina, Swan, Fitzgerald, &Waldo, 1998; Nelson & Probst, 2004), but they also note studies that have found no difference or lower rates of harassment for women of colour (Frank, Brogan, & Schiffman, 1998; Gruber, 2003; Piotrkowski, 1998; Wyatt & Riederle, 1995). These studies do not differentiate between SAH and GH, which the authors argue accounts for the discrepancy. There is also the possibility of racialized sexual harassment (Buchanan, 2005; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Texeira, 2002). In Buchanan et al.'s study of harassment in the military, they demonstrate a relationship between military rank, race, and sexual harassment (2006). Access to organizational power was a key factor to mitigating harassment; the higher the rank, the less likely women were to experience harassment (Buchanan et al., 2006).

Harassment is a pervasive problem in the trades. Women report both GH and SAH in the trades, in addition or relation to homophobia, racism, and ageism. Houser argues that for tradeswomen working in the context of frontier masculinity, it is normal to endure "harassment, stereotypes, unwanted sexual advances, disrespect, and uncomfortable social and physical realities" (2018, p. 200). This harassment and discrimination manifests through social exclusion, difficulty in progressing through the apprenticeship program, degrading sexual remarks, bullying, and physical and sexual violence (Denissen, 2010a; Denissen & Saguy, 2014; Eisenberg, 1998; Ibáñez, 2016; Martin, 1988.) This leads to women feeling isolated, fearful for

their physical safety, mentally drained, or in some cases, forced to leave their jobs (Eisenberg, 1998, p. 123; Moir, 2011; Thomson, 2018). Women report altering their dress, speech, and behaviour at work in order to blend in with "the guys" and to decrease their visibility as the lone female worker (Kanter, 1993; Schroedel, 1985). Such changes can also be used to mask one's sexuality to prevent SAH (Miller, 2004; Moore, 1981, p. 13). Nagy and Teixeira, in their study of women working in natural resource extraction projects in B.C, separate harassment into three types: "(a) denigration of female workers' competency; (b) women's appearance or behavior judged as not sufficiently, or inappropriately, feminine; (c) and sexualization of women." (2020, p. 163). These findings are consistent with the broader literature.

"Just go to work" and "Me vs. other girls"

In this thesis, I introduce new ideas about masculinity and gender at work. These are discursive tools and affects that I have identified in the unique context of trades work in natural resource extraction industries. I utilize in vivo terms to describe them, drawn from phrases and key ideas I heard repeated by participants: "just go to work" and "me vs. other girls." They serve as core themes for this project because of their prevalence and significance to the women's stories of GH in this specific context of masculinized work. These concepts opened up lines of inquiry for the project; they repeatedly encouraged me to ask, what is being captured when this phrase is used? "Just go to work" acts as the overarching frame for the thesis, particularly the everyday strategies to navigate harassment. Me vs. other girls is a related concept to JGTW particularly around the development of affect and personal appearance. These concepts build on extant literature and are the key scholarly contributions of the thesis.

"Just go to work"

I heard, over the course of this study, many variations of the phrase "just go to work" from participants, some like Molly's earlier assertion "take it as it is, and whatever," and others:

"I just do what I have to, just go to work."
"I was just there to work"
"We're here to work, not get boyfriends or get pregnant"
"Keep your head down and work"
"Go there, do your job, go home."
"You're not there to party, you're there to work"
"No drama, just go out there, and do your job."

These kind of statements were frequently offered as advice for other tradeswomen. They became central to my understanding of gendered harassment at work. Men also practice a version of "just go to work" in this job culture, an acceptance and management of the physical and mental health risks of work, shift cycles, and FIFO structure. However, for women, there is an additional set of labours that they must do in order to survive or possibly even thrive in the trades industry, to retain and sustain the possibility of work in the industry. These are the labours they learn and undertake in order to avoid, manage, prevent, and deflect harassment. They must negotiate the potential for physical and sexual violence in a male-dominated space and utilize affective labour to cope with the occupational culture. The goal for tradeswomen is to seamlessly integrate into the workplace. The occupational culture demands that their labour and effort to do so remains hidden from view.

On the surface, "just go to work" is a basic instruction for women: they should attend work and go home. They should engage only in paid labour while at camp, meaning no drama, no partying, no boyfriends, no pregnancies, just working to make their paycheque and get home at the end of the rotation. However, as I learned as my project unfolded, "just go to work" is much more than a personal aphorism about staying focused and not getting distracted. Hidden

behind this surface meaning, and more importantly, JGTW refers to the host of additional kinds of labour women perform, by necessity, if they are going to "make it" in male occupational culture. This is the work of navigating harassment and not disrupting the dominant culture; the current running beneath tradeswomen's work experiences.

Participants repeatedly told me about the satisfaction they derive from trades work. It gives them a sense of physical and financial independence which contributes to their confidence and sense of self. In order to sustain this, they have to manage the extreme conditions of their work, most importantly, harassment and the masculine occupational culture. They have to emotionally and physically comport themselves in accordance to the norms of this restrictive work environment. In order to protect the integrity of their work, their pride and satisfaction, they need to manage their environment and harassment.

The conditions of work determine the JGTW responses that are possible in this environment such as conforming to masculine standards of dress. They are saddled with the labour of managing these conditions and of seamlessly enfolding the effort of JGTW into the dominant work culture. This is supported by findings in the literature, particularly Paap's identification of the "culture of no complaints" in construction work. She argues that the implicit agreement on a construction site is that workers must accept/manage the conditions or get out. To complain is to violate this code (2006, p. 145). In this thesis, "just go to work" is a gendered version of the "culture of no complaints," as it requires women to compartmentalize, manage, and strategize around the gendered conditions of work. This process is normalized and perpetuated over time and across work sites. Paap notes that people who are supportive of women in the trades are usually aware of harassment and want to put a stop to it, but they also are cognizant of the norms of construction; "the responses [to harassment], both formal and

informal, are generally focused on how the person who is *offended* should act" (2006, p. 145). What are you, an individual, going to do today, against greater structural problems? What are you going to do to make this space manageable for yourself, immediately, on a day-to-day basis? This is often translated to "just go to work," which has become normalized and standard practice for women in the trades.

In this thesis, I attempt to demonstrate the ongoing labour of "just go to work," as tradeswomen enter the field and then stay in the field. They may encourage other women to conform to the culture to reduce their exposure to harassment through friendly advice, bullying, or exclusion. Some of these actions may serve to reinforce or implement the norms of the masculine culture of work, like the independence, competitiveness, and self-interest. Denissen argues that this does not mean that tradeswomen are complicit in reproducing the dominant gendered system (2010b). Tradeswomen complying with stereotypes are not passively accepting the system but utilizing "strategic agency in managing double binds" at all times (Denissen, 2010b, p. 1065). This constitutes an "active and concerted resistance at the level of gender interaction and identity construction" (Denissen, 2010b, p. 1066). The strict masculine culture of work is uncomfortable for women, but they mimic some of its features and manage it in order to just go to work, to survive the shift, the rotation, the contract, and move onto the next job.

JGTW is about personal self-preservation. Women may have only enough room/power/effort to carve out space for themselves at work. Participants stressed the importance of blending in and acquiescing to the male occupational culture while on the job but outside of work, they engage in women's advocacy efforts, like volunteering for programs that promote women in the trades. It appeared contradictory to me to argue that women should "let it go" when harassed at work and then help other women in their spare time, but I learned this is

the heart of JGTW. Changing the male occupational culture and ending harassment is so difficult due to this tension. Women are isolated from one another at work. They use masculinity to their advantage while on the job, thereby reproducing it and strengthening the masculine occupational culture and developing expectations of behaviour for other women entering the industry. This is not an acceptance of that culture, rather a short term, individualized, means to an end for tradeswomen, a way to just go to work. In the conclusion of the thesis, I will explore JGTW through the lens of Katz's resilience, reworking, and resistance work (2004). JGTW is a form of resilience, in that it is about using one's limited power and agency to get through the shift and employing a wide range of strategies to do so. After work, when not constrained by the masculine occupational culture, women have the option of engaging in reworking or resistance practices.

"Me vs. other girls"

A second key finding of this thesis is the gendered discourse of "me vs. other girls." This is a component of just go to work, as tradeswomen labour to distance themselves from other women in order to succeed in the masculine workplace. This is part of the necessity of self-preservation, as women are forced by the occupational culture to focus on their personal success alone and are isolated from other women. This discourse consisted of reflections and stories told by tradeswomen in which they contrasted their personal successes or experiences at work to those of a lesser, timid female co-worker. They often referred to fellow tradeswomen as "catty" or "sensitive" to highlight the differences between them and women who presented and/or read as more feminine. I became aware of this concept during an exploratory research project conducted in the winter semester of 2019. I expand on the idea in this thesis project.

Tradeswomen are often subjected to a "double bind" situation at work (Denissen, 2010b). This is a prevalent issue in many areas of non-traditional areas of work for women. They are simultaneously expected to present themselves in accordance with their feminine sex role while conforming to the masculine occupational culture of work; they should "do it like a man," but be "lady-like" (Denissen, 2010b, p. 1057). However, femininity and competence are seen as mutually exclusive, so it appears impossible for women to win in this double bind situation (Denissen & Saguy, 2014). Denissen argues that the gendered contradictions women experience at work make them "consciously aware of gender boundaries thus facilitating more reflexive, varied, and instrumental gender practices on their part" (2010b, p. 1058). Me vs. other girls is a manipulation of these gender boundaries. Women are working to be tough and exude a masculine attitude, while also monitoring feminine stereotypes and the actions of other women around them at work.

Furthermore, the literature shows that spending time with female co-workers highlights tradeswomen's femininity regardless of their dress or behaviour (Denissen & Saguy, 2014). In addition, women who associate with other tradeswomen may be subjected to gendered homophobia. The masculine occupational culture deploys "the specter of lesbianism to stymie gender solidarity and political activism" (Denissen & Saguy, 2014, p. 397). When women are isolated from one another, their strategic agency is limited. They are discouraged from working together, resulting, in part, in the "me vs. other girls" discourse within the construction trades, and furthering the individuality of JGTW. It reinforces masculine norms and limits opportunities for change.

One of the reasons why I choose to focus only on women's experiences of gendered harassment at work is that these findings, these forms of labour, are more intensive and

differentiated for women. The unequal distribution of power along gendered lines results in a series of compromises for women in order JGTW. They are forced to manipulate gender boundaries at a higher rate than men in the same fields. All workers in this context are exposed to harassment and extreme conditions of work, but women must engage in more varied gendered practices to survive/thrive in this environment. However, these practices do not ultimately result in their acceptance or assimilation into the masculine occupational culture. There is no final key to success, there is always an element of precarity and risk for women, and always the ongoing labor of managing another day of GH on the job.

Women end up paying for the masculine occupational culture, through the effects of harassment and the work they must do to manage harassment. JGTW entails women isolating themselves from other women and reproducing masculine power structures. This allows them, in the short term, to work, earn money, and survive in this environment. They gain access to the job they are passionate about and earn competitive wages. However, cultural change on a long-term scale requires additional, external support, in the form of policy development, recruitment efforts, and a clear cultural shift.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into three core chapters. Chapter 2 documents the everyday strategies I have identified that women use to respond to gendered harassment at work. These are the elements of "just go to work," the practices that allow tradeswomen, to a degree, to fit in, in order to maintain their place on the job. I divide them into five areas of strategic management: bodily practices, personal character, relationships, physical space, and direct encounters.

All of the strategies overlap in varying ways. This is explored in practice in chapters 3 and 4 based on participants' reflections. Chapter 3 explores women's introduction to the industry, their decision to join the trades, early attempts to establish themselves, and their first major encounter with harassment. This explores their early learning and usage of daily strategies, and their introduction to the concept of "just go to work."

Chapter 4 examines how GH is systemically entrenched in the occupational culture of work. It continues to follow the arc of women's careers in the trades, and their deepening practice of JGTW, and the consequences and trade-offs of these labours.

The last chapter, the conclusion, summarizes the key findings of this project and briefly explores gender equality advocacy work in the trades, through the lens of Katz and resistance work. I conclude by highlighting areas for future research and inquiry.

Chapter 2: "Just go to work" Strategies

There are a range of strategies that women use to respond to gendered harassment at work. Harassment at work comes in varying forms with material and affective consequences for women. Some of the most notable and pervasive forms of harassment identified in this study were: unwanted and intensive attention (such as constantly being stared at), sexual comments, questioning and undermining women's authority, and special treatment on the job site ("easier" or less physical tasks). Participants also reported instances of physical and sexual violence at work. This behaviour requires a response from tradeswomen if they are to continue to work and advance in the industry.

In this chapter, I outline the strategies that women utilize in order to address, cope with, combat, and avoid harassment. I introduce the kinds of work women have to do in order to go to work. I divide this work into five areas of strategic management: bodily practices, traits and mannerisms, relationships, physical space, and direct encounters. While these strategies are distinct from one another, they form a repertoire for tradeswomen to use to deflect different kinds of harassment. They support and reinforce one another but may be used at different times based on the context. By identifying and describing the "toolkit" tradeswomen use in the industry, I set the stage for the following chapter, which explores women's lived practice of deploying this stock of strategies as they encounter and navigate experiences of harassment.

Bodily Practices

Tradeswomen engage in physical work as part of their job, but also take steps to physically comport themselves for protection at work. They alter their physical appearance to blend into their environment and with their male co-workers. Participants also reported practicing self-care

in order to sustain themselves physically and mentally at work. These practices require time and energy in order to prevent and endure harassment.

Participants reported altering their physical appearance in order to blend into the workforce and deflect attention from co-workers. To do so, they avoided makeup or nail polish, wore dark colored men's workwear, and wore their hair cut short or tied back. At camp, when not in work clothes, they avoided wearing tank tops or shorts and instead chose loose, comfortable clothing, high neck tops, or pajamas. If the camp has a shared bathroom, women noted that they must get fully dressed to walk down the hall; they would not leave their room in a nightgown or pajama shorts to avoid being seen by a male co-worker in the shared hall. Alternatively, one participant, Stephanie, commented that regardless of what she wears men stare at her at camp, so she chooses to wear what she feels comfortable in, like a T-shirt and leggings. Many participants acknowledged the obstinacy of harassment in some way but stated that they did not want to make it any worse so took steps to conform.

The dark, loose dress style described is influenced by Women Building Futures training courses which several participants had taken. They reported that they were encouraged to avoid drawing attention to themselves with their appearance while at work. Tips included not fidgeting with their clothes, wearing bibs to avoid exposing their lower back when bending over, wearing high necked tops, not wearing perfume, and having hair back and secure. The tips were both practical, with recommendations of the warmest jackets or best socks, and cultural, to learn to blend in with the environment and appear as a masculine figure. The altering of physical appearance was of particular importance for Rachel who identifies as a transwoman; her experience demonstrates the complications of this strategy. WBF's formal teaching and the informal strategy of "blending in" assumes a gender binary – an individual can either appear as a

masculine or feminine figure on the jobsite, but the only acceptable version is masculine. Rachel noted that it is not her goal to "pass" (as a woman) while working, but to wear clothes that make her feel comfortable and able to work. Therefore, Rachel chooses men's workwear. She found that this does not lead to being misgendered onsite. Her personal strategy identifies the complications of the gender binary and the goal of WBF's training, to deflect harassment, when Rachel has chosen to dress for her comfort, for herself, not others. Her experience pushes us to consider more nuanced strategies of dress. These are exceptions that point to the overarching rule of dress that tradeswomen are pressured to conform to.

While tradeswomen alter their physical appearance to blend into their environment, they must also manage their physical bodies and emotional self at work, as summed up by Molly: "take care of yourself, because no one is going to take care of you out there." The highly physical and fast-paced setting of resource extraction work creates risks for all workers. However, the additional gendered risks for tradeswomen, like gendered harassment or sexual violence, make it essential for tradeswomen to take further measures to monitor and protect their health at work. Some participants felt they needed to gain back some level of advantage against the guys at work because they are a foot shorter and a hundred pounds lighter than their co-workers. To "prove" themselves, those participants need to be able to physically keep up with the guys. Their mental and physical health must be maintained through selfcare practices in order to do their job.

Women must ensure that their body is protected and physically fit enough to do their work. To do so, they utilize or engage in the following kinds of practices: working out to maintain work readiness (like meeting weight lifting requirements, cardio level to climb stairs), stretching after work for recovery, preparing for all weather conditions (layers, sunscreen),

eating well and regularly, sleeping, abstaining from alcohol, using natural or from home remedies for sore muscles like essential oils, bringing personal cleaning supplies to avoid getting sick in camp (with attention to door handles, bathrooms, and other shared spaces with potential for contracting disease), enforcing and adhering to safety culture/policies and refusing unsafe work. They cannot be fatigued, sick, too sore or injured to work and therefore must take the time, energy, and resources to stay healthy.

Activities to maintain physical health are supported and reinforced by positive mental health practices. Participants stressed the importance of positive thinking and mindfulness in order to "be tough," maintain their mood, and keep their spirits up in the face of harassment. Tradeswomen described practicing mediation, mindfulness exercises, phoning friends and family for emotional support, and engaging in recreational activities to unwind like watching TV or knitting to maintain their own mental health. Many participants cited the negative culture in the trades, crews complaining about the weather, the food, the work, which can bring down the entire project like a viral sickness. To work through this and GH, many felt that positive mental health practices were imperative to working in the industry.

These strategies produce a base for tradeswomen to build off of and utilize other daily strategies. These bodily practices allow tradeswomen to proactively protect themselves from the emotional and physical effects of work and their work environment.

Character Traits and Mannerisms

Tradeswomen employ, develop, and learn how to perform a series of character traits and mannerisms to manage harassment at work. Some of these skills they already have and are developed further on the job, and others that they learn anew or in the context itself. These skills are a series of subjective attributes that deflect harassment. Supported by a positive mental health

regime, tradeswomen project character traits to conform to the masculine culture of the trades. These are expressed through work habits, speech, and other forms of communication. Participants identified these traits, especially when giving advice about how other tradeswomen should act while at work and expressed through their speech and mannerisms during the interviews. The central character traits that tradeswomen utilize, cultivate, and develop at work are: "being tough," patience, confidence, and having a sense of humour. Like the physical armour of dress and self-care, tradeswomen also develop a social armour provided by these traits or mannerisms. They work together to help women blend into the masculine norms of the industry, while also preventing and responding to harassment in the context of frontier masculinity.

"Being tough" is often linked to "having a tough skin." Participants often referred to these traits as key to succeeding as a woman in the workplace. Being tough serves two purposes: to create an amour, a strong exterior that wards off harassment, and to bolster personal resilience. Tradeswomen need to exude toughness to their co-workers, but they also must not allow harassment to affect their working habits or self-esteem. This is expressed in varying ways. It can mean establishing a loud, noticeable, masculine affect at work by "giving it back to the guys," such as by making crude jokes and comments in group conversations. April said, laughingly, "I don't take a lot of shit from anybody, I do very well in my trade, I don't get intimidated very often, I'm usually the intimidating one." Participants said they may swear and yell at guys. This projects an aggressive demeanour and signals to co-workers that the tradeswoman is strong, and as April highlighted, will not "take shit," accept harassment. Heather experienced push back from men in her family about her job as an ironworker, but she described her reaction as: "You know what? Fuck you. I'm going to show you that I got this." Many

participants described their longevity in their career as a fight, they fought to maintain in their place, for the right to a job and to continue attending every day.

While participants needed to express toughness externally, they must also be tough for themselves, resilient in the face of challenging conditions of work. They do so by not taking harassment or poor treatment "personally" and letting it affect them. For example, many participants stressed that they cannot react to a sexist comment in an emotional manner. As Liz put it, "there's no crying in construction," instead, one can yell or curse or make a joke. Tradeswomen expressed that they "don't care" about harassment, they've developed a thick skin to ignore doubt or harassment. This is expressed through stoicism. Being tough is a gendered process as it entails suppressing emotional, feminine reactions. It is about the expression of seriousness, toughness and the simultaneous active suppression, or turning off, of "soft" traits. Molly, an insulator, remarked that her personality was too soft for the industry. She considers herself to be too kind and open hearted. A female friend, who worked as a crane operator, told Molly, "you're way too nice to be in the trades… you need to be cunt." Molly said she attempts to puts away her kindness while at work and be tough. To be "too nice" in the trades is to be vulnerable, it is necessary to be is tough in order to not be taken advantage of by co-workers.

Being tough was often described by participants in particular gendered terms: to be a "bitch" or a "cunt." Both of these terms are derogatory descriptions of women and female genitalia, and while they have been reclaimed in some feminist circles as term of empowerment, in this study context, they are insulting. The literature notes the "Bitch-Dyke-Whore taxonomy" used to describe women in the trades (Paap, 2006), also supported by my findings. Women were labelled as one of the three, based on their interest in sexual advances from co-workers, their professional skills, appearance, and other factors. Being labelled a bitch differs from acting like a

bitch, but the two are related. Paap (2006) argues that this triptych reflects and reproduces male dominance in the industry. She noted that "bitch" may be the most favourable type, as a bitch figure can be productive, in a way that dyke or whore cannot as they are sexual objects and/or "figures of inherent disrespect" (Paap, 2006, p. 206). In the culture of work, tradeswomen should be tough in order to fit in, but then are relegated to the category of "bitch" or "cunt" unlike their male colleagues.

Toughness is established by "proving yourself" on the job. This is a common initiation rite across many work setting for novices, but I examine the particular gendered connation of this practice here and later in Chapter 3. Participants expressed that new female apprentices or any woman on a new job site needs to prove herself to her co-workers. She does so by working hard to establish her skill set and reputation on site by performing the crappiest jobs without compliant, working harder than male peers, and performing her duties without error. It is both an expression of stoicism and a way to ignore GH. When Brooke was on a job as a second-year electrical apprentice she was put in charge of ordering materials for the job, but this was an administrative duty for first year apprentices. She said, "even a couple of my other co-workers were like, when they heard that, they kind of shook their heads, and said that isn't right, but um, I stuck through it, I did that for a few months." Later, her foreman told her the site was hiring administrative staff who would take over the material ordering, because, he told her, "you know you're not an admin assistant, you're an apprentice electrician." Brooke said, "And I'm kinda thinking in my head, well, yeah, (laughs) of course I am, I just kinda, okay yeah, sure, sounds good." Brooke did her assigned duty without complaint or comment even though she knew, as did co-workers, that it was below her role.

This is where the character trait of patience comes in; it is necessary for tradeswomen to be patient with themselves and their co-workers as their personal career skills improve and co-workers become comfortable with having a woman on the crew with time. This also connects to the trait of confidence; as in any career, with experience and time in the industry, one's confidence grows in skills, knowledge and teaching capabilities. This is of particular importance for women, as their early mistakes or questions on the job will be more closely monitored due to their minority status. Seniority and confidence in skills makes it easier to be tough; they support and reinforce one another. It is easier to shrug off a sexist comment if you know you can outwork or outperform that individual. Several participants framed being patient and building confidence as a form of revenge on past antagonists. If the tradeswoman is tough enough to stick it out at a difficult job, they have proved the men wrong and have gained an edge in the industry for their strength. The edge being that they learned their trade and worked hard while surviving gendered harassment.

To smooth over a tough, confident exterior, the final key character trait for women to adopt or emphasize while working in the trades is humour. Humour is about being funny, gregarious and witty, and it is also about deflecting harassment by "having a sense of humour" when responding to harassment. Someone with a "sense of humour" may find a sexist or racist comment funny instead of offensive and will laugh it off instead of filing a complaint. They will frame it is a joke, instead of an expression of a person's opinion about a marginalized group, in order to manage and/or survive the situation. Many of the women interviewed for this study described scenarios that were so outlandish, shocking, or surprising, that they felt they could either laugh or cry, so they chose humour in order to sustain themselves, and continue on with their work.

In this way, humour fills several functions. A common form of harassment is "joking" about women onsite in a mocking or sexual manner. This is often directly responded to with the strategy of humour. By laughing it off, humour dismisses harassment and allows tradeswomen to participate in conversation and the social culture of the job site. It is also a non-confrontational way to address problematic behaviour when someone has crossed a line, and/or to subdue slippery moments or tricky conduct. April, an electrician, said that she will subdue an instance of GH by saying "whoa shut 'er down!" in a light-hearted tone to communicate that they must stop but not stop talking to her. Being funny smooths out an interaction and maintains the flow of conversation and relationships.

Humour can also be used to establish toughness. If a tradeswoman responds in kind to obscene or harassing joke – "I gave it as good as I got" – she demonstrates her comfort in the culture of work. Some participants commented on their personal sense of "dirty" or "crude" humour. Maddy used "subtle funny, witty ways to shut [guys] down. And you're not getting any, and you're not upsetting me or intimidating me in anyway." It lets the aggressor know that they are not going to the subject of a complaint, but also that the tradeswoman is not intimidated by their comment. However, when "giving it back" to guys, participants noted that one needs to be selective with the type of humour used. Some participants felt that sex jokes open the door for SAH, and can be a slippery slope, while others felt it created a sense of camaraderie with the crew and allowed them to be included. This was a personal decision for participants based on their personality and comfort level based on the context. Some participants expressed that they did not want conversation to stop when they walked into a room because co-workers worried that they would be offended. They wanted to blend in and not call any additional attention to themselves. Therefore, having a sense of humour allows the tradeswomen to be a part of the

community, albeit in a precarious manner. The possibility of being excluded is always present in social interactions but having a sense of humour may help this ward off temporarily.

To be tough, confident, patient, and/or funny at work, a tradeswoman needs to exert a significant amount of energy to maintain this attitude for her co-workers and for herself. Ultimately, these character traits and mannerisms have short-term and long-term effects as they allow a participants to be recognized by/recognizable to the masculine culture of work and to establish their reputation in the industry.

Spatial and Temporal Maneuvering

Tradeswomen staying at a work camp for a shift rotation live within extremely close quarters with their co-workers. They must manage the space around them in the unique environment of a work site and camp in order to reduce the likelihood of harassment. The central complaint tradeswomen had about shared spaces in camp, particularly the cafeteria, was the feeling of being constantly stared at. They described this sensation as “creepy,” “scary,” and overall, exhausting. They wanted to reduce the time spent under the (literal) male gaze and being subject to crude comments or jokes. To do so, many women choose to isolate themselves from co-workers. They physically remove themselves from or reduce time spent in places where they might be exposed to GH.

The extended shift and rotation schedule of FIFO work necessitates that everyone working in this setting have a strict post-work routine, often described as eat, shower, sleep. The work schedule places restrictions on their free time. However, women in the trades are further limited by this strategy of isolation. Women reported avoiding shared recreational spaces in camp in order to limit their time spent with co-workers. They typically did not use shared spaces

like common rooms, the gym, lounge and/or any scenario where alcohol was present (while also noting that they wouldn't do this in the city).

When they are in mandatory-use shared spaces, like the cafeteria or laundry room, they take steps to isolate themselves. These include eating alone in the cafeteria, often with headphones on to deter conversation, and walking quickly through communal hallways with their head down. Hallways are a space where one might encounter male co-workers in their towels coming out of the bathroom or in their underwear picking up their laundry. Several participants noted that they avoid eye contact with men in communal spaces as it would be interpreted as an invitation. They have 'blinders' on for the duration of their stay in camp.

The level or amount of interaction depends on the design of the camp. Access to one's own physical space and the ability to isolate is affected by the time of year. Whether or not one can go outside affects space from others, especially on the job site. There is typically a warmup trailer or lunch room that is shared by co-workers during their breaks. Rachel tries to use her breaks to relax. To do so, she says:

> I typically don't like the noise in the lunch room, so I eat my lunch as fast as I can and then go sit outside. Get some quiet, that's typically my response. If I need nap, a nod, I'll close my eyes, lean against a wall. That's kind of my response to things. It's harder to do in the winter of course.

She takes independent space for herself at work by going outside, resting during the lunch break, but when everyone is forced inside during the winter, there is more interaction and a higher contact rate. The extreme weather conditions in northern Alberta are challenging and present as an additional factor for women's ability to isolate.

The strategy of isolation is more difficult to execute while at work, due to the collective nature of construction work, but still possible. Participants observed that it is easier to isolate, and obtain space for themselves, while working the night shift. The majority of the camp

dwellers work the day shift (typically 7 AM – 7 PM), resulting in a smaller crew for the night shift (7 PM – 7 AM). When off shift (during the day) the camp is almost empty because the majority of the workforce is out on the job site. There is more room to spread out in the cafeteria, and there are fewer people in the hallways or in the gym. Tradeswomen can use common spaces that they would not feel comfortable using during the evenings when they are packed with guys. The night shift is known for adverse health effects, such as disruption to circadian rhythms, but women often reported it was worth this additional stressor in order to secure a peaceful and quiet shift. Heather works nights, and she said, "I don't know how some women can actually work days, because I know I got terrified. I got terrified and you know, it's just like, I don't think I could ever really do that again." There were so many people on her initial day shift schedule and Heather said she was frequently approached and harassed by male co-workers on the job and in the evenings in the lounge. She found the night shift to be quieter and therefore easier to focus on her job and selfcare after work.

Tradeswomen also reported purposefully dodging co-workers or people from camp who may have approached them in the past, made inappropriate comments, or spread rumours. Molly said if she visits the smoke pit, "I'll bullshit with [a co-worker] but I gotta go man, and then I'm going to avoid the shit out of you from there on in, but you just get used to it." In the future, she may choose to take a trip to the smoke pit only after seeing a particular individual leave in order to avoid a confrontation or awkward encounter. By doing so, they maintain the peace and do not incite further harassment from the individual.

Part of the strategy of isolation is purposefully not forming close bonds, friendships, or sexual relationships with men at camp. The threat of SAH makes it difficult to form safe, non-threatening bonds, and therefore many participants choose to keep to themselves while on

rotation. However, this social isolation also potentially places tradeswomen at a strategic advantage point in work settings. By keeping their distance from a crew of guys, their voice may be more effective when interjecting about safety concerns or permit policies. One participant reported that because she is not "buddies" with the crew she can act as the "bad guy" to enforce tough calls. They also may establish a reputation of only stepping in when something is very important and gain the respect (but not necessarily the friendship) of the crew.

Avoidance of and isolation from shared spaces reduces exposure to harassment and it also can support the strategy of self-care. By separating themselves from co-workers, tradeswomen claim independent time to recharge, by calling home, relaxing, and preparing for the following shift. Participants said that they spend 12 hours with their crew, they do not see a need to spend any more time with the guys. They have little control over their work situation but can enact their own agency after work by separating themselves from their crew. However, this can be lonely and place a strain on women and may require women to "be tough." Tradeswomen need to be strong and resilient enough to deal with both the consequences of harassment *and* the consequences of avoiding harassment. It is not always possible to avoid interaction or harassment and further strategies, of selecting positive, protective relationships and confronting direct encounters, are necessary, and explored in the next two sections.

Picking and Establishing Relationships

While one strategy, as discussed above, involves isolating oneself from interactions with male co-workers, yet another strategy proactively and selectively seeks to establish protective relationships. Tradeswomen work in a unique environment that requires constant interaction with co-workers through 12-hour shifts and in shared camp spaces after work. The nature of trades work means that there is some level of interaction throughout a shift – apprentices learn from

journeymen, safety policy may require work partners, and the crew collaborates on the project as a whole. To combat harassment, women may establish protective relationships with co-workers or superiors in order to deflect harassment and/or gain assistance. When approaching these relationships, tradeswomen must be strategic. In relation to "picking your battles," (explored in the next section) tradeswomen are engaged in a strategic screening process to assess and evaluate male co-workers on the job and at camp. This is a proactive strategy to gauge their longer-term risk factor as opposed to the in-the-moment assessment process of an interaction.

In order to establish protective relationships with men on site tradeswomen must engage in a process of screening to evaluate their actions, behaviours, and words to assess if they are a threat. This was most commonly cited by participants in relation to friendship – does this guy actually want to be my friend or does he want to sleep with me? This process requires a constant state of vigilance. Participants emphasized the need to be cautious of co-workers during initial interactions; one cannot instantly be open or friendly to men when they first meet.

Screening requires knowledge about "types" of men which is built on life experience and time spent in the industry in the unique masculine culture of the trades. With this experience, women are able to ascertain a "vibe" from guys based on sustained eye contact, lingering, focused attention, and sexualized comments or actions. Amanda said, "it's kind of like a natural screening process for me now," in order to find out who she can talk to and who's got her back on her crew. Reading and documenting this these signs becomes a reflex at work; many participants said now they can pick up on a vibe quickly at each new job site. When getting to know someone at camp, participants said they would carefully assess the invitations guys made to them for SAH. For example, watching a movie in a private room early on in a friendship is a warning sign and should be taken as an expression of sexual interest. But hanging out in a public

space, such as playing cards with a group in a recreation room, may be appropriate. Drinking was generally considered to be a red flag. While this screening process may sound familiar to many women outside of the trades, it is important to note the difficulties and fine balancing act necessary in the confined camp space and limited opportunities for recreation. Participants are not only trying to root out the creepy guys, they are also trying to find an ally or group of allies that can be counted on for support, to be social with, and deflect harassment.

Once an assessment has been conducted, some tradeswomen may choose to establish protective relationships on site. These relationships are non-romantic friendships or alliances with men on their crew or in camp in order to have a platonic companion, a front that prevents GH or SAH from other men, and someone to trust on the crew. This seems to be a strategic decision and active search for some participants but a natural negotiation of friendship for other women.

The ideal relationship model with a guy on site is a "brother," a jocular, chummy, and inherently non-sexual relationship. Some participants commented that they mainly hung out with their brothers and guy friends growing up, so this was a natural pattern for them to fall into with co-workers. It was a clear model for them to use when approaching men onsite. A brother will intervene if something untoward happens and will include women in social interactions. "Brothers" also refers to a union brotherhood; a sign of solidarity and trust between members.

A subsection of the "brother" relationship is a father figure, typically an older journeyman who takes on a younger female apprentice to mentor and treats her like a daughter. Several participants credited dad-types for their knowledge of their trade. They appreciated that the older men looked out for them and encouraged younger male co-workers to be respectful towards women. Three participants emphasized that one of the things they like the best about

camp-based work is the depth of relationships that are created in this space where the crew becomes "family."

Having a brother on site acts as a masculine deterrent for SAH which was often referred to as "cockblocking." Other men are deterred from hitting on or talking to a woman because she appears "taken" or shielded by another man. Participants reported being less likely to be approached in the cafeteria by other men if she was already sitting with a male friend. This makes it easier to relax or participate in social interactions these spaces.

While a woman may have proactively made friends with brothers at camp, there are also times when she may need to ask for help to deal with harassment from co-workers, superiors, or management. There are only a few opportunities for women to ask for help and seek out a change in her work environment before her professional reputation is at risk (this is explored further in relation to "picking your battles" in the next section.) Before asking for help from a superior, tradeswomen should attempt to document the pattern of harassment and give their foreman "hints" or warnings about the behaviour. This way, the tradeswoman's request for help is more likely to be believed and responded to by their boss. Participants reflected that it is easier to gain support with documentation, brothers backing up the story, or letting the boss know as harassment occurs. The request for help cannot be unforeseen and should be well supported in order to garner support.

This strategy is only used under certain conditions. The harassment has to have been sustained over a long period of time or recently become elevated; it typically has progressed to sexual harassment, threat of physical or sexual violence, or actual physical or sexual violence. Participants recounted asking for help from a superior in a situation when there was a change that needed to be made that they could not enact independently, like moving a guy to a different crew

or camp. The goal was often not a consequence for the perpetrator, but about ending the treatment so the tradeswoman could "just go to work."

The management of personal and professional relationships onsite is important for reducing harassment and gaining support from management in times of distress. But even with these strategies in place, sometimes it is still impossible to physically avoid an encounter, and therefore tradeswomen need strategies to meet harassment head on.

Handling the Encounter

While some JGTW strategies aim to reduce the likelihood or possibility of GH, tradeswomen also need a set of skills to directly confront and address GH in the moment it occurs. This process consists of several components: picking your battles, shutting it down, and letting it go. I heard many times from participants that it is necessary to "pick your battles" at work. Tradeswomen are engaged in a strategic assessment of a situation to determine if they will engage or not and to what degree they will engage. After assessing, they will either "shut it down" or "let it go." Both of these processes require a careful navigation of the scenario that will be summarized here and explored in depth in further chapters.

Due the nature of the culture of the industry, the participants in this project acknowledged that there would be some level of GH or "joking" at work, but limited opportunities for women to oppose this kind of behaviour. Therefore, it is necessary to "pick your battles," to decide when to ignore a comment or a joke and "let it go," and when a line has been crossed and action must be taken to "shut it down." Participants often expressed, "I'm not going to get offended" by GH or SAH, which builds their "tough" exterior, but also relates to the process of picking battles. It is not just about regularly deflecting problematic comments but also actively deciding what kind of response to use in the moment. Like screening, tradeswomen are engaged in as assessment of

their co-workers and surroundings to determine how to respond to a comment or incident of harassment. If they decide it should be put to a stop a tradeswoman will “shut it down.” Shutting it down consists of immediately addressing an instance of harassment and making it clear that it is unacceptable directly to the perpetrator. A tradeswoman will call the guy out and make it clear that their comment or action was unwanted and unwarranted.

As suggested earlier, humour is a key component of shutting it down. Participants suggested women have a “one liner” in their back pocket to use if a colleague makes a problematic comment, a snappy retort that communicates a clear no and will get a laugh from the other guys on the crew. Sasha recalled a day at work early in her career as an electrician where she was working with a group of guys, all on their knees cutting over a box, and a male colleague said, “look at all you bitches on your knees.” Sasha said this comment was pointed at her, so she responded, “I guess I'm the only one that that doesn’t really offend,” and the crew, including the guy who made the comment, all laughed. With the joke, Sasha shut down the interaction and set a boundary with her crew.

Participants emphasized that it is essential to set a boundary very early on at a new site, job, or camp in order to make it known that they are not interested in any sexual advances and does not take shit. Misty said that women need to communicate, “I'm just here to make money,” while Liz reflected more pointedly, “If they think they can harass you, they will.” This type of behavior can spiral and quickly grow beyond the woman’s control it if it isn’t decisively addressed early on.

A gentler version of “shutting it down” is “steering” guys, a long-term game of shifting the dynamic on a crew. Maddy said she worked on a rig once with a “really good group of guys” and when one co-worker hit on her, she responded: “Man, I am not here for that, and you're not

my type," instead of telling the guy to "fuck off." This requires an assessment of time, effort, and receptiveness of co-workers. This may be used when establishing protective relationships as explored in the previous section.

Another type of "shutting it down" is to reject SAH by explaining that the tradeswoman has a male partner. Some women reported wearing wedding rings (even if they were not married), loudly speaking on the phone to their partner at camp and bringing partners up in conversation. This strategy is less confrontational which may be safer for women depending on their assessment of the scenario and the individual. This invocation of a male partner is more related to the strategy of "cockblocking" as previously described, but this tactic was described by participants as a more in-the-moment action – flashing their wedding ring to a guy, making a phone call to their partner in the middle of dinner.

If, however, the assessment determines that any kind of response would be too dangerous or taxing, tradeswomen may choose to "let it go" and ignore an instance of harassment. As Maddy observed: "You can't give everybody the glare." This kind of behaviour is going to be constant and repetitive, an individual simply does not have time to respond to everything while also working full time, so sometimes it is necessary to let it go, and ignore or not respond to problematic comments. It is necessary to work hard, maintain control over a scenario and be able to "keep the peace" which sometimes results in "a go along to get along kind of thing" as tradeswoman navigate the potential battles and stay within boundaries that are comfortable and controllable. These in-the-moment strategies come together to develop a fast, intensive assessment and reaction process for tradeswomen to execute when confronted with harassment.

These five JGTW strategies, bodily practices, character traits and mannerisms, relationships, spatial maneuvering, and handling direct encounters, are used continuously

through a tradeswoman's career and time in the industry. Together, these actions form a "management 101" plan for tradeswomen that they must work and continue developing throughout their careers. These strategies are in motion all the time, constantly being tested and refined through trial and error, new jobs, and new co-workers. Sometimes tradeswomen learn what is effective by using them the wrong way; they endure the harassment and reassess for next time. The harassment is inevitable, but their response can evolve. As explored in the next chapters, the importance of the strategies change as time goes on and tradeswomen develop their own standards, expectations and goals in the industry. They play out in the lived, biographical experiences of the women as they enter and make their way through the beginning of their career in the trades.

Chapter 3: Entering the Field

Tradeswomen are actively learning about gendered harassment and how to manage it while working. They must be resilient and practical in the face of the masculine culture of work. Tradeswomen receive advice from other women at work, or male co-workers and mentors, external training programs or policies. They synthesize this information in order to learn and practice what it means for them to "just go to work." This is typically an informal, circumstantial, and experiential process, rather than a process of formal learning.

The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how these strategies are developed and practiced as tradeswomen prepare for and enter the workforce, drawing on stories shared by participants. Although Chapter 2 introduced each strategy separately, in the experience of participants, these strategies develop in tandem with one another. Sometimes multiple strategies are used at once in the field. There is no consistent process or guide to action, as their responses change with time and context. Navigating the context of work and practicing "just go to work" becomes normalized.

Trades women's use of these strategies are also shaped by their access to power and privilege in this environment (Rospenda et al., 1998). Race, class, age, sexuality, and other factors affect these strategies; not everyone has access to the same measures at the same times. Some elements of identity may be more salient at sometimes than others, but are always present (Yoder and Aniakudo, 1997). Tradeswomen are constantly learning and re-learning what works and how to survive in this environment. In doing so, they develop their own version and approach to "just go to work." They learn to establish themselves and how to cope with their environment when they enter the field.

To demonstrate this, I have structured this chapter to follow the process most tradeswomen move through: entering the industry, developing a "tough" affect and appearance, screening co-workers, and experiencing harassment for the first time. This chapter follows the loose story arc the majority of the interviews followed: I asked about how the tradeswoman got started in their industry, their first impressions of the job, their first night at camp, and about gender relations at work. Almost all participants had a key memory of an early and/or severe experience of harassment that occurred at camp. These memories left a searing impression for many women. These stories are important for a number of reasons, but for the purposes of this chapter, they contribute to an early impression of the industry, and act as an early lesson in "just going to work" for a tradeswoman. These incidents were foundational to participants' understandings of their work environment. They set the bar for acceptable or unacceptable conduct and how to alter their behaviour or appearance as necessary.

Entering the Industry

Participants in this project entered the trades for a variety of reasons. Some had family in the industry and followed the path of their brothers, fathers, or uncles; others grew up in parts of Alberta where oil and gas was the industry everyone worked in upon graduating from high school; and other women heard ads for Women Building Futures on the radio. They may have started in the industry later in life after switching careers to make more money and access higher wages than the retail or education sector while some joined right out of high school. Other participants were already working in the oil industry in a safety or administrative position and switched over to the trades mid-career. Liz was working in the office of a camp in northern Alberta when she enrolled in an apprenticeship. She described her realization: "The journeyman rate was like $48 an hour or something and here I am making like $25, as an admin, I was like

this is bullshit." She made the change and worked her way up through the apprenticeship process to become a journeywoman electrician.

Regardless of how they started in the trades, most women marked the starting point of their job in reference to the economic downturn of 2015. Some participants had begun their career prior to the downturn and were attracted to the high wages created by the oil boom. After the crash they had to adjust their standards and budgets. It was difficult for several participants to finish their apprenticeships during this period and some were out of a job for years waiting for available work. For everyone, there is less overtime, fewer fly in jobs (more bussing or driving in personal vehicles), no more live out allowance, and overall, less work.

Some participants commented that this made the environment of work more competitive and less collaborative. Erin described this as "throw you under the bus season." If work is scarce and a layoff is coming, the "season" starts. Co-workers undermined others on the crew in order to stay the job as long as possible. This is an expression of the masculinist culture of work. Nagy and Texeira argue that precarious employment creates competition and fuels individualism which worsens conditions of work for women who are already marginalized in this environment (2020). Individualism is a key tenant of frontier masculinity, which centres on "power, competitiveness and self-interest" (Miller, 2004, p. 62). This is both exacerbated and enabled by the precarity of the industry and it is reinforced in both boom and bust periods.

Through advice from family and friends, and living in Alberta, tradeswomen in this study developed an idea about what it would be like to work in natural resource extraction jobs. They were "prepped" to some degree by this information. Some received advice or discouragement from relatives. Many participants had connected with a tradeswomen before starting. This gave them an opportunity to ask questions, engage in some "myth-busting" about what work would be

like, and receive advice. April was taking cosmetology courses when she was introduced to a welder, and "I ended up having a conversation with this lady, I was like I wanna be a welder, this is what I wanna do!" This exchange of information with family and friends about the trades helped participants to decide to enter the industry.

For the most part, women entered the industry with informal, social conceptions of what working in their trade, and in the oil and gas sector specifically, would be like for a woman. In some cases, these conceptions were taught or reinforced through formal training. In Alberta, first year apprentices work before going to school, so for many participants, they started on their first job without any formal training. The majority of the participants went on to NAIT in Edmonton. Several participants took the Women Building Futures (WBF) course "Journeywoman Start" (JWS) before working. This survey course teaches basic work readiness in a variety of trades for women through classes about professional and cultural skills for the industry. Many participants said that this information was very useful as it gave them a sense of confidence when approaching a work site. Brooke remembered these tips from her WBF training:

> The biggest thing was not be flirty with anyone, because, even if you are a good worker, it makes – it gives you a bad image on the job site. Um, your image is … I don't know, it is important, even in a trades job, you wouldn't think it is, but is it. Yeah, not to wear makeup, things like that. Um, that was pretty helpful, those are kinds of things I probably wouldn't have done anyways, but, I don't know, I guess it's helpful to hear from someone else?

For Brooke, it was beneficial to have these types of behaviours clearly outlined and explicitly stated in a formal training setting. They gave her an idea of what to expect and confidence for her first day at work. This range of knowledge about the trades informed women's experiences at their first job. They start with a series of ideas about the trades, and what work is going to be like, these ideas change and evolve as they move through their career.

Establishing Affect and Appearance

With the information gathered from advice, stories from family or friends, and experiential knowledge from growing up in Alberta, most participants said they had an impression of the tough, masculine, intensive environment of the trades-world. They had an idea of what to expect as they headed into their first job as an apprentice or labourer. They knew that to succeed in this environment they would need to blend in at work through their appearance and affect.

The importance of affect and appearance is established early in a tradeswoman's career. Co-workers might be surprised by the introduction of a woman on site, and therefore, they needed to be ready. This was also a part of the application process. Sasha sent in a resume for a job, and when she showed up to the interview, the boss was clearly surprised she was a woman: "I walked in and he saw me, and he went 'this is a chick, and I don't want chicks'" She did not get the job. On Maddy's first day on a rig, she said, "everybody was just like, what the heck's going on? What is this?" They were shocked to see a woman on site and even more surprised to have to work with her. Her presence was a disruption to the masculine space. This visibility is further heightened for women of colour (Buchanan et al., 2008). It is the responsibility of the tradeswoman to respond to the astonishment of their co-workers, to put them at ease by attempting to blend into the environment, to demonstrate their toughness and chill attitude.

To do so, women worked to cultivate a rugged, tomboy affect. Participants said that over the course of the first couple of jobs it was important for women to establish their reputation, to counter the shock of their co-workers. They worked to project an air of being confident, tough, non-feminine, and funny. April reflected on an early job, she said:

> It took a lot of time, probably about a good six months before the guys started actually respecting me, but again, me being me, the personality I had, I didn't let them win, I'm

> stubborn, I'm in their face and I kept pushing and pushing and pushing and eventually it came.

April described herself as a "dominating-type personality," she was determined to push through, and earn acceptance from the crew.

A crucial element of this was the use and avoidance of certain language. Swearing formed a major component of the speech of participants. Swearing grabs attention and commands respect and authority as it exudes toughness. The freedom to swear without concern for the niceties or "political correctness" of an office environment was a benefit to this environment of work for many participants and a major component of the culture.

For example, the word retarded was used by several participants; one used it to describe her young, male co-workers: "[they're] fucking retarded (laughs) like, they're retarded." The term 'retarded' was historically used to describe individuals with intellectual or cogitative disabilities; with the evolution of language, it is now considered to be derogatory and belittling (Johanson-Sebera & Wilkins, 2010; Walsh, 2002). In this context, it is being used in a joking manner to convey the extreme behaviour of the young men at her work site, to demonstrate how different they are from her and what she considers to be friendly or sociable conduct. This term has shock value and is being used within the specific culture of trade work with less concern for "PC culture." It remains offensive but is a part of the tough affect of the job site.

Participants recounted trying to appear confident and ready to work hard even when it was difficult to find a mentor or ask for a help on a job site. Brooke pointed out, "no one likes being the person who doesn't know what they're doing, but everyone kind of goes through that, male or female, um, keep your head down and work." This is true for anyone starting at a new job, but women have the additional burden of attempting to learn from a precarious position. During early days of their first job, participants described feeling scared and then quickly bored

by the simple, repetitive tasks they were given. Allie said of the apprenticeship, "Don't be afraid to fail … I think that's one thing, that a lot of women are just afraid to fail." The risk of failure are much greater for women. If they develop a negative reputation, it spreads quickly through gossip and rumours, it is easy to remember the one woman (and her skill set) on a crew of 500 guys. They were trying to figure out how to do their trade and how to act while doing it. They needed to simultaneously learn all the skills, tools, and practical knowledge of their job, while learning the strategies and social maneuvering women must do at work.

As introduced in the previous chapter, humour is a key strategy to get along with guys and solicit mentorship about their trade (women need someone to take an interest in teaching them, but a non-sexual interest), but it must be learned. April tells women apprentices, "Do you joke about sex? No. Do you joke about penises? No. Do you tell a joke, like what smells like red paint (Griffin: Yeah) blue paint! Or what's blue and smells like red paint? Blue paint – tell jokes like that." April went on to explain that while new female apprentices may hear guys making sex jokes, they should not imitate them because it will attract sexual advance harassment (SAH). This is part of the language they need to be cautious of and avoid using. They need to observe and model some behaviour exhibited by men, like being tough, to ingratiate themselves to their workmates but learn the boundaries for women to prevent GH. It was often a process of trial and error for participants to figure out what worked in early days.

Additionally, as women are developing their tough persona at work, they are also using bodily practices to blend into this masculine environment. They work to comport themselves in accordance with the norms of the environment. Women in the trades "disrupt accepted notions of 'appropriate' embodied employment and are constructed as 'out of place in their workplace" (England & Lawson, 2004, p. 83). This "out of place" status may attract harassment. Through

WBF training, advice from other tradeswomen, and observation on site, many participants said that they choose to wear dark clothes, forgo make-up, hair styling, and nail polish. Misty got into a routine when she started her apprenticeship:

> I would wear bibs and I found that for example, I didn't have to fidget with my clothes, because you know your pants … I didn't have to keep fixing my pants when they were falling down or whatever. So, I never worried about exposing my backside and so it was no fuss, and I would buy certain underwear that was comfortable all day and I just didn't want to look like a female that was always fidgeting with her clothes and losing focus on the job.

Misty's reflection demonstrates the many different elements she must consider when choosing clothes for work. She needs to be warm and comfortable in order to work a 12-hour, outdoor shift, but must also closely monitor her image and appearance in these clothes. She wore bibs to avoid exposing bare skin and risking SAH. She also wanted to appear serious and non-feminine. To "look like a female" signals a casual approach to work and Misty did not want to seem fussy or out of place. This is a key element of the "me vs. other girls" rhetoric. If a woman appears feminine or alters her appearance with make up or hair styling, she must be there to flirt, not to work. Stephanie reflected, "I colour my hair, fill in my eyebrows, get my nails done, but I'm always - but it discredits my work ethics." It has the potential to harm her reputation because she may be associated with the "other girls" and harmful stereotypes about women.

In Houser's ethnography of rig work, he found that women on the job "adopt an aggressively masculine persona and direct it towards male co-workers" (2018, p. 200). In my findings, this was true; tradeswomen need to demonstrate toughness to their co-workers to show that they can handle the demands of the job and the culture of work. However, this tough, masculine persona was also aimed at/about female co-workers through me vs. other girls. Participants often told me stories that explicitly contrasted their own development of toughness and bravery to newbie colleagues who were girlie or naïve. For example, many participants said

in interviews that they quickly adapted to the masculine culture on their first job and then went on to talk about new girls on their site who struggled. These "girls" were too nice, they flirted with co-workers, wore make-up, and/or asked too many questions. Some of these girls adapted and toughened up, with the assistance from other women onsite, but others left the industry because they could not handle the demands of the work and culture. These stories are an expression of the masculine persona/affect, and do not necessarily mean that this was "aimed" at other women on site, but it is important to note that other women are implicated in efforts to establish this tough persona. Tradeswomen are, at time, actively distancing and contrasting themselves with other women in order to distance themselves from what they represent. The masculinist occupational culture demands that this be an active posture, because otherwise women are readily lumped in with other women who present as soft, girlie, etc. Even coming close to being accepted depends on boundary making with "other girls."

These "me vs other girls" stories also illuminate the difficulty of establishing the masculine affect for work. Nagy and Teixeira found in their study of women who FIFO from Kelowna, B.C., that is was necessary for women to find "ways in which to successfully integrate into the dominant culture in order to be accepted and successful among 'the guys'" (2020, p. 157). My findings suggest that it is not possible to ever be fully accepted as one of 'the guys' but following the rules and working to integrate was part of learning how to 'just go to work' and to be successful on the job. Pirotta (2009) observes that this success is always a double bind. One participant in her study of Australian women who FIFO to mining sites, remarked: "They'll push you and push you until you either break or you toughen up and when you toughen they'll either call you a ball breaker or a bitch…" (2009, p .45). A tradeswoman may by tough *like* the guys, but she becomes a bitch instead of *one of* the guys. Her gender remains the barrier to inclusion.

Liz expressed this succinctly: “You don’t have to pretend to be one of the boys, because you're not. I'm not a boy.” She may act tough at work but at the end of the day this behavior can only get her so far. She will never be fully “in.”

Furthermore, if a tradeswoman is not a ‘bitch,’ she is sorted according to the bitch/dyke/whore taxonomy. This is a “closed circuit process;” if a woman defies one category, she will be rerouted to another, perhaps cycling through categories over the course of her career (Paap, 2006, p. 82). She may start as a whore on the first job due to age and naiveté and be rerouted to a bitch once her tough affect is established.

Misty had this taxonomy explained to her on her first industrial job by her foreman, though she remarked, “I couldn’t tell if he was joking or that truly was how he thought.” The foreman said to Misty, “when a woman comes on a site, we put her in three categories. You're either looking - you're hunting for a husband, or you're a man hater, or you're a dyke.” But Misty rerouted herself, and replied, “I'm in category four, I'm a working girl (slaps table). And he didn’t know what to say (laughs).” Misty’s response carved out a space for survival for herself in the tight confines of her environment.

The jobs are made up of the requirements for them. Some participants said they were nervous before their first job about the physical requirements for work. They knew the work would be demanding and some jobs required fitness tests before being hired. The physical expectations and demands make it necessary to “prove yourself” during the first week of work. “Proving yourself” is a general attitude, it is especially important because the expectation for women is low, participants reported repeatedly being undermined or having their skills questioned at work. This is a major element of JGTW, as Molly described her attitude towards her employer, “I'm going to show you that I'm going to work my ass off.” She was going to work

extremely hard in the face of GH to prove her worth to her employer. This was a continuous process for Molly. However, sometimes women are directly called upon to to literally prove their abilities, as Sasha was through a test. Sasha remembers being sent to collect a 12-foot ladder from the shop in the early days of her apprenticeship. She said, "I think [her co-workers] were thinking that I wasn't going to be able to do it by myself, that I'd have to call for help" but she arrived with the ladder on her own and passed this "test" set for her. Sasha thought this was a test they would have given to any apprentice, not just a woman. Men are tested or hazed in this environment too. However, there are gendered connotations to this form of testing. The bar is set higher for women to prove themselves. They must both meet the standards for an apprentice and overcome stereotypes about women in the industry. Nagy and Teixeira state that for women in the trades, "… having to prove one's competence and abilities is both a barrier and a coping strategy" (2020, p. 169). Sasha was rewarded for retrieving the ladder; it was a tangible way for her to establish her reputation that she was tough and ready to work, but it also presents as a barrier to work.

Physical stature and ability were highly salient to "proving yourself" at work. It is important here to consider that the standards of work in this industry are set at the default of the white male worker body (Wolkowitz, 2006, p. 64). The base level, the standard, is a barrier for women entering the industry, and is exacerbated by race, sexuality, and other factors. Misty was doing commercial electrical work and wanted to switch to industrial but was discouraged by her boss. He said to Misty, "oh no, you'll never make – you, you'll have to pull these big cables. You can't do that." A little while later, Misty met another woman at school who was an industrial electrician. Misty remembers she was "shorter than me and skinnier than me, and I was thinking you're doing industrial?" This gave her the confidence to move to industrial jobs. Allie

commented that she has noticed job postings increasing their weight lifting requirements, from 50 pounds to 80 pounds, and suspected this was to deter women from applying. It is necessary for women in the trades to conform their bodies to this mold as much as possible, through exercise, eating, affect. Men produce and reproduce a particular male body in this type of work (Paap, 2006; Smith, 2013, p. 862).

When the standards of work are set at this exclusive level and the conditions of work are so brutal, tradeswomen must practice self-care to maintain their mental and physical health. Wolkowitz builds on Schatzki and Natter (1996)'s concept of "social and political bodies" to argue that:

> Our bodies are built out of and through our roles as paid workers, and the organized bodies of employees in turn contribute to the making of the corporation and its profits; we monitor and manage our own bodies with work obligations in mind and feel its effects in fatigue and impairments as well as satisfactions (2006, p. 55).

I argue that tradeswomen are intensely engaged in the process of monitoring and managing their bodies for work through self-care practices. Almost every participant used the specific term "self-care" to describe the preventative and restorative practices they use before and after work, like mediation and essential oil usage. This could be due to the current popularity of self-care in popular culture, but it has a particular role in trade work and camp environments. Self-care has been widely critiqued for its emphasis on individual responsibility, which is even more important in the neoliberal context of the oil sands economy. In Goldenberg's studies of rigger culture in B.C. she found serious apathy about self-care among the young men, particularly in regard to health care. She considered this indifference to personal health to be a pillar of rigger culture (Goldenberg et al., 2010). Women's self-care is a significant deviation from hegemonic masculinity, though it does extend the responsibilization of workers in the oil economy for their personal health and safety. The appearance and affective strategies

tradeswomen use allow them to work in this environment. These efforts build the "just go to work" practice.

Screening for Safety

Tradeswomen entering the industry are strongly encouraged by friends, family, WBF to avoid flirting and hooking up with co-workers and to be prepared for SAH. To deal with this, while learning their trade and getting used to camp, tradeswomen must establish their own screening process. They learn assess their co-workers, noting their behaviour at work and at camp. This is built up over time with age and experience. Tradeswomen use this screening process to assess risk of violence and/or harassment, evaluate who they can and cannot be friends with, and how to conduct themselves in public spaces. This nuanced process builds on their cultivated affect and appearance to allow tradeswomen to "just go to work." Together, these strategies strengthen their response to harassment.

I utilize the term "screening" to describe this process based on my own analysis of these actions. When I asked participants specific questions about this process, I often received some level of pushback. They would say something like well, you know how guys are, or ask me, do you *not* know how guys are? I can reflect on my own personal experience in order to take a guess about "how guys are" in the context of the oil sands. But, I needed participants to describe in their own words what it meant to get a "vibe" from a guy and how to identify if someone is a threat. DeVault argues that tricky methodological moments like this often occur when discussing processes that women learn to take for granted, like "activities that are normally only partly conscious, learned without explicit attention" (1990, p. 100). There is often not direct instruction for women about a "vibe," but their experiential knowledge gained over time, which informs their screening process.

Maddy's reflections on crew dynamics elucidated this process. I asked, "And what are kinda – starter warning signs that someone's kinda sketchy?" She replied, "Uh … sketchy wanna hurt you? Sketchy wanna sexually assault you? Sketchy want to try and sleep with you?" I asked if we could go through the list. Maddy started by describing the difficulty of discerning whether or not a man was being nice because he was a good guy or if he wanted to sleep with you. This makes it difficult to accept help or kindness on the job site, making it even more essential to be tough, and to remain suspicious and to isolate. After a period of time, there will often be a distinct switch in a man's behaviour, an invitation to go drinking or visit his room, that will indicate SAH. At this point, they are no longer nice, they are problematic. Maddy also monitors for what she calls gaslighting behaviour, like if someone is rude or aggressive towards her in private but then "buddy-buddy" in a group setting. She also notes men staring at her, messing with her equipment, tools, or her completed work.

It is useful to practice isolation, particularly early in one's career and on the first few days of a new job, to approximate the social dynamics and risks of a site. Liz did so on her first job an electrical apprentice:

> It's not like you're in an office, you have to be kinda cautious with … how you are with people – with guys, otherwise, it's like, if you're too friendly, they just think you're like, oh yeah! She wants to come home, you know what I mean? So, you have to kinda ... in the beginning I was a little more like, I'm always a little bit, um, not stand offish, but kinda, I ease my way into it.

Liz's prior knowledge of camps and the masculine culture in them meant that she proceeded with caution on her first job, she knew that any kind of social interaction would be construed as sexual interest, and therefore she isolated, kept to herself, in early days of the job. After screening and establishing rapport with her co-workers on the job, she could engage to a certain extent. Erin

also said that she susses out the "characters" at work early in a job and then "proceeds with caution."

This process evolves with time in the industry and exposure to different crews and working styles. Participants remarked that with time they got better at screening and were able to assess a co-worker's intentions earlier on in an interaction. Participants would often start from either a place of caution or openness. Both have their drawbacks. If a tradeswoman is suspicious and acts tough with everybody, she may close herself off to mentorship or teaching opportunities, in addition to friendship ("she's such a bitch"). But if she starts off too open or friendly, this may be interpreted as sexual interest in men on the crew ("she's acting slutty"). Part of the screening process is learning how to behave in different scenarios and how to manipulate the situation to their advantage. They find a middle ground that works for them to use on future jobs.

Screening is important to evaluate individuals and the group dynamic. When Misty was a second-year apprentice, she was on a worksite and overheard a co-worker say to another guy, "If I could rape a woman and get away with it, I would it do it again." She was shocked by this remark, but further disturbed by the fact that her foreman was standing nearby and did not intervene. There were many witnesses, but no one said anything; the co-worker was not reprimanded for saying something so violent and sexist. This had consequences for her response. She said, "I wonder like what could I have said? Really, I don't know." The comment was not aimed at her, so it was not necessarily critical for her to confront the co-worker directly. This might have made it more awkward or difficult for her to approach him to "shut it down" (he might reply that he wasn't talking to her/about her) but it did contribute to an unsafe environment for Misty. What does it mean for Misty if everyone thinks this type of conduct is acceptable (or

at least not so problematic that they should stop it)? Acker argues that acceptance by management of statements like this are "symbolic expressions of male sexuality" that demonstrate and reinforce male dominance within the organizational structure (1990, p. 153). They act as "significant controls over women" while encouraging male bonding and furthering female exclusion (Acker, 1990, p. 153). Through this comment and Misty's analysis, she learned about her co-worker but also the general standard of speech on site and how to respond in the future.

Once establishing a robust screening process for individuals and group dynamics, participants may choose to seek out protective, non-sexual "brother" relations. This can be a conscious choice or a natural negotiation of friendship. They might get to know a male colleague through work or meals and click, but all the while maintaining their personal boundaries and screening for GH. For Sasha, she purposefully made friends as a GH management strategy and to be social. When Sasha stayed at camp, she would find a friend who was, "not interested in me in any way shape or form, except to be nice, like sometimes, it was somebody who was married, or sometimes, some single guy or whatever, but we were just friends." She found, as did other participants, that these friends acted as "the placeholder, so that it was kind of a barrier to everybody approaching" while at camp.

One of the most prevalent forms of harassment in camp settings is the constant surveillance of women. Participants described the "skin crawling" feeling of being constantly watched and the exhaustion of having their every move followed and discussed. Amanda said at one camp she stayed at, "there were rumours that I had slept with more than half the operations crew … I was pregnant every freaking week, I was pregnant from somebody else." With this kind of attention and scrutiny a well-placed male friend at the dinner table in the cafeteria allows

tradeswomen to relax. This friendship will be the subject of rumours, but this is outweighed by the security buffer for protection.

In addition to the rumours, there is a degree of risk in establishing brother relationships. Sasha said that she would not go to a friend's room right away but have a coffee or a beer in a public setting a couple times before actually watching a movie in their room. There is an element of precarity in these friendships, things could change and SAH could occur, even after initial screening. Erin recalled,

> First time I went to camp, this guy goes hey, we'll get attaching rooms, and I thought we were friends, whatever, anyways, it wasn't a dry camp, and we were drinking, and it was a Jack and Jill, which means there's a bathroom in between the rooms and he tried to come in while he was drinking, and he never did that before. That's the thing, I had already worked with him for a month and half and he was okay.

For a month and a half everything had been fine, but suddenly the relationship shifted. Erin asked to be assigned to a new room. Once established, these relationships can be a key protective measure, but the screening process and possibility of change never goes away. A brother can prevent harassment in the short term by intervening or deflecting guys and helping women establish a long-term reputation of being "one of the boys," by being accepted by one male member of the crew. Women have differential access to this type of informal power to defer SAH based on race and class (Rospenda et al., 1998, p. 56). The precarity of these relationships may also be heightened along such intersections of power.

While Sasha was able to negotiate having a beer in camp with a male friend, many participants warned against going drinking or partying with the crew in camp or in town. As Erin's experience suggests, drugs or alcohol make it difficult to screen or control a scenario and most participants felt that the risk of SAH increased when guys are inebriated. Stephanie said, "that's when shit happens, when people get drunk," so she prefers dry camps, where alcohol is

banned. She thought that dry camps are less rowdy in the evenings, and people are more focused at work, instead of being tired and short tempered because of a hangover.

If the camp was wet (permitted alcohol), most participants said they would avoid the bar or lounge. Several participants noted that they would not go to the bar by themselves in the city, so they did not start at camp. This is an example of the isolation strategy, taking themselves out of a situation where they may be exposed to GH or SAH. Stephanie explained: “I would never go to the bar by myself, just because, you know liquor and people, you know what I mean, just don’t mix and you never know, right? And being petite and small myself, it's just natural for me to feel unsafe when there's liquor involved.” The risks associated with drinking for women are so commonplace that Stephanie used to word “natural” to describe her fears.

Stephanie also pointed out the dangerous logistics of partying while up north: “ [You’re] in an unfamiliar location, and you don’t have any support. Like what happens if your friends leave, how are you going to get anywhere? You're stuck three hours from camp, how are you going to get home?” By friends, Stephanie is referring to “brother” types, but there is still a risk of being ditched; the relationship has limitations. The physical isolation of camp increases the risks of this type of behaviour, far from town, necessities like cabs to get home independently, and emergency service providers. Tradeswomen always must look out for their personal safety.

Brooke had to prioritize her safety and professional standing when she was asked by a few guys from her crew to act as the designated driver for their night out partying. They were staying at a dry camp but were close to a town with bars. They were going to be breaking camp rules by drinking. Brooke said no to driving because the responsibility would fall on her if someone returned to site drunk or there was an accident. She reflected,

> It made me feel like kind of annoyed in a way because you want me to like … I don't know, you want me to risk myself, so you can get drunk (forced laugh)? So, um, it was a little bit annoying, but uh, I was only asked the one time, so, I just let it go.

While this invitation could be understood as an act of trust and inclusion by the crew, they thought she would not "rat" on anyone, she was also being asked to take professional and personal risk for their enjoyment. Brooke was not being asked to participate in the party, to have fun, but to be sober and liable. She turned them down, which may impact her social standing, but ultimately allows her to continue to "just go to work."

Pirotta highlights the self-restraint and censorship necessary to the screening process – women who FIFO must be aware of who they speak to, refrain from engaging in sexual relationships on site, and ensure that male friends understand the limitations of the relationship (2009, p. 45). Wright argues that sexuality is integral to organizational life and an overwhelming focus on the negative sexual encounters (i.e. harassment) at work serves to undermine women's agency and overlooks work place friendships and romantic relationships (2016). This may be possible, but romantic relationships were never reported by participants in my study, I believe due to the censorship and self-restraint that Pirotta described. Wright's point may stand, there can be potential for positive sexual relationships at work (with regard to issues such as power dynamics or workplace policy) but these relationships are avoided, or at least not spoken about freely, by women working in a masculine occupational culture as in the extractive industry.

The screening process tradeswomen utilize and develop on early jobs is a key tool throughout their career. They learn to read people and contexts to discern what the best and/or safest course of action is for the particular moment. It is used to avoid harassment, find and establish protective brother relationships, and to monitor social situations. By using this strategy

in combination with other protective measures, participants maneuver through the workplace and camp spaces, and deal with direct encounters of harassment.

Encountering Harassment

One of the most impactful early career experiences for tradeswomen was their first encounter with harassment. The majority of participants had a serious, striking memory of an early negative encounter with a co-worker when they were still "green" and getting used to the industry. They might have been in the early stages of establishing their screening process or tough persona. These processes occur simultaneously and may be informed by the first notable instance of harassment. In this section, I examine several of these incidents that informed women's early impressions of the industry.

Everyone I spoke to described at least one incident or a pattern of behaviour that I would classify as GH or SAH based on the definition used for this project. However, many did not consider the behaviour they described to be harassment. Several participants said that they had never had problems with guys at work, but then went on to describe scenarios that included sexualized comments, bullying, or threat of physical and/or sexual violence. They often interpreted these experiences as just a joke or not a big deal. My point is not to dismiss their interpretation of these events. However, when looking across the body of information collected in this study and considering the literature in this field, the treatment the women described would warrant characterisation as GH.

In Denissen's interviews with female construction workers, she found that participants would not take issue with men's behaviour, like sexualized comments, if they interpreted it to be non-personal and just a part of the jobsite culture, but there were incidents where co-workers "crossed the line" (2010a). They made this determination based on persistence of the harasser,

escalation of behaviour, and third-party support (confirmation from male family members or friends that this behaviour was problematic). Similar to the JGTW strategies identified in this study, Denissen found that construction workers used informal social controls to respond to harassment. Denissen's observation on the flexibility of the definition of harassment is further complicated by the individual's race, class, and citizenship (Welsh et al., 2006). In particular, Welsh et al. (2006) find that the precarity of non-citizenship discourages migrant workers in Canada from labelling behaviour as harassment. This project considers this flexibility and diverse interpretations of problematic encounters; there can be no singular interpretation of these events. In this section, I will examine these stories and investigate their impact on tradeswomen, their knowledge about the industry, and their response strategies.

Most participants shared a story of harassment they experienced early in their career. They had been prepared by informal and formal knowledge about the industry to expect and screen for some level of this type of behaviour, but it still came as an unpleasant surprise when it did occur. These incidents ranged from uncomfortable gendered encounters to acts of physical and sexual violence.

On Sasha's first night in camp, she checked in at the front desk and was given the key to the women's wing by the manager. When he gave her the key, he stressed that no men were allowed into the wing, "only security, only if it's necessary." Sasha remembered thinking, "the way he said it, I wasn't sure – was he warning me or trying to reassure me?" She thought it was probably a little bit of both but was startled by the seriousness of the manager. Did he think she was the "type" of woman to bring someone back to her room? Sasha was at camp with the crew of electricians she worked with in the city. In the cafeteria with her crew, she joked about the conversation with the manager. She called the women's wing access pass the "chastity belt door

key" and they all laughed about it. After dinner, she talked to her cousin on the phone for a while, and then headed to the women's wing on her own. On her way there, she ran into a guy who started making "friendly chit-chat." When they arrived at her hallway, she said:

> 'Oh, this is my corridor', and he follows me into the corridor, and stands in the corridor, and leans against the door like this [blocking the door], and he's trying to tell me that I should come back to his room and play Scrabble with him, and I'm like no, I don't think so, and uh, it took me a little while, I kind of got rid of him, and I opened up the door and I shut it right behind me, and I went, that's why they have the key here, now I understand why the women's wing is under lock and key. Right? It's not for our sake, it's for all these guys that are there and lonely by themselves, you know, anybody is fair game, so that was kind of, that kinda of freaked me out, because that was my first night there.

Within hours of arriving at camp, Sasha was introduced to the purpose of the key. This was a crucial piece of knowledge in building her understanding and response strategy for handling harassment during her career. The camp manager's ambiguity about the key was confusing and worrying for Sasha. Historically, women were excluded from organizations as a means to control sexuality in the workplace (Acker, 1990). The existence of a women's wing, a formal policy of sequestering women, is an organizational and spatial arrangement to control sexuality in current work camp conditions (Acker, 1990, p. 151). Sasha expresses this when she says, "it's not for [women's] sake, it's for all these guys," women are the disruptor, and therefore need to be managed, and this warrants physical separation with the chastity belt key.

Many women said that part of the advice they received before starting in the industry related to harassment. A common theme of advice from friends with experience in the industry was that the first instance of harassment, particularly SAH, must be "shut down." Women should publicly call the guy out in order to get him to stop and establish their reputation as a woman who doesn't take shit. This will prevent future harassment. This is a fundamental measure in establishing a masculine affect at camp. Additionally, not responding to SAH could be

interpreted as accepting or even liking this treatment and could lead to being labelled a “whore” (from the triad) due to assumed interest or responsiveness to sexual advances.

This process of shutting it down is particularly important in a camp environment. The intimate nature of camp spaces means prolonged exposure to this kind of behaviour like the man who followed Sasha to her corridor. He knows where she is staying in camp. She needed to shut it down in order to prevent future issues. Sasha said she “kind of got rid of him,” which does not necessarily mean an aggressive interaction, but she said no. Liz had a more confrontational incident while at camp.

On Liz’s first day at camp, on her first camp job, she was waiting in line in the cafeteria when the man behind her leaned in and smelled her hair. Liz said she thought to herself, “Did that just happen, or did I make this up?” The behaviour was so bizarre she was not sure if it had actually transpired. But then he smelled her hair again. Liz said:

> I knew right away, people had told me, like you can't put up with shit like that because if you let somebody, it's not like you're asking for it, but like you have to really set boundaries because guys are like pack animals, and if they think they can harass you, they will. And again, I was like ready for it, I was like oh god, so I turned around, I said did you just smell my hair? I was like, (high voice) if you do that again, I'm telling!

From prior knowledge about the industry, Liz understood that even though there is a short-term risk of confrontation, but there is a much greater long-term risk of being seen as an open target for harassment. She was nervous to confront the guy who smelled her hair, but when she did, he replied, “uh sorry man, I don’t know what I was thinking,” and she said, “yeah, you weren’t.”). She later got to know the guy, a plumber, and tells the story when they’re working together to tease him and to make fun of herself for her response (the high pitched “I’m telling!”). This response is important because allows Liz to express her chill, confident, and funny character. Despite the humour she used, her reflection on the significance of setting boundaries stresses the

importance of shutting down early instances of harassment. The hair smelling, even if joked about, is flagged as being problematic, to the perpetrator and to other men onsite. She has effectively shut down the behavior and utilized other strategies to seamlessly incorporate the story into her social interactions at work.

Liz used the term “pack animals” to emphasize the necessity of shutting down harassment at work. The terms “pack animals” and “wild animals” were used to describe the masculine group mentality by several participants. This is an important element of frontier masculinity. If one guy starts to do something, the others will follow and copy one another. This behaviour is dismissed as normal and natural; that’s just the way guys are. Pack animals usually describes a group of animals that hunt together, possibly placing tradeswomen in the position of the hunted prey. Therefore, to avoid the attention from a group of guys, it is important to shut one down before it spreads through the group. This is crucial in public incidents, like Liz’s experience in the cafeteria, in front of everyone waiting in line and eating, but also important for Sasha on her own in the hallway. Everyone I spoke to mentioned the prevalence of gossip and rumours in the trades; information about tradeswomen’s conduct will travel fast, whether it is publicly witnessed or not.

In Pirotta’s study of women who FIFO, interviewees shared that they can never let the guy get the upper hand, so they need to immediately set boundaries for themselves with male co-workers. However, they argued that if the boundaries are too restrictive, women will be socially isolated (2009, p. 45). To be socially isolated can be a strategic choice to separate oneself from the group dynamics in order to avoid exposure to GH. These boundaries are flexible, with screening and the possibility of protective relationships, and can be as restrictive as the tradeswoman chooses. This is extremely dependent on context. The level of harassment or

violence may necessitate social isolation for safety. In some situations, it is imperative that a tradeswoman be separate from the group. Maddy's difficult story of hazing from her first job on a rig demonstrates this.

Maddy completed a series of fitness tests and was hired as a rig hand right after high school. For her first job, she said, "they sent me to a rig that was something else, it was brutal." She drove herself to camp for the job but was not given correct directions so got lost on the highway. She arrived in the dark, in the middle of the night, and made it to her room in camp. She showed up at work the next morning and her colleagues acted like "assholes." On Maddy's third night in camp she woke up to guys from her crew breaking into her room. She said she thought, "oh, I am fully getting raped." She recalls:

> They decided to pour a 2-6 of Jack Daniels down my throat, so … then I was sick all night, still had to show up for work the next day. When I showed up for work, the other crew put water in my boots and left them outside, so I had quarter inch of ice in my boots.
> Griffin: What did you do?
> Maddy: I wore 'em.
> Griffin: Oh my gosh.
> Maddy: (laughs) And then there was … somebody else put mouse traps in the tips and stuff like that, I eventually just said, see ya.

Maddy spent another week and a half on the rig, until she called her supervisor, the tool push, and said "screw this shit, I'm out of here, this is bull. And he was like asking me what was going on, and I was like you know, I'm not putting up with this." He threatened to list her as having quit (instead of being laid off/fired to access EI and future jobs from the company) but she left anyways.

Maddy's experience on her first job is particularly horrifying and the level of violence she was subjected to is severe. This interaction contains multiple elements that demonstrate the hegemonic masculinity of the environment. What Maddy experienced could be classified as hazing. This kind of hazing behaviour is common on construction sites and other male-

dominated spaces (Curtis et al., 2018; Goldenhar and Sweeney, 1996; Eisenberg, 1999). Hazing demonstrates masculine norms and is used to initiate newcomers into the group, an extreme version of "proving yourself." For anyone, hazing can be disturbing and unsettling. Sexual violence has historically been a part of hazing rituals in all male settings (fraternities, private boy's schools; CBC News, 2019). Men's experiences of hazing are often excluded from sexual harassment studies (Williams, 2018). However, the masculine culture of the trades results in a specific, gendered risk for women at work. The context of the work camp, removed from towns/cities, majority male workforce, imbued with rigger culture and frontier masculinity, creates an environment where there is always the possibility of sexual violence. It may or may not have been the intention of the crew to scare her in this manner, but because this risk is inherent in this environment, this was the resulting feeling for Maddy.

By breaking into her room, the crew made Maddy aware of how vulnerable she is in camp. There is an element of spatial control of the gendered identities and relationships in this masculine space. Breaking into Maddy's room is a demonstration of male-dominance in the camp. Her semi-private room is not secure or free of this control. A locked door does not guarantee safety, bringing Sasha's encounter with the chastity belt key into new light. These measures of protection are thin.

Maddy said that the crew poured a "2-6 of Jack Daniels down my throat" which caused her to be sick. Other participants reflected, as previously discussed, that drinking intensifies the possibility of SAH, so in this interaction, the risk is further heightened. This act is inherently violent and destabilizing. It is impossible to maintain control over this scenario. The next day, Maddy was hung over and feeling sick. The forced drinking reduced her capacity to work and thus endangered her professional status. She also found that her work gear had been tampered

with, her boots filled with ice, but put them on and went to work alongside the crew who broke into her room the night before. Instead of getting into her truck and driving home, she chose to persevere through the physical discomfort, stress, and fear to go to her job. Unlike Liz's experience in the cafeteria, there was not a clear moment for Maddy to act and stop the harassment. There was not a path to shut down this kind of targeted, repeated behaviour. Ultimately, she left the job.

When she told her tool push that she was done, she was not met with support, but a threat to her career. This is a key element in the story as it highlights the lack of formal support from management and supervisors, and the consequences of being forced to leave a job. She was required to choose her physical and emotional safety, but her career was threatened, and she was burdened with the added difficulty of seeking a new job that was relatively safe.

Maddy did continue to work on the rigs. Shortly after leaving this job, she received a phone call from the same company offering her a position on another rig. The tool push must not have listed her as having quit, she guesses, or else she would not have heard from the company again. She went up to a different camp a week later and found it to be a better, more moderate crew of guys. Maddy experienced other incidents of harassment throughout her time on the rigs which are known for being violent and rough. She emphasized the need to find a good crew of guys and stick with them for multiple jobs in order to maintain personal safety. Maddy's ability to "just go to work" is informed by these difficult experiences and her efforts to work around them and protect herself.

These stories of early experiences of harassment at camp are examples of what occurs in the masculine work environment. Many tradeswomen knew that they were entering a job that would be challenging, but it is another thing to experience something like what Maddy went

through and to continue working. The "just go to work" ethic propels tradeswomen through mild to extreme incidents of harassment at work. So many participants said that one needs a thick skin and a strength to keep working; many said they "fought" for their job and for their position. Part of this fight is the effort to establish protective strategies for harassment. As tradeswomen develop their affect and appearance for work, their screening process, and establish protective relationships, they bolster their protective armour and build their tool kit to respond to harassment. This takes time, knowledge, energy, and effort, in addition to the paid labour they perform on shift. Furthermore, their strategic work continues after hours at camp, they are "on" even during their limited downtime. As their career progresses, their informal learning progresses and thereby their response mechanisms and labour efforts change with time.

This first critical incident of harassment was common for most participants interviewed for the project. As Maddy's story begins to examine, the next chapter focuses in on what happens after the first memorable incident of harassment, how do tradeswomen adjust to this environment? What changes in their perception of these interactions? Experiencing violence or harassment creates a sense of precarity, which can be strategically managed to some extent, but there will always be the possibility of risk. It explores how women are conditioned by the conditions of work to respond to every day, long term forms of harassment. What further work do tradeswomen do to stay, to continue the crucial practice of "just go to work"?

Chapter 4: Ongoing Work of "just go to work"

The previous chapter explored stories of tradeswomen's initial encounters with harassment at work, from instances of SAH to physical and sexual violence. For many participants, these events were clear, stark memories that stood out from the rest of their careers. The harassment was novel and shocking. The next step is to explore what it was like for participants to move from the encounter to every day normalcy of harassment and to focus on women's experiences at work after their initial encounter with harassment. The goal of the chapter is to demonstrate how this type of treatment is built into every day interactions, and thereby, the occupational culture. This allows us to understand how GH is systematically produced and reproduced. I will explore the daily strategies participants employ throughout their career in order to "just go to work." This is a habit that is built up over time; a reflex that is developed over the course of one's career, tradeswomen are always in this position of discerning where and when harassment could occur. This results in an affective way of being; "just go to work" requires a constant state of discernment and weighing the trade-offs and the consequences.

The responsibility for action typically lies with the marginalized group to deal with harassment. This forms a generalized sort of labour that tradeswomen are doing all the time, the labour of managing the conditions of work. This affective labour is widely documented in scholarly literature. Denissen notes that multiple studies, looking at a range of occupations, racial/ethnic groups, and social classes found that, "women prefer individual, informal, or "passive" measures such as avoidance, acceptance, denial, or joking as a way to cope with sexual harassment" (Firestone and Harris 2003; Hinze 2004; Quinn 2002; Salzinger 2000; Wasti and Cortina 2002; Watts 2007, cited in 2010). When SAH is a legitimized or mandated part of the job informal responses become a necessity for workers (Williams, 2018).

There is also an absence of discussion about consequences for the perpetrator. Paap states in the trades "culture of no complaints," (do not complain about poor treatment or be labelled a "pussy") harassment is acknowledged to a certain extent, for example in cases of physical violence, but it is "deemed unfixable" (that's just the way it is) (p. 146, 2006). This cultural norm places the responsibility on the victim, denies the possibility that the harassment could get worse, and undermines formal response mechanisms because victims will not document the pattern of harassment. This also serves to normalize harassment and make it invisible. In the unique, challenging environment of the natural resource extraction industry, it is necessary to investigate this trend. Gendered inequality and violence attach themselves to the conditions of this work: the physical work, shift work, all of difficult elements of mobile work and natural resource extraction work that become gendered and have GH built into them.

The goal of the chapter is to explore this process of normalization as the core of "just go to work." I first explore the way harassment is embedded in the daily practices and structures of work, and thus how women's strategies (discussed in chapters 2 and 3) must be executed on a daily basis. These issues are ever present as they form the daily landscape of work. Issues like bullying, lack of mentorship, and gossip are slippery and ambiguous, they are harder to document and report, and therefore, to put a stop to. This kind of harassment creates the steep learning curve for women in male dominated environments and forces the process of "hardening up" due to the male competitive culture (Pirotta, 2019) To do so, "there are certain ways that women must behave in order to adapt" (Pirotta, 2019, p. 45), daily strategies for harassment that tradeswomen assess and then utilize in the context of work. Participants assess and utilize such strategies within the masculinized culture, I will explore the uses, trade-offs, and negotiations involved with: isolation, letting it go, confrontation ("shutting it down"), asking for help, filing a

complaint, and finally, leaving the industry. These responses are part of the labour of "just go to work," until they are no longer possible, and a woman is forced out of a job due to harassment.

JGTW: Revealing the Systemic Conditions of GH

This section will highlight the conditions and characteristics of camp based-work through an examination of recurrent harassment and the process of determining whether or not to engage with an instance of harassment. This process as often referred to by participants as "picking your battles" – determining which battle could be "won" and if it is worth it "to die on that hill." The assessment process gives information about the environment women are always working in, surviving in. The goal of this section is to build a picture of how built in GH is to the system and therefore how difficult it is to escape and/or manage it.

Recurrent Harassment

The end of Chapter 3 explored several women's experiences of major, disturbing incidents of harassment that occurred early on in their careers. This impacted their perception of the industry and their understanding of the culture of work. This was the hurdle they crossed to enter the industry but what may be more informative about the culture of work is the sustained level of harassment they must manage over time (McDonald, 2012). As participants continued to work in the industry they encountered a wider range of harassment and they developed an understanding of a culture of frontier masculinity. In this section, I highlight some of the systemic "normal" forms of harassment that were routinely raised by participants: being targeted by younger men and being made to feel like the "odd one out" on the job.

The aggression from younger men was a notable, common theme across the interviews, regardless of the age of the tradeswoman. Frontier masculinity emboldens young men, it gives them a sense of superiority over women, regardless of age, seniority, and/or skill. Age and

gender intersect in important ways for determining power at work; men in their early to late 20s are seen as the peak of immaturity and cockiness, the most likely to take physical risks on the job and be susceptible to peer pressure, and therefore more likely to bend to pack animal mentality and participate in GH or SAH. Brooke, who is in her early 20s, said:

> Sometimes the younger guys can be like even more misogynistic than the older guys. Yeah, it's hard to really say, there's a pretty decent mix of like older guys who are like totally cool with it and younger guys who are more like, more machoism or whatever.

Harassment is embedded in the dynamics of life course, seniority, and hierarchy of the trades. These younger guys are Brooke's peers, but she finds that they are more likely to participate in the masculine culture of work. They engage in misogynistic activities and display "macho" characteristics on a greater level. For older tradeswomen, the harassment has the added layer of insult of coming from someone below them in the pecking order of trades work. Molly, in her 30s, described a pattern of repeated bullying and intimidation from a "kid" on her crew:

> Molly: He was a cocky little fucker. Just a fucking kid.
> Griffin: How old was he?
> Molly: 23. Just a fucking punk kid … he was horrible. And he started telling me my second, third shift in that I needed to be more like a man because I was being a lazy woman.

Molly felt frustrated by the sexist comment her co-worker made, but further upset by being disrespected by someone younger than her. April, also in her 30s, thought that men her age or younger are typically more threatened by women in the workplace than older men. April explained it:

> I think that's where the younger guys feel threatened by me because they wanna be at the job longer but they're getting laid off before I am because I'm better at it than they are, so they tend to be the ones that are assholes and cocky and ignorant and rude about women jokes, this kind of thing, whatever the case may be, because they're the one that are more threatened.

In April's view, if there is a layoff happening, it is more demeaning for the young guys to be fired if a woman is kept on. Because of this, younger men will compete with women onsite, including using harassment to degrade them. This also points to the precarity of the extractive industry; the instability of work due to the floating oil and gas economy. April went on to say that the older journeymen have seniority and therefore job security. They are not in the same level of competition for limited jobs as younger journeymen or new apprentices. This highlights the importance of organizational practices, like seniority preferences in unions, that produce specific behaviours on the job.

Many participants, like April, commented that senior journeymen are looking to train the next generation of workers, they want to mentor someone who will listen. They often are the best teachers for women, especially young female apprentices, because they may view them as a daughter or niece, someone to watch out for and teach. While this treatment is inherently paternalistic, it is an opportunity for non-sexualized mentorship, so many participants recommended using this to one's advantage. This relationship is an extension of the "brother" model as discussed in Chapter 3. It is an intricate process to form these kin-like relations on the job site. Tradeswomen navigate this harassment and their responses shift with their own age and life course patterns.

This treatment served to emphasize that tradeswomen were always the "odd one out" at work. This often was presented through constant attention and being stared at, but also pressure to conform to the norms of the job site and being excluded from social circles. Amanda said that at the mine during her shift, if she sits down for two minutes, she will get yelled at before the guy who has been sitting down for an hour: "I'm the one that they target because I'm the visible minority, I'm the one they notice … eyes are on me so no matter what I do I'm being judged."

Amanda uses several key terms in her reflection, the first being that she see herself as a "target" on site, which can be interpreted as both the centre of attention and aim of attack for men at work. Pirotta observed that time pressure and production objectives are exacerbated for women in FIFO jobs due to surveillance by men during their shift (2009, p. 41).

Amanda also uses the term "visible minority." This term is typically used to describe racialized individuals, but I believe that Amanda is using it here to refer to her gender as the factor that makes her visible on her crew (I interviewed Amanda over the phone and did not ask about her racial/ethnic background). The comment highlights the correlation between one's ability to blend in and being subjected to harassment. If the majority of the trades work force are white men, any deviation from this incites harassment. Buchanan argues that women of color are subjected to "double jeopardy" at work (2008). Amanda went on to say that the other woman on her crew was Black and was subjected to both racist and sexist comments from the crew. The issue for non-white, non-male individuals in this environment, is that "eyes are on me," resulting in greater attention and scrutiny of behavior.

Due to this phenomenon, participants laboured to blend into the workforce, which meant not accepting differential treatment. Participants frequently reported 'special,' gendered treatment on job sites, like being prevented from attempting physical tasks or being given administrative work. Heather works as an ironworker, and while placing, packing, and tying steel, she said:

> I don't wanna be treated like you know like a little girl that can't do my job, that can't pack, guess what, I'll pack just as much - I'll try and pack just as much as you can, I know I won't be able to pack as heavy as you, but I will frigging try my hardest to do it.

Heather acknowledged her physical limitations at work, she could not carry as much as one of her "jacked" co-workers. However, the real problem was being treated like a "little girl." All

workers have varying abilities and strengths on the job, but GH produces a culture where any difference is gendered. She is attempting to do the work, but in the masculinist culture, she would be perceived as unable to do her job because of her gender, not a varying skill set. Because of this, Heather worked as hard as possible to avoid this distinction, to "prove herself."

Houser concludes in his ethnography of an oil and gas community and interviews with three tradeswomen that the only way for women to succeed in this environment was to be accepted as an "honorary man" (2018, p. 201). From this study, I do not believe that women can attain permanent honorary man status; perhaps temporarily they are able to hold this position, but it is always a precarious position. The status can be lost or reverted at any time. This is further complicated by the project-based nature of work in the industry, always moving to new crews with each contract, which requires some level of establishment each time. They are always in subject to gendered treatment, but it is possible to, as Houser asserts, "[perform] as masculine" and "mimic male power structures" (Houser, 2018, p. 201). The structural nature of harassment is always present, and for Allie, this was made clear that tradeswomen "don't fit":

> It's just the little things, like having your washroom being further away than the men's washroom, or having your coveralls never fit, or having your personal, your gloves or ear plugs, there's so many things that just don't – you don't fit.

"Not fitting" is psychologically and physically exhausting, to always have to monitor for safety, alter appearance, and watch out for social interactions. There are constant tangible reminders of their outsider status. This can manifest as a type of mask worn for work. In Pirotta's research on women who FIFO to the oil industry in Australia, one woman reflected that she has "split personality" between home and work (2009, p. 45). She becomes one of the boys at camp and is assimilated into the culture, she 'goes along to get along,' but at home is her regular, feminine, self. I had one participant use "split personality" to describe a similar phenomenon, particularly

all the swearing she does at work. They may develop a wall between public and private selves, as, "workers are able to deploy and distinguish between the 'multiple selves' appropriate to different situations." (Wolkowitz, 2002, p. 116). This can be helpful for workers but also emotionally taxing. Saxinger argues that this mobility/multi-locality can result in a split between different spaces for mobile workers and workers may engage in conscious acts of separation between work and home (2016). This process is further gendered through the adoption of masculine subjectivities by women working in the oil sands, a constant on and off adoption in accordance with their shift schedule, for women to avoid gendered harassment.

Rachel described the environment of work as, "there's a lot of fear – fear towards people who are different" that imbues work with an air of discomfort for any marginalized group. This feeling covers the entire landscape of work which results in daily work to navigate harassment in this work culture.

Isolation

A key practice for many participants to manage harassment was to isolate while at work. Isolation anticipates harassment and stays clear of its way, it is a pre-emptive protective strategy. As outlined in Chapter 2, many participants chose to sit alone in the cafeteria, avoid problematic co-workers, or request the night shift. It is the foundation of "just go to work" advice: women should go to work, complete their shift, and not participate in any other activities at camp. The "just" implies complete one's paid labour and nothing more. The goal is to make money, and therefore, they should not be spending money at the bar, or doing anything they may take from their focus, concentration, and professional reputation. This is especially important for camp work, as social spaces are attached to and built into work, time with co-workers is drawn out for the length of the rotation.

There are trade-offs for isolation as it is extremely lonely to be by oneself all the time. Even with phone calls home and technology like FaceTime it is still tiring to be removed from other people. This loneliness is the price many participants felt they had to pay in the context of the masculine occupational culture. It requires intense personal resilience and a tough exterior to use this strategy. April put this choice in stark contrast: “It's lonely, it sucks, but at the end of the day you're not wrecking your career at the same time, right?” April was referring specifically to flirting or dating with male co-workers (and thereby possibly being labelled as a ‘whore’ and having their professional reputation undermined). These are some of the gendered trade-offs that are absorbed into and consequences of ‘just’ going to work. April acknowledged that it might be tempting to go for beers with the guys after a couple weeks on the job because of loneliness. But April was firm, you can cry in your room, but need to resist the urge to hang out with the guys, because that only will end in negative consequences for the woman and her career. GH is so embedded into the culture it was inevitable that there would be consequences for social interaction. Managing the consequences is an ongoing labor for tradeswomen.

Similar to April, Allie said that, “I wouldn’t hang out with the guys I work with just because I was afraid of that being interpreted as anything other than what it was.” Allie went on to express that it would be nice to work with other women to have a “safe” friend. She wished there was someone she could bond with that she did not have to worry about setting a boundary with at work. Allie conveyed that it takes so much time to make it clear that she was not open to sexual advances from co-workers that she often did not bother speaking with the guys at work. Participants in Pirotta’s study of women who FIFO recommended that women seek out other women, as “being outgoing and sociable upon commencement of work [will result in] a sense of belonging and emotional support” at camp (2009, p. 42). While this may be true, it proved

difficult for participants in this study to do so, as there were not enough women to socialize with, and when there was, these relationships were often strained by the me vs. other girls dynamic.

Isolation impacts coping mechanisms. Denissen argues that women who are isolated from other women have highly individualized strategies for handling their circumstances. Women with "communities of coping," female support networks, had access to a wider range of response mechanisms (2010, p. 300). If there are more women on a job, they can reach out to one another and collectively address the problem. Mentorship and allies are crucial for this which will be discussed further in the conclusion. This is often undermined by the expression of me vs. other girls; the separation and competition between the small number of women working in the male dominated setting. The expression of internalized misogyny prevents women from interacting. Women may avoid each other for fear of gendered homophobia or not wanting to draw further attention to themselves.

This strategy of isolation exchanges harassment for other adverse effects, like fatigue from working nights and/or social seclusion and loneliness. Tradeswomen must weight their options and make a conscious decision to not engage and isolate from their co-workers. This is tiring and an additional responsibility tradeswomen must take on while working in order to survive and sustain their working life.

Picking Your Battles

In the context of the masculine culture of work, the culture of no complaints, and the effort tradeswomen expend to fit in, it is necessary to be extremely selective about when to engage with harassment. If harassment is ever present, it is impossible to respond to every single instance (why didn't you say something/speak up/file a complaint?). It is therefore necessary to "pick your battles." Every day is a slog in this environment, there is constant discernment and

weighing of advantages and disadvantages to each "battle." Tradeswomen's instinct to "just go to work" is sharpened over time through continual exposure to this environment and culture of work. The main sentiment from participants was the constant nature of harassment means that it is both logistically and socially impossible to respond to everything. Amanda said that over the course of her career:

> People, people have said a lot of shitty things to me over the years and to me it's just not worth pursuing as much, there's – it's really hard to explain unless you're in a situation where you really have to be careful when picking and choosing your battles and what hill you wanna die on, because you are gonna die on a hill.

There is no casual outcome to addressing harassment, especially filing a complaint, as Amanda did (explored later in the chapter). She went on to say that sometimes there are situations, "where you're just kind of like well that's not socially acceptable for you to say to me, but I'm just not going to fight with you on this, because it's just not worth my time."

When picking a battle, tradeswomen must assess a situation and ask themselves questions like: is this worth my time? Can I ignore the incident? How will this person respond to direct confrontation? Where does this person sit relative to me in the hierarchy of work? Am I at risk of physical or sexual violence – from this person, in this environment? Will my work be seriously derailed? Will my professional reputation be harmed? Depending on the risk level that they are able to discern, they will decide to respond. This is not always a conscious process, there are multiple factors at play. Sometimes a split-second decision must be made while working or in camp often while trying to accomplish something else. She makes a decision based on experience on the job, physical location, energy level, support, and the hierarchy of work.

Choosing a "battle" is influenced by one's comfort in the industry and experience in the field. Over time in the industry, as trades women develop their craft and establish their tough affect and reputation as a strong worker, and learn the language and norms of the industry, it

becomes easier to know when to pick a battle and what is expected at work. Participants recounted that when they were new they were more likely to be startled and frustrated by harassment, but also more nervous about confrontation. As they progressed through their careers, they understood harassment to be an everyday occurrence, something they became used to, even desensitised to, but they also had more power to confront an aggressor.

Tradeswomen get to 'pick' very few battles before they are labelled as "looking for a lawsuit" (Paap, 2009), a "sexual harassment lady" (Denissen, 2010) or, as described by participants in this study, a "MeToo-type." This label both delegitimizes the woman's accusation of harassment and hurts her professional reputation. This label implies that she is only filing the complaint for attention or money. The act of picking a battle sticks to women which can have ramifications for her career. In contract-based work a reputation is extremely important for hiring and job security.

Part of establishing a reputation is having a group of allies to count on at work, particularly on the job site, like a brother or a strong foreman, as described in Chapter 3. For Erin, she usually knew that her male co-workers that she had a good relationship with would intervene if something were to occur, she said: "When they cross that line in front of the brothers? The brothers will take 'em aside and give them a good talking to." She knows she can count on her brothers at work and takes their presence into account when assessing a battle. These allies can act to confirm that the incident was problematic, act as witnesses to document an event in case of a complaint and can provide physical protection in case of confrontation with the aggressor.

The location of the incident has an effect on their response mechanism. At camp, in common spaces with more guys (compared to a smaller crew at work) attention is heightened

and there may be greater risk of confrontation. Additionally, when returning to camp after a long day out at site, lowered energy levels made it more likely that women could avoid confrontation. At work, on the other hand, it is more important to shut it down, but in a light, humorous manner in order to continue on with the task at hand. This is part of establishing one's reputation and preventing further harassment on the job. It is crucial to maintain focus and credibility at work, which may require a more direct shut down of harassment. Using humour to do so keeps with the language and amicability of social interaction at work, maintains the flow of conversation, and allows the tradeswoman to just go to work.

If a woman chooses to confront a co-worker on the job, the hierarchy of work is essential to the decision-making process, as harassment is built into this structure of work. The apprenticeship program is a strict, four-year hierarchy, which depends on mentorship and teaching from journeymen. The potential for coercive SAH from journeymen to young female apprentices is high, which is why many participants said they relied on older journeymen to learn their trade, as they were more likely to see the women as daughter-figures. As discussed earlier, aggression from younger guys on site was common, and participants stressed that it was crucial not to cede any professional dominance.

This was important for Heather, who had recently finished her apprenticeship and was working as a journeywoman. She was assigned several young male apprentices for a task on a job, but the apprentices would not follow her instructions. She recounted, "They're telling me that they don't have to listen to me, I'm not the boss." This meant she could not complete the assigned task, or teach them the required skills, so she went to her foreman about it. Heather knew this insubordination needed to be shut down so that she could maintain her professional

status; if these young men were not going to listen to her, she would enlist the help of her foreman. Her foreman "flipped out" and he said to the apprentices:

> You know what? When she fucking tells you to bring bars, you fucking bring 'em over there for her, she's a journeyman, she has every right to tell you. You guys are only second year apprentices, he goes, she has how many years above me?

After this, Heather's dominance was established, and the insubordination shut down. This was a necessary battle and she was successful because of the positive interaction with the foreman.

These factors – comfort and history on the job, physical location, energy level, and support – all play a role in determining if, how, when, and under what conditions a tradeswoman responds to harassment. Some participants acknowledged these factors but offered a different reaction to harassment. Instead of picking any battles, they instead adopted a kind of armour of "not caring." Liz said, "I'm pretty easygoing, I've been doing it long enough, so I'm not offended by anything, right?" Her "easygoing" relaxed affect and her long-term experience in the industry allow her to shrug off incidents of harassment. This runs parallel to "picking your battles," it is an opt-out of the battle, a type of armour against the effects of harassment. "Not caring" was often expressed in relation to me vs. other girls, such as stories told by participants about their chill attitude in contrast to other women who were offended by a male co-worker's conduct. To adopt this armour is a personal process to recategorize an incident as something non-problematic or non-offensive. They reorganize and just go to work.

This can be considered a form of emotional labour, personal emotional management, which Hochschild refers to as deep acting and self-prompting, the work for women to respond to harassment in a neutral manner (1983). It requires emotional work and instruction to not get offended. There is a proper way to experience the harassment, for example, to experience it as a joke or as no big deal, which is taught through a slow process of internalization (1983, p. 53).

Hochschild refers to this moment as "the pinch between 'what do I feel' and 'what should I feel'" (1983, p. 57), which is crucial for tradeswomen to learn.

This also connects to discerning when to take something "personally." Sometimes at work, Amanda experiences guys "being douche bags for no reason," and she tries to assess, "do they really mean what they're saying right now? Are they really trying to hurt me or are they just trying to be funny for the guys at my expense?" If the comment is directed at the individual woman then it may compromise her bodily integrity. When it is personal there is personal risk. Otherwise, it is probably not worth the energy to intervene and they should let it slide (I will not get offended).

This is further complicated by the element of performance of GH for other men. Men are also constrained by the masculinist culture of work and here they may be working to establish their hierarchical position amongst the other guys. In Paap's experience working in construction, she reflected that her treatment by men "seemed to have little to do with me-as-me but rather involved me-as-symbol" (2006, p. 3). She interpreted their behaviour as representative of what heterosexual men need to possess (sexual conquest of women; approval of male co-workers) and what they must reject (femininity in any form; avoiding being labelled as a "pussy"). "Me-as-symbol" incidents were frustrating, but ultimately not about her personal safety, so not worth her time to respond.

The process of picking your battles occurs within the hegemonic culture of masculinity, where there is social pressure at all times to interpret any harassment as acceptable in a 'man's world' regardless of circumstance (Denissen, 2010, p. 309). Furthermore, one needs to pick a battle, but also contend with the fact that there is never going to be the right choice. The informal rules of the jobsite dictate that one should ignore harassment and be cool with it, but also stand

up to aggressors (shut it down and be tough), resulting in no one right answer in responding to harassment. There may be better or worse options, which women learn and exercise, given the questions above but there is no clear strategy for immediate, sustained success. There is always some level of precarity resulting in variety of strategies used by women in order to avoid harassment.

Letting it go

If harassment is constant and cultural, embedded in everyday structures, it is necessary, to some extent, to ignore or not to engage with harassment. I label it here as "letting it go" per many participant's descriptions, but it was often expressed with some variation: "you laugh it off and move on," "I don't really care," "what can you do," "you have to be a duck, it has to roll off your back or you're not going to make it there." This implies not reacting to an incident and not holding a grudge or being fearful afterwards. Letting it go consists of ignoring the comment, or the stares, and accepting, to some degree, the existence of a culture of frontier masculinity and acknowledging that they must make peace with it, in order to continue along in this field.

This process is related to "not caring," as discussed in the previous section. Letting it go and not caring have the same result, choosing not to acknowledge an incident of harassment, file a complaint, or pick the battle, but I found that letting it go was often expressed as a more universal directive for women. Letting it go is essential because of the pervasive nature of harassment.

Denissen found that if sexual harassment is common to the workplace, women will accept it to a greater degree (2010). Hegemonic norms build within masculine occupational cultures, making harassment more acceptable or at least common place, making it more noticeable and harder to resist these norms. By letting it go, tradeswomen "prove

trustworthiness" to male co-workers in this culture (Denissen, 2010). To file a complaint or make a fuss about harassment would violate this trust.

Nagy and Teixeira label this phenomenon as "perseverance" and argue that it is the predominant requirement for work in resource extraction for women. In their study, participants "maintain[ed] a 'stiff upper lip' and 'tied up bootstraps'" in connection to "hegemonic perceptions of masculine toughness" (2020, p. 168). The authors found that the women needed to have a strong sense of self-esteem and confidence to work in this environment, but that avoiding conflict requires ignoring poor treatment through avoidance and disengagement. It is necessary to diminish the impact of incidents of harassment (Nagy & Teixeira, 2020, p. 171). A similar sentiment was expressed by one of the participants in my project, Rachel:

> You need to have a very thick skin, and you have to be able to stick up for yourself, but you also have to be able to roll with things. Which basically means you have to get mature enough where things just wash over you like they never happened.

This is an extension of the tough affect that was described in Chapter 3. Perseverance is a sort of cumulative outcome of the kinds of affects discussed there. Rachel expresses the confidence that Nagy and Teixeira argue is essential while also highlighting the importance of developing a "maturity" that allows one to ignore harassment. Participants expressed that this becomes both easier and harder over the course of their career. It becomes a reflex once they have been in the industry for a period of time, when the comments and stares have become "normal," but then it becomes upsetting again once they are older and tired of this treatment, tired of exercising patience and letting it go. The cumulative effects of harassment build up over time, and as Sasha put it, "I find now that I'm getting older and crankier that I don't have the tolerance." Exposure to this environment and occupational culture results in the development of "maturity" as Rachel says, and their own "just go to work" practice.

For April, while learning to be an ironworker, she says, “I learned how to be confident and outspoken and dominant, essentially, from being in the trades, because I had no choice, right?” She developed the affect needed for her to do her job, the key being that she “had no choice.” What other option is there than to adopt this reaction? To be tough, confident, patient, and funny at work, a tradeswoman needs to exert a significant amount of energy to maintain this attitude for their co-workers and for themselves. This response becomes institutionalized in the workplace; it is legitimized by management practices that give April “no choice” but to become outspoken and dominant (Williams, 2018). It is not an organic process, the hiring process, training programs, and culture of work all institutionalize these practices (Williams, 2018).

In Paap’s experience, as in my findings, generally co-workers recommended that she ignore the harassment. A male Latino co-worker, who experienced racism at work, told Papp, “I have learned not to react unless they touch me” (2006, p. 134). He ignores all verbal comments until they escalate to violence and he recommended that Paap do the same (2006, p. 134). Paap chose to “lay low” at work which “ultimately led to the erasure of my boundaries of self-protection and, in a sense, my loss of self” (2006, p. 197). Paap argues that learning to cope may ultimately erode one’s sense of self and safety.

This results in “nuanced compromises with hegemonic gender norms” that are “intertwined with women’s coping strategies for maintaining their position within the industry” (Nagy & Teixeira, 2020, p. 174). Over Amanda’s career in mining, she worked to maintain delicate balance on the job, while thinking about long term trends of cultural change:

> You're just not, you can’t, I get there are all these books on setting boundaries with people and stuff like that and I've read them, but you can only do so much. It's really shitty but it's just you're not going to change who these people are and the culture, you need to change the generations that are coming in.

Amanda emphasizes the need, to some degree, to accept the status quo, in order to just go to work in this environment. Accepting the status quo does not mean giving in, but reflecting on one's individual inability to, as Amanda said, create long term culture change. To accept this fact is to practice survival, and "just go to work," in this context.

Shutting it Down

Sometimes GH needs to be addressed and shut down directly. There are multiple methods for shutting down harassment. Tradeswomen can make a joke of an instance, invoke a male partner, or attempt to get rid of a guy.

Humour has distinct trade-offs and advantages to it. For example, perhaps the most seamless way to confront someone at work is to utilize humour. Humour is one of the most common disguises for harassment; harassers exploit the inherent ambiguity of humour to degrade others (Collinson & Collinson, 1996). Responding to sexualized or offensives jokes with humour allows a tradeswoman to participate in the social camaraderie of the job site. Humour is an entry point to the boys club, humour creates solidarity between the two jokers, and marks a social boundary between them and other people on site (Hay, 2000; Houser 2018). She demonstrates confidence and ability to fit in with the guys while also communicating to the perpetrator that their behavior is problematic.

Another way to shut it down with low risk of confrontation is to invoke a male partner when propositioned by male co-workers. Heather said she was asked multiple times to become a "camp girlfriend" to which she replied:

> Uh no, you do realize I'm in a relationship, I don't want none of that shit. And there's time where I literally have to be on my phone, FaceTiming the hubby, and I'm like hey look, I'm talking to my husband, fuck off, and yeah, they'd finally leave, but there were times, how many times I'd try pretending that he was on the phone, they would know.

Heather said they would "finally leave," stop harassing her, upon seeing her husband on FaceTime; they needed visual proof of her established relationship before they would leave her alone. Shutting down harassment by saying that one is already in a relationship can be helpful for women in a threatening situation, because it is less confrontational and less personal.

There are several issues with this response. The first, as Heather went on to explain, is that many of the men who were asking her to become their "camp girlfriend" were also married. They had wives or girlfriends back home so infidelity was not an issue for them, rather, they were cowed by dominance or respect for her male partner. This does not protect the woman's personal security. Furthermore, this approach lets the harasser know that the woman is already in a relationship instead of uninterested in the sexual advance. As previously stated, this reduces the chance of backlash, but it is only a short-term solution and may open her to future SAH (e.g. maybe they'll break up, maybe she'll get lonely enough and change her mind). This response also assumes heterosexuality. In the context of hegemonic masculinity, it is one thing to defer to a male partner, another thing to defer to a woman. This may have put them at risk of homophobic violence and of being placed in the "dyke" category.

With these responses in mind, the truest sense of shutting it down is direct confrontation with the harasser, telling them immediately to stop, in an aggressively masculine manner, typically by raising their voice and swearing. Shutting it down is an individualized response. This is important because it fits into the masculine culture of the trades; tradeswomen want to avoid being labelled as a victim and act independently. For example, Brooke will call guys out by saying, "dude, what the fuck?" in response to GH or SAH.

This type of response becomes more important/accessible through a tradeswoman's career. When Liz looks back at the incident where the guy smelled her hair, she said today she

would respond differently: “I’d just be like fuck off, you fucking pig, but at that time, I was like, not used to it because you don’t have confrontation like that in an office, right?” Liz notes that shutting it down in this manner, telling someone to “fuck off” in a professional setting, is more common and acceptable within the culture of the trades and is something tradeswomen need to learn and adapt to – the reflex of yelling at someone is built up over time.

Calling someone out for GH or SAH, telling them they need to stop, potentially opens the tradeswoman up to opposition, and/or being labelled a bitch, a MeToo lady. As previously explored, these labels can harm their professional reputation. Furthermore, telling someone to “fuck off” is aggressive and may open them up to violence. The individual needs to assess if it worth taking the risk based on potential efficacy. Maddy assesses each incident to determine if she is going to shut it down or not:

> I think each situation was different … they're never … there may have been a build up? But I feel like the ones that were – there was a lot that were just trying to push me to see how far I would go, and they were very easily handled after I figured out how to do it, and then there were the guys that were just crazy. And the guys that were just crazy – there was no handling them, or directing the work relationship … I would just move on, because it's not worth it.

Maddy assesses the intention of the aggressor when determining if shutting it down is the best response. Some co-workers may be attempting to get a reaction out of her; through a process of learning, she said, she figured out how to shut down with a combination of wit and humour. However, if someone is just “crazy,” displaying extremely aggressive behavior with the intention to harm Maddy, shutting it down will result in physical violence. For those individuals, Maddy would avoid them and not engage in order to keep herself safe. This has a limit point. Maddy said that she “shut it down” so many times and felt so angry and frustrated with the treatment she received, that, “You just finally snap.” She had gotten into physical altercations with guys in

order to shut down repeated GH and SAH. There are real consequences, potential physical violence, within the discernment process.

Like Maddy's assessment process, Paap (2006) developed a policy for herself while working in construction: harassment that occurred in public and directed at her was handled immediately, but she would not engage with public jokes about women in general, or co-workers' girlfriends or wives. For Paap, this was part of "not taking it personally" and assessing risk versus impact of calling a guy out at work in order to shut it down. However, she also notes "viable exceptions" to her rule; she would not say anything, "generally when I felt I could not handle the reality behind it." By this, Paap means the risk of being labelled as "looking for a lawsuit" and laid off, or physical violence (2006, p. 199). She knew that there could be backlash and measures that possibility against taking action. Paap argued that, "I did not ignore such events because I was lazy; I ignored them because I felt it was truly the best – and perhaps the only – option" (Paap, 2006, p. 199). Like participants in this study, Paap highlights the situations where not engaging or isolating is the best, most strategic tract to take, instead of shutting it down.

Paap also identifies the tricky situation where an aggressor may also be a potential ally. Her supervisor, Harry, would often put his hand on her behind while giving instructions for the day. She did not push his hand away and this became a regular occurrence. Paap did not address it because Harry's interest provided her with partial protection at work. Harry knew that she was having trouble with other guys on site, and took a level of patronage to protect her, which also made Harry feel a level of control and ownership over Paap. This is further complicated by the fact that Harry would touch her in front of other co-workers, simultaneously demonstrating to the crew that Paap "belongs" to Harry, but also that she is a sexual conquest ('whore' category) and

therefore her body is open for all to look at, touch, and comment on. This level of harassment led to the erosion of Paap's social self. She felt she had no control over her personal boundaries at work; they were always being manipulated or compromised to some degree.

Asking for Help and Filing a Complaint

The negotiation of relationships with potential allies at work is a difficult one, as shutting it down sometimes is only possible with public support from male co-workers. Asking for help from a male co-worker or supervisor to end a pattern of harassment is sometimes the necessary choice for tradeswomen, but this relies on cultivated protective relationships or respect from crew members. Therefore, asking for help entails multiple steps.

First, a woman should only ask for help after attempting to "shut it down" independently. Participants noted that a guy would have just dealt with it on his own, so they should attempt to do so, too. Denissen (2010) found that many women working in construction looked for confirmation from male friends or family members that the treatment they were receiving was problematic. They would only identify behaviour as harassment or as having "crossed the line" after their boyfriend or dad who also worked in the industry said they should not have to put up with it. They were seeking confirmation from someone with greater authority within masculine culture of work. When asking for help, the tradeswoman needs to be sure she is going to receive that kind of confirmation. This is most likely to be found if the harassment has escalated or become physical. Then it is easier to enlist the assistance of 'brothers' or a friend and to ask for assistance or intervention.

There is the possibility of leaning on other women at work, but this depends on the stability of her position and of social norms. If having a male co-worker agree that this behaviour is not permissible, having a female co-worker back up a harassment claim might undermine the

whole thing (they're ganging up on him). Does the tradeswoman have enough power to lean on other women while continuing to appear believable? This is often not possible because of the lack of support between women. This is fuelled by the 'me vs other girls' rhetoric and encouraged by men pitting women against each other through false rumours and gossip. Amanda and Courtney, the only two women on their crew, were always hearing negative rumours about one another, until, according to Amanda:

> We pulled each other aside and finally had a conversation and realized that [the crew was] messing with us, so we became friends and decided that if we hear anything we'll just talk to each other instead of believing the guys.

These false rumours are a form of harassment in and of itself, but they also increase the consequences of other forms of harassment by making it less likely for women to support or believe one another. Amanda and Courtney took action against their co-workers, but this was the only time this was reported in this study.

The second level of escalation in asking for help is reporting harassment to a tool push, foreman, or boss in order to request some kind of supportive action. When this happened, participants were often not looking for the boss to resolve the conflict for them (though this did occur, as in Heather's case), but to take action that would get the tradeswoman away from the harasser or mitigate the behaviour to a certain extent, like switching shifts or crews. This is a form spatial and temporal maneuvering, as described in Chapter 2, the alternation of one's physical setting in order to maximize personal safety. Maddy's co-worker was refusing to train her, so she went to her boss for help, who gave her tips to stay ahead of the co-worker so that he could not reprimand Maddy. If she stayed on task, based on outside information from her boss, she was able to avoid GH and abuse from the co-worker. In this case, the boss did not directly

intervene, but he helped Maddy when she could no longer manage the situation on her own. He provided interpretation of the culture and the guy's behaviour to mitigate the GH.

In certain extreme cases of severe harassment, the tradeswomen may go so far as to file a complaint with human resources. Filing a complaint is a fraught process in any industry but particularly in the construction trades and oil sands due to the distinct culture of work. One of the most illuminating exchanges during interview for this project about filing a complaint was with April who had worked as a job steward (a union representative) on several projects. Once as a job steward she had a young woman come to her looking to file a complaint for sexual harassment. April encouraged this young apprentice not to do so. This was informed by April's understanding of the effects of filing a complaint:

> April: But you need to understand that in the trades if you say the word harassment and you open up a case of harassment, that will never go away.
> Griffin: For you personally?
> April: That will follow you as a female for the rest of your career. Because guys talk, and they will say, stay away from Griffin, because she - she filed harassment on the last job, and then the next job it will go stay away from her because she filed harassment, so 20 years later guys are still saying you filed harassment on a guy, 20 years ago.

For April, this consequences of filing a harassment complaint outweighed any form of restitution that may come from the complaint. Filing a complaint moves the incident from the informal, on-the-ground realm of work, into formal management territory. To even speak the word "harassment" was to incur serious professional damage and would ultimately prevent her from "just going to work." There is a stigma for anyone filing a complaint at work, but here April highlights the gendered consequences for a "female" and the particular nature of a sexual harassment claim. The young apprentice ultimately "kept her mouth shut" according to April. She had seen first-hand the negative consequences from the rumours and gossip on the job site for women, as they experience further harassment from labelling behaviour as harassment. The

individual consequences of trying to change things systemically can be dire. The goal for April, even in her formal role as job steward, was to mitigate harm, not to address the root cause of the harassment. This is just go to work in action, the short term, survival level decisions women must make in order to continue to work.

However, there is a point where it is no longer possible to work in an environment, and a tradeswoman can file a complaint with the goal of a major change to the work environment, for both the tradeswoman and the aggressor, or she can leave. In Amanda's case, she filed a formal complaint with the human resources department against a co-worker who had physically and sexually assaulted her. This was an incredibly stressful and crushing process for Amanda.

Amanda started working on a new crew in the mine and one of her co-workers, John, immediately started harassing her. It began with sexualized comments and rumours, then John started sending her explicit photos and text messages to her private cell phone. She changed her phone number and blocked him on social media, but still had to see him at work, where the behaviour escalated:

> [John] would come out of nowhere and I'd be on my knees, like grinding something on the ground, on the floor, and I'd look up because there'd be these boots that would show up in front of me and I'd look up and there'd he'd be standing there with his pelvis pushed towards my face as he's standing in front of me (Griffin: Oh my god) oh yeah! And the other – I'd be bent over trying to do something and he would come up and like slap me in the ass or he'd like he had this really great creepy rape stare where like he'd just like look down his nose at you and look at you with hungry eyes …

This harassment culminated in John forcing Amanda's hand onto his penis at work and throwing her into the side of a service truck. She said that all of these incidents happened while other people were around, and crew members would either ignore the conduct or laugh along with John. She later learned that co-workers did not intervene because many thought, based on a

rumour started by John, that the two were dating and just kidding around even as Amanda was "screaming at him to stop and leave me alone."

Mid-way through the harassment, John was promoted to a management position on the crew, which Amanda thought emboldened his behaviour. For a while, Amanda felt stuck: "It's really hard because you really don't want to be that girl, the one who takes everyone to HR for everything because then no one talks to you." After the violence started, Amanda realized she needed to quit or get substantial help. She approached her manager about the situation and he went to HR on her behalf.

Amanda was working a 7/7 shift, and decided she needed help over the weekend, but HR was closed Friday through Sunday. Amanda and her manager had to wait until Monday. Amanda wrote out incident statements about the harassment she had been subjected to and recruited crew members to file witness statements on her behalf, including a contractor who saw John throw Amanda at the truck. She had a strong level of support from co-workers, including the other woman on the crew, Courtney, who had also been harassed by John, and several 'brothers' that were shocked to learn that John and Amanda were not dating.

On Monday, when HR opened, the first question Amanda was asked by the woman in HR was, "Are you sure this isn't normal workplace joking around?" She could not believe that another woman was speaking to her this way. Amanda said the HR's questioning made her feel "like now I'm being blamed for this happening." She also had to endure the quickly spreading gossip that she went to HR and risk of violence from John now that he knew she was acting against him. They were living in the same camp during this time. On Monday evening, Amanda said, "I didn't even go for dinner that night because I couldn't get an answer from HR if he was still on site." HR was not returning her phone calls, and she was scared John would retaliate:

> I mean, everyone kind of knows where everyone's rooms are in camp, it's not a secret and not knowing if he was still onsite. Like if I was to walk out of door and he'd be standing in my hallway, you know what I mean? (Griffin: Yeah) from HR fucking ignoring me.

John was ultimately fired, and Amanda was blamed by co-workers for "ruining a man's life" because she "couldn't keep her mouth shut." She was moved to a new crew, with a different job, which she ultimately liked better, but it was clear that she experienced push back from co-workers and management for her decision to report. Even when she asserted herself and filed the complaint, ultimately the narrative was rewritten in accordance with the masculinist culture of work – she was at fault and to blame for ruining John's career.

The immediate aftermath of the event and the complaint process demonstrates the gender inequality embedded in this setting. The escalation of violence, the proliferation of rumours and gossip, Amanda's insecurity at camp, and the inaccessibility and insensitivity of HR all combined to make it incredibly difficult for Amanda to thrive at work. Amanda even had a level of privilege in this situation, as she had a family member working in the mine and knew someone who worked in HR (not affiliated with the mine) who helped her with the complaint process. Amanda was better equipped than most women to make this move. Many would have simply left the job. However, Amanda still experienced severe emotional and professional reputation damage for going through this process.

Leaving

Sometimes, the problem is too great, the harassment too frequent, too violent, there is no managing it, the only way to survive is to get out. Leaving a job could be taking the first available lay off, volunteering to move to another site, or formally quitting. There is a high level

of personal, financial, and professional risk to leaving a job, but ultimately, it secures one's immediate physical and mental safety against harassment.

Misty has worked with women who have struggling with filing a harassment complaint and other women who have simply disappeared: "they just quit, and they just never come back. Because it's a lot of time and energy to um, defend yourself I think, still, even though we're in the union, at least that's my perception." Many women noted that a union acted as a bulwark against harassment to a certain extent. They emphasized that they know their rights and protections, as opposed to if they were just an independent contractor. But as the story of April working as a job steward highlights, the perceptions around filing a sexual harassment complaint persist and affect the protections. All that time and energy spent filing the complaint takes away from one's ability to just go to work.

Molly was forced to leave a job as a pipeline insulator when she experienced a repeated pattern of harassment from her foreman and his clique of guys on the crew. Molly felt like she was being ganged up on and was "blown away" by the treatment she received. She told her boyfriend about the treatment, and he said, "Tell 'em you want a flight home." The next day was the last day of the shift, so Molly stayed, but spoke to her supervisor and asked for help. He said that he would talk to the guys when they all came back on the next rotation.

Molly went back for the next shift, but, "I knew it wasn't going to be good." She felt like the supervisor had brushed off concerns; he chided her for not reporting the foreman's harassment earlier and said he needed to get both sides of the story. Molly felt punished for reporting the harassment. The word got out that she had talked to the super and "they all were like rude to me, putting me into 'skeg [muskeg, swamp] and putting me into the shittiest shit." This culminated in the foreman yelling at Molly in front of the crew and the super. That evening,

Molly told her boyfriend what had happened, and he replied, “You're either quitting or they're laying you off.” She went to the project manager to report the harassment. The manager was sympathetic but did not take any direct action. Molly completed the rotation and flew home, vowing not to ever go back. She did not know if they would fire her or offer a layoff. Molly did not hear from the company until the following week when she was originally supposed to fly back for the next rotation. They emailed her to say the flight had been cancelled. After months of back and forth with the company, Molly finally received a ROE from the company, confirmation of a layoff, that allowed her to file for EI. Molly concluded, “I always try to look for the good, but in the end, there was no good out there.”

Molly attempted to manage the situation on her own, she worked hard, tried to prove herself, she asked for help from multiple sources, but was continually brushed off or not supported in a meaningful way. Molly had third party support from her boyfriend, a male ally who also works in the industry, to identify the actions as being inappropriate and worthy of quitting. The goal for Molly was not to punish the foreman who had harassed her but only for the treatment to stop.

This response is temporarily effective. Molly got away from the harassment but is left with a new array of challenges. Workers in her position must find a new job, potentially a new apprenticeship sponsor, and develop new relationships on another site. Quitting before making a complaint solves the problem for the individual but does nothing to address the behaviour of the aggressor or the complicity of management to the harassment. Denissen argues, “Oftentimes, tradeswomen simply want the troubling behavior to stop and do not seek to punish tradesmen that they may have to work with again in the future” (2010, p. 323). They want to be able to just go to work. The responsibility for this occupational culture does not fall on the tradeswoman, but

a lack of complaints and thus of a record of problems makes it difficult to identify this pattern of harassment.

Allie was working up north on a ready for operations (RFO) job while pregnant with her daughter Olivia. Allie brought in a doctor's note that said she could not lift over 35 pounds or work in areas that required double hearing protection in order to protect the fetus. During her next block of time off, Allie was laid off. She felt "incomprehensibly mad" especially because she did not think that pregnant women could be discriminated against anymore, this seemed like an old-fashioned response. Acker argues that there is no room in formal organizational structures for "'bodied' processes" like reproduction, childcare, and breastfeeding (1990, p.152). These processes are "suspect, stigmatized, and used as grounds for control" in order to maintain the masculinist organizational structure (Acker, 1990, p.152). Allie thinks she got lost in the sub-contractor system of the oil sands industry, where the lack of protections and shifting requirements for work made it easier for her company to lay her off.

Allie looked for external assistance and went to the Human Rights Commission. They told her that they could not get directly involved until she had attempted to negotiate with her employer on her own. Their confirmation of her grievance gave her the confidence to approach her employer. Upon hearing that she had spoken with the Human Rights Commission Allie's employer "realized that [she] meant business" and offered her a new job. This position was in another part of Alberta that required extensive driving for Allie. She refused the new job because she said:

> I mean for me it was like my own personal choice to not take that because I didn't want to be travelling that much in my third trimester, I didn't think it was safe for me to be on the highway that much. It was one thing to be travelling to and from but to be doing that, I'd be travelling four times as much as I would have normally been, so I wasn't comfortable that.

They went through a few more possible adaptions, but none like the original job Allie had been hired for that allowed her to use her skills and journeywoman designation. She was told that the company had never dealt with a situation like this before and there was no policy in place, to which she replied, “How can you not have a policy? I'm pretty sure you’ve had pregnant women before working for your company. It just ... it flabbergasted me.” The lack of support and guidance from her employer was too much. She took a layoff and went home.

When Allie says it was her own personal choice to take the layoff, she is, to a degree, taking personal responsibility for the lack of preparedness or help from the employer. Paap argues that in any workplace the “culture of no complaints” undermines rights protections for workers (2006, p. 147). Allie choose the safest option for herself and her baby. By forcing women to adjust and take SAH and GH as “no big deal,” something to adjust to and internalize, women feel gaslighted by their employer, the occupational culture, and ultimately by themselves. They're forced into a corner. Why is this happening? Why can't I just let it go? I argue that being tough involves some level of internalization and harm for women.

Not only does harassment force women to leave the industry, it also discourages others from entering. For Rachel, her experience of the masculine culture of work, meant she would not recommend this type of work to others in her situation. Rachel, who is transgender, spoke about how the trades were a good career for her when she was young and homeless. She said, “For me, the trades has been an easier way than not, because it provided, put a roof over my head, when nothing else would.” Housing insecurity is a major issue for trans youth; a disproportionate amount of homeless youth identify as LGBTQ2. I asked if Rachel would recommend the trades to transgender youth today. She said no, because:

> It’s not a safe work environment. I've had death threats, I've been on jobs where, not me because I'm necessarily transgender but where women on the jobs, the foreman has been

> caught saying get rid of all the women on the tools. And they – nobody including the shop steward did anything to prosecute them, there's witnesses who aren't willing to come forward and say anything, even though their multiple witness and they've told me but they're not willing to lose their jobs, in a boom time, so that's really shallow – to say nothing of human rights …

Rachel notes the widespread misogynist behaviour in the trades. She also highlights that not entering goes along with exiting, like the gap in the number of women in the trades, this could be a contributing factor. The culture of silence undermines one's ability to file a complaint, solicit help, and/or protection from co-workers. She also notes the economic context – in a boom, there is work for everyone, but male co-workers with greater privilege still refuse to take any level of professional risk that could occur from acting as a witness for a complaint.

In this context, leaving the industry becomes a very reasonable response. Marginalized communities can either adapt to these conditions or leave, "as the token numbers of women in the building trades suggest" (Denissen, 2010, p. 322). Jerry Jacobs, as cited in Denissen (2010), argues that a gender imbalance in a workplace is not necessarily due to the lack of women entering the industry, but women being forced out. This works to maintain occupational segregation (Paap, 2006, p. 148). Turnover and exit rates remain high, thus continuously reproducing the same conditions of work. Therefore, the culture serves as an "occupational gatekeeping mechanism for women" (Paap, 2006, p. 148).

This culture takes its toll over time; Allie reflected that "all sorts of things, like, little things like eventually build up and you see women that have been in the trades for 15-20 years and they just eventually get fed up with it and they get out." The cumulative effects of harassment over the years serve to halt women's progress in the industry. In addition, all of the participants, aged 24-49, were considering the effects of aging on their work. They commented on changes that had occurred in their bodies already or on changes that they anticipated

occurring. Some were preparing to leave their trade or get additional tickets to allow them to transition to less physically strenuous work. Similarly, women who had been injured and forced to take time off and lose wages were conscious of the potential for further injury and the insecurity of their position. Any physical change, including pregnancy, causes job instability in the industry. The duration of one's career depends on how long one can "just go to work."

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis has sought to investigate the question: What are tradeswomen's experiences of and responses to gendered harassment at camp-based work in the oil sands economy? These experiences inform our understanding of the masculine occupational culture of work and the systemic nature of GH in this sector. To answer this question, I have utilized a critical feminist geography conceptual framework. This informed my understanding of harassment and the affective and material strategies women use to manage harassment at work. I employed constructivist grounded theory as the methodology for data collection and analysis. There is an absence of recent literature documenting women's experience in primary resource industries and this project aims, in part, to document the specific conditions of work for women in the trades in natural resource extraction communities in western Canada.

I introduce two ideas important to the thesis, "just go to work" and "me vs. other girls." These are the main contributions to the literature from this thesis. In this concluding chapter, I review the key findings of the project and introduce a new topic: advocacy networks within the trades for women. The majority of participants expressed their interest in, or desire to see, cultural change within their industry such as a greater number of women in the trades or a shift in attitude of their co-workers. I discuss the tension between these efforts and the concept of "just go to work" before offering a brief overview of some potential hopeful signs of the changing cultural context and advocacy efforts. Finally, I offer directions for further research on this topic.

Key Findings

In the data collected for this project, I have identified a variety of strategies that participants utilize in order to address, cope with, combat, and avoid harassment. In Chapter 2, I introduced the work women do to go to work in the trades. I divide this into five areas of strategic management: bodily practices (managing personal appearance, such as no make-up, dressing in dark colours, and practicing self-care), character traits and mannerisms (developing a tough, masculine affect through swearing, making jokes, 'proving yourself') spatial maneuvering (developing a routine in camp that reduces contact with harassment), picking and establishing relationships (strategic/protective, 'brother' friendships), and handling direct encounters (shutting it down). All of these strategies overlap and connect in varying ways.

In Chapter 3, I demonstrate how these strategies are developed, learned, and used in the field. I focus on how tradeswomen prepare for and enter the workforce by drawing on stories shared by participants. This is demonstrated through the arc most women experience when entering the trades: starting their first job, developing a "tough" affect and appearance, screening co-workers, and experiencing harassment for the first time. In Chapter 2, each strategy is laid out separately, but in the experience of participants, they are developed together. Often multiple strategies are used at once or in conjunction with one another. There is no consistent process or guide to their actions, as their responses change with time and context. Furthermore, their usage of such strategies is closely linked to power and privilege in this environment (Rospenda et al., 1998). Race, class, age, sexuality, family status, and other factors affect these strategies. White women hold greater privilege than women of colour in this environment, they are better able to conform to the hegemonic norms of the environment and they are not subject to the "double jeopardy" of both racism and sexism in this environment (Buchanan et al., 2006).

With differential access to power and the constantly changing context, tradeswomen are always learning and re-learning what works and how to survive in this environment through informal processes. In doing so, they develop their own version and approach to "just go to work"; they learn to establish themselves and how to cope. In Chapter 4, I explore how this treatment becomes a part of their day-to-day experiences at work and the daily strategies they employ throughout their career in order to "just go to work." This chapter focuses on recurrent harassment in order to demonstrate how both GH and the responses to GH are embedded in the culture of work and reveal its systemic nature. Tradeswomen are engaged in a constant process of discernment, labelled "picking your battles," and surveillance while at work. They respond in a variety of ways: isolating, letting it go, shutting it down, asking for help and filing a complaint, finally, in extreme cases, leaving a job. Tradeswomen's ability to "just go to work" is sharpened over time through continual exposure to this environment and culture of work.

Advocacy Efforts

The majority of participants for this project are involved in some form of volunteer work to recruit more women to the trades. They often mentioned that they chose to participate in an interview for this project because they hoped that sharing their experience might encourage more women to join them. On the surface, it may seem that their commitment to advocacy work runs counter to their expression of "just go to work." JGTW is a day to day practice, it is about addressing one's immediate needs to get through the shift and establishing a reputation to continue to move through the trades. It facilitates paid labour in a hostile environment but does not necessarily change the overall culture of work— and if so, very slowly. Tradeswomen are trapped between being exposed to harassment or working to reduce their exposure through everyday strategies that thereby reinforce the masculine culture of work. By participating in

JGTW practices, they are, to an extent, sustaining the system that works against them. However, this does not make their external advocacy efforts, like volunteering with young women and girls or union work, hypocritical or contradictory.

Within the trades, social power is produced and reproduced according to the norms of the industry, but there is also the potential for material and social practices of resistance (Katz, 2003). Katz argues that social transformation is facilitated by resilience, reworking, and resistance (2004). Resilience and reworking often create the platform for direct, oppositional resistance (Katz, 2004, p. 242). In the context of this project, I argue that "just go to work" demonstrates the lived tensions between resilience and reworking. This creates a basis for participants' gender equality advocacy efforts outside of their jobs.

Resilience is the day-to-day work of survival, it produces "autonomous initiative, recuperation" (Katz, 2004, p. 242), through the cultivation of new habits or skills and adapting to new or complex circumstances. This is seen in JGTW practices, like managing affect and appearance, learning the language of the trades, like humour. Reworking moves further. It attempts to "recalibrate power relations and/or redistribute resources," works to alter one's circumstances, and has the effect of retooling social and political actors (Katz, 2004, p. 247). Reworking is practical and about changing the structural and individual obstacles. Sometimes, JGTW stretches beyond resiliency, and acts to rework the social relations on the job. For example, humour is the language of the trades, but humour can be used to critique or document harassment. It is a socially acceptable way for a tradeswoman to call a guy out for making a pass at her. This can be considered reworking, as she is actively changing the norms on site by calling out harassment. This is also true for instances of "shutting it down," by setting a boundary, a

tradeswoman reworks social relations on a crew, by arguing that this conduct is not acceptable, it crosses a line and their behaviour must change.

Resiliency, as formulated by Katz, has been critiqued for its neutral stance; the practice of "getting by" can be good or bad depending on the circumstance and the actor. It is often co-opted by neoliberal systems for this reason; to force adaption to difficult circumstances for the benefit of bad actors (DeVerteuil & Golubchikov, 2016). This can be seen in JGTW, since its actions to some extent reproduce the dominant system, to the tradeswomen's disadvantage. DeVerteuil and Golubchikov's new formulation of critical resilience argues that resilience can be active, capacity building, and a necessary precursor to transformation and resistance (2016, p. 146). This approach to resiliency makes room for some of the complexities and overlap in JGTW between resiliency and reworking. It is necessary for tradeswomen to have access to day-to-day survival practices in order to be able to build a career for themselves, thus allowing them to encourage other women to join the industry, and spark further change.

The contradictions, tensions, and problems of JGTW stem from the way GH is built into this system. "Just go to work" acknowledges the challenging conditions of work that women are subjected to but spurs them on to continue working in that space. These efforts recalibrate power relations as they enable women to continue to work in the trades where they have been traditionally excluded. Women's continued presence is a subversion of hegemonic social relations as they to earn a salary in the male-dominated industry. "Just go to work" strategies make the trades a precarious but somewhat livable space for women (subject to trade-offs and consequences as discussed in Chapter 4).

This sets the stages for resistance practices, which Katz defines as an "invocation of an oppositional consciousness" (2004, p. 251). Direct resistance work is rare across all social

inequality work because of its “explicitly oppositional character” (Katz, 2004, p. 251). In Nagy and Teixeira’s research on women who FIFO in B.C. they found that their participants made no reference to “efforts to resist or oppose the existing social structure” (2020). This was not the case in my findings. It is always difficult to oppose a set of social relations from a marginalized position, but it is especially challenging when they still need access to the target. For tradeswomen, they still need to work and earn an income. As previously discussed, opposition, especially in the form of a formal sexual harassment complaint, can jeopardize their careers. This created tension at times, between their use of reworking and resistance practices.

There was interest in greater, structural change from the majority of participants. They always mentioned their desire to see the norms of work change in interviews. One participant said that tradeswomen, “Just need equality. It's not fair. We should all be the same.” Another said:

> I think the culture needs to change. I think, I think that men, and even women in the trades, need to learn what’s acceptable to say and how to treat people, and there's a line that you shouldn’t cross.

I found that the participants in this study practiced “just go to work” while on the job, but many expressed resistance rhetoric and engaged in resistance work outside of the trades.

The advocacy work that tradeswomen engaged in was, for the most part, a form of reworking rather than resistance. The majority of participants did volunteer work to encourage more women to get into the trades, using their experiences and stories to inspire women to start an apprenticeship or take an introductory training course. I argue that this is a form of reworking because the aim is to recalibrate power relations within the oil sands by increasing the number of women employed in the industry. They were not, for the most part, engaged in political protest about the conditions of work, through striking or lobbying. Currently, to protest or file a

complaint, direct opposition, would undermine their own viability in this setting, and thus preventing them from having any kind of claim to it or ability to get paid. Rather, by increasing the number of women in the workforce, by changing the gender ratio, perhaps cultural change will occur; Allie said, “I know they talk about 50/50 of women and men, but it's never gonna happen in this century. It's like nursing, it's never gonna be 50/50. I mean, you’d like to see 40/60.” Maybe reaching the 40/60 ratio would topple male cultural dominance, if not numerical dominance.

To do so, some participants volunteered for mentorship programs through unions or technical colleges. Others had spoken about their work at international conferences to promote the inclusion of women in the trades. Several participants had presented at after school programs for young women and girls or information sessions for training programs, bringing their tools and demonstrating their skills. One participant said she always keeps an eye out for young women that come to those sessions with their brothers or boyfriends. She’ll try to speak to them and actively reframe their ideas about the trades and what careers are possible for women. One woman had participated in an apprenticeship recruitment video. As one of the only Indigenous women in her trade, she said was proud to act as a “positive role model for other people.” This type of work can be overwhelming and time consuming but, she said, “I'm trying my best to empower other women to get out there, and don’t be scared to you know, get out there and show what you can actually do.” For this participant, her pride in her work drives her to mentor and reach out to others who do not see themselves represented in the trades work force. She encourages them to take the leap and join her.

One avenue of advocacy work was the promotion of unions. Participants who were members felt that unions keep women safer, in regard to physical safety and protection from GH,

than independent contract work. They expressed that they feel a sense of comfort and security knowing that they have the support of the union behind them. April tells women considering the trades that "the union is the better way to go" because of the policy protections and job security it offers. Liz felt similarly: "I don't have to put up with shit because it's like, these are the rules and there's a zero-tolerance policy." She continued, saying that if she is arguing with co-workers about safety regulations, sees a younger female co-worker sexually harassed, or if she hears a racist slur on the site, she said, "I just don't put up with it anymore, I just won't, because I don't have to!" For all of these issues, Liz felt supported by the policy regulations behind her to shut down this type of behaviour. As previously discussed, is not always possible to use this policy or file a complaint, but knowing it is there provides a sense of peace for some women. Additionally, some unions have formal women's mentorship programs, they connect journeywomen with new female apprentices and/or there are monthly meetings for tradeswomen.

There are some limitations for advocacy work. Wright found that homophobia and sexism often act as a "deterrent to women participating in formal networks for women" and engaging in collective resistance (2016, p. 354). While participants never directly addressed homophobia in our discussions of advocacy, me vs other girls rhetoric did come through, a form of sexism. The goal of being recognized by men and the dominant culture sometimes resulted in negative comments directed at other women from their work. Participants often commented in interviews about women who started in the trades after working in a female-dominated sector, like healthcare or education, saying that these women need to adjust their standards of treatment and "get over themselves" about harassment at work. These were the same participants who volunteered to recruit women to the trades but would then turn around and critique the new recruits when interacting with them on site. This tension between solidarity and the me vs other

girls rhetoric directed at some women was recognized by participants. For example, Misty said that she had an agreement with other women in her union to not talk about other women at work. They collectively agreed that they would refrain from commenting or critiquing other women's behaviour even if they disagreed with their dress or work habits. Misty said she thought this made her appear more confident in herself and her abilities at work.

While Misty's strategy is proactive and resistant, me vs. other girls can also be viewed from the frame of reworking. Many of the participants who critiqued the "girlie girls" at work were also actively trying to recruit more women to join their trade. Rejecting feminine practices had resulted in their personal success, and they wished for that same level of success for other women. The route to success is narrow, and could obviously stand to be expanded, but they are working within the strict confines of the system to make social transformation occur. This is the tension of just go to work; women engage in strategic maneuvering within the masculine dominated space and manipulate gender roles to their advantage, while also confidently rejecting and critiquing the culture of work when off the job.

For many participants, their pride and active interest in advocacy work is both supported and undermined by the cultural shift around harassment. They know that there has been advancement in union and work place policy, like Liz and April reference, but there has also been some backlash from their co-workers, particularly from the MeToo movement and hiring programs that draw from marginalized communities. MeToo has encouraged greater acknowledgment and identification of harassment but some participants thought that their male co-workers feel threatened by this cultural shift. One participant said she knew of a male co-worker who had been falsely accused of harassment and that men deserved greater protection in

this shifting climate. Others like Allie were focused on the long-term effects of gender discrimination:

> I've heard of jobs, people saying well you know you got your job because you're a woman. Because there's certain advantages for companies if they hire women and it's like I don't – I have yet to see a job where they've hired me on the basis of my gender. Like if anything, I think men will see the one door that's open, but they don't see the three doors that are closed.

Allie's comment clearly summarizes the privilege that some workers have over others in this industry. The cultural shift has generated some degree of change, but the hegemonic norms have not disappeared.

A continued, major barrier that participants reported is the lack of women in management positions in the trades. There is a glass ceiling above the role of journeyman. Rachel told me about a company that she liked working for because of the racial/ethnic and gender diversity of the employees. I asked if diversity extends to management at that company, to which Rachel replied:

> No, I'd say 99% are men, the women that are, that do get in there, typically have a trade, they'll become a journeyperson, I don't think I've met one person in management who is a woman. There is a glass ceiling. I've been a foreman once in my life and a lot of the men thought it was a joke at the time.

She did not comment on racial diversity among management, but she went on to reflect on her own experience as a foreman. She felt insulted by male co-workers, and as if she was the "straw" foreman, even though she was good at the job. Similarly, Liz once worked as lead hand (sub-foreman) on a job. She found the experience to be extremely challenging because of the reaction of the crew:

> … some guys are okay with it, a lot of guys are just stubborn, they just don't like being told what to do by a woman, that's just the nature of it. Whether it's right or wrong, that's how it is, right? And it's like, I don't like feeling like it's an uphill battle.

Liz ultimately left the position and requested to switch shifts so that she did not have to continue working with the same crew of guys. She acknowledges that the work she is doing is already difficult, and any additional labour, like trying to convince a 100-person crew to listen to her, was too much. It is an "uphill battle" that interfered with her ability to "just go to work."

The lack of women in management positions is an equity issue, creates a wage gap, and prevents the further recruitment of women to the trades. Several participants mentioned women working in safety or HR that looked out for them. On one work site, Maddy said that a woman in HR hired four to five women, causing a significant shift in the crew dynamic. This is a further, pressing issue that must be addressed on both a cultural and policy level.

The external advocacy efforts that participants contribute to has the potential to create major change in their industry. This kind of grassroots work is essential and can be supported by policy change. This thesis has shown how harassment is embedded into the occupational culture of the trades and how tradeswomen's responses to harassment are dictated by this culture. This is further complicated by the additional challenge of resource-based extraction work in camp setting. There is a need for a cultural shift in order to reduce harassment and to increase the number of women joining the trades and accessing management positions.

Filteau argues that increased safety policy on oil rigs, in the Marcellus Shale region of the north-eastern United States, resulted in cultural change. By forcing companies to adhere to safety standards to compete for contracts, the government created a high incentive to take safety seriously. He argues that such policy changes "enable men to construct a new dominant masculinity predicated on safety" (2014, p. 404). There are loopholes in practice to this argument. Often companies are required to demonstrate a strong safety record, which may

obscure accidents or deter reporting, but Filteau discusses how a shift in policy can create cultural cues that attune workers to risks.

One such policy change that was mentioned in the introduction was the provincial legislation passed in 2017 to address harassment at work and introduce gender-based analysis (GBA+) to policy assessment. The occupational health and safety (OHS) protocol in the province was amended to include gendered harassment and violence, which is defined as:

> any single incident or repeated incidents of objectionable or unwelcome conduct, comment, bullying or action by a person that the person knows or ought reasonably to know will or would cause offence or humiliation to a worker, or adversely affects the worker's health and safety, and includes:
> (i) conduct, comment, bullying or action because of race, religious beliefs, colour, physical disability, mental disability, age, ancestry, place of origin, marital status, source of income, family status, gender, gender identity, gender expression and sexual orientation, and
> (ii) a sexual solicitation or advance (Minister of Labour, 2017)

It defines violence as:

> whether at a work site or work-related, means the threatened, attempted or actual conduct of a person that causes or is likely to cause physical or psychological injury or harm, and includes domestic or sexual violence (Minister of Labour, 2017)

These definitions are important additions to legislation because of their explicit consideration of gender-based violence and harassment. They are wide ranging and cover a broad scope of harassment. The legislation also implements penalties of fines and/or imprisonment for compliance failure. This should force industry to take proactive steps to prevent these forms of violence and offer support to victims. However, the process of moving from an instance of harassment to filing a complaint with OHS is complicated by the masculine occupational culture of the trades. This culture both disguises harassment (as hazing, teasing, or "no big deal") and discourages individuals from speaking up from fear of repercussions. This policy change is the

first step, but there must be additional training, mentorship and recruitment programs to increase the diversity of the trades. Diversity of race, gender identity and expression, class, and sexuality are crucial. They are supported by wage equity programs and robust harassment reporting mechanisms.

Future Areas of Research

These policy changes would be supported by further research into harassment at work in the context of resource extractive industries and work camps. As previously mentioned, the majority of harassment research, including this project, focusses on the experiences of heterosexual, middle class white women with full citizenship. This greatly limits our understanding of the topic. Future research should expand beyond this sample population, in order to examine the experiences of tradeswomen from a greater diversity of ethnic/racial backgrounds, gender identity and expression, sexuality, and citizenship status. These factors, among many others, greatly influence experiences and responses to harassment, as some strategies are unequally available and unequally efficacious for different groups of women. It would also be useful to more closely examine how whiteness contributes to tradeswomen's responses to harassment.

Furthermore, harassment research in this setting should be expanded beyond the trades work to include women working as camp staff, such as on housekeeping or cooking crews. As previous research has highlighted, a large portion of these workers are older women, racialized immigrants, or temporary foreign workers (Dorow & Mandizadza, 2018). What are their experiences of harassment, how do they differ from that of tradeswomen? What is the impact of the confluence of positionality in camp, race, and class on harassment? The Amnesty International and Firelight reports both examine how the masculine occupational culture of work

and work camps impact the surrounding communities. Further research is needed on harassment and the intersection of these camps with colonial power structures.

This project introduced the responses tradeswomen use to manage harassment and further research could explore how this labour affects their mental and physical health. What is the toll of enduring such treatment and practicing "just go to work"? As mentioned in this project, many participants stressed the importance of self-care to their survival at camp. It would useful to dig deeper into these practices to understand the cumulative effects of the physical labour and additional emotional labour that they perform, and to explore the lasting or continued impact of instances of physical or sexual violence at work. There is a growing awareness of the mental health challenges of mobile work (Angel, 2014), but this could be further expanded to include the effects of harassment.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has explored the responses and daily strategies that tradeswomen use to navigate the masculine occupational culture of work. These informal responses paint a picture of the work tradeswomen are doing every day to survive and thrive in this environment. It is clear that these responses are essential and could be greatly supported by external policy changes and alliances from co-workers and management. There needs to be a significant cultural shift at every level of worker and management in order to reduce gendered harassment in this environment.

When I interviewed Allie, her daughter came to the interview. I asked Allie, "What would you want for her, when she, if she decided to join the trades?" Allie replied simply, "Just that she feels safe." Allie knows that the trades are a well-paying, satisfying job but they need to be safer for the next generation of tradeswomen.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

- To start, could you tell me a little bit about you and your work?
    - What trade do you work in?
    - How long have your worked in that trade? How long have you worked in the oil sands?
    - What kind of a schedule are you on? Can you describe a typical full work rotation, like commuting to and from camp, moving in and out of the camp, daily shift schedule?
- I'd like to learn about your pathway to doing the kind of work that you do.
    - How did you get started in this particular trade?
    - What was your experience of the apprenticeship program?
    - Where did you get your training?
    - What were your mentors like?
    - How did you end up in the oil industry (vs. in town - availability of work, connections)?
- I'm curious about your day-to-day experiences at work. What happens during a typical day at work? Can you describe it to me?
    - What do you do before and after work?
    - What is the room arrangement at your usual camp (individual, shared rooms or shared bathrooms)?
    - What is recreation like at camp – what kinds of amenities are there, like a movie theatre, gym, bar?
    - Is the camp dry (alcohol-free)? What do you think about that?
    - How do you generally find the atmosphere at the worksite?
- As you know, my project is about gendered experiences at work, so I'd like to talk about your experience as a woman on site and at camp.
    - What kind of advice would you give a woman doing your job? Are there things she should or shouldn't do?
        - What are some of those things?
        - Are there places or topics of conversation she should avoid? How to dress? How to act with co-workers?
    - Are there things that men can get away with that women can't? Women can get away with that men can't?
        - For example, I've heard of the girl card …
    - What kinds of things do you observe about how women and men interact in the worksite? What's that like?
        - What about after hours at camp?

        - Are there behaviours or relationships that shift or change as you move from work to camp?
    - What are your relationships like at the worksite? Are there conflicts or difficulties?
    - Are there adaptions to your job that you've learned as a woman? How did you learn to do those things?
        - Like tricks of the trade, or things you have learned to avoid?
    - Are there are things that you run into at the worksite where women are targets? Of any kind? Can you tell me about that?
        - For example, I've heard sometimes about revenge porn, or when women are actively excluded or called out by male co-workers …
        - What about your own experiences with that? How did that make you feel?
    - Reflecting on your experience at work today, are there things you wished you had known before entering the field?
    - Did any part of your training address gender or women's experiences in the trades – including at WBF (if applicable)?
- Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix 2: Consent form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Tradeswomen's Gendered Experiences of Work

Purpose of Study: You have been invited to participate in a research study conducted by Griffin Kelly who is a graduate student in the Sociology Department at the University of Alberta**.** The results of this study will be used in a Master's thesis project. The study seeks to investigate the experiences of tradeswomen in the workplace and gender inclusivity. You have been identified as a potential interviewee because of your status as construction tradeswoman in the oil sands industry.

Questions about the Study: If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact myself at XXXX@ualberta.ca or by telephone at XXX-XXX-XXXX, or contact my supervisor, Dr. Sara Dorow, by email at XXXX@ualberta.ca. This research meets the standards of the Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Alberta at (780) 492-2615.

Procedures - What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: You will be asked to participate in an interview with open-ended questions. The interview is expected to take approximately 60 minutes and will be scheduled at a time and place convenient for you. You can decline to answer any questions during the interview that you do not feel comfortable addressing. If you provide consent, the interview will be audio-recorded.

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any extraordinary risks or discomforts associated with your participation in this study.

Potential Benefits: The information shared in this study will help to inform knowledge of tradeswomen's experiences in the workplace. If published, the information gathered in this study may shape workplace policy.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal from the Study: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary. You can stop participating in the study at any time during the interview and up to one week after your interview, for any reason, if you so decide. Given the time frame for the study**, if you wish to withdraw from the study, simply inform the researcher - either in person, by email, or over the phone - that you would like to withdraw, up to one week after the interview has been completed.** Your decision not to be interviewed, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, the University of Alberta, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. Only I, Griffin Kelly, and my research supervisor will have access to the primary data. Unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the

research, and a pseudonym (a different name) will be used instead. Electronic data will be safely stored on an encrypted computer and hard data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a private office. It will be stored for a minimum of 5 years.

Legal Rights and Signatures
I_____, consent to participate in this study by Griffin Kelly. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my rights to legal recourse in the event of research-related harm by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Use of Names
Please check one box below:

☐ I consent to having my real name used in the study.

☐ I would prefer that a pseudonym (a different name) be used instead of my real name in the study in order to remain anonymous.

Audio-Recording
Please check one box below:

☐ I consent to having my interview audio-recorded.

☐ I would prefer that my interview not be audio-recorded. In this case, the researcher will take notes instead.

Data Usage
Please check one box below:

☐ I consent to having my data used in future work by Griffin Kelly, such as published articles. I will be contacted to confirm consent upon further usage of the data.

☐ I would prefer that my data not be used in future projects.

Signature_____ **Date**_____
Participant

Signature_____ **Date**_____
Principal Investigator

Contact information (if consented to further usage of data for future projects):

Email: _____

Telephone: _____