



THE MANAGEMENT OF WOMEN EXPATRIATES IN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Sexual Harassment and Compounding Threats in Crisis Zones

by

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Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam

*O gather up the brokenness
And bring it to me now
The fragrance of those promises
You never dared to vow*

*The splinters that you carry
The cross you left behind
Come healing of the body
Come healing of the mind*

*And let the heavens hear it
The penitential hymn
Come healing of the spirit
Come healing of the limb*

*Behold the gates of mercy
In arbitrary space
And none of us deserving
The cruelty or the grace*

*O solitude of longing
Where love has been confined
Come healing of the body
Come healing of the mind*

*O see the darkness yielding
That tore the light apart
Come healing of the reason
Come healing of the heart*

*O troubled dust concealing
An undivided love
The Heart beneath is teaching
To the broken Heart above*

*O let the heavens falter
And let the earth proclaim:
Come healing of the Altar
Come healing of the Name*

*O longing of the branches
To lift the little bud
O longing of the arteries
To purify the blood*

*And let the heavens hear it
The penitential hymn
Come healing of the spirit
Come healing of the limb*

*O let the heavens hear it
The penitential hymn
Come healing of the spirit
Come healing of the limb*

- Leonard Cohen, "Come Healing"

For my mother,

lovingly

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This thesis is especially dedicated to my mother, for inspiring me with her courage, grace, and strength amidst all adversity. It is also dedicated to all victims of sexual violence and rape, regardless of the professional or personal context in which the incidents were experienced. This work aims to give a voice to the victims of sexual abuse who have for so long suffered in silence, so as to help pave a safer and more peaceful trail for the women of the next generations on whom the future depends. Please know that this work would not have been made possible without you.

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to examine the environment that influence expatriates' performance in international humanitarian organizations and expand the literature on human resource management in the context of multinational organizations. A comparison is made between international humanitarian organizations and multinational corporations to identify specific bottlenecks women expats face in the context of humanitarian work and how solutions to address these problems should be different from those existing in a corporate setting. Findings reveal that risks of sexual violence, stress and burnout are particularly high in crisis zones. Few studies have been done on the management of international aid workers and even fewer studies have been done to shed light on the particular difficulties women expatriates face in the conflictual and high-risk zones in which such organizations operate. To help close this gap in the literature, this thesis seeks to underscore the risks faced by women expatriates in the humanitarian sector and the urgency of considering women's issues as a primary focus of field security management. Efforts directed at strengthening gender security should be a primary concern for humanitarian organizations as it can improve overall operational efficiency and enhance social impact.

Key Words: women, expatriates, humanitarian aid, sexual harassment, gender-security, crisis zones, violence, power relations, leadership.

Introduction

Purpose of the Research

Humanitarian organizations depend on the active involvement of expatriate workers for international missions. In war-torn countries and areas ravaged by natural or man-made disasters, humanitarian workers help save people's lives, ease human suffering, and fight for fundamental rights. In addition to providing emergency medical services, food, shelter, and clean water, they also interact with law enforcement agents to secure peace, defend the local population from attacks, and coordinate evacuation and relocation if need be.

Work conditions can be brutal. Common difficulties on such missions include cultural adaptation issues, health risks, high turnover rates due to stress and exhaustion, challenges related to poor infrastructure, sporadic or no access to basic services such water, electricity, and transport, and exposure to violence (Bjerneld, 2009). In 2015 alone, 287 aid workers were victims of major attacks – 109 of whom were killed, 110 were wounded, and 68 were kidnapped (Aid Worker Security Report, 2016).

Workplace sexual harassment is a major problem for large numbers of women expatriates in the humanitarian sector (Report the Abuse, 2017; CHS, 2017; Humanitarian Women's Network, 2017). According to the *Cambridge Dictionary*, sexual harassment is any "unwanted or offensive sexual attention, suggestions, or talk, especially from an employer or other person in a position of power."¹ Sexual harassment

¹ Cambridge Dictionary. "Sexual Harassment."
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/sexual-harassment>

is used interchangeably with sexual violence, an umbrella term covering a wide range of abuses of a sexual nature, from sexual discrimination, to lewd comments and gestures, to sexual assault and rape (McDonald, 2012).

In a survey of more than 1000 humanitarian women conducted by *Report the Abuse*, findings reveal that 67% had been victim of sexual violence on the field, including 10% who allege to have been raped and 21% who claim to have suffered unwanted sexual touching (Report the Abuse, 2017). Of those, only 17% were satisfied with how their complaints were handled by their organization (Report the Abuse, 2017). Similarly, in a survey of 1000 people employed in 70 different organizations conducted by the *Humanitarian Women's Network*, findings reveal that 4% of female aid workers allege to have been raped on the field, 48% reported unwanted touching, and 55% complain of unwanted sexual advances by men (Humanitarian Women's Network, 2017). These numbers appear to be reflective of the prevalence of sexual violence in the humanitarian sector. Alarming, in 2017, Oxfam, one of the largest humanitarian aid organizations in the world, made international headlines as it had to deal with 87 claims of sexual abuse and exploitation involving its employees – marking a 36% increase over the previous year (The Guardian, 2017).

Extant literature about workplace sexual harassment provides thorough definitions of the term (McDonald, 2012; Berdahl & Aquino 2009). It also details characteristics of perpetrators and victims (Firestone & Harris, 2003; Samuels, 2003; Chamberlain *et al.*, 2008; McCann, 2005; O'Neill & Payne 2007; Bell *et al.*, 2002; McLaughlin *et al.*, 2012), and the costs of sexual harassment (Hobson *et al.*, 2011; Newton, 2007; Hobson *et al.*, 2015; King *et al.*, 2009; Birinshikaj & Guggisberg, 2017; Bergman *et al.* 2002).

Explanations about type of organizational culture in which sexual harassment is likely to emerge are also offered, along with elaborations about common problems encountered in the reporting process (McDonald *et al.*, 2011; Charlesworth *et al.*, 2011; Chase & Brewer, 2009; McDonald, 2016; Golden *et al.*, 2001; Madera *et al.*, 2007).

Current literature about workplace sexual harassment in an international setting covers how the problem affects women expats in multinational corporations (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Baruch *et al.*, 2013; Collings *et al.*, 2007; Stroh, Varma, and Valy-Durbin 2000; Collings *et al.*, 2007; Paik & Vance, 2002; Vance *et al.*, 2006; Kollinger & Linehan, 2008; Lovelace & Chung, 2010; Tharenou, 2008; Linehan, 2000; Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008; Linehan & Scullion, 2001), and those in international humanitarian organizations (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; Nobert & Williamson, 2017; Edwards, 2017).

Despite wide scholarship about workplace sexual harassment, no comparative analysis has been done on the different human resource practices used in a multinational context and those in a humanitarian context, so as to be able to identify the strategies that would be required to effectively protect women expats working in hostile environments from the risks of sexual violence. The *Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action* (ALNAP, 2002) has already suggested that there is an urgent need for high quality human resource management in international humanitarian organizations because training for expatriate workers is often inconsistent and therefore inadequate. To improve operational efficiency as they tackle ongoing crises around the world, it is crucial that humanitarian organizations improve their strategies in security management. With proper training, humanitarian organizations can better prepare and protect their female expatriates from bodily assault, rape, kidnappings,

shootings, bombings, explosives and heavy weapons attacks. Considering that women are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence on international aid missions, it is crucial to design training methods that take into consideration the particular risks women expatriate workers are exposed to.

Overall, very few studies have been done on the management of international aid workers and even fewer studies have been done to shed light on the particular difficulties women expatriates face in the conflictual and high-risk zones in which such organizations operate. In fact, human resource management theories are not always appropriate for a humanitarian setting seeing that in the latter, the most pressing concern for women expats is security rather than professional advancement. Considering that organizations are not adequately prepared to deal with problems arising from gender-related power dynamics which are amplified in the context of humanitarian work, it is important to conduct further research on how to better prepare female expats involved in such missions.

The purpose of this research is to examine the environment that influence expatriates' performance in international humanitarian organizations and expand the literature on human resource management in the context of multinational organizations. A comparison is made between international humanitarian organizations and multinational corporations to identify specific bottlenecks women expats face in the context of humanitarian work and how solutions to address these problems should be different from those existing in a corporate setting. This study will address the following focused research question: "What strategies can international humanitarian organizations implement to prepare and protect women expatriates for fieldwork?".

Data for this study was collected from individuals working in humanitarian organizations, consulting firms specializing in humanitarian aid, sexual assault resource centers, and universities. The investigation was conducted over a period of approximately 5 months (20 weeks). For the purposes of this study, expatriate workers are defined as those who undertake international assignments as interns, employees, or volunteers. The research was conducted through semi-structured interviews with women humanitarian aid workers who have been or are going to be dispatched to crisis zones. Managers, consultants, workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists, complaints specialists and academics have also been interviewed to ensure a thorough critical analysis of the challenges involved in humanitarian work and the systems in place to protect and prepare women expatriate workers. Interviews with participants lasted approximately 60 minutes, and questions were open-ended, varying from fairly general to specific inquiries, so to allow the researcher to guide the conversation in any direction of interest. Additional data was collected from scholarly papers, news articles, audio streams from media organizations, and podcasts.

In this study, non-binary gender identities and differences related to sexual orientation are not explored. Furthermore, the focus is solely on Western women expats – specifically those who identify as either Canadian, American or Western European – regardless of ethnic background. Host-country nationals and female expatriates from other regions of the world were excluded from the analysis. These limitations are set up for practical purposes in consideration of the time constraint to submit this thesis, but can give openings for future studies.

This study will highlight that gender security is a crucial part of security management. Ultimately, the aim of this research is to help international humanitarian organizations protect their female expatriate workforce from the high risks of sexual violence on the field as well as stress and burnout. By creating an organizational culture sensitive to women's needs, sexual violence can be reduced. Furthermore, by improving efficiency of operations through extensive training and development and social capital building, said organizations can have greater and more lasting social impact. By and large, the information, findings, and recommendations provided herein can also be useful to academics in management sciences, humanitarian studies and women's studies. They can also be useful to multinational corporations assessing collaborations with non-governmental organizations for corporate social responsibility initiatives, to activists and civil society groups seeking effective coordination in global poverty alleviation and peace efforts, and to policymakers involved in the governance of humanitarian action and disaster relief.

Outline of the Research

This thesis is divided into six parts. The first part consists of a selective review of extant literature. This section will provide a brief summary of formal concepts, theories and models about workplace sexual harassment as it exists in the context of multinational corporations and in international humanitarian organizations. It will also cover the topic of compounding threats and mitigating measures in crisis zones. The second part will elaborate on the methodology used to address the research question at hand. Justifications for the study's internal and external validity will also be provided. The third part consists of the presentation of the findings of the study. The fourth part will answer the research question using theories and analyzing the coding arrangement of concepts and categories which emerged in the data. The fifth part will discuss the important discoveries resulting from this exploratory research. Theoretical and practical implications of this study will also be elaborated on. Lastly, this thesis will conclude with a mention of the limitations of present research and proposals for future research questions.

1 Literature Review

There are approximately 450,000 professional humanitarian aid workers in the world (ALNAP, 2015). Of these, 42,000 are internationals – otherwise known as expatriates (ALNAP, 2015). Expatriate workers provide medical, legal, managerial, and scientific expertise. They help humanitarian organizations achieve their mission, acting as advocates for issues related to human rights, gathering and disseminating information, or providing essential services. In spite of substantial technical and administrative support from skilled expats, global humanitarian efforts are still limited in scope and coordination, their effectiveness being hindered by the lack of clear targets and a coherent overall strategy (ALNAP, 2015).

Traditional human resource management theories on expatriates in multinational corporations may not always apply to international humanitarian organizations seeing that they operate in dissimilar environments, and have substantially different resources and goals. Transnational corporations seek to internationalize production, open markets, create jobs and funnel money into projects that will improve agricultural output and industrialize nations (Karns & Mingst, 2010). International humanitarian organizations, on the other hand, seek to establish norms, institutions, and mechanisms to further the idea that human rights are universal (Karns & Mingst, 2010). They educate the public, monitor human rights violations, name and shame violators, mobilize the general public through mass media to incite changes in national policies, and provide relief aid to those trapped in misery and abject poverty (Karns & Mingst, 2010; Nicholson & Brierley, 2015). According to the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance (2015), aid

organizations frequently fill gaps, supplementing a country's capacity to help during times of disaster, intervening for an absent public sector, or protecting and assisting civilians caught between warring factions. They have four core humanitarian functions: 1) rapid response to onset disasters, 2) support in chronic crises, 3) fostering resilience and preparedness, and 4) advocacy (ALNAP, 2015).

Indeed, whereas the main goal of companies is to maximize profit, the primary mission of international humanitarian organizations is to raise awareness about social injustices and attain charitable goals (Karns & Mingst, 2010). Whereas companies will rely on economies of scale and scope to grow, international humanitarian organizations have limited resources and usually rely on funding from donors (Karns & Mingst, 2010). Although humanitarian organizations are similar to corporations insofar as agents are susceptible to violating foreign bribery and corrupt practices laws, in addition to becoming victims of corruption themselves, they are particularly slow in responding to corruption and limited funding restricts what can be allocated to compliance programs (Helmer & Deming, 2011).

Of course, mission divergences entail differences in operating environments. Companies will often seek to maximize their gains in industrialized and industrializing countries, typically entering lesser-developed countries for extractive purposes. In contrast, international humanitarian organizations will almost solely operate in areas affected by war, political crises, and natural and human disasters (Karns & Mingst, 2010; ALNAP, 2015). Expatriates in international humanitarian organizations therefore are distinct from expatriates in multinational corporations. Deployed for different reasons in much harsher environments and oftentimes motivated by altruism rather than

professional advancement (Dawson & Homer, 2013; Oberholster *et al.*, 2013; Pulasinghage, 2010; Wijeratne, 2006), they cannot be boxed into traditional human resource management theory.

It is important to compare expatriates in both milieus as women expats in humanitarian aid are subject to new bottlenecks. Approaches to deal with these challenges consequently need to be tailored to their needs and specific work context. Whereas women expats in multinational corporations are likely to face glass ceiling problems (Linehan, 2000; Jelinek & Adler, 1988; Izraeli & Zeira, 1993; Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008), this phenomenon is arguably not as important in international humanitarian organizations, where women expats are primarily concerned with their physical safety (Eckroth, 2010). Furthermore, because of widespread gender discrimination and the lack of institutional mechanisms to protect women in impoverished countries, women expats in humanitarian aid are more likely to experience sexual violence (Report the Abuse, 2017). This is further complicated by the fact that international humanitarian organizations are often ill-equipped to deal with cases of sexual harassment and assault.

This literature review is divided into three parts: 1) workplace sexual harassment, 2) sexual harassment in an international work setting, and 3) compounding threats and mitigating measures in crisis zones. In the first section, we will look into definitions, prevalence, and costs of workplace sexual harassment. Typical behaviors of both perpetrators and victims will also be examined. Characteristics of work environments that bring forth incidents of sexual violence and effective methods to create a healthier organizational culture will subsequently be covered. In the second section, we will look into sexual harassment in an international work setting as it pertains to women expatriates

in multinational corporations and those in international humanitarian organizations. In the third part, compounding threats and mitigating measures in crisis zones will be reviewed. Because the issue of sexual violence is related to other inherent dangers in the crisis zone, topics such as security and ethical training, cross-cultural adaptation, and expectation alignment with reality on the field will be examined as additional risk-reduction mechanisms. Given that women expats in humanitarian aid face distinct challenges in addressing the issue of sexual harassment, traditional human resource management theories and practices need to be adjusted to allow for the creation of strategies that emphasize the safeguarding of their physical and psychological integrity.

1.1 Sexual Harassment in a Work Setting

1.1.1 Definition

Although its legal definition varies depending on jurisdiction, most laws describe sexual harassment as vexatious conduct or comments that are sexual in nature, which have the purpose of degrading, provoking, humiliating, or intimidating another person. Power imbalances are at the center of sexual harassment – an umbrella term for a wide range of abusive or counterproductive workplace behaviours which have an explicit sexual dimension (McDonald, 2012). This includes sexually discriminatory behaviour, derisive comments, insults, jokes, intrusive questions, inappropriate requests, and staring (McDonald, 2012; Berdahl & Aquino 2009; Fitzgerald *et al.*, 1997b; Magley *et al.*, 1999). More serious offenses are unwanted advances of a physical nature such as kissing,

massaging, touching, pinching, grabbing, bra-flicking, groping, licking, undressing, spitting, sexual assault and rape (Hayes, 2004). With sexual coercion, the victim is lured with job offers, promotion and travel opportunities, as well as unmerited bonuses, pay increases, and privileges (Fitzgerald *et al.* 1997a; McDonald *et al.*, 2008). In contrast, sexual threats can take the form of withdrawing financial entitlements or benefits, reducing work hours, demotion, dismissal or intimidation tactics to make the victim's life miserable (Fitzgerald *et al.* 1997a; McDonald *et al.*, 2008). The term sexual harassment is used interchangeably with sexual violence.

There are two categories of sexual harassment: "quid pro quo" and "hostile climate" (Crucet *et al.*, 2010). "Quid pro quo" harassment has direct financial consequences for victims. It happens when the victim is either fired or denied a pay increase or promotion after rejecting a sexual advance from a coworker or a supervisor (Crucet *et al.*, 2010). "Hostile climate" harassment consists of sexual acts and comments that create a nefarious work environment for the victims. In this case, the perpetrator is not seeking sexual favours from the victim; rather, he is aiming to undermine her job performance by making her workplace intolerable (Crucet *et al.*, 2010).

1.1.2 Characteristics of Perpetrators and Victims

Victims of sexual violence are predominantly female. In fact, 85% of complaints about workplace sexual harassment are filed by women (Firestone & Harris, 2003; Samuels, 2003; Stockdale *et al.*, 1999). In choosing their targets, perpetrators consider vulnerability as a major factor. As such, they will often prey on women who are divorced or separated, women who are young and inexperienced, women in unconventional or

precarious jobs, women with disabilities or personal frailties, lesbian women and women from ethnic minorities (Chamberlain *et al.*, 2008; European Commission, 1999; Fredman, 1997; McCann, 2005; O'Neill & Payne 2007). Whereas some authors suggest that having more women in leadership positions will reduce sexual harassment occurrences (Bell *et al.*, 2002), others point out that women in management roles will frequently be targeted by men who feel threatened by their strength and independence (McLaughlin *et al.*, 2012; Berdahl, 2007). These attacks serve as an equalizer against women in power; they are motivated by jealousy, control, and domination rather than sexual desire (McLaughlin *et al.*, 2012).

Overall, sexual harassment is more about violence than seduction (Schweinkle *et al.*, 2009, McDonald, 2012). Literature suggests that perpetrators typically lack social conscience; they indulge in immature, reckless, controlling and abusive behaviours (Begany & Milburn 2002; Kosson *et al.*, 1997; Pryor & Whalen 1997). With strong narcissistic traits, they react very negatively to women's criticism and rejection (Schweinkle *et al.* 2009).

The outrage management model details five tactics used by perpetrators; these strategies are used by individuals in power to dampen outrage while behaving in a manner that others perceive as unjust (Scott & Martin, 2006). First, the perpetrator will try to cover up the incident, shunning potential witnesses by making themselves less visible in the worksite and/or interacting with the victim alone or outside work premises (Gettman & Gelfand, 2007). Second, the perpetrator will devalue the victim using derogatory names, unfairly evaluating work performance with charges of dishonesty or incompetence (Quinn, 2002). Third, the perpetrator will reinterpret events in his favour, blaming others, denying

or minimizing the seriousness of incidents, or claiming that his actions were misunderstood (Quinn, 2002). Fourth, outrage can be dampened when perpetrators say that justice has been served through the internal grievance process, without regard to procedural fairness (Hulin *et al.*, 1996; Rowe, 1996). Lastly, perpetrators can resort to intimidation and bribery (Scott & Martin, 2006). Some will make threats of poor references, send the victim on unwanted assignments, or fire her (Scott & Martin, 2006). Still others will make promises of strong recommendation letters, well-paying jobs, or promotions (Scott & Martin, 2006).

1.1.3 Costs of Sexual Harassment

On average, it costs employers \$732,976 to settle sexual harassment cases out of court (Hobson *et al.*, 2011). When these cases are litigated, damages awarded to the victim can be even higher in addition to reimbursement of costs for defense. Laws also refer to vicarious liability, whereby organizations can be held liable for sexual harassment unless they can prove to have taken reasonable measures to prevent the incidents from happening or that they rectified the situation after it became manifest (Newton, 2007). Nevertheless, there is no consensus in jurisprudence for an objective standard to evaluate the diligence or effectiveness of an organization's efforts in tackling the problem of workplace sexual harassment, nor is there a fixed protocol for remedial measures (Hobson *et al.*, 2015). While there is no thorough, universally accepted assessment tool for sexual harassment (Hobson *et al.*, 2015), literature suggests that sexual harassment is still prevalent in many workplaces (McDonald, 2012; King *et al.*, 2009). It is also

recognized that sexual harassment at the workplace can happen not only in the physical location of employment but also outside immediate premises (McDonald, 2012).

For the organization, sexual harassment can result in high costs for absenteeism, turnover, and ensuing recruitment and training (McDonald, 2012). There may also be additional internal investigation costs, legal and medical expenses, as well as reputational losses which translate into lower shareholder confidence (McDonald, 2012). Victims are affected with psychological and physical health deterioration. Along with common experiences of post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, victims will often spiral down into feelings of irritation, anxiety, anger, powerlessness, self-blame, and humiliation (Birinxhikaj & Guggisberg, 2017; Bergman *et al.* 2002; Crocker & Kalembra, 1999; Magley *et al.*, 1999; Stockdale, 1998; Willness *et al.*, 2007). Also associated with sexual harassment is decreased job satisfaction, less commitment and loyalty to the organization, and increased social withdrawal (Berdahl & Raver, 2011; Chan, Chun, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007).

1.1.4 Problems with the Reporting Process and Organizational Culture

Very few victims of sexual violence will choose to seek justice before a court of law (McDonald *et al.*, 2011). If they do not suffer in silence or handle the problem personally, most will opt for alternative dispute strategies available in the organization (McDonald *et al.*, 2011). While some authors believe that internal complaints mechanisms focusing on conciliation can significantly improve the lives of women who would otherwise not wage a legal battle or raise their grievance in a public forum (Hulin *et al.*, 1996; Parker, 1999), others believe that they may actually be more advantageous to perpetrators than victims

as the incident of sexual violence is framed not as an offence or a reflection of a dysfunctional organizational culture, but merely as a private conflict to be negotiated and dealt with between individuals (Charlesworth *et al.*, 2011; Chase & Brewer, 2009). When well-meaning bystanders lodge a complaint on behalf of victims, their interventions are often ineffective (McDonald *et al.*, 2016).

Frequently, sexual harassment is minimized. In fact, a woman who is perceived as physically attractive is more likely to be believed than one who is not (Golden *et al.*, 2001; Madera *et al.*, 2007). As for perpetrators, they are usually punished with the least-severe sanction available; most are subject to formal or informal reprimands without further action (European Commission, 1999; Salin, 2007). This kind of treatment creates a 'climate of tolerance' wherein blame is shifted from the organization onto the victim (Charlesworth, 2006; Hayes, 2004; Wear *et al.*, 2007).

Sexual harassment occurs most frequently in organizations where there are poor relations between management and employees and weak social ties between coworkers (Snyder *et al.*, 2010). Dysfunctional characteristics of the organization such as low productivity, poor time management, and inadequate administrative support also heighten the risk of sexual harassment (Snyder *et al.*, 2010).

In work environments that are typically masculine, women will opt not to report incidents of sexual violence so as not to have their professional competency or ability to act as team players impugned (Collinson & Collinson, 1996). Other factors that deter reporting include financial dependence and fear of getting fired, fear of retribution or retaliation, shame of being labelled a victim, self-doubt or the fear of being taunted as 'too sensitive', the belief that the perpetrator will not be punished, lack of information about

one's rights, and lack of accessibility to legal, medical, or psychosocial support (Birinxhikaj & Guggisberg, 2017; Dziech & Hawkins, 1998; Fielden *et al.*, 2010; Hayes 2004; Wear *et al.*, 2007).

Further complicating matters is that “real” incidents of sexual harassment are confused with changing sociocultural understandings of sexual violence, consequently influencing the likelihood of a victim either affirming or denying their experiences (McDonald, 2012). How sexual conduct at work is identified as sexual harassment is therefore determined by factors such as legislation, political events, the existence of organizational policies and procedures regarding sexual harassment, the level of governmental support, the media, and cultural values (Marshall 2005; McCann 2005; Parker 1999; Mahood & Littlewood 1997). In certain cases, organizations will facilitate the occurrence of sexual violence by allowing or encouraging the sexual objectification of their female workforce (Williams, 1997). There are several multinationals in the fashion, makeup, perfume, entertainment, alcohol, and porn industry that do this.

Most organizations are unable to conduct comprehensive self-evaluations and implement instrument-driven amelioration strategies in addressing the issue of workplace sexual harassment (Hobson *et al.*, 2015). Having policies and procedures can nonetheless be effective in creating a healthier organizational culture. Importantly, “zero-tolerance” policies can not only help in preventing the occurrence of sexual violence (Parker, 1999), they can also allay fear of retaliation by shifting the focus away from the victim onto the organization by emphasizing reputational costs (Firestone & Harris, 2003). When complaints are handled internally, either by compensation, relocation or disciplinary sanctions, the company's image will be shielded from damage as their liability will not be

exposed through the public justice system (Parker, 1999). In certain vicarious liability cases, if an organization has a zero-tolerance sexual harassment policy, it can even be discharged from liability (Parker, 1999).

1.2 Sexual Violence in an International Work Setting

1.2.1 Expats in Multinational Corporations

Globally, the problem of sexual harassment has been acknowledged and addressed by the International Labour Organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the European Union, and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (McDonald, 2012). While this problem occurs frequently in cross-cultural relationships, this topic is still not widely discussed as part of everyday dealings in the private sector (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). In the context of international business, sexual harassment can be difficult to identify and to resolve (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). To understand the nuances and complexities of sexual harassment as a foreign affair, the added concerns of working overseas as a female expatriate must be considered.

Women are underrepresented in expatriate assignments. Indeed, only 20% of expatriates are women, which is still significantly lower than the 25-45% of women holding management positions worldwide (Global Relocations Trends, 2012; Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002). Stroh, Varma, and Valy-Durbin (2000), note:

We can assume that qualified women may continue to be left out of the pool of candidates being considered for international assignments. As a result, the problem of choosing the best candidate may also be diminished. This, in turn, could lead to ongoing unsuccessful international projects and assignments and seriously limited careers.

Multinationals that do not give women the same opportunities as men for international assignments are missing out on a highly valuable talent pool. This can have grave consequences in a time when finding qualified employees open to relocation is a key challenge for many companies (Baruch *et al.*, 2013; Collings *et al.*, 2007).

Women remain underrepresented in the expatriate community because organizations believe that they will be less successful than men (Paik & Vance, 2002; Vance *et al.*, 2006; Kollinger & Linehan, 2008), and are therefore less suited for foreign assignments (Lovelace & Chung, 2010). Multinational companies hesitate to post women overseas because arguably, women are not as interested in overseas assignments (Tharenou, 2008), they have greater difficulty finding work-life balance (Linehan & Walsh, 2000), and in some male-dominated cultures, the prejudice against women managers can be detrimental to business negotiations (Linehan, 2000; Jelinek & Adler, 1988). This phenomenon is known as the expatriate glass ceiling (Izraeli & Zeira, 1993; Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008). Companies have a tendency to assume that male spouses will be reluctant to put their own professional careers aside to accompany their women on international assignments, and that difficulties balancing work and family responsibilities will affect women's job performance (Linehan & Scullion, 2001; O'Leary & Johnson, 1991; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1993; Davidson & Cooper, 1983). Childcare and dual career conflicts remain primary obstacles to expatriate adjustment (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002). Still, male supervisors often exercise selection bias in favor

of men when making appointments for international assignments (Chusmir & Frontczak, 1990). Overseas, women expats face discrimination and negative attitudes by locals in the business community who prefer dealing with male executives (Stone, 1991; Westwood & Leung, 1994; Izraeli, Banai, & Zeira, 1980). In countries where it is common for women to assume traditional housekeeping roles, women expatriates have an excessively difficult time adjusting to the local environment as they are viewed suspiciously (Caligiuri & Tung, 1999). In macho cultures, female expats have difficulty integrating into projects or teams because men are habituated to relate to women in traditional ways (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). In more extreme cases, like in Nigeria for example, it is commonly anticipated that male supervisors have sexual access to their female subordinates (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996).

In a study conducted by Hardman and Heidelberg (1996), few human resource executives in multinational corporations were willing to reveal the prevalence of sexual harassment during international assignments because of liability issues and the potential threat to the company's image. In fact, they report that several organizations ignored their calls, refusing to participate in their study (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). Findings in their study reveal that companies might not have accurate data about the prevalence of sexual violence, because staff members are hesitant to report sexual incidents, especially when they happen in a cross-cultural context (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). Regardless of where it occurs, the problem of sexual harassment is often under-reported, disregarded or minimized, usually because women expats have sacrificed and invested too much to obtain the overseas assignment and do not want to jeopardize their chances at professional advancement (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996).

In a corporate setting, only the most tenacious and determined women get assigned overseas (Selmer & Leung, 2003). Accordingly, predictive components of cross-cultural adaptation can be narrowed down to a woman's ability to form relationships during the international assignment, her personality, linguistic skills, the host country's cultural norms towards women, as well as the availability of emotional, informational, and instrumental support within the organization (Caligiuri & Lazarova 2002, Van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012; see Appendix 1). Undeniably, female expatriates tend to garner a lot of attention abroad because they are few in number; this can be advantageous insofar as certain cultures are willing to appreciate them for their uniqueness and outstanding interpersonal skills (Adler 1987; Taylor & Napier, 1996; Westwood & Leung, 1994). In some countries, like Japan for example, women expatriates are considered as a "third gender"; they are identified as foreign first, and women second (Stalker & Mavin, 2011). Consequently, they are treated preferentially in the work environment to other women who happen to be host nationals (Stalker & Mavin, 2011). Notwithstanding, Van der Bergh and Du Plessis (2012) say that for the most part, existing prejudices and stereotypes against women are usually amplified for female expatriates.

Considering that a disproportionate amount of sexual harassment complaints involves people from different cultural backgrounds, offering pre-deployment cross-cultural adaptation training can help obviate problems of sexual harassment (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). It can also allow firms to create and maintain synergies that would enhance their competitiveness in the global marketplace (Fiedler & Blanco, 2006). Indeed, what is acceptable behaviour or language in one culture might be deemed harassing in another. What is viewed as sexually provocative or offensive in the West

may not be construed in the same manner in another part of the world. Multinational corporations should therefore conduct their affairs with the understanding that in international business, they have to be open to multiculturalism and respectful of the social institutions and legal systems of the various countries in which they operate (Fiedler & Blanco, 2006).

Often, non-verbal communication can convey more meaning than words. In fact, only 7% of a message is conveyed with words, 38% with the tone of voice, and the rest is communicated non-verbally (Gorman, 2008; Trichas & Schyns, 2012). Non-verbal communication is the wide array of facial expressions and body language including gestures, smiles, eye-contact, hugs, and kisses that supplement, enhance, or substitute for verbal communication (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014). When it comes to proxemics, North Americans are most at ease with 20 inches of personal space, whereas Latin and Arab cultures are comfortable with closer spacing (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014). It is not uncommon therefore to see North Americans moving away in order to maintain a comfortable 20 inches of space when interacting with people from these cultures (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014). As for haptics, types of acceptable touching depend on cultural values. In general, people from a Latin background accept more physical contact and sensuality than Germans, Anglos, and Scandinavians (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014; Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). For oculosics, Canadians and Americans are comfortable with maintaining short periods of eye contact in conversation (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014). Whereas the Chinese and Japanese prefer to avoid eye contact to show deference, French and Middle Eastern people find long periods of eye contact socially acceptable (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014).

When interacting with individuals from diverse backgrounds, discordant messages from one's domestic culture and the host country's culture can result in clashing expectations about how one should behave and how others should behave (Altman, 2013). According to Zimbardo (2007), "I didn't realize it was offensive" is not a valid excuse in contemporary international business, seeing that information about behaviour and comments considered offensive in other cultures is easily available through various research tools. This is crucial to remember in situations involving sexual harassment, as there can be legal and financial consequences for the organization even if the perpetrator is ignorant of cultural norms (Fiedler & Blanco, 2006). There can also be reputational consequences when the public withdraws support for the company or boycotts its products or services (Fiedler & Blanco, 2006).

While cross-cultural training can reduce cultural misunderstandings and conflict between men and women, it remains inadequate if specifics about sexual discrimination and harassment are not covered. As a matter of fact, stand-alone sexual harassment training in multinational companies is rare – if available, the training is brief and its focus is local, not global (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). Sexual harassment can translate into significant losses for a multinational company, as it costs approximately \$300,000 to replace an average expatriate (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996). This signposts the importance of conducting further investigations on the topic of sexual harassment in an international setting.

1.2.2 Expats in International Humanitarian Organizations

Women expatriates involved in humanitarian aid are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence (Headington Institute, 2017). Edwards (2017) lists five reasons to explain this phenomenon: 1) a “cowboy culture” existing in many developing and least-developed countries; 2) unhealthy power dynamics, 3) lack of knowledge about how to handle sexual assault, 4) professional blowbacks for reporting assault and harassment, and 5) few options for legal redress and compensation. Indeed, many cultures disregard violence against women. Where sexual assault is part of daily life and frequently committed as a “hit and run” crime, oftentimes the victim is told to just “get over” the incident (Edwards, 2017). According to *Report the Abuse* (2017), 44% of perpetrators are men who hold senior staff positions within the humanitarian organization; their gender-based violence is motivated by a desire for power and control (Edwards 2017; Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; Headington Institute, 2017). Of the survivors, 87% are female and 96% are expatriate staff (Report the Abuse, 2017). For this reason, women who work on the field or in lower positions of power are reluctant to denounce perpetrators (Report the Abuse, 2017; Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017). Where women do report cases of sexual abuse, oftentimes the organization is unprepared to respond and agents in charge fail miserably at recognizing the devastating effects sexual violence can have on victims (Edwards, 2017). Other times, women experience professional blowbacks such as demotion, ostracism, and veiled dismissal (Edwards, 2017). There are also very few recourses for those seeking redress and compensation, as most employers will simply refuse to acknowledge what happened (Edwards, 2017).

In a study on sexual assault against humanitarian and development aid workers conducted by the *Feinstein International Center* of Tufts University, it is revealed that higher levels of sexual assault and harassment against women exist in environments where management does nothing to put an end to it, where recreational use of alcohol and drugs is abundant, where violence against civilian women is considered “normal”, where the rule of law is weak or non-existent, and where a culture of machismo dominates the work space (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017). Sexual assault and aggression while on mission can come in the form of persistent romantic and/or sexual advances, unwanted touching and kissing, forced sexual intercourse, and threats of physical injury to coerce the victim into complying to an unwanted sexual act (Humanitarian Women’s Network, 2017). Because of shame and confusion coming from the false idea that the crime was not “serious or violent enough”, along with fear of professional consequences, absence of reporting mechanisms, fear of reprisal by the aggressor, and lack of knowledge on how to properly file a complaint, only 31% of women who experience sexual aggression and assault in international humanitarian organizations officially report the crimes (Humanitarian Women’s Network, 2017).

To address this problem, it is suggested that organizational policies and procedures be devised so that victims can be given the courage to speak up and denounce the crimes (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; CHS, 2017). Hotlines and confidential mechanisms can be used (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; CHS, 2017). Moreover, victims must be given robust psychological support to deal with trauma and perpetrators must be promptly sanctioned (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; CHS, 2017). In broad terms, any proactive measure taken to safeguard employee health and safety is part of an

organization's duty of care obligations (Nobert & Williamson, 2017). Emphasizing both legal and moral duty of care is particularly important when addressing the issue of sexual violence in humanitarian organizations (Nobert & Williamson, 2017). Interagency efforts should also be encouraged to thoroughly document cases of sexual assault and to foster best practices for prevention, investigation, and response (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; CHS 2017; Headington Institute, 2017). While *Feinstein International Center* highlights Oxfam as an example for best practices, the PSEA Handbook published by the *Core Humanitarian Standard Alliance* (CHS Alliance, 2017) mentions a larger pool of organizations from which best practices can be derived – Oxfam, EFICOR, Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), YEU in Indonesia, GOAL in Ethiopia, Plan International, Save the Children, and the Committee for the Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand (CCSPDT). Indeed, cross-referencing policy points made across existing organizations will help address the need for more standardized approaches to preventing and addressing sexual violence. Nevertheless, while the *Core Humanitarian Standard* (CHS) has made some considerable contributions to the humanitarian sector, critics have pointed it out as insipid and inadequate— “a lowest common denominator and lacking a connection to technical standards that agencies continue to struggle to meet” (ALNAP, 2015).

1.3 Compounding Threats and Mitigating Measures in Crisis

Zones

International humanitarian organizations typically do not have military or police forces. Rather, they rely on “soft power” (i.e. social influence) to help achieve their goal (Karns & Mingst, 2010; Nicholson & Brierley, 2015). In high-risk, war-torn environments, humanitarian workers must adhere to the principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence (Eckroth, 2010). To adequately respond to external threats, humanitarian organizations must be strategic in their operations, choice of venue, and use of resources (Karns & Mingst, 2010). Where the threat of violence is rampant, strategies such as protective walls, unarmed guards and barbed wire are necessary (Eckroth, 2010). But these measures may be counterproductive as they alienate aid workers from the general population (Eckroth, 2010). In cases where the possibility of targeted attacks against foreigners is high, staying close to the local population is the best security measure (Eckroth, 2010). Obligatory security training is necessary to help aid workers effectively protect themselves and their subjects in the field (Eckroth, 2010). Ultimately, a proper balance must be found between mobility and equality, as the first calls for a limit to local attachments while the latter requires that personal relationships with the general population be developed and embraced (Redfield, 2012). In international missions, cultivating acceptance through a security-based management approach is the best way to gain trust of the local community (Fast *et al.*, 2014). Developing relationships with community members, government authorities, rebels, and other key stakeholders is key to acceptance (Fast *et al.*, 2014; Fast *et al.* 2011; see Appendix 2). Likewise, accountability and transparency in staffing policies and operations are crucial to fostering

trust and respect in the community and local leadership (Fast *et al.*, 2014; Fast *et al.* 2011). At large, humanitarian organizations should aim for endorsement by the locals but in some cases, achieving tolerance is adequate to ensure effectiveness (Fast *et al.*, 2014; Fast *et al.* 2011). In the best case, stakeholders external to the organization may be active in protecting the organization's resources (Fast *et al.*, 2014; Fast *et al.* 2011), and to a greater extent, even helping women expats deal with problems within the organization. Indicators of effectiveness are fivefold: 1) NGOs acquiring and maintaining access to areas or populations; 2) Stakeholders sharing security-related intelligence; 3) Stakeholders defending and promoting an NGO; 4) Stakeholders getting involved to resolve an incident or prevent difficulties; and 5) Stakeholders being able to differentiate between an NGO and its work to avoid, mitigate or resolve certain challenges and difficulties (Fast *et al.*, 2014).

As for internal considerations, Mukasa identifies six common problems in international humanitarian missions: (i) the repeated rotation and changes in personnel, (ii) the predisposition to undervalue local staff knowledge, (iii) organizational hurdles and barriers to constructive staff relationships, (iv) lack of cultural knowledge and understanding, (v) inconsistencies and ambiguities in staffing policies, and (vi) friction related to differences in lifestyles and living standards (Mukasa, 1999). A transparent, measurable and consistent staffing policy is recommended to ensure maximum effectiveness (Mukasa, 1999). A staffing policy that is gender-equitable will take into consideration the needs of the female workforce. To ensure female expatriate success, companies are encouraged to identify prejudices, and remove all barriers to equal opportunities and effective work completion (Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008).

Humanitarian workers in general, are at higher motivational levels on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Pulasinghage, 2010; Maslow, 1970; see Appendix 3). Developing meaningful relationships, self-empowerment, the desire to have an enriching international experience, care and affection for humanity, and an enthusiasm to find solutions to problems and challenges are among the primary motivating factors for expatriates (Wijeratne, 2006; see Appendix 4). Altruism, escapism and a profound desire for personal development are also important motivators (Dawson & Homer, 2013; Oberholster *et al.*, 2013). Seeing that utopian ideals can be quickly crushed when expats are unprepared to face extremely difficult work conditions, it is essential to enforce more realistic expectations about the host country and the assignment overseas. To be fully effective in environments rife with political instability and brutality, humanitarian workers need to be additionally prepared to cope with trauma, occupational stress, and burnout. While these psychological troubles can be related to the everyday challenges of working in a hostile environment, they can also be direct effects of more serious incidents such as sexual violence. In either circumstance, organizational support and perceived social support can decrease emotional exhaustion and enhance one's sense of personal accomplishment (Eriksson *et al.*, 2009). For female expats, support can be in the form of medical and psychosocial services, women's empowerment groups, and peer counselling.

Many people also get involved in humanitarian work because of an impulse that human rights, as understood in the Western world, should be universal (Mather, 2008). Correspondingly, it is important to establish ethical support resources and a rich vocabulary to deal with morally difficult situations (Hunt *et al.*, 2014). This can help prevent ethnocentrism as humanitarian work has historically been based on a paternalistic and

very Western conception of development in the Third World (O'Sullivan, 2014). Overall, ethical training should emphasize the shared humanity of those who provide and those who receive assistance, the limits and risks related to the services of expatriate professionals, and the significance of providing skillful assistance (Hunt *et al.*, 2014). Otherwise known as the “ethics of engaged presence”, this type of sensitization can foster respect, humility, and solidarity on the field as well as facilitate the development, maintenance and promotion of collaborative partnerships (Hunt *et al.*, 2014). Sound financial management is another important part of ethical training. Because much of an aid organization's legitimacy is dependent on good reputation, it is essential that they train their workforce to fight and prevent corruption. Integrity is very important in humanitarian work as agents can shape soft law, particularly in conflict-ridden countries they operate in (Massoud, 2015). They can also create rule-based order which must be followed by the host-country nationals they hire and civil society actors they fund, particularly through routine activities such as team management, workplace practices and reporting (Massoud, 2015).

Developing cross-cultural sensitivity and in-depth knowledge of the foreign environment is key to preparing for humanitarian missions. It can be particularly important in reducing risks and vulnerabilities associated with fieldwork (Burkle, Martone, & Greenough, 2014). Long assignments in culturally dissimilar locations where expatriates are required to undertake numerous responsibilities and to communicate with locals frequently demand high training rigor (Mendenhall, Dunbar & Oddou, 1997). Such is the case of expats in humanitarian aid. For women expats working in male-dominated countries, learning about differences in cultural norms and behaviours can be invaluable

to adjustment. In view of this, studies suggest that field trips, intensive language training, and meetings with experienced managers and host country nationals can allow expatriates to develop the right level of comfort to function in the foreign environment (Black *et al.*, 1992; Black & Mendenhall, 1989; see Appendix 5).

Indeed, role models can be useful in preparing female expatriates for long missions abroad alone (Shortland, 2011). Organizations should therefore invest in mentorship programs and social capital building through networking events (Linehan & Scullion, 2001; Davidson & Cooper, 1983). According to Shortland (2011), networks are critical to providing social support and an understanding of the foreign country's culture. This can be particularly important when facing challenges at work such as sexual harassment. Overall, only seasoned and highly driven people should be providing personal and relational mentoring to expatriates (Nadja, Hansen, & Rasmussen, 2016). These individuals ought not be controlled by the human resources department but nonetheless have their backing and recognition (Nadja, Hansen, & Rasmussen, 2016).

In the long run, while it is common for some people – especially the religiously motivated – to return to their home country with a greater sense of purpose in life, most will experience some form of psychological distress or trauma from their experience (Eriksson *et al.*, 2009; De Zwaan, 2014). For female expats stationed in countries where attitudes towards women are hostile, mental and emotional problems can be aggravating factors to experiences of sexual violence. Repatriation will therefore require more attention to psychological rehabilitation (De Zwaan, 2014). Establishing strong social networks can also ease repatriation and reintegration back into the home country once the international assignment is completed (Shortland, 2011).

1.4 Research Question

Globalization has extended the boundaries of human resources management and development beyond individual growth and organizational performance (Chang, 2005). Now covering community building and the enhancement of the quality of citizens' lives (Garavan *et al.*, 2004), it is increasingly relevant in the nonprofit sector (Chang, 2005).

A review of extant literature reveals that there is not enough research in the field of human resource management focusing on women expatriates in international humanitarian organizations. In fact, very few systematic analyses have been conducted to identify the particular challenges female expats face in high-risk environments and crisis areas. It is important to compare women expatriates in international humanitarian organizations to their counterparts in multinational corporations as mission divergences between the private and non-profit sectors entail differences in operating environments. Women expats in humanitarian aid are not only motivated by different reasons from women expats in multinationals (see Appendix 6), they are also subject to distinct bottlenecks. Approaches to increase employee motivation, job satisfaction, and efficiency consequently need to be tailored to their needs and specific work context.

Overall, human resource management theories and practices are relatively similar internationally, but the legal, cultural and social context of different countries affect the way they are applied. This can have serious consequences in sexual harassment cases (Fiedler & Blanco, 2006). In fact, because of widespread gender discrimination and the lack of institutional mechanisms to protect women in crisis zones, women expats in humanitarian aid are more vulnerable to sexual violence (Report the Abuse, 2017; CHS 2017; Humanitarian Women's Network, 2017). This is further complicated by the fact that

international humanitarian organizations are often ill-equipped to deal with cases of sexual harassment and assault, as they lack a coherent overall strategy when it comes to security management (ALNAP, 2015).

In tackling the problem of sexual violence, the proactive involvement of multiple actors in the organization is required to ensure that preventative approaches are effective and remedial approaches are timely (McDonald, 2015). However, because sexual violence is widely seen as problem between individuals rather than an organizational one, strategies to address the issue of sexual harassment are often disparate and uncoordinated (McDonald, 2015). Also, when sexual harassment strategies are in place, the focus is local not global (Hardman and Heidelberg, 1996). Herein lies the need for more research on the topic of sexual violence against female expatriates.

Where sexual violence is rampant, human resource management strategies need to focus on the importance of gender security and accountability. The present research will address the following research question: *“What strategies can international humanitarian organizations implement to prepare and protect women expatriates for fieldwork?”*. The point is to examine how existing theories and practices in human resource management apply to women expatriates in humanitarian aid and how they should be adjusted in light of the particular challenges these women face.

2 Methodology

As mentioned earlier, the goal of this thesis is to identify specific bottlenecks women expats face when working for international humanitarian organizations and how solutions to address these bottlenecks must differ from those usually taken by multinational corporations. The focused research question addressed here is: *“What strategies can international humanitarian organizations implement to prepare and protect women expatriates for fieldwork?”*.

The focus of this research is justified by the fact that women expats working in humanitarian aid are especially susceptible to stress, burnout, and sexual violence along with other brutalities. Because women expats in the humanitarian sector identify security as their primary concern rather than professional advancement, the “glass ceiling” theory posited by numerous studies of women expats in multinational corporations does not necessarily apply to them. Emphatically, current literature on the subject of women expatriates in humanitarian aid is incomplete seeing that common problems faced by this group of women such as stress, burnout, and sexual violence are addressed as minor elements in field security management. To help close this gap in the literature, this thesis seeks to underscore the risks faced by women expatriates in the humanitarian sector and the urgency of considering women’s issues as a primary focus of field security management. Examining the research question in light of extant literature in the areas of international human resource management and security management in humanitarian work, recommendations for courses of action will be made to help managers in

international humanitarian organizations effectively protect and prepare female expatriate workers for fieldwork.

2.1 Research Design

2.1.1 Ethics Protocol

Research was conducted following standardized ethical procedures. Participants were contacted by email to schedule a time for an interview. Included in the email was a brief description of the purpose of this master's thesis, consent forms to sign, and an interview guide in order to give them an idea of the types of questions that will be asked. Following the requirements of the Research Ethics Board of *HEC Montréal* for informed consent, all participants were asked to sign documents authorizing the release of information regarding their professional titles and names of their respective organizations. Some participants requested to remain anonymous, and this was respected. Audio recordings were kept in the researcher's personal computer and files were identified with codes so to protect the identity of participants in case of loss or theft.

2.1.2 Procedures for Data Collection

To investigate the disparity between the desired state and the actual state of security on the field, semi-structured interviews with women expatriate workers in humanitarian aid and other professionals have been conducted. Lasting between 40 and 60 minutes, the semi-structured interviews were held in person in Montréal, Canada and

London, England. For participants unavailable to meet in person, interviews were conducted on Skype. Issues explored in the semi-structured interviews are the main bottlenecks expatriate women face when working in high-risk environments in the context of humanitarian aid, and strategies that can be implemented by international humanitarian organizations to effectively protect their female expatriates. Questions were open-ended; ranging from general inquiries about educational background, work experience, and current involvement in humanitarian aid, to specific questions about gender-related challenges on the job, organizational culture and leadership, and security management. Sample questions were as follows:

The Role of Expats

- What is your educational background and work experience?
- What is your role as an expat in the organization?
- What appeals to you about the organization you work for?
- What is the mission of the organizations you counsel and what common difficulties do they encounter in accomplishing their mission?
- What do expats usually do on international assignments? How frequently are they sent abroad and why?

Success Factors

- Are expats selected based on personal (i.e. non-professional) criteria, such as age, gender, marital status, with children or not, etc.? Why?
- What makes a successful (woman) expat?
- What are the work conditions generally like?
- What kind of risks are involved in international humanitarian work?
- What was/is the most difficult part in the adaptation process?

Training

- What kind of training and support is offered to expats?
- How do organizations manage risks involved in humanitarian work?

- How often do organizations deal with staff exhaustion and burnout? How do they deal with it?
- How often do organizations deal with cases of sexual aggression? How do they deal with it?
- How has your organisation prepared you to deal with cases of sexual assault?
- How important are social networks and mentoring programs? Why?
- How is reality on the field different from common expectations?
- What do you think your organisation can do better?

Women

- What is considered a high-risk or hostile environment for women expats?
- What is the most pressing concern for women living in countries riddled with crisis?
- What kind of bottlenecks do women usually encounter in humanitarian work?
- What kind of difficulties or challenges do you expect to encounter on the field because you are a woman?
- Is special training provided to women expats? What kind of training?
- What can women do to prepare themselves in case an assault happens?
- How are expatriate women affected differently than local women in crisis zones?
- How are the interactions between host-country nationals and women expats?
- How can organizations build/improve rapport between host-country nationals and women expats?
- How are women treated in your organization? In the host country?
- How are cross-cultural differences bridged in this context?
- What kind of support do you expect from your organisation to cope with gender-related challenges?

Sexual Assault

- How do humanitarian organisations usually deal with cases of sexual assault?
- Who are the usual perpetrators of sexual aggression?
- Why are cases of sexual assault not frequently reported? What can be done to counter this problem?
- What are the short-term and long-term effects of sexual harassment and assault?
- What kind of organisational support is given to women who are victims of sexual assault?
- How can female expats better prepare themselves to work in places where violence against women is common?
- What kind of cultural norms facilitate violence against women and how can international humanitarian organisations better deal with this problem?
- What kind of partnerships should organizations consider to help reduce the risk of violence and discrimination against women expats?

2.1.3 Participants

Participants in the semi-structured interviews had diverse professional backgrounds and experiences. Women expatriates in the humanitarian sector were central to this study. Many worked in humanitarian organizations such as, but not limited to, the Red Cross, Tearfund, RedR, and various UN agencies. Consultants specializing in risk management and psychological support for humanitarians were also interviewed. Both male and female consultants were interviewed to distinguish points of divergence between the sexes, if any. Other participants include academics, ombudspersons, and specialists working in sexual violence awareness, prevention, and support. Academics were consulted for their expertise in women's issues, while ombudspersons at the universities offered insight on proper filing and handling of complaints. Lastly, specialists in sexual assault and harassment provided key recommendations on effective policies and procedures that could be useful to humanitarian organizations. Some of the people interviewed as academics, complaints specialists and sexual assault specialists also have development work experience. Some of their insights from their involvement in the development sector were also considered relevant to this study as mandates between the development and humanitarian sectors frequently overlap. This overlap frequently happens in crisis zones for political reasons such as opportunistic competition for more funding and resources, and other times out of the need for more tactile collaboration between organizations because of manpower constraints.

There were 15 participants in this study:

1. Megan Nobert: Founder and director of Report the Abuse, the first NGO aimed at addressing sexual violence against humanitarian workers. She worked as a humanitarian in the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Syria, and South Sudan. Prior to that, she was an international human rights and criminal lawyer. She is currently based in Geneva Switzerland. Megan is a sexual violence survivor; she was drugged and raped during a humanitarian mission in South Sudan. Her story was covered by several news outlets including The CBC, Reuters, The New York Times, The Guardian, and The BBC.
2. Shannon Mouilleseaux: After completing university studies in anthropology, Shannon spent 10 years as a protection officer for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. She was deployed in volatile areas of Vietnam, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Djibouti, Bénin, Rwanda, Nepal, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Djibouti, Niger, and Togo. There, she monitored human rights violations and oversaw protection programs to help asylum-seekers, refugees, internally displaced people and stateless migrants. Shannon was brutalized and sexually assaulted during a humanitarian mission in Sri Lanka. Since her assault, Shannon has devoted her time writing policies for UNHCR and starting Global Aid Worker - an advocacy and support group for humanitarian staff workers who have suffered various types of violence in the field. The researcher met with Shannon via Skype for a 60-minute interview. Unfortunately, because the file containing Shannon's audio-recorded interview was later found to be corrupted and another interview could not be rescheduled, the researcher could not provide a verbatim transcription of said interview. To compensate, a narrative account of Shannon's interview based on the researcher's comprehensive notes is included in the data.
3. Alexandre Carle – Managing director of Other Solutions, a risk and crisis consulting company based in London, England. Other Solutions provides services such as operational support, training, analysis, and crisis management to international and national NGOs, public bodies, donors, philanthropic companies and private companies. Prior to this, he spent 12 years as an expatriate in international humanitarian organizations such as ACTED, SF, CARE, TDH, and Premiere Urgence. He worked in project management, security management, and logistics management in places such as the Balkans, Afghanistan, Congo, Liberia, South Sudan, Iraq, and Syria.
4. Amy Fish – Ombudsperson at a university in Montréal. Prior to that, she served as ombudsperson in the healthcare sector. Amy is also a speaker on the topic of conflict resolution; she has spoken in conferences held by the Quebec Bar Association. As a complaints expert, Amy has been

interviewed on CBC Television, CJAD 800AM News Talk Radio, CTV News, and Global News. Her book, *The Art of Complaining Effectively*, was published in 2015. She has also written articles for Reader's Digest, The Globe and Mail (Canada's national newspaper), The Montréal Gazette, The Suburban, Quebec Heritage News, Huffington Post Canada, and Her Magazine. Amy has won writing prizes from both Writer's Digest and the Quebec Writer's Federation.

5. Robert Bisailon: Ombudsperson at HEC Montréal for the last 14 years. Robert specializes in complaint filing and handling. Before that, he held management positions in the federal public service. He was director general as well as assistant deputy minister for different departments. Robert also held a teaching job in Uganda, Africa whilst working for a Christian missionary organization dedicated to development work.
6. Bianca Tetrault: Trained social worker, working in the field for 10 years. Her specialty is sexual violence awareness, prevention and support, as well as domestic violence. Currently, she is manager at a university office in Montréal which directly supports individuals affected by sexual harassment and sexual assault. Bianca has previously volunteered doing development work in rural Nicaragua and in Laos.
7. Christine Williamson: Director of *Duty of Care International*, an organization based in London, England which supports humanitarian and development organisations with their duty of care responsibilities vis-a-vis their employees, consultants, volunteers and partners. She advises on crisis management, good policy, and good practice. Christine is an international HR specialist. She has 18 years of professional experience in the aid industry setting up programs in conflict environments from a human resource management perspective.
8. Cindy Viau: Director's advisor at *The Quebec Help and Information Centre on Harassment in the Workplace*, a non-profit organization based in Montréal that assists victims of harassment in the workplace. For 13 years, she has been working in said organization focusing on relations between different community centers and local MPs. In her functions at the center, she is also the link with employers who would like to have coaching on how to deal with workplace harassment situations. Her educational background is in human resource management and industrial relations.

9. Jennifer Drummond: Coordinator of a sexual assault resource center for a university in Montréal. In her role at the center, she provides both direct and indirect services to survivors in the form of one on one counselling, advocacy, accompaniment, referrals, and resources. Additionally, Jennifer works with the university on policy development, ensuring that the recommendations from the sexual assault working group report are carried out. She is also involved in outreach and education for the community-designing and delivering prevention programming through workshops, presentations, and awareness raising campaigns. Jennifer is a spokesperson on sexual assault issues with the local media in Montréal and national media in Canada.
10. Linda Wagener: Senior consulting psychologist for *The Headington Institute*, a center based in Pasadena, California which provides training, psychosocial support, individual consultation, and management consultation for organizations in humanitarian and development work. With 30 years' experience as a clinical psychologist, Linda specializes in psychological education and support for humanitarians as well as leadership assessment and development.
11. Lisa Reilly: Executive Director at the *European Interagency Security Forum* (EISF), a peer support network for the global security focal points of European-based NGOs. Lisa is based in London, England. Focusing on good policy and good practices, EISF produces research papers and practical guides that are targeted at helping people in the humanitarian sector. Particularly, it seeks to improve access to programs through staff safety and security. Trained as an engineer, Lisa has 16 years' experience in development work and humanitarian response with *Voluntary Service Overseas* (VSO) and RedR, an international capacity-building NGO. As a security trainer for RedR, she developed and implemented personal security and security management courses. Lisa also provided consultation services on several projects aimed at backstopping and evaluating humanitarian response programs. She has worked in Namibia, South Sudan, Afghanistan, the Philippines, Darfur, and Pakistan.
12. Naheed Ahmed: She holds a bachelor's degree in public administration and a master's degree in development studies. Naheed has several years' experience development and humanitarian work for the UN and various INGOs. In Bangladesh, she ran a micro-credit program, provided emergency relief for flood victims, and helped out in the urban slums of Dhaka developing strategies and policies to improve the lives of women and children. In 2015, she was deployed to West-Africa to help with the Ebola crisis. Naheed is based in Toronto, Canada.

13. Anonymous 1: Works for an international humanitarian organization committed to fighting child hunger and malnutrition. Also part of its mission is to help impoverished communities around the world find access to safe water and food. Anonymous 1 is based in Toronto, Canada. Her background is in development studies, refugee studies and human resources. She has been working in her organization for about 12 years, mainly in field management for complex emergencies and, in learning and development positions. Part of her role is to work in security and risk management. She is also involved in addressing gender-related challenges in her organization both from a programmatic and human resources perspective.
14. Anonymous 2: American woman who holds a Master of Arts in Applied Community Change and Peacebuilding. She has been involved in different aspects of the aid system – both humanitarian, development and, peacebuilding since 2010. She has worked for some of the biggest aid organizations in the world, as well as some small Haitian NGOs and informal grassroots organizations. She held various positions such as project manager in disaster risk reduction, project assistant in communications, field coordinator, and diaspora outreach coordinator. She was deployed in Nepal, Haiti, and Guinea. For the last 7 years, she has been based in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.
15. Anonymous 3: Assistant professor at the *Institute for Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies* at McGill University. Her research interests are African political systems and development theories, and in particular, feminist approaches to international development. As a researcher and consultant for development agencies, she conducts studies on subjects related to gender equality and governance in Africa (Rwanda, Guinea, Niger, Mali and Burkina). Her works have been published in numerous academic journals. She is also the author of a study on gender equality policy in Canadian aid, the findings of which were published in *Women's Rights and Gender Equality* (Montréal, WD Gordon Foundation and AQOCI, 2010).

2.2 Data Processing and Validity

A semi-structured interview was privileged in order to ensure that participants felt comfortable discussing difficult subject matters related to gender-based violence and harassment, and to allow the interviewer to guide the conversation in any direction of

interest. Participants were given the option to remain anonymous and to withhold the name of the organization for which they worked. To avoid the influence of personal bias, participants were given enough time to reveal their own perspective and different meanings were listened to attentively. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by hand into Microsoft Word. On average, it took the researcher 30 minutes to transcribe a 10-minute portion of an audio-recorded interview; verbatim transcription by the researcher avoided any errors that could have been made by automated transcription software.

The whole was then reviewed alongside interviews of humanitarian worker Megan Nobert conducted by the *British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC) and the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (CBC), as well as a panel discussion on the subjects of duty of care and sexual violence conducted by *The Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action* (ATHA). The panel discussion was initially divided into three segments. Segment 1 focuses on sexual attacks as it relates to aid workers, segment 2 spotlights duty of care issues in the humanitarian sector, and segment 3 is about the general challenges of operating in insecure environments and responding to violent attacks. Only segments 1 and 2 are included as secondary data as they involve the participation of women with experience in humanitarian work. Participants of segment 1 of the panel discussion are: Megan Nobert, humanitarian worker and director of non-profit organization, *Report the Abuse*; Orly Stern, independent researcher and senior fellow at the *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative*; Phoebe Donnelly, assistant researcher at *Feinstein International Center* and doctoral candidate at the *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy*; and Dyan Mazurana, Associate Research Professor in Women's Studies at the *Feinstein International Center*

and *Friedman School* at *Tufts University*. Participants of segment 2 of the panel discussion are Christine Williamson, Director at *Duty of Care International*; and Lisa Reilly, Executive Director at the *European Interagency Security Forum* [EISF]

The researcher used MAXQDA, a software application for qualitative studies, to organize the large volume of data according to themes and patterns. Verbatim transcriptions of all semi-structured interviews were uploaded as primary data, together with the narrative story of humanitarian worker Shannon Mouilleseaux which itself was based on a semi-structured interview conducted during the course of present research. Interviews of humanitarian worker Megan Nobert conducted by the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* [CBC] and the *British Broadcasting Corporation* [BBC] were uploaded as secondary data. Additionally, a verbatim transcription of the panel discussion was completed before creating separate documents consisting of individual panelists' contributions. These documents were also uploaded into MAXQDA as secondary data. Separating the panel discussion according to individual contributions allowed for efficient data processing, particularly when creating data sets to classify people by their professional background and experiences.

In MAXQDA, the participants in the semi-structured interviews and discussion panelists were placed into six categories depending on their current professional titles. A total of eighteen people are counted in this study as three of the fifteen participants to the semi-structured interviews were also part of the six-person discussion panel. Hence, Megan Nobert, Christine Williamson, and Lisa Reilly who participated in both the semi-structured interviews and the discussion panel were counted only once. The data sets in present research are as follows:

1) Women expatriates in the humanitarian sector

- Megan Nobert
- Shannon Mouillesseaux
- Naheed Ahmed
- Anonymous 2

2) Management

- Anonymous 1
- Christine Williamson
- Lisa Reilly

3) Consultants

- Linda Wagener
- Alexandre Carle

4) Workplace Harassment & Sexual Assault Specialists

- Cindy Viau
- Jennifer Drummond
- Bianca Tetrault

5) Complaints Specialists

- Amy Fish
- Robert Bisaillon

6) Academics specializing in Women's Studies

- Anonymous 3
- Orly Stern
- Dyan Mazurana
- Phoebe Donnelly

The researcher proceeded with inductive content analysis after identifying themes and patterns in the data. Explanations were formed and rival accounts were addressed. Vague and abstract propositions through anecdotal evidence were neutralized by paying attention to discrepancies in the data and considering alternative understandings. In fact, all discrepant evidence is reported in this thesis to allow readers the opportunity to

evaluate the data and draw their own conclusions. The accuracy and credibility of the findings are upheld by this method. Naturally, the broader context is considered in the overall interpretation of the data. Indeed, by examining junctures, contradictions, and connections in the interviews, the researcher was able to confirm, corroborate, or demur on findings between data sources and thoroughly address the research question. While the extensive primary and secondary data collected throughout this research support its internal validity, future quantitative analysis from other researchers may be needed to add external validity to the study.

3 Presentation of Data

In accordance with standardized ethical procedures as required by the *Research Ethics Board of HEC Montréal* the following information was obtained from this research. Based on the frequency of topics discussed, a total of six themes emerge from the data: 1) environments, 2) perpetrators, 3) victims/survivors, 4) inadequacies in current organizational responses, 5) a need for a more standardized strategy, and 6) changes necessary for more desirable organizational responses. Themes were organized as codes in MAXQDA and then divided into sub-codes so to draw a fuller and more revealing picture of the findings of present research. The codes and sub-codes are as follows:

Environments

- College Campuses
- Multinational corporations
- Crisis Zones

Perpetrators

- Host-country nationals
- Male co-workers and supervisors

Victims/Survivors

- Burnout & Stress
- Sexual harassment & assault

Current Organizational Response

- Scarcity of resources
- Problems with the Reporting Process
- Blame, Shame or Fire

Need for a more Standardized Strategy

- Best practices
- Duty of Care (legal)
- Duty of Care (moral)

Desired Organizational Response

- Partnerships and Collaborations
 - Growth for Cooperation and Coordination
 - Financial Management
- Developing Capabilities
 - Recruitment & Screening
 - Training
 - Mentorship Programs & Social Networks
 - Managing Reality vs. Expectations
 - Cross-cultural Adaptation
 - Medical and Psychosocial Support
- Leadership
 - Men in Management
 - Women in Management
- Organizational Culture
 - Discussions
 - Policies and Procedures

The following sections will explore in detail the themes that arose in the present research; these sections are presented according to the outline of the code model. Excerpts from verbatim transcriptions were carefully edited to enhance clarity and intelligibility in the presentation of data.

3.1 Findings

3.1.1 Environments

a) Multinational Corporations and Universities

Findings suggest that the most common gender-related challenge for women in the workplace is sexual violence. This issue is common on university campuses, multinational corporations and humanitarian organizations alike. A sexual assault specialist confirms the pervasiveness of the problem:

Some research suggests that one in four women will experience some form of sexual violence during her time at university, there is also research that suggests that one in three women will experience some form of sexual violence during her lifetime. For men we see stats like one in six, [to] one in eight that will experience some form of sexual violence in their lifetime, usually happening in childhood, so it is quite a pervasive issue.

Results show that sexual violence cases are more effectively handled in countries that have legal infrastructures to protect victims. In Quebec, Canada, for example, there are specific laws prohibiting psychological and sexual harassment at work; offenders can be subject to job termination, fines, and even imprisonment. In Western universities, the issue is being given increased attention due to the notoriety of certain incidents. Another sexual assault specialist interviewed in the course of this research reports:

I think it's like many other organizations. In all our universities. As much as sexual violence has been around since the beginning of time and we've been talking about it [at the] grassroots [level] since second wave feminism, only now has it become a mainstream topic. I worked at my job for the last four years, and when I first came in there was no information, support, [and] hardly any recognition by the larger administration about harassment. Because harassment has been normalized more as something we can talk about in society [...], maybe it's easier to digest. Maybe [because of] the [typical victim-blaming] response of, "Is this really happening?", so many people don't even disclose that they've been sexually assaulted.

b) Crisis Zones

General Risks

In crisis zones, there is a lack of resources for the local population; people get desperate because they don't have access to food, many are sick, and unemployment is rampant. In certain countries, aid workers toil in sweltering heat without air conditioning

or potable water. In others, rainy seasons can be extremely long and driving can be very difficult so donkeys are the only sensible means of transport.

Humanitarians are exposed to various risks such as natural disasters, sickness, wildlife, carjacking, kidnappings, random shootings, explosions, stress, harassment, rape, mugging, and murder. In certain cases, terrorist acts are financed through hostage taking so humanitarian workers become a form of exchange currency. The workload is very high and the needs of beneficiaries seem never-ending. While humanitarians tend to be highly motivated, oftentimes good self-care habits are not the norm. A senior clinical psychologist for the Headington Institute says that humanitarians are also exposed to vicarious trauma either directly or indirectly. Because they witness the suffering of others or hear stories of atrocities, they are at high risk of experiencing stress and burnout quite rapidly.

By and large, humanitarian organizations are perceived as wealthy and become targets because of their assets; threats against humanitarians are therefore not unusual. War-torn countries are particularly difficult; humanitarians can be stationed in remote locations because certain state actors harbor hostile sentiments towards foreigners. Racial slurs are also common in countries where foreigners are not welcome. Frequently, Western individuals will be blamed and attacked for their countries' foreign policies. In places where a number of NGOs are leaving and the humanitarian community is shrinking, aid workers are particularly vulnerable.

Populations living in hostile environments are often cautious of organizations who have a history of abusing their power and exploiting people. During the genocide in Rwanda, for example, the international community did little to intervene. The Rwandan

people felt that UN organizations had been neglectful and had left them to their own devices. There was resentment against humanitarians and development workers alike, particularly against those that were closely identified with the United Nations.

All in all, working with a large team can help humanitarians feel safe and supported. Good treatment and acceptance by the local community depends on what the organisation has done before and how they have treated people in the past. Developing good relationships with the government can also improve how the local community perceives the organisation.

Risks Specific to Women

Organizations in both the development and humanitarian sectors lack resources. Because of stiff competition for funding, development organizations will do humanitarian work to survive. This can create problems, particularly for women expatriates since those who are used to development work will not necessarily have the same security reflexes when put in humanitarian contexts. An informant highlights the experience of a colleague who was assassinated in Afghanistan. Dr. Jacqueline Kirk was Adjunct Professor at McGill University's Faculty of Education. In 2008, she was working for New York-based organisation, International Rescue Committee, seeking to promote education for young girls in primary school. Travelling unescorted from Kabul to the south of Afghanistan with two other colleagues, she was killed on the road by rebels. Considering the circumstances, Dr. Jacqueline Kirk and her colleagues should not have been allowed to travel long distances unaccompanied, since the hostile environment required more rigorous security training. Indeed, organizations should earnestly evaluate the need for

an intervention in crisis zones before sending expatriates on life-threatening missions. The role of expatriates should only be broadened when their technical expertise is required and when their position can alleviate situations when neutrality is in question.

Results suggest that women are more likely to experience gender-related challenges in organizations operating in crisis zones mainly because of the absence or weakness of legal and political infrastructures protecting women's rights. Egypt, Iraq, Kurdistan, Afghanistan, Rwanda, and South Sudan are named as the countries where sexual violence occur most frequently. It can be especially difficult being a woman there where contraception is close to nonexistent, women are undereducated, and incidences of domestic violence are quite high. Accordingly, sexual violence is embedded in cultures where there is no societal balance and women are seen as second-class citizens. Because of high security risks, women are restricted from doing mundane things like walking the streets alone. This confirms a study conducted by Tufts University which claims that violence against female aid workers is correlated to the general level of violence of the countries in which they are working. Gender-related abuses occur most frequently in countries where men are given an inordinate amount of power and there are no checks on that power.

In places where there are a lot of private security providers and private contractors, there are not as many women working. The few women expatriates working in the front lines are at high risk of sexual harassment, assault, and discrimination. One informant claims that in one posting, she had a male team leader who wouldn't listen to women. If a woman would make a sensible suggestion, he would not listen to it until another man in the group decided to bring it up. Discrimination of this sort made all the women in her

group feel invalidated. To address the challenge of not being taken seriously, this informant had to ask a sympathetic male colleague to echo their ideas.

Aggravating the inherent difficulties of being stationed in countries with misogynistic cultures, is quite often, the “work hard, play hard attitude” in humanitarian compounds, according to the Executive Director of the European Interagency Security Forum. She explains that in social gatherings, there is a lot of drinking and risky behaviour related to stress. Consequently, humanitarians regularly place themselves at greater risk because of their reckless behaviour in after-work social settings:

Sometimes we put ourselves at greater risk because of our behaviour. Not just from a sexual violence perspective, but to normal violence and threats. When people go on leave, they seem to leave their brain behind as well. You might never walk down the street in your home town with your purse sticking out of the top of your back or sit in a street café and leave your purse on the table, why do you think you'd do it when you are on leave somewhere else? Because you are not in a context that is normal, you sometimes leave your common sense behind.

In the same line of thought, an academic specializing in gender-equity issues in the developing world, says that frequently, unmarried women expatriates unknowingly send signals that they are sexually available by not understanding the nuances of high-context communication in certain cultures:

[In certain countries] they would not let a young woman [...] go out at night or go to parties. So if you continue to live your single life as you did in Canada, you are sending a signal that you are available and you are putting yourself at risk. Because if you behave as you do here, [although] even here we know about signals and limits when it comes to sexual aggression and rape, if over there you are not accompanied by somebody, [it will be interpreted to mean] you are available. Over there it is more in the context of having a social life that [a single woman] would be at risk.

3.1.2 Perpetrators

a) Host-Country Nationals

Perpetrators of sexual violence can be host-country nationals who hold very chauvinistic attitudes. Some are even part of the police and military. A consultant specializing in crisis management for aid organizations says that local men in crisis zones can hold very negative preconceptions about women expatriates and lash out violently:

In some places, [women expatriates] are perceived as being a bitch or being a prostitute. We have seen colleagues being shouted at or stoned. All the female friends I have worked with have always been very respectful to others. Always respectful to the environment and so on, but there are situations where you have a stupid guy. And you have stupid guys everywhere.

Similarly, a female expatriate who went on mission in Haiti claims that she was subjected to a number verbal attacks and insults from male host-country nationals. She says, however, that given the fact that she was never physically brutalized, she was able to overlook this mistreatment:

If [the verbal abuse] is coming from national staff or people who have a different cultural background [than me, or] if it is something I am experiencing out in the society, out in the country, I don't let it get to me. Because I am a guest in someone else's country. So in Haiti, when I would hang out in certain communities, people would just look at me and call me a whore, American whore, or whatever. I would get all sorts of crap like that thrown at me. But I didn't let it affect me, I brushed it off. Because again, it is not my culture, I want to make sure I am safe with people who made sure I wasn't in any dangerous situation. But I didn't let it get to me because I didn't know the context. It was not up to me to judge where it was coming from. So long as I wasn't physically threatened, I don't feel I had the right to get bent out of shape. Everything has to be contextualized.

Still, a researcher specialized in gender-equity issues in impoverished nations warns that women expatriates in the humanitarian sector can be especially susceptible to violence in areas where women are treated as second-class citizens. Whereas male humanitarian workers will be treated with respect, a woman in the same line of work, will be seen as merely a woman:

In [a] culture where women are not respected, obviously, the female expatriate who comes to work over there will also be considered as a second class citizen. She is more at risk than her male colleagues because in refugee camps or when she moves around the country, if she sleeps outside the capital, there have to be specific security measures for her. She is more at risk because of the community, the population, even colleagues. [...] What is a problem is the vision that she is first and foremost a woman and not a humanitarian worker.

Undeniably, in excessively patriarchal societies, men have a tendency to be misogynistic. However, results suggest that male co-workers and supervisors are the most likely perpetrators of sexual harassment and violence against female expatriate workers- more so than host country nationals.

b) Male Coworkers and Supervisors

Confirming findings from large-scale surveys conducted by the Women's Humanitarian Network and Report the Abuse, the humanitarian aid industry is largely dominated by men in senior positions. In a panel discussion on sexual violence conducted by the Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action (ATHA), a researcher with nearly 20 years' experience in the aid industry says:

I think one of the most disheartening findings in this study for me was that it's your own colleagues attacking you and that there doesn't seem to be a willingness to understand that and respond to it and try to prevent it from

the aid agencies. I too had this idea that it was primarily going to be people outside the agencies who were the threats [...] that's how the training and the manuals and the security protocol, that's how it's all envisioned. But, you know really, unfortunately that's not the situation. Armed actors, yes they're a threat, they need to be planned for. Much more pervasive seems to be your own colleagues, which I think is really horrifying. Like, you're working in a place like South Sudan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and you have such high level of threat outside but you come back to your compound and your workplace and you're also under threat. This is something the aid agencies have got to wake up to.

Results reveal that supervisors and security officers in humanitarian organizations are mostly middle-aged white European men. One informant highlights that these men behave inappropriately because of the compounding of the “white male privilege”; this privilege can be described as the set of unquestioned and unmerited socio-economic and political advantages that certain men benefit from by virtue of being male and Caucasian. While holding very high ranking positions in these organizations and being prodigiously remunerated, they are also given inordinate power to control scarce resources. The deference people treat them with somehow adds gravitas to their perceived power; they command an extraordinary amount of authority and influence they would otherwise not hold in their own country. Security manuals and security protocols should therefore take this reality into consideration. Instead of assuming that perpetrators of abuse are people outside of the organisation, they should include mechanisms to protect staff and local populations from abuses of power happening within the agency itself. As mentioned in the above quotation, this plan would be counter to typical current practice.

Of course, perpetrators are not always men but results indicate that predominantly it is the case. Often, perpetrators can appear friendly and non-threatening. However, it is important to be cautious of men with narcissistic traits. Having tendency to be egotistical, condescending, and machiavellic, they are the most common perpetrators of abuse.

Frequently, they feel threatened by people who do good work and are properly recognized for it. Because they have very rigid views about gender roles, they have no qualms about making sexist comments or crossing people's boundaries. A married man with children can be as likely to offend as a man who is single without children; marital status is not relevant to a perpetrator's profile. Perpetrators thrive in workplaces where toxic masculinity is endemic. In these spaces, men are inclined to believe that they have ownership over women's bodies and those of marginalized people. Some perpetrators misuse funds and have sexual relations with beneficiaries. In the course of present research, one informant reports that perpetrators talked openly about which women of the local tribes in the crisis zone were the best sexual partners or provided the best sexual experience. Another perpetrator, who was a direct superior, commented on her chest size when she changed into a bathing suit for a group field trip. While she concedes that comments of this nature usually come from a place of entitlement and ignorance rather than from a place of hostility, it is nevertheless important to raise awareness that micro-aggressions in the form of sexist jokes and vulgar remarks occurring in the context of humanitarian work not only perpetuate but reinforce the rape culture existing in the crisis zones.

3.1.3 Victims/Survivors

a) Sexual Harassment and Assault

Results indicate that women expatriates are specifically concerned about the high risks of sexual harassment and assault. Sexual violence broadly encompasses sexual assault, sexual harassment, and sexual abuse. It is any contact of a sexual nature that is

not consented to. In general, sexual harassment includes all sexually oriented advances, comments, and touching that creates discomfort in the workplace. Leering, winking, cat-calling, and repeated invitations are also forms of sexual harassment.

There is no clear-cut profile of victims of sexual violence; it can happen to people of any age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, or ability. Nevertheless, results suggest that there are higher rates of sexual violence in marginalized communities or groups. Women of color, women with disabilities, and transwomen working in the sex industry are particularly vulnerable. Results also indicate that women in unstable financial situations are at high risk of sexual harassment and assault. In humanitarian organizations, most victims are women holding subordinate positions.

Humanitarian organizations, in general, need to do more to prevent and deal with cases of sexual violence. Many informants claim to have had little to no preparation to handle risks of sexual harassment and assault. Victims say that there was never any mention of psychosocial support or any other resources that the organisation can provide to help deal with incidents of sexual abuse. One victim who was sexually assaulted at gunpoint by three masked men sat alone at the crime scene, sobbing and shaking for 7 hours, before a driver was sent by the organisation to bring her to various assessments and examinations. She says that like other victims, she was shunned by colleagues, family, and friends after the assault. This nearly drove her to a state of despair- making her feel dirty, unworthy, guilty, crazy, out of control and even suicidal. Looking back on her experience, she recommends that organizations try to foster an environment sympathetic to victims of sexual assault. This starts by offering extensive pre-departure training to cope with the high risks of sexual aggression, denouncing any tendency to

blame the victim after an assault, and promoting an environment that is open to discussion about gender-based violence.

Another victim interviewed during the course of this research was raped by a colleague in South Sudan. Recounting her story to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), she says that she woke up naked and violently ill one morning, with a feeling of disgust that some sort of sexual activity had happened the night before. She realized that she had been raped when she received the results from her toxicology report:

Well he admitted that he had sex with me. And at the end of the day, I wasn't capable of consenting that night. I had been given drugs without my knowledge. I didn't consent to taking cocaine, morphine, OxyContin, and codeine. I was not capable of consenting. And even if he didn't give me the drugs, it's irrelevant. I wasn't capable to consenting; it was non-consensual sex.

Looking back on her experience during an interview conducted in the course of present research, she complains that no pre-deployment training was given to prepare for the full scope of risks in the field:

When I went to Sudan there was no pre-deployment training. I think they sent a 10-page document saying what you do when you get to the airport, that they are going to check you for Ebola because Ebola was a big problem, and bring gumboots because it's going to rain, wear long clothing so that you don't offend anybody. That was about it.

Since she had no preparation on how to deal with the risks of sexual assault, she had no idea what resources were available to help with the aftermath of the rape. Consequently, she spent a number of months fighting with her organisation in a variety of ways to get support. The trauma of having been sexually violated was exacerbated by

the fact that she largely ended up having to take care of herself. Continuing her testimony, she speaks of her outrage at the lack of organizational support:

There was never any mention of psycho-social support while we were working on mission in South Sudan which is a very difficult place to work. Physically it was quite hard, mentally as well. It was a conflict which... I mean at that point it was three and a half years in civil war. It has never ended and never will end. I mean, there is no particular end in sight. It is a quite horrific conflict. A lot of sexual violence being committed, mass murder, raiding, it's a very bloody conflict and it's hard to watch it happen. So there was never any talk of psycho-social support or even broadly what the organization would do to help you if something happened, whether that be robbing, mugging, intimidation, murder, or sexual violence. There was never any talk about what [they will] provide you.

It appears that women expatriates working in humanitarian aid have had at least one experience somewhere on the spectrum of sexual violence. In a discussion panel conducted by the Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action (ATHA), a researcher specializing in gender and armed conflict explains:

One of the things that survivors of rapes in the field that I've spoken to have said is that there's this real pressure to get back to work with a smile on your face really quickly. And if you don't get back to work with a smile on your face following your rape, then people will think that you can't hack it and that you're not tough enough to be there. So there's this real pressure to act, if something has happened, [...] like it's absolutely fine and that it didn't affect you. And that outlook certainly discourages reporting and just creates this terrible masculinized environment all the way around.

Indeed, because women expatriates in humanitarian aid are expected to have high levels of endurance and tenacity, there is often a lot of pressure to return to work with a stoical attitude following an incident. This outlook discourages reporting and perpetuates the highly masculinized “cowboy culture” existing in certain organizations. Unsurprisingly,

sexual violence in the humanitarian community is an underreported issue. Oftentimes, victims are not believed and their experiences are minimized. Additionally, victims usually experience shame, guilt, and self-blame following an assault; these feelings are common even if they didn't cause the abuse. Going deep into issues of human privacy, confidentiality, and feelings of embarrassment, most victims are reticent to talk publicly about an assault. A senior clinical psychologist at the Headington Institute explains:

My experience with women who have been assaulted is that they all experience [shame] regardless of the level of organizational support. It's almost a natural thing that once you've been raped or assaulted, there is some sense of shame. Not because you caused it or deserved it but because there is a sense of shame that is associated with that still in every culture. So somethings that an organisation can do to help combat that is to be compassionate, to maintain confidentiality, to help a woman feel safe, to have a no tolerance policy for sexual harassment, to have psychosocial support available for her. All of those sorts of things can help.

When ready to speak out, victims should identify the perpetrators if possible and insist that their organisation thoroughly investigate the incident so to hold the perpetrators accountable. Proper documentation should be kept of every step of the investigation process; victims should take active measures to stay fully informed about their files. Reaching out to empathetic staff members and supervisors can also help advance what is usually a painstakingly slow process.

A number of things are suggested to deal with the problem of sexual violence. Firstly, a victim of sexual harassment should immediately ask the perpetrator to stop. If the harassment continues, she is advised to go see a person of confidence or authority in the organisation who can lead her to the right resources. In cases of rape and sexual abuses involving physical aggression, victims are recommended to negotiate with their attacker. Whereas carrying a weapon may just provoke an aggressor, offering money and

other valuables can be strong negotiating points. Lightening up the tension by talking about the women in the perpetrator's family and circle of friends can also be critical. Notably, victims need to assess the situation and understand that they may need to take steps that, under normal circumstances, they would not tolerate. One victim, for example, found herself obliged to allow inappropriate touching in order to prevent the assault from escalating into rape or murder.

b) Stress and Burnout

It is important to address the pervasive problem of sexual violence in the aid industry as it can have resounding consequences on the workforce and humanitarian organizations as a whole. A complaints specialist says that short-term consequences on an organisation can include high incidences of sick leave, tardiness and absenteeism. Long-term consequences on organizational productivity can directly result from low employee motivation and poor performance.

A sexual assault specialist details common after-effects of an aggression:

I think experiences of sexual violence have a huge impact on people's mental, physical, financial and spiritual life- all facets of life. Those impacts could definitely make it difficult for someone to continue to go to work, especially if the person who perpetrated the violence against them is someone who is in their workplace or in a role superior to them at work. In terms of the impacts emotionally and mentally, we see difficulty sleeping, nightmares, difficulty concentrating, difficulty eating, all those effects or consequences of sexual violence definitely have an impact on someone's ability to do their job and to function at work.

She says that short-term consequences include prohibitive costs of recruiting and training new employees due to high rates of turnover. It can also be as nefarious as engendering a deep sense of distrust and insecurity in the organisation. In the long term,

it can lead to the categorical prolongation of one group's dominance over another and the normalization of sexual violence within the organization:

Short-term, we are looking at employees going on sick leave or mental health leave or not able to do their work. So that can lead to all sorts of errors or work not getting done. And then if someone is going on leave, if someone quits, then we are looking at loss of employees, then you will have to look into having to rehire and train new employees. The longer term effects, or the biggest impact, is that your workplace climate is one that is toxic, one that is unhealthy, that might feel quite unsafe for women and that affects everyone in the workplace.

By extension, in environments where there is no justice or accountability, staff members are more likely to experience vicarious trauma. Although long-term consequences are not necessarily immediately perceivable, they do eventually emerge and their impact can be immense. A sexual assault specialist explains that when incidents are too frequent, the credibility of the organisation as a whole can be compromised. As for individuals, she says that while some people can very resilient depending on respective personality and history, it is not uncommon for victims to be affected with post-traumatic stress disorder, burnout, and suicidal ideations:

Long-term trauma impacts [can include] PTSD, depression, suicide, risky sexual behaviour, you name it. There could be so many different things. People can be very resilient. Depending on the environment, they may experience something and then just move on feel at the time no need to address it. Oftentimes, what we do see is that the long-term impacts come out later on. So the health consequences are huge.

Of course, while experiences of stress and burnout are common, they are not always related to sexual violence. Executive Director at the European Interagency Forum warns:

It is being recognized more and more that it is something that we need to look after. The humanitarian [sector] in particular is quite a macho field at times. So admitting that you are suffering from stress and that you need assistance does not come easily to quite a lot of people. There is a study done a few years ago by a lady who worked for UNICEF [...], she did a study of what stress does to people in high risk environments, and the answer was still burnout. I think that in general even if you are in a high risk environment, it is the normal issues that stress you as much as if you were in a non-high-risk environment.

Because organizations are lacking in human resources, individuals are often sent on mission faster than they should be. It can be particularly difficult to achieve work-life balance. In the context of humanitarian work where demands from donors are high, the needs of beneficiaries appear endless, and violence is relentless, experiences of burnout and exhaustion are common. An informant who worked in emergency relief in Haiti and Guinea mentions how isolation in the expat community can lead to a disconnect with reality, even when the demands of the job no longer warrant remaining in the emergency mindset:

Some people who were going only in circles of other expat aid workers didn't get the reality checks as often. Another thing is just to disengage from the work. There is a period of acute emergency where people are dying and you need to be working around the clock in order to save lives, but that is a very distinct and very short lived period. At some point, the real emergency is over. The people stay in this emergency mentality and they obsess and they only think about work 24/7. In theory that sounds very valiant; they are sacrificing 100% of themselves. What it does is that it leads to burnout. People burn out. They go through this work hard, play hard [mentality] in 14 hour days and then they drink or party a lot. That is a very uneven lifestyle and people really burn out.

Informants generally agree that the workload is heavy and environmental conditions are volatile. To unwind, expatriates resort to hard partying. Abuse of alcohol or other substances in this context can potentially lead to situations where sexual violence

is more likely to occur. This causes even more stress and burnout, and women are particularly vulnerable. Organizations should therefore find ways to effectively prepare and protect their female expatriate workforce.

3.1.4 Current Organizational Response

a) Scarcity of Resources

Findings indicate that numerous organizations have difficulty developing and implementing strong response strategies to dangers on the field. A consultant specializing in crisis management for organizations in humanitarian aid and international development delineates common obstacles:

Lack of money, lack of resources, competitiveness between organizations, lack of access to beneficiaries and to the neediest populations. Lack of coordination in some cases and obviously threats from the context.

A female informant with extensive experience in humanitarian work says that competition for funding amongst different organizations can be ruthless and that corruption can further complicate matters:

Organizing relief, organizing rehabilitation work is the most uphill task. What I expected is that all the stakeholders working there in any emergency would have the same kind of responsibility, would have the main focus on helping people out. The reality was that there was a lot of money coming in from all directions, but not [much of it was] reaching the right people. There was corruption, system losses, whichever way you call it. So by the time you have sanctioned a budget for water in a household, the actual amount of help that reached the households was maybe one single drop of water. Everything else was lost in the process. The other thing, I think, where the reality [on the field] differed [from my expectations] is that [priority] of aid agencies was getting your placard first, who reaches there first, and who gets maximum amount of the funding being pumped there. Saying it in a different way, how much of the pie you can get is

another competition that was there among the aid agencies. Therefore, it is a fight for visibility; it is a fight for your own organisation getting the maximum coverage. That becomes the game throughout. And of course, there are corruption mechanisms which are there already. [But throughout], people tend to be less focused, and women and children get more affected.

Accordingly, because of scarce resources, it is not uncommon for organizations in the humanitarian sector to have overlapping mandates with the development sector. An informant who had been on a mission in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide articulates the dangers of organizations that transition into sectors outside their expertise in order to receive financing and the problems this creates for personnel:

Organizations, to respect their mandate and justify their existence-they get financing campaigns and they must disburse- so they precipitate into situations without thinking if their intervention is essential. There is a necessary reflection to undertake as an organisation- as to why we are intervening in the crisis zone, if the mandate is possible, if the personnel should be put at risk for interventions that are not likely to be successful, and it is also important to think about local personnel. Are they going to put their personnel at risk when they intervene and is it going to make a significant difference?

One example that I have in mind is that in Rwanda, when the genocide happened, there was a war between the Hutus and the Tutsis. The Tutsis of the diaspora had attacked from Uganda; there were people from the North who had sought refuge in the South. Development organizations who could no longer continue their projects in the North, converted into humanitarian organizations. It was a little like what happened in Haiti after the big earthquake. Organizations, in order to stay and continue to receive financing, transformed themselves into humanitarian organizations. They didn't necessarily have the expertise to do so.

The situation was the same in Congo, when after the genocide, all the Hutus fled. There were refugee camps and organizations wanted to be present. So this is why there must be a reflection coming from within the organisation. Development organizations want to transform themselves into humanitarian organizations, and humanitarian organizations in Rwanda wanted to do development work. All this without reflection as to whether we are the best organisation to intervene at that particular time in the crisis.

Another example is the Red Cross which intervenes in disaster situations and emergency health situations. In Canada, they received a lot of funds. Red Cross Canada found that Red Cross America was doing reconstruction of houses, which was not their domain of expertise. Now since the 2000s, many organizations move from one sector to another. Humanitarians intervene in development and vice versa, because that is where money from donations are coming in. So they follow the flux of the financing. So this affects the personnel.

Equally, because of scarce resources, development and humanitarian organizations encounter similar challenges meeting employee's needs for psycho-social support on the field. An informant who did humanitarian work in Guinea talked about how training sessions and support programs were inadequate:

When I went to Guinea, again there was not a lot of prep. The base thing was that I was going into an Ebola zone so there was mandatory online course about how to prevent it, how to recognize the signs of it. We did get that. You do have to take UNDSS security in the field, which is an online training program but it was not terribly helpful. Yeah, there was not a lot and I think this is consistent for a lot of organizations. There was not a lot of prep about work-life balance, staying safe, staying healthy. I've never seen that. I'm sure it exists, I'm sure some organizations are good at it, but I've never seen it.

[...] In either context, in a large or small organisation, there is no training at the beginning that says this is the code of conduct we expect from all staff members about gender equity, harassment and all of that. There is no briefing on if something happens to you, here is what to do, here are your medical, psychosocial, and legal recourses. None of that.

Another informant who did development work in an impoverished nation in South America claims that while group check-ins were regularly conducted, few of the resource personnel were actually qualified:

We had group check-ins. There were a lot of us put in different villages and each village had their check-ins. And then we would come together as a larger group once a week and talk. So it was a lot of processing. And I would say that although there was a space to process experiences, the facilitators themselves were not experienced. [They were] either

counselors or trauma therapists, and although they had done their own work internationally for many years, I wouldn't necessarily say that they were fully equipped to support these students going through these experiences.

Still, another informant who did humanitarian work in Sierra Leone discusses the overall lack of psychological support in her organisation:

For example, in Sierra Leone, there were mechanisms to protect the aid workers but there was no psychological support system at the end of the day, [provided] on a regular basis for the people who are there. Of course, the UN has this system of getting you out of the country every six weeks through a mechanism which they call rest and recreation – R&R. But that was not [sufficient at] all. I think [what] I needed, as an aid worker, [was] to talk to someone who could listen to me and my needs and who could work on it. I didn't get that support from my manager, from my supervisor. Like at the end of the day or at the end of the week, if you have any other problems that you [needed to] discuss as an expatriate aid worker, those support mechanisms were not there. I believe [the problem was specific to] the UN agency I was working for and the senior management [there]. Similarly, when I came back, there wasn't any feedback sought from me or my colleagues on "how did it go?" or "what were the specific needs that you feel were not addressed?", anything like that. Not [just] an exit interview for the work that you were assigned to, but overall dealing with the psychological aspect – that was missing. So I think the big part of the adaptation [process is facilitated] through psychological support – that [is what] I think I needed. [Likewise for repatriation] when people come back from their assignment, [...] from their emergency work situation, the rehabilitation part at home doesn't have enough steps or enough mechanisms to capture even the little minimum things that a person has gone through.

It appears that the problem of neglecting employee health and safety is pervasive in development and humanitarian organizations alike. Aid programs usually run according to tight deadlines. An academic with professional experience in the area of international development reports that limited budgets and high pressure to perform intensify the risks of working in volatile environments:

We don't take care of personnel. We look at deadlines. We have to produce results; we are accountable to patrons who exert a lot of pressure. Also, organizations no longer respect their mandates which is in their expertise. Because there is less money at the level of international aid, the survival of the organisation takes precedence. I am a little harsh here, but there is an organizational reflection that needs to be undertaken. Because the situation on the field has changed a lot, we put more and more personnel at risk.

By and large, scarce resources can create problems of disconnect in the organisation as a whole. Another female expatriate who was deployed to West Africa to help with the Ebola crisis worked in quarantined spaces for an extended period of time. When she needed help to evacuate the country for rest and recovery, her organisation refused to provide her with official transport on the grounds that it would be overtime for the driver. Consequently, she had to make her own travel arrangements. She says that having nowhere to go to complain about how deeply she was hurt by her organization's lack of concern for her wellbeing added to her sense of isolation. Indeed, in some cases, organizations lack resources to accommodate the needs of their employees. In other cases, resources are simply not invested in helping the most vulnerable members of the organisation. When people in the higher levels of the organizational hierarchy have access to support that workers on the field do not have, motivation and work performance will fall short of high expectations. The Executive Director of the European Interagency Forum states that when resources are allocated in humanitarian organizations, people in managerial positions are privileged:

Stress is often covered in the personal security courses but the more difficult details looking at psychological first aid tends to be limited more to managers or people who have some kind of responsibility. There is always balance between costs and effectiveness and it is not something that has been picked up so much so far. There is a growing number of

organizations offering courses around psychosocial support, but at the moment it is still something that is catching up.

She adds that part of the solution to the problem is educating donors about the importance of investing in programs that support employee well-being:

Part of it is raising awareness amongst donors. Training donors. Organizations are getting better are including risks for staff in their proposals so they are actually identifying these things when they put them to donors. The problem is that donors will often not pay so it is an overhead cost. They say that they are not doing it because it is the responsibility of the organisation. So at the moment, and particularly the way our governments are in a number of countries, that ability to access resources is difficult. There is a growing ability to use more and more national staff where you can and to use greater local resources rather than internationals, but it is an ongoing balance that continues.

b) Problems with the Reporting Process

Results suggest that organizations commonly have weak internal mechanisms for punishing abuses. Complaints are frequently mishandled because of shortcomings in the reporting process, and these shortcomings consistently deter people from reporting abuses at all. This confirms findings from Report the Abuse, which conducted a study on 92 humanitarian organizations revealing that only 16% of them mentioned in their policies and procedures or training materials that sexual abuse as a risk to employees on the field. The same study confirms that incidents of abuse are widely underreported.

Several of informants claim to have been given little to no preparation for handling risks of sexual violence. Often, there is no knowledge of complaints procedures at all. Without such training, if an incident were to arise, they would not know how to proceed. Results show that victims do not report aggressions because they feel they can't or are too embarrassed to do so. To complicate matters, organizations do not necessarily have

reporting procedures that would bypass senior management. The effectiveness of the complaints process can be undermined if senior management at the field level is too close to the problem. In such cases, filing a report can have a direct and immediate impact on a victim's safety and security. In several cases, women are reluctant to get headquarters involved out of fear of being labelled a firebrand. In tightly-knit, closed office spaces, it is not uncommon for women expatriates to be dependent on senior-level male managers for their own safety. Additionally, because of a hierarchical order which privileges men, they may also be dependent on them to progress their projects and to obtain resources to provide beneficiaries with the aid they need. In work environments imbued with toxic masculinity, women victims of sexual violence can therefore be doubtful about finding sympathetic voices and allies. A complaints specialist interviewed in the course of this research explains other reasons why victims do not complain:

In my experience, in general, there are a number of reasons why people don't complain. It could be because they are just tired. It could be because they think nothing is going to change if they complain. It could be because they do not want to retell the story, it is too painful because they don't think they are going to be believed. Because they are expecting that they will have to confront the abuser which is terrifying to them. I think it could be because they feel it will bring shame on their families or shame on them. Because maybe they feel guilty, because they feel they did something to bring it on, there are all kinds of reasons why people would not want to come forward.

Certainly, the situation as a whole can be extremely dire when the host country's legal mechanisms and the organization's internal mechanisms are both weak. Ambiguity can be as obstructive to advancing complaints as bureaucratic rigidity. In other words, where policies and protocol are unclear, confusion can arise and its consequences can add to a victim's suffering.

One survivor interviewed in the course of this research testifies that she needed to wait until the morning after her sexual assault before receiving assistance from her organisation. Her senior-level colleagues informed her that before she could be permitted to leave the host country, she had to undergo mandatory assessments at various locations such as the local police station, a forensic lab, and an office of psychiatry. Additionally, she was asked to draft a report detailing everything that had taken place the night of the assault. This report was later deemed to have been unnecessary in order for her to evacuate the country. When she finally reached the United States, she discovered that her complaint had never been reported to UN headquarters' staff.

Another victim interviewed in the course of this research reports that when the UN agency she was working for discovered that her aggressor was not a direct employee of the organisation, she was told that she had no recourse because UN agencies have no legal responsibility with regards to the actions of their vendors. To make matters worse, the vendor for which the aggressor was working did not want to carry out an investigation and simply decided to fire him instead. Recounting her story to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), this informant describes her case as falling into a "black hole of justice."

There is indeed a gap in the legal responsibility that a humanitarian organisation has over the actions of their subcontractors. While lobbying for the creation of legislation to address this issue can be a protracted process, there are several strategies an organisation can implement in order to effectively protect their female expatriate workers and prevent similar attacks from happening. These courses of action will be discussed in the section *4.1.6 Desired Organizational Response*.

c) *Blame, Shame, or Fire*

Where sexual abuses are reported, organizations frequently respond by blaming, shaming, or firing victims. One victim interviewed during the course of this research recounts that when meeting with a female UN counselor in the days after the attack, the counselor commented on the tank top she was wearing, saying that perhaps, in the future, she should not dress the same way in order to avoid the potential for sexual assault. This statement was made after she had removed – in the counselor's office – the sweater she had been wearing in the street.

Findings reveal that there are numerous risks involved in reporting, and there is little guarantee of job security or safety for victims. The director of Report the Abuse states that victims often lose their jobs while perpetrators are usually not held accountable for their actions:

The reality is that, and this comes from survivors that I spoke to on a regular basis, the reality is still that the common outcome for a survivor is that they would most likely get fired or quit their job because of the hostile work environment that is created when they come forward. The accused or perpetrators are still most commonly promoted or moved to another country.

Another informant, who is a well-published researcher on the subject of women's rights and gender equality in impoverished countries, underlines that a distinction needs to be made between women expatriates who are contract workers and those who are employees, as consequences can be different:

I am sure that for a woman who complains, her career in the humanitarian sector will be compromised, because many humanitarian workers are not employees of the organisation but contractual workers. I think that is an important distinction. If we take NGOs, most of their personnel are

volunteers on contract. At the UN, their expatriates are employees so it is easier to develop policies to protect women. When they are employees, they have rights and they do not lose their positions. A lot of women, even at the Red Cross and Doctors Without Borders, are contractual workers. If they complain, what will happen to them? Will this mean that their contracts will not be renewed or that they will be badly perceived?

Still, the reporting process can be complicated and mental breakdowns are common because victims have the onerous burden of proving the veracity of their allegations. A sexual assault specialist underlines that victim-blaming happens not only in organizations but also in tribunals:

Some people do find a way to get out of the situation, some people freeze and can't. And that's ok. There is already so much shame. Especially you see it in court cases about sexual violence, there is the idea of the perfect victim. How come you didn't run away? How come you didn't push him off of you? How come you didn't go to the police right after? How come you didn't do this? I think it is important to remember that the experience can be one that makes people freeze. Everyone reacts differently. It is important for people to know that there is not a right way to act. Whether you freeze or whether you start screaming or whether you wait it out and wait for it to be over. Any way you decide to respond or react is normal. It's OK and it doesn't mean that what happened to you is fine or that it is your fault in any way.

The stress of lodging a formal complaint is palpable even for those well-intentioned individuals who speak out for a more vulnerable colleague. An informant who denounced the abuse that one her coworkers in Guinea had suffered claims to have fallen gravely ill as a result of encountering a lot of red tape in her organisation:

I lodged a formal complaint against someone very senior in my organisation in my last deployment in Guinea. I mostly did it because I wasn't directly involved in it and I wasn't first hand witness to what happened, but the people who had been direct witnesses were slightly more vulnerable career-wise, so I made the decision that as a white American expat who was going to be leaving the mission in a few months anyway, that I had enough privilege, that I could shoulder the burden of

taking this complaint forward. Because if something did happen and there was some blowback or pushback, I'd rather that it fell on me than on people who were closer to the source but were a little bit more vulnerable. So I did lodge a formal complaint. I emailed the regional director and the regional ethics body, and that engaged a really long process back and forth. One weird guy that went on mission was secretly there to investigate. Eventually it went back and forth to the point where they thought it was serious enough that the headquarters' investigation team did look it up and I was contacted after the mission to provide a formal testimony about what had happened. I know that through direct professional blowback, it did result in a lot of tension internally in the organisation with people who knew that I was going through this process. It was a hugely stressful ordeal to report. I went weeks without eating enough, I lost a lot of weight, I got sick. It was really stressful. There were a lot of things I wish I knew beforehand about what was confidential and what wasn't, [and] how to better document things.

[...]

I think my outcome was better than other people. I know people who were let go, their contracts mysteriously were up after they lodged a complaint. The stress is very real. I had a colleague of mine who reported a very serious violation and by the end, she almost had a mental breakdown just with the stress and anxiety of going through the reporting process.

3.1.5 Need for a Standardized Strategy

a) Best Practices

Many problems arise because of incongruent approaches to security management. Findings suggest a need for a more standardized strategy. This can be achieved by looking into best practices in the sector and highlighting duty of care obligations. Best practices are essentially the procedures that are widely accepted in an industry to render operations more effective. An informant says that having well-defined rules and clear organizational priorities would help set examples for best practices. Unfortunately, she laments, very few leaders play their parts well:

I think the rule should be very clear, the rule should be making policies really clear, making organizational priorities really clear. I know WFP recently has been doing a lot where managers from headquarters say “we really value equity”. So setting the tone, setting the standards, and then providing mechanisms for accountability follow-up, I think that is the role that [leaders] should play. I don’t know how often they actually play it. There is a little part that is not even their fault; it’s that they are actually removed from day to day reality.

Best practices can be established by consulting with managers and staff working in various humanitarian organizations and identifying the most successful approaches to security management. An important consideration to bear in mind is that because the humanitarian sector is mostly dominated by men in senior positions, the needs of women may not always be properly considered. A more standardized approach requires that all voices be heard equally. To address this problem, increasing the number of women assigned to leadership roles in human resource management, operations, and logistics can make a difference. Gender-equitable policies in hiring, promotion, salaries, and benefits should also be applied.

When it comes to establishing best practices to specifically address problems of sexual violence, during a panel discussion conducted by the Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action (ATHA), a researcher at Tufts University highlights Oxfam as a model:

We highlighted as a model Oxfam. They have created a department called the Safeguarding Department and its goal is to build confidence in the organization's practices and structures so that individuals feel comfortable reporting incidences of abuse and feel like the organization will have their back. And through creating this department, Oxfam has had an average of a hundred percent increase per year on reported incidences. And their model, I think, is a good guideline. They create focal points in their six regional centers because they found that people don't report through anonymous email addresses, no matter how well publicized they are. People want to report to someone they know and trust. So they're training

these focal points and [making them available] across different regions. They also have a very clear investigation process for how they will respond. And throughout this process and their responses, Oxfam and the Safeguarding Department seem to be really focused on prioritizing and informing a survivor as of his or her options and giving him or her control over the whole process.

In the same panel discussion, however, the Director of Report the Abuse highlights her study of 92 different humanitarian organizations to say that much still needs to be done within individual organizations in terms of policies and procedures before being able to establish best practices in the industry:

I looked at the internal policies, procedures, prevention and response strategies of 92 different humanitarian organizations and an incredibly dismal 16% - only 16% had a single mention of sexual violence being a risk to their employees. Now in the roughly eight to nine months since that report came out, I've seen a huge increase and we matched other organizations - so UN agencies and INGOs engaging on this issue and beginning to develop policies. You're reaching out for training materials, re-examining their emergency handbooks and their security handbooks, getting training for their investigators and the security management professionals and really actively talking about the issue. And that's fantastic, absolutely fantastic. There has been a big change in the last year to year and a half, but the current situation is still that there isn't a lot in place [particularly] in terms of procedures for when an incident does occur and in terms of [prevention]. That's changing, but the situation is still pretty bleak.

Other than Oxfam, informants point out policies used in organizations such as Peace Corps, the World Food Program, and the International Finance Corporation as good starting points to develop best practices for gender-equity and sexual assault prevention. All things considered, establishing best practices in an industry starts at the organizational level where individual actors, especially those in position of leadership, make an effort to enforce codes of conduct pervasively and consistently. One female

expatriate points out that regardless of the host country, it is a legitimate expectation that standards of behaviour will be enforced throughout the organisation:

But once you enter into your office, you are no longer in whatever country you are. Organizations have their own standards, organizations have their own culture and their own legal system. So for me, once I step out of the office door, not that anything goes but that almost anything goes. I am not in my own country or in my own context, so I have to kind of roll with the punches. But once I am inside that door, I expect to be treated a certain way, because organizations have certain standards and mechanisms of enforcing standards of behaviour. And it is precisely because it's an intercultural environment [that] there needs to be very clear standards of behaviour for everyone so we all get along.

As an American, there is a lack of deference in my style of communication. The organisation might have a way of saying, "[This behaviour] might be OK for you, but here in this office, this is how we communicate and work together". I am supposed to conform to those standards. The same has to be said about racial and gender equity, how people should treat the people who report to them. There is definitely that [trite] critique of "roll with the punches, don't be so sensitive, it's not your culture" that works outside of the office. But inside of the office, it is not acceptable. Because you are working for an organization that has standards, has accountability, and a code of conduct. And by agreeing to work for that organization, you are agreeing to that standard of conduct. It just has to be enforced.

b) Duty of Care

Legal Duty of Care

In the Western countries in which most international humanitarian organizations are headquartered, they are bound to some form of legal duty of care obligation. Problems arise however because the vast majority of people in the aid sector are ignorant of what it entails. Educating management and staff about the concept of duty of care is therefore necessary. In a panel discussion conducted by the Advanced Training Program for Humanitarian Action (ATHA), the Director of Duty of Care International highlights their

recent study of humanitarian organizations, wherein out of 120 respondents, very few understood what duty of care actually means:

Certainly a recent study survey that we conducted just before Christmas on duty of care, we asked the question [...], "how are you feeling about duty of care in your organization?". And out of about 120 respondents, [easily] 50% were [...] saying they were anxious [because] they weren't quite sure what it meant. They didn't know where their organization was and then the other half was sort of saying, "Yes, we're doing bits and bobs but we're not quite sure how it all joins together". So at the moment, I think we're a sector that's slightly anxious about this and trying to do something. There are a lot of organizations doing something and what we need to do is connect those with those that aren't.

In an interview conducted during the course of present research, she says that duty of care is an Anglo-Saxon legal phrase that is not well-known globally. Duty of care, she explains, is essentially about preventing the possibility of disastrous outcomes happening because of negligence. This does not suggest that organizations need to be risk-averse; humanitarian organizations by their nature operate in high-risk environments. It simply means going through an organizational reflection and being honest about what those risks are; what is foreseeable as a risk and how it can be prevented. This means assessing who is in one's degree of control - whether it be staff, volunteers, or partners - and seeing if mitigating measures with regards to the situation are fair, reasonable, and just.

Essentially, an organization's legal duty of care is encompassed in the minimum standards related to workplace health and safety to which an employer must guarantee employees pursuant to a country's labour laws. However, international humanitarian organizations, by the nature of their mission, operate in various locations. Western laws therefore do little to protect employees stationed abroad. Because crisis zones often have

weak or nonexistent legal infrastructure, humanitarian organizations are urged to focus on their moral duty of care.

Moral Duty of Care

The Director of Duty of Care International stresses the difference between legal and moral duty of care:

If you're in a court and someone said, "Have you breached your duty of care?" what they will look at is could you have prevented it? Is there something you could have done to prevent something happening? I always find that it's often down to a conversation that didn't happen, or a poor conversation with the manager, or a lack of policy, or a lack of interpretation of policy, or a lack of general support for staff that ends up being something bad. Often, it's a cumulative effect. It's not just one thing that's led to something bad happening or someone feeling neglected. It's a little bit more black and white when it's an incident - a kidnapping or someone's been injured - something significant, that's a bit different. You can review that and learn from it, hopefully. But when it's cumulative like stress; I've always found stress has been very, very hard to identify. So you rely on your managers to be able to pick up signs. And what the court will say is, "Did you pick up the signs? What did you do about it? How much support did you provide? What did you do when you knew about it?". So, again when you think of law and the bell has been rung and you've got all the information, what do you do about it?

So [moral] duty of care is about looking after your staff in a responsible way. And I would say, going above and beyond the legal minimum. It's what's expected for organizations working in high risk environments. So what I'm saying and what I think the law says is, you need to enhance your standards in these environments. So if you've got staff working in high risk [conditions], you need to make sure that you have fully prepared them with the best information possible.

Moral duty of care, she explains, is about looking into the whole employee cycle- from the moment one arrives, through the recruitment process, until the moment one is discharged. Humanitarian organizations, for example, have high turnover rates and it is

not uncommon for staff have poor performance levels due to exhaustion. Organizations should therefore have a moral duty of care that includes protecting employees from stress and burnout. Unequivocally, there are early warning signs that management can look out for, as it usually takes more than a couple of incidents for one to realize that disaster is on the horizon. By paying attention to details of operational malfunctions, the worst case scenario can be prevented from happening.

Emphatically, duty of care in an organisation does not start at a crisis point; it applies continually throughout the employment cycle because it is about prevention. When commencing an assignment, employees should be briefed on organizational policies and procedures and undergo standardized security training. During the assignment, regular check-ups should be conducted to properly assess changing environmental conditions and how staff wellbeing is consequently affected. After an assignment, seeing that humanitarian workers toil in very arduous settings, rest and recovery is also very important. After a mission, staff should be actively encouraged to take time off for a long weekend or even a week in order to rejuvenate. Although it is difficult to envision the costs of enforcing duty of care obligations, in a nutshell, it is about relying on all different stakeholders in the organisation to ensure that staff is being given the best care available. It should therefore appear in every area of the organisation, not just human resources.

As for sexual violence, there is a need to recognize it as a pressing concern amongst aid workers. An informant says the issue is often neglected in training sessions:

But in terms of international organizations, I have never been in one where someone says from the get go, "here is what is acceptable and not acceptable, here is what we expect from all of our staff members, and here is what to do if someone is not holding up that standard of conduct". We

even at one point had a mandatory very generic ethics workshop. Now I had already been employed there for 10 months, [and] most people had been there for a longer period of time, so it was kind of late to talk about these things. But some were very excited and it was great fun to talk about these things. It was a terrible, extremely boring slideshow with random cartoons that didn't make a lot of sense. It was mostly about how we are not supposed to accept gifts from local government officials. Besides generic statements like "we respect diversity and we promote tolerance", there was nothing about what is sexual harassment, what is gender-based discrimination, how do we promote equity, how do we tackle cases of inappropriate conduct, what are your rights and responsibilities. We never got there, so that was a total failure in the times that I worked for an international organization.

Humanitarian organizations can mitigate risks related to sexual violence by ensuring that training sessions are comprehensive. On a larger scale, a global zero-tolerance sexual harassment policy needs to be applied by headquarters and implemented at all levels of the organizational structure. Standards of behaviour should be clearly stated in the organization's policies and mechanisms to enforce those standards should be made known to all people. When asked about what specific policies and procedures are needed to address the issue of sexual violence, the Director of Duty of Care International says that a regulatory type of response is insufficient, and that a wider focus should be placed on prevention:

If everyone thinks that there is just one [simple] answer to that [...], like it's a policy – it's just not going to work. This is what I think: you've got to get your people management policies right, [and] you've got to get your culture right. So you need good-conduct policies, you need good disciplinary policies, you need a channel to give feedback in a trusted way, you need to deal with bullying and harassment in a really good way - in a no tolerance way. If you nip things in the bud early on and people think, "I work here, if I behave in this way it's not going to be tolerated, I will be disciplined and that will be me". And that's not good enough. What you want is for people to know and not only understand that, but also to help [others] not walk into those sort of things by mistake sometimes.

[...]

If you can suddenly just get some of these policies really strong and [create] a culture in the organisation of no tolerance [by saying], “This is what we are about, a diverse organisation. We treat people fairly, we value all of our staff, and we can demonstrate that by all of the support we put around. We’ve got some good managers, we look after and communicate with you, we can [inform you about] all these things”. I would say that is your massive starting point. And that’s why I would say there is not one policy missing here. And this is why I keep going on about duty of care.

A sexual assault specialist says that when incidents do occur, responses need to be victim-centered and that there are certain minimum standards that an organisation should meet. For example, when a victim comes forward and says that she has been sexually assaulted, the organisation has a moral obligation to believe the victim and to inform her of her options. Also, reporting to people of confidence should be facilitated; confidentiality needs to be rigorously applied throughout the investigation process. All things considered, safety of the victim should be a priority and empathetic communication is vital. As part of their moral duty of care, organizations should have in place in every regional office resources for legal, medical, and psychosocial support in the case of sexual assault. As for country-specific differences in legal and political infrastructures, management should examine how to address the issue of sexual violence with local authorities. Having a good relationship with the host government can certainly be helpful.

All things considered, the broadness of the concept of moral duty of care can facilitate identifying points of convergence in organizational values. Hence, focusing on moral duty of care obligations can allow organizations to meet the need for a more standardized approach to security management in the humanitarian industry.

3.1.6 Desired Organizational Response

a) Partnerships and Collaborations

Security management in international humanitarian organizations involves examining logistics, corruption, bribery, harassment, discrimination, and threats. Results suggest that people in the humanitarian sector or closely affiliated to it are generally dissatisfied with their organization's current approaches to security management. Findings also indicate that informants would like organizations to invest more resources to ensure employee wellbeing. This, they believe, should be a core value of humanitarian organizations along with generating funds to keep programs running.

Group activities such as sports tournaments and social gathering events should be held to enhance overall cohesion, and educate managers and staff about the organizational culture and mentality. In addressing the problem of scarce resources, several interviewees stated that partnerships with other organizations should be further explored. Simply put, while some organizations may be lacking resources, if a number of them collaborated, they might have enough momentum to run a field program. Similarly, if organizations shared a complaint person, then there would be enough volume in the reporting pipelines to build up expertise. Working with local community organizations and experts in sexual violence so as to get feedback and insight from them can help organizations address the gender-related challenges women commonly face in humanitarian work. Collaborations with external resources such as support groups, counselling services, medical clinics, women's centers, and online communities should therefore be fostered. A researcher and consultant on gender-equity issues says:

They should look into what is being done in all other organizations. Not to start at zero. They need to document, make a comparative analysis between organizations to see whether or not they have policies or training. They could also hire consultants who have an expertise on workplace equality, how to develop strategies to advance equality within the organisation. They could look for a pool of consultants that have an expertise in the field to support them in these changes.

Certainly, greater collaboration should be encouraged in the area of cross-organisation mentorship programs and shared pre-departure training programs as they can be helpful in managing disparities between expectations and reality on the field. Of course, people's learning styles can vary and not everyone wants to be mentored, so mentorship is not a tool for everybody. Strong mentorship programs, however, can be set up relatively easily with some capacity building and senior-level management buy-in. Talking to management and peers returning from similar missions abroad can be particularly beneficial for women expatriates going through the recruitment process.

Furthermore, information sessions should be regularly held to increase people's awareness of their rights and obligations with regards to the organizational code of conduct. A consultant specializing in crisis management in the aid sector states that Western organizations can be governed by different sets of rules depending on location:

As Europeans, we are driven by the ICRC Code of Conduct. There are seven principles that include independence, neutrality, and impartiality. That is what makes a big difference with a lot of other organizations. Also we see in the UK, NGOs are charities. This is different than what we see in Switzerland, France or Belgium. In the States it is called a not for profit. In the States, you can have NGOs that will have one project that is bigger than the entire budget of one French NGO for a year. That is just one project. So the relationship between the money and the governance in an organisation can change from one location to another.

Irrespective of budget, principles of neutrality, honesty, prudence, equity, accountability, and transparency should govern all humanitarian organizations.

Individuals should be made aware of the risks involved in breaching these principles as it could affect programs, beneficiaries, and the broader community they are trying to help.

b) Developing Capabilities

Recruitment and Screening

The Director of the European Interagency Forum says that the problem with crisis response is that people are often sent on missions on very short notice. First-time workers are continually being sent to high-risk environments because of the pool of expatriates to select from is very limited. Furthermore, staff are usually young and inexperienced. While a university background in humanitarian and development studies may be useful on a theoretical level, it does not necessarily cover the practical issues an individual may face when working in crisis zones.

Human resource management should therefore be robust; the right people with the right competencies need to be recruited. A successful expatriate would be a person who can not only do the job well, but someone who understands the host country's culture and enjoys working in said culture. Resilience as well as the ability to make good decisions in stressful situations are a must. The Director of Duty of Care International emphasizes the need for due diligence in the recruitment and screening process:

When you are recruiting, you need to know what you want done and when you want it done. [...] There is a job profile that is really up to date, it's clear. The recruitment process needs to be sure that it's really quite thorough. So you need competency-based interviews, competency-based assessments, you need to follow up references, you need to do verifications and background checks so that the person sitting in front of you is the person they say they are. Especially if they are going into a senior role or a manager role, you've got to have very strong due diligence

to make sure you've got the right people, especially if they are going into a high risk environment. So to get that right is a start. I think we also need to risk-assess our roles. I think some roles are high risk and that changes depending on who's in the role. So a role might be a lot riskier if you put a woman in it or not. That needs to be assessed. And if it is a high risk for a woman, what is the organisation going to do about it? And how do they explain that to the woman? And have they supported them and equipped them in that? I think it starts to become a lot more tailored to the individual once you know who is going to do the role as well as what they are going to do.

Because crisis zones are volatile and cultural differences can be quite striking, openness, empathy, flexibility, and self-discipline are important personal characteristics for recruits to have. Self-awareness, particularly when it comes to understanding one's own weaknesses, is also key. Another individual success factor is having good communication skills, which implies knowing how to be decisive and assertive, as well as knowing how to listen and give space to others. When asked about the ideal expat profile, a senior psychologist at the Headington Institute says:

Well a few things that I have seen, and this would be for both women and men, is one of the personality attributes is called openness or originality. The ability to be open to new experiences is a personality characteristic that seems to really help humanitarians be successful in their positions. Because obviously, you are encountering a lot of things that are unfamiliar in your work. Another thing that is really helpful is to be really resilient. To be able to handle stress with ease. To be able to have good stress coping mechanisms. Another characteristic is empathy. The ability to have empathy for others is helpful. I would say that to some extent, ambiversion or extraversion. It can be difficult for introverts to get the social support that they need in an ever-changing social world. And then I would also say conscientiousness; some kind of internal structure in self-discipline. Those are the kinds of things that we found in our research that are helpful.

Taking this into account, organizations should avoid hiring individuals who have gone through an exceedingly stressful time in another organisation and expect them to start a new mission when they are still recovering from high stress levels. People deeply

motivated by a sense of escape should also be avoided; this includes people who have gone through traumatic personal experiences at home, and those who are looking for reckless adventure in dangerous situations. When strong feelings of individualism and a desire for career advancement are detected in recruits, organizations should emphasize that while experiences in the humanitarian sector are enriching, they may not necessarily be immediately rewarding on a professional level.

A manager at a large humanitarian organisation in Toronto claims that the recruitment process can be difficult, especially when examining people's motivations and previous experiences. At large, people in the humanitarian sector are motivated by a desire to improve the state of the world. Having idealistic aspirations, they want to contribute to impoverished communities and alleviate suffering in the world. Still, she says, extensive training is required and sometimes it is not quite enough to prepare people for the realities on the field:

It's really hard. You can train people, you can tell people, you can show them videos, you can give them simulations and trainings, but really until you get there and your day to day [life] is affected, it's very hard to get someone really ready for it. I think that's just part of it and it's something we have to accept in this world and in this type of work. Every country is different and every individual is different so there is always a one to three-month adjustment time, so the most you can do for people is really have a tight recruitment process that assesses those core skills and those core competencies you want like communication skills, flexibility and adaptability. If you feel you can assess people for those competencies, they are probably way more likely to succeed. So for me, a lot of it is just about finding the right people and really matching their motivations and their skills with the roles that they are going to do and the places they are going to be in.

Training

Although some it can often be inadequate, findings overwhelmingly indicate that personal security training remains crucial. Simulation exercises can be particularly useful in developing physical and psychological reflexes to respond to the variety of risks that they can in crisis zones. Notably, three different interviewees specified the importance of paying attention to gut instinct. Briefing people on curfews, travel limitations, and expected norms of behaviour can also be useful. The Director of Duty of Care International states that a blended learning approach should be used over a period of time to increase information retention:

They say the average person takes in about 25% of what you tell them before they go on a mission because they just can't take it all in-particularly if they are new to the organisation as well. So I'd say learning [...] needs to take place over a period of time, not all at once. It needs to take place in-country as well. And it needs to be done in different ways, so you call it blended learning. So what you'll find now is a lot of organizations use digital tools and technology and we are just breaking through a barrier of how we do that. There is a cost, and that's what is preventative on that issue. So it's not from want of trying. But I think we are leaning away from these face-to-face training sessions, which are valuable and still needed, but I think we can take advantage of technology a lot better.

In addition to making using technology in training programs, organizations prioritize building soft skills such as cross-cultural communication. Strong language skills can actually help with the adaptation process. A complaints person with experience doing missionary work in Uganda highlights that learning the local language can improve the general perception of expats:

The key was learning the language. Once you knew the language, people would accept you quickly. If you couldn't learn the language, after a year,

people would say, “this one or that one doesn’t like us very much because he or she doesn’t speak our language.” Language was very important.

Before being deployed to hostile environments, people should be briefed about political, economic and social context of the host country. It is important to have honest conversations with people when they travel and to give them an opportunity to ask questions. If it is unsafe for a woman to walk somewhere alone, there should be options for her to do so safely.

An important part of risk management for a diverse staff, says the Director of the European Interagency Forum, is to set anti-discrimination laws aside and to properly acknowledge that certain environments may be too perilous for certain people:

One of the things we are working on at the moment is a research paper on risks management for staff with different profiles- sexuality, ethnicity, things like that. So all the things that we can’t talk about because of anti-discrimination laws which is absolutely fine and good and right, but you cannot send somebody who is gay into a country where being gay is illegal and possibly punishable by death if you do not have an honest conversation with them before they go. So we can’t for personal safety and security pretend we are all equal, because we are not. We are all different; not that one is better than the other. But we have to have very open conversations so that people can make informed choices about what they do.

Informed consent is therefore crucial; people need to understand the risks involved in a certain mission and fully agree to assume those risks. An organisation, on the other hand, says the Director of Duty of Care International, can mitigate those risks by focusing on prevention:

You’ve got informed consent; so in other words, they’ve acknowledged and understood the risks of the environment in which they are but also what the organisation is doing to prevent them, and understanding their own responsibility in that as well. And organizations also not just stopping

there. So they've recruited, they've done induction, they've done some training- great. But then they're in the field and you've just got to keep that up to date. You have to keep managing staff, you've got to watch the signs.

As for dealing with risks of sexual violence, informants have varying viewpoints on whether or not women expatriates should be given special training and support. The Director of Duty of Care International says that while women generally ask for more support, the need for additional support should be assessed on an individual basis:

Women, do they need extra support? It depends. I think you have to look at each one individually. I'd like to think that we were treating people fairly. I might be that women ask for more support and that might be different. But on the whole, I think if you've got some good support mechanisms in place, there is no reason why men and women should be treated differently. I want to emphasize that yes, people need to be treated the same way, but let's not forget that [there has] to be good support.

A sexual assault victim interviewed during the course of present research says that her organisation sent a male driver to bring her various assessments and examinations. This driver also provided her with emotional support even though it was not part of his mandate. While she appreciated his help, she adds that she would have felt more comfortable being accompanied by a woman, and, in particular, by an international staff member whose potential political ties or relationship to her attackers she would have been less likely to fear.

A sexual assault specialist says that chaperone services should not be imposed on women, but rather given as an option:

Sexual violence often occurs between people who know each other, so [the perpetrator can be] the person who is accompanying you. Not to instill fear, but that is not always the solution. But yes, it has to be up to the woman. If the woman wants to be accompanied, by all means, provide that support. But if the woman does not want to be accompanied, then she has

every right not to be accompanied. It doesn't mean that if something happens to her, it was her fault. I think that is where we get caught into [victim-blaming, saying], "We have this service, you didn't take it, now look what happened to you!". It should always be about empowerment and choice.

Still, another sexual assault specialist says that organizations cannot afford to be naïve about the dangerous reality in certain countries. On the issue of chaperone services, she says that they can be beneficial but that the gender of the person accompanying the female expatriate is irrelevant:

It needs to be balanced with reality and safety. If it is actually going to be unsafe for a woman to walk by herself somewhere, then there should be an option for women to do that safely. So maybe there could be more options than just being accompanied by a man, but there definitely needs to be more options there to increase safety.

She adds that organizations should focus on educating men rather than women about what kind of behaviour is unacceptable:

I am not a huge fan of training that I see as victim-blaming approach, whether it be training women in self-defense, training women to not go out at night, don't drink, cover your drink, don't wear a short skirt. All this kind of stuff sends the wrong message. I don't think it is inherently bad to know how to defend yourself or to watch your drink, but I do think that we need to look at it from a different perspective. That perspective should be, "What kind of training are we doing for men?". Not that it is always men that perpetrate violence against women, but that is the majority [of cases]. Most perpetrators are men, and violence is most often perpetrated against women. But what are we doing to educate men about what constitutes sexual violence and what kind of behaviour is unacceptable? Teaching them that it is not okay to pick up women who are completely wasted at the bar and bring them home. Training them and teaching them about what consent is, how to ask for it, when there isn't consent - what that looks like, what that sounds like. I think there needs to be more of a focus on teaching men not to sexually harass and assault women, rather than teaching women how to avoid being sexually assaulted. Because then what happens when you are sexually assaulted or sexually harassed? Then it

just reinforces that feeling of guilt or [perpetuates the notion] that it was your own fault because maybe you looked away from your drink for a minute, or because you were out late, or because whatever. It just reinforces the blame, the self-blame, and self-loathing that already comes with that territory. So I would like to see more programming in the other direction.

Similarly, during a panel discussion on the subject of sexual violence conducted by the Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action (ATHA), an Associate Research Professor specializing in Women's Studies says that men tend to become exploitative in work environments where substance abuse during social gatherings is common. She adds that men need special training to prevent their behaviour from getting out of control:

I think one of the things that comes out really clearly in our report in our research is that there's a tendency to use like the consumption of alcohol as a way to, or drugs as a way to, blame victims when in fact what we find happening is that perpetrators are serial perpetrators. I mean, you have predators in these organizations who prey upon people and what they do is they use drugs and alcohol to make their victims more susceptible to their abuse and so we're also trying to make that shift. I mean how come so much of the training is on what we've all been trained on as women and every culture in the world since we were like five. How to keep yourself physically safe, why are we talking about this, why isn't there more training on what men can do to prevent their behavior from ever getting this far out of control. What men can do as active bystanders and we need a big shift.

On the other hand, without dismissing the idea that men should be educated on sexual violence issues, a senior psychologist at the Headington Institute says that training women to handle specific gender-related problems can be useful:

It's a whole training course on gender security. [Women] can, for example, not travel alone, they can make sure they have phone service wherever they are going, they can carry pepper spray, they can carry a rape whistle, they can use a doorstop in their hotel rooms at night, they can make sure that they only stay in locked rooms, they can have a good understanding

of the local dangers so that they know where sexual assaults are more likely to happen and avoid those areas. There is a whole list of things. Some women want to do self-defense training. That might be helpful for them as well.

Acknowledging that female expatriates can be more vulnerable than their male counterparts in certain circumstances, a workplace harassment specialist recommends calling upon external consultants to provide women with direct coping mechanisms to deal with sexual assault. She discusses strategies she teaches to her own clients:

If the worst happens, here we are talking about rape, sexual assault or physical violence, [a good strategy] is to not resist. [...] [Another] is to not look in the person's eyes. It's to not put oil on the fire [...] to not resist and as soon as the aggression is over with and the person leaves, [it's important] to try and get medical attention right away. Don't take a shower, don't brush your teeth. [...] [Perpetrators are often] violent and dangerous and have weapons. [...] If it gets to the point where it is a really bad situation, if the woman resists, often the violence will escalate whereas normally they just want your money, they just want to do what they want to do and then they leave. So it's kind of like a life or death matter. I think it's [crucial] to not use violence, to not respond with violence.

There are other strategies, for example, on buses, there are certain places that are reserved for women. You can ask to sit in that section to avoid being bothered by men. So there are different strategies that can be used in different situations, but if something really bad is happening and the violence is there, it's just to not resist, to not use violence, give your money right away. Another suggestion we give is to always have a few dollars easily accessible somewhere so if ever somebody holds you at knifepoint and says "give me your money", well you can just take out your money and give it to them so they leave.

Mentorship programs and social networks

A female expatriate interviewed in the course of this research stresses that mentorship is particularly useful for younger women in entry-level positions, women with

disabilities, and those who may have other vulnerabilities that render them easy targets for abuse and exploitation:

So mentorship is a huge thing, especially for younger entry-level women because they are the most likely to get abused and exploited and to not know what to do once that happens, and maybe not feel secure enough in their job to speak out. Again it's about intersectionality. Especially when thinking about mentoring women of colour, women who are maybe of a minority ethnic or religious group in the country in which we are working, women who might have other vulnerabilities that people might want to exploit, women with disabilities. So focusing on junior women and women who are otherwise disadvantaged by the system, that would be hugely important. Some of it just about having someone to talk to and saying, "Is this normal? Is this Ok?" And having someone say, "It's not your fault but it's not OK. And here is what we can do about it." Because if you are by yourself, it is really easy to doubt yourself, to turn the blame inward and to feel paralyzed.

A good mentor would be a person who has been on missions in different crisis zones, irrespective of gender. Mentorship from senior leadership is critical, whether it be from other women or feminist men. All in all, a strong role model is an individual who is willing to rise to the task; one who is open and willing to teach. Sharing practical and emotional information are equally important. Hence, the person must have the time and focus to be a good listener. Wisdom, a sense of responsibility, and the ability to connect with people are ideal personal characteristics for the mentor to possess.

As for peer support, one informant mentions social media as an excellent way for expatriates to find social and professional groups to get involved with. Another informant says that she mainly relied on computer technology to remain in contact with friends in other organizations around the world:

Most of my friends were abroad from other humanitarian organisation across the world. So I relied mostly on electronic communications and

internet to maintain my support network. If you are lucky, you will have colleagues on your team that you can connect with and speak to, but that is certainly not a given.

A consultant specializing in risk management for organizations in international aid says that dependence on technology frequently renders aid workers socially isolated from the local environment:

One of the things that kills the aid sector is that your best friend is called Toshiba. What does that mean? It means that every hour of the day, you are behind your computer. You are disconnected quite often - not always, but quite often - disconnected from the field reality. Social networks is about talking to people, going out. That is part of the reason why I am an aid worker, it is to go out and meet other people. To discover other cultures.

While good rapports with colleagues are definitely not guaranteed, the point is that a sense of isolation is rampant in the expatriate community. One informant says that it is too easy to get drawn into an “expat bubble” and disconnect from reality. When expatriates spend all their time living, working, and socializing together without developing relationships with host country nationals, she explains, they can end up feeling extremely irritable and restless. She adds that making friends with “real people” when she was on mission in Haiti allowed her to not obsess about work 24/7 and to have serious reflections about the country, the context, and the human beings she was there in theory to help. Overall, social interactions with the local population are actually a good way to stay grounded.

Managing Reality vs. Expectations

Findings reveal that expatriates who don't have realistic expectations of the crisis zone are most likely to burn out. When people are required to work under high pressure, some staff members can be short-tempered and programs can be run poorly. By the time people have adapted to the demands of the job and the local environment, they are leaving shortly thereafter. Hence, the expat cycle is very difficult and is marked by high rates of turnover.

Moreover, one informant says that white expatriates often have a superhero complex which can be disruptive to the work environment as a whole. On a more dismal note, she adds that although women should want to be protected and treated fairly by their organizations, they should have the realistic expectation that they may still face gender-related challenges from within:

It does help having more realistic expectations about the work. But [as to] why people get involved in humanitarian work, it's very different for each person. So I don't think I could make a general statement about why expat women get involved. But regardless of the reasons they get involved, they need to be realistic about what they can achieve, to get rid of these white saviour or superhero complex[es], the idea that the fate of these people depends exclusively on me and they are helpless victims until I can save them. That needs to be out the window immediately because that is not just disruptive for the work but it contributes to burnout too. Besides all the issues about organizations being kind of racist and paternalistic often - set that aside - that mentality [also] contributes to burnout [as people put] themselves in these emergency mindsets in which they can get really sick.

It's also helpful to set expectations about their safety and their rights. While we want to expect the highest quality of professional treatment from our organizations, it is really important for women to know that you are not going to get that. [As women, we need] damage control, harm reduction and [risk] prevention [to safeguard] our own careers and our own lives.

A manager in a large humanitarian organisation based in Toronto claims that even the most rigorous training could not adequately prepare expatriates for reality on the field because the environment in crisis zones is so drastically volatile; everything being in sharp contrast to the security we are accustomed to in the Western world. Furthermore, expatriates are usually discouraged by how many things can go haywire and that enacting large-scale change is a very slow process:

I think people go in thinking, "it is going to be hard but I can do it". But once people go in, they realize how complicated life is. They realize how things don't work, how things are not easy, how things are so slow, how change just doesn't happen as fast as you think it might. The reality of the work and the life of working in the bush in the middle of a humanitarian conflict is very different from what you think it is going to be before you leave for a deployment. I often feel that it doesn't matter how much you tell somebody about where they are going or what life is going to be like, [they] always have [some preconceptions in their] head. So it never really clicks until [they are] two or three months [in] what is really happening there. And this is just based on years of watching people go to the field, and even myself sometimes. You always have a feeling about how things are going to be, but it always takes a couple of months to see the reality. It is often quite different. We often have pictures in our head of what a situation is going to be like and it's not always what we think it is going to be.

In the same line of thought, a crisis management consultant interviewed in the course of this research says that younger-generation humanitarians often have unrealistic expectations going into the field, imagining themselves "hanging off the door of a helicopter to grab a baby and save it from drowning". Of course, extreme acts of bravery are required sometimes. However, while reality on the field is very difficult, he explains it can still be far less exciting than imagined. Tasks can be as mundane as filling out forms, preparing a budget, or distributing basic necessities to beneficiaries. Nevertheless, even these mundane tasks can be onerous if assets are limited, objectives are unrealistic, and employees are constantly running to meet tight deadlines.

The Director of Duty of Care International states that peer support in the form of inter-coaching can be particularly valuable in helping people adjust expectations to the different realities on the field. She maintains, however, that high turnover rates can be a serious obstacle to this:

Much more inter-coaching within the team [is needed]. [This means] supporting and watching how people have made mistakes in the past, because I don't think we are learning from each other, and there's a whole ton of experience in there. And if we are talking about expats, it's a downside for [them] again. It's the rotation, and actually how long they are in an assignment for - to actually put their feet under the table, learn, grow, add value, and then leave. By the time they know what they are doing, they are leaving. And it's a really difficult cycle, the expat cycle.

Without a doubt, having more reasonable expectations about one's capabilities to effectuate change and what is feasible for the team to accomplish in one mission can prevent burnout. She adds that while most humanitarians are motivated by a strong desire to do good, they are often left bitterly disappointed when they realize that their efforts are not enough to save the world:

One is about a person's expectations and what they are hoping to achieve - i.e. save the world, which they are never going to do. I think that's a lot of people's dreams that often get shattered a little bit because no one really knows what it's like until you go out there, and you see what you see, and you realize the size of it and how complex it is. So number one is about, again, the induction and the informed consent. [It's about providing employees with] the best information for the role in the environment at the time so that you equip people to understand exactly what they are getting into. [It is also about having] this great job profile [and understanding] how it fits into the structure, [and making sure it has all] been worked out. So basically, they know what their tasks are and how they are going to achieve them and what the expectation [on them is]. That's about really good people management, that's about people helping them think through "yeah, let's get you through the first task, let's build you up, let's get you here".

I think after a couple of years, people might get frustrated because they haven't done as much as they wanted. But one thing that you start to hear people who have been experienced aid workers say [is that] after two or three years, if you can get two or three things done in your list, you've done a great job. And that's what I often say to people. So I think it's about expectation vs. reality, good people management, expressing what is possible and what is not.

Similarly, an academic who helped with the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide says that self-awareness can allow individuals to effectively meet job objectives. To be successful, she says, there must be an agreement between the individual's expectations and those of the organization:

You may not be able to meet the objectives you are striving for. There will be frustration and this can have repercussions on your work relations. So if you are careful in your way of doing things, your flexibility, your openness, you will better meet your objectives. And if your objective is to succeed at your job because you want to advance in your career, it is important to know the constraints you will face. In other words, to know oneself, to know what you can do, and what you want to accomplish. If you are on field in a certain context, are there good chances that there is a convergence in the position as per the expectations we have of you and your own expectations? [...] We have to analyze who we are so not to put ourselves at risk and face failures.

Cross-cultural adaptation

Other ways to avoid failure is to provide employees with cross-cultural adaptation training. This means raising awareness that poverty can lead to more oppression of women. At the same time, Western expatriates should identify and challenge their ethnocentric viewpoints by developing an openness to other cultures, even traditionally patriarchal ones. Specifically, sensitivity should be practiced when engaging in conversations so as not to give the impression that they are arrogant.

For a consultant with expertise in crisis management for aid organizations, cultural adaptation is centered on respect:

Honesty, I think if you can do it, do it. But you are not going to change the guys. You are not going to arrive in a valley in Afghanistan and say that with me, it is going to be like that. One thing you have to keep in mind is that they didn't ask you to come. I have been told in some places in the world, "you are very kind with your aid, but we didn't ask you to come". We are not in our country and we have to play by their rules. Who are we to arrive like a white knight and say that you need this vaccination and now you will eat this food? Who are we to do that? That is our perception of aid. That is why nowadays you see more and more organizations coming from the [Global] South and these organizations are much more accepted. I am not saying you have to swallow it or to leave. I am saying that we are not in our place. It is a question of respect.

A complaints specialist with experience doing missionary work in Africa says that integration with local communities can be facilitated by practicing humility in day-to-day interactions, and being receptive to learning new things:

Try to read about the culture. Try to meet people who live here who come from that culture. Learn as much as you can. Also [when] there, just listen to the people. Don't preach, receive. You have to go with a completely open mind. You don't have the right civilization and you are not bringing it to them. It's not the way things work. You go to help them help themselves. To help them help themselves you start by knowing them and what they are doing. Understand what they need from you, maybe not much. For example, now more and more women are getting organized in Africa. They have a community of women, they work together and they set up organizations to help each other. You know, I believe that if you think you are there to help them, you are wrong. You go there to get experience, to grow. When you come back, you are a different person but richer. These people, of course they need help but not the help we think they need. I speak only for the portion of Uganda where I worked, I am not saying Africa is that. Africa is not all of that. Africa has 58 [sic] different countries; each country is different depending on how the rules are. It is very difficult for democracies to work in Africa. It is very difficult to put in place the values we have here like anti-corruption and all of that. They've been born in that system of corruption. We arrive with our principles and values thinking it is all wrong and that we are going to change that. It's not so simple.

Without a doubt, acceptance in local communities is crucial for access to beneficiaries. He adds that expatriates need to take a non-colonialist approach; if they want to teach the merits of their cultural values to foreigners, they will be more likely to succeed through positive behaviour modeling than by imposition:

You see, before you can do anything in these countries, you have to be accepted. You have to establish relationships with these people. After that, they will listen to you in exchange. In you don't preach to them. It is about sharing your values and not imposing your values. It's difficult, it can take time.

[...] You certainly have to live with these people and bring them your values. They would learn your values by the example you give them. By putting those values in practice, they will learn from who you are and not by what you are trying to preach to them.

In the same vein, a researcher specialized in gender-equity issues in impoverished nations says that it is important that female expatriates be trained to acknowledge and to respect the different realities of women in the world:

Women need to understand before going on field - particularly if they are preoccupied with gender and feminist issues - they have to understand that there are different feminists. That their experience as a Western woman is not the same as the women in the countries they will go to. They have to respect the wisdom of those women and their way of defining equality and their way of improving their situation as a woman. We cannot impose our vision and we have to be very humble with regards to our behaviour on field. We have nothing to show to these women, we accompany them, we support them. Even if we find that the decisions they take to solve their problems is not feminist, it is not up to us to impose our knowledge and our values. I am not saying that we have to accept the unacceptable but if women face a problem, even violence, we have to respect the way they want to manage that problem because they are taking the risks when defending their rights. It is up to us to accompany them and not to tell them what to do or to judge them. I think that it is an important element to include in pre-departure training.

Nonetheless, women expatriates are still frequently exposed to gender-specific challenges. A consultant specializing in crisis management for aid organizations says that a good risk-mitigation strategy for women is adapting to cultural norms. When female expatriates are flexible, he says, it can actually help advance certain projects:

The woman has to assess the situation. If her mission is to access vulnerable populations and if it takes that to do it, let's do it. Obviously in the twenty-first century, there are still areas where a woman cannot talk to a man without being with a partner. It is not nice vis-à-vis our morals and our culture; in their culture that is the way they do it. We have the first lady going to Saudi Arabia and everybody applauds because she doesn't wear a headscarf. OK, she did it as she wants in her culture. There are areas in refugee camps where women who refuse to wear a headscarf will be refused access. They won't let you in. So you have to make the call. Do I want to get in and do the job, or do I not want to wear a scarf? It is a difficult call and it is restricting. Not being a woman, it is harder for me to answer, but to me what is important is the mission. It's like if a guy tells you to take your shoes off to do something, then I will take them off. If I do not, then I know I cannot do the mission, but it is my call.

A complaints specialist agrees that women should be kept aware of cultural differences while remaining focused on their work objectives:

I think knowing about the cultural and the cultural differences going in would probably help. I always tell women to focus on the work. I really believe that if your work is strong, the rest will fall into place a lot better and to be preoccupied with how people see you and what your hair looks like is very often less relevant than you think it is. The most important thing is to do good work, so I would say that to women going in. I would keep the transactions and the interactions very businesslike.

Likewise, a researcher specializing in gender-equity issues in impoverished nations states that respect from superiors and from peers is contingent on professionalism. In rapports of reciprocity, she says, actions speak louder than words:

It is in how you behave from the start. People know that you are in the country and they judge you on your actions and your way of working. If you work in a spirit of collaboration, openness, and respect, and there is a transfer of knowledge but on an equal basis, and you allow this transfer by your colleagues and people you are working with, people will be more open and you will be more efficient. You will be able to establish rapports of reciprocity.

Medical and Psychosocial Support

Organizations can be more creative at devising plans to ensure employee well-being. Asking women exactly what they want and need to be able to heal from traumatic events experienced on the job is an example. A complaints specialist underlines that the healing process can be facilitated by giving a victim time to heal and allowing for a gradual re-entry to work:

There are a number of things that are very healing. Time is healing. Counseling is healing. Creativity and expressing yourself can be very healing. For some people it can be [writing] a journal. For some people it could be artwork, for some people it could be music. Even if you are not a particularly creative person, I think that giving yourself the space and time for re-entry or gradual re-entry can be really helpful. Having someone to talk to can be helpful. It would be a gradual return to exactly what you were doing. I think also educating spouses and families about what to expect is also important.

Given that employees who suffer harassment and assault are likely to call in sick more often, workdays missed as a result of a toxic environment should either be reimbursed or not counted in the number of sick days an employee is permitted to take. Alternatively, compassionate leave should be worked into the organization's budget so that a victim who needs space can have the freedom to take time off work without worrying how to pay for living expenses or whether the boss is going to insist that they return to

work after a determined period of time. Additionally, any fees incurred because of harassment and assault should also be reimbursed, including but not limited to psychological support and physical rehabilitation.

As a matter of fact, the workplace harassment specialist and sexual assault specialists interviewed during the course of this research are unanimous in saying that organizations should offer support to victims regardless of the outcome of the investigation. While some people might not feel comfortable talking about an assault immediately after an incident, it is still important to make sure that psychosocial support is always available. A senior psychologist at the Headington Institute says that this type of support should be included as part of the normal benefit package:

I think the best psychosocial support is the psychosocial support you can get from your team and from your manager. So [it's important to provide managers with] training on how [to] be sensitive [so they understand] the need for psychosocial support. [It's also about training managers on] how they can manage their teams so it's the team that provides psychosocial support to its members. And then it can be helpful for organizations to also have a professional level of psychosocial support when it is needed. Either because someone has had a trauma, or they are being burned out, or the stress levels are too high, in which case maybe the natural psychosocial support that happens within the team isn't enough and a professional is needed. So hopefully organizations are getting better at having those kinds of services as part of the normal benefit package.

It is also important to help survivors get medical attention. This can be useful not just for STI testing and pregnancy prevention, but also for evidence collection in the event that she wants to press charges. One of the rape victims spoken to is adamant that organizations should render PEP kits accessible to all workers on the field:

It is also important to look into immediate care for survivors in particular that they have access to things like PEP kits which is Post-Exposure

Prophylaxis, which is for the prevention of HIV. It has to be administered within 24 to 72 hours. Similarly, the morning after pill needs to be given within 24 to 72 hours for it to be effective. Organizations also need to consider whether their medical plans for their employees cover psychosocial support. When I went to South Sudan, I was lucky in many ways. Because MSF was in the camp so I could go to MSF to get the kit because my organisation didn't have one, of course. And I had money to pay for a therapist and continue to [see one] to this day, two and a half years later. At the time their medical coverage didn't cover psychosocial support and at the end of my contract, my organisation gave me enough money to have maybe two months' therapy.

When it comes to stress and burnout that are not related to sexual violence, counselling should be rendered compulsory for all people. According to the Executive Director of the European Interagency Forum, doing so will not only take away the stigma related to mental health issues but will also help enhance work performance:

I think one of the important things, and what we are seeing grow more in organizations, is making [counselling] compulsory. For myself, there have been times where I was involved in something and I was given the option to see a counsellor and I sort of went "Oh, I don't understand the reason for that, I won't bother." But then on another occasion, I was told [that when] you come in from a high risk environment, you will go to a counsellor, you have no choice. And I think that is happening more and more, to take away this "I am at fault because I need help, I am not as strong as I should be." [attitude]. So if you make it compulsory, you are not seen as weaker than your colleagues.

The Director of Duty of Care International underlines that the accumulation of stress on a daily basis is often the cause of mental breakdowns and organizations need to recognize that:

We talk about cumulative stress a lot and I think it is the most dangerous [type] because it is a slow burner; it hits you before you know it. It's just an accumulation of things over time. It might be that you've done three assignments over here, two assignments over there, but there's no break and you discover something's happened at home. This could happen to

anyone, not just women. So I would say that as individuals we are very different and unique and we need to be more self-aware. And the organisation needs to support that.

c) Leadership

Senior level managers at headquarters need to make themselves more accessible to field level workers to instill the idea that they do, in fact, care. Making the staff feel valued is at the heart of good human resource management. One informant sent on mission during the Ebola crisis in West Africa says that she would have appreciated more personal concern from her managers:

Like I said, having a very sensitive higher management who would talk us through the challenges that we were having every day in terms of logistics, not only about the work. But the management was such that it was only about work that you could talk to them, nothing personal. So that was one thing. And [being informed about] studies that include not only the survivors of Ebola but also the aid workers and their experiences. I don't think the UN has ever conducted a study on that. How did aid workers survive their experience during that part in West Africa? Like the way you are talking to me, I would have liked that an agency talked to me and find out, "Was this applied? Was that applied?" That's why I got interested in your study, because I wanted to talk.

Oftentimes, there is a disconnect with human resources management at headquarters and staff deployed on mission in crisis zones. Training should thus be given to help managers become effective anchor points for people on the field. This entails being conscious of the risks and challenges people face on the ground, as well as responding appropriately to alarming situations. One informant claims that open communication can be difficult because of organizational silos and the general fear of appearing vulnerable:

At the field level, it is important to break the silos that organizations tend to operate in. Having open communications amongst one another about incidents that are occurring. A lot of sexual violence was happening last year for example, but organizations that were not communicating with one another could not protect their staff from what was happening. They also have to do so in consideration of the wish of the survivor, that is protecting their identity. Possibly, increased vulnerability amongst organizations is necessary. There is a fear, perhaps legitimately so, that by talking issues that are difficult whether that be about sexual violence amongst staff or sexual exploitation or abuse, that they are going to lose funding, that they are going to lose their reputation.

One way of improving communication within organizations might be to gradually add more female staff in male-dominated environments, which can make some women feel more comfortable. Nevertheless, reflecting on her experience as a manager in the humanitarian sector, the Executive Director of the European Interagency Forum says that she was not immune to sexism:

If you have grown up in a Western society where the differences between men and women are not necessarily on the surface, you can be surprised in terms of local culture. I think [what is important is] having an open mind and understanding that you will be treated differently - sometimes better, sometimes worse - but it is definitely different. I still came across a lot of sexism amongst the management structures. It is not as bad as when I was in engineering, but there is still sexism in terms of what is believed women can achieve. And depending on what you intend to do, in security [management], it is still very male dominated and assumptions are made. Where these cultural [adaptation mechanisms] are described, like you have to wear long sleeves or you have to wear a head scarf, it doesn't unpack the nuanced things that might be there.

In spite of the common belief that a woman in human resource management can understand the subtleties of certain situations involving sexual harassment, it may not always be the case. A more appropriate measure would be to have a leader who has knowledge about harassment at work either through schooling or in-house training on victimology. This leader can either be a man or woman who is open-minded and has the

capacity to listen proactively to people who have been fragilised, even if they have to meet with a victim in several sittings. This person should be gentle in demeanour and not have an impulsive streak. Separate training to equip managers to handle sexual violence cases can be helpful. They should understand the policies in the organisation and have strong informal network so to know how to signpost their staff to appropriate resources. Discretion and diligence at keeping records is a must. If a manager really cares about their staff, it will be evident in their leadership style.

Findings also suggest that there is a predominant male presence in humanitarian aid, and it is often skewed towards the senior levels. An all-male or all-white management team can be a red flag signifying that certain voices will not be heard. A panelist to a discussion on the subject of sexual violence in aid work conducted by Harvard University's Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action (ATHA) confirms the existence of toxic masculinity in certain organizations:

That's one of the other sides of this masculine culture. A part of that feeling is a feeling that women really don't belong there and particularly if you're working in conflict areas. The more kind of deep in conflict you go, the more there really is a pervasive feeling - that this is a boys place to be and as a woman you shouldn't really be there. And as I've worked in conflict areas for a really long time, and there definitely is a feeling as a woman that like I need to prove myself, I need to prove that I'm as tough.

Even so, the reality of having male leaders is detrimental only if said men are unscrupulous managers or are ignorant of issues pertaining to sexual violence. During the same panel discussion, the Director of Report the Abuse said the following:

I think it one of the problems that is really playing into this is the fact that most security advisors at the field level in particular are still men. Men tend

to be less comfortable talking about these issues. It's squeamish, it's not fun to discuss and they're uncomfortable with the topic. So any way that they cannot discuss it is easier for them and I think that also plays into why these types of incidents are treated as being like any other incident. They don't understand sexual violence. Maybe they don't want to talk about it. They haven't had training on it so they just treat it in the best way that they know how and that's not necessarily malicious. In some cases, perhaps, but they're treating it in the best way that they know how.

Of course, posting women in security positions and leadership roles can demonstrate that women are competent and capable. It can also ensure that female beneficiaries are well represented and that female colleagues have a voice during discussions. While a more diverse leadership is not a solution in and of itself considering issues of intersectionality and power dynamics, diversity can in fact enhance creativity and work processes in an organisation. As such, exclusively assigning women to leadership roles would be counterproductive. Inclusiveness should be valued, as honest and honorable men can actually be great role models for women. Furthermore, depending on the context, it is important to realize that it can sometimes be easier for male allies to speak out against sexual violence and help change chauvinistic attitudes.

Senior management teams also need training on how to manage multicultural working spaces, and how to deal with inequity and cultures of toxic masculinity. If a woman expatriate is appointed to a dangerous task, managers should take the initiative to ask her what support she needs to complete her job in light of gender-related risks and challenges. Leaders and upper administrators in the organisation have a responsibility to take a stand and send a clear message to the community that sexual violence will not be tolerated in the work environment.

Positive behaviour modeling from upper leadership can be very powerful in instilling a good work ethic and eradicating the stigma related to counselling. A manager at a large humanitarian organisation in Toronto says that oftentimes, people don't seek psychological support because many don't even realize when they are reaching the point of burnout. Usually, when people reach a high level of stress, it's cumulative. By first recognizing their own weaknesses and seeking counselling for it, managers can encourage open discussions about mental health.

Moreover, employee job satisfaction can be maintained by investing in programs that encourage staff to have good self-care habits such as keeping a well-balanced diet, practicing meditation or yoga, or taking exercise. Resilience can be instilled into the workforce by building sufficient leave for rest and recovery into programs. A senior psychologist at the Headington Institute emphasizes the importance of practicing mindfulness and nurturing oneself, especially for those in humanitarian work:

Have a good work-life balance and insist on [maintaining] it. Make sure that you are sleeping and exercising. I think you can practice something like mindfulness which helps a lot. Make sure that you keep social support in your life, that you pay attention to your sense of meaning and purpose and nurture yourself that way by making sure that you are still doing work that is meaningful to you. Those are some examples. Drink lots of water, make sure you still socialize and have fun. All of those are centered around the idea of keeping a good work-life balance.

Of course, all this self-care depends on good time-management skills since humanitarian work by its nature is characterized by hectic schedules. Telecommuting and telework should therefore be encouraged as flexibility to work from their temporary residence can give people more time to look after themselves. The feasibility of this plan requires one to distinguish between the different types of emergencies that might arise,

and to prioritize job tasks accordingly. An informant underlines the importance of positive behaviour modeling from leadership in the area of work-life balance in order to enhance the quality of work conditions:

So if it is a real emergency and not an administrative emergency like, “Oh my God, the grant report is due in three weeks and we haven’t done anything!”. Those are mostly [the types of] emergencies that we are dealing with. They are not like, “Oh my God! There is another Ebola outbreak!”. Those do happen and when there is another Ebola outbreak we do work night and day. But a lot of emergencies like, “Oh my God, headquarters wants this thing by tomorrow and we have to work to get it to them!” is not a real emergency. In those contexts, you work as hard as you can [but] the boss can [opt to] go home at 6 o’clock or whatever the end of the workday is. And he or she can keep working at home, [setting] a precedent that at the end of the workday you need to take care of yourself.

Overall, informants agree that an enlightened and empowered leadership will inspire people to develop resilience and self-awareness, creating an overall healthier workspace for everybody.

d) Organizational Culture

Discussions

Encouraging discussions about duty of care obligations is a way to shift the organizational culture in the right direction. Conversations about gender security are particularly important when tackling the problem of sexual violence. A sexual assault specialist says that asking the right questions can help organizations formulate effective coping mechanisms to include in training sessions, customized according to the context of the work environment:

What I say is that in life, we always carry an invisible toolbox with us and in that we have coping mechanisms. For different situations, we go into our toolbox and we pull out our coping mechanism. But when we are put in an environment we don't know, where there is a language we don't speak, in a culture that is not our own, those tools in our toolbox may no longer apply. So all of a sudden you feel hopeless, you feel alone, and that perpetuates crisis. So what are the protocols in place to deal with crisis? How do you talk about certain crises that may arise? Is anybody equipped to intervene? What is the follow up process? Do you remove somebody from a community? Do you have to get them to a hospital? Where is your nearest hospital? Do you have an understanding with the local authorities that maybe you can receive support? I think that there is a whole mapping of what kind of environment you are going into, and what are the resources available to you, and how do you connect with those resources.

Because consequences on individuals and on the organisation can be profound, the issue needs addressed explicitly. Group discussions should be regularly conducted and held in safe spaces. Importantly, they should involve both genders so that both men and women can learn from each other. Ideally, they should be integrated into monthly meetings so that people have the opportunity to talk about their concerns openly and to break down taboos. A female expatriate says that frequent check-ins would bridge the disconnect between management and staff:

Giving one-time orientation and then letting people off on the field is not the solution. The disconnect starts from the place when you have not actually connected to the procedures [of] the organization [...]. So I didn't find that regular connection or regular reminders of what needs to be done and what are the mechanisms. Therefore, I haven't seen improvements [or things] progressing. So whatever was given to you as basic [information] at the beginning was the only thing you would know about until the end of your assignment. So the disconnect begins with the lack of effort to connect on a regular basis.

A senior psychologist at the Headington Institute says that when leading discussions, it would be important to ask people what they envision as ideal channels and

apparatuses for reporting, and to evaluate how comfortable men and women would feel reporting certain abuses:

So you actually have to sit down with the men and women in your program, in your organization, and someone needs to be responsible for leading that discussion. Start asking men and women some basic questions. Like, “what are the gender security issues that you face?”, “what do you want the other sex to know about what it is like to be a man or a woman where you are working?”, “what would you like to see that would make you feel more comfortable and secure?”. Those very basic simple questions can be the start of conversations that need to happen. I suggest they happen in the place, right there where you are working, with the people you [are working] with.

Aside from sexual violence, discussions can also allow organizations to make adjustments to improve response strategies on the field. A female expatriate says that this kind of openness and flexibility should be applied when developing mechanisms to address different kinds of emergencies:

Depending on the nature of the emergency, you can actually revamp the learnings at some midpoint of the crisis. In a war zone, you need different kinds of revamping mechanisms [than you would need for] medical emergencies, or floods, or natural disaster emergencies.

Lastly, discussions should be included as a part of repatriation programs to provide expatriates with a forum for feedback and closure. An informant says that discussions can be conducted through different mediums of communication:

From when I was volunteering, that was lacking the most. More often than not, people experience [more] culture shock upon their return home than they do [from] actually being abroad. So [it can be helpful to have] support groups. Having those who have been volunteering and going away before you lead [these] groups where they can have conversations, check-in periods, [and providing] more information on what culture shock looks like. We all have different coping mechanisms and learning styles. A group

[setting] may not be the right fit for everybody. So we need to have alternative measures of support in place, whether it is on the internet, by the phone, in person. All of that.

All in all, findings suggest that a healthier organizational culture can be created and sustained by having regularly-scheduled discussion groups and disseminating knowledge through posters, podcasts, newsletters, emails, and the organization's website. These tactics, when combined and implemented consistently, can be particularly effective in dispelling myths about sexual violence and encouraging people to break the silence surrounding this issue.

Policies and Procedures

Consulting with people at all levels of the organizational structure can be helpful when developing policies and protocols. It is particularly important to have a policy that enforces duty of care obligations. In addition to detailing the rights and responsibilities of both the employer and its employees, it should clarify the organization's efforts to ensure work-life balance. A manager for a humanitarian organisation in Toronto says that this is especially relevant to female expatriates with families:

As for work-life balance, it goes back to our HR policies. For example, making sure we have six bases in our offices for women to breastfeed their children. Making sure there are flexi-hours so people can drop off their kids. They get to the office and then go back early or work at schedules that are better related to childcare. Or they work with their family's or partner's schedules. So it is about working hours, making sure our offices create spaces for women, or just spaces for women to interact with their children in the workplace. Those are some really basic things we try to do. For places where there is a lot of insecurity, the high-stress insecure places, those are not family places. We don't have family posting there. It is more in the places where you can bring families, we have a lot of HR

policies that do their best to allow for families to live in those locations or have a better work-life balance. And that's also up to the individual. How much time you choose to spend at your job is an individual choice. That's why we do resilience training and stress management training and we talk to our staff about how much time they are spending in the office as opposed to home.

Organizations should also have a stand-alone policy on sexual violence to show that the issue is being taken seriously. This policy should have clear definitions of what constitutes sexual violence and consent. It should also state what resources are available to help victims and what their options are for reporting. A sexual assault specialist claims that policies should detail the different types of support available to victims who chose not to file a formal complaint.

I always struggle between the idea of encouraging reporting versus fostering a space where people know that they could come and get support. That is important for an organization to differentiate. They need to be able to say, "We have support resources, we are here to support you, we are here to listen to you, we believe you. These are our policies on sexual violence, we have zero tolerance. But [under no circumstances] by you coming forward to receive this support, we are going to go forward against your consent or against your will to put action into place - like reporting or prosecuting somebody". There have to be two avenues, two choices so that we empower people who are sexually assaulted. Because sexual assault is about taking power away from somebody. So there has to be a protocol and policy around support, and a protocol and policy around reporting and discipline. Those two things have to be separate.

Findings suggest that for the most part, to feel secure in their environment, staff members need to see that action is being taken against violators. Sanctions for perpetrators should therefore be featured in the organization's policies. In a panel discussion conducted by the Advanced Training Program for Humanitarian Action, (ATHA), an Associate Professor on Women's Studies with nearly two decades' experience in the aid industry says that perpetrators should be fired. People in positions

of power, she says, should not be allowed to create an environment that puts their own workers at risk. However, a workplace harassment specialist interviewed during the course of this research says that, in certain cases, job termination may be too severe and rehabilitation in the form of sensitization training should be preferred:

Employers can be creative. I've had two men come here in the last year just to have a training session on what is sexual harassment, to talk about what they did and how to change things and what they were thinking, to break certain taboos [and biases]. That is another [important] thing, offering training to these people who have sexually harassed people. It can be a suspension without pay, it could be a letter in their file. And depending on how severe the case was, we can even open up the door to possibly firing somebody. Right now, if it's a first offence and there wasn't any physical aggression and the person collaborated in all the process, well firing them is too harsh. It seems too much of a severe sanction.

Similarly, sexual assault specialist says that different options need to be considered when punishing perpetrators. In some cases, they should be suspended. In others, they should be relocated to separate them from the victim. She adds that management should be extra careful as removing a victim from the work environment can unjustly penalize them, while allowing them to stay on the job can facilitate further abuse:

I think you have to look at your organization and you have to look at your organizational culture. Safety for the victim is number one. Oftentimes the way we create a safer environment for somebody who has experienced sexual violence is we remove them from the situation, which re-victimizes them because they are penalized. So we have to re-think the way we put safety measures in place. I would encourage people to say, "maybe we take away the alleged perpetrator while the investigation is under way. Maybe we separate them". Or ask a survivor what they want because they know best. They are going to tell you what they want to see happen. There have to be repercussions for harassment. So many times we see survivors come forward and disclose, and then they are harassed by their peers. There has to be a zero harassment policy. It comes down to how often we talk about the reality of sexual violence in our organisation. If somebody

comes forward, there can't be a snowball effect of further discrimination and abuse against this person. It has to be, "We believe you, we take this seriously. Nobody is going to ostracize you for coming forward and we are going to effectively and quickly investigate". Again, that's another part of the investigation process. Is it going to take 10 months to do this or is it going to be done in two months?

A complaints specialist takes a more direct approach saying that if somebody were to be removed from the work environment, it should be the perpetrator rather than the complainant. She adds that having a department in the organisation that is specialized in dealing with cases of sexual violence can be helpful:

At my organisation we have a sexual assault resource center. And that is one area that educates and helps people, [or] accompanies people to appointments. I think that an organisation that really wants to take sexual assault complaints seriously might need to set up one person or one office that is going to develop an expertise and be able to answer questions and work with survivors.

Refining the reporting process should be a priority for organizations. When someone has the courage to escalate a complaint to the point of a formal investigation, there should be a solid mechanism in place to support them. If needed, women should be allowed to bring someone to accompany them when making a complaint. In line with principles of fairness, both victims and alleged perpetrators should be given the opportunity to present their version of events during the investigation process. A workplace harassment specialist says that victims should avoid prevaricating when faced with uncertainty:

Often what happens in those situations, you are put in contact with a person who is there to deal with these types of complaints. Often it is somebody in HR or a supervisor, somebody who is higher up in the company. From there, you are going to be asked as a victim to give your

version of the facts - who, what, when, where. Was somebody a witness? How did you react? So it's going to be to participate and collaborate in the investigation the best as you can. Don't lie or make up things because you are not sure, this is normal. Harassment is often done over a long period of time. We don't start taking notes the first time somebody asks us out. It's when that little voice inside of us starts saying, "something is wrong, it's too insistent." It is normal that if something happened a year ago that you don't have the exact date or all the little details. Try to structure it so that the person gets a good view of the situation.

A widely-published complaints specialist lists six things to remember in order to lodge a complaint effectively. Among them are making concessions and clarifying demands:

There are six key steps. First of all, you want to be calm when you are complaining. Second, you want to be concise and hitting the specifics of your particular complaint. Third, you want to concede where you were personally wrong. Four and five go together; you need to choose what you want as an outcome for a complaint but if you don't get what you want you have to be prepared to compromise. And the final one is to keep copies.

By and large, the complaints procedure should be widely known throughout the organization, preferably in multiple languages. A sexual assault specialist working for a university in Canada says that simplicity and accessibility are key:

In terms of reporting procedures, it's important that it is as simple as possible, that there is a clear path. Although in policy and some documents, the language needs to be a certain way, I think if there is a way to make sure that policies or reporting procedures are clearly articulated in a way that the average person can understand and follow. Otherwise, they won't use it, if they don't understand how to use it. Also that information needs to be widely and easily available to people, whether that's on a website, or if there is training given on that every six months - however you communicate it to the employees or the group, you need to make sure that it is communicated clearly and that people know about it.

A complaints specialist at an elite business school in Canada also underlines the importance of simplicity: “The steps are very easy. Phone me or send me an email, or book a visit. It’s not formally organized. Anybody can see me at any time.” Having a relatively flat organizational structure, he adds, can facilitate communication. When dealing with perpetrators of workplace harassment, he suggests demotion, expulsion, or exclusion.

Organizations should be more attentive to early warning signs of abuse, and handle complaints diligently. Policies and protocols need to be thoroughly enforced by leadership so that it becomes embedded in the organizational culture; this effort needs to be ongoing. Individuals receiving sexual violence complaints should have had training on how to handle them. Importantly, they should be aware that questions such as “Are you sure?”, “Have you been drinking?” and “What were you wearing?” are insensitive and inappropriate. A non-confrontational approach should be taken to avoid othering and minimizing experiences of assault. In the event that a victim does not feel comfortable talking to a man, a woman should be available to handle the case to create a framework for honest, open communication. Conscientiousness and confidentiality are an absolute must. Otherwise, if it becomes widely known that an organisation mishandled a particular case, it can deter sexual assault victims from ever reporting. The Director of Report the Abuse states that other hindrances to reporting are pervasive myths about rape:

The rape myths are stronger than ever. For the humanitarian setting specifically, there are a lot of myths about false reports- the idea that women are reporting sexual violence because they do not like management, that they don't like this man or want this man's job, which is a very strong myth and stereotype which I think is absolutely ridiculous considering what the outcome is for most women who report - or most survivors, probably. There is a myth within the humanitarian community that these incidents are most likely being perpetrated by the local

population as opposed to other humanitarians. And even now, when I speak to most organizations, they assume that the perpetrators are the refugees, the military, the rebels, part of government forces, that they are not part of HR, or senior management or the security advisor.

[...] Destigmatizing and demystifying sexual violence means being clear about the fact that anybody can be a sexual violence survivor, national or expatriate staff, man or woman, it doesn't matter what level you are within an organisation, it doesn't matter what experience you have, it doesn't matter what your age is. Anybody can be a survivor and equally, anybody can be a perpetrator. So being really clear that this happens across the board, it is a risk, and these are the realities that you are more likely to know the individual who is doing this than not. And that is really an important piece [of the puzzle] as well for creating an atmosphere where survivors can come forward. Because if they continue perpetuate these myths that it is stranger [being the perpetrator] or [being in an obviously dangerous] situation, if it comes about that you end up being assaulted by the driver or your translator or your boss, then you are going to feel that you cannot come forward because you are going to feel incredibly isolated.

And that is actually one of the themes of a lot of the survivors coming forward is that they do feel really isolated because they were made to feel that first of all that it was their fault, be it that they can't report because they'll damage the reputation of the organisation, they'll destroy the mission, they'll destroy this man's life, they'll never get a job again, they'll be blacklisted- which happens. And that this happened to just them, that they are the only one this happened to.

Feelings of isolation can certainly be compounded by the power dynamics of the work environment. In the same vein, a sexual assault specialist points out the difficulties office politics can create in the reporting process:

I think part of it comes down to power imbalance. So let's say you're sexually assaulted by your team leader and you are on a contract and you want to come back and your team leader has the ultimate say on whether you will come back or not. Are you ever going to report against this person? Absolutely not. What if you are reporting against your team leader to the HR person who is the team leader's best friend?

In light of this problem, the Executive Director of the European Interagency Security Forum advises that the person of confidence should not be in the victim's management line in the event that a manager is directly involved. A workplace harassment specialist says that alternatively, investigations can be conducted externally:

You also have to have alternative reporting channels. If I don't want to go to the HR person, I need to know that I can go to somebody else. Some people opt to do external investigations. So if a complaint is brought forward, it's not actually done in-house so that there is distance and there can't be any possible power imbalance. It can be that the reporting channels are not in the same office or even in the same country. And there has to be clauses around confidentiality. So if I am sexually assaulted, I want to know that I can disclose to you in utter confidence and I have the power every step of the way to retract my disclosure. Because if I don't feel safe going through this process, why would I continue with it? What are the repercussions for me? Do we document? [It is also important to] clearly outline what are the sanctions for discipline.

In all cases, victims should be encouraged to document every step they take in order to keep a record of any bureaucratic abuses, professional misconduct, or negligence that might take place. Because organizations have a tendency to protect themselves rather than the victim, follow-up is also essential to ensure accountability.

3.2 Discrepancies

Findings in present research were for the most part consistent with extant literature, although some discrepancies did appear when discussing certain topics. Identifying these discrepancies and placing them within a wider context allows for a clearer understanding of ambiguous or contradictory statements made by interviewees. All discrepant evidence is revealed so that readers can re-assess the data from their own perspectives and consider understandings that may differ from those stated in this work.

3.2.1 Gender is not necessarily a vulnerability factor

A consultant specializing in crisis management in the aid sector says that being a woman is not a vulnerability a priori. In sharp contrast to the Executive Director of the European Interagency Forum, who maintains that assessing how the very real dangers of a hostile environment can be amplified by a staff member's individual profile should take precedence over anti-discrimination laws, he emphasizes that differentiating women's needs and organizing activities to accommodate perceived vulnerabilities is a form of discrimination:

In general, you can't say that being a woman is a vulnerability in the aid sector. It can be a strength. You have plenty of situations where you would be better [off] by virtue of being a woman than being a man. So yes, it can expose you more vis-à-vis some threats in some locations. But in general, you can't say it is a vulnerability. In fact, if you start by saying it is a vulnerability, it is discrimination. It is like not hiring women because they are women. What I want is a professional to do the job. I am not hiring a gender; I am hiring a person.

In his years of experience working in crisis zones, he adds that he has seen women's job performance surpassing their those of their male counterparts' given the same environmental conditions:

I have seen girls behaving much better than males under fire or under heavy situations. So I think it is not a question of combat, I have been super impressed by a lot of girls in certain situations. So what would be the only situation would be linked to sexual harassment.

He does however, acknowledge that women can be limited strictly due to cultural and religious factors in the host country. When asked about what makes a successful female expat, he emphasizes professional competency:

Like for men. Just being professional and mature. Having said that, there are circumstances where it might be harder for women to be successful because the environment for many reasons - cultural or religious - the environment may be less willing to operate or to deal with a woman.

In certain cases though, it can actually be an advantage to be a woman. Female expatriates should therefore learn how to identify and seize those opportunities. Looking back on her experience as an expatriate, the Executive Director of the European Interagency Forum says that being a woman facilitated access to beneficiaries in traditionally segregated communities:

I worked in very conservative societies, particularly in conservative Islamic societies where men and women don't mix. As a female expat, it was much easier for me to work with both halves of the community because I could get to meet the women as well as the men. But in the same societies, some women have found that it is very difficult to be the senior decision maker because politicians or others may not take them seriously if there is a crisis. There are advantages and disadvantages, but there are difference and you've got to be able to know what those differences are and how you can use them in your favour.

The Director of Duty of Care International says that in addition to gender, personal characteristics such as age, a sense of responsibility, and maturity level can, in some contexts, be defining success factors:

[Being a woman] might be an advantage, yes. It depends. I just couldn't possibly begin. I've been a senior expat aid worker and I would say that as soon as I hit 35, in some cultures there is some respect. So when you are a little bit more senior, I think you have a little bit more respect. Some cultures respect older people, let's say. When you've got a lot of young people on the team and you are a senior older person, I mean 35 (laughing), things are a little bit different. I think it's also about how I handled myself. I've learned and grown up with taking responsibility for my actions and knowing what puts [me] at risk. Sometimes it's not good to do what you want to do as an aid worker and go out, get exposed. I'm not saying people shouldn't, but sometimes you've just got to be really careful about how you behave and how you are seen.

An informant with experience in refugee camps agrees that age can add to perceived credibility and reliability:

Certainly in refugee camps or if you are intervening at the level of distribution or if your actions are at the cusp between humanitarian aid and development, it is certain that the presence of a woman will make a difference with women. My experience shows that mature women [expatriates] who have children at home in their country will be better perceived by [local] women they intervene with because for those women, the young woman is a young woman. Therefore, a foreigner who is very young, they will not have the same rapport with her because she is a young girl. [...] My experience in Rwanda tells me that because I was married - women would ask me if I was married, if I had children, right away - it created a different relationship.

She also says that her marital status also gave her access to certain rights that she would otherwise not have. For her, vulnerabilities are not inherent to a person's gender but are created by the prevailing status quo on gender rapports in certain countries:

In my case, I used my husband a lot because he was working. I realized that because I had a husband, I had a social status that garnered respect from men. Because I was married, and because I had children. It did not hinder me in my work. In the context of development work, I was more secure because I had a husband and I had children. Therefore, I was a so-called "normal" woman. I was well perceived by men. I was also well perceived by women because their reality and mine were similar, so there was a form of acceptance. However, it is sure that if I was going to the bank and they asked that my husband approve my financial transactions, I found that difficult. There were other actions where it was clearly established that I was dependent on my husband. I found that very difficult to accept. So I tried to do my work by using my social status and to put aside combats that I could not win, because society was organized that way. Certainly, when we are in a different environment, we have to take the time to understand the gender rapports, the signals as to what is acceptable and what is not, and to think about the way things are done. Because we cannot ignore the cultural context in which we are, neither should we fall into the trap of forgetting ourselves and immersing ourselves in the cultural context of others and forgetting our own. People would not respect you if you do that.

In contrast, an informant who worked in the earthquake relief efforts in Haiti says that within organizations, race and employee status can be bigger vulnerabilities than gender. She says that as a white female expatriate, she had more privileges than her black husband who was a member of the national staff:

My husband is a Haitian aid worker and the salary gap between us was at one point up to 10 times. I was earning 10 times what he was despite the fact that he was doing more dangerous work than I was. Sometimes the automatic privileging of expats is warranted if they are more highly qualified, but I think that privilege is applied across the board regardless of qualifications, to a pretty detrimental level.

Another informant says that it is not gender but the direct nature of the service offered by certain types of humanitarians that increases their vulnerability. During the Ebola crisis in West Africa, for example, doctors, nurses and other medical professionals faced the highest risks. She also claims that she neither experienced nor witnessed

incidences of sexual assault on the field because of regulations requiring people to work in quarantined zones and to limit social contact.

Vulnerability for some informants is related to the variety of dangers humanitarians are exposed to. For one informant, the biggest problem in crisis zones are road traffic accidents. For yet another informant, it is hostage-taking.

As for experiences of stress and burnout in the humanitarian sector, some informants claim that men and women are equally vulnerable. The same informants also say that work-life balance on the field is just as hard to achieve for both sexes.

3.2.2 Feasibility of Developing a Standardized Strategy

While acknowledging the need for stronger and more coherent approaches to security management in the aid sector - especially when addressing the problem of sexual violence - informants have varying viewpoints as per the feasibility of developing a standardized strategy. A senior psychologist at the Headington Institute opines that it would be desirable but extremely difficult to have global standards and policies to address sexual violence, in light of the vast range of gender practices around the world and the culturally-specific contexts that humanitarians work in. She also questions how common it is for organizations to remain silent on the issue of sexual violence and to have ineffective mechanisms in place to help victims:

I'm not sure I would agree that they are trying to keep silence or are not trying to help. I haven't experienced a lot of that. The organizations that I've worked with have been very keen to help and have not wanted to keep [silent]. But it's a complicated problem. It's not open to simple solutions and it's not black and white.

She adds that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to sexual violence because the solutions can be as diverse as the women themselves:

So it's not always the organization that's at fault. It's not an issue of trying to point the finger and saying there's the blame. I think this is a deeply-rooted, complex problem and humans are so different in their response to this that you can't have a one-size-fits-all solution.

[...]

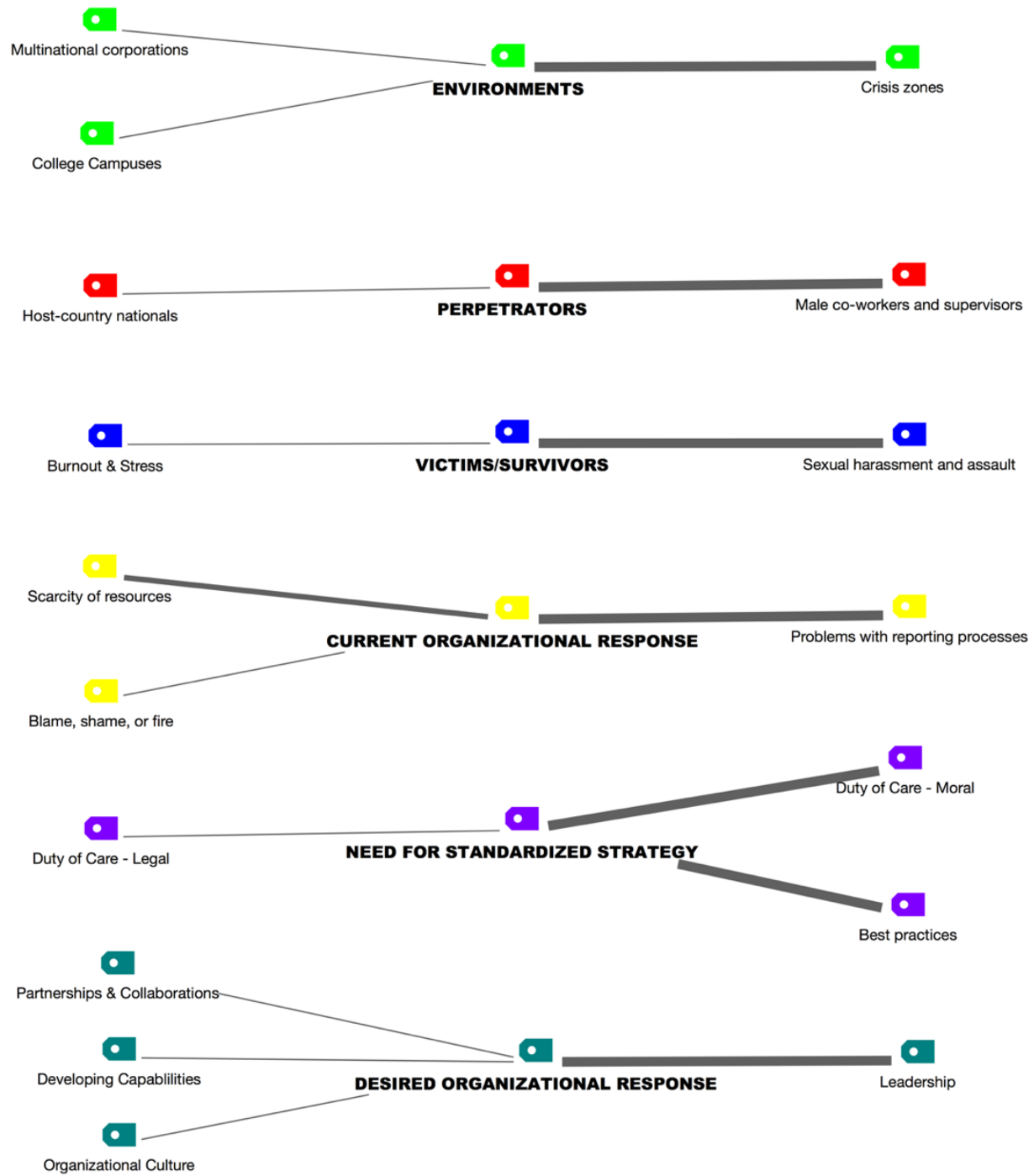
Even the organizations that are trying really hard have not been able to solve the problem to everyone's satisfaction. It's complicated, it's not a simple solution. You can try these things; they are the minimum standards. Still, it's going to fall short because the problem is so complicated and still keeps happening. Until we get to a place in the world where there is no sexual assault, maybe. But you know that's not going to happen, right?

4 Results

4.1 Most Prominent Themes in Code Model

Following standardized ethical procedures for data collection and analysis, sensitive information concerning participants' identities, personal opinions, and anecdotal experiences is kept classified in present research. Notwithstanding, all information was considered, and the treatment of data does not affect overall results as the same conclusions can be drawn in the present study if omissions were revealed.

When all primary and secondary data across all categories of informants are taken into consideration, findings reveal a prevalence of particular themes in the code model:

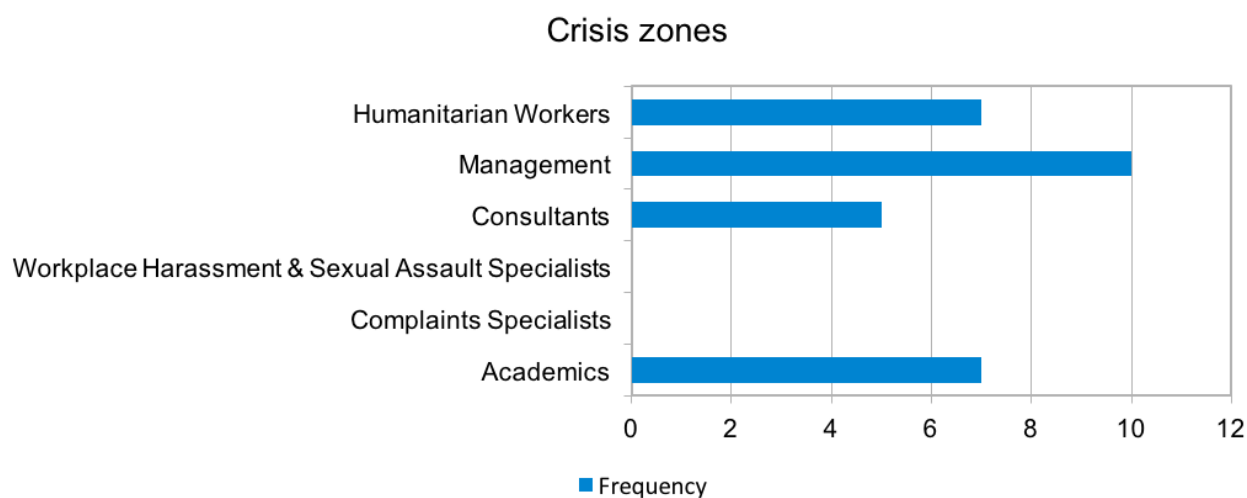


Connections between interviews can be made by examining relevant quotes retrieved from most prevalent themes in the code model (see Appendix 11). Results suggest that women in humanitarian work are particularly concerned about the risks of sexual violence in the field. It also appears that sexual assault and harassment directed towards women expatriates is mostly perpetrated by male co-workers and supervisors. Abuses of this nature are most prevalent in crisis zones where legal and political infrastructures to protect women are either weak or non-existent. Additionally, many humanitarian organizations have ineffective reporting processes. Inadequacies in said reporting processes are reflective of dysfunctions within the organizational culture. In view of this, more standardized approaches to security management are needed to help redress injustices that are perpetuated as a result of incongruences within the humanitarian sector. Coherent approaches are best developed by drawing inspiration from best practices and from the concept of duty of care. Because of its broadness and flexibility, emphasizing the *moral* duty of care towards staff can have a farther reaching impact than the *legal* duty of care. All things taken into account, more desirable organizational responses to gender-related problems can be achieved by a bottom-up approach which encourages organization-wide discussions, and the proactive involvement of well-informed and empathetic leaders.

4.2 Detailed Analysis of Most Prominent Themes

The following bar graphs demonstrate how frequently the most prominent themes are addressed by the different categories of professionals. The numbers at the bottom of the graphs correspond to the frequency of the coded segments occurring in each category. Below, the most prominent themes are analyzed in detail.

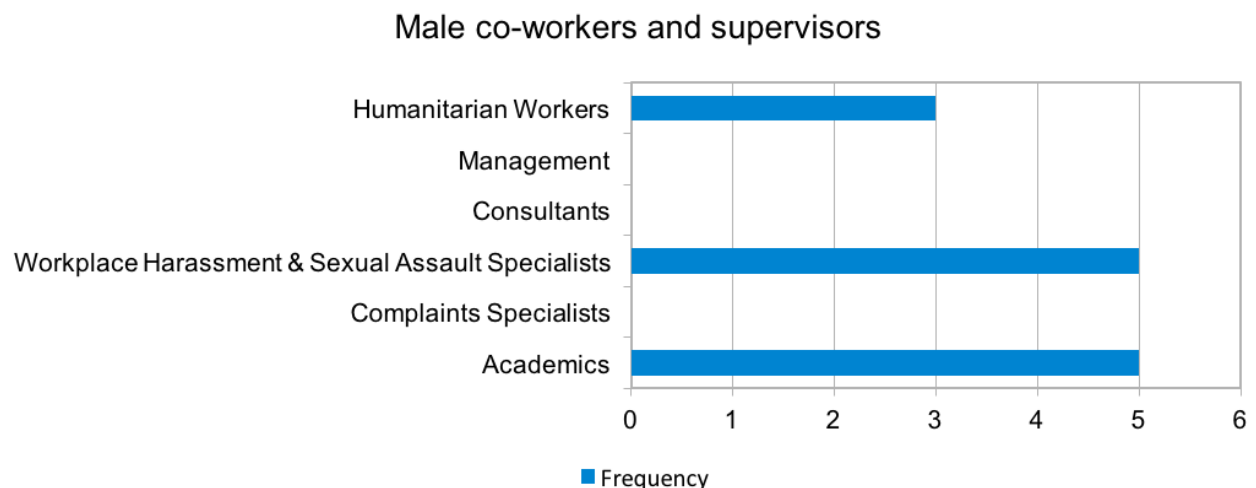
4.2.1 Environment: Crisis Zones



Managers emphasize that working conditions in a hostile environment are excessively difficult. As such, most mental breakdowns happen because of unrealistic expectations about the job, the environment, and one's personal capabilities to effectuate change. Women expatriates in the humanitarian sector, however, underline the gravity of the problem of sexual harassment in crisis zones. Female expatriates who were victims of sexual aggression recounted experiencing excessive difficulties finding the support they need to deal with incidents of sexual violence.

Underlining the prevalence of sexual violence in crisis zones, researchers specializing in Women's Studies point out that inaccessibility of support resources is common in countries where legal and political infrastructures protecting women are weak or non-existent. In contrast, on the premise that exploitative people can be found anywhere, consultants claim that incidents of sexual violence are as prevalent in crisis zones as they are on campuses of Western universities. Nevertheless, they do acknowledge that inherent difficulties of operating in hostile environments such as political instability, rampant violence, and harsh physical conditions render humanitarian workers particularly prone to experiences of stress and burnout.

4.2.2 Perpetrators: Male Co-Workers and Supervisors

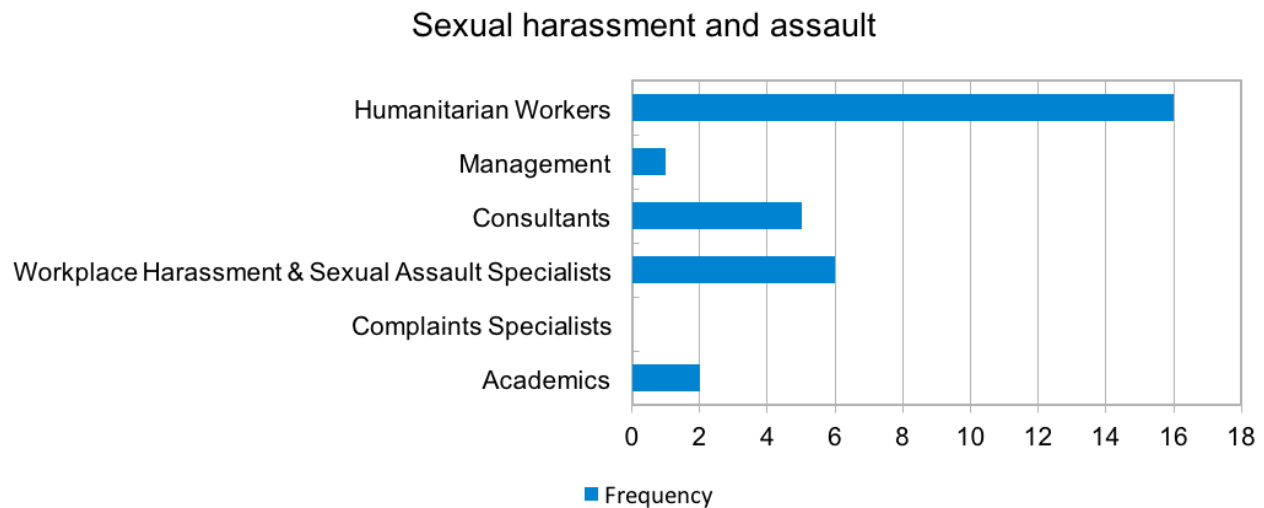


According to workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists, perpetrators are usually people who are already acquainted with the victim. Although perpetrators of sexual violence are not always men, the majority of them are. In fact, in organizations imbued with cultures of toxic masculinity, the most common perpetrators are male

coworkers and supervisors. As such, they opine that even if humanitarian organizations lack the resources to properly address all the challenges that can arise in crisis zones, more resources should be invested in training managers to sensitize them about the issue of sexual violence. This training can be particularly useful to avoid the blaming, shaming, and firing of victims of sexual violence. It is particularly important to train male staff about appropriate language and behaviours; an exclusive focus on training women about these issues would otherwise be a victim-blaming approach.

Women expats also claim that male coworkers and men in supervisory positions are the most common perpetrators of sexual violence. It appears that white, middle-aged men with narcissistic traits who are given inordinate amounts of power are most likely to sexually exploit their subordinates. Researchers in Women's Studies with experience and humanitarian aid work confirm that male colleagues, especially those in management positions, are the most common perpetrators. In contrast, managers claim that there is no clear profile of a perpetrator. They bring to attention the fact that because of cultural differences, male host country nationals in crisis zones may not always respect a Western woman's boundaries. Being aware of these cultural differences could allow one to find ways to mitigate risks of sexual violence and effectively adjust to the reality on the field.

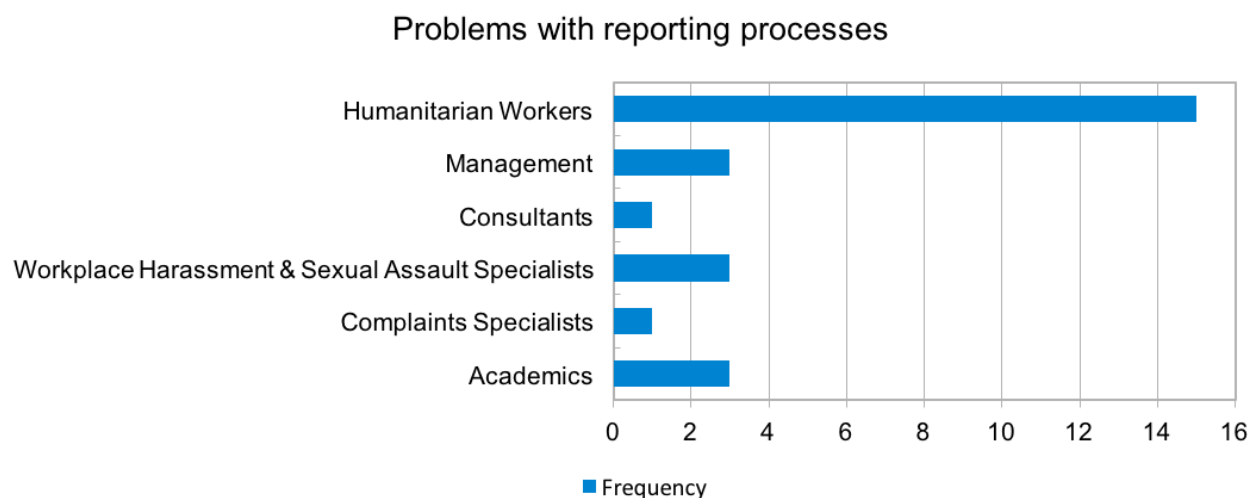
4.2.3 Victims/Survivors: Sexual Harassment and Assault



For women expats, experiences of burnout and stress are largely related to incidences of sexual violence. Interviewees who were assaulted while on mission confided that excessive red tape in the organization and difficulty finding support resources in the aftermath of the assault exacerbated feelings of self-blame, rage, and despair. Workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists emphasize that victims are likely to experience post-traumatic stress disorder and other forms of psychological damage if they are not provided with the necessary medical and psychosocial support to deal with incidents of sexual violence.

Consultants caution that women are at high risk of sexual harassment and assault in male-dominated countries where gender norms are quite rigid. Cross-cultural training is therefore essential to adjusting to a foreign and potentially hostile environment. Managers, however, emphasize that burnout and stress are common experiences to humanitarian work, and are not always related to sexual violence.

4.2.4 Current Organizational Response: Problems with the Reporting Process



Women expatriates highlight that organizations have serious shortcomings in their reporting processes. This mainly due potential abuses in hierarchal power relations and lack of alternative reporting channels. They claim that they were given very little training or information on the risks of sexual violence on the field and how to effectively file a complaint if an incident were to occur. Victims of sexual assault say that the stress of having to find their way through the tangled web of bureaucracy added to their psychological turmoil. In fact, bystanders who filed complaints on behalf of victims also experienced high levels of stress because of dilatory measures in the reporting process and the tendency of organizations to deny vicarious responsibility. Although managers acknowledge that current organizational responses to gender-related challenges are inadequate, they mainly attribute this to scarcity of resources.

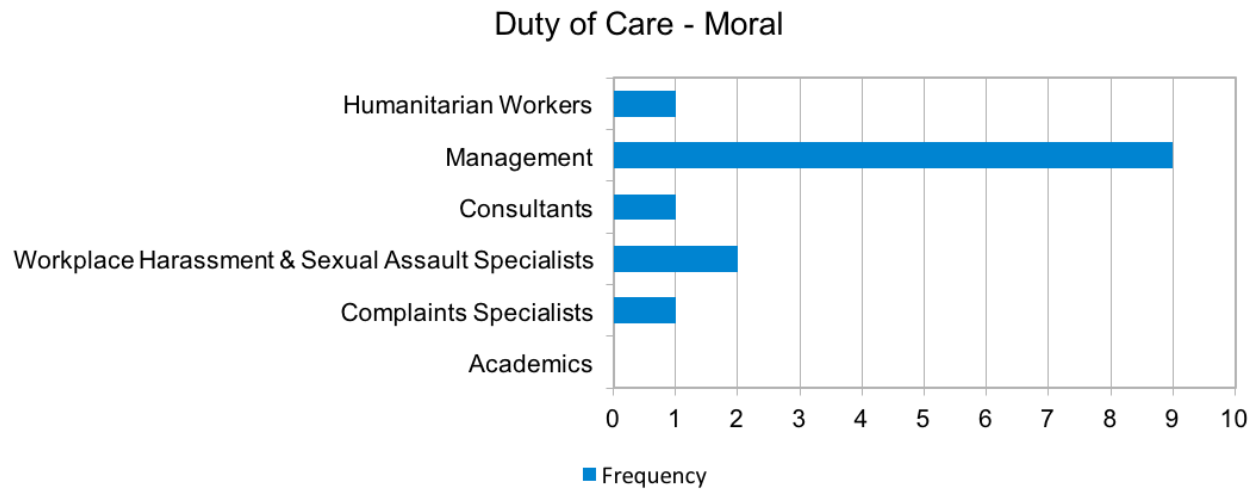
Workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists say that managers receiving complaints should be trained on how to communicate with staff members effectively. Correspondingly, academics state that blaming, shaming, or firing the victim are common

ways organizations respond to cases of sexual violence. As such, the problem of sexual violence is widely underreported. Whereas academics strongly recommend that perpetrators be fired, workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists claim that organizations can resort to a variety of sanctions such as relocation, mandatory sensitization training, and temporary suspension depending on the gravity of the offense.

Complaints specialists say that sexual assault complaints are often mishandled in organizations with scarce resources. Problems occur when victims do not know how to file complaints effectively through the right reporting channels. They emphasize that victims need a safe space to be heard and access to support resources. According to complaints specialists, complaints of any form are best handled when clear policies and procedures are in place. Correspondingly, individuals receiving complaints should be approachable and accessible. Organizations are encouraged to pool their resources together to build up expertise on complaints filing and handling.

As for consultants, they are careful not to assume that organizations are to blame when incidents of sexual violence are mishandled. Focusing on the importance of workplace adjustment as a risk mitigating measure, they say that more effort should be directed at developing managerial and employee capabilities. Diligent recruitment and screening of staff members should be followed by extensive security training.

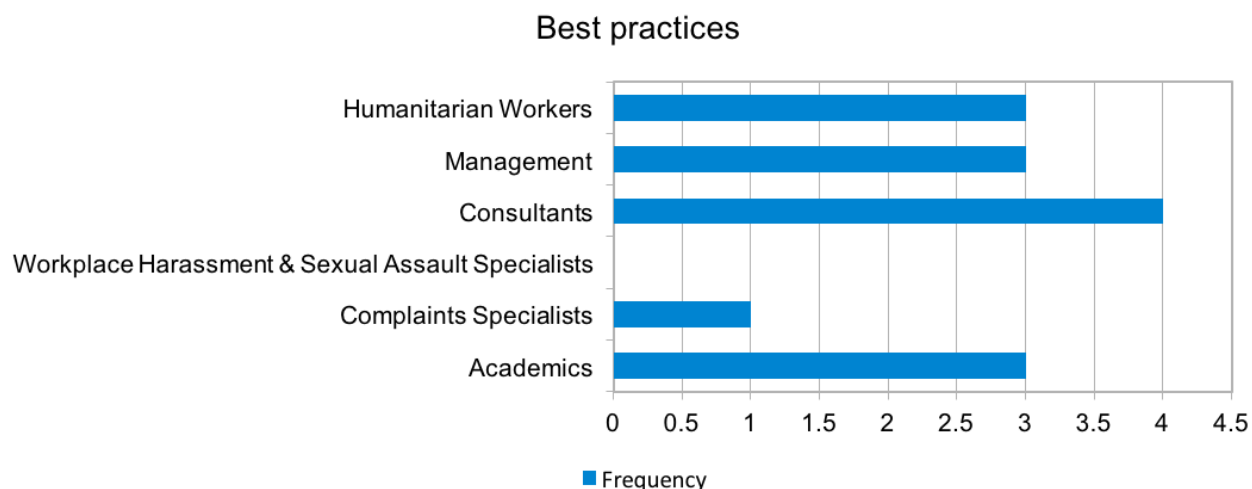
4.2.5 Need for Standardized Strategy: Moral Duty of Care and Best Practices



According to managers, a more standardized approach to security management can be developed by focusing on an organization's legal and moral duty of care. Managers emphasize the importance of recruitment and screening; finding the right people for the right job is crucial to mitigate risks in a hostile environment. They claim that extensive cultural adaptation training can help women expats effectively adapt to hostile environments. Training methods should be rigorous and highly experiential, making use of advanced computer technologies. Still, managers are adamant about the necessity of setting aside discrimination laws and not deploying expats to crisis zones where they would face high risks of violence, torture or imprisonment because their gender, sexual orientation, or other characteristics of their individual profile are specifically targeted or stigmatized. Managers agree that leaders have the responsibility to safeguard the wellbeing of their staff members throughout the employee cycle. As a matter of fact, the organizations' moral duty of care includes repatriation programs; it extends far beyond the length of assignment.

Workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists highlight that when the issue of sexual violence is unchecked in an organization, worker performance and overall organizational productivity can be gravely compromised. Organizations, they say, should focus on their moral duty of care to ensure employee well-being. In helping victims recuperate from incidents of sexual violence, organizations can be creative and compassionate in their approach, such as offering to pay for auxiliary fees related to legal representation, counselling, or physiotherapy, providing paid leave days, investing in employee wellness programs, or other options tailored to the needs of the individual.

Similarly, according to complaints specialists, organizations should look into best practices and focus on their moral duty of care to effectively handle employee grievances. For complaints specialists, workspaces characterized by diversity require people to have good communication and cross-cultural adaptation skills. Training is important to avoid ethnocentric approaches that can hinder acceptance by the larger community. They underline that both men and women managers have a responsibility to ensure that all voices are equally represented in the organisation.



According to women expats, the need for a more standardized approach in addressing the issue of gender-security can be met by identifying best practices in the aid industry. They add that provision of medical and psychosocial services should become widespread practice in the industry. Specifically, to ensure the well-being of staff members, the provision of medical and psychosocial support – during and after the filing of a complaint – should be included in policies and procedures. Furthermore, informants highlight that cross-organizational efforts should be made to ensure that legal responsibility is assumed by employers for offenses committed by employees and subcontractors alike.

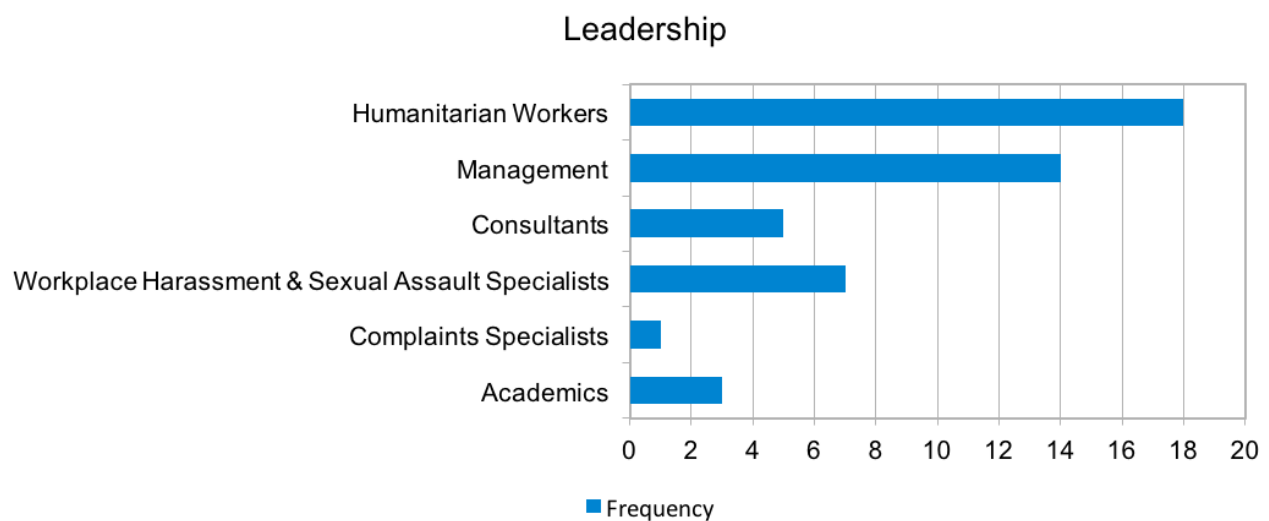
Managers agree, claiming that an effective gender-security strategy can be developed by harmonizing best practices with the concept of legal and moral duty of care. Consequently, they are open to partnerships and collaborations with external organizations to share knowledge and deal with the ongoing issue of scarce resources.

Similarly, consultants say that to effectively deal with workplace sexual harassment, organizations, should examine best practices in the industry. They are however skeptical on the possibility of developing a global approach to gender-security considering the wide disparities in cultural norms, customs, and traditions. In contrast, researchers recognize the need for a more standardized, high quality approach to dealing with the issue of workplace sexual harassment in the humanitarian sector.

Researchers stress the necessity of undertaking a serious organizational reflection before intervening in crisis zones. It is reported that humanitarian organizations will often enter situations where they risk putting personnel's lives at risk even when there is very little possibility of enacting significant change. Judicious management would require

organizations to refrain from engaging their personnel in cases where their human resource capital is sure to be attacked and depleted. Female academics, especially those with experience in the aid industry, assert that extensive training in cross-cultural adaptation is crucial. Bearing in mind that there are diverse types of feminism, it is important to be respectful of women's experiences in other cultures.

4.2.6 Desired Organizational Response: Leadership



Several women expatriates discussed the need to develop more organizational capabilities by training good managers. This can put an end to the common organizational response of blaming, shaming, or firing victims who report incidences of sexual violence. They add that having more women in leadership roles can be helpful in dispelling toxic masculinity from an organizational culture. For women expats, positive behaviour modeling from upper leadership is very important, especially when trying to establish and enforce standards of behaviour. Leaders, they say, should further work on developing

partnerships and collaborations within the aid industry to protect victims and bring perpetrators to justice. Leaders should also hold regular group discussions to provide expatriates a forum to be heard on general issues of concern and to raise awareness about the risks sexual violence. Women expatriates strongly advocate the usefulness of mentorship programs, particularly for younger or inexperienced women. Social networks are also considered to be essential to facilitate the adaptation process into a host country and for personal support. They emphasize the usefulness of making connections with the local community outside the expat bubble as it can help provide support when encountering problems within the organization.

Managers claim that both sexes are equally capable of good leadership. However, more women in leadership positions are needed to redress cultures of toxic masculinity. They add that organizational cultures are healthiest when there are clear policies about gender equity and procedures to address incidents of sexual violence are in place.

According to workplace harassment and sexual assault specialists, organizations should have a clear zero-tolerance policy on sexual violence and robust procedures to ensure that incidents will be dealt promptly and empathetically. Safe spaces for open discussions are crucial to help raise awareness about the issue. Agreeing that both men and women can be good leaders, they encourage ethical financial management and external collaborations to meet employee needs for medical and psychosocial support.

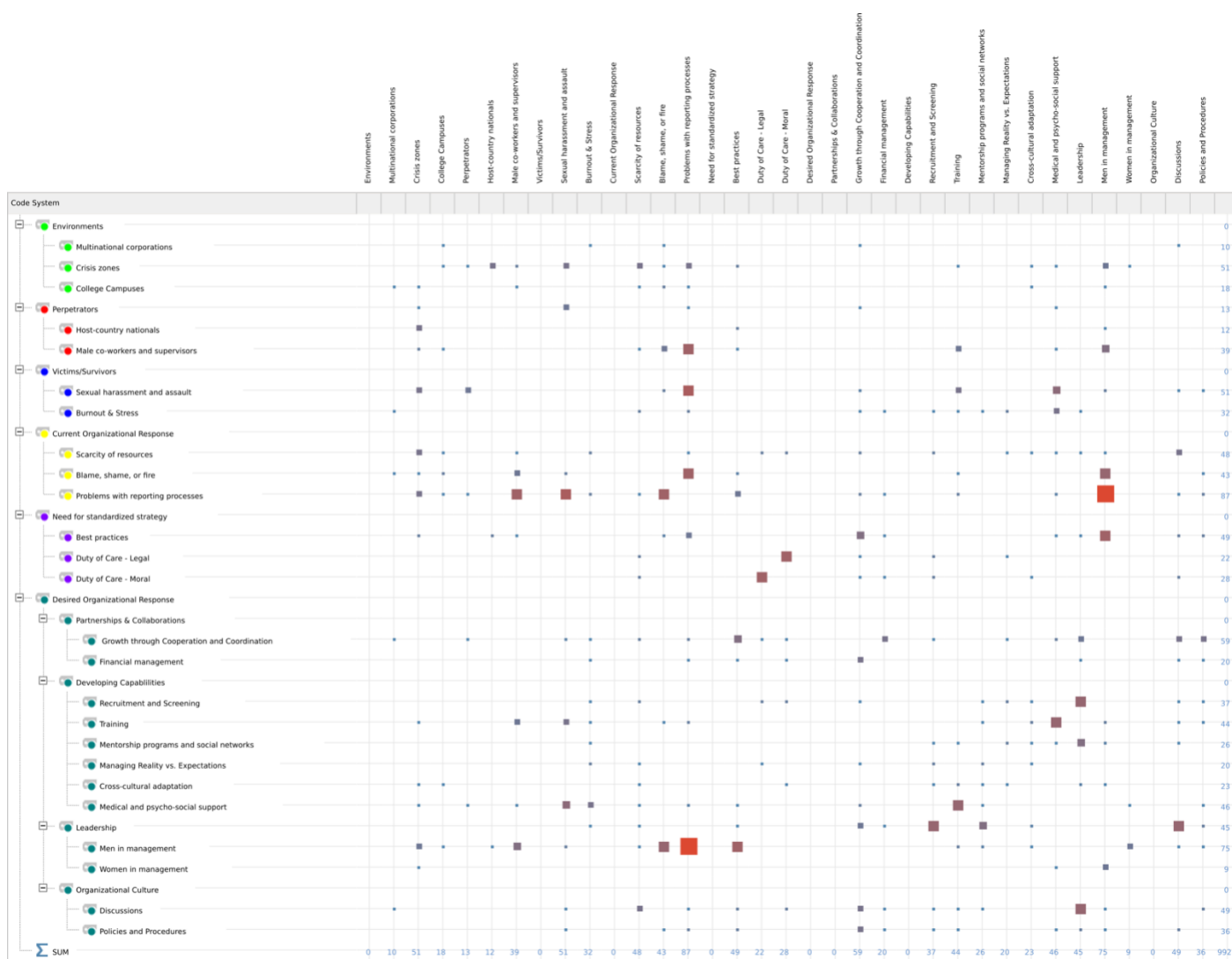
Consultants claim that macho cultures in organizations are rare. This problem, if it exists, can be redressed by having more women in management positions, encouraging discussions about gender-related difficulties on the field, and setting up policies and procedures to deal with cases of sexual violence. Like workplace harassment and sexual

assault specialists, they too encourage ethical financial management and external collaborations to secure resources for employee well-being.

As for researchers, they claim that increasing the number of women in leadership roles is necessary to ensure that both genders are equally represented in the organisation. Academics emphasize that male managers should be trained and sensitized about women's issues. They add that a healthier organizational culture could be fostered by conducting group discussions on gender security. Partnerships and collaborations should also be explored to further skill and knowledge transfer.

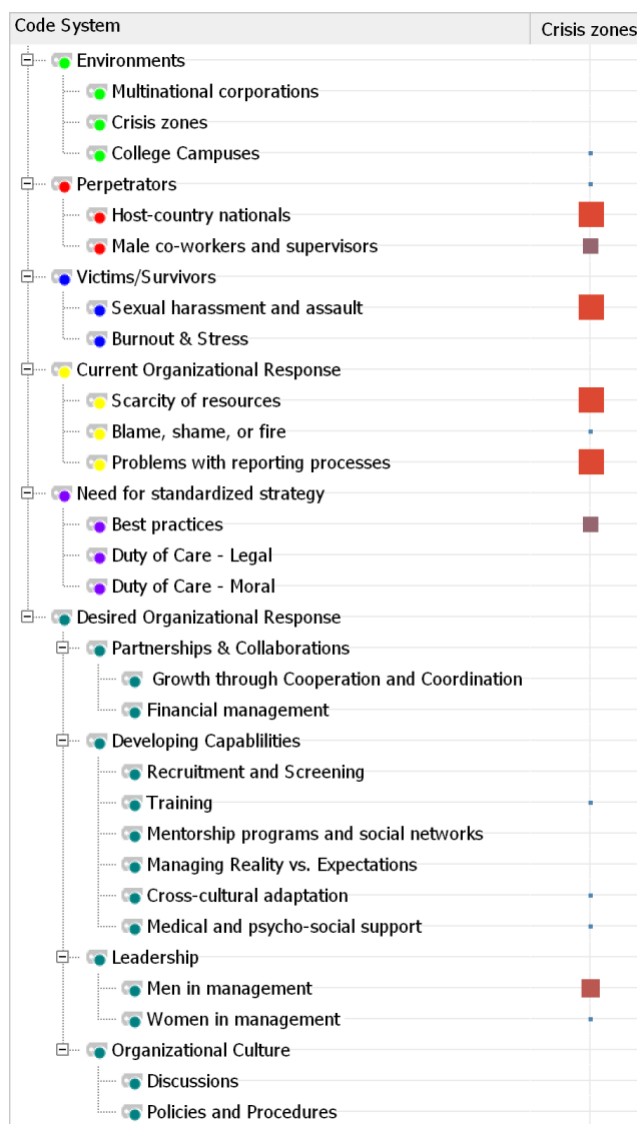
4.3 Code Relations

Examining the coded transcripts, it appears that some topics were discussed together in response to certain questions. Code relation diagrams generated by MAXQDA indicate that a number of themes and subthemes appear adjacent to each other. Questions themselves are not coded so only answers from interviewees and panelists are counted. This diagram shows existing relationships between all pairs of codes, the strength of which are indicated by the size of squares at their intersection:



Below, the code relations will be discussed in detail. In the following diagrams, the size of the squares at the intersections are normalized to the set of extracted data. Strong relations between themes and subthemes can be inferred from the resulting patterns in the diagram.

4.3.1 Crisis Zones



Crisis zones are frequently discussed in close union to host-country nationals. The following retrieved segment shows that this relationship can be explained by the fact that that the culture of host country nationals affects the working environment in a crisis zone:

In [a] culture where women are not respected, obviously, the female expatriate who comes to work over there will also be considered as a second class citizen. She is more at risk than her male colleagues because in refugee camps or when she moves around the country, if she sleeps outside the capital, there [have] to be specific security measures for her. She is more at risk because of the community, the population, even colleagues. [...] what is a problem is the vision that she is first and foremost a woman and not a humanitarian worker.

Crisis zones are also frequently associated with sexual harassment and assault. The following narrative segment shows that this relationship can be explained by the fact that women expats are not offered adequate training to face the problem of widespread violence in crisis zones, including gender-based violence:

She describes the work conditions as extremely difficult; the countries are poor and politically unstable – rife with corruption and violence. Random shootings, sexual violence, kidnappings, abductions, and murders are part of daily life. Working unprotected in the front lines, female expatriates are at high risk of sexual harassment and assault. Without any extensive training or support offered by international humanitarian organizations to deal with the high risks of sexual violence on assignment, women expatriates toiling in male-dominated, misogynistic countries are left to figure things out on their own.

[...]

Shannon's voice begins to tremble slightly as she tells me her story. While on assignment in Sri Lanka, Shannon recounts having been brutally attacked by three masked men whom she suspects to be part of the military. Two other men were involved, one was at the entrance of her lodging and the other in the getaway vehicle. She was beaten, sexually assaulted and nearly suffocated to death. After the men had left, she called three UN staff on call for help, but no one provided immediate assistance.

Her own office informed her that, due to confusion around the protocol for sending assistance after hours, she would need to wait until the following morning. She sat alone at the crime scene, sobbing and shaking for 7 hours before a driver was sent by the organization to bring her to various assessments and examinations (at the local police station, forensic lab and office of psychiatry), each of which her senior-level colleagues told her she needed to do in order to be permitted to leave the country. The male driver was kind enough to offer emotional support although it was not his mandate. Shannon adds that she would have felt more comfortable had she been accompanied by a woman, and, in particular, an international staff person whose potential political ties or relationship to her attackers she would have been less likely to fear.

Strong relations also exist between crisis zones and scarcity of resources. This can be explained by the fact that intense competition for funding render humanitarian organizations ineffective in responding to problems in crisis zones:

So that's why I am saying that we don't take care of personnel. We look at deadlines. We have to produce results; we are accountable to patrons who exert a lot of pressure. Also, organizations no longer respect their mandates which [are in their area of] expertise. Because there is less money at the level of international aid, the survival of the organization takes precedence. I am a little harsh here, but there is an organizational reflection that needs to be done. Because the situation on the field has changed a lot, we put more and more personnel at risk.

Lastly, there appears to be a strong relationship between crisis zones and problems in organizational reporting processes. The following retrieved segment shows that this can be explained by the fact that very few organizations explicitly mention sexual violence in their policies and procedures:

So Report the Abuse did one study and we published it last August on our first anniversary. And I looked at the internal policies, procedures, your prevention and response strategies of 92 different humanitarian organizations and an incredibly dismal 16% - only 16% had a single mention of sexual violence being a risk to their employees. Now in the roughly eight nine months since that report came out, I've seen a huge increase and we matched other organizations – so UN agencies and

INGOs engaging on this issue and beginning to develop policies. You're reaching out for training materials, re-examining their emergency handbooks and their security handbooks, getting trainings for their investigators and the security management professionals and really actively talking about the issue. And that's fantastic, absolutely fantastic. There has been a big change in the last year, year and a half, but the current situation is still that there isn't a lot in place [...] in terms of procedures for when an incident does occur and in terms of [how to prevent it]. That's changing, but the situation is still pretty bleak.

4.3.2 Male coworkers and Supervisors

Code System	Male co-workers and supervisors
Environments	
Multinational corporations	
Crisis zones	
College Campuses	
Perpetrators	
Host-country nationals	
Male co-workers and supervisors	
Victims/Survivors	
Sexual harassment and assault	
Burnout & Stress	
Current Organizational Response	
Scarcity of resources	
Blame, shame, or fire	
Problems with reporting processes	
Need for standardized strategy	
Best practices	
Duty of Care - Legal	
Duty of Care - Moral	
Desired Organizational Response	
Partnerships & Collaborations	
Growth through Cooperation and Coordination	
Financial management	
Developing Capabilities	
Recruitment and Screening	
Training	
Mentorship programs and social networks	
Managing Reality vs. Expectations	
Cross-cultural adaptation	
Medical and psycho-social support	
Leadership	
Men in management	
Women in management	
Organizational Culture	
Discussions	
Policies and Procedures	

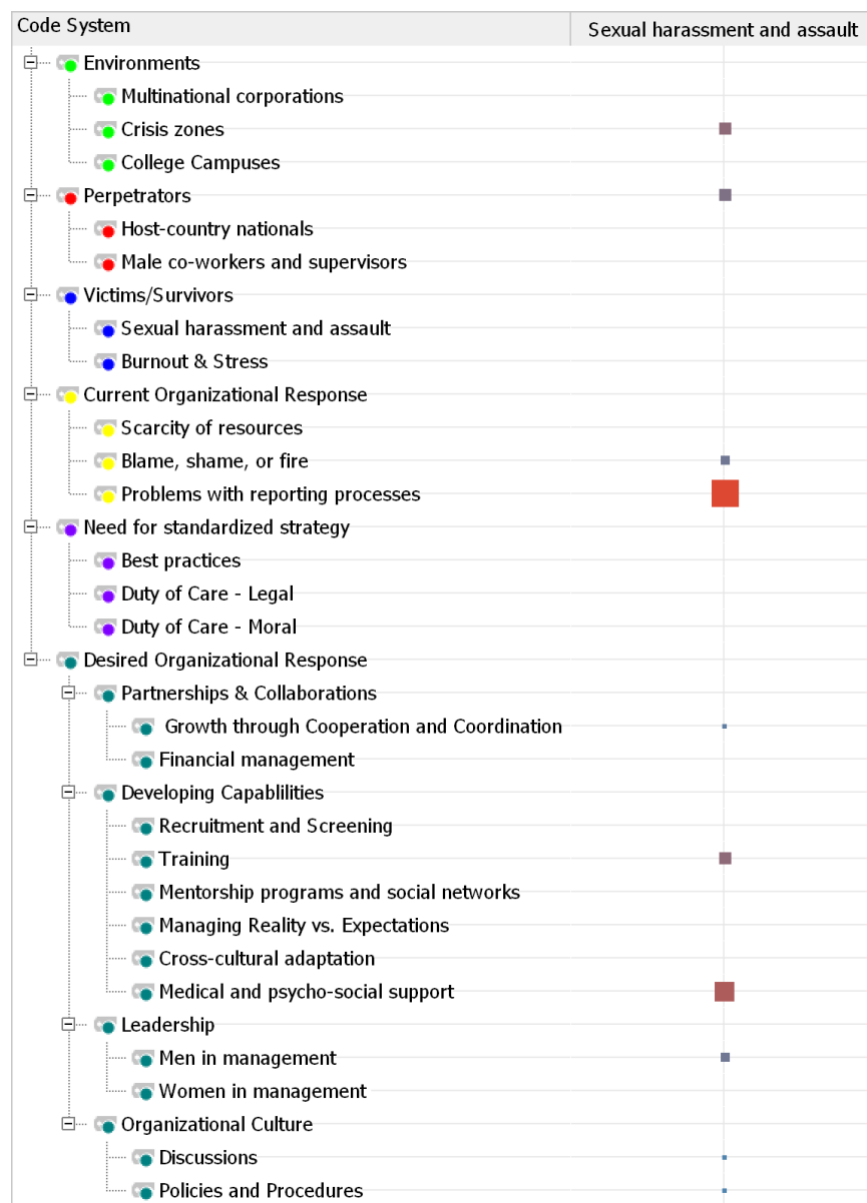
Male coworkers and supervisors are frequently linked to problems with the reporting process. The following retrieved segment shows that in cases of sexual harassment, problems with the reporting process are likely to occur in organizations where leadership roles are predominantly filled by men because statistics show that these men are the most frequent predators:

One of the things we have found is and this is also confirmed by the two surveys carried out by the Women's Humanitarian Network and Report the Abuse. It looks like one of the major groups committing the abuse is the supervisors or the security officers in the humanitarian agencies themselves. So if there is a kind of common factor, it's women who are in more subordinate positions who seem to be targeted for this kind of abuse. And because we have such a dominance of men in the humanitarian aid industry at the higher levels, that's where we're seeing a lot of the abuse.

This strong association can also be explained by the fact that most leadership roles are assumed by white, middle-aged men with narcissistic traits. When these men are given inordinate amounts of power, they allow themselves to sexually exploit their subordinates:

[The "white male privilege"] is compounded to an absurd level. I can only speak as an American. So the white male privilege that you see in the United States, you can see it played out even on college campuses with the rape culture. That exists independent of our system. What happens is that expats are given an extraordinary amount of privilege in these locations. So they go into these cultures where they are not only put in very high ranking positions, which many of them would not be in had they been in their country of origin, but there are also big gaps in their salaries, benefits and privileges. So they are given an inordinate amount of resources at their disposal. Because they control very scarce resources, whether that's jobs or the actual aid money or aid packages delivered, people automatically treat them with a tremendous amount of deference and respect. All of these things allow them to amass more and more power, so they are given enormous amount of power. More than they would have in their own country. On top of that, they are working in places where the legal system is super vague.

4.3.3 Sexual Harassment and Assault

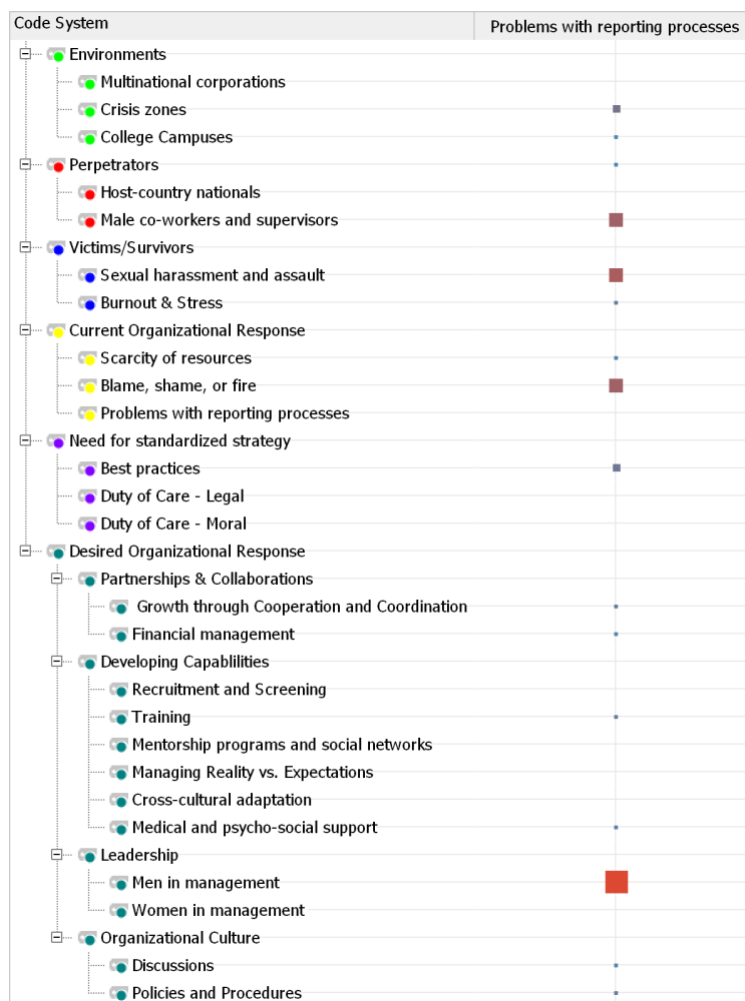


Sexual harassment and assault are frequently mentioned in close union to problems with the reporting process. This can be explained by the fact that multiple informants report that policies and procedures about sexual violence are either unclear or non-existent. The following narrative is an example of an informant who was deeply confused and disappointed by the reporting process:

[Shannon, the informant's] international colleague who oversaw human resources in Sri Lanka also asked that she document in detail everything that had taken place the night of her assault, indicating that her story was needed for her to be evacuated from the country. Shannon later learned that this information was false. To add insult to injury, the account she'd painstakingly drafted never left her colleague's hands.

After arriving in the U.S., Shannon informed UNHCR headquarters of the sexual assault she'd endured, discovering to her surprise that her complaint had never been reported to headquarters staff, despite her colleague having coerced her into writing a detailed account of what had taken place. Furthermore, the perpetrators had still not been identified and prosecuted.

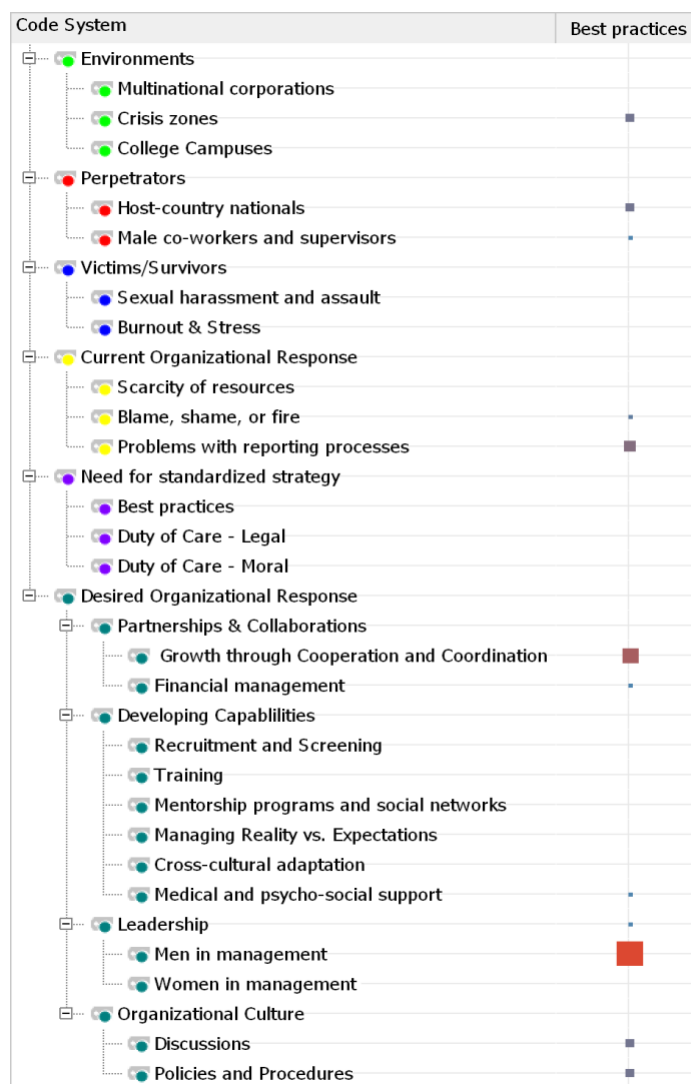
4.3.4 Problems with the Reporting Process



Patterns in the chart suggest that problems with the reporting process are strongly linked to men in management. This relationship can be explained by the fact that organizational cultures characterized by toxic masculinity are likely to emerge when management positions are predominantly filled by men. The following retrieved segment shows that problems with the reporting processes occur when chauvinistic men have the responsibility of handling complaints about sexual violence, as these men are permissive about language and behaviour that should otherwise be punishable:

You cannot have that kind of environmental culture. It's a breeding ground for perpetrators to think, "it's okay to do this and my leadership has got me covered if I do so." That is really a culture that's got to change. We need a leadership culture that absolutely says no sexist behavior, no homophobic behavior, no jokes, no talking about sex at the workplace, no demeaning attitudes, no joking about things or making comments or anything like this in the field. I mean, we've got to have leadership totally clamped down on that to show repeatedly it is not acceptable. People who do that are going to be redressed very quickly and if we don't have leadership that does that, [...] in my opinion, it needs to be part of how they're evaluated. They should be fired; they should not be allowed to be in positions where they create an atmosphere that puts their own workers at risk.

4.3.5 Best Practices and Moral Duty of Care



Best practices are frequently linked to men in management. This pattern can be explained by the fact that several informants highlight that staffing policies supporting diversity should be part of best practices in the industry so as to countervail the many problems that arise when men have a monopoly of leadership roles:

When we see perpetrators inside the agencies, it's the security officers. So men in positions of power -- a kind of old boys' network -- a dismissal when complaints are raised by leadership. Kind of, "Oh boys will be boys. He didn't really mean it. We'll take care of it. We got you covered, honey." A very homophobic work environment so lots of anti-homosexual jokes, a lot of sexism, misogyny. And now this is coming from and this was widely reported by everyone we interviewed. And this is coming from agencies who have mandates on women's empowerment, on promoting women's and girls' rights, on women's equality so there is a major disconnect.

[...]

I think one of the things we need is actually much more research and much more knowledge. In particular, I think we need to have a better understanding of the experiences of internationals, nationals, and the very local staff -- what is going on with LGBTQ populations and male victims, what are the best practices what are the lessons learned, about what agencies are doing to respond to both preventing and responding to issues around sexual harassment and assault. I think there is a real need for so much more robust knowledge.

In fact, problems with having men in management roles are closely associated to the "white male privilege." The following retrieved segment is explicit on linking white men with abuses of power:

First, mostly the behaviour that I was describing was not coming from the national staff, it was coming from international staff from Europe. So there is an assumption when we talk about machismo, we only talk about misogynistic behaviour coming from local staff. But it's not. It's mostly coming from people who have power, and the people who have power are people often from Europe and often white. So what you find is that it's a compounding of privilege is where a lot of this is coming from.

Code System	Duty of Care - Moral
Environments	
Multinational corporations	
Crisis zones	
College Campuses	
Perpetrators	
Host-country nationals	
Male co-workers and supervisors	
Victims/Survivors	
Sexual harassment and assault	
Burnout & Stress	
Current Organizational Response	
Scarcity of resources	
Blame, shame, or fire	
Problems with reporting processes	
Need for standardized strategy	
Best practices	
Duty of Care - Legal	
Duty of Care - Moral	
Desired Organizational Response	
Partnerships & Collaborations	
Growth through Cooperation and Coordination	
Financial management	
Developing Capabilities	
Recruitment and Screening	
Training	
Mentorship programs and social networks	
Managing Reality vs. Expectations	
Cross-cultural adaptation	
Medical and psycho-social support	
Leadership	
Men in management	
Women in management	
Organizational Culture	
Discussions	
Policies and Procedures	

Moral duty of care is frequently spoken about in conjunction with legal duty of care. This can be explained by the fact that understanding the basics about an organization's legal duty of care is necessary to fully grasp how moral duty of care must go beyond these minimum standards. The following retrieved segment illustrates how both concepts are closely intertwined:

Duty of care comes in every stage of the employee cycle. And I like to talk about it in those terms because it's easier to break down. But actually if you look at it through sort of a lens as you look at your practices, I would say you're looking at trying to foresee risk so whatever is foreseeable can you prevent it. Who is in your degree of control, so you're looking at not just your staff, you're looking at your volunteers, those that visit your programs and even your partners. So you are absolutely looking at the degree of control you have, over people who are in your program or working with you. And then [you ask] this very loose [question], "is it fair, reasonable, and just?". Often, in court cases or tribunals, what they tend to do is they tend to look at what your peers are doing and what you say you do in your policies and you will be measured against that as long as it's good practice. So it's hard to say exactly what it will be but at the time you'll be measured against what your peers say they do, and what you say you do, and your policies and practices – so it's really important that not only are your staff equipped to do their role, that they feel safe, but your managers are equipped to do their all and you have a culture in your organization that not only promotes health and safety but actually says people come first: "Our people matter." How do you see that?

4.3.6 Leadership



The predominance of men in management is strongly linked to problems with the reporting processes. The following retrieved segment shows that this relationship can be explained by the fact that predatory behaviour usually comes from men in management:

In the office, multiple instances of male senior colleagues – and that's something that is important because when it comes from a senior level it is even more serious- senior people find it appropriate, in the actual office, to comment about how physically attractive the find other members, either colleagues within our organisation or other organisations. There were also sexual jokes. We would carpool on our way to work. And my boss and some other guys at some point got to speaking about which women of the local tribes were the best sexual partners or provided the best sexual

experience. It was three men in the car and me. The driver was uncomfortable, but with the power dynamics he was not going to say anything. Again it's the feeling of entitlement that they are allowed to talk about these things. There were instances where one of my direct superiors at a weekend outing where we were all going on a hike, felt it appropriate to comment on my chest size when I was changing into a bathing suit to go swimming. He felt it appropriate to comment in front of all my colleagues how the bathing suit was way too large for my chest. I feel strange saying this because the standards are pretty low, but I actually feel very fortunate that that was the extent of what I had experienced. Again, these were coming from places of entitlement and ignorance but not from hostility. There were women in other places that had experiences that were a lot more hostile and dangerous. I did confront my boss, and after a lot of denial on his part, he did change. It shows that it was not coming from a place of ill-intention, it was coming from a place of privilege, arrogance and ignorance. But still, it created an environment I didn't feel very comfortable in.

In fact, reporting processes will undoubtedly occur if leaders are misogynistic. The voices of women staff members will be censored and concerns about sexual harassment will go unaddressed. The following retrieved segment highlights that having leadership roles exclusively filled by men may be an indication of a dysfunctional organizational culture:

There can be abuse in contexts where women are in power, but one good check is to have an all-male senior management team. That might be a red flag, that this is going to be a macho field program and you might want to change things. I think at headquarters a lot of them are doing what they can, but they need to be doing more and they need to be more active.

4.4 Bottleneck Identification and Resolution Matrix

The following matrix based on acquired data shows that different groups of individuals identify varying bottlenecks for women expats. Suggested action plans to address these bottlenecks correlate strongly across groups. Corresponding monitoring and evaluation techniques are proposed to track improvements in the organizational process relative to desired outcomes.

UNITS OF ANALYSIS	BOTTLENECKS FOR WOMEN EXPATS	ACTION PLAN	MONITORING AND EVALUATION	DESIRED OUTCOME
WOMEN EXPATS	Sexual Harassment and Assault in Crisis Zones Burnout and stress related to sexual violence Shortcomings in the reporting process Availability of medical and psychosocial support White male privilege	Focus on best practices Positive behaviour modelling from upper leadership Enforcement of standards of behaviour Alternative reporting channels Partnerships and collaborations in the aid industry Regular group discussions Mentorship programs and social networks	Employee satisfaction surveys Turnover rates Relations between leaders and subordinates Consolidated motivation and performance metrics	Women expats prepared to handle risks of sexual harassment and compounding threats in crisis zones Staff involvement in the creation of policies and procedures Awareness of policies and procedures Elimination of fear and confusion regarding reporting process

		Training to reduce ethnocentric attitudes and mentalities		Accessibility to support resources Healthy organizational culture
MANAGEMENT	<p>Aid industry is male-dominated at the senior levels</p> <p>Cultural differences</p> <p>Burnout and stress</p> <p>Difficult working conditions</p> <p>Unrealistic expectations about job, environment, and personal capabilities</p> <p>Scarce resources</p>	<p>More women in leadership roles</p> <p>Diligent recruitment and screening</p> <p>Risk assessment and mitigating measures</p> <p>Managing reality vs. expectations</p> <p>Positive behaviour modelling</p> <p>Clear policies about gender-equity and procedures to address incidents of sexual violence</p> <p>Partnerships and collaborations with external organizations</p> <p>Focus on best practices, legal and moral duty of care</p>	<p>Donor retention</p> <p>Relations between leaders and subordinates</p> <p>Supplier management</p> <p>Consolidated employee motivation and performance metrics</p> <p>Feedback on training plans</p> <p>Organizational productivity measures</p> <p>Cross-functional collaborations</p>	<p>Employee retention</p> <p>Lower turnover rates</p> <p>Effective communication within organisation</p> <p>Healthy organizational culture</p> <p>Greater social impact</p> <p>Effective allocation of resources</p> <p>Organizational productivity</p>

CONSULTANTS	<p>Stress and burnout</p> <p>Difficult working conditions</p> <p>Cultural differences</p> <p>Work-life balance</p>	<p>Diligent recruitment and screening</p> <p>Risk assessment and mitigating measures</p> <p>Managing reality vs. expectations</p> <p>Developing managerial and employee capabilities through extensive security training</p> <p>Training for management to develop effective communication skills</p> <p>More women in leadership positions</p> <p>Financial management</p> <p>Partnerships and collaborations with external actors</p>	<p>Donor retention</p> <p>Reputation and influence</p> <p>Feedback on leadership behaviour from employees</p>	<p>Improved employee perception of organizational culture</p> <p>Cultural adaptation</p> <p>Effective social impact</p> <p>Effective allocation of resources</p>
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<p>WORKPLACE HARASSMENT AND SEXUAL ASSAULT SPECIALISTS</p>	<p>Sexual harassment and assault</p> <p>Cultural differences</p> <p>Lack of legal and political infrastructures to protect women in host countries</p> <p>Organizational cultures imbued with toxic masculinity</p> <p>Availability of medical and psychosocial support</p>	<p>Focus on moral duty of care</p> <p>Zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment</p> <p>Robust procedures to deal with incidents of sexual violence</p> <p>Alternative reporting channels</p> <p>Safe spaces for open discussions</p> <p>Financial Management</p> <p>Partnerships and collaborations with external actors</p> <p>Medical and psychosocial support</p>	<p>Employee satisfaction surveys</p> <p>Turnover rates</p> <p>Consolidated employee motivation and performance metrics</p> <p>Reputation and influence</p>	<p>Healthy organizational culture</p> <p>Awareness of policies and procedures</p> <p>Elimination of fear and confusion regarding reporting process</p> <p>Organizational accountability and transparency</p> <p>Knowledge and use of support resources</p> <p>Protection for victims</p>
<p>COMPLAINTS SPECIALISTS</p>	<p>Burnout and stress</p> <p>High-pressure work environments</p> <p>Lack of knowledge about how to file complaints effectively</p>	<p>Focus on best practices and moral duty of care</p> <p>Alternative reporting channels</p> <p>Training to develop good communication and cross-cultural adaptation skills</p>	<p>Employee satisfaction surveys</p> <p>Turnover rates</p> <p>Consolidated employee motivation and performance metrics</p>	<p>Awareness of policies and procedures</p> <p>Elimination of fear and confusion regarding reporting process</p>

		<p>Clear policies and procedures for complaint filing and handling</p> <p>Training for individuals receiving complaints</p> <p>Partnerships and collaborations in the aid industry</p>		<p>Knowledge and use of support resources</p> <p>Healthy organizational culture</p> <p>Increased organizational productivity</p>
ACADEMICS	<p>Sexual harassment and assault</p> <p>Blaming, shaming, and firing victims of sexual violence</p> <p>Organizational cultures imbued with toxic masculinity</p> <p>Cultural differences</p>	<p>Best practices</p> <p>Extensive training in cross-cultural adaptation</p> <p>Women in leadership roles</p> <p>Policies and procedures to deal with cases of sexual violence</p> <p>Regular group discussions</p> <p>Partnerships and collaborations to further skills and knowledge transfer</p>	<p>Employee satisfaction surveys</p> <p>Data on the utilization of reporting channels</p>	<p>Protection for victims</p> <p>Gender-equitable staffing policies</p> <p>Accessible support resources</p> <p>Healthy organizational culture</p>

5 Discussion

In this section, main findings will be reviewed and compared with results of other researchers. After revisiting the conceptual frameworks and showing how findings differ, confirm, or add to extant literature, recommendations will be presented in order to answer the research question. Lastly, implications of present research will be discussed.

5.1 Review of main findings

The purpose of this research is to examine the environment that influence expatriates' performance in international humanitarian organizations and expand the literature on human resource management in the context of multinational organizations. A comparison is made between human resource management practices in multinational corporations (MNCs) and those in international humanitarian organizations (IHOs). By identifying specific bottlenecks women expats face in humanitarian work, approaches to solve these problems – which are appropriately distinct from those existing in multinational corporations – can be determined. Below, the main findings of this investigation will be reviewed as they are compared and contrasted with results in extant literature.

5.1.1 Similarities between MNCs and IHOs

a) Bottlenecks

Similar to Hardman and Heidelberg (1996) who reported that numerous organizations declined their invitation to participate in their study on sexual harassment in multinational corporations, it was very difficult obtaining information directly from senior level executives in international humanitarian organizations about the prevalence of sexual violence in their work environment. Informants who participated in this research speculate that fear of damaging the organization's image is probably the main reason why calls and emails requesting an interview were never returned by several executives.

Sexual harassment is widely underreported in multinationals and international humanitarian organizations alike (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996; Report the Abuse, 2017). The results from this research support the claim that the prevalence of sexual harassment in humanitarian organizations is difficult to quantify. There are various reasons why sexual harassment in the workplace is largely underreported, including fear of job loss, ostracism, and psychological devastation (Birinxhikaj & Guggisberg, 2017; Bergman *et al.* 2002; Crocker & Kalembra, 1999; Willness *et al.*, 2007). Results add to our understanding of this phenomenon by stressing that victims of sexual violence can be reluctant to report to human resource managers as they may be seen as representatives of the organization rather than sympathetic allies.

Most significantly, fear of reputational damage to the organization or to their own professional credibility may affect a manager's willingness to recognize incidents of sexual harassment. This is because handling a sexual harassment case is also acknowledging that the issue does exist in the organization. The present study confirms

previous studies and contributes additional evidence that suggests that victims of sexual harassment who choose to file formal reports against their aggressors are usually blamed, shamed or fired by their organization (Charlesworth, 2006; Hayes, 2004; Wear *et al.*, 2007; Report the Abuse, 2017).

In accordance with extant literature, findings reveal that women expats in both contexts will avoid lodging a formal complaint because they fear job loss, retaliation from the perpetrator, and being labelled a victim (Birinxhikaj & Guggisberg, 2017; Dziech & Hawkins, 1998; Fielden *et al.*, 2010; Hayes, 2004; Wear *et al.*, 2007; Edwards, 2017). This research adds to the discussion as informants point out the existence of stigma related to seeking psychological help. Some opine that making counselling mandatory after the completion of an assignment could help eliminate this stigma. As findings from ATHA (2017) suggest, women expats in humanitarian aid are expected to be resilient even when work environments are imbued with toxic masculinity. This is similar to women expats in multinationals who will not denounce incidents of sexual harassment so as not to have their professional competency or ability to act as team players questioned (Collinson & Collinson, 1996).

Consistent with findings by the *Feinstein International Center*, this study confirms that victims of sexual harassment in the humanitarian sector are predominantly women. This is similar to multinationals where women are the main targets of sexual violence. In fact, 85% of sexual harassment complaints in multinationals are filed by women (Firestone & Harris, 2003; Samuels, 2003; Stockdale *et al.*, 1999). Results indicate that while victims are usually blamed, shamed, or fired following a sexual harassment incident, perpetrators are only mildly punished for their offences. This confirms that victim-blaming

in sexual harassment cases is common in multinationals and international organizations alike (European Commission, 1999; Salin, 2007; Edwards, 2017).

Findings reveal that surviving an incident of sexual violence is often marked by feelings of shame and despair, leading to high levels of stress and burnout. Extant literature chronicles similar experiences of emotional turmoil and mental health problems following incidents of sexual harassment in women expats in multinationals (Birinxhikaj & Guggisberg, 2017; Bergman *et al.* 2002; Crocker & Kalembra, 1999; Magley *et al.*, 1999; Stockdale, 1998; Willness *et al.*, 2007).

As reported by Collinson and Collinson (1996), findings reveal that sexual violence is common in workplaces that are male-dominated. Informants claim that in international humanitarian organizations, leadership roles are frequently filled by men – similar to multinational corporations, where only 25-45% of management positions are held by women (Global Relocations Trends, 2012; Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002). Women managers interviewed claim they were not immune to sexism. Their experiences are similar to women managers in multinationals who are usually targeted by men who feel threatened by their strength and independence (McLaughlin *et al.*, 2012; Berdahl, 2007). In these cases, sexual discrimination is used as an equalizer against women in power. Nevertheless, the majority of previous studies report that women with personal vulnerabilities are the most likely victims (Chamberlain *et al.*, 2008; European Commission, 1999; Fredman, 1997; McCann, 2005; O'Neill & Payne 2007), and that men who lack social conscience are the usual perpetrators (Begany & Milburn 2002; Kosson *et al.*, 1997; Pryor & Whalen 1997). This study adds detail to previous research by describing that middle-aged white men with narcissistic tendencies are the most likely

perpetrators in a humanitarian setting as they are prodigiously remunerated and revered by beneficiaries. The phenomenon of Caucasian men having unmerited socioeconomic and political advantages is purportedly worse in the humanitarian sector, as “white male privilege” is immensely compounded in crisis zones where there are no formal institutions to provide checks and balances on the power these men hold and the amount of resources they can control.

Findings in this study reveal that cultural differences can be a major hurdle for women expats, especially when trying to adjust to male-dominated societies. Interviewees claim that often, women expats are subject to verbal abuse and discrimination by locals in the host country. This is consistent with a study conducted by Caligiuri and Tung (1999) which states that in societies that have traditional gender roles, women expats who appear to be strong-willed and independent are often viewed with hostility and distrust. Some women expats recounted that integrating into teams was difficult. For suggestions or ideas to be taken seriously during group meetings, it was often necessary for a sympathetic male colleague to intervene. As seen in Hardman and Heidelberg’s (1996) research, the struggle for professional credibility in male-dominated cultures is the same for women expats in multinationals.

Results also indicate that work-life balance can be difficult to achieve for women in both the private sector and the non-profit sector. Because women usually act as primary caregivers, they will usually avoid international postings where their parental responsibilities risk being seriously compromised. Consistent with Caligiuri & Lazarova’s (2002) study, childcare and uneven willingness between partners to make career sacrifices remain leading obstacles to expatriate adjustment. Findings nevertheless show

that women with families are still willing to get involved in missions abroad, provided that they have enough support from their organization and freedom to organize themselves accordingly, because the experience can be enriching. Present research enhances our understanding of the importance of organizational support and creative solutions to the problem of work-life balance by highlighting that women expats in humanitarian aid would appreciate the opportunity to have control over the prioritization of their jobs tasks and to telework when emergencies have subsided.

b) Strategies

Informants claim that recruitment and screening are crucial to ensuring that the right people are selected for international missions. Just like in a corporate setting where only the most resilient and strong-minded women get assigned overseas (Selmer & Leung, 2003), humanitarian organizations look out for individual success factors such as perseverance and tenacity in their female expats. The similarities in personnel are cut short where expats in multinationals and humanitarian organizations are driven by different motives, and are sent on different missions. Findings in present research add to the discussion about recruitment and screening by distinguishing between humanitarian workers and development workers. It highlights that overlaps between sectors and differences in security reflexes can entail life-threatening consequences.

In multicultural workplaces such as IHOs and MNCs, verbal and non-verbal communication differences can cause conflicts which impede on work processes (Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014; Altman, 2013). Consistent with literature, findings reveal that rigorous cross-cultural adaptation training for humanitarian missions is essential (Burkle,

Martone, & Greenough, 2014). Expat adjustment can be facilitated through various methods such as interactive language training, role-playing, field trips and simulations (Black *et al.*, 1992; Black & Mendenhall, 1989). This research brings a new dimension to the discussion by highlighting effective uses of advanced technology such as virtual reality in training sessions. In an international corporate setting, cross-cultural adaptation training is especially important to reducing risks of sexual harassment (Hardman & Heidelberg, 1996; Fiedler & Blanco, 2006). It can also help with an expatriate's adjustment, interactions with locals, and job performance. Consistent with extant literature, informants in this study unanimously agree that women expats must be informed about cultural differences in gender roles and expected behaviors in order to mitigate risks and effectively acculturate to the host country. Given that cultural misunderstandings can have grave consequences in sexual harassment cases, this study supplements previous research insofar as it highlights that educating men about acceptable and unacceptable behaviours is as important as educating women because solely focusing on the latter is ostensibly a victim-blaming approach.

Whereas scholars widely acknowledge that mentorship programs and social network building can be useful to women expats in multinational corporations (Linehan & Scullion, 2001; Davidson & Cooper, 1983; Shortland, 2011), this study enlarges this understanding by claiming that this idea may be worth exploring in the non-profit sector as it can yield similar benefits. If the organization's budget is prohibitive, partnerships and collaborations with external actors can be sought to provide adequate support resources for their workforce. In fact, several informants claimed that they would like humanitarian organizations to invest more resources in rendering mentorship programs accessible to

those who are open to this learning method. More experienced women expats say that neophytes to humanitarian work can benefit tremendously from mentorship programs and social network building. This can be particularly useful in helping women find work-life balance and dealing with the issue of sexual violence.

Confirming findings from the *Feinstein International Center* (2017), risks of sexual assault are heightened with the “hard partying” lifestyle of expats after work (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017). Alcohol and substance abuse are reported to be common in social-gatherings in the humanitarian setting as expats stay clustered together as a small community after excruciatingly long hours of work. This research sheds further light on the issue by emphasizing the importance of making connections with members of the local community to help break the sense of isolation in the “expat bubble” and provide a much-needed reality check on widespread misconceptions about aid work. It also highlights that host-country nationals can be a strong alternative network of support for women expats experiencing difficulties within their organizations.

Lastly, having policies and procedures addressing the issue of sexual violence is said to be an effective way to create a healthier organizational culture in MNCs and IHOs alike (Parker, 1999; Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; CHS, 2017). Results suggest that in both contexts, in dealing with the problem of sexual harassment, it is necessary to find approaches that shift the blame away from the victim (as reported by Charlesworth, 2006; Hayes, 2004; Wear *et al.*, 2007; Firestone & Harris, 2003; CHS, 2017).

5.1.2 Differences between MNCs and IHOs

a) *Bottlenecks*

Female expatriates in humanitarian work face various risks, both from outside the organization and within the organization. High workloads and the difficult working conditions inherent to crisis zones such as poor infrastructure, exposure to mass violence, and sporadic or no access to basic necessities such as food, water, and transport render women expats in humanitarian aid especially vulnerable to stress and burnout (Bjerneld, 2009). Confirming studies by *Humanitarian Women's Network* (2017), results indicate that the most common bottleneck for women expats in the humanitarian sector is the problem of sexual violence in the workplace. This can be in the form of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion – usually from male colleagues and superiors.

Findings reveal that women expats in humanitarian organizations are at high risk of experiencing discrimination and sexual violence in male-dominated crisis zones where they are treated as women first, and humanitarian workers second. This is in sharp contrast to women expatriates in multinational corporations, who in certain countries like Japan, may be given special privileges as they are valued as foreign first and women second (Stalker & Mavin, 2011). Of course, this is not universally true depending on the country in which an MNC operates. Several authors contend that women's professional competencies are undervalued and that the expatriate glass ceiling remains an obstacle for women expats stationed in countries with masculine cultures (Linehan, 2000; Jelinek & Adler, 1988; Izraeli & Zeira, 1993; Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008). Consequently, although an MNC is likely to operate within a more stable legal environment than an IHO,

it seems that culture can nonetheless influence power dynamics between genders. Whereas an incident may be perceived as sexual harassment in one culture, the same incident can be perceived as harmless in another. Hence, culture can affect a victim's willingness to report sexual harassment incidents and threats, just as it can affect whether or not a report is taken seriously by relevant authorities.

The present research adds to the discussion on female expatriates as informants reveal that international organizations will often set aside discrimination laws and exercise selection bias in favor of men for interventions in countries where violence against women is rampant. These decisions are deeply grounded on physical security reasons. In contrast, MNCs will exercise selection bias in favour of men to secure competitive advantage in countries where women executives are not taken seriously (Lovelace & Chung, 2010; Paik & Vance, 2002; Vance *et al.*, 2006; Kollinger & Linehan, 2008). These decisions are mainly grounded on financial aspirations.

Results suggest that women expats in humanitarian organizations are primarily concerned with security risks involving bodily harm, especially sexual assault. Consistent with survey results from *Report the Abuse* (2017), female expats interviewed in the course of this research agree that although host country nationals do commit acts of sexual violence against aid workers, perpetrators are predominantly male colleagues and supervisors within the organization itself. As several informants intimated, abuses of power by men in management are difficult to report when the same men are in control of the reporting process. Just as the ATHA panelists had pointed out (2017), women expats interviewed in the course of this research disclose that humanitarian organizations offer very little to no training to prepare women expats for the risks of sexual violence. As

suggested by *Report the Abuse* (2017), it also appears that access to legal, medical and psychosocial support is particularly difficult for women expats in crisis zones.

In contrast, females in multinational corporations are primarily concerned with negative stereotypes about women which some managers perceive as a drawback to business negotiations (Linehan, 2000; Jelinek & Adler, 1988). This phenomenon, otherwise known as the expatriate “glass ceiling”, prevents these women from being promoted to leadership positions or being assigned to international assignments at all (Izraeli & Zeira, 1993; Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008). This research broadens our understanding of this phenomenon; seeing that women expats who participated in this study had more urgent concerns such as personal security and survival, the “expatriate glass ceiling” does not necessarily apply to them. As for motivations, women expats in multinational corporations are largely driven by professional advancement and financial opportunities (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960). Although they do encounter difficulties when sent to work in male-dominated societies, given the right organizational support, they can achieve their goals upon successful completion of an assignment (Mathur-Helm, 2002). Humanitarian workers in this study, however, are deeply motivated by altruism. In accordance with extant literature, they can be situated in the self-actualization part of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs as they seek to achieve their full potential by helping other people meet their safety and physiological needs (Maslow, 1970; Dawson & Homer, 2013; Oberholster *et al.*, 2013; Pulasinghage, 2010; Wijertne, 2006; Helmer & Deming, 2011; Hunt *et al.*, 2014; Hunt, 2011). Findings in present research add to our comprehension of this issue by recognizing that the idealism underlying these altruistic intentions can be quickly crushed by intense feelings of

isolation and culture shock. In fact, expats with a “superhero complex” are most likely to burn out as expectations about the host country, the job, and their own capabilities to effectuate change are gravely misaligned with reality.

Humanitarian organizations have significantly less resources than multinationals to care for the wellbeing of their employees (Karns & Mingst, 2010; Helmer & Deming, 2011). Findings in present research add detail to this fact by showing that limited budgets against a backdrop of cumbersome workloads and high pressure to perform entail inadequate training and support resources for women expats, thereby increasing the risks and personal costs of sexual violence. Furthermore, policies and procedures are often unclear so there is lack of knowledge about how to file complaints effectively. Informants claim that if cases of sexual violence are reported, organizations will commonly respond by blaming, shaming, or firing the victims. The stress of lodging a formal complaint is exacerbated by the fact that medical and psychosocial support is not readily available.

b) Strategies

Results in present research confirm that if the problem of sexual violence against female aid workers is not properly handled, humanitarian organizations risk alienating their female workforce and undermining their operational efficiency. Sexual harassment entails financial and reputational costs to IHOs and MNCs alike (Fiedler & Blanco, 2006; McDonald, 2012), but it can have more serious consequences on IHOs. Reliance on donors and scarce resources to invest in public relations make it excessively difficult to recover from reputational damages. By showcasing highly-publicized incidents of sexual harassment of humanitarian aid workers, findings in present research add to our understanding about the extent of reputational damage to the organization even when

offenses are committed by a subcontractor. It highlights that the legal void existing in this area can be supplemented by an organization's moral duty of care towards their employees. Best practices can be created through inter-agency efforts that promote the practice of due diligence when entering strategic alliances, and the development of industry-wide mechanisms that pressure employers into taking accountability for the actions of their subcontractors.

Confirming findings from the *Feinstein International Center* (2017), sexual harassment and assault occur most frequently in organizations where management makes no effort to curtail it. Whereas the *Feinstein International Center's* (2017) study highly recommends that perpetrators be fired, present research offers a more nuanced perspective insofar as several experts interviewed suggested that sanctions be proportional to the degree of severity of the offense, hence terminating the perpetrator's employment contract is not always the best option.

Also, while agreeing with studies emphasizing the need for more gender-equitable staffing policies so as to give women expats equal opportunities (Insch, McIntyre & Napier, 2008), this research defines boundaries to this by emphasizing the dangers inherent to the external environment in a humanitarian setting. It sheds light on the fact that setting aside gender discrimination laws is sometimes necessary for managers conducting risk assessments of an assignment as gender constraints will require special consideration in some countries. In all cases, cross-cultural adaptation training for women expats is a mandatory part of risk mitigation (Burkle, Martone, & Greenough, 2014; Black *et al.*, 1992; Black & Mendenhall, 1989). This research furthers the discussion, adding that positive behaviour modelling from upper leadership is essential to creating an

organizational culture that is sensitive to women's issues. This means establishing zero-tolerance policies on sexual violence and acting accordingly, creating spaces for open discussions about sexual violence, providing education to men about unacceptable language and behaviors, and breaking taboos about seeking psychological help through awareness-raising campaigns.

Present study agrees with the *Core Humanitarian Standard Alliance* (2017) whose research highlights the importance of having alternative reporting channels to countervail abuses of power in the complaints process, especially when a perpetrator is in the victim's direct management line. In fact, informants in this study who were victims of sexual assault disclose having encountered severe problems in the reporting process which aggravated their mental and emotional turmoil. This confirms Edwards' (2017) claim that in the humanitarian setting, women expats who are victims of sexual violence may experience even higher levels of stress after reporting the incident as they risk dealing with ostracism from their peers, veiled dismissal, or gaslighting from their organization. Participants in this study who identify as survivors of sexual assault add that additional stress could have been attenuated during the reporting process if individuals receiving complaints were more empathetic. Sensitization training for managers would therefore be helpful. Whereas previous research notes that complaints filed by well-meaning bystanders on behalf of victims are often ineffective because of dilatory measures in the reporting process or the temporary nature of sanctions (McDonald *et al.*, 2016), this study adds to our understanding of this issue by showing that third-party interveners are as prone to experiencing a mental breakdown as direct targets due to red tape in humanitarian organizations.

The legal and moral duty of care is binding to all organizations (Nobert & Williamson, 2017). However, results indicate that very few people in the humanitarian sector understand what duty of care actually means. Findings in present add to the discussion by highlighting the importance of undertaking an organizational reflection on the necessity and feasibility of an intervention before putting personnel and other valuable assets at risk. Participants interviewed in the course of this research agree that the concept of moral duty of care is especially relevant to managers in humanitarian organizations, because staff members work in crisis zones where legal infrastructures are either weak or non-existent. In environments where women expats are particularly vulnerable, managers have to be extra vigilant with gender-security. Overall, findings of present research confirm studies by *Report the Abuse* (2017) and the *Feinstein International Center* (2017) which say that a focus on duty of care and best practices is crucial to addressing the issue of sexual violence in humanitarian organizations (Nobert & Williamson, 2017; Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017).

5.2 Recommendations

To answer the research question, “*What strategies can international humanitarian organizations implement to prepare and protect women expatriates for fieldwork?*”, the totality of data acquired in this investigation was condensed and analyzed in the tables and conceptual maps featured in the previous chapter. As seen, identifying specific bottlenecks faced by women expatriates is necessary before a solid action plan to prepare and protect this group of women can be formulated. Findings suggest that effective

implementation of security management strategies requires the active involvement of diverse stakeholders in the organization – leaders, general staff members and women expatriates alike. Examining the core and peripheral elements of themes which emerged in this study, all of which can be linked together through inductive reasoning, the following recommendations can be made.

5.2.1 Leaders

First and foremost, leaders should reflect on whether the organization's intervention is necessary in the crisis zone. A thorough environmental analysis is recommended as putting staff members into life-threatening situations may be futile in cases where the possibility to effectuate change in the crisis zone is meager. Direct partnerships with development organizations that broaden their mandate to transition into the humanitarian sector should be avoided as personnel in the development sector will likely not have the acute security reflexes required to do humanitarian aid work.

Furthermore, due diligence should be practiced prior to working with subcontractors. This requires leaders of organizations to investigate records of past abuses and misconduct, and to refuse to work with vendors that do not hold accountability and transparency as core values in human resource management. Leaders should also conduct investigations to identify what recourses would be available to protect their staff members against potential abuses from workers who are under the subcontractor's authority.

As for direct human resources management, recruitment and screening should be done conscientiously to ensure that the most qualified people are hired, and that their

motivations are aligned with the organization's mission. New employees should be socialized into the norms and values of the organization. Before deploying people to hostile environments, a realistic assessment of beneficiary needs and risks inherent to the crisis zone should be undertaken. Individual characteristics such as gender and sexual orientation should be treated as constraints in countries where violence against women or homophobia are widespread. Cultural issues to consider include gender norms, religious practices and restrictions, as well as behavioral conventions. In certain cultures for example, women and men are segregated in particular areas and close interactions with the opposite sex are forbidden if individuals are not related. Security training should be rigorous, making use of a blended approach comprised of factual, analytical, and experiential learning. Advances in computer and information technology should be further explored as educational tools by managers and staff.

A global mindset should be adopted when devising standardized approaches to security management. In other words, managers should identify similarities in crisis zones but adapt their strategies to the local conditions of the host country. More standardized courses of action can also be devised by holding best practices in the industry and the concept of duty of care as overarching guidelines applicable across all departments in the organization. By emphasizing moral duty of care obligations, managers can watch out for early signs of distress and take preventative measures to address foreseeable problems. Furthermore, through performance appraisals, management can evaluate staff against criteria that the organization judges crucial for strategy implementation and the attainment of specific objectives.

Flattened hierarchies can facilitate quick decision making in the crisis zone. As for fostering open communication in the workplace, leaders should hold group discussions with individuals throughout the organization to develop people-oriented policies and implementation plans. Having regularly-scheduled discussions could also improve communication between headquarters and personnel on the field, thereby helping people on either side to effectively adjust their expectations to the reality in the crisis zone. Importantly, managers will be able to set more reasonable and achievable performance objectives. In consideration of the many problems that can arise when communication flows are restricted to one direction in the organizational hierarchy, reward systems should be in place to foster and encourage knowledge and information sharing.

It is also highly recommended that a code of conduct clearly listing behaviors that are disapproved by the organization be devised. Clear definitions of consent and different types of sexual violence should be included in this code of conduct. Whereas information about standards of behaviour and reporting processes should be thoroughly disseminated to management and staff alike, it is incumbent on senior management to ensure that policies are properly implemented.

The establishment of a sexual assault resource center in crisis zones can be helpful in handling internal complaints about sexual violence. Investigation procedures should be comprehensive, and all actions taken during the complaints process should be documented. Victims should be provided with medical and psychosocial assistance. A safe space to meet with a counsellor skilled at proactive listening is essential. Under no circumstances should victims be led to believe that they are to blame for the perpetrator's

actions. Rather, they should be given tools to help them regain control of their lives. Privacy and confidentiality should be ensured at all times.

Alternative reporting channels should be available to enable victims to bypass complications arising from the possibility that a supervisor or a colleague is directly involved in an incident. Internet forums, email, postal addresses, telephone hotlines, and text messaging are other reporting channels that can be explored, along with having multiple points of human contact. All disciplinary actions taken against the perpetrator should be timely and substantiated in writing so the victim can understand the rationale behind a decision.

More resources should be invested into programs that promote staff wellbeing and a unified organizational culture. Positive behaviour modelling should be used to eliminate the stigma related to counselling services and to instill a healthy work-life balance. When possible, leaders should encourage staff members to leave their work stations at a reasonable time and complete tasks from their temporary residence.

Developing in-house expertise in security training, complaints handling, and psychosocial support should be a priority. However, when too costly to hire a dedicated person to report to, managers should look into their informal networks to assist in coordination and control. Should the organization seek to enter into strategic alliances, for example with women's centers, psychological support services or medical clinics, partner organizations should have compatible management styles and similar operating policies for effective synergy. Checkpoints should be built in as the strategic alliances are being implemented to make sure that the partners are satisfied with progress and development. Based on performance assessments, the organization can choose to

continue or increase their involvement with the partner, revise their implementation plan, or terminate the alliance. Good partner relationships can be ensured by avoiding disagreements or handling conflict well.

5.2.2 Staff

Staff should actively take part in training sessions about the host country's cultural norms and values. This can be particularly useful when operating in countries where traditional gender roles are emphasized. Efforts should be made to avoid ethnocentrism as history suggests that many problems can arise when Westerners enter a country behaving as though theirs are the only correct norms, values, and beliefs. With this in mind, ethnocentric tendencies can be offset by adopting a mindset of cultural relativism. Language skills can be invaluable, especially when trying to build relationships with host-country nationals.

A familiarization trip to the host country before formal transfer can be made accessible through mentorship programs. This can be useful in alleviating culture shock. Once on mission, empathy with beneficiaries can help expatriates effectively adjust to a particular posting. Programs that build self-esteem, self-confidence and mental wellbeing should be taken advantage of as they can have a positive impact on worker performance.

In general, humanitarians are motivated by a desire to have a positive effect on the lives of others. If workers believe that their job is meaningful and they feel responsible for the outcomes of their job, motivation and job satisfaction levels can be kept high. Varied experiences and technical competencies can be acquired through ongoing education and rotation through a number of jobs within the organization. More senior

expatriates serving in the same location as new expatriates should be involved in performance appraisals to reduce cultural biases that would occur if said appraisals were strictly done by management based at headquarters. Compensation structures of employees should be consistent with global standards, with expatriates being evaluated according to the same criteria and having access to the same bonus pay and benefits structure irrespective of the assignment posting. Staff members should collaborate in creating a unified front in this regard and denounce any treatment that they deem inequitable. This can be particularly effective in countervailing the “white male privilege”.

As for enforcing of standards of behaviour, staff should cooperate in devising a peer-monitoring plan to ensure that policies are being respected. An effective mechanism to enforcing standards of behaviour would be to have male staff members and managers trained to identify and confront misconduct and inappropriate language in their colleagues. All employees should know their rights and be fully aware of expected behaviors. They should also be informed about complaint mechanisms and the support resources available to them. Third parties should be encouraged to report inappropriate behaviours and their anonymity should be protected throughout the reporting process to ensure that they do not suffer adverse consequences. Participating in activities that raise awareness and sensitivity about the issue of sexual violence can help create a healthier organizational culture – one in which complaints are taken seriously and violations are punished.

Staff members should not hesitate to speak to managers about their daily concerns on the field or while off-duty in the crisis zone. People should be made aware that using a participative leadership style is in no way an indication that a manager does not know

his or her job. Indeed, providing managers with constant feedback and suggestions can yield many benefits. For example, only through open communication can work rewards having a positive valence on employees and effective reinforcement mechanisms be identified. In an effort to create an organizational culture which transcends the distinct national cultures of managers and staff members, it is important to bear in mind that *esprit de corps* is best fostered by taking part in activities and social gatherings where experiences can be shared and informal networks can be made.

5.2.3 Women Expats

Women expats should focus on developing their cross-cultural sensitivity and language competence in order to have a smoother adjustment period in the host country. Direct communication should be favored when dealing with colleagues within the organization, especially with men who come from different cultural backgrounds, as addressing issues in a straightforward manner will avoid complications related to ambiguous interpretations.

Training should be given about the host country's political situation with a special focus on women's issues. Cultural issues to consider include customs, traditions and religious beliefs. When in doubt, it is best to remember that modest clothing, calm demeanour, and polite behaviour are accepted everywhere. Because a woman's age, marital status, and race can affect people's perception and acceptance into local communities, warnings should be given about acceptable and non-acceptable language and behaviour in consideration of these individual characteristics. This can be particularly important in reducing risks of sexual harassment. Additionally, information about the host

country's political system, non-governmental organizations that influence the nation's political stability, the level of corruption, the reliability of rule of law, and internal factors such as social, ethnic or religious tensions could help women thoroughly understand the risks they are going to be exposed to. Clear and informed consent is best obtained by clarifying job requirements and being transparent about risks involved.

Women expats should try to develop relationships with host nationals and key people in the crisis zone. In so doing, they can have a strong social support network in the event that they get abused by members of their own organization. Making connections with people outside the organization can also help sustain high worker morale and prevent experiences of burnout frequent to socializing in an "expat bubble".

Senior women expats should be assigned leadership roles in the organization. These women can insist on having a global pay system, wherein worldwide job evaluations, performance appraisal methods and salary scales are used. Additionally, work-life balance can be instilled by giving women the freedom to choose work goals and schedules. Senior level female managers in the field can also act as liaison officers, communicating women's concerns to headquarters, and giving feedback on task completion and quality. Extensive multiway communication laterally and vertically can improve coordination between units, thereby facilitating the implementation of gender-equity policies and tackling the problem of gender-related violence.

When it comes to sexual violence, women expats should be actively involved in establishing the values and boundaries set in the organizational culture. Information about the organization's policies and procedures should be disseminated in a standardized website and other media. Educational sessions on self-defense and the filing of formal

complaints should be given to women. Male staff members should also be educated about expected standards of behaviour – including acceptable levels of eye contact, touching, and personal space. In all circumstances, an organizational culture respectful of its female workforce must take precedence over national culture.

Investigation into allegations of sexual violence should be fully documented. Victims should have the right to participate in decisions that affect them. Hence, they should be consulted on how exactly they would like their complaint to be resolved. They must also be protected from all forms of retaliation by management, colleagues, or perpetrators. Compassionate leave, hardship allowances, and medical and psycho-social support should be built into recovery programs. If the organization does not have adequate resources to help victims recuperate from an assault, they should seek help from experienced and qualified external professionals. Global virtual teams can be created to exchange information about complaints, investigations, and records of past misconducts in the humanitarian sector.

5.3 Implications

This research highlights that women expats in the context of humanitarian work are subject to different bottlenecks than women expats in multinational corporations. Although some of the issues they face are similar, problems such as work-life balance, stress, burnout, and sexual violence are exacerbated in a crisis-zone context. Because humanitarian organizations do not have the same mission nor the same amount of resources as multinationals, women expatriates in humanitarian aid lack adequate support in dealing with these challenges. Organizations need to modify their approaches to effectively address the specific challenges of working in environments where legal,

social and political infrastructures to protect women are weak or non-existent. This study shows that appropriate risk mitigation measures can be devised by adjusting human resource practices to match the demands of reality on the field and by considering gender security as an essential part of security management.

Much of an organization's operational efficiency depends on the valuable knowledge and skills of women expats. In tackling the problem of workplace sexual harassment in an international setting, it is important to first acknowledge it as a common problem faced by female expats. In the course of this study, this problem was further diagnosed by referring to its specific causes; an examination of the broader organizational and international contexts which permit this problem to arise was required. This research bridges the gap in literature by making a comparative analysis of women expats in humanitarian aid and their counterparts in multinational corporations. It highlights the specific challenges faced by women expats in humanitarian aid, focusing on the prevalence of sexual harassment in organizational cultures characterized by toxic masculinity, and crisis zones where violence against women is rampant. Using theories in human resource management science to analyze acquired data, the solutions proposed herein are strategically geared to addressing the issue of workplace sexual harassment in humanitarian aid and go beyond necessary policies and procedures. They require the active involvement of different stakeholders in aid organizations – whether they be managers, general staff members, or women expats. Regularly monitoring and evaluating the implementation of proposed solutions is necessary to track progress and make necessary adjustments. One can reasonably expect that successful

implementation of human resource practices emphasizing gender security will result in favorable resolutions for the organization and its workforce.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary of Contributions

Extant literature on workplace sexual harassment provides comprehensive definitions of the term (Hayes, 2004; McDonald et al., 2008; Crucet et al., 2010). It elaborates on the costs of sexual harassment (Willness et al., 2007; Berdahl & Raver, 2011; Chan, Chun, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007), and characteristics of perpetrators and victims are discussed (Berdahl, 2007; Schweinle et al., 2009; Begany & Milburn 2002; Gettman & Gelfand, 2007; Quinn, 2002; Scott & Martin, 2006). It also offers explanations about type of work environments in which sexual harassment is likely to emerge, and details common problems encountered in the reporting process (Salin, 2007; Hayes, 2004; Wear et al., 2007; Snyder et al., 2010; McCann 2005).

There is also scholarship about workplace sexual harassment as an international concern, explaining how it affects women expats in a corporate setting (Selmer & Leung, 2003; Van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012; Stalker & Mavin, 2011; Fiedler & Blanco, 2006; Gorman, 2008; Trichas & Schyns, 2012; Cullen & Parboteeah, 2014; Altman, 2013; Zimbhoff, 2007), and those in a humanitarian setting (Mazurana & Donnelly, 2017; Nobert & Williamson, 2017; Edwards, 2017).

This research bridges the gap in literature by making a comparative analysis of women expats in humanitarian aid and their counterparts in multinational corporations. Differences between human resource management practices in the non-profit sector and

the private sector were examined. This comparison was made in order to identify specific bottlenecks women expats face in humanitarian work and the strategies needed to effectively address them.

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with women expats, managers, consultants, specialists in workplace harassment and sexual assault, complaints specialists and academics over a period of 5 months so as to conduct a multi-dimensional analysis of the problem of workplace sexual harassment in international aid organizations. Primary data was reviewed alongside interviews with a humanitarian worker conducted by the *British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC) and the *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (CBC), as well as a panel discussion on the subject of duty of care and sexual violence in the aid sector conducted by *The Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action* (ATHA). After identifying themes and patterns in the data, it was evident that focus points could be outlined and code relations could be inferred by taking into account contributions from various categories of informants. Consolidating these focus points was necessary to be able to formulate holistic recommendations on tackling the issue of workplace sexual harassment in the humanitarian sector.

Findings reveal that risks of sexual violence, stress and burnout are particularly high in a crisis-zone context, yet women expatriates in humanitarian aid lack adequate support in dealing with these challenges. Furthermore, reporting processes in organizations are marked by serious flaws and inadequacies. Considering that humanitarian organizations and multinationals have different missions, operate in different environments, and have disparate resources, it was necessary to scrutinize similarities and differences in their approaches to the issue of sexual violence in order to

provide recommendations that could enhance operational efficiency of humanitarian organizations and be coherently applied throughout the aid sector. In so doing, compounding threats inherent to a hostile environment and mitigating measures were also investigated.

A coherent overall strategy in gender security management can allow international humanitarian organizations to prevent and deal with incidents of sexual violence effectively. By identifying similarities in crisis zones, a global strategy can be devised to tackle the issue of workplace sexual harassment in an international setting and necessary adjustments can be made in consideration of the local conditions of the host country. In addition to cross-referencing policy points and best practices in the industry, using the concept of duty of care as an overarching guideline applicable across all departments in the organization can also help develop a standardized approach to preventing and addressing sexual violence. Once established, managers, general staff members, and women expats need to be actively involved in the implementation and monitoring of the global gender-security strategy.

The objective this research project was to help international humanitarian organizations protect their female expatriate workforce from the high risks of sexual violence on the field as well as stress and burnout. Efforts directed at strengthening gender security should be a primary concern for humanitarian organizations as it can improve overall operational efficiency and enhance social impact. In relation to the objectives, the following conclusions were drawn.

Firstly, organizations need to undertake a serious reflection to assess if their intervention is both necessary and feasible before placing the lives of their personnel at

risk. Operating in crisis zones naturally requires a careful assessment of foreseeable risks and the implementation of mitigating measures. In some crisis zones, expatriates can be at high risk of being taken hostage and exchanged as a form of currency. Women are especially vulnerable because rape, sexual assault, and other types of physical brutality are used as terror tactics. With this in mind, building healthy relationships with stakeholders can neutralize threats and attacks made against the organization's staff, assets and reputation. Even in cases where there is animosity against foreigners because of Western foreign policy, stakeholders can be led to tolerate the organization's presence in the community, particularly if they are provided with basic goods and services needed for survival. Support from external stakeholders can be useful to women expats experiencing workplace sexual harassment, particularly those who are encountering added difficulties as a result of their organization's inadequate response to the issue.

Secondly, the risks of sexual harassment, stress and burnout can be reduced by adopting proactive measures to ensure that female expatriates effectively adjust to a crisis zone. For this, clear job descriptions together with a rigorous recruitment and screening process will ensure that the right employees are found. Humanitarian organizations are discouraged from having overlapping mandates with the development sector as development personnel will not necessarily have the same resilience or security reflexes as aid workers. It behooves human resource managers to pay attention to individual success factors such as self-efficacy (resourcefulness), relational skills, and perception skills in potential employees. Additional success factors are linguistic skills, a strong sense of identity, and an openness to foreigners. Personality traits like perseverance, tenacity, and determination are also essential. Life phase can also be

important, as age and marital status can affect the degree to which the female expat is accepted by a local community. It can also affect motivation levels, as a mother who is primary caregiver to her children will usually avoid working in extremely dangerous environments. Correspondingly, individual success factors can be affected by non-work considerations such as social support and the accompanying family's ability to adjust to the host country.

Thirdly, prior to deployment, extensive security training is needed. This can be done through various methods; uses of computer technology to enhance experiential learning can be particularly useful. Security training includes preparing women expatriates for the risks of gender-related violence and making them aware of the reality that perpetrators can come from anywhere, including within the organization. In fact, "white male privilege" is often used as a pretext by men in senior management positions to commit abuses of power and sexual exploitation. Correspondingly, cultural adaptation training that includes a module to identify and dispel ethnocentrism will help prevent heated interpersonal conflicts resulting from value clashes. Training about appropriate language and behaviour should be offered to both men and women, as focusing on the latter is equivalent to a victim-blaming approach. Male staff members and managers can be trained to identify and confront inappropriate behaviour in their colleagues. As for mentorship programs and social network building activities, they can be especially useful to young and inexperienced women who are most vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

Fourthly, within organizations, policies and procedures addressing topics such as gender equity and sexual violence are instrumental in preventing cultures of toxic masculinity from arising. Consulting with people in all levels of the organization can allow

for the creation of comprehensive policies. With this in mind, group discussions carried out on a regular basis will provide women expatriates with a forum in which they can discuss their concerns and give feedback to managers. In cases of sexual harassment, individuals receiving complaints should be trained to be empathetic and victim-oriented. Nevertheless, sanctions for the perpetrator should be proportional to the offense. All steps in the reporting process should be meticulously documented and parties should be kept aware of procedural setbacks or progress. Third parties should be encouraged to denounce professional misconducts and their anonymity should be protected throughout the reporting process to ensure that they do not suffer adverse consequences. Organizations should also encourage industry-wide accountability and transparency in cases of sexual harassment by assuming responsibility for offences committed by their subcontractors.

In addressing the problem of personnel shortages, offering logistical help such as transport, chaperone services, and safe accommodation for women can allow the organization to benefit from a wider human resource pool. Still, in some cases, setting discrimination laws aside is necessary to protect individuals from high risks of physical danger or human rights violations in crisis zones where individual characteristics such as gender and sexual orientation are targeted. The presence of readily-accessible medical and psychosocial support will prevent performance-related consequences of employee stress and burnout. Correspondingly, programs that encourage a healthy work-life balance can instill employee resilience and well-being.

Lastly, this study highlights that tackling sexual violence goes beyond having necessary policies and procedures. A female expat's job satisfaction, motivation and

efficiency can also be affected by leader behaviors and traits. Positively regarded traits of leaders include trustworthiness, honesty, reliability, conscientiousness, and intelligence. A strong sense of justice and equity are also highly esteemed. In all contexts, positive behaviour modelling can be used by managers to effectively teach and motivate subordinates in respecting standards of behaviour, breaking social taboos, and adopting a healthy lifestyle. Best practices and the concept of duty of care are useful guiding lights for managers when making decisions affecting employee wellbeing. Overall, it is easier for female expatriates to adjust in a work setting that is sensitive to women's needs. Having more women in leadership positions can prevent sexual harassment and other organizational dysfunctions inherent to male-dominated work environments from arising.

To reduce risks of workplace sexual violence in the humanitarian sector, organizations need to adopt a standardized approach to gender security. This strategy has to be centered on improving female expatriates' adjustment to the crisis zone. It starts by recruiting competent individuals who have personal characteristics that are suitable for international missions in hostile environments. Providing them with extensive security training and cultural adaptation training is crucial. Mentorship programs and social network building activities can also be useful. All things considered, healthier organizational cultures can be created by having a stand-alone zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment along with gender-equitable staffing policies. Robust reporting procedures and support mechanisms to address sexual harassment incidents are also indispensable. Group discussions to raise awareness about the issue of sexual violence should be conducted on a regular basis. Moreover, organizations should have leaders who not only take command of projects by giving subordinates specific schedules and

tasks, but ones who are able to understand and meet employee's needs – specifically, women expats' needs for safety and security. Importantly, leaders should encourage employee participation in decision-making and prioritize establishing good relationships with stakeholders, while still being focused on goals and rewards.

6.2 Limitations

This study is strictly qualitative and requires quantitative research methods to corroborate the validity of its conclusions. The focus of this study was solely on Western women expats – specifically those who identify as either Canadian, American or Western European – regardless of ethnic background. In consideration of the time constraint to submit this thesis, female host-country national staff members and women expatriates from other regions of the world were excluded from the analysis. A few informants suggested that these women are most at risk of sexual violence on the field, but organizations fail to consider their needs on an equal plane as internationals. A comprehensive standardized approach to workplace sexual harassment in the aid sector would need to take into consideration the experiences of these groups of women.

The sample size of the participants in this study is small, and also not necessarily representative of the whole humanitarian sector. Furthermore, non-binary gender identities and differences related to sexual orientation are not explored. Also, given that participants who were categorized as managers or consultants usually had prior experience as expats themselves, they were sensitive to the issue of sexual violence in the field. This may have introduced bias to the study as evidence suggests that not all people in supervisory or advisory positions have a concern for women's issues.

6.3 Discussion of Future Research Directions

Future research could explore intersectionality issues involving characteristics such as gender, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, and marital status so as to gain a fuller perspective of the extent of workplace sexual harassment in the aid sector. Characteristics, motivations, and tactics of perpetrators of workplace sexual violence in the humanitarian sector also need further investigation. Detailed studies on perpetrators and their allies are required to be able to develop effective resistance strategies. Correspondingly, it would be important to examine how various forms of workplace psychological harassment such as mobbing, bullying, degrading, discrediting, belittling, destabilizing, or isolating a person are linked with workplace sexual harassment.

Moreover, as has been demonstrated by findings, humanitarian organizations will usually adopt a victim-blaming approach to sexual violence incidents to avoid vicarious liability and reputational damages that would have a direct effect on donations. More research on organizational incentives for accountability and transparency is required, including how employers can absorb responsibility for offences committed by their subcontractors. In-depth case studies on managerial decision making processes related to why and how certain incidents of sexual violence are responded to can help uncover organizational dysfunctions prevalent in the industry.

Finally, informants intimated that women expats working as investigative journalists and human rights activists in hostile environments may be even more exposed to risks of sexual violence than expats in humanitarian aid. These women expats put their lives in immediate danger as they enter highly-militarized or prohibited zones to gather evidence on human rights violations. They then publicly criticize powerful officials in

countries where freedom of the press and freedom of conscience are restricted. In addition to sexual violence, these women expats risk torture, imprisonment, and murder. Research on female expats in this field can be useful in refining strategies geared at tackling workplace sexual harassment the aid sector and compounding threats in hostile environments.

This research topic gained considerable attention during the last weeks of writing this thesis due to mass-media coverage on the prevalence of sexual harassment in the entertainment industry and in the political sphere. This sparked ongoing discussion about workplace sexual harassment in a variety of industries with the “*#metoo*” movement, and served to highlight how widespread this problem is. Whereas women in industrialized nations still complain of inadequate institutional mechanisms to protect their legal rights, this problem is even worse for women living and working in crisis zones where women’s rights may not even be recognized as human rights. These problems will not go away when the limelight on the issue has faded. Further research is needed to deepen our knowledge about gender-based violence rooted in hierarchical power imbalances. Only by keeping its relevance in mind in everyday discourse can the problem be successfully consigned to history.

Appendices

1. Success Factors for Women Expats

Sources:

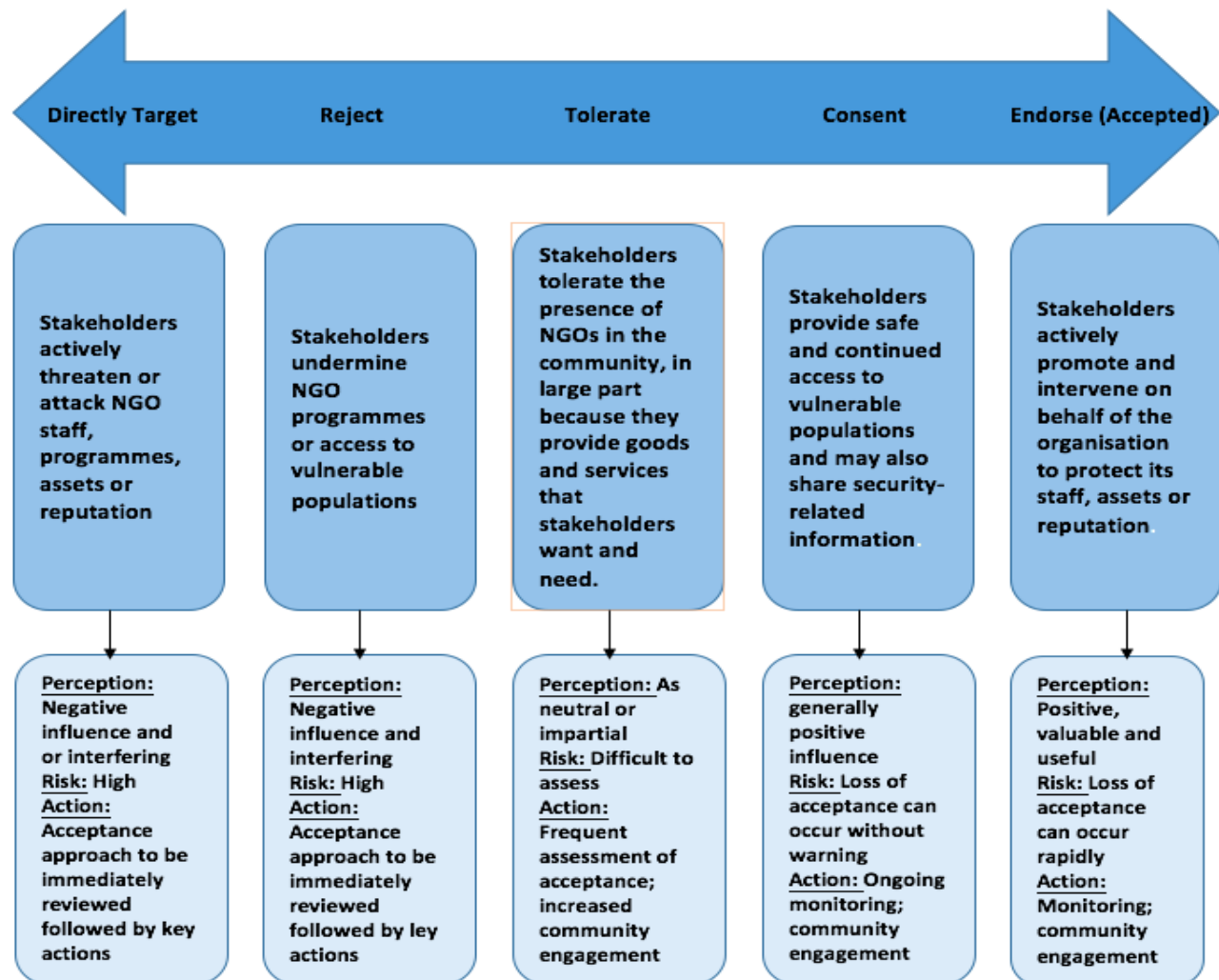
Caligiuri, P.M., & Lazarova, M. (2002) A model for the influence of social interaction and social support on female expatriates' cross-cultural adjustment. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 13(5), 761-772

Van den Bergh, R., & Du Plessis, Y. (2012). Highly skilled migrant women: a career development framework. *Journal of Management Development*, 31(2), 142 – 158

SUCCESS FACTORS FOR WOMEN EXPATS	
INDIVIDUAL	CONDITIONS OF THE ASSIGNMENT
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Personality Traits (i.e. tenacity, perseverance, determination)• Ability to form relationships during international assignment• Linguistic Skills• Sense of identity• Social and family support• Life phase• Openness to foreigners	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Host country's cultural norms towards women• Organizational support resources (i.e. emotional, informational, and instrumental)• Role models• Social networks• Perceived organizational support• Collaborative efforts between organizations in home country and host country

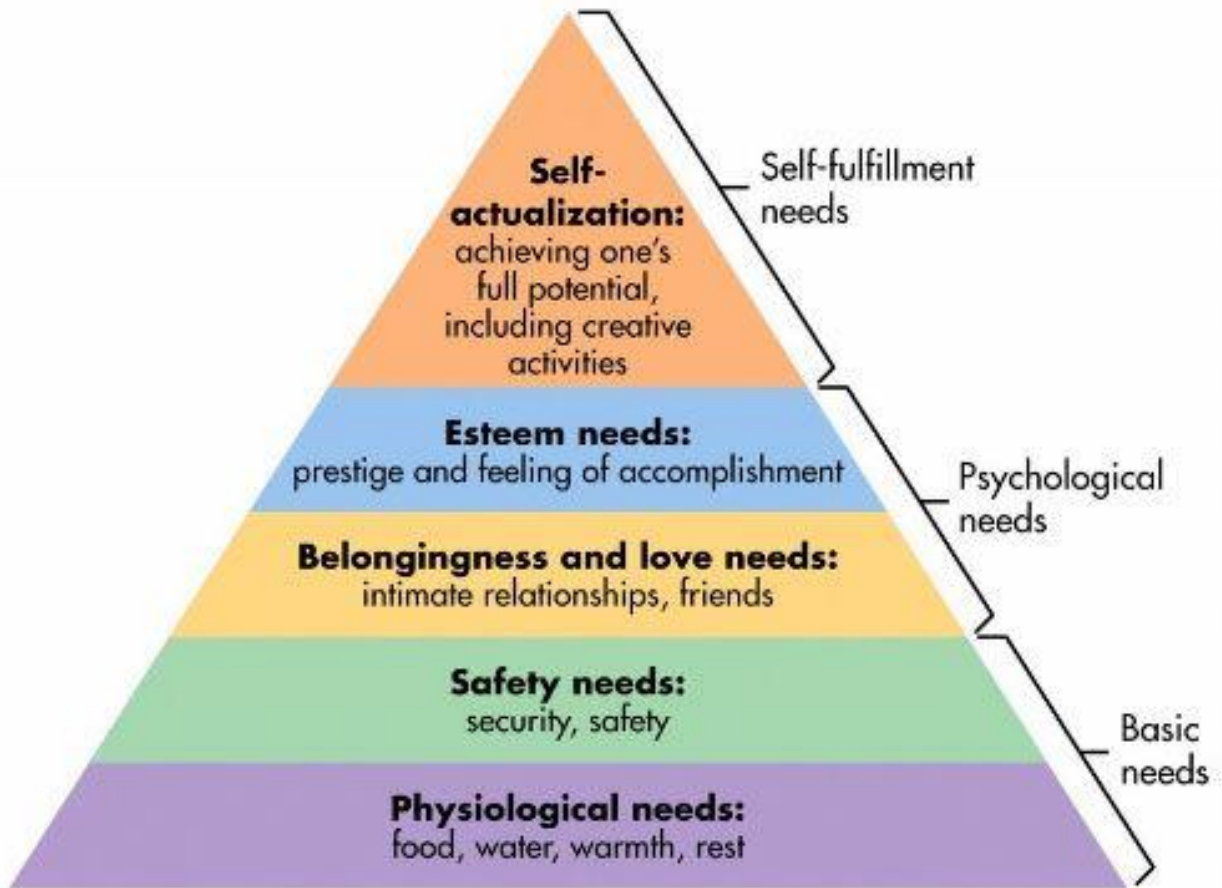
2. Acceptance Continuum

Source: Fast, L., C. Finucane et al. (2011). *The Acceptance Toolkit: A Practical Guide to Understanding, Assessing, and Strengthening your Organization's Acceptance Approach to NGO Security Management*. Save the Children Federation, Inc., Washington, DC.



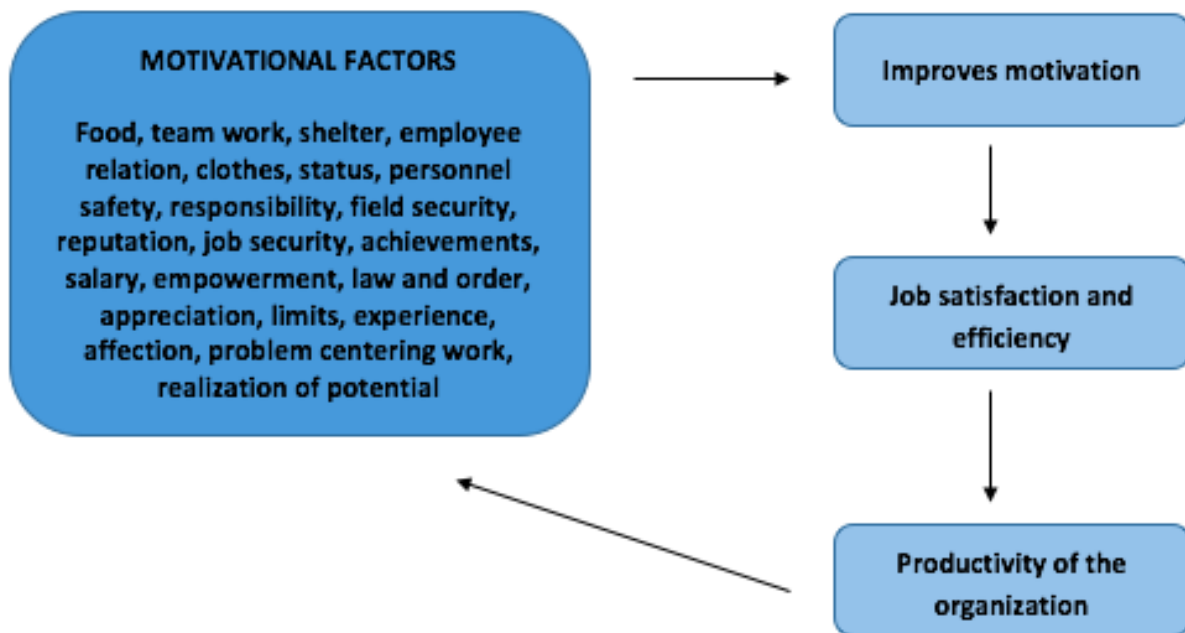
3. Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Source: Maslow, A. H. (1970). Motivation and personality. New York: Harper & Row.



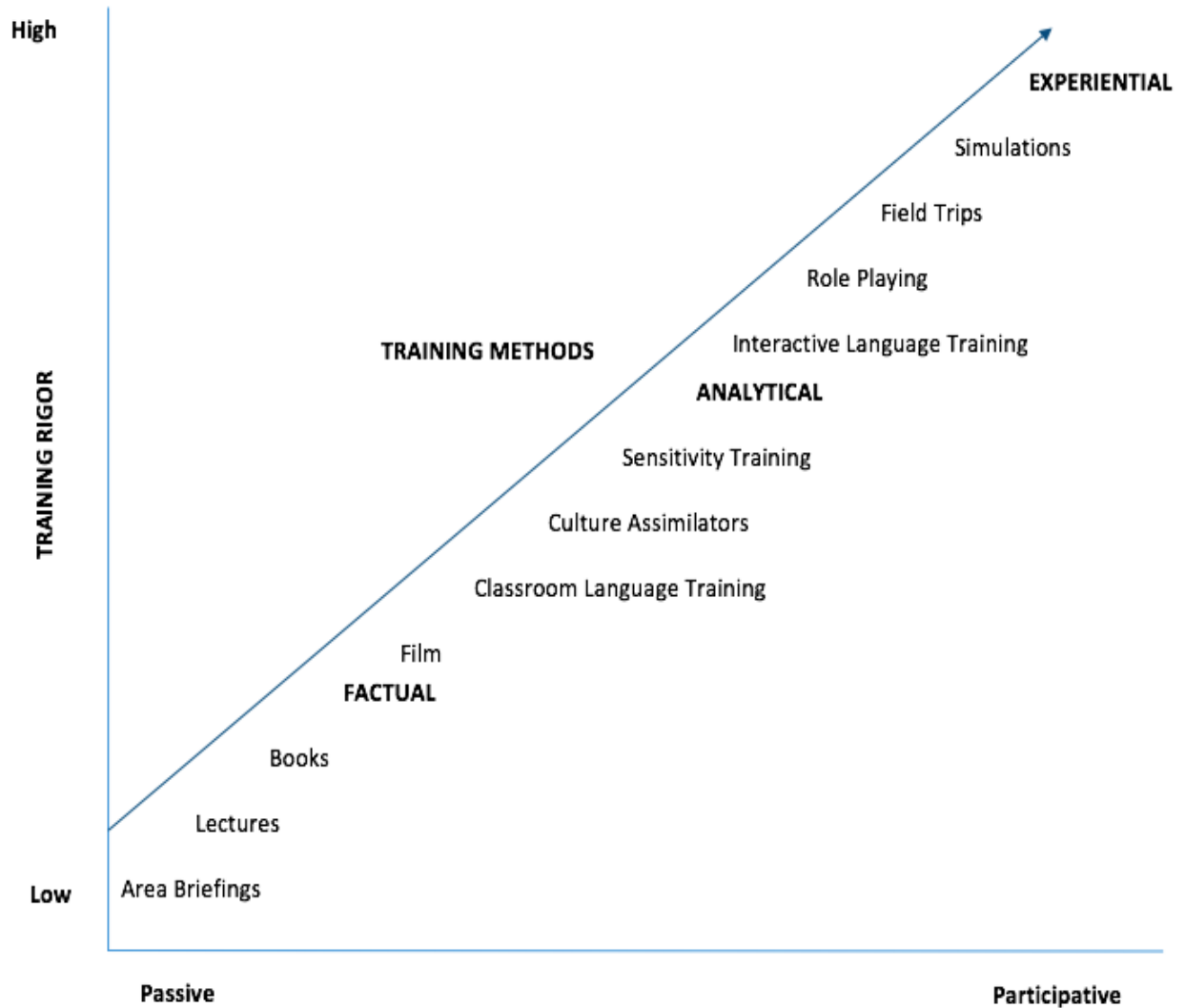
4. Framework on the linkage between employee motivation, productivity and the organization

Source: Wijeratne W.D. (2006). Impact of emergence of Non-Governmental Organizations after Tsunami, in the employment sector of Sri Lanka, Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

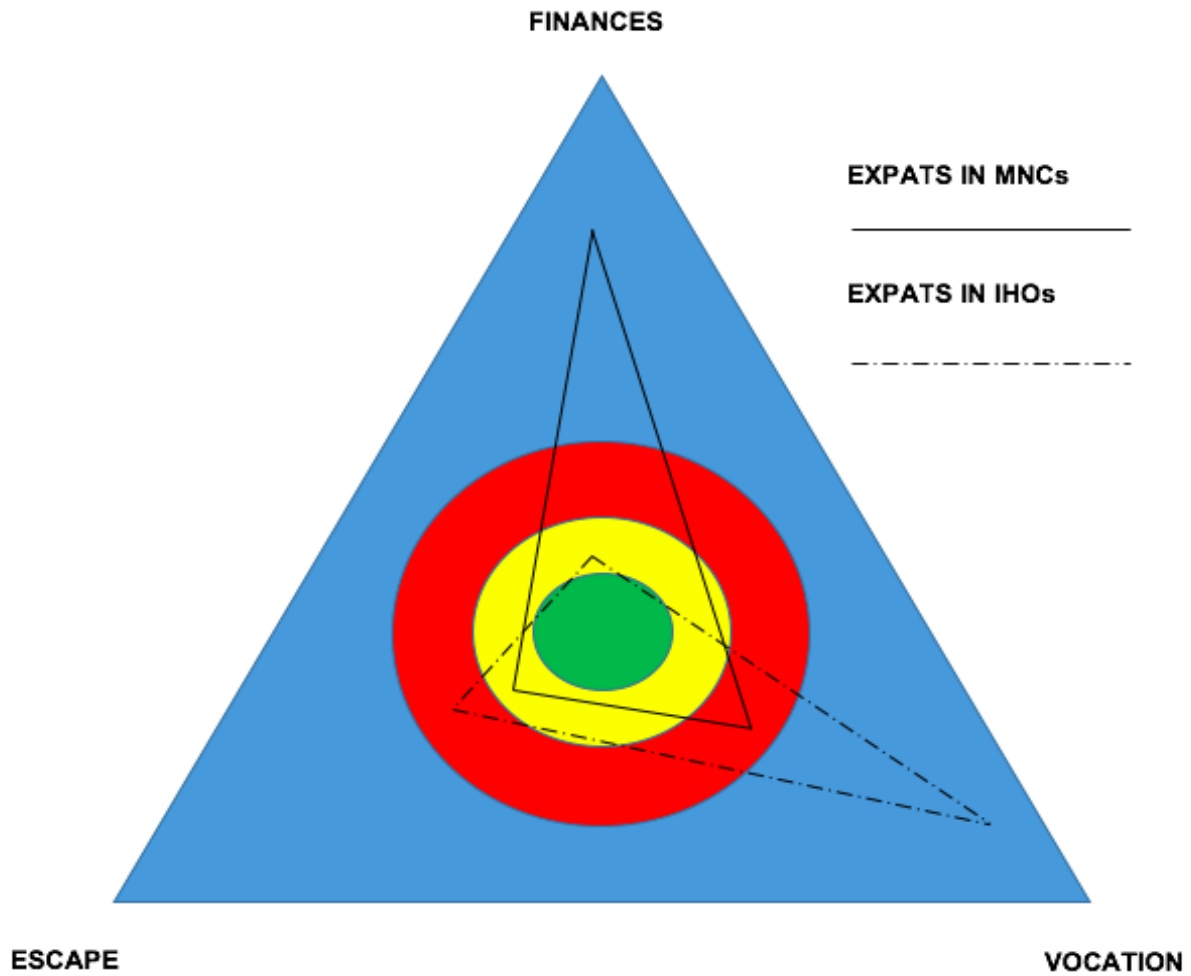


5. Framework for Cross-cultural Training

Source: J.S. Black & M. Mendenhall. (1989). A practical but theory based framework for selecting cross-cultural training methods. *Human Resource Management*, 28, 511-539.



6. Motivational Differences in Expats



7. Relevant Quotes in Most Prevalent Themes

Environment: Crisis Zones

SOURCE	QUOTE
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	LR: The biggest problem is road traffic accidents. Then, there are a lot of minor incidents related to culture. In many places, there is quite a lot of crime because we appear to be very wealthy as foreigners with big cars and lots of expensive equipment. In high risk environments there are risks of IEDs (improvised explosive devices), abduction, just being caught in crossfire, sexual violence is unfortunately an issue in quite a lot of places.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	LR: Sexual harassment from every level, irritation to very serious sexual violence, I think the whole range is there. Other specifically for women, there are examples of – I don't know whether you would call this a risk or not- but there is a perception that it is more dangerous for women.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	Egypt is what I hear the worst in terms of sexual harassment and sexual violence. Iraq and Kurdistan, is possibly the second worst. In South Sudan, it is rife. It seems to be sexual harassment is allowed to happen, so it is the base of the pyramid. It means that everything else happens as well.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	Quite often there is a work hard, play hard attitude so there is a lot of drinking and a lot of risky behaviour related to stress. Sometimes we put ourselves at greater risk because of our behaviour. Not from a sexual violence perspective, but to normal violence and threats. When people go on leave, they seem to leave their brain behind as well. You might never walk down the street in your home town with your purse sticking out of the top of your back or sit in a street café and leave your purse on the table, why do you think you'd do it when you are on leave somewhere else? Because you are not in a context that is normal, you sometimes leave your common sense behind.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	R: South Sudan is generally lawless. This is just me guessing, the places where there are a lot of private security providers and private contractors working, there aren't as many women. So you see more men than women. So when you are at the bar in the evening, it goes back to not there being a normal societal balance. So that was in South Sudan. In Kurdistan and that is the same in Egypt, it is just embedded. Every person I spoke to, whether it is the protection people talking about the risks to the local community, whether it was partner organisation talking about advocacy concerns, whether it was the international NGOs, everybody suffered from sexual harassment. So it seems to have become acceptable across the society from the men's perspective, it was happening in every walk of life. It just seemed to be behaviour that was common.

INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY –
JUNE 9th 2017

When I was in Afghanistan, there was a decision made that women should not be in the house alone, there should always be international men in the house as well as international women. In other places, we had single sex places because that was thought to be safer and you didn't want men to be around. In Kurdistan what a lot of international organizations do because it is all relatively safe there, but because of the sexual harassment, women have priority in terms of use of the cars in the evenings so they could get home more easily or the men will walk them home. When I was in Bangkok, I had a male colleague who was gay who used to ask me to walk him home because he was fed up of being harassed by all the prostitutes. So it works in both directions. It may be good practice that women should not be on their own, maybe two or three women is as good as a woman and a man together. I don't know.

INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE
WILLIAMSON –
AUGUST 21ST 2017

CW: It's probably one that stops you from doing what you want to do in the freest way possible. In other words, you are restricted from doing things because of high security risks. You are a target and often organizations in charge are targets because they've got assets. As we've seen recently, I think aid workers are targets now because they are seen as working with organizations that have got assets and therefore they can make threats. So when you are in an environment where there is a threat towards your staff or your assets, that starts to become a hostile environment and you have to put measures in place.

INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE
WILLIAMSON –
AUGUST 21ST 2017

As a whole, I think there is a threat generally to aid workers because they are working in these kinds of environments. Whether it be an environmental disaster or a civil war- I don't need to go into how dangerous it can be working within a civil war is because you've got all sorts of stakeholders there like the army, military and so on, and here you are as aid workers without weapons trying to somehow make life better for the people that live there. Even in an environmental situation it becomes quite insecure because there is a lack of resources for the people that live there; they don't have access to food, they are starting to get sick, they haven't got jobs and it gets desperate. So on the whole, it is high risk for everyone.

INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 ST 2017	Every single country is different. It depends what the organisation has done before and how they've treated people before. If expats come, there is a turnover of expats so often it's about your predecessor and how they were. So people are often very cautious if it wasn't great before. There is an expectation. I think there is always caution when the new one comes in anyway. I felt unsafe sometimes when I was in Darfur. So I did feel unsafe but it wasn't because of me personally, I mean we all did to be honest. The size of your team, if you've got a really big team I think that in itself is a community of support and safety. If there is a lot of NGOs around in the community, that's another support. If you have a situation where NGOs start leaving because of insecurity and it's becoming smaller and smaller and you're becoming more vulnerable. Your relationship with the government, your relationship with your colleagues, it's just so many different things. How you're perceived in the community, there is no one thing.
INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 ST 2017	I think some people become aid workers because they want to do good, they want to be seen as doing good, so motivation is a bit of an icky one that I can't put my finger on but what you tend to see is that yes, there can be a bravado culture.
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	AC: No air conditioning when it is 40 degrees outside. Rainy seasons being very long and you are not able to drive, so you go from one point to another one riding donkeys. No filtered water. Just lack of comfort, hygiene can be quite difficult.
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	AC: Hostile environment would be one where there is a war, a civil war. It can also be hostile because it is very remote and working conditions are very difficult. It can also be because there are some actors who do not want to see us there, so they target us or they put pressure on us. As for security measures, we would start by doing a risk assessment. From this we would establish the mitigation measures. It depends on the threat. If the threat is abduction, we can decide to relocate or operate in a different way. If the threat is carjacking, we can use buses or horse carts. We try to adapt to the situation to mitigate the risk.
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	Natural disasters, sickness, wildlife, security risks, health risks, carjacking, kidnappings, explosions, stress, harassment, rape, mugging, scorpion bites. Any type of risk.

INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE –
LONDON, MAY 29th 2017

AC: Honesty, I think if you can do it, do it. But you are not going to change the guys. You are not going to arrive in a valley in Afghanistan and say that with me it is going to be like that. One thing you have to keep in mind is that they didn't ask you to come. I have been told in some places in the world, "you are very kind with you aid, but we didn't ask you to come." We are not in our country and we have to play by their rules. Who are we to arrive like a white knight and say that you need this vaccination and now you will eat this food. Who are we to do that? That is our perception of aid. That is why nowadays you see more and more organizations coming from the south and these organizations are much more accepted. I am not saying you have to swallow it or to leave. I am saying that we are not in our place. It is a question of respect.

INTERVIEW WITH SHANNON
MOUILLESEAUX –
MAY 26th 2017

She describes the work conditions as extremely difficult; the countries are poor and politically unstable- rife with corruption and violence. Random shootings, sexual violence, kidnappings, abductions, and murders are part of daily life. Working unprotected in the front lines, female expatriates are at high risk of sexual harassment and assault. Without any extensive training or support offered by international humanitarian organizations to deal with the high risks of sexual violence on assignment, women expatriates toiling in male-dominated misogynistic countries are left to figure things out on their own.

INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT –
MAY 4th 2017

MN: It is a very difficult place to be a woman. Domestic violence is quite high. Within the conflict there was mass rape, which was reported by Human Rights Watch. Women are undereducated they are literally sold and bought for marriage. Child marriage is big problem, so they might get an education until they are 11 or 12 but as soon as they are old enough to get married they are sold off. Plural marriage is legal in South Sudan, so it is often the case where very young girls are being married to very old men. They could very well be their 5th or 6th wife. Physically, it is very difficult. There is high maternal death, there is no a lot of doctors, the women will often travel miles to fetch water they have a lot of responsibilities. There is also famine in the country now, so for them, getting food is not always easy because of the changing climate. Women will almost tend to take care of themselves less and that is almost a universal thing. In South Sudan, it is common to see women go without food at all in order to nurture their children. Contraception is essentially non-existent. They have very large families which they are not necessarily able to take care of. Child death is very high, they are often at high risk of getting malaria and other diseases, many die quite young sometimes. So that's obviously a burden for women to bear. It is a very hard place to be.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3– MAY
10TH 2017

From my experience, in Rwanda in the humanitarian crisis right after the genocide, it was after the return of the refugees in 1996, I would say after observing the milieu from a researcher's viewpoint, that the principal danger in Rwanda for women was physical security. Also, their presence as women. Because in Rwanda, even before the genocide, women were considered second-class citizens in that country. So there was not much respect for women.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3
– MAY 10TH 2017

In Rwanda, because there was a genocide and the international community did not intervene much during the genocide, the Rwandan population saw that the UN organizations had neglected them, that we had left them to their own devices. There was resentment against the humanitarian workers and even against the workers involved in development. In other contexts, humanitarian organizations are welcome. They help the population so they benefit from a rapport with the that is much easier. In Rwanda, it was quite particular. There was a resentment against everything that was United Nations or closely identified to it.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3
– MAY 10TH 2017

In my knowledge, there were no women hostages who were molested or sexually harassed. It was really because we were foreigners and we became exchange currency. When there is a hostage taking, to free them, we have to pay the hostage takers with other hostages. We became a type of exchange currency. Terrorist acts were financed through hostage taking. So in the region that I knew well, one of the worst risks was hostage taking. Mostly in remote regions, in the desert or its periphery, there were hostage takings. It was a shock in the humanitarian and development sectors because we became targets.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3
– MAY 10TH 2017

I do not have information on whether or not women are more at risk. But certainly if they are present, they are at risk. So organizations must rethink security- particularly for women. From experience, women were most at risk in refugee camps. Because there, the camps are very populated and there are risks for women humanitarian workers.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3
– MAY 10TH 2017

Women who do development work and put themselves in humanitarian contexts do not have the same security reflexes. One example here which was traumatic for us was in 2008, one of my colleagues Jackie Kirk was killed in Afghanistan. She was working there for an organisation in based in New York which sought to promote education for young girls in primary school. They sent Canadians to do the follow up for their project. We knew that the security situation was very delicate in Afghanistan in 2008. They went from Kabul, alone with a chauffeur and two Afghan colleagues. They went to the South of the country to visit schools. On their way back, they were assassinated. That is an example from International Rescue Committee. In Kabul, there were clear directives that it was dangerous to go out, that the situation was difficult. But International Rescue Committee allowed them to go to Kabul. They already went to the park before but the situation had changed. But they were still allowed to go alone without an escort, without security conditions. There were probably people who had seen them go into control posts, who had informed rebels and on their way back they were assassinated.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3 – MAY 10 TH 2017	Yes, because there is a message being sent that she is available. They would not let a young woman in that country go out at night or go to parties. So if you continue to live your single life as you did in Canada, you are sending a signal that you are available and you are putting yourself at risk. Because if you behave as you do here, even here we know about signals and limits when it comes to sexual aggression and rape, if over there you are not accompanied by somebody you are available. Over there it is more in the context of having a social life that you would be at risk.
INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	The workload is very high. The need is never ending. People generally tend to be very motivated so they are very hard workers and oftentimes they do not have very good self-care habits. So good self-care habits should be another thing I should add to that list you asked me in the last question. So that's one difficulty. Another thing is the exposure to vicarious trauma. So humanitarians are much more than most people exposed to the suffering of others, either directly or indirectly- witnessing it or hearing their stories. So that can be a difficulty. In some places where they work, they are also exposed to acute trauma. So the danger is higher for things like sexual assault, violence, gunfire, bombings. Those sorts of things can be riskier in some contexts, especially war zones.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	I think in general, there is too much automatic privilege assigned to expatriate humanitarian workers. I hope to see the role of these expats only broadened when their technical expertise is required or when their positions can help alleviate situations when neutrality is in question.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	A study at Tufts rights now shows that violence against female aid workers is often correlated with general level of violence of the countries in which they are working. It doesn't mean that it is coming from nationals, but that there is a general legal environment that is quite permissive of violence against women. So yes, I think they are given inordinate amounts of power and no checks on that power because both internal and legal mechanisms to hold them accountable are just so weak. So that's where it comes in.
MEGAN NOBERT – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	It's interesting to note that two of the hotspot countries that we're seeing emerge for, you know, sexual violence colleague on colleague are also South Sudan and Afghanistan. So in the long term, we start looking at what are the risk factors and looking at how to prevent it, it's interesting to note that a location where there is significant numbers of armed attack sexual violence, there's also significant numbers of colleague on colleague sexual violence.

ORLY STERN – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	And in my work I've spoken to a number of women who have been raped by armed actors- often very violent date rapes, often armed rapes, often gang rapes- what's been very interesting to me is to see that a lot of the cases have been centralized in certain countries. So certainly South Sudan comes up over and over again, and not just in the case of the well-publicized terrain attack but in other contexts as well. Afghanistan is another country that comes up often. So one of the things that often goes with sexual attacks is racial slurs. So insults against them as being part of, you know, being foreigners- blamed for what foreigners are doing in the country- that's something that comes up.
INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT – CONDUCTED BY THE CBC	MN: It's kind of a cruel irony, I guess. That what I was going to help other women handle, to help other women get through had happened to me. It's still horrible.
INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT – CONDUCTED BY THE BBC	MN: I was working for an international non-profit organization in Bentiu, South Sudan; ironically working on protection in gender-based violence issues. One Saturday night while living on the peacekeeping base, I found that a colleague of mine from another organisation had drugged me and I discovered this when I woke up alone in my room in my camp- naked, sick, scared and realizing that there had been sexual activity that had been done to me that I had not consented to; that I had been raped.

Perpetrators: Male Coworkers & Supervisors

SOURCE	QUOTES
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	CV: We would love to know more about them. At our center, we deal more with the victims. So we don't really have access to the person who actually harasses. It is hard to get them involved in studies because we wanted to conduct a study with them a few years ago, but who is going to come forward and voluntarily participate and say "Well I was accused or harassment?!" Some might but not a lot. So we don't have much information. Some theories have been put out there over the years over the whole person who is more narcissistic, macho, different types of traits of personality. But nothing scientific.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	CV: Somebody who only thinks of themselves, who will put down others to be ahead, who always had to be put up on a pedestal and to be able to keep that position will step on anybody who is in their way. Somebody who feels threatened by good people who do good work and who are recognized for it.

INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	CV: Somebody who objectifies women, who think that their place is not necessarily in the workforce and if it is it is just to please them and be beautiful around them, who will crack sexist jokes. Someone who will create that hostile environment that is tinted with sexual harassment, even if it is not necessarily pinpoint one person.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	But when we are talking about harassment at work, often we are told “oh no how can they do that? He’s a father and he’s married.” Well the fact that the person harasses or not does not take into consideration all those elements. They will do it anyway. A single male will not necessarily harass more than somebody who is married.
INTERVIEW WITH JENNIFER DRUMMOND – JUNE 16TH 2017	JD: It really depends who you ask. There are plenty of people who definitely would say that there is a psychological profile of someone who perpetrates sexual violence, I see it as anyone can be a person who crosses someone’s boundaries, or sexual assaults or sexually harasses someone. I think that toxic masculinity and very rigid gender norms and the kind of world that we live in and how we are socialized growing up plays a really big role in people feeling that they have ownership over women’s bodies or over the bodies or marginalized people. All of that stuff plays into where sexual violence is coming from and the behaviour of people who perpetrate it.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	A: In my humble experience, if I had to rank the five worst offenders I have seen in my two missions, the worst is a white middle aged man who apparently had been sleeping with underage beneficiaries and impregnated two of them. So gross violation of all our standards of exploitation and abuse. So that was a white European man. One superior who had an inappropriate with a local vendor, he was an expat but he was African. The next two, who were responsible for inappropriate comments, both of those were white Europeans. The fifth one, was for inappropriate comments outside of work but still in an inappropriate space, also a white European. So of the top five in my experience, four of the five of them were white Europeans.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	A: It is compounded to an absurd level. I can only speak only as an American. So the white male privilege that you see in the United States, you can see it played out even on college campuses with the rape culture. That exists independent of our system. What happens is that expats are given an extraordinary amount of privilege in these locations. So they go into these cultures where they are not only put in very high ranking positions, which many of them would not be in had they been in their country of origin, but there are also big gaps in their salaries, benefits and privileges. So they are given an inordinate amount of resources at their disposal. Because they control very scarce resources, whether that’s jobs or the actual aid money or aid packages delivered, people automatically treat them with a tremendous amount of deference and respect. All of these things allow them to amass more and more power, so they are given enormous amount of power. More than they would have in their own country. On top of that, they are working in places where the legal system is super vague.

DYAN MAZURANA – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	One of the things we have found is and this is also confirmed by the two surveys carried out by the Women's Humanitarian Network and Report the Abuse. It looks like one of the major groups committing the abuse is the supervisors or the security officers in the humanitarian agencies themselves. So if there is a kind of common factor, it's women who are in more subordinate positions who seem to be targeted for this kind of abuse. And because we have such a dominance of men in the humanitarian aid industry at the higher levels, that's where we're seeing a lot of the abuse.
DYAN MAZURANA – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	Having worked in the aid industry and research around it for 20 years now, I think one of the most disheartening findings in this study for me was that it's your own colleagues attacking you and that there seems to be not a willingness to understand that and respond to it and try to prevent it from the aid agencies. I too had this idea that it was primarily going to be people outside the agencies who were the threats and Phoebe's right; that's how the training and the manuals and the security protocol, that's how it's all envisioned. But, you know really, unfortunately that's not the situation. Armed actors, yes they're a threat, they need to be planned for. Much more pervasive seems to be your own colleagues which I think is really horrifying. Like, you're working in a place like South Sudan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and you have such high level of threat outside but you come back to your compound and your workplace and you're also under threat. This is something the aid agencies have got to wake up to.
DYAN MAZURANA – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	DM: This is Dyan. I mean, I think this is one of the most important findings to come out of our work is that there's a culture. There's an environmental culture within the workplace which is the kind of breeding ground for sexual assault and harassment against aid workers by their colleagues. It starts and the aid agencies, you know, the aid industry is really - it's kind of got a cowboy culture, especially in areas of high risk. It celebrates risk-taking, it's very masculine, it's very militarized. It's increasingly militarized and I think one of the things is it's not just that the security officers are men, it's that they're very often military men. And I also want you to know that what we found is they are very often the perpetrators. When we see perpetrators inside the agencies, it's the security officers.
ORLY STERN – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	From what I can tell, the vast majority of cases that are reported are done by other people in the humanitarian sector and less so by armed actors.
PHOEBE DONNELLY – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	One of our findings was that in the small amount of manuals that address the threat of sexual assault, we find that most humanitarian organizations are envisioning this as an external threat. So I think we really need to reshape that discourse and dialogue within these organizations so that we recognize the threat can come from armed actors externally but also from within the organizations.
INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT – CONDUCTED BY THE BBC	MN: He was another expatriate. He was working for a vendor of a UN agency, and as it turns out, there is no legal responsibility for UN agencies when it comes to the actions of their vendors.

Victims/Survivors: Sexual Harassment & Assault

SOURCE	QUOTE
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	CV: We would love to know more about them. At our center, we deal more with the victims. So we don't really have access to the person who actually harasses. It is hard to get them involved in studies because we wanted to conduct a study with them a few years ago, but who is going to come forward and voluntarily participate and say "Well I was accused or harassment?!" Some might but not a lot. So we don't have much information. Some theories have been put out there over the years over the whole person who is more narcissistic, macho, different types of traits of personality. But nothing scientific.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	CV: Somebody who only thinks of themselves, who will put down others to be ahead, who always had to be put up on a pedestal and to be able to keep that position will step on anybody who is in their way. Somebody who feels threatened by good people who do good work and who are recognized for it.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	CV: Somebody who objectifies women, who think that their place is not necessarily in the workforce and if it is it is just to please them and be beautiful around them, who will crack sexist jokes. Someone who will create that hostile environment that is tinted with sexual harassment, even if it is not necessarily pinpoint one person.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	But when we are talking about harassment at work, often we are told "oh no how can they do that? He's a father and he's married." Well the fact that the person harasses or not does not take into consideration all those elements. They will do it anyway. A single male will not necessarily harass more than somebody who is married.
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INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
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DYAN MAZURANA –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

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Current Organizational Response: Problems with the Reporting Process

SOURCE	QUOTE
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	For sure, we focus a lot on education, talking about it, making sure that upper management believe in the fact that it can happen, and that we don't want it to happen, and that if it does we are going to take it seriously to pass it down to individual. Because the workers often know when you've been there for a little while, how situations are going to be dealt with. So you know if upper management is not going to take me seriously, I am not going to tell them and I am going to suffer in silence or quit my job. Women today should have more options than just enduring the harassment or quitting
INTERVIEW WITH BIANCA TETRAULT – JUNE 7th 2017	BT: Absolutely no preparation. If something did happen while we were away, I don't think they would have known what the heck to do with it. It would have been a total crisis.

INTERVIEW WITH JENNIFER DRUMMOND – JUNE 16TH 2017	JD: I think it is important to have options for people who want to disclose or make a complaint about sexual violence. So that if they do not feel comfortable talking to a man, there is also a woman there. That would be a good idea because there are also men that experience sexual violence and maybe they want to tell another man, or a woman. It depends on the person.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	LR: Yes, it is a good idea. I know some organizations would have somebody within the organisation who wasn't in your management line. So if you had issues or concerns, you had somebody you can talk to. It wouldn't have a negative impact. You wouldn't have to worry about saying things to your manager or leaving a bad impression. Also encouraging peer networks at field level.
INTERVIEW WITH AMY FISH – MAY 11th 2017	In my experience, in general there are a number of reasons why people don't complain. It could be because they are just tired. It could be because they think nothing is going to change if they complain. It could be because they do not want to retell the story, it is too painful because they don't think they are going to be believed. Because they are expecting that they will have to confront the abuser which is terrifying to them. I think it could be because they feel it will bring shame on their families or shame on them. Because maybe they feel guilty, because they feel they did something to bring it on, there are all kinds of reasons why people would not want to come forward.
INTERVIEW WITH SHANNON MOUILLESEAUX – MAY 26th 2017	Her own office informed her that, due to confusion around the protocol for sending assistance after hours, she would need to wait until the following morning. She sat alone at the crime scene, sobbing and shaking for 7 hours before a driver was sent by the organisation to bring her to various assessments and examinations (at the local police station, forensic lab and office of psychiatry), each of which her senior-level colleagues told her she needed to do in order to be permitted to leave the country.
INTERVIEW WITH SHANNON MOUILLESEAUX – MAY 26th 2017	Her international colleague who oversaw human resources in Sri Lanka also asked that she document in detail everything that had taken place the night of her assault, indicating that her story was needed for her to be evacuated from the country. Shannon later learned that this information was false. To add insult to injury, the account she'd painstakingly drafted never left her colleague's hands. After arriving in the U.S, Shannon informed UNHCR headquarters of the sexual assault she'd endured, discovering to her surprise that her complaint had never been reported to headquarters staff, despite her colleague having coerced her into writing a detailed account of what had taken place. Furthermore, the perpetrators had still not been identified and prosecuted.
INTERVIEW WITH SHANNON MOUILLESEAUX – MAY 26th 2017	Shannon was left to deal with her trauma alone, needing psycho-social support for many years after.

<p>INTERVIEW WITH SHANNON MOUILLESEAUX – MAY 26th 2017</p>	<p>Shannon reiterates that women should document every step they take in order to keep a record of any bureaucratic abuses, professional misconduct, or negligence. Because organizations have a tendency to protect themselves rather than the victim, follow-up is also essential to ensure accountability.</p>
<p>INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT- MAY 4th 2017</p>	<p>MN: Often, there isn't any knowledge of what would be the complaint procedure. Does it exist? So that is certainly the first gap. Is there a complain procedure? Does anybody know what it is? Because if it is only known by three people in HR, then it is not very effective. So making sure that the complaint procedure widely throughout the organisation and known in multiple languages as well, and making sure that the complaints can be received in multiple languages is very important. Ensuring that the individuals who are receiving complaints on sexual violence have training on how to receive it, so that they know that the first question to ask is not "Are you sure?" or "Is that what happened? He is such a nice guy or she is such a nice woman" or "Have you been drinking?" or "Did you know them? What were you wearing?" All questions that I have been asked. There is also the problem of making sure that, in addition to having procedures at the local level, that there is a way to bypass senior management when they are part of the problem which is also a trend that I am starting to see coming out of the claims of sexual violence being submitted to Report the Abuse. Often senior management at the field level is too close to the problem or directly involved and if that is the situation then it is very difficult for a survivor to go in and put in a complaint because it will directly and immediately impact their safety and security.</p>
<p>INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017</p>	<p>It only takes one bad story of an organisation mishandling a case, to make sure that if it happens to other women that they don't report. You know, that they aren't going to risk it so they just keep it to themselves.</p>
<p>INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017</p>	<p>When you look at the broader scope of security management in international humanitarian organizations, we look at different things from corruption, bribery, harassment, discrimination, abuse. There is physical abuse and sexual abuse. These are all things that can happen in the workplace, whether you are in the humanitarian, development or private sector. These are all just things that happen. They are not secrets; they happen here in Canada, they happen overseas. And they are things that our organisation is set up to manage. A lot of times, if people don't talk about it it's because they don't document it well. And it is a very private issue but there is not an overall understanding of the prevalence of it in organizations.</p>

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 –
MAY 17th 2017

Probably because they don't know the mechanism to report or they don't trust in the mechanism to report, maybe they don't feel comfortable with how or whom they are reporting to these types of incidents. It can also be a very traumatizing time for somebody and maybe reporting is not what they are thinking about. It can be for many reasons. But what can we do? We can be sure that when we create mechanisms in our organisation, we can consult with the staff. What are the ideal types of mechanisms for reporting? How will men and women feel comfortable reporting these types of things? I think you do have to go through a certain level of consultation to identify the mechanisms that are the best ones and create the environment where people do feel comfortable to report. If people don't report, it's because they feel they can't or they are too embarrassed to.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
MAY 18th 2017

We gradually added more female staff which made me more comfortable. But it was a total bro culture going out for drinks at the bar every night; it was what I was trying to avoid in Haiti. It made me feel very fortunate that my experience in Haiti, I didn't really hang out with expats so I kind of missed out on that entire culture. There are a lot of small things that in and of themselves don't really constitute a threat but given the lots of small comments, and what I later found out about inappropriate relationships at the senior level, what I knew from past experiences in aid work of exploitation and abuse from aid workers on local staff and beneficiary populations, it's just not acceptable. It made it a really uncomfortable working environment. And it made me doubt that if something did happen and I did need their backup, I would not find sympathetic voices or allies if that makes sense. So when you are surrounded by the bro culture, even when that culture in and of itself is not directly dangerous to you and it's just lighthearted misogyny, it gives you the sense that if something very serious were to happen to you or if something of greater concern were to happen that you wouldn't have the backup that you needed, you wouldn't find the allies that you needed, and that does make you feel a little more isolated.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
MAY 18th 2017

In the United States, if my boss had commented on my chest size in front of all my colleagues, I could take him to court. I could sue him, ask for damages, or get him fired. That mechanism in aid organizations, if it exists, is so complicated. There is so much risk involved in it and there is so little guarantee for the job security or safety of the people who report or whistleblow. The internal mechanisms are weak. The legal mechanism in the country in which they are working are also quite weak.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
MAY 18th 2017

A: I don't know. In my limited experience, we reported some pretty inappropriate behaviour when I was in Guinea. The regional director was actually very supportive. Someone had a direct relationship with him. We were actually able to get a lot of support from the regional director. But in terms of headquarters, they did in fact carry an official investigation of what we reported. So I do think there was some follow through. That's mainly what they are there for. If someone has the guts and courage to escalate things to the point of formal investigation, there is a mechanism there to carry out an investigation. I did see that happen. I have also heard an equal amount of stories about headquarters working to cover up and keep things under wraps. So I have mixed feelings about that.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
MAY 18th 2017

In a lot of our surveys, I was looking into the qualitative data that asked people, "why didn't you report?" The most consistent response is that people thought that it wasn't serious enough or it wasn't violent enough. I think because it is a really big ideal to engage headquarters, what often happens is that women – or men, because men could be victims too- but victims of whatever sexual harassment or abuse, might just say "it's not that big of a deal," "I don't want to go through the hassle," "I don't want to be labelled a troublemaker." So they keep it to themselves and they don't escalate it. It's not particularly headquarters' fault. They could make themselves more accessible and more available, or construct the idea that it is a big deal to contact them, but a lot of people just don't because they perceive that to be such a big step. And it's not worth it to people to reach out to them. So they have to be more active in reaching out to the field and making themselves available and asking the right questions and looking out for certain warning signs. Again, this is not a panacea.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
MAY 18th 2017

I had a colleague of mine who reported a very serious violation and by the end, she almost had a mental breakdown just with the stress and anxiety of going through the reporting process. The other thing that makes it difficult to report in these types of environments is that you are in these very closed, tightly knit spaces. You see these people every day, you are often dependent on them for your own safety. You are dependent on them for cooperation that will help your projects and your beneficiaries get the aid that they need. There are extreme cases where friend of mine have been in compounds, where they are living and working in a closed space, you see these people every minute of every day. And so the very closed nature of many aid working spaces makes it so that to report something- especially if someone ends up knowing about it- it just creates a very highly level of friction, stress and anxiety.

DYAN MAZURANA –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

I think what we've definitely found is that the reporting mechanisms themselves within aid agencies discourage, and in fact, sometimes completely prevent actual reporting. So the statistics we have from the agencies themselves are grossly inadequate.

DYAN MAZURANA –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

You cannot have that kind of environmental culture. It's a breeding ground for perpetrators to think, "it's okay to do this and my leadership has got me covered if I do so." That is really a culture that's got to change. We need a leadership culture that absolutely says no sexist behavior, no homophobic behavior, no jokes, no talking about sex at the workplace, no demeaning attitudes, no joking about things or making comments or anything like this in the field. I mean, we've got to have leadership totally clamped down on that to show repeatedly it is not acceptable. People who do that are going to be redressed very quickly and if we don't have leadership that does that, it needs to be part, in my opinion, it needs to be part of how they're evaluated. They should be fired; they should not be allowed to be in positions where they create an atmosphere that puts their own workers at risk.

MEGAN NOBERT –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

So it's Megan. So Report the Abuse did one study and we published it last August on our first anniversary. And I looked at the internal policies, procedures, your prevention and response strategies of 92 different humanitarian organizations and an incredibly dismal 16% - only 16% had a single mention of sexual violence being a risk to their employees. Now in the roughly eight nine months since that report came out, I've seen a huge increase and we matched other organizations- so UN agencies and INGOs engaging on this issue and beginning to develop policies. You're reaching out for training materials, re-examining their emergency handbooks and their security handbooks, getting trainings for their investigators and the security management professionals and really actively talking about the issue. And that's fantastic, absolutely fantastic. There has been a big change in the last year, year and a half, but the current situation is still that there isn't a lot in place in terms of in particular in terms of procedures for what an incident does occur and in terms of that prevention piece. That's changing, but the situation is still pretty bleak.

PHOEBE DONNELLY –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

I think one thing that all of the research on this topic has addressed and come to the conclusion is that sexual assault in the humanitarian sector is widely underreported. So we're all trying to get at close to understanding how frequent this issue is, but we're really overcoming this huge hurdle of people not reporting it within their organizations and really facing stigma trying to report this issue.

INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT –
CONDUCTED BY THE CBC

MN: Yes, so I didn't go to the police because going to the police in South Sudan is unproductive when it comes to sexual violence cases. So I then contacted the UN agency that I thought my assaulter worked for. It turns out that he worked for a vendor of that UN agency. The reactions from the UN agency was initially very concerned. At first, they were phenomenal and then realized that it wasn't one of their employees and they didn't have to handle this. And I felt very much that they kind of pushed it off and sent me to the vendor. And unfortunately the vendor had a similar reaction. They didn't want to deal with the problem, they didn't want there to be an investigation, they didn't want that there be questions, they didn't want to have to handle anything so they eventually told me that they had fired him and therefore I had no recourse.

INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT –
CONDUCTED BY THE CBC

MN: So from my understanding, again I haven't spoken to the UN agency or to the vendor. My understanding of the vendor's alleging that UN agency threatened to cancel their contract. But regardless, what should happen in these situations, there should be an investigation, there should be questions asked. I should have been allowed to present my version of the events, and he should be allowed to present his version of the events. Maybe it sounds a little strange, but I do think that we both deserved that opportunity.

INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT –
CONDUCTED BY THE CBC

MN: And according to the general conditions and rules, and this is what the UN agency told me as well, that they are not responsible. They are responsible for their vendors, and their vendors are responsible for the actions of their employees. And this is the action of the UN vendor's employee. I think this is a gap between UN agencies and their vendors. Because situations like this can happen, and I would be willing to bet that this is not the first time the employee of a vendor somewhere in some humanitarian field site working in some conflict somewhere in the world has behaved inappropriately- if not with another humanitarian, then with a local individual. I'm sure this is not the first time that it's happened. But there's this gap. The UN agency asked for him to be gotten rid of and he was gotten rid of - and I had no recourse.

INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT –
CONDUCTED BY THE BBC

MN: He was another expatriate. He was working for a vendor of a UN agency, and as it turns out, there is no legal responsibility for UN agencies when it comes to the actions of their vendors. So my particular case fell into this rather black hole of justice. And by virtue of being in South Sudan where there is no properly functioning justice system, there will never be any consequences for what happened to me.

Need for a More Standardized Strategy: Best Practices & Moral Duty of Care

SOURCE	QUOTE
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	CV: Even here in Canada, the justice system has not really adapted to the reality of sexual aggression or assault. It is very hard to prove, so in a lot of cases in the criminal court don't go through because there is no proof. Does it mean that it didn't happen? No. So I think that as soon as the woman comes forward and says that she has been sexually assaulted, it's to actually believe that it could have happened. Here at the group, we do have a side that is taken automatically, and that is the victim's side. It is part of our mission. So if somebody tells us that they are a victim of sexual harassment, yes we try to evaluate the situation and we go to see what happened, but we will believe the person. If the person went through something very difficult at work and it had consequences on them, we will still offer our services. I think that to have access such as psychological support, just the fact that you're in front of somebody that feels they have been subject to sexual assault, whether legally it falls into that category or not, they should have some sort of support. They should be listened to, because or else it would be so easy to brush off. And so many women would fall through the cracks, women who have been sexually assaulted and that is too dangerous.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 2017	Yes, I think that happens often. It is to offer support whether we believe the person or not, when you have a person sitting in your office that says they have been sexually assaulted or harassed, it is still a situation that needs to be dealt with. So employers should still offer support even if they don't believe them, even if the investigation says that it is not workplace harassment. Often when it goes through a process like that, it's because the situation got so big that you can't just expect it to disappear. They won't come to work and just be fine. It doesn't happen like that. It's to offer support to those people even if there was an official judgment that says they were a victim of sexual harassment or not.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	LR: Rest and recovery. So you see somebody who might work for a week and then they will take a long weekend off or something like that. If people don't take it, then you come along and you actually feel you need it but you won't take it because you might seem weak. If it is recognized that these need to be in place and that they have to be applied.

INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	I know Peace Corps did a lot work around this because there were problems with confidentiality of information and that is part of it. It is the need to change the attitude of the organisation. One of the things we are currently trying to tackle at the moment is that a lot of organizations have set up responses, but organizations need to recognize that these responses need to be victim centered. Often these incidents don't go into the standard reporting system because they need to keep the information confidential and look after the victim. The problem with that is that it doesn't make the statistics. So when the reports go up to the board and the directors, these things do not make the statistics so they are not considered to be a problem because they are not reported the same way that other incidents are. So nobody tackles them, so they continue not to be reported. You have this vicious circle. It is only over the last couple of years that there has been a push to recognize that sexual violence is a concern amongst aid workers.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017	It happened in CSO when I was a volunteer, you had this opportunity to speak to people who were returning so when you went through the recruitment process you were not only talking to people who were management but also your peers. The people who had been out in the field knew what it was like so you had an opportunity to talk to somebody and hear from the horse's mouth what it was like in reality. That was helpful.
INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	CHRISTINE CW: It's huge. I would say that the way to look at duty of care is to look at the whole employee cycle- from the moment one arrives, through the recruitment process, to the moment they leave. So if you break that down, duty of care appears in every area. It's not just HR. You rely on all these different stakeholders in your organisation to ensure you are looking after your staff in the best way you can. Duty of care is about negligence. So your breach of your duty of care means that you've neglected your staff.
INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	CHRISTINE So duty of care is about looking about your staff in a responsible way. And I would say, going above and beyond the legal minimum. It's what's expected for organizations working in high risk environments. So what I'm saying and what I think the law says is, you need to enhance your standards in these environments. So if you've got staff working in high risk, you need to make sure that you have fully prepared them with the best information possible.
INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	CHRISTINE I always say that sometimes it takes more than one, two, or three things before you realize something's not quite right. There's a lot of turnover and suddenly there's poor performance. When you look at a team and you think, "is it operating well?" There are some signs that you can look out for and I would say because I think a breach of a duty of care is preventable, it's the early warning signs that you need to look out for. There aren't necessarily legal things to do, but if you prevent those things from happening in the first place it can prevent you don't get to the worst case scenario.

INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	<p>Because if everyone thinks that there is just one answer to that, a simple answer to that, like it's a policy – it's just not going to work. This is what I think, you've got to get your people management policies right, you've got to get your culture right. So you need good conduct policies, you need good disciplinary policies, you need a channel to give feedback in a trusted way, you need to deal with bullying and harassment in a really good way- in a no tolerance way. If you nip things in the bud early on and people think, "I work here, if I behave in this way it's not going to be tolerated, I will be disciplined and that will be me." And that's not good enough. What you want is for people to know and not only understand that but also to help not walk into those sort of things by mistake sometimes. And I'm not talking about sexual harassment, just general harassment, but that's where it starts. And it's often a power play. If you can suddenly just get some of these policies really strong and a culture in the organisation of no tolerance, "This is what we are about, a diverse organisation. We treat people fairly, we value all of our staff, and we can demonstrate that by all of the support we put around. We've got some good managers, we look after and communicate with you, we can tell you all these things." I would say that is your massive starting point. And that's why I would say there is not one policy missing here. And this is why I keep going on about in duty of care, it doesn't start when you are looking at the critical edge of the organisation, duty of care starts right at the beginning. It's about prevention.</p>
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	<p>AC: A global sexual harassment policy at the HQ level. You may need to have something specific in some countries. After the issue is more about how to address that with local authorities.</p>
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	<p>Two years ago we organized a conference with CHS a conference on sexual violence in the aid sector. One of the things we discovered is that there are a lot of organizations without policies, but there was a very strong will to get better and that was two years ago. I think the sector is getting better. Does it change the number of incidents? No. Does it increase awareness? Yes. Does it increase reporting? Yes. Does it increase punishment of the perpetrator? I don't know. But there is a positive shift in the sector.</p>
INTERVIEW WITH AMY FISH – MAY 11 th 2017	<p>Sharing experience between organizations and sharing different things, sharing policies and procedures could help, you could have cross-organisation mentorship, if somebody had been in the field maybe that person would be willing to do it for someone in another organisation. The same is true for an pre-departure trainings and reintegration.</p>
INTERVIEW WITH AMY FISH – MAY 11 th 2017	<p>AF: I think it is about communication. It is about understanding the policies and procedures in this particular community and it is about respecting that. And at the same time making sure that the survivor is kept safe. Because it is not always the case, in some cases, there is reintegration but it is at the cost of the community. Somebody who has poor impulse control and it might harm a worker. So safety is a priority and respecting different cultures is a priority. And communication.</p>

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 3- MAY 10 th 2017	When I was there, one of the security measures that the Canadian government had established was to not identify any of the vehicles. Before, in the 1990s, we used to identify the vehicles from Canada's Coalition because military, control posts, and the population knew we were foreigners. Being a part of Canada's Coalition protected us. The irony is that now we have to be anonymous. Before, when we intervened in development situations that were difficult or even for humanitarians, there was a type of protection. We were foreigners who came to help, we were not part of the problems so we were protected by our status. Since the 2000s, this status- with extremely brutal internal conflicts and the multiplication of conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa- was lost. We lost this position, this status of protection. We became targets. Particularly, in Mali and Burkina, with the Islamist fundamentalist movement which fled Libya and Syria, they penetrated the Sahel. The irony of the Arab Spring was that the radicals penetrated the Sahel. The humanitarians in that region became targets and hostages for terrorist acts. At that level, it affects men as much as women.
INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	Organizations should try very hard to have a duty of care which includes protecting their employees from stress and burnout. Organizations should have in place in every regional office, policies and resources for legal, medical and psychosocial support in the case of sexual assault. Those are just minimum standards. Hopefully they also have in place and take them very seriously, practices around sexual harassment. Good gender-equity policies in hiring, promotion, and salary and benefits. Those are just minimum standards. Ideally they also have women in leadership which makes a difference. And women security professionals, that also makes a difference.
INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	LW: I think humanitarian organizations sharing best practices can be quite helpful. Humanitarian organizations having good relationships with their host governments can help women get the services that they need if something should happen. Unfortunately, there is not a lot of control that humanitarian organizations have over some of that.
INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	Even the organizations that are trying really hard have not been able to solve the problem to everyone's satisfaction. It's complicated, it's not a simple solution. You can try these things; they are the minimum standards. Still, it's going to fall short because the problem is so complicated and still keeps happening. Until we get to a place in the world where there is no sexual assault, maybe. But you know that's not going to happen, right?
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017	I think that the UN and a lot of organizations like the IFC has put out a zero tolerance statement. There is a lot of people taking this very seriously, so just be aware.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
MAY 18th 2017

But in terms of international organizations, I have never been in one where someone says from the get go, “here is what is acceptable and not acceptable, here is what we expect from all of our staff members, and here is what to do if someone is not holding up that standard of conduct.” We even at one point had a mandatory very generic ethics workshop. Now I had already been employed there for 10 months, most people had been there for a longer period of time so it was kind of late to talk about these things. But some were very excited and it was great fun to talk about these things. It was a terrible, extremely boring slideshow with random cartoons that didn’t make a lot of sense. It was mostly about how we are not supposed to accept gifts from local government officials. Besides generic statements like “we respect diversity and we promote tolerance”, there was nothing about what is sexual harassment, what is gender-based discrimination, how do we promote equity, how do we tackle cases of inappropriate conduct, what are your rights and responsibilities. We never got there, so that was a total failure in the times that I worked for an international organisation.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
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But once you enter into your office, you are no longer in whatever country you are. Organizations have their own standards, organizations have their own culture and own legal system. So for me, once I step out of the office door, not that anything goes but almost anything goes. I am not in my own country or in my own context, so I have to kind of roll with the punches. But once I am inside that door, I expect to be treated a certain way. Because organizations have certain standards and mechanisms of enforcing standards of behaviour. And it is precisely because it’s an intercultural environment, there needs to be very clear standards of behaviour for everyone so we all get along. As an American, there is a lack of deference in my style of communication. The organisation might have a way of saying that it might be ok for you, but here in this office, this is how we communicate and work together. I am supposed to conform to those standards. The same has to be said about racial and gender equity, how people should treat the people who report to them. There is definitely that critique of “roll with the punches, don’t be so sensitive, it’s not your culture” that works outside of the office. But inside of the office, it is not acceptable. Because you are working for an organisation that has standards, has accountability, and a code of conduct. And by agreeing to work for that organisation, you are agreeing to that standard of conduct. It just has to be enforced.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 –
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I think the rule should be very clear, the rule should be making policies really clear, making organizational priorities really clear. I know WFP recently has been doing a lot where managers from headquarters say “we really value equity”. So setting the tone, setting the standards, and then providing mechanisms for accountability follow-up, I think that is the role that they should play. I don’t know how often they actually play it. There is a little part that is not even their fault; it’s that they are actually removed from day to day reality.

CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	Well, thank you. Very, very, big question to start with. And yes, the answer is yes, as an organization, no matter where you work, you have a duty of care. Humanitarian Organizations, in particular, probably have more because they are in working in predominantly high-risk environments. So therefore you're expected to do more for your staff. I do think that duty of care is an enabler. I don't think it prevents people from going out to the field and doing the things that we need to do to the benefit of others.
CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	We talked about, as Lisa mentioned, we talked about the moral and the ethical duty of care and if you look at some of the cases that have been in the past and there have been a few. It says actually that there is an expectation the humanitarian agencies will take a more ethical and moral duty towards their people because of the high-risk environment. So there's something about the legal minimum. Everyone wants to know what that is and I think there are some minimum standards. There are some minimums, but on the whole to go above and beyond what is expected.
CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	I think it's all about good practice and it's about at the end of the day looking after your people so they can look after your business. That's what duty of care is about. It's about prevention because I've seen too when things go wrong the cost is so great to the person, to the team, to the organization. So for me, duty of care comes back down to that local organization. Local national staff, they're our priority; they're the ones that are probably more at risk than anybody else. So the question I have is, well the question I want to put to ourselves is can we do more?
DYAN MAZURANA – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	I think one of the things we need is actually much more research and much more knowledge. In particular, I think we need to have a better understanding of the experiences of internationals, nationals, and the very local staff- what is going on with LGBTQ populations and male victims, what are the best practices what are the lessons learned, about what agencies are doing to respond to both preventing and responding to issues around sexual harassment and assault. I think there is a real need for so much more robust knowledge.
LISA REILLY – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	I think we have to make sure as organizations that are humanitarian who should be people centered, that we don't get bogged down with the legal duty of care and remember that we also have a duty of caring for our staff.

MEGAN NOBERT –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

Report the Abuse has looked at, you know, ninety-two humanitarian organizations. And as I said at the beginning there has been real movement and improvement in the last year, year and a half. Later this year, once we've established what the standard is for a good practice on this issue and will actually be releasing in four phases starting this spring, good practices tools to help organizations do a stock take of what they have in terms of prevention and response strategies, and then you provide them with the tools that they need to then fill the gaps that they're identifying. And so that will hopefully help further movement on the issue. But as we set the standard, actually later this year we're going to start naming and praising which is a bit cheeky I know- as opposed to naming and shaming- but we want to start praising and sharing the documentation of what organizations are doing that is putting them on that right path to addressing this issue as experienced by their employees, by their staff. I don't think any organization is doing things perfectly. There is always room for improvement, but there has been a lot of really positive steps taken within the industry as a whole and I think that's quite a promising note.

PHOEBE DONNELLY –
ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION

So we, Dyan and I, thought that was important to incorporate in our study and we highlighted as a model Oxfam. They have created a department called the safeguarding department and its goal is to build confidence in the organization's practices and structures so that individuals feel comfortable reporting incidences of abuse and feel like the organization will have their back. And through creating this department, Oxfam has had an average a hundred percent increase per year on reported incidences. And their model, I think, is a good guideline. They create focal points in their six regional centers because they found that people don't report through anonymous email addresses. No matter how well publicized they are, people want to report to someone they know and trust. So they're training these focal points and across different regions. They also have a very clear investigation process for how they will respond. And throughout this process and their responses, Oxfam and the safeguarding department seem to be really focused on prioritizing and forming a survivor as of his or her options and giving him or her control over the whole process.

Desired Organizational Response: Leadership

SOURCE	QUOTE
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	CV: I think women are often advocating for other women, and as women we understand what it is. I don't believe that one woman who has been in the workforce has never been subjected at least once in their life to sexual harassment. Whether they felt ok with it or not, the gestures were still sexual harassment. So yes, more women in leadership positions can help.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	For sure we would like that if there would be women, we always feel like that there is that little link with women where we understand the subtleties of certain situations that maybe a man won't or that she'll understand more. But we've had women also in human resources or investigations that showed no empathy whatsoever. But in an ideal world, from a certain perspective, it would be nice.
INTERVIEW WITH CINDY VIAU – JUNE 15th 1017	Ok, somebody who has knowledge about harassment at work, whether it be through schooling or in-house training, somebody who knows a bit about it and knows what they are talking about. Somebody who is also very open minded and who has the capacity to listen. Often victims will talk about what they went through and it's often not just one isolated incident. It's often over a period of months, maybe even years. So we really need somebody to take the time to listen to them, even if they have to do it in more than one sitting. So somebody who has the need to help others. People who are put in that position, it shouldn't be forced about them. I know that in some places it's like that, so we only have you and that person, and the person does not care at all about that kind of situation at work, they don't believe in it or they think that women just exaggerate or are just weak. We can't have those type of people as resource people. Ideally it would be somebody who has an open mind, who is sensitized to the subject, who has the capacity of listening, maybe even some training in victimology to know how to conduct interviews with people who have been subject to these type of situations, who are fragilised. Somebody who is willing to help and go the extra mile because often for victims the whole process is overwhelming. Just to get up and talk about it is very courageous and then to go through the legal process and talk about it again it's very hard. So somebody who is going to take you by the hand and guide you, not just throw papers at you and then tell you to go file your complaint online. Somebody who is going to do the extra step to help you.
INTERVIEW WITH JENNIFER DRUMMOND – JUNE 16TH 2017	Depending on the context too, sometimes it is easier for male allies to speak out against this behaviour and speak to other men about it because of the kind of culture that we live in, often men will take other men more seriously than women who are trying to talk to them about sexism or sexual violence or what it feels like to be sexually harassed, or that is unacceptable. It is too bad that there are men who don't take women's experiences seriously, or listen to them or believe them about that, yet they will take it more seriously when men call them on it or try to talk to them about it. But that is sometimes the reality, so I think there is a really important role there for male allies.

INTERVIEW DRUMMOND – JUNE 16TH 2017	WITH	JENNIFER	JD: Increase in awareness, education for everyone in the organisation. The upper administrators, the leaders in the organisation need to take a strong stand and send a clear message to their community. This is something that needs to be addressed explicitly rather than organizations just checking off a box saying that they have a policy or that they sent an email to all staff saying that sexual violence is unacceptable. It needs to be embedded, it needs to be coming from the leadership, it needs to be ongoing.
INTERVIEW DRUMMOND – JUNE 16TH 2017	WITH	JENNIFER	JD: The ongoing part of it is committing to addressing this issue in the organisation. Leaders need to show and send a message that this is important to them. People in the organisation need to see that action is being taken and hear those clear messages about sexual violence not being tolerated or appropriate. Leaders in the organisation have a lot of power to shape the culture of the organisation. Using that power and influence can create shifts that we want to see in culture.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017			A lot of the times, the security officers are male, often ex-military, possibly the least likely person you would want to report an incident of sexual violence to.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017			The UN used to run security training for women. But it was run by women for women. IF women are the only people involved in the conversation, how are the men ever going to learn? So we need to find something where there is a space for people to talk about what are the issues that women face, what are the issues that men face.
INTERVIEW WITH LISA REILLY – JUNE 9th 2017			If you have grown up in a western society where the differences between men and women are not necessarily on the surface, you can be surprised in terms of local culture. I think having an open mind and understanding that you will be treated differently, sometimes better sometimes worse, but it is definitely different. I still came across a lot of sexism amongst the management structures. It is not as bad as when I was in engineering, but there is still sexism in terms of what is believed women can achieve. And depending on what you intend to do, at security it is still very male dominated and assumptions are made. Where these cultural things are described, like you have to wear long sleeves or you have to wear a head scarf, it doesn't unpack the nuanced things that might be there.

INTERVIEW WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	WITH	CHRISTINE	So if something is not well and they need support, then you are able as an organisation to respond to that in a really good way. So I think, get the basics right. I think a lot is put on the manager's shoulders and we need to rely on our managers an awful lot. One thing I see is managers handling a lot of people in a high risk environments and then themselves having to look after themselves and be equipped to know what the organization's take is on absolutely everything. I think what I'd like to see is managers equipped better, they have separate training, they understand the policies in the organisation, they also know where to go for help and they know how to signpost their staff to things. So they don't absolutely have to know everything but they need to be able to signpost them to the right places and that's actually the biggest thing about managers. They are the eyes and ears; they can spot the early warning signs if something's not well or if something is not happening. That's what we need, we need much more of that. It can't be left to HR; organizations heavily rely on them to do so much. So I would say more support managers, making them feel more equipped.
INTERVIEW WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	WITH	CHRISTINE	And myself as a manager as well. Forget that I am a woman, but I am a manager in HR. When it comes to salaries and benefits, you've got to behave really ethically and you have to make sure that you are treating everyone the same. That was one of my mantras, I've always wanted to treat everybody the same. Everyone knew how they were going to be treated, what salaries they'd be getting, what reward they were getting even if different categories of staff were all on the same team from locals to nationals to expats and so on. So I think it is really important that you do your best to communicate that and I think there is something about how much you're sincere as a person. So if you really like staff and you care, you can't fake that and I'd hope that my staff and my team know that I really do value them and I think that goes a long way as well. So it's just being a bit more expressive.
INTERVIEW WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	WITH	CHRISTINE	But is there a predominant male presence in aid? Yes. Is it often senior? Yes, probably. Is it a bad thing? Only if they are not good managers. I am all for the right person in the role. I love diversity, I think there is massive benefit for diversity. We just need to make sure that we are not just excluding rather than including, if that makes sense.
INTERVIEW WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	WITH	CHRISTINE	Because I have worked, thankfully in very great organizations, where I haven't felt harassed, under pressure, bullied, male-dominated. I would honestly say, two or three of the senior men I have worked with are now leading women's groups on feminism. I've got some great male role models on feminism. One director I used to work with, he now runs Restored, and it's [fighting] violence against women with another lady. That's one example. Another one, a wonderful guy I used to work with, now works for a disability charity. And they are just such great role models for women. I think that's what we need. I think men need to look out after women.

INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	I think white women need to look out for black women. I was telling my friend at lunchtime, when I look in the mirror I just see a woman. And when a man looks in the mirror, they see a human being. But when a black woman looks in the mirror, they see a black woman. And it dawned on me, even though we are fighting this man thing going on right now and everything that's going on in the world, actually we need to be helping those that are actually in the margins. So I'm not being soft hearted on this, I just believe the way to tackle this is to do the right thing and not complain about the wrong thing.
INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTINE WILLIAMSON – AUGUST 21 st 2017	I think there are some great national senior women. I am working with one now and she is doing a great job. In that, I think she is doing a better job than I could ever do because she understands the region and that goes for men as well. I mean, having regional people running programs is definitely the right thing to do. Whether we need a little bit more support for women, I think that might be something we need to seriously consider. And I would love to ask women, "What support do you think you need to do this role being a woman?" I don't think we do that, so we need to do more of that. Ask people what they need.
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	AC: First, they should acknowledge the risks. They should have policies and they should dedicate resources to address them. They should have somebody in charge at HQ and they should delegate responsibility. Trickle-down responsibility to the field and make people accountable. If that was done, we would go a long way.
INTERVIEW WITH ALEXANDRE CARLE – LONDON, MAY 29 th 2017	AC: I don't know of any organizations where there is a macho culture. Maybe it exists. I don't know any. But the culture, if you want to change it, it is a two-way action. It is top to bottom, and bottom to top. You need leadership to start with. I don't know anybody macho at HQ level. At field level, you might find somebody who is macho and who will bring the wrong attitude. But at HQ, it would surprise me because it really is not the trend. For the last 15 years, the trend is much more inclusive. It is much more gender-balanced. It is much more respectful. I am not saying that it doesn't happen, but it would surprise me.
INTERVIEW WITH AMY FISH – MAY 11 th 2017	AF: A manager who is going to be hearing complaints has to be a person who is not going to react quickly and who is not impulsive. So somebody calm who can listen even if they are not gentle in demeanor, because that is probably the second most important, but at least if they are willing to listen with an open mind that is the most important thing. Sometimes when complainant comes in, you think it is going to go one way but as they continue talking you learn different facts about the file and you might feel differently so a manager has to be very open minded. A manager also has to be very good at keeping records, It is very important to know in detail who came in, what time they came in, and what they said. That is often overlooked and that is really, really, important. The person who is receiving complaints has to be discreet and able to keep things confidential. You have to know when and where to bring things up. They have to be good listeners and they also have to have a strong informal network in the organisation and be well respected.

INTERVIEW WITH SHANNON MOUILLESEAUX – MAY 26th 2017	She claims that this treatment of sexual assault victims is common in international humanitarian organizations, especially among staff members in managerial positions and in workplaces that foster a machismo office culture. Shannon was left to deal with her trauma alone, needing psycho-social support for many years after.
INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT- MAY 4 th 2017	MN: I did experience gender discrimination in my first posting. The team was being led by a man, and there as me and local women and one expatriate man and couple of local men. And the team leader wouldn't listen to women. If we would make a sensible suggestion, he wouldn't listen to it until another man in the group had said it. So I had to have my make expatriate colleague echo what we were talking about to be taken seriously. He had to validate the comments of the women. And that was a very difficult environment to be in because a number of women had to do that basically. So I asked to be moved to another site at that point.
INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT- MAY 4 th 2017	MN: Senior management at both the field level and headquarters have enormous power and responsibility to make sure that these types of issues are heard, understood, and appropriately redressed. In particular, the UN and in particular the UN secretary has a role to play of ensuring that the right ideals are modeled.
INTERVIEW WITH MEGAN NOBERT- MAY 4 th 2017	But at the field level, it is important to break the silos that organizations tend to operate in. Having open communications amongst one another about incidents that are occurring. A lot of sexual violence was happening last year for example, but organizations that were not communicating with one another could not protect their staff from what was happening. They also have to do so in consideration of the wish of the survivor, that is protecting their identity. Possibly, increased vulnerability amongst organizations is necessary. There is a fear, perhaps legitimately so, that by talking issues that are difficult whether that be about sexual violence amongst staff or sexual exploitation or abuse, that they are going to lose funding, that they are going to lose their reputation.
INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	Have a good work-life balance and insist on it. Make sure that you are sleeping and exercising. I think you can practice something like mindfulness which helps a lot. Make sure that you keep social support in your life; that you pay attention to your sense of meaning and purpose and nurture yourself that way by making sure that you are still doing work that is meaningful to you. Those are some examples. Drink lots of water, make sure you still socialize and have fun. All of those are centered around the idea of keeping a good work-life balance.

INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	LW: There really is no answer to that question. It depends on what local population, where and what kind of woman expat. So in places where culture has very strict rules about gender, that is going to vary from a place where the rules are different. So there are some places in the world, in the Middle East and Africa and South East Asia, where women in leadership is not something people are used to or approve of. So they are going to have a very different reaction there than a place like Europe, where women in leadership are much more understood and accepted.
INTERVIEW WITH LINDA WAGENER – JUNE 6th 2017	Women in leadership is one way you can begin to decrease it. When you've got women leaders and women in security positions, that begins to demonstrate that women are competent and capable. We just need to keep having these conversations about it. One of the things that always come up in these groups that I run is that the women always kind of want to know, "do you feel like you need to protect us?" and the men kind of want to know, "do you want to be protected?" I mean, they are not even having that conversation on a regular basis and it is really helpful when they do.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017	Not everyone wants to be mentored and it is not a tool for everybody. It is not everyone's learning style so that's another thing you need to consider. But it is something that can be set up relatively easy with some capacity building and making sure that there is some senior level management buy-in to maintain these types of programs and make sure that they are running strongly.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017	A: It's really personality based. Most of the women were not cast out or set aside, they didn't have problems. They were able to speak and have a voice in programs. If anything, they were quite strong women who were able to go in and create spaces for other women, which I really appreciated. Because we do need to hire more women in management roles and bring them into places like that where it's very male dominated, they were able to make sure that our female beneficiaries were represented well, that they had a voice during discussions. It was not something maybe the men were thinking about all the time. So in my experience, I haven't seen many negative things. In fact, it has been very positive the way women have been received in organizations in leadership roles and just in general.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017	It really depends on the country and with the pervading culture. Sometimes that is actually the added value being international going into those situations, that even if it a male dominated situation, sometimes because you come from somewhere you have a little bit of a different voice. You do have that space, you are listened to, you are a manager, you are able to use that influence and use it in the right way. And that is more because you are at the management level. Usually, we are not hiring very junior to go in and manage programs, we are hiring management staff to go in. So as expatriates, you go in not just as a woman but as a woman leader, as a woman manager and you have something to say and something to do there. It's a very powerful thing.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017	Coming around the investigation side of it that becomes more complicated organizationally, and we are looking at how we can improve our processes in investigations and making sure that we are mitigating the risks of these things from happening. That is something we are putting our focus on as an organisation is prevention and investigation. It is an area that we want to reinforce and strengthen with our managers. We want to strengthen the capacity of our management teams on how to deal with issues like that.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 1 – MAY 17th 2017	A: People should not be afraid of going to places. They should be very clear on what is available to them as employees of an organisation, if there are gaps they should identify them and be leaders and find solutions within organizations. At the end of the day, we are all part of the organisation and if we feel something is not strong enough or if we feel that mechanisms are not there, it is our responsibility to highlight that and to make sure that they are put in place.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	A: There is an automatic assumption that expats are more qualified for higher managerial positions. On average, expats may have higher degrees or more technical expertise. Fine, but in general even when all things being equal in terms of people's experience and competence, expats tend to be given the automatic assumption that they are more professional which I find to not always be the case. This is particularly strong in UN or quasi UN organizations where the salary grade between national staff and international staff is a bit extraordinarily high.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	In the office, multiple instances of male senior colleagues – and that's something that is important because when it comes from a senior level it is even more serious- senior people find it appropriate, in the actual office, to comment about how physically attractive the find other members, either colleagues within our organisation or other organizations. There were also sexual jokes. We would carpool on our way to work. And my boss and some other guys at some point got to speaking about which women of the local tribes were the best sexual partners or provided the best sexual experience. It was three men in the car and me. The driver was uncomfortable, but with the power dynamics he was not going to say anything. Again it's the feeling of entitlement that they are allowed to talk about these things. There were instances where one of my direct superiors at a weekend outing where we were all going on a hike, felt it appropriate to comment on my chest size when I was changing into a bathing suit to go swimming. He felt it appropriate to comment in front of all my colleagues how the bathing suit was way too large for my chest. I feel strange saying this because the standards are pretty low, but I actually feel very fortunate that that was the extent of what I had experienced. Again, these were coming from places of entitlement and ignorance but not from hostility. There were women in other places that had experiences that were a lot more hostile and dangerous. I did confront my boss, and after a lot of denial on his part, he did change. It shows that it was not coming from a place of ill-intention, it was coming from a place of privilege, arrogance and ignorance. But still, it created an environment I didn't feel very comfortable in.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	First, mostly the behaviour that I was describing was not coming from the national staff, it was coming from international staff from Europe. So there is an assumption when we talk about machismo, we only talk about misogynistic behaviour coming from local staff. But it's not. It's mostly coming from people who have power, and the people who have power are people often from Europe and often white. So what you find is that it's a compounding of privilege is where a lot of this is coming from.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	So the white male privilege that you see in the United States, you can see it played out even on college campuses with the rape culture. That exists independent of our system. What happens is that expats are given an extraordinary amount of privilege in these locations. So they go into these cultures where they are not only put in very high ranking positions, which many of them would not be in had they been in their country of origin, but there are also big gaps in their salaries, benefits and privileges.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	There can be abuse in contexts where women are in power, but one good check is to have an all-male senior management team. That might be a red flag, that this is going to be a macho field program and you might want to change things. I think at headquarters a lot of them are doing what they can, but they need to be doing more and they need to be more active.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	The most that is done upfront, especially when senior leadership sets a tone and sets the example of what kind of behaviour they will accept and will not accept will set a huge difference. Starting early and starting on top. Having a great chief of mission will not guarantee that someone will not try to do something stupid in the organisation, but it makes people less likely to get away with it. Having more diverse leadership. It is not a solution in and of itself because of intersectionality and power dynamics, women can oppress women, people of one race can oppress people of the same race. But if you are in an organisation where it is an all-male senior leadership, or all white senior leadership, if all the senior leadership is from one specific tribe or ethnic background, it's a warning sign that at least certain conversations and certain voices are not being heard. So people really need to work to make sure that senior leadership positions are diverse. But not stop at diversity but really, really train senior leadership teams about how to create safe and equitable working spaces. People tend to get to those positions not because they are the best managers, they might be really good crisis responders. Because you are a great human rights lawyer, it doesn't mean you are going to be a great leader. So there needs to be more support for senior management teams about how to manage intercultural, multicultural working spaces, about how to deal with inequity, about how to deal with cultures of toxic masculinity.

INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	The same goes for providing better work-life balance and preventing burnout. This stuff is hard. We are working in very tough environments, but there is support, positive messaging, and positive behaviour modeling coming from upper leadership the better. So if we are working at an office and I notice that my boss is staying there every night until 9 o'clock, I am going to stay every night until 9 o'clock because he is setting the example. I am going to stay until he leaves.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	So if it is a real emergency and not an administrative emergency like "Oh my God the grant report is due in three weeks and we haven't done anything!" Those are mostly emergencies that we are dealing with, they are not like "Oh my God! There is another Ebola outbreak!" Those do happen and when there is another Ebola outbreak we do work night and day. But a lot of emergencies like "Oh my God headquarters wants this thing by tomorrow and we have to work to get it to them!" is not a real emergency. In those contexts, you work as hard as you can and the boss can go home at 6 o'clock or whatever the end of the workday is. And he or she can keep working at home, and that sets a precedent that at the end of the workday you need to take care of yourself.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	If your boss came in and said, "Hey, we have HQ sending a counselor down for the week. She's great, you should talk with her because it's good to check in to see how you're doing. I am meeting with her for coffee on Monday. So feel free to contact her. If you need to come in to work a half hour late because you are with her, that's fine." A lot of that comes from the top. If you don't have enlightened and empowered leadership like that, that means that certain other people in the office will have the resilience and self-awareness to make space for themselves to be healthy. But a lot of people aren't.
INTERVIEW WITH ANONYMOUS 2 – MAY 18th 2017	So mentorship from senior leadership is absolutely critical, from other women and feminist men. Because there are men in senior leadership who are not just hashtag feminists but who are legitimately feminists and they can be great mentors too.
INTERVIEW WITH NAHEED AHMED – SEPTEMBER 9th 2017	NA: Oftentimes there is a disconnect with human resources management. Especially in humanitarian agencies, the mandate that they give the maximum services on the field, they tend to forget the people who are actually deployed in the mission, on the field. They do take some precautions before deployment, but after coming back, there is no follow-up. This is something that the UN has not done.
INTERVIEW WITH NAHEED AHMED – SEPTEMBER 9th 2017	NA: Well, I would say there are some additional points of safety security for women. And when we assume that a woman manager would understand, that they would be sensible and sensitive to these requirements, that is not true. Sometimes, men as managers are more sensitive than women. So when we assume that gender sensitivity is better served with a woman manager, that is a bad assumption- it's a wrong assumption.

INTERVIEW WITH NAHEED AHMED – SEPTEMBER 9th 2017	NA: Like I said, having a very sensitive higher management who would talk us through the challenges that we were having every day in terms of logistics, in terms of not only the work. But the management was such that it was only about work that you could talk to them, nothing personal. So that was one thing. And some sort of studies that would include not only the survivors of Ebola but also the aid workers and their experience, I don't think the UN has ever conducted a study on that. How did aid workers survive their experience during that part in West Africa. Like the way you are talking to me, I would have liked that an agency talked to me and find out, "Was this applied? Was that applied?" That's why I got interested in your study because I wanted to talk.
DYAN MAZURANA – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	So if there is a kind of common factor, it's women who are in more subordinate positions who seem to be targeted for this kind of abuse. And because we have such a dominance of men in the humanitarian aid industry at the higher levels, that's where we're seeing a lot of the abuse.
DYAN MAZURANA – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	When we see perpetrators inside the agencies, it's the security officers. So men in positions of power- a kind of old boys' network - a dismissal when complaints are raised by leadership. Kind of, "Oh boys will be boys. He didn't really mean it. We'll take care of it. We got you covered, honey." A very homophobic work environment so lots of anti-homosexual jokes, a lot of sexism, misogyny. And now this is coming from and this was widely reported by everyone we interviewed. And this is coming from agencies who have mandates on women's empowerment, on promoting women's and girls' rights, on women's equality so there is a major disconnect.
MEGAN NOBERT – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	I think it one of the problems that is really playing into this is the fact that most security advisors at the field level in particular are still men. Men tend to be less comfortable talking about these issues. It's squeamish, it's not fun to discuss and they're uncomfortable with the topic. So any way that they cannot discuss it is easier for them and I think that also plays into why these types of incidents are treated as being like any other incident. They don't understand sexual violence. Maybe they don't want to talk about it. They haven't had training on it so they just treat it in the best way that they know how and that's not necessarily malicious. In some cases, perhaps, but they're treating it in the best way that they know how.
ORLY STERN – ATHA PANEL DISCUSSION	That's one of the other sides of this masculine culture. A part of that feeling is a feeling that women really don't belong there and particularly if you're working in conflict areas. The more kind of deep in conflict you go, the more there really is a feeling pervasive- that this is a boys place to be and as a woman you shouldn't really be there. And as I've worked in conflict areas for a really long time, and there definitely is as feeling as a woman that like I need to prove myself, I need to prove that I'm as tough.

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