



STO MEETING PROCEEDINGS

MP-SAS-137

Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units

(Intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat)

STO System Analysis And Studies Panel Symposium held on
5-7 February 2019 Quantico, Virginia, United States



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The NATO Science and Technology Organization

Science & Technology (S&T) in the NATO context is defined as the selective and rigorous generation and application of state-of-the-art, validated knowledge for defence and security purposes. S&T activities embrace scientific research, technology development, transition, application and field-testing, experimentation and a range of related scientific activities that include systems engineering, operational research and analysis, synthesis, integration and validation of knowledge derived through the scientific method.

In NATO, S&T is addressed using different business models, namely a collaborative business model where NATO provides a forum where NATO Nations and partner Nations elect to use their national resources to define, conduct and promote cooperative research and information exchange, and secondly an in-house delivery business model where S&T activities are conducted in a NATO dedicated executive body, having its own personnel, capabilities and infrastructure.

The mission of the NATO Science & Technology Organization (STO) is to help position the Nations' and NATO's S&T investments as a strategic enabler of the knowledge and technology advantage for the defence and security posture of NATO Nations and partner Nations, by conducting and promoting S&T activities that augment and leverage the capabilities and programmes of the Alliance, of the NATO Nations and the partner Nations, in support of NATO's objectives, and contributing to NATO's ability to enable and influence security and defence related capability development and threat mitigation in NATO Nations and partner Nations, in accordance with NATO policies.

The total spectrum of this collaborative effort is addressed by six Technical Panels who manage a wide range of scientific research activities, a Group specialising in modelling and simulation, plus a Committee dedicated to supporting the information management needs of the organization.

- AVT Applied Vehicle Technology Panel
- HFM Human Factors and Medicine Panel
- IST Information Systems Technology Panel
- NMSG NATO Modelling and Simulation Group
- SAS System Analysis and Studies Panel
- SCI Systems Concepts and Integration Panel
- SET Sensors and Electronics Technology Panel

These Panels and Group are the power-house of the collaborative model and are made up of national representatives as well as recognised world-class scientists, engineers and information specialists. In addition to providing critical technical oversight, they also provide a communication link to military users and other NATO bodies.

The scientific and technological work is carried out by Technical Teams, created under one or more of these eight bodies, for specific research activities which have a defined duration. These research activities can take a variety of forms, including Task Groups, Workshops, Symposia, Specialists' Meetings, Lecture Series and Technical Courses.

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Integration of Women into Combat Units

(STO-MP-SAS-137)

Executive Summary

This technical evaluation report summarizes the main contributions of the papers and their associated presentations given during the 2019 Research Symposium on Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units. The prime purpose of a Research Symposium is to enhance the capability of the NATO Science and Technology (S&T) community to respond adequately to the military requirements of NATO.

Women participate in ground close combat units in many NATO countries, and there is increasing interest among other NATO and Partner nations to expand the roles open to women. In support of new initiatives, as well as efforts to increase the representation of women in close ground combat units through enhanced selection, training, and retention strategies, the Symposium on Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units provided an opportunity to share lessons learned and best practices. It also provided research analysis and insights to support the expansion of combat roles for women and to better understand the impact of gender integration on ground combat units.

The symposium further provided the opportunity to explore the impact of the participation of women in ground combat units and male-dominated operational roles on international priorities related to Women, Peace and Security, including UNSCR 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions which call for increased participation of women in security forces.

The objectives of this symposium were to share research and best practices regarding:

1. The influence of social, cultural, and psychological factors of gender integration in ground close combat units and their impact on combat effectiveness.
2. Effective processes and strategies for the integration of women in ground close combat units.
3. Appropriate methodologies for monitoring, measurement and assessment of integration, including measurement of cohesion and inclusion.
4. Career and cohort management of women and men in combat roles.

Two parallel sessions occurred during the conference. The first session was principally comprised of research that focused on the social, cultural and psychological aspects of integration. The second session, on the first day was comprised of research on physical employment standards while the second day included a variety of additional topics related to integration. Analysis of the papers and presentations was organized by themes. The first theme includes research, papers and presentations focused on social, cultural and psychological aspects of integration while the second theme includes topics associated with employment standards and training.

Intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat

(STO-MP-SAS-137)

Synthèse

Le présent rapport d'évaluation technique résume les principales contributions des articles et de leur présentation pendant le colloque de recherche 2019 sur l'intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat terrestre. Le principal but d'un colloque de recherche est d'améliorer la capacité de la communauté de science et technologie (S&T) de l'OTAN à répondre de manière adéquate aux besoins militaires de l'OTAN.

Les femmes participent à des unités de combat terrestre rapproché dans beaucoup de pays de l'OTAN et d'autres pays partenaires et de l'OTAN s'intéressent de plus en plus à l'élargissement des rôles ouverts aux femmes. À l'appui de ces nouvelles initiatives, parallèlement aux efforts visant à accroître la représentation des femmes dans les unités de combat terrestre rapproché par de meilleures stratégies de sélection, formation et conservation, le colloque sur l'intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat terrestre a permis de partager les enseignements et les meilleures pratiques. Il a également fourni une analyse des recherches et des informations qui étayaient l'élargissement des rôles de combat pour les femmes et permettent de mieux comprendre l'impact de l'intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat terrestre.

Le colloque a de plus été l'occasion d'étudier l'effet de la participation des femmes aux unités de combat terrestre et aux rôles opérationnels dominés par les hommes sur les priorités internationales liées aux femmes, à la paix et à la sécurité, y compris la résolution du Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies 1325 (2000) et les résolutions suivantes qui appellent à la participation accrue des femmes dans les forces de sécurité.

Les objectifs de ce colloque étaient de partager les recherches et les meilleures pratiques concernant :

1. L'influence des facteurs sociaux, culturels et psychologiques de l'intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat terrestre rapproché et leur impact sur l'efficacité au combat ;
2. Les processus et stratégies efficaces d'intégration des femmes dans les unités de combat terrestre rapproché ;
3. Les méthodologies appropriées pour surveiller, mesurer et évaluer l'intégration, notamment mesurer la cohésion et l'inclusion ;
4. La gestion des carrières et des cohortes de femmes et d'hommes à des rôles de combat.

Deux sessions parallèles se sont tenues pendant la conférence. La première session se composait principalement de recherches portant sur les aspects sociaux, culturels et psychologiques de l'intégration. La seconde session portait, le premier jour, sur des recherches sur les normes physiques d'emploi et le second jour, sur divers sujets supplémentaires liés à l'intégration. L'analyse des articles et des présentations a été organisée par thème. Le premier thème inclut les recherches, les articles et les présentations centrés sur les aspects sociaux, culturels et psychologiques de l'intégration, tandis que le second thème inclut les sujets associés aux normes d'emploi et à la formation.

SAS-137 Programme Committee



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Technical Evaluation Report SAS-137 Research Symposium on Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units

**5-7 February 2019
United States Marine Corps University
Quantico, USA**

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ABSTRACT

This technical evaluation report summarizes the main contributions of the papers and their associated presentations given during the 2019 Research Symposium on Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units. It augments the papers collected in the proceedings, addresses the main points of keynotes not accompanied by a paper, and presents a summary of discussion and identified key insights of the two-day symposium, including contributions from six NATO countries, as well as Australia, India, and Japan. It recommends future activities based on the papers, presentations, and discussions summarized here.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The prime purpose of a Research Symposium is to enhance the capability of the NATO Science and Technology (S&T) community to respond adequately to the military requirements of NATO. A Research Symposium results in a NATO Science and Technology Organization publication (Meeting Proceedings).

S&T Organization in the NATO context is defined as the selective and rigorous generation and application of state-of-the-art, validated knowledge for defence and security purposes. S&T activities embrace scientific research, technology development, transition, application and field-testing, experimentation and a range of related scientific activities that include systems engineering, operational research and analysis, synthesis, integration and validation of knowledge derived through the scientific method.

The mission of the NATO STO is to help position the Nations' and NATO's S&T investments as a strategic enabler of the knowledge and technology advantage for the defence and security posture of NATO Nations and partner Nations, by:

- Conducting and promoting S&T activities that augment and leverage the capabilities and programmes of the Alliance, of the NATO Nations and the partner Nations, in support of NATO's objectives;

Technical Evaluation Report

- Contributing to NATO's ability to enable and influence security- and defence-related capability development and threat mitigation in NATO Nations and partner Nations, in accordance with NATO policies;
- Supporting decision-making in the NATO Nations and NATO.

The System Analysis and Studies Panel

The System Analysis and Studies (SAS) Panel conducts studies, analysis and information exchange activities that explore how operational capability can be provided and enhanced through the exploitation of new technologies, new forms of organization or new concepts of operation. Such studies will, where appropriate, give explicit consideration to financial and other resource issues.

The Panel will be responsive to requests for such studies from a variety of sources, including nations, the Science and Technology Board (STB), the Military Committee, the National Armament Directors (CNAD), the Main Armaments Groups, Allied Command Operations (ACO), Allied Command Transformation (ACT), the NATO Communications and Information Agency (NCIA), the NATO Industrial Advisory Group (NIAG), and industry.

The Panel will undertake activities to develop and promote improved analysis methods and techniques to support defence decision making. This aspect of the Panel's work will focus particularly on the methods required to address the new issues thrown up by the evolving strategic environment and the responses that both individual nations and NATO as a whole are making to it.

Women participate in ground close combat units in many NATO countries, and there is increasing interest among other NATO/PfP countries to expand the roles open to women. In support of new initiatives, as well as efforts to increase the representation of women in close ground combat units through enhanced selection, training, and retention strategies, the Symposium on Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units provided opportunity to share lessons learned, best practices, and research analysis and insights to support the expansion of combat roles for women and to better understand the impact of gender integration on ground combat units. The symposium further provided opportunity to explore the impact of the participation of women in ground combat units and male-dominated operational roles on international priorities related to Women, Peace and Security, including UNSCR 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions which call for increased participation of women in security forces.

The objectives of this symposium are to **share research and best practices regarding:**

1. The influence of social, cultural, and psychological factors of gender integration in ground close combat units and their impact on combat effectiveness.
2. Effective processes and strategies for the integration of women in ground close combat units.
3. Appropriate methodologies for monitoring, measurement and assessment of integration, including measurement of cohesion and inclusion.
4. Career and cohort management of women and men in combat roles.

This Technical Evaluation Report provides insights from the symposium to inform the ongoing SAS-120 activity as well as provide NATO and partner nations not participating in the SAS-120 activity with lessons learned, best practices, and research analysis and insights to support the expansion of combat roles for women and to better understand the impact of gender integration on ground combat units. It reflects the interpretation of the evaluators and has been conducted with utmost scientific rigor. However, as the presented efforts are on the leading edge of science and research conducted in support of NATO, the reader is encouraged to carefully study the report itself and conduct additional research to ensure the maximal benefit.

Two parallel sessions occurred during the conference. Session 1 was principally comprised of research that focused on the social, cultural and psychological aspects of integration. Session 2, Day 1 was comprised of research on physical employment standards while Day 2 included a variety of additional topics related to integration. Analysis of the papers and presentations is organized by themes. Theme 1 analysis includes research, papers and presentations focused on social, cultural and psychological aspects of integration while theme 2 includes topics associated with employment standards and training.

2.0 KEYNOTES

The keynote speakers and their presentations set the framework for the symposium at the beginning of the first day, as they provided complementary views and experiences related to the role of women in the military and their final integration into ground combat units. The first keynote introduced the topic by highlighting the limits, changes and challenges of women's increased participation in national military units by providing a historical overview of women's integration and tracing her own experiences as an early US Naval Academy graduate.

The second keynote focused the discussion more directly on women's integration into ground combat units by highlighting her experiences as the first woman to become a Canadian Defence Force (CDF) infantry officer in the 1990s. Canada was one of the first countries to open their infantry units to women and the keynote highlighted the obstacles and barriers that she faced when trying to integrate traditionally all male infantry units.

These two presentations are summarized in this section. Neither presentation was accompanied by a paper although the second speaker has published a memoir that chronicles her experiences.

2.1 Lieutenant General Lori E. Reynolds, Deputy Commandant for Information, US Marine Corps

The two-day event was framed by General Lori Reynolds when she provided an overview of the integration of women in the US military from the founding of the United States as a nation to today. The history of women in the US military is marked by slow but steady inclusion in the national military Services. General Reynolds focused in greater detail on the changes that have occurred in the last 30 years since her graduation from the US Naval Academy in 1986. She noted that when she graduated women were not allowed to access many military occupations and that she could not serve on Navy ships, submarines or fly most military aircraft. Today, all of the occupations and positions that were closed to her are now open to women.

She emphasized the important relationship between diversity and increased military effectiveness noting that despite the known benefits of diversity many military members and their units continue to resist full integration.

2.2 Sandra Perron (Major, retired), Building on Leadership and Diversity, Canada

This invited presentation was delivered by Sandra Perron; the first Canadian woman to officially serve openly as an infantry officer. Perron discussed her experiences integrating the Canadian infantry in the 1990s as an experience that was met with high levels of resistance and outright hostility. Like General Reynolds she discussed the research on diversity and its impact on team capabilities. She called attention to long lasting gender roles and stereotypes that make integration extremely difficult. However, she noted that with performance and perseverance women are able to make inroads into traditionally all male organizations.

She presented 4 possible strategies that women might employ as they integrate and that the strategies may not be mutually exclusive. They are: 1) Put up and Shut Up, 2) Protest/Fight It, 3) Leave, 4) Become Competent. She emphasized the importance of setting appropriate physical standards and meeting them, of operational

effectiveness and of group cohesion. Despite persevering for many years Perron left the military in 1996 “after enduring unrelenting abuse from her fellow military officers who didn’t want women in combat arms.”

Both keynote discussions focused on the need to highlight the power and increased effectiveness of diverse groups and teams and their resulting impacts on improved combat effectiveness for the military. Both women provided stories of overt and covert resistance to their inclusion in military units.

3.0 THEME 1 – SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACTS OF INTEGRATION

3.1 Combat Integration Handbook, Antonieta Rico, Women in International Security, USA

The first presentation was delivered by Antonieta Rico, a Fellow at Women in International Security. The Combat Integration Handbook is a reference guide for U.S. Army combat arms leaders on how to successfully lead gender integration in their units. The Handbook exclusively addresses common challenges with gender integration in combat arms units and gives leaders and Soldiers best practices for successfully navigating the change process.

Research for the Handbook came from over 30 hours of exclusive interviews with Cultural Support Team members, women who were attached to Special Operations units in Afghanistan; more than a half dozen individual interviews with combat arms officers and NCOs; and a Working Group of over 20 active duty Army officers and NCOs from across the US Army, who provided experience, input and feedback to the handbook. It also drew on raw data from a Maneuver Center of Excellence survey of 816 officers from the Command and General Staff College Intermediate Level Education, which included the officer's views and concerns about women in combat. Finally, the Handbook draws on other U.S. Army Studies.

The Handbook is comprised of two principle sections; Cultural Considerations and Practical Considerations. Rico highlighted several key sub sections of the Handbook in her discussion starting with the important and pivotal role that leaders play in successful integration.

<https://www.wiisglobal.org/combat-integration-initiative/combat-integration-handbook/>

3.2 Conformist Culture and Tolerance of Diversity, LCol Maureen Wellwood, Canadian Armed Forces

Wellwood provided a thought-provoking presentation on the difficulty of creating diverse and inclusive organizations within the existing restrictive and conformist cultures of the existing military organizations. She argues that existing personnel policy and training systems are set up to ensure conformity and that they systemically resist diversity-oriented policies and approaches to inclusion. Wellwood recommends changes that begin with the way soldiers are trained from the point of induction onward. Specifically, she recommends diverse training strategies that accommodate various cognitive learning styles and abilities including more advanced use of media, audio visual aids, training spaces that include seclusion, social learning techniques, and simultaneous physical simulation techniques.

3.3 Self and Other: Perceptions of Military Performance of Men and Women in the Bundeswehr, Dr. Gerhard Küemmel (presenter) and Timo, Graf Centre of Military History and Social Sciences, Germany

Kummel provides a brief overview of women’s inclusion in to the German armed forces including the relatively recent legal challenge that opened combat jobs and units to women. In January 2000, the European

Court of Justice ruled in favour of a woman who was trying to access a combat support position in the German Army. The case resulted in all positions being opened to women although progress has been slow. Kummel's research focused on the perceptions of men and women about their own abilities, those of their peers and those of the opposite sex. Men tend to have more favourable views of their own performance than women have of their own performance. This trend holds in a number of evaluative categories where men assess themselves and other men to be above average while women assess themselves and other women as average or below. When men assess women 27% think that women's performance is worse than men's performance with younger soldiers and non-commissioned officers from the Army and combat occupations rating them the most negatively. Scepticism and resistance to women's integration is most likely to come from the very units that women are currently attempting to integrate.

Increased confidence and performance for women was correlated to maturity, education and experience. Although the authors do not make any specific recommendations relative to their findings a possible recommendation might be that women who are assessing into newly opened units be older, better educated and have more experience in the military.

3.4 Team D+ Innovation in Diversity, Col Stephane Boucher, Canadian Armed Forces

This paper outlines a grass roots initiative of the 2nd Canadian Division Group called Team Diversity+ or Team D+. It was organically created by volunteers to meet the goals of the Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy published in 2017. The group has created an informal communications channel to leadership to elevate group goals and concerns of a diverse community. It is unclear what the impact has been of this initiative. However, like other organically created initiatives it is likely to be beneficial within the context of the organization where it was created but may not be replicable in other organizations.

3.5 Women in Combat: Stress, Social Support and Health, Major Angela Yarnell, US Army

Yarnell and a team of researchers fill a research gap by examining the stress impact on men and women in deployed combat environments. They analysed a matched sample of surveys from deployed men and women to determine the health impacts of combat deployment. While women reported significantly less combat exposure, they did not differ from men in other stressful life events during deployment. For health and functioning, women reported significantly more somatic symptoms and sick call visits than men, yet did not differ significantly on several other physical health variables. Health outcomes investigated in relation to combat exposure, found men but not women reported significantly greater functional impairment as the number of combat exposures increased. Both males and females reported more somatic symptoms, more sick call visits, greater difficulty falling asleep and sleeping less than six hours per night as combat exposures increased. Importantly, the association between combat exposure and several health variables were similar for males and females.

Defining, understanding, and fostering social support is necessary for men and women to ensure readiness for military missions by reducing effects of stress on health. While combat stress manifested similarly in men and women, they found that women reported significantly lower unit morale, unit cohesion, and marital quality than men. This may explain women's increased somatic symptoms and sick call visits since social support is a protective factor.

3.6 Gender Integration and Citizenship: A Civil-Military Perspective, Dr. Brad Wineman, US Marine Corps University

Wineman summarized many of the ongoing arguments against women's integration into combat arms which he boils down into two main arguments that are based on physiology and readiness. He dismisses both sets of arguments by illustrating their changing nature over time or the inability to actually define the term readiness.

He goes on to note that the military has been consistently resistant to any change that it views as socially or politically motivated. He invites us, instead, to consider the question of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship and the civilian-military gap. He argues that including women in all areas of the military increases the available pool of talent and thus capabilities and decreases the civilian-military gap.

3.7 NATO Representative for Women, Peace and Security, LT Andrea Goldstein, US Navy

Goldstein provided an overview of NATO's current efforts and structure that support the goals outlined in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and its subsequent Women, Peace and Security resolutions. NATO created a Gender Task Force and has positions for trained Gender Advisors (GENAD) and Gender Focal Points (GFP) throughout the organization. NATO has also created a number of directive documents that require NATO countries to meet specific goals and objectives. Additionally, countries are required to report annually on the status of women in their military's. The result has been increased opportunities and participation of women across NATO and NATO partner nations. This presentation was not accompanied by a paper.

3.8 Integration of women into ground combat units – Slovenia as an example of a successful but a small country, Liliana Brožič and Col Mojca Pešec (presenter), Slovenian Armed Forces

Pešec presents Slovenia as an example of a small country that has successfully integrated women into all areas of its armed forces with a high degree of success. For a success indicator she points to Slovenia's rank among NATO nations in terms of percentage of women (6th) who serve, and in retention rates for women (4th) relative to other NATO nations. However, while Slovenia does comparatively well women remain a fractional minority of their military at less than 17% of their force and the majority of women serve in a few key combat support specialties where they outnumber men; in finance, legal and medical specialties. Also, in the last 10 years less than 10% of any mission has been comprised of women and the Slovenian military offers no programs specific to women. Notably however, Slovenia has one of the only woman Defense Ministers in NATO.

3.9 The Integration of Women into the Australian Army Infantry Corps: Dimensions for Success, Dr. Samantha Crompvoets and BRIG Leigh Wilton, Australia

This original research provides a comprehensive picture of the early integration efforts of the first enlisted women to enter the Royal Australian Infantry Corps. Her role has been to research, monitor and evaluate, and make corrective recommendations to integration efforts. This integration effort has experienced many missteps including failing to provide women with appropriate equipment and information, training opportunity disparities, and hostile work environments. Most of the first group of women are leaving the infantry. Australia has taken some corrective actions. Crompvoets and her team make several recommendations for improved integration including: provide direct mentorship for women, help establish peer support groups, provide clear job and fitness standards, educate leadership and ensure that women remain co-located with their teams.

3.10 Infantry Perceptions and Potential Mitigation of Women Joining the UK Infantry, Dr. Joanna Harvey, Great Britain

This presentation provided an overview of research that examined the perceptions and expectations of various demographic groups in the British military to the integration of women into ground combat units. The purpose of the research was to understand how to affect large scale culture change by identifying mitigating factors and learning points. The data is being used to aid in planning for integration.

Key themes emerged from male cohorts that mirror similar points of resistance and cultural factors already identified in research in the USA¹ and Canada² and is summarized in the presentation provided by Dr.

Wineman. Cultural points of resistance relate to concerns about any change that is viewed as politically driven, perceived to lower standards due to differentials in physical strength and stamina, reduce readiness because of possible increased injury rates, or reduce unit cohesion because of fraternization due to intimate relationships, etc. The UK is using this information to develop a set of mitigation strategies including a well planned and executed communications strategy, scientifically based physical employment standards, and no quotas that would give the appearance of preferential treatment. This presentation was not accompanied by a paper.

3.11 Understanding Differences in Experiences between Enlisted Women and Officers, Antonieta Rico, Women in International Security, USA

This original research highlights the differences in treatment and experiences of women officers relative to enlisted women who have newly integrated ground combat units in the US Army. It is based on interviews and surveys from 10 women officers and 10 enlisted women. A key finding is that enlisted women face harassment and assault at levels not experienced by women officers, while simultaneously having fewer resources and support systems necessary to cope with their experiences. This significantly degrades their ability to succeed as they integrate combat arms units. Furthermore, the Leaders First policy, a policy intended to assist with integration has done little to address the problems experienced by enlisted women and may be detrimental to women officers' career advancement. The purpose of the policy was to provide same sex peer mentors for junior women but the officers are themselves junior officers and they have not provided the envisioned mentorship.

Recommendations for improving integration were provided in the briefing but not in the accompanying paper. They include eliminating the Leaders First policy and instead implementing a peer bonding program to create social support networks during initial entry training followed by assigning enlisted women in cohorts to new units. Screening and training male leaders on their duties and responsibilities relative to successful integration and monitoring unit climates.

3.12 Promoting Active Participation of Women in Japan Ground Self Defence Force: Female Integration into Close Combat Units, LTC Junko Araki, Japan

Although Japan's official position is that all positions in their Ground Self Defence Force (GSDF) have been open to women since 1993 it wasn't until 2017 that women were actually assessed into some of the ground close combat occupation and in 2018 women remained a fractional minority of the force at just 7% with a goal of reaching 9% by 2027. To encourage women's increased participation the GSDF has focused on improved childcare and maternity/paternity leave. However, the envisioned improvements lag behind those already in place in most NATO nations. Another policy established to increase women's retention is the provision for up to a three-year leave of absence with guaranteed reemployment. No data was provided to show if these policies are having a positive impact on recruiting and retention.

3.13 UK Approach to Women in Ground Close Combat, WO1 Gareth Bowen, Great Britain

This presentation provided the historical background to women's military service in Great Britain with a focus on recent efforts to open all remaining closed occupations in the ground combat forces. In order to overcome resistance to women's inclusion in ground combat units, outlined earlier in the day by Harvey, Great Britain is taking a similar approach to other NATO nations by messaging the benefits of an increased and diverse talent pool that enhance operational capabilities while simultaneously focusing on setting job-based gender-neutral physical standards with no quotas for women's inclusion. This presentation was not accompanied by a paper.

3.14 Why make a special platoon for women? An assessment of The Jegertroppen at the Norwegian Special Operations Commando (NORSOC), Frank Brundtland Steder, Norway

This paper documents and critically evaluates Norway's Special Operations Command's experiment with creating a women-only training program. The experiment was conceived by the special operations community as a way to make military service more attractive to women thereby increasing the percentage of women in the total force. It successfully relied on attracting women to a "special" and elite training program. The program has yielded a cadre of highly motivated, specially trained elite women soldiers. However, it is a highly gendered program in was conceived not to bring qualified women into the special operations community except when it is necessary to interact with local women during military operations. Despite demonstrating extraordinary capabilities, including beating all male teams during team-based missions the women have not been assessed into NORSOC as anticipated. Instead they have become disillusioned because few of them have actually been integrated into NORSOC and they are not being retained as anticipated.

3.15 The Queen Bees and the Women's Team: Why Make a Special Platoon for Women? Frank Brundtland Steder, Norway

This research builds on data captured during the Jegertroppen experiment from the previous presentation. Researchers observed that behaviors often attributed to women who are in competition with each other in close quarters exhibit behavior commonly called "queen bee" behavior that is marked by gossip and undercutting other women. However, the women in the Jegertroppen did not exhibit such behavior; quite the opposite. Not only did they work collaboratively but they established close personal relationships that were mutually supporting and supportive. The researchers determined that "queen bee" behavior is actually only evident in contexts in which a high degree of masculine conformity is required. They conclude that when diversity is valued queen bee behavior is not necessary for success and therefore it is context dependent. This research dispels stereotypical myths about women "natural" tendencies to behave a certain way by showing that it is actually gender based stereo type threat that accounts for some women exhibiting "queen bee" behavior.

3.16 Socio-Cultural Change in Gender and Military Contexts: Measuring Values, Dr. Karen D. Davis (presenter) and Dr. Ann-Renee Blais, Defence Research and Development, Canada

Davis provides an examination of the forces which both stabilize and may cause change within military organizations. While she notes that culture is the single most important element to understanding military units and a critical factor relative to women's inclusion in ground combat units it is rarely researched and remains almost unexamined. Although the Canadian Armed Forces and the Canadian Army have done some surveys and have created broad based initiatives like *Strong, Secure, Engaged* they have not included a research component that would indicate if such initiatives are having the desired effect.

3.17 Challenges of Integration of Women in Peacekeeping Operations, Dr. Shilpi Nanglu, India

Nanglu presents research on the experiences of women who have been assigned to peacekeeping operations. Similar to other research findings related to women who are integrating ground combat units women who deploy on peacekeeping missions experience marginalization through limited job opportunities, underutilization and harassment. At the same time, they struggle to cope with family and childcare responsibilities for the families that they leave behind. The result is that few women participate in peacekeeping missions, at a time when their presence is needed to address challenges that are better addressed by a diverse force.

3.18 Architecting a Paradigm Shift to Further Invest in Human Capital, LTC Kristina L. Richardson, USA

This paper documents the process by which the US Army's Special Operations Command determined that existing standards were already valid and gender neutral after they were directed to ensure that their standards were science based not gender based. The author uncritically asserts that previously existing standards were already gender free since women had not been allowed to assess into those occupations. She does not challenge, as others (Riley) have done, the fact that standards that are developed for men are likely gendered masculine from the outset. Simply validating standards that were developed by men, for men, are likely highly gendered.

4.0 SESSION 2 – PHYSICAL STANDARDS AND TRAINING

4.1 USMC Combat Arms Physical Screening, Brian McGuire, US Marine Corps, USA

The objective of this presentation was to provide an update and overview of the USMC physical screening methodology. In 2014 and 2015, in anticipation of opening combat specialties to women, occupation specific standards methodology was developed and validated for Infantry, Artillery, Tanks, Amphibious Vehicles, Low Altitude Air Defense, Combat Engineers and Ground Ordnance Maintenance. By way of outcome example, recent data indicates that the MOS Specific Physical Standards (MSPS) pass rate for men and women infantry candidates is 99.5 and 81.5%, respectively. Administered on a regular basis to members of the above MOS, the MSPS has been developed to be gender neutral, operationally relevant, maintain combat readiness, enhance the full potential of every Marine, and sustain the quality of the Force going forward.

4.2 Combat Integration: Implications for Physical Employment Standards, Dr. Tara Reilly, Canada; Dr. Sam Blacker, Great Britain; Mrs Marilyn Sharp, USA; Dr. Jace Drain, Australia; and Dr Keith Hauret, USA.

This panel included five presentations related to physical employment standards (PES) and the integration of women into combat roles, thus providing insight into the ongoing work of NATO Human Factors and Medicine (HFM) Research Task Group (RTG) 269, Combat Integration and Physical Employment Standards. The panel began with a review of current practices across NATO nations, primarily from Canada, UK, USA and Australia, the relationship between established standards and the occupational demands, male and female physical strength and endurance capabilities, and biases in related practices and research (Blacker and Reilly). The second presentation highlighted sex differences in physical fitness tests of military members, including in the performance of physically demanding military occupational tasks. The presentation identified tests with the least bias while maintaining predictive capability, noting that some tests are maintained for historical/cultural reasons but may falsely identify females as incapable of performing at a minimum standard (Sharp). Highlighting the limited availability of longitudinal research specific to musculoskeletal (MSKI) female injury rates, the third presentation identified several modifiable factors (body mass, lean body mass, training status, experience) with potential to contribute to injury prevention. Further, it was emphasized that as women move through combat arms training, employment, and deployment, there is an opportunity to identify training methods that will optimize performance on occupational tasks, as well as reduce injury among female combat arms soldiers (Drain and Hauret). Available research also suggests that combined resistance and aerobic training programs will improve the performance of females in physically demanding occupations. The fourth presentation reviewed recent research, suggesting that a minimum of six months training using job-specific exercises for load carriage, with an emphasis on upper body strength and power, is necessary to prepare females for combat occupations. Importantly, research demonstrates that females are capable of significantly improving performance, and narrowing the performance gap between female and male candidates, with the right type of preparation and training (Drain, Blacker, and Sharp). Focusing on Canadian Armed Forces PES, which has been established as bias free and best practice at the minimal acceptable performance standard, the

final presentation explored incentive strategy to encourage higher levels of performance. A strategy that relies upon sex and age categories was discussed, including the potential for effectiveness and bias (Reilly).

The final goal of RTG HFM 269 is to produce a technical report with practical recommendations for designing PES, supported by a comprehensive compendium of available research which addresses performance impacts and outcomes by sex. Given the significant impact of physical performance standards and practices on the physical effectiveness, well-being, acceptance, and success of female soldiers, this panel highlighted the importance of evidence-based knowledge, policy, and practice to guide the introduction of women into combat occupations and units.

4.3 Implementation of A Hybrid Pushup/Pullup Test on the USMC Physical Fitness Test, Brian McGuire, US Marine Corps, USA

This presentation provided an overview of the physical fitness testing (PFT) requirements of the USMC, from 1909 to 2018, noting that a 5 kilometre rowing option was implemented in 2016 as an optional alternative to running for all USMC members over 45 years of age, regardless of gender. The main focus of the presentation was the development of the hybrid pushup/pullup option which allows all members of the USMC, regardless of gender, to select either a pushup or pullup testing option. Originally developed, to provide better options for women to aspire to, and achieve, optimum upper body strength, 2016 data indicates that most women choose the pullup option and perform an average of 7 pullups at testing. The presentation emphasized the significance of this initiative to gender integration, along with the strong correlation of the hybrid option to performance on physically demanding tasks.

4.4 RAF Regiment Training, Flt Lt Jon Griffin, Great Britain

This presentation provided an overview of the recruitment and training processes and standards for the Royal Air Force Regiment and its recent efforts to integrate women. Although there has been some interest by women only three women have qualified, leading one to question either the efforts to recruit qualified women, set gender neutral job-based standards, or to set conditions for them to succeed once selected for training are appropriate. This presentation was not accompanied by a paper.

5.0 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of this symposium was to provide a forum to identify and gain input on best practices for the further integration of women into ground combat units of NATO and NATO partner nations. Many countries appear to be following similar strategies and practices for integrating women into ground combat units. However, while they take similar approaches little research shows whether these common practices are, or should be identified as “Best Practices”. For example, the US “Leaders First” policy was touted as a “best practice” but subsequent research by Rico finds that it may be harming efforts to integrate women and not be a “best practice” that other countries should follow. Similarly, there is an almost myopic focus on setting “gender free” or “gender neutral” occupational standards but there has been no established “best practice” for setting said standards. The result is that there are no two countries with the same standards for what are inherently identical jobs. Any efforts to set common standards results in countries attempting to exceptionalize themselves thereby removing any requirement to conform to a common set of “best practices”.

No country advanced a set of “best practices” although some common approaches to integration were revealed in the research and presentations. The common approaches respond to recurring themes relative to integration. Furthermore, the fact that there is no identified best practices reveals monitoring and evaluation shortfalls and research gaps.

Rather than identifying “best practices” that may or may not, in fact, be best practices the following list is a set of common approaches to gender integration followed by most countries:

1. Most countries have engaged in relooking and either updating or validating ground combat occupational standards to ensure that they are gender neutral and are applied to men and women equally
2. Most countries have pledged not to set quotas for women to avoid appearing to lower standards to admit more women.
3. Most countries have engaged in messaging that touts the benefits of increased capabilities brought by a larger recruiting pool and diverse talent.

Some emerging approaches that may turn out to be best practices, if they are validated by further research include the following:

1. Screening women recruits: increased success, as measured by performance and confidence has been linked to maturity, education and experience leading to the conclusion that women might be more successful if they are older, better educated and knowledgeable about what they are getting themselves into (Cromptvoets).
2. Nearly all research has pointed to the importance of leader attitudes in successful integration. Careful leader screening and selection along with gender integration education was highlighted in several research efforts (Rico; Cromptvoets; Boucher; Harvey) and was seen to positively or negatively correlate to successful integration.
3. Several researchers noted the importance of social support to successful integration for women. Rico recommends eliminating a Leaders First approach which was intended to be a provide institutionally based mentorship but instead implementing a peer bonding program to create social support networks during initial entry training and then assigning enlisted women in cohorts to new units. Dr Yarnell’s research demonstrates the importance of social support networks as a protective mental and physical health factor (Rico; Yarnell; Cromptvoets).
4. Most military organizations recognize the need to reduce injuries and optimize performance but do not prioritize it for women (Cromptvoets; Rico). A few countries have now designed and issued women specific equipment to optimize women’s performance and reduce injuries.

Recurring Sub-themes

Resistance to women’s inclusion in ground combat units has been repeatedly studied as countries have prepared to integrate their ground combat units. There is a great deal of cross-cultural consistency relative to resistance which was succinctly summarized by Wineman in his presentation. Despite existing studies that outline the known areas of resistance countries continue to look at their own points of resistance. Harvey’s research in the UK is yet another study that arrives at the same conclusions as previous studies on resistance in countries that have already integrated. NATO may want to encourage nations to spend their research dollars on moving beyond this research area to fill other research gaps.

Diversity discussions figured heavily in many presentations with most citing studies that show increased capabilities with more diverse teams. Linking women’s participation to increased capabilities is a strategic communications strategy being used to combat resistance but it may not be having the intended effects. There is a growing body of research that shows that training that is based on this line of reasoning not only not help, but may actually decrease acceptance³ to diverse teams.

High rates of harassment and assault against service women has been systematically documented across NATO nations in recent years. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that ongoing harassment, marginalization and underutilization of qualified women is driving women out of ground combat units. Research by Rico (US) and Crompvoets (Australia) reveal that qualified enlisted women are facing situations of extreme harassment that is causing them to reclassify out of ground combat occupations or to leave the military altogether. Research by Steder reveals that women who qualified for special operations units are not being utilized and are being sent back to the regular operational force. These women have expressed disillusionment due to a “dead end” opportunity that is causing them to leave the military when they are not allowed to actually serve in special operations units. Similarly, Nanglu found that women peacekeepers are subordinated to more traditional support jobs and have limited job assignment opportunities.

Research Gaps

Although women have been integrated into ground combat occupations and units in some countries for many years little is known about their impact on the units or the impact on the women. Monitoring and evaluation seems to end abruptly after the first few years of integration has occurred (Davis). There is still no research that examines how women may or may not have impacted operational effectiveness. Research Questions: What has been the impact of women on ground combat units? What has been the impact on the women who have integrated ground combat units?

Physical standards and women’s injury rates were two topics that figured frequently in research and presentations while little attention is paid to women specific equipment or training that might enhance women’s performance and reduce injury rates. Crompvoets points to women specific equipment that is available in Australia but was not issued while other countries seem blind to the requirement to develop equipment at all that might enhance women’s performance and reduce injuries. Research Questions: What women specific equipment is available across NATO and how does it impact performance and injury rates? What are the commonly agreed upon physical requirements for the same or similar occupations in NATO military formations?

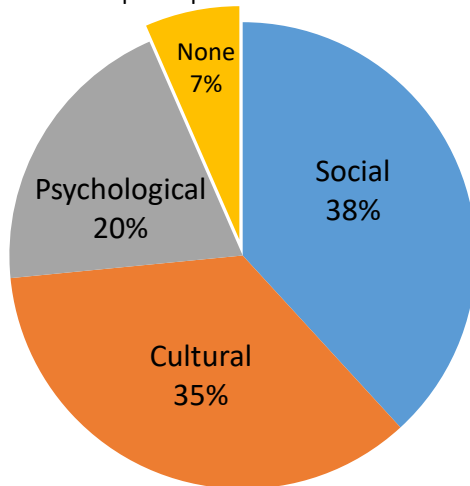
Much of the research uncritically accepts existing masculine norms as gender neutral standards without examining the gendered nature of the norms themselves. Women are simply expected to conform or assimilate (Davis) into the existing masculine paradigm. Research presented at the conference found several difficulties with this expectation most notably that it creates a sort of double bind for women (Steder). They are expected to be exactly like men but bring something new and unique to the organization that make their presence valuable. Steder’s research highlights how this has impacted service women in Norway and the training conundrum it presents. Research Questions: What methods or steps yield the best outcomes for entry level training and subsequent integration? What sets women up for success in newly integrated units? What conditions allow some women to thrive and others to fail?

Participant and Committee Review of Presentations and Papers¹

Further to the review and analysis provided by the technical evaluation and the programme committee, symposium participants were asked to evaluate the presentations against the objectives identified for the symposium. Based on review of 22 presentations, participants determined that a significant proportion addressed cultural (35%) and social (38%) influences, a smaller proportion addressed psychological factors (20%), and a small proportion (7%) were assessed as not reflecting the key objectives of the symposium (Figure 1). Programme committee review of presentations reflect similar patterns, with slightly more emphasis on cultural influences and less on psychological.

¹ Appreciation is extended to Mr. Frank Steder for development of the on-line evaluation tool and aggregate analyses of data resulting from symposium participant and committee evaluations of presentations and papers,

Presentations – participant review



Presentations – committee review

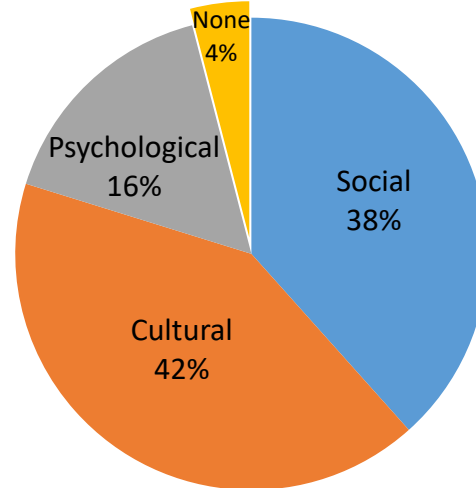


Figure 1: Participant and Committee Review of Symposium Presentations

The programme committee review of all papers (N=16) that were submitted (Figure 2) reinforced the observations presented throughout this report. When assessed in aggregate, on a three-point scale, with one indicating “no” and three indicating “a lot”, symposium papers provided “some” relevant research and analysis, knowledge, strategies for integration, and insights into the impact of gender integration on combat units. While additional research and analysis would be valuable in all domains, the evaluation highlighted particular research gaps related to cohort management, the measurement and monitoring of integration, and lessons learned/best practices to support the integration of women into combat roles and units. Although not a specific objective of the symposium, the HFM 269 panel on PES also highlighted significant research gaps in areas with particular impact on women in combat occupations and units. Notwithstanding the need for further research, the knowledge and information shared through the symposium presentations and papers provide valuable contribution to the final report of SAS 120, Integration of Women into Combat Units.

Does the paper address...

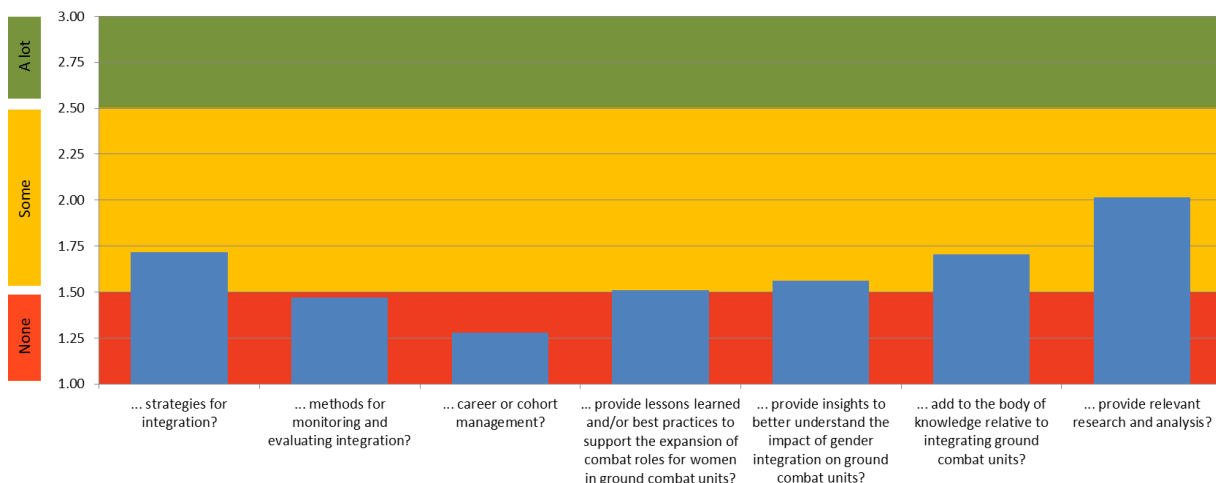


Figure 2: Programme Committee Review of Papers Submitted to SAS-137

Recommendations

NATO should host a resource portal where countries can post original research and review the research of other countries as they seek to integrate their ground combat units or increase the percentages of women.

NATO should identify and publish a set of minimum physical occupational standards for common ground combat occupations like “infanteer” or “tanker” to reduce extreme standards designed to keep most, otherwise qualified women out of ground combat occupations.

NATO should publish a set of research gaps to help countries identify what research remains and what questions have already been answered and by whom.

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Conformist Culture and Tolerance of Diversity

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the influence of cultural factors of gender integration in the military, specifically relating to the domains of 1) cultural, behavioural and attitude change and 2) group dynamics, conformity and cohesion. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the potential impact of including more diversity-oriented policies and approaches on the culture of inclusion in the Canadian military. Despite the CAF objective of creating an inclusive culture, the organisation's personnel policies and training system remain restrictive and conformist. I posit that the CAF encourages an exclusive and conformist culture through these policies, thereby hindering the organisational objectives of diversity and inclusion, which have gained increasing importance within the CAF since the media attention surrounding incidents of sexual misconduct, the subsequent external review in 2015 and the ensuing development of Operation Honour. The conformist culture of the CAF being one that encourages all members to conform to a common standard in all aspects, this research identifies how the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) could recognize diversity in training and personnel policies, with a view to contributing to the overall culture of diversity and inclusion. The research uses the systematic literature review as methodology and discourse analysis as method; the study is limited to the boundaries of the literature data. Through the theoretical lenses of diversity, the study provides insight into the link between the conformist culture of the CAF training and personnel policies and its effect on the culture of inclusion by means of its impact on diverse learning needs. The material is largely drawn from a Major Academic Report completed within a Master of Education (Leadership in Education) Program at Yorkville University completed in August 2018. The paper has been adapted to address more specifically the interests of this symposium.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to analyse, through a review of pertinent literature, the potential impact of conformism on the culture of inclusion in the Canadian military. Following the external review of 2015 (Deschamps, 2015), the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) identified the objective of creating an inclusive culture (Government of Canada, 2016). However, the organisation's culture remains restrictive in many ways, including training methods, and dress and personnel policies (Government of Canada, 1989), which is likely to contribute to a conformist culture thereby limiting diversity and inclusion (Cox, 2001). This research will analyse the CAF culture and identify how increasing the diversity of policy in the CAF might contribute to the overall culture of inclusion.

The paper is organized as follows: the context and pertinence of the study; the purpose of the study, including the research questions, the theoretical framework, a literature review and document analysis, a discussion of the research questions, recommendations, and the conclusion.

2.0 CONTEXT AND PERTINENCE OF THE STUDY

My motivation for this research is embedded in the current focus within the CAF on increasing diversity through the representation of minorities. It is couched in the theory that increasing openness to one aspect of diversity can have a positive impact on other aspects of diversity, and indeed on the overall culture of inclusion of the organisation.

The external review authority (ERA) Justice Deschamps (2015) reported that the CAF has a sexualized culture which, although not specifically defined, I understand to be a culture in which people and events are seen through a sexual lens, generally denigrating any traits not aligned with the stereotypical strong heterosexual male. In the ERA report, Justice Deschamps indicated that this culture is hostile to women and LGBTQ members, and conducive to sexual misconduct. This paper is related to an ongoing aim of changing this sexualized culture within the CAF and the goal of increasing the recruitment of women and other minorities (Government of Canada, 2014), as identified by Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) Gen Vance (Campion-Smith, 2016). From my own experience I would suggest that the normative rigidity and inflexible standardization and conformity of the CAF training system and personnel management policies may be a limiting factor to realizing the CDS's objectives and at the heart of the study is an investigation in the exact nature of this and how to improve it.

Military culture is stereotypically conformist, as reflected by the intolerance for difference within the military that is depicted in many movies and novels. The CAF Diversity strategy acknowledges that this reputation has been more than just a stereotype (Government of Canada, 2016). Military training systems generally aim at fostering a sense of shared identity among military members (Chenoweth and Nihart, 2005; Paile, 2010; Sookermany, 2017). Many authors noted that this promotes an environment of learning that embraces uniformity (Higate, 2003; Rones, 2015; Schaub Jr., Breitenbauch & Pradhan-Blach, 2013; Sookermany, 2017).

One of the results of Justice Deschamps's (2015) review is the CDS's creation of Operation Honour (Government of Canada, 2015), an information campaign intended to render the military environment more respectful to its women and the LGBTQ population. The underlying intent of this operation includes the establishment of an organizational reputation that welcomes women and other minorities, thereby enabling an increase of representation of these groups within the military ranks. Deschamps (2015) and the CDS (Government of Canada, 2015) were both clear in their position that a cultural change must occur for the sexualized environment to be corrected.

I propose that addressing the conformist culture in the training system and personnel management policies will identify possible means to improve the overall nature of inclusion present within the CAF.

Diverse training methods – broadly referring to changes in the delivery of teaching to accommodate the diversity of cognitive (learning) styles and abilities (Hwang, Han-Yu, Chun-Ming & Huang, 2013; Munawaroh, 2017) – are therefore relevant in that they might offer means to change organisational culture that could allow members with varying learning capacity to be included. The specific diverse training strategies could include ideas such as varying methods, media, audio-visual aids, environment such as a secluded learning space, simultaneous physical stimulation, and the social aspect of learning.

I see value in the results of this research when applied throughout the CAF training system and personnel management policies, demonstrating concrete ways in which different aspects of diversity can be embraced with the CAF. Tying this to the impact of inclusion on representation of diversity will demonstrate the relevance of diverse training strategies and personnel management policies to a significant CDS objective, having the

potential to contribute strongly to the strategic and political agendas of our organization.

The aim of the research project is to analyse, through a review of pertinent literature, the potential impact of diverse training strategies and personnel management policies on the culture of inclusion in the Canadian military. The CAF aims to create an inclusive culture, but the organisation's training system and personnel management policies remain restrictive. This, in turn, causes an exclusive and conformist culture, inasmuch as the culture of the CAF encourages members to conform to a common standard in all aspects, thereby hindering the organisational objectives of diversity and inclusion.

3.0 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this paper is to analyse, through a review of pertinent literature, the potential impact of diverse training strategies and personnel management policies to support the culture of inclusion in the Canadian military. My aim is to have a deeper understanding of diverse training strategies and personnel management policies, and their potential impact on organisational diversity objectives and the conformist culture of the CAF, and their impact on recruiting and retaining members.

3.1 Research Questions

The two research questions include:

- 1) How does the conformist culture of CAF affect the development of a culture of inclusion?
- 2) How do the CAF training institutions impact the conformist culture?

4.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research project relates closely to two theoretical concepts - diversity and inclusion - that have been included in this theoretical framework. Both of these theoretical concepts are briefly explained below, and their implication for this specific research is further explored in the literature review in relation to training in CAF.

4.1 Theoretical Concepts

4.1.1 Diversity

Diversity in the workplace can be defined as the inclusion of individuals of differing attributes. Cox (1991) proposed that cultural diversity can provide substantial benefits to an organisation, including improved cognitive abilities such as decision making and problem-solving, increased creativity and innovation, which can contribute to more successful marketing to diverse and international customers. Marginalized groups that represent diversity challenge the status quo in an organisation since their socially constructed world view differs from that of the group (Allen, 1995). Consequently, recognition of diversity may help to eradicate groupthink, broadening a group's perspectives and allowing the introduction of innovative ideas (Holt, 2017).

4.1.2 Inclusion

Inclusion differs from diversity in that diversity speaks to the differences among parts of a whole, whereas inclusion deals with the incorporation of all those parts within the whole (Farndale, Biron, Briscoe & Raghuram,

2015). Inclusion closely relates to this research project through its relationship to the conformist culture of the CAF, which will be explored more fully in the literature review.

While the inclusion of individuals of differing gender is pertinent to this study, the inclusive environment referred to throughout the rest of this report should not be considered to be limited to the aspect of gender, rather evokes an environment inclusive of all manners of diversity. This interpretation conforms with the seminal theories that contribute to the theoretical framework of inclusion. For example, Cox (1991) posited that inclusion is not limited to physical and cognitive disabilities, but also includes the full spectrum of human diversity related to ability, language, culture, gender, age and of other differences. Similarly, Thomas (2013) explained that recent political and social movements have broadened the application of inclusion in the education domain to include aspects such as poverty, ethnicity and other social factors.

5.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I will review the connection of foundational theories to training strategies in the CAF and their potential impact on the objective of a culture of inclusion through an analysis of academic literature. This examination will include counter-arguments to proposed theories and examine challenges involved to incorporating theories into current practice.

5.1 Support for Diversity

There is a large quantity of studies that support diversity's link to organisational success. Such studies include that of Niu, Syed, Krupal, Crutcher, Pelletier, and Schields (2012) who demonstrated that diversity was linked to enhanced learning. Moreover, Williams (2013) described a new reality in which diversity is no longer simply a question of social justice, but a matter of sustainability and relevance in today's knowledge economy. This is key to the CAF conundrum of increasing representation of identity diversity within the ranks while combatting a sexualised culture (Campion-Smith, 2015; Deschamps, 2015).

In the 2013-14 report of the American Association of Colleges of Pharmacy Argus Commission, which was comprised of the five immediate past AACP presidents and charged to examine strategic questions related to pharmacy education, Yanchick, Baldwin, Bootman, Carter, Crabtree, and Maine (2014) argued that if the pharmacy education domain does not actively embrace diversity, it will suffer, indicating that a high quality of diversity requires commitment throughout all levels of the organisation. Furthermore, the authors posited that a high level of diversity not only benefits the members of the organisation, but also those served by the organisation. While pharmacy education may greatly differ from military training, some significant parallels can be drawn with respect to the aspect of being at the service of the population. Just as pharmacists perform better when they understand their customers, military members are logically more successful in operations when they understand the population they serve, be that the Canadian citizens or the local population during an international operation. Holt (2017) depicted the academic population of the near future as majoritarian non-White, confirming the inevitable nature of diversity in the workplace and the consequent necessity to address it. This provides further encouragement, if needed, for the CAF to fully embrace diversity and create an environment that is welcoming to atypical minority postulants.

The more diverse the CAF becomes, the more easily it will attract and retain diversity. Freire (1970) suggested that seeing that other measures of diversity than one's own diverse nature are accepted may provide optimism that one's own diverse nature would also be welcomed, that among oppressed groups, there is a measure of understanding. This hypothesis is supported by Steffens, Reese, Ehrke and Jonas (2017) who posited that if the

diverse nature of the main group is recognised as the norm, group members should feel that they can be authentic, and competition among groups should be reduced (p. 1). It is also supported by Aquino (2016), who indicated a link between institutional disability-diversity inclusion and the general climate of acceptance and inclusion. It follows that the CAF must strive for a critical mass of diversity within its ranks in order to gain momentum in its objectives stated in the CAF Diversity Strategy (Government of Canada, 2016, 2017b).

As training is a significant part of a career in the CAF, as well as representing the majority of the first years of a member's career – including Basic Military Training and basic trade qualifications – it seems evident that the culture of the training establishments must be examined. If the culture in the training establishments is not inclusive and does not foster the tolerance of difference, it is likely that the culture of conformism be promulgated throughout the CAF for the duration of the members' careers. The culture of the training system will be examined further within the literature review.

5.2 Conformism and Exclusion

A study of the advantages of inclusion and diversity benefits from an analysis of the impact of conformism and exclusion. Among the seminal works related to the theoretical framework of inclusion, Freire (1970) addressed the negative impact of a non-inclusive society, with compelling arguments for ridding society of oppression which dehumanizes oppressors and oppressed alike. The humanization of the oppressed can be seen through the disadvantages of the medical model of Aquino (2016), which emphasizes the limitations of an individual, as opposed to a social constructionist theory, in which a person is attributed a value as a function of these limitations. Social activists claimed that no impairment was disabling, rather it was the failure of society to accommodate the differences that limit any individual's range of possibilities (Hosking, 2008). Nonetheless, disability has long been a measure against which other aspects of diversity were compared (Couser, 2005). While mainstream Western culture may be on the way to overcoming this perception, the military remains a bastion of exclusion of the disabled, as seen by the exemption offered in respect to the establishment of employment equity norms (Canadian Human Rights Act, 1985a, subsection 15(9)). Unsurprisingly, within the CAF, one can clearly identify the existence of a conformist culture (Government of Canada, 2016). A national military force generally is characterized by uniformity and identity – in part due to the legal obligations of visual recognition of combatants according to the Third Geneva Conventions (1949) – which are traditional aspects of military service, contributing to cohesion, discipline and commitment (Government of Canada, 2003; Kalthoff & Schulte-Umberg, 2015).

Atkins and Haymen's (2017) Social Model of Disability identified impairment and social salience of the impairment as relevant factors of inclusion. Social saliency is strong in the CAF, where disability of any sort goes clearly against the grain of the stereotypical military culture described above, in which the strong heterosexual male soldiers are adulated; the weak, the women, and the different are demeaned.

While there exist valid justifications for the exclusive and conformist nature of the CAF, as it relates to operational necessities and universality of service, the identity politics of the military has risks. Bakardzieva (2013) exposed the link between conformity and power in groups such as the CAF. Römer (2013), for example, explored conformity within the Wehrmacht during the Second World War. The exclusive nature of groups leads to a pressure of conformity, the challenge of groups being not obtaining conformity but allowing diversity (Galam & Moscovici, 1994, p. 494). Some potentially negative impacts of conformism in the military include structural encasements (Smith, 1982) and blind reflex (Oshry, 2007), limiting creativity and innovation (Vego, 2013), as well as the effect of exclusion that results from the need to define the identity of the group, and the requirement of members to conform to group ideology, thereby reducing real diversity (Hosking, 2008).

Inclusion is a subjective aspect that is at the heart of diverse training strategies and personnel management policies.

5.3 Counter-arguments

While there is ample literature cited above supporting the value of diversity and inclusion, in the following section I will present some detracting views. Contradictory theories relate primarily to 1) the dysfunctional consequences of cultural diversity in group dynamics (Pitts & Jarry, 2007) – such as difficulty in creating cohesion, dilution of culture, increased administration, communication difficulties, resistance to change – and 2) impediments to the inclusion of differing abilities in a military environment, such as operational imperative and the impracticability of implementing the diverse training strategies. These two aspects will be addressed in this section.

5.3.1 Cultural diversity challenges

With respect to cultural diversity, while the many organisations and scholars portray an acceptance of the advantageous nature of a diverse workforce (Allen, 2005; Cox, 1991; Holt, 2017; Wilson, 2014), there remain some who bring to our attention some potential disadvantages. Of note, Oberfield (2014) presents a brief resume of group-based theories, such as social identity theory, intergroup theory, and similarity-attraction theory which suggest that since people make sense of the world through social relationships, and generally prefer interacting with those they see as similar to themselves, diversity is likely to cause intergroup conflict and diminished performance (pp. 778-779). Alleged challenges are generally related to difficulty in creating cohesion, dilution of culture, increased administration, communication difficulties, and resistance to change which are further developed individually below (Campbell, 1965; Cox, 2001; Moonjoo, 2017; Reitz, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Williams, 2016).

5.3.1.1 *Difficulty creating cohesion*

Ever since seminal theorists such as Tajfel and Turner (1986) and Cox (2001) questioned the ability to achieve cohesion in a diverse environment, it remains a popular criticism of diversity. According to the realistic group conflict theory (Campbell, 1965), real conflict of interest causes real threat, which in turn causes hostility between groups: It is logical to conclude that competition or conflicts of interest within groups does so as well. Additionally, social categorization theories posit that among diverse groups, the perception of trust can diminish, resulting in lower cohesion (Williams, 2016).

Reitz (2010) posited that there are significant challenges to cultural diversity within Canada, related to inequalities, continued discrimination, and difficulties related to integration of minorities. These issues tend to impede cohesion, or the adoption of a group identity. Of considerable importance, the optimism of newly-arrived members of a minority fades over time, which would seem to indicate a disillusionment in the face of continued obstacles to inclusion. Notably, Freire (1970) posited that oppression becomes more oppressive as one's consciousness or awareness of it grows, which begs our attention to the reason for the disillusionment. It would seem that the obstacle to cohesion is not the diversity itself, rather the negative behaviour of those asked to embrace the diversity.

In addition to the responsibility of the majority members of the groups, Moonjoo (2017) noted that while group diversity can be detrimental to the group's learning behaviour, groups with a transformational leader who creates cohesion, and whose members who can count on the organisation's support, can eliminate the potentially negative consequences of diversity (p. 1256), thereby rendering the group leaders responsible for the creation of

cohesion in a diverse group. It would seem, then, that those citing difficulty in achieving cohesion could examine their role and responsibility in doing so.

5.3.1.2 Dilution of culture

Another potential argument against cultural diversity is the dilution of culture. Self-categorization theory would seem to support the hypothesis that increased cultural diversity can create a homogenizing effect, neutralizing cultural difference. Rubin, Milanov, and Paolini (2016) argued that in in collectivist societies, as interpersonal relationships become more important, they contribute to a shared social identity and lead members to believe they are more similar to other members of the same group (p. 225). While I concede that cultural diversity could cause a homogenizing effect, I expect that to be more likely in a group that is resistant to change and to diversity, for in such a group, the minorities may not feel confident enough to acknowledge their culture and share their differences with the group (Freire, 1970).

Despite this possibility, the cognitive diversity hypothesis affirms the creative benefits of cultural diversity where this includes not just skin colour or country of origin, but cultural knowledge, cognitive representations, worldviews, and implicit beliefs, and mental models (Zhan, Bendapudi and Hong, 2015, p. 1027). Surely these benefits are more evident in an organisation that celebrates differences rather than quashing them.

5.3.1.3 Increased administration

Another area of increased complexity resulting from cultural diversity is that of managing people from various backgrounds. Considering various religious considerations rather than only those of the majority, for example, leads to various accommodations of or changes to the existing policy. Examples may pertain to work attire, food services, and holiday policies which typically primarily address the preference of the majority. Studies have highlighted administrative impacts such as increased absenteeism and higher employee turn-over (Choi & Rainey, 2010; Dobbin, Kim & Kalev, 2011).

While there may well be administrative requirements to support diversity and inclusion, there are also convincing arguments in favour of inclusion as it relates to the administration of the CAF. For example, Wilson (2014) noted that the reputation of any organisation affects not only its success, but also its ability to attract and retain members of the workforce, which is an important part of the CAF Diversity Strategy.

5.3.1.4 Difficulties in communication

A fourth potential argument against cultural diversity is the increased challenge of communication. Language may be a barrier for communication across people from different cultures, and diversity can reduce the effectiveness of communication, increasing potential conflict in a team (Cox, 2001). Recognising that verbal language accounts only for a small part of any given message, it is worth noting that many other cultural aspects impact the effectiveness of communication (Johns and Saks, 2017) and therefore have a direct impact on trust and on the effectiveness of communication. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to expect that employees who learn how to communicate cross-culturally within their organisation will have an increased capacity for effective cross-cultural communications with clients and stakeholders, which is likely to counter-balance any potential difficulty encountered in internal communications.

5.3.1.5 Resistance to change

Finally, in an organization with a new or increased focus on diversity, resistance to change may generate an

argument against such objectives. The majority group may feel that the minority is preferred at their expense, or feel threatened by the very idea of diversity (Steffens, Reese, Ehre & Jonas, 2017), consequently resisting change (Hodges & Gill, 2015) or the acceptance of diversity.

Ironically, Freire (1970) described an oppressor's perception of change as subversion rather than social justice: "To the oppressor consciousness, the humanization of the "others," of the people, appears not as the pursuit of full humanity; but as subversion" (Ch 1, para 47). Byrd and Scott (2014) presented the four-step critical race pedagogy framework, which essentially proposed that, faced with potential resistance to change, an organisation's best approach is education. The exclusive and conformist nature of the military undoubtedly attracts some members: As cited in Zhan, Bendapudi and Hong (2015) in reference to the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998) people are generally drawn to those who resemble them, and appreciate working in a group of people that share similar traits. Simultaneously, the conformist culture deters others, particularly diverse individuals who may not identify with the portrayed values (Berg, 2011).

In sum, these five potential negative aspects relating to the difficulty to achieve cohesion, dilution of culture, increased administration, communication problems, and resistance to change, appear to be completely surmountable, and most research reveals that cultural diversity is beneficial to the effectiveness of an organisation. In fact, Saylik, Polatcan, and Saylik (2016) attribute the responsibility for success or failure to managers, perhaps due to their ignorance of other cultures, noting that efficient diversity management leads to increased productivity, competition and job satisfaction, lower costs, improved creativity, strengthened organizational synergy, increased organizational adaptation skills and less employee absenteeism. In opposition, the authors posit that ineffective diversity management can diminish discipline, increase communication problems and disagreements, and lessen organisational commitment (p. 53).

5.3.2 Military Environment

In addition to the arguments pertaining to cultural diversity challenges as detailed above, the arguments against the inclusion of diversity within the military deal principally with the operational imperative and the impracticability of implementing diverse training strategies or personnel management policies. These two aspects are presented below.

5.3.2.1 Operational imperative

Featuring specialized knowledge and highly trained membership, acting with individual judgment, and intimately affecting the affairs of others, the Canadian military has a code of ethics, a spirit of altruism, and self-organization, thereby conforming to Imse's (1960) definition of a profession. The argument of professionalism introduces the potential for an argument of elitism or exclusion (Lane, 2017): Similar to what one would expect relating to a police force, requirements and concerns for safety, reliability, and reciprocal confidence in collective and individual training are paramount to effectiveness in the CAF.

In the CAF this translates to an exemption from employment equity norms for the disabled under the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) (Government of Canada, 1985a). Members of the CAF are obliged to meet a standard of universality of service, and paragraph 15(1) (a) of the CHRA provides that a limitation imposed by the military that is based on a *bona fide* occupational requirement is not a discriminatory practice. This exemption has the potential to be interpreted to provide greater latitude to the CAF regarding inclusion of some people representing specific sectors of diversity, such as physical and mental ability, and could be used to argue against inclusion.

5.3.2.2 *Impracticability*

The second potential argument against diversity of ability within the CAF is related to the ability to implement the potentially implicit diverse training strategies and personnel management policies. The teachers, or instructors, in military training institutions are subject matter experts but not pedagogues. Most receive only a brief course on instruction techniques prior to occupying an instructional position. A minority of these instructors benefit from further training on diverse instructional techniques. Finally, very few officers are educated and trained as Training Development Officers, acquiring a certain level of specialization in andragogy. The limited availability of knowledge of diverse training strategies could support an argument that it is impractical to integrate such concepts in the CAF training system.

A related aspect is the difficulty in changing culture within the training system. Since most instructors are not specialists, it is reasonable to expect that most model their teaching style on those they have witnessed throughout their career, which are likely to be outdated and exclusive.

However, CAF policy indicates the necessity of “integration of individual training with career progression, promotion, academic upgrading, official language and other personnel management objectives” (Government of Canada, 1989, p 1-2-1). Therefore, the training policies must also account for recruitment (and retention) objectives of minorities and the aspiration of an inclusive culture (Government of Canada, 2015), which the current limited approach to training does not address.

While both aspects of the potential counter-argument to inclusion are valid to a certain extent, they are incomplete and do not appear to consider adjustments to the training system and personnel administration that could be possible without compromising the operational requirements.

The preceding literature review included various studies that support diversity, followed by an analysis of conformism and exclusion as characteristics of an organisation, as well as a review of contradictory theories. While there are some valid explanations for the CAF culture of exclusion and conformism, these arguments fall short in comparison to the organisational benefits and the social justice benefits that diversity presents. The cumulative observations of the literature review permit the subsequent examination and discussion of the research questions, presented below.

6.0 DISCUSSION

6.1 The Impact of the Conformist Culture of the CAF on Inclusion

The motivation for conformity within CAF was explained above, as were some operational justifications for exclusion. Nonetheless, the identity politics of the military has risks, primarily in the manner that the exclusive nature leads to a pressure of conformity and difficulty of obtaining diversity.

The characteristics observed by Graham, Treharne and Nairn (2017) in the educational environment are very similar to those of the military, and one can reason that the concept of a perfect soldier is normalised within the CAF environment, clearly associating dress, activity and behaviour with competence, although this is not always based on valid objective assessments of operational requirements. In the case of the CAF, one can deduce that the conformist culture deters some members and some potential recruitment candidates, particularly diverse individuals who may not identify with the portrayed ideal soldier (Berg, 2011). Recalling Wilson’s (2014) statement that the organisation’s reputation affects not only its success, but also its ability to attract and retain

members of the workforce, this conformist culture is worrisome, as the reputation for conformity within the military could hinder recruitment and retention of diverse members.

In considering this aspect, I was drawn to Atkins and Haymen's (2017) Social Model of Disability, which identified the impairment and the social salience of the impairment as relevant factors of inclusion. In considering that the degree of impairment and society's attributed importance of said impairment are deemed to be the key factors that determine social inclusion, I suggest that this theory can extend to all aspects of diversity. In a Social Model of *Diversity* the degree of difference and the group's attributed importance of said difference would be the key factors of social inclusion.

I suggest that the social saliency of the difference (diversity) would diminish in direct relation to the diverse nature of the society. That is, by increasing organisational diversity, the members would become more comfortable with people who differ from them, and therefore be more open to new members who bear differing traits. In a Social Model of Diversity, in a homogenous group the saliency of a specific aspect of diversity may be high, whereas in a diverse group the saliency of such a difference may be low, diversity being expected. Thus, the more diverse a group is, the less the members' individual differences are deemed important, regardless of the nature of the difference.

Beyond the impact on organisational diversity and culture, several theorists and researchers argued that learning in a diverse population caused learners to feel better prepared to subsequently work with members of diverse populations (Niu, Syed, Krupal, Crutcher, Pelletier & Schields, 2012; Yanchick, Baldwin, Bootman, Carter, Crabtree, & Maine, 2014). Translated into the military context, one can easily reason that those who train in a diverse organisation are more apt to perform well in a diverse operational environment, through increased flexibility and an improved capacity to exercise judgement, which is an undeniable quality of any military force in the contemporary era (Government of Canada, 2003).

6.2 The Impact of the CAF Training Institutions on the Conformist Culture

I will examine the impact of the CAF training institutions on the conformist culture by analysing the training context based on Maher & Tetrault's (1994) four themes of feminist pedagogy: mastery, voice, authority, and positionality.

6.2.1 Mastery

Mastery refers to the comprehension of the subject matter as determined by the instructor.

Within the training system, standards are established centrally, by an identified Center of Excellence (Government of Canada, 1989). The standards are based on operational tasks (Government of Canada, 1991) and in many cases, are justifiably rigid, as they relate to safety and deviation from the standard could lead to increased, unacceptable risk to human life in an operational context. For example, it is essential that they learn safe weapons handling and adequate marksmanship, as these skills directly contribute to survival on the battlefield. In other domains, however, perhaps some flexibility could be allowed. For example, when teaching the junior leaders how to instruct, the current standard is to deliver a lesson (Government of Canada, 1992a). A candidate on the junior leader course who delivers a lesson respecting all the details of sequence and presentation is congratulated regardless of if any learning occurred, reinforcing the idea that conforming to the norm is essential, and is of higher importance than actual success (in this case, learning). I propose that a junior leader who is able to identify a situation in which diverse methods of instruction would be appropriate, and who teaches in this way, despite not actually delivering a lesson in accordance with the requisite training standard, is actually

more efficient at the desired skill.

The CAF training standard – mastery –contributes to a conformist culture, potentially to the detriment of training effectiveness.

6.2.2 Voice

Voice is the ability of the students to speak for themselves and contribute their own ideas. I consider this to be applicable in two principal ways. First, students can have a voice in the actual learning, contributing their own perceptions and analyses of the teaching content. Second, students need to have a voice in order to denounce wrongdoing or abuse of power on behalf of the instructors.

Pertaining to students' contribution to the learning process, this is a significant factor of the conformist culture. Early in the military career, there is little opportunity for student contribution. The effort is more focused on creating a common identity and socialisation. There is not much flexibility for student input. Later in a military career, there may be more openness to student voice, within the established norm.

With respect to potential abuse of power, there have been several initiatives within the government, and specifically the CAF, aiming at ensuring that all members have a voice. The harassment policy (DOAD 5012-0, 2017) is one example. Maher & Tetrault's (1994) theory supports the suggestion that it proves difficult to encourage students to have a voice. Even when measures are taken to communicate to both students and instructors the importance of respect and dignity, the power relationship is such that it is rare for students to speak out against wrongdoing or abuse of power.

6.2.3 Authority

Authority refers to the positional power of the teacher. Foucault's (1977) theory of disciplinary power explained the exercise of authority and power, using the prison system as a metaphor for disciplinary power. In this system, prisoners are always visible from guard towers. The prisoners are in a constant state of possible supervision by the disciplinary authority. Effectively, the prisoners become their own guards, constant supervision and correction resulting in expectations becoming normalised practices. This concept is at the heart of military discipline, by which a military member is held accountable under the National Defence Act (Government of Canada, 1985b) to report any wrongdoings of other members. This aspect of military law is explained and enforced in initial recruit training, with instruction on the subject of military law and a quasi-constant presence of supervisors during the waking hours of the training period. Doctrine indicates that feedback must be provided to students in order to let them know what they are doing right or wrong, the intent being "to "reinforce" desired performance and "extinguish" undesired performance" (Government of Canada, 1992b, p. 2-9). In the military context, especially in early stages of training, authority strongly contributes to a conformist culture.

While a nurturing, egalitarian, collaborative feminist pedagogy (hooks, 1989; Maher & Tetrault, 1994; Watson, 2008) might be more conducive to learning and inclusion, it is contrary to the hierarchical and authoritarian military culture, especially at the initial stage of socialisation of recruits described above.

6.2.4 Positionality

Positionality refers to the student's self-perception. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) provides a basis for understanding the importance of socialisation in the military context. Recalling that Graham, Treharne and Nairn (2017) proposed that the disciplinary nature of a learning institution contributes to conformism in that

the concept of gender is normalised through regular normative association dress, activity and behaviour with specific gender identity, one can reason that the same arguments are logically applicable for other standards of “normalcy”. Specific to the military culture, this contributes to the common understanding or perception of what defines a perfect soldier. The disciplinary authorities identify ideals: ultimate cardiovascular capacity, endless physical endurance, great muscular strength, highly effective despite little sleep, unfazed by stress, and aggressive in the face of conflict. In the early phases of military training, little emphasis is put on the value of diversity, one’s analytical capacity, knowledge, cultural awareness or compassion. Yet, military doctrine indicates that these are all aspects that are beneficial to a military force in an operational environment.

Constant feedback serves to reinforce the ideal, further solidifying the student’s positionality with respect to peers and the perceived standard of a perfect soldier. Through positionality, conformism is encouraged in the military training institutions, encouraging military members to compare themselves with an ideal that does not represent any aspects of diversity, and reinforcing conformist behaviour through constant feedback. It is clear that through mastery, voice, authority and positionality, the CAF training institutions create an environment that reinforces conformity, thereby potentially threatening the capacity to support diversity.

6.3 How Personnel Management Policy Encourages Conformity or Discourages Inclusion

Personnel management policies have a high impact on retention and contribute largely to the overall organisational culture. Many CAF policies are dated and reflect the requirements of the population that comprised the CAF decades ago. They have not yet been updated to reflect the requirements of an increasingly diverse and modern population. Not only does this population include women, but also it includes members of a greater variety of religions, men who share or have sole parental responsibilities, same-sex couples, differing levels of loyalty and commitment to the organisation, geographic sedentarism, instability or variability in career choices, and responsibilities for caring for elderly parents. Each of these manners of diversity brings different factors of consideration for personnel management policies. Coupled with the high employment rate and consequent choice of employers that the Canadian society currently enjoys, it would seem rather urgent that the CAF address the outdated nature of personnel management policies.

7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

It appears that a significant obstacle to change is occurring at the tactical level, in that soldiers are not embracing the underlying motivation for Op Honour, rather they are becoming fatigued by repetitive briefings dealing with the same sexual harassment-focused messages. I suggest that one of the ways of facilitating change is to focus on the overall attitude rather than specific compartments currently addressed by the message: Rather than focusing on how to interact with women, I propose to address how we interact respectfully with others in general. Instead of providing examples of how not to speak to a female colleague, it would be beneficial to demonstrate inclusion in general, as an example of proper respect for others. Demonstrating that we are inclusive of other minority groups - be it ethnicity, sexual orientation, or differing levels of ability - can only encourage a respectful approach to all people. Diversity and inclusion are directly related, and the inclusion of one minority – be it related to colour, ability, age, gender, sexuality or class – has a direct impact on other minorities. Changing our spoken word without changing policies will merely diminish the organisational credibility, therefore, I believe policies must be addressed in the short term.

Consequently, I suggest that an increased focus in the CAF training doctrine on the possibility of approaching the teaching subject through diverse training strategies, and consulting an expert in the field of training

development when confronted with learning difficulties would be of inestimable value.

Finally, I suggest that a review of current personnel management policy be conducted with a view to addressing the tendency to conformism. This would include taking advantage of individual grievances to validate policies for their encouragement of inclusion rather than merely their conformity to existing policy.

8.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I suggest that the theoretical concepts of diversity and inclusion offer significant impetus for a major review of CAF training doctrine and personnel management policies.

This research project has analysed, through a review of pertinent literature, the potential impact of diverse training strategies and personnel management policies on the culture of inclusion in the Canadian military, includes a literature review of academic research related to diversity and inclusion, suggesting a less conformist approach in order to encourage inclusion.

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Self- and Other-Perceptions of Military Performance of Men and Women in the Bundeswehr

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ABSTRACT

The paper first sketches the history of women's participation in the German armed forces up to. In a second step, empirical findings from previous studies on the integration of women into the Bundeswehr are presented, which leads the way to the analysis of self- and other-perceptions of service performance perceptions as such perceptions may very well influence the social interaction in combat situations. This analysis finds the most skepticism about the performance of women soldiers among combat and ground soldiers who may accordingly be made the special target of gender trainings.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Bundeswehr is a military that is fully open to women which means that women may serve in any function or capacity. However, so far, German female soldiers have experienced close and kinetic combat situations in very, very limited numbers only. From these few cases it is very difficult to infer general propositions this symposium is aiming for.

Nevertheless, we think that we can – to a certain extent – contribute to this debate because in our studies on the integration of women into the German Armed Forces we found considerable reservations and even resistance against the inclusion of women among male soldiers. These attitudes were most pronounced among younger soldiers, among rank and file and non-commissioned officers, among army soldiers and among soldiers serving in combat functions which implies that female soldiers in combat settings are generally confronted with more-than-average male reservations and resistance against them which may in turn negatively impact on their combat performance.

Our paper aims to shed some more light on this by looking at different forms of explicit performance perceptions in the German armed forces. The data come from the last integration climate study on the Bundeswehr that generally had the objective to identify difficulties and problems in the process of integrating women in the military in order to find appropriate ways and means to improve the situation. The items on performance perceptions were included in the survey in an exploratory way only. The underlying general hypothesis of the study is that attitudes, opinions and perceptions of male and female soldiers influence the social interactions in the military. Performance perceptions, then, may help us to better understand social interactions in combat situations which are the focus of this symposium. In an ideal world, the paper may therefore provide some insight into what to do to improve interactions of soldiers in combat.

The present article first sketches the history of women's participation in the German armed forces up to now as this might not be familiar to the participants (Sections 1 and 2). In a second step, empirical findings from previous studies on the integration of women into the Bundeswehr are presented (Section 3), which leads the

way to the analysis of performance perceptions (Section 4). A discussion of the findings and some thoughts on the road ahead will close the article (Section 5).

2.0 THE HISTORY OF THE INCLUSION OF WOMEN INTO THE BUNDESWEHR

Women have long been involved in German war efforts. During World War I women worked in the German armaments' industries and were recruited for medical, administrative and combat support functions. Towards the end of the war, 500 of them were trained for service in the field of communication. In World War II, the inclusion of females in the war went even further despite the pre-modern gender role conceptions of the National Socialists. A very substantial number of women, about 450,000, were recruited for the Wehrmacht Assistance Corps (*Wehrmachthelferinnenkorps*) and tens of thousands of them were even assigned combat functions. However, this was not officially acknowledged since their service was interpreted in terms of assistance only. (Seidler 1998)

The recognition of women as official and regular soldiers had to wait until the Bundeswehr came into being. The creation of German armed forces, to be sure, was by no means something 'natural' in the decade following the Second World War. In the end, it was the Cold War-turbulences in international relations in the late 1940s and early 1950s that persuaded the Western powers to view the rearmament of West Germany in a different light. As a result, in the mid-1950s the Bundeswehr was established.

At the time, few considered female soldiers to be an issue. Yet, the Bundeswehr soon employed thousands of women as civilian employees in the Federal Armed Forces Administration, i.e. in functions which in many militaries of the world would be done by people in uniform. It took another decade until the issue of women as regular soldiers began to be discussed in society and in politics due to wide-ranging democratization processes and significant socio-cultural and politico-cultural changes. Starting with the so called student movement, various parts of German society began to support important social movements that called for political and societal participation. Among them were various women's groups that criticized the patriarchal structure of German society and sought emancipation and gender equality as laid out in various UN documents. Accordingly, some parts of them also demanded equal access and participation to professions that had hitherto been exclusively male domains. Very soon the male-dominated soldierly profession and the Bundeswehr faced pressure from society that soon translated into the political sphere and put the issue of women in the military on the agenda. (Kraake 1992; Albrecht-Heide/Bujewski-Crawford 1991; Fischer 1997)

In late 1973, the German government, at that time a coalition of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and the Liberal Party (FDP), responded to these societal pressures by establishing the enquête-commission *Women and Society*. As a result, the Minister of Defense, Georg Leber (SPD), implemented the opening of the Bundeswehr for women. Thus, in autumn 1975, the year the UN had declared *Year of the Woman*, the first five women entered the Bundeswehr, soon to be followed by others. However, they served in the medical service only, where, the German armed forces had been confronted with substantial recruitment problems since the early 1970s resulting in a gap of 1,300 long-term service volunteers in the officer careers (Seidler 1998: 223, 225).

After some time, the access of women to military functions and capacities was extended to military bands also because of the legal connection between the medical service and military bands, i.e., in the case of an emergency the soldiers of the military bands are to be transferred to the medical service.

The discussion about extending female participation to new functions was to gain new momentum in the early 1980s. In 1981, an independent *Long-Term-Commission* had analyzed the shifts and the trends in demography of West German with an eye toward satisfying the Bundeswehr's personnel needs. One year

later, the Commission submitted its report that in one paragraph recommended considering extending voluntary service of women in the armed forces to additional non-combat functions. However, throughout the 1980s, no such political move was initiated. Nevertheless the issue remained on the agenda of societal and political debate and soon further steps were taken to enlarge the representation of women in the armed forces. Since the beginning of 1991 all the careers of the medical and military musical service were made accessible to women (see also the findings of Anker/Lippert/Welcker 1993; Klein/Kriesel 1993; Schaffer 1994); in 1994, Verena von Weymarn became Surgeon General, the first female general in German military history (Seidler 1998: 227).

In the late 1990s, female soldiers made up for 1.2 percent of all German soldiers. The number of women came close to 60 in the military bands and to 4,350 in the medical service, i.e. approximately 400 medical officers, 700 medical officer candidates, 2,300 non-commissioned officers, 200 non-commissioned officer candidates and 100 in private ranks (German Ministry of Defense 1999). In addition to that, close to 50,000 women worked as civilian employees either in the armed forces or in the Federal Armed Forces Administration.

This means that towards the end of the millennium women in the Bundeswehr were still confined to non-combat roles, whereas in other countries the integration of women had made significantly more progress (Lippert/Rössler 1980; Soeters/Meulen 1999; Kümmel 2002; Carreiras 2006). Although female soldiers were trained in the use of weapons, their utilization – except for cases of self-defense – was forbidden by Article 12a of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*).

3.0 THE CASE OF TANJA KREIL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

This situation changed fundamentally at the turn of the century due to a woman named Tanja Kreil who has been described by the media as embodying the – foremost male – “nightmare of a woman with a gun in her hand” (Kipphoff 2000: 39) and as indicating the end of the “rule of men” (Zielke 2000: 14). The story goes like this: In 1996, the 19-year old trained electrician Tanja Kreil applied for voluntary service in the Bundeswehr in the area of maintenance, i.e. in a combat support function. Her application, however, was declined by the Bundeswehr with reference to the above-mentioned Article 12a of the Basic Law: women serving in combat functions and with weapons in their hands were against the law. Tanja Kreil went to the courts and argued that her application was illegally rejected because the Bundeswehr resorted to her sex and used a gender-specific argument by saying that men were allowed to enter positions involving the use of arms while women were not. Eventually, her case was transferred to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in Luxemburg which, in its ruling of January 2000, followed Tanja Kreil’s argument (European Court of Justice 2000) Hence, the ECJ overruled the arguments of national sovereignty put forward by the German government. This means that the steps to open the Bundeswehr to women did not stem from genuinely political initiatives as one may have thought, but from a court ruling that required the political sphere to take some action (see also Stelzenmüller 2000: 6).

The ECJ’s ruling was quite vague because it only demanded from Germany to open more functions and capacities than before without defining the scope and extent of this broader inclusion in detail. Therefore, one of the main issues discussed was the depth or the degree of the integration and thus the question whether certain areas, functions and capacities should be denied to women or whether the Bundeswehr should be completely open. In order to tackle this question in particular and to implement integration in practice in general, the Ministry of Defense established an intra-ministerial steering group and asked its inhouse research institute, the Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences (*Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, SOWI*), to scientifically aid and support this process.

In mid-February 2000, the researchers turned against the idea of defining off-limits areas and instead advocated a principally unrestricted access of women to the military. The Ministry of Defense eventually

agreed to this option and, thus, the organization and implementation of this political decision began. Further on, according to the group of researchers, integration was to be based on the *principle of voluntariness*, i.e. women would enter the military services voluntarily and would not be subject to conscription as was the case for men at that time. Also, integration was not to be based on the idea of affirmative action, but on the *principle of equality of treatment*. Thus, there was to be a gender-free or gender-neutral assessment of those who applied for military service, i.e. everyone would have to pass the criteria for the position they requested irrespective of their sex. Lastly, the researchers recommended the introduction of a gender or integration training program. (Kümmel/Klein/Lohmann 2000; see also Kümmel/Biehl 2001)

The Bundeswehr Center of Innere Führung (*Zentrum Innere Führung*) in Koblenz was tasked to devise some sort of a curriculum for such a program which went into practice in November 2000 already, namely in courses for military leaders and trainers coming from those military units in which the military education and training of the servicewoman was to start in January 2001. The objectives of the curriculum were defined as: (a) improving the men's acceptance of women; (b) developing an atmosphere of mutual trust, tolerance and comradeship between men and women; (c) bringing to the men's knowledge relevant legal provisions; and (d) building and strengthening the men's security in behavior towards women. This was thought to be achieved by following the principle of multiplication, i.e. these courses were organized centrally for a core group of soldiers that were deemed multipliers who would pass their newly gained knowledge on to the various subordinate military levels and soldiers. In other words, the integration training operated with the notion of a trickle-down or cascade effect. (Zentrum Innere Führung 2000a; 2000b).

In the summer of 2000, the first job interviews and aptitude tests were conducted with female applicants. Simultaneously were taken to revise the German constitution. At the end of October and in early December 2000, the German parliamentary bodies, the *Bundestag* and the *Bundesrat*, voted with two-thirds majorities for the revision of the above-mentioned Article 12a of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*), respectively. Following this, and starting with January 2001, women became eligible to enter all functions and capacities.

In the following years, the Bundeswehr's personnel composition was to change quite dramatically, because the number of women soldiers in the Bundeswehr increased from about 2 percent by the end of the 1990s to 12 percent as of November 2018. Currently, 21,938 female soldiers are working for the German Armed Forces (Army: 4,028; Air Force: 2,287; Navy: 1,613; Medical Branch: 8,194; Cyber: 1,209; Armed Forces Base: 2,737; Department of Defense: 1,870). Regarding their rank, 5,583 of them are officers, 11,276 are non-commissioned officers, and 5,079 are rank and file. Most of them are shorter- and longer service volunteers (18,868); the number of female career servicemembers is 3,252).¹

4.0. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The process of integrating women into the Bundeswehr was accompanied by ongoing social scientific research of the SOWI and, later on, the Center of Military History and Social Sciences of the Bundeswehr (*Zentrum der Bundeswehr für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften, ZMSBw*). In these studies (Kümmel/Biehl 2001; Kümmel/Werkner 2003; Kümmel 2008), there were hints at mixed feelings and ambivalence among male soldiers against their female comrades. According to these data and depending on the respective item, we found quite a few soldiers who showed some reservations and sometimes even strong resistance against the inclusion of women in the military. These attitudes and opinions could be traced back to persisting classical or traditional images concerning the role of women in society and vis-à-vis men, to biologically based perceptions and gender stereotypes and to modern sexism, i.e. the impression of men that, in an era of increasing workplace competition from women, they are the ones who are victims of discrimination.

¹ https://www.bundeswehr.de/portal/a/bwde/start/streitkraefte/truppe/frauen/staerke/!ut/p/z1/04_Sj9CPyKssy0xPLMnMz0vMAfIjo8zizSxNPN2Ngg18LZy83Awcjd3CQoOMHQ0MTEz0wwkpiAJKG-AAjgb6wSmp-pFAM8xxm2GsH6wfpR-ViViWWKFxf9UkpNaopeYDHKhfmRGYI5KTmpAfrIjRKAgN6LcoNxREQDvzfFE/dz/d5/L2dBISevZ0FBIS9nQSEh/#Z7_694IG2S0M8BJF0A3FVUR3A0043

A number of these items dealt with combat-relevant and combat-related issues. For example, in the early 2000s, almost every third male soldier deemed women not to be suited for the challenging life in the field and more than two fifths thought that women are not suited for tasks that demand high levels of physical fitness. 15 percent of the male soldiers were strictly opposed to any measures and policies aiming to include women in the military. The traditional gender-role ascription that the man is the protector and the woman is the protected was widely shared; almost 45 percent could not imagine themselves being defended by armed female soldiers and one fourth perceived women as being in need of protection. We also found that men in the army had more reservations against women than those in the navy or the air force. The same applies to members of the combat forces compared to those in non-combat areas. Officers showed less reservations than non-commissioned officers and rank and file soldiers. The younger men up to 29 years of age were less supportive of the integration of women than the men aged 30 and older. Also, shorter- and longer-service volunteers displayed more skepticism than career servicemembers. (Kümmel/Biehl 2001)

Further on, we found that every fifth male soldier had some reservations when it comes to women in leadership functions. Again, there were 43 percent of the male soldiers who deemed women not suited for physically demanding functions and capabilities. More than 60 percent of the men even anticipated some negative effects of female integration on military combat capabilities. (Kümmel/Werkner 2003)

In addition, we found that men and women differed in basic attitudes and norms. For instance, compared to female soldiers, the male soldiers adhered to a more negative general image of human beings and showed more patriotism. What is more important in a combat perspective is that men were more inclined to advocate an active foreign policy for Germany and to use military means and military force in international relations than women. About 28 percent of male soldiers explicitly viewed the performance of women soldiers as worse than that of men, and between a fifth and a fourth of men stated not to have confidence in female soldiers when it comes to military missions abroad. (Kümmel 2008)

The findings from these analyses point to a rather widespread understanding that combat and actual fighting is a male business and that women somehow negatively affect military readiness and military effectiveness. We found such skepticism the strongest among younger men, among rank and file and among non-commissioned officers, among army soldiers and among soldiers serving in combat functions.

This left us wanting to dig deeper into this issue. We then decided to look into self- and other-perceptions of actual active duty performances because these items are explicitly based on comparisons. Such comparisons may provide a more accurate picture than the above-mentioned items, may help to better understand what goes on in combat settings and may even help finding appropriate tools to improve the social interactions in mixed-gender combat groups. The survey for the following integration climate study of the year 2011 (Kümmel 2014) thus included a set of items on self- and other-performance perceptions in order to get a first impression of the usefulness of these items and to decide whether it is worthwhile to explore this thematic field more thoroughly.

5.0 ANALYSIS

5.1. Sample

The present analysis is based on data generated through a paper and pencil survey of active German military personnel, which was conducted in September and October 2011. The survey covered a wide range of topics, including attitudes towards the integration of women into the armed forces, sexual harassment, and gender stereotypes. A total of 14,500 copies of the survey were distributed in all branches of the German armed forces. Every second service woman received a copy of the survey (8,500) and 6,000 copies were distributed to a random sample of men. The final sample size is N=4,835 (women = 3,058; men = 1,777), resulting in a return rate of 33.3 percent. Importantly, the sample is not representative of the active service personnel of the

German armed forces due to the overrepresentation of women. The characteristics of the sample are detailed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Age			
17-30	58.5	38.9	69.8
31-40	27.7	29.8	26.4
41-50	9.9	22.1	2.9
51-60	3.9	9.1	0.8
Education			
Basic (8 yrs.)	6.9	11.6	4.2
Middle (10 yrs.)	47.2	44.7	48.6
High (13 yrs.)	26.7	24.3	28.1
Tertiary degree	19.2	19.4	19.1
Children			
Yes	32.7	43.8	26.3
No	67.3	56.2	73.7
Rank			
Soldier	10.8	13.4	9.2
Non-commissioned Officer	60.7	52.5	65.4
Commissioned Officer	17.2	16.9	17.5
Staff Officer	11.4	17.2	7.9
Branch			
Army	29.7	41.9	22.7
Air Force	13.0	12.8	13.0
Navy	11.3	12.9	10.3
SKB (Support)	20.5	25.5	17.6
Medical Corps	25.5	6.9	36.4
Role			
Combat	4.9	10.7	1.5
Combat Support	8.6	13.3	5.8
Technical Support	20.9	23.8	19.2
Staff	29.6	29.9	29.4
Staff Support	14.8	18.3	12.6
Medical Support	21.2	4.0	31.5
Career Status			
Career Servicemembers	67.5	41.7	82.4
Shorter-/Longer Service	32.5	58.3	17.6
Volunteers			
Years in Service			
1 to 4	18.9	7.4	25.5
5 to 10	41.0	28.6	48.2
10 to 15	18.7	19.2	18.5
More than 15	21.5	44.7	7.9

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

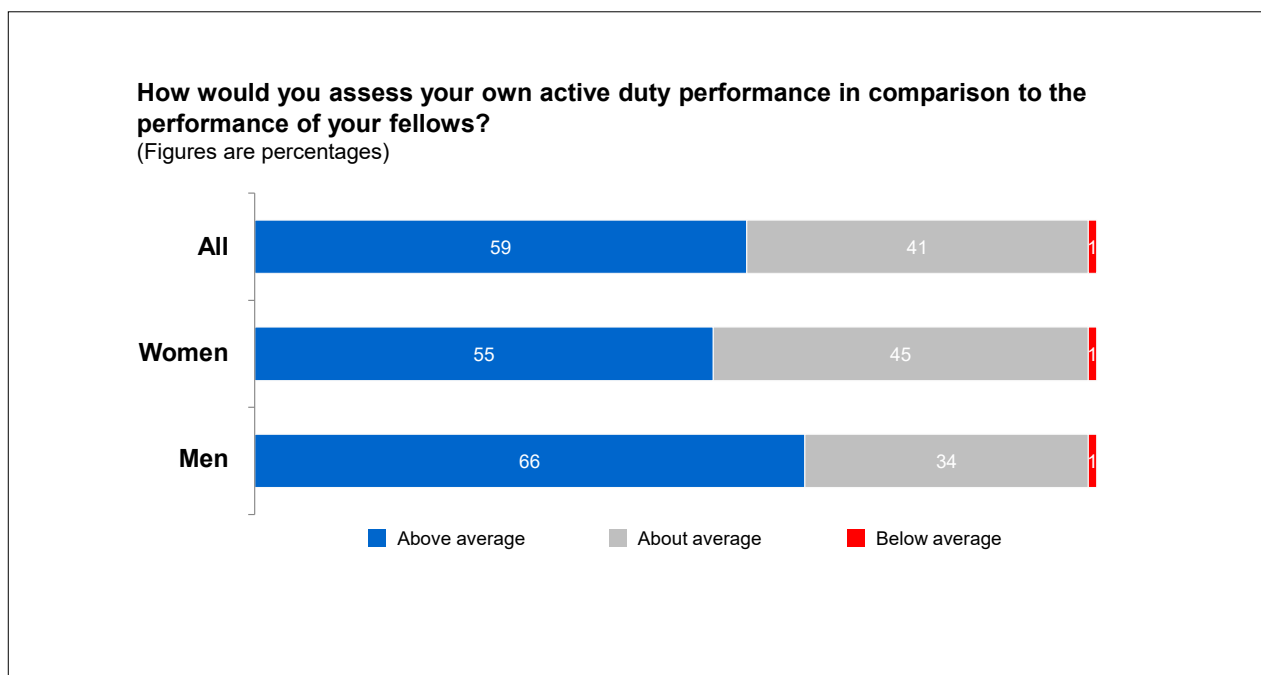
It should be noted that, on average, the female respondents are younger, slightly higher educated, have fewer children, occupy more junior ranks, and have served fewer years than the male respondents. Clearly, age (younger), rank (lower) and years in service (less) are related and all owe to the fact that service in the

German armed forces was fully opened to women only in 2001. Also, women are more likely to serve in the medical corps and to be shorter- and longer-service volunteers, and they are less likely to perform combat related functions than men.

5.2 Descriptive Analysis

4.2.1. Self-Perception of One's Performance

We begin our analysis by looking at the respondents' self-assessment of their active duty performance in comparison to their peers. It is important to note that only a minority of 1 percent of the respondents (both male and female) assess their own active duty performance negatively ("below average") in comparison to their fellows (see Figure 1). Consequently, the crucial distinction for analytical purposes is between those who consider their own performance to be "about average" and those who consider it to be "above average." On the whole, fewer women rate their own performance to be "above average" (55 percent) than men (66 percent). Hence, it appears that men display a greater level of confidence regarding their work performance.



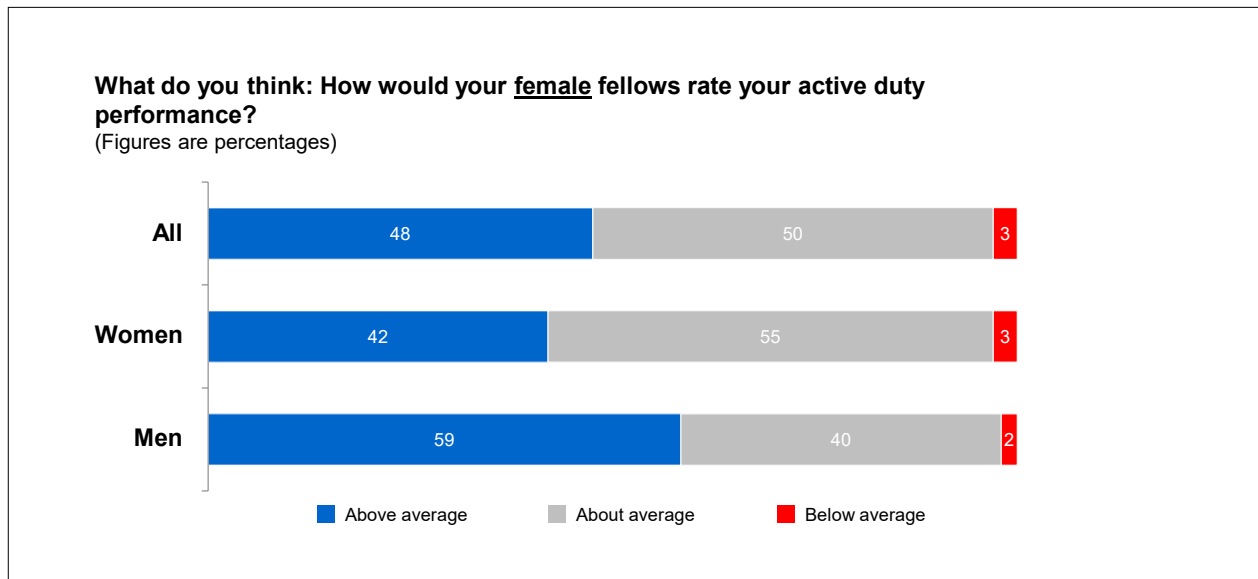
Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Figure 1: Comparative Assessment of the Personal Active Duty Performance

4.2.2. Perception of One's Performance by Others

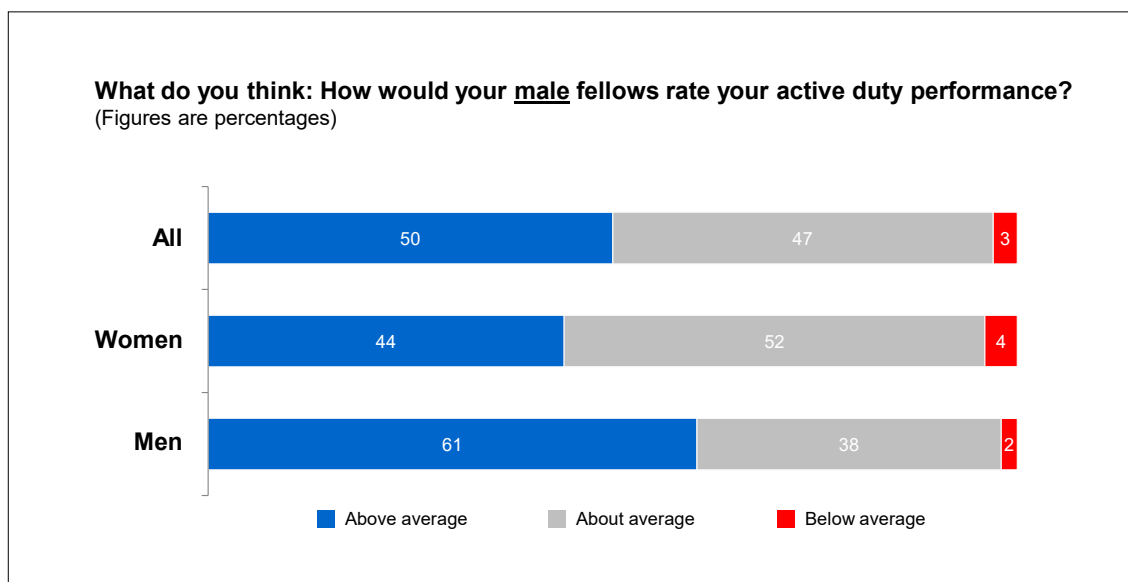
Moving from self-perception to the perception by others (see Figures 2 and 3), it is again notable that only a minority of 1 to 4 percent of the respondents believes that others (both male and female fellows) assess their active duty performance as being "below average." So, the crucial analytical distinction is once again between those who believe that they are seen as "outperformers" and those who feel that their performance is rated as being about average. Fewer women believe that their fellows (both male and female) assess their personal performance as being "above average" than men. In fact, the majority of female respondents believes that their personal active duty performance is perceived as being "about average," whereas the majority of male respondents believes that others rate their performance as being "above average" – regardless of the gender of the "other." So, once again, men display more self-esteem regarding their active

duty performance than women. Interestingly, the perception by female fellows is more critical for both male and female respondents than the perception by male peers. However, the difference is only marginal (2 percentage points).



Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Figure 2: Assessment of the Personal Active Duty Performance by Female Fellows



Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

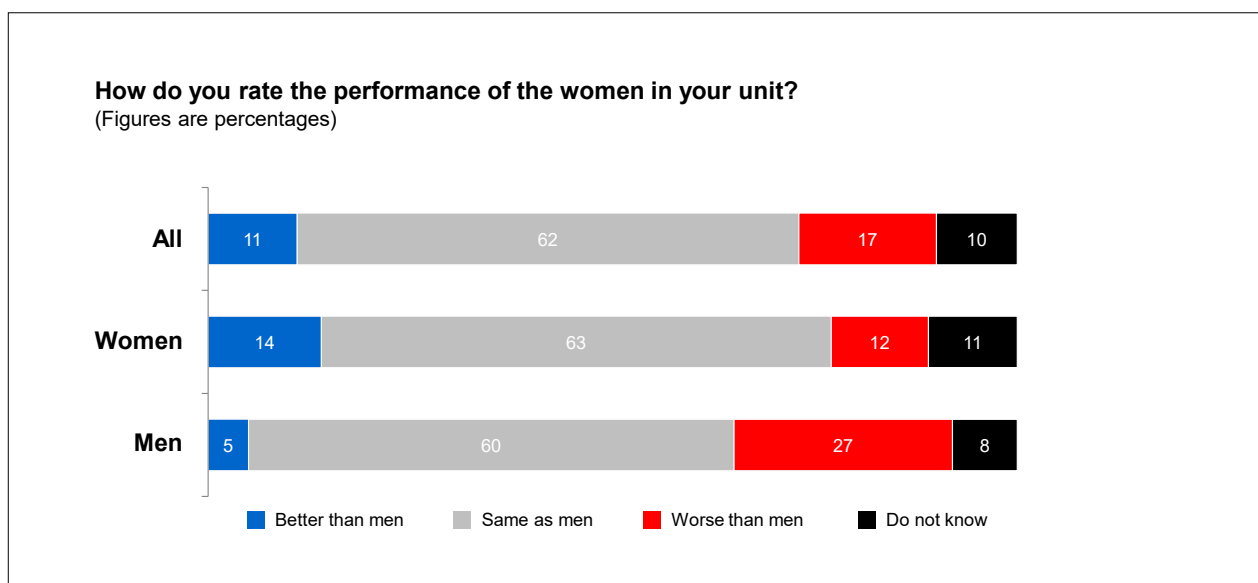
Figure 3: Assessment of the Personal Active Duty Performance by Male Fellows

4.2.3. Perception of the Performance of Women in One's Unit

Finally, the respondents were asked to assess the active duty performance of women in their military unit (see Figure 4). Overall, only a minority of respondents (both male and female) thinks that the women in their

unit outperform men. Nonetheless, more female respondents believe that women outperform men (14 percent) than male respondents (5 percent). The majority of both male (60 percent) and female (63 percent) respondents rates the performance of women as being the “same as men.” However, more than a quarter of male respondents believes that the performance of women is “worse than men” (27 percent). By comparison, only 12 percent of female respondents share this critical assessment. It should also be noted that 8 percent of the male respondents and 11 percent of the female respondents answered with “do not know,” which indicates either an unwillingness to answer the question or a genuine inability to do so.

At this point, it is worth highlighting that the respondents’ assessment of their personal active duty performance (both in terms of their perception of their performance by themselves as well as their perception of their performance by others) is considerably more favorable than the assessment of the performance of the women in their military unit – irrespective of the respondent’s gender.



Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Figure 4: Assessment of the Active Duty Performance of Female Fellows

4.3. Bivariate Analysis

Having described the overall differences between the male and female respondents regarding their perception of their performance by themselves and by others as well as the assessment of the performance of women in one’s military unit, we now disaggregate the group of respondents not only by gender, but also by age, education, rank, career status, years in service etc.. Importantly, in addition to a detailed description of the between-group differences in the outcome measures, we will test whether these differences are statistically significant (i.e., they did not just occur by chance).

4.3.1. Self-Perception of One’s Performance

We begin our analysis by looking at the self-assessment of the respondent’s personal active duty performance in comparison to the peer group (Table 2).² The first thing to note is that the difference between men and women is statistically significant, i.e., men evaluate their personal performance significantly more

² In some instances, less than 5 respondents chose the option “below average,” which is why the Chi²-test compares the differences between the specified groups regarding the responses “above average” and “about average.”

favorably (“above average”) than women. Beyond gender, the self-assessment of one’s active duty performance becomes significantly more positive with higher age, education and rank as well as more years in service – this observation holds for both men and women. In addition, the self-assessment of women becomes significantly more positive as the number of deployments increases. In short, the respondents’ assessment of their active duty performance becomes more positive with experience and achievement. Also, the self-assessment of career servicemembers (both men and women) is significantly more favorable compared to shorter- and longer-service volunteers.

Interestingly, while men with children assess their own performance significantly more positively than men without children, the difference is not significant for women. Also, while the difference in the self-assessment is significant for both men and women living with a partner compared to those living without a partner, the difference is more pronounced with men. So, “family guys” assess their own performance significantly more favorably than “lone wolves.”³

Finally, there are also significant differences between the various branches of the military and the different roles performed by the soldiers. For instance, men in the navy are significantly more modest in their self-assessment than men in other branches of the military, and women in the medical corps assess their own performance significantly more positively than women in other branches. Also, it is worth noting that women in staff or staff support roles report significantly more positive self-assessments than women in other capacities.

Table 2: How would you assess your own active duty performance in comparison to the performance of your fellows: above average (+), about average (0) or below average (-)?

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Total***	59	41	1	66	34	1	55	45	1
Age		***			***			***	
17-30	51	48	1	59	40	1	49	51	1
31-40	68	32	0	69	31	1	67	33	0
41-50	73	27	1	73	26	1	70	29	1
51-60	68	31	1	64	34	1	88	13	0
Education		***			***			***	
Basic (8 yrs.)	50	48	2	53	44	3	44	56	1
Middle (10 yrs.)	56	42	1	65	35	1	54	45	1
High (13 yrs.)	58	42	1	70	29	1	51	48	0
Tertiary degree	66	34	0	71	29	0	62	37	0
Children		***			**			n.s.	
Yes	62	37	1	69	31	1	55	44	0
No	57	43	3	63	36	1	54	46	1
Living with Partner		***			***			**	
Yes	61	39	1	68	21	1	56	43	0
No	52	47	1	56	42	2	50	49	1
Rank		***			***			***	
Soldier	45	54	4	53	46	1	39	61	1
Non-commissioned Officer	58	41	1	66	33	1	55	45	0
Commissioned Officer	59	41	1	66	33	1	55	45	0

³ However, it is probably safe to assume that, on average, “family guys” tend to be more senior (both in terms of age and rank) than men without families. So, the “family effect” may actually be driven by the respondent’s “seniority.”

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Staff Officer	72	28	0	73	27	0	70	29	1
Branch		n.s.			*			*	
Army	60	39	2	65	34	1	55	45	0
Air Force	59	40	1	68	32	0	54	45	1
Navy	54	46	1	56	43	1	51	48	1
SKB (Support)	58	41	1	68	31	1	49	50	1
Medical Corps	59	41	0	68	32	0	58	42	0
Role		***			n.s.			***	
Combat	67	32	0	70	29	1	54	47	0
Combat Support	58	42	1	63	36	1	51	49	0
Technical Support	54	45	1	65	34	1	46	54	1
Staff	60	40	1	63	35	1	58	42	0
Staff Support	64	35	1	68	31	1	60	40	1
Medical Support	57	43	0	67	33	0	56	43	0
Career Status		***			***			***	
Career Servicemember	53	47	1	60	39	2	51	49	0
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	71	28	1	70	29	1	73	27	1
Number of Deployments		***			n.s.			***	
0	47	53	1	60	39	2	46	54	1
1	61	38	1	64	35	1	59	40	1
2	66	34	1	64	35	1	67	33	1
3	70	29	1	72	29	2	67	33	0
4+	68	32	1	69	32	1	70	30	1
	+	ALL	-	+	MEN	-	+	WOMEN	-
		0			0			0	
Years in Service		***			***			***	
1 to 4	48	61	1	46	51	3	37	63	1
5 to 10	59	41	0	61	39	1	58	42	0
10 to 15	66	33	1	70	29	2	64	36	1
More than 15	71	29	0	70	29	1	73	27	0

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi². Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

4.3.2. Perception of One's Performance by Others

Moving from self-perception to the perception of one's performance by others, Table 3 shows how the respondents' think that their *female* fellows would rate their personal active duty performance.⁴ Similar to the self-assessment, men report a significantly more positive ("above average") assessment of their performance (59 percent) than women (42 percent). Also, the assessment by female fellows becomes more positive with higher age, education and rank as well as more years in service. The differences between the lowest groups and the highest groups are between 20 and 30 percentage points and statistically highly significant. So, once again, work-related self-esteem appears to grow with experience and achievement – regardless of the respondent's gender. Interestingly, female respondents in the oldest age group (51-60) "surpass" male respondents in assuming that female fellows would rate their personal active duty performance "above average" – this is the only instance in which the "self-esteem" of the female respondents tops that of the male respondents.

⁴ In some instances, less than 5 respondents chose the option "below average," which is why the Chi²-test compares the differences between the specified groups regarding the responses "above average" and "about average."

Similar to the self-assessment reported in Table 2, the assessment by female fellows becomes significantly more positive (“above average”) for female respondents as the number of deployments increases. This is mere speculation, but perhaps deployments are seen by female soldiers as the ultimate opportunity to prove to their peers (both men and women) that they are “true soldiers” who can master the difficult challenges “in the field.” By comparison, the work-related self-esteem of men does not appear to be affected by the number of deployments (see Tables 2 and 3).

Furthermore, career servicemembers (both men and women) report significantly more positive assessments of their performance by female fellows. In which branch the soldiers are serving appears to make no difference, at least the between-group differences are not statistically significant (neither for men nor for women). It should be noted, however, that – similar to the self-assessment reported in Table 2 – the men and women in the navy stand out as the most modest, i.e., they report the lowest “above average” assessments of their performance by female peers. Interestingly, men with children and those living with a partner report once again significantly more positive assessments by female fellows. Hence, the initial impression that “family guys” are more self-confident than “lone wolves” receives additional support.⁵ By comparison, the differences between women with and without families are not statistically significant.

Table 3: What do you think, how would your female fellows rate your own active duty performance: above average (+), about average (0) or below average (-)?

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Total***	48	50	3	59	40	2	42	55	3
Age		***			***			***	
17-30	39	58	3	47	50	3	37	60	3
31-40	57	41	2	65	34	2	52	46	2
41-50	69	30	1	70	30	1	69	30	1
51-60	68	33	0	65	35	0	82	18	0
Education		***			***			***	
Basic (8 yrs.)	40	56	4	44	53	3	33	62	5
Middle (10 yrs.)	45	52	3	55	43	2	39	57	4
High (13 yrs.)	49	49	2	65	34	1	42	56	3
Tertiary degree	58	42	1	68	31	1	52	48	1
Children		***			**			n.s.	
Yes	52	46	2	63	36	1	42	56	3
No	46	51	3	55	42	2	42	55	3
Living with Partner		***			***			*	
Yes	50	48	2	62	37	2	43	54	3
No	42	55	3	48	50	3	39	58	4
Rank		***			***			***	
Soldier	36	59	5	42	54	5	31	63	6
Non-commissioned Officer	46	52	3	56	42	2	41	56	3
Commissioned Officer	53	46	1	67	32	1	46	54	0
Staff Officer	66	33	1	73	28	0	59	40	2
Branch		n.s.			n.s.			n.s.	
Army	50	47	3	58	40	2	43	54	4
Air Force	49	50	1	60	39	1	43	56	1

⁵ Please see footnote 3.

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Navy	44	54	2	54	45	1	37	60	3
SKB (Support)	49	49	2	61	38	1	39	59	3
Medical Corps	46	52	3	59	37	4	44	53	3
	+	ALL 0	-	+	MEN 0	-	+	WOMEN 0	-
Role		***			n.s.			**	
Combat	60	37	2	61	37	2	58	40	2
Combat Support	51	47	2	58	41	1	42	55	2
Technical Support	42	56	3	53	46	2	34	63	3
Staff	50	48	3	60	39	2	44	53	3
Staff Support	54	45	2	64	34	1	45	53	2
Medical Support	44	54	3	59	37	4	43	55	3
Career Status		***			***			***	
Career Servicemember	41	56	3	49	48	3	38	59	3
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	64	35	1	66	33	1	60	38	1
Number of Deployments		***			n.s.			***	
0	36	62	3	58	36	7	34	63	3
1	50	48	3	55	44	2	47	50	4
2	55	43	2	58	40	2	52	47	1
3	58	40	2	63	35	2	49	49	1
4+	62	36	2	63	36	1	60	37	3
Years in Service		***			***			***	
1 to 4	29	67	4	39	56	5	27	69	4
5 to 10	44	53	3	47	50	3	43	54	3
10 to 15	56	43	2	61	37	2	52	46	2
More than 15	68	32	1	69	31	1	64	35	1

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi². Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Table 4: What do you think, how would your male fellows rate your own active duty performance: above average (+), about average (0) or below average (-)?

	+	ALL 0	-	+	MEN 0	-	+	WOMEN 0	-
Total***	50	47	3	61	38	2	44	52	4
Age		***			***			***	
17-30	43	53	4	53	45	3	39	56	5
31-40	57	40	3	64	35	1	53	44	4
41-50	70	29	1	71	29	1	66	30	4
51-60	65	35	0	64	36	0	68	32	0
Education		***			***			*	
Basic (8 yrs.)	45	53	3	48	47	4	39	61	1
Middle (10 yrs.)	48	49	4	57	42	1	43	53	5
High (13 yrs.)	51	45	4	68	30	1	43	52	5
Tertiary degree	57	41	2	69	30	1	50	47	3
Children		*			n.s.			n.s.	
Yes	53	44	4	63	35	1	42	52	6
No	49	48	3	59	39	1	44	52	4
Living with Partner		***			***			*	
Yes	52	45	3	63	36	1	45	51	4
No	44	52	4	53	45	3	40	55	5

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Rank		***			***			***	
Soldier	41	55	4	50	46	4	33	63	4
Non-commissioned Officer	48	48	3	58	41	1	44	52	4
Commissioned Officer	51	46	4	65	33	1	43	52	5
Staff Officer	67	32	1	75	25	0	58	40	3
Branch		n.s.			n.s.			***	
Army	51	45	4	60	38	2	42	53	5
Air Force	51	45	4	63	37	1	45	50	6
Navy	48	49	3	56	42	2	42	55	3
SKB (Support)	49	48	4	64	35	2	37	57	6
Medical Corps	50	48	2	61	38	1	49	49	3
Role		***			*			***	
Combat	61	38	1	67	32	1	35	63	2
Combat Support	51	47	3	58	41	1	42	54	4
Technical Support	43	52	5	55	43	2	35	58	7
Staff	52	45	3	62	37	2	46	50	4
Staff Support	56	41	4	65	34	1	47	48	6
Medical Support	49	49	2	64	35	2	48	50	3
Career Status		***			***			***	
Career Servicemember	44	52	4	54	44	2	41	55	5
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	64	35	2	67	33	1	59	38	3
Number of Deployments		***			n.s.			***	
0	39	56	5	60	33	6	38	57	5
1	50	47	3	57	41	2	45	51	4
2	57	41	2	61	39	1	53	45	3
3	62	36	2	65	34	1	56	41	3
4+	64	34	2	65	33	2	61	38	1
Years in Service		***			***			***	
1 to 4	33	61	6	45	51	4	32	63	6
5 to 10	47	50	3	53	45	2	45	51	4
10 to 15	56	41	3	63	35	2	52	45	3
More than 15	66	32	2	68	31	1	58	39	4

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi². Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Finally, it is interesting to note that women in a combat role report the most positive assessment of their performance by female fellows, whereas in the case of men it is those who perform a staff support role. This pattern is diametrically opposed to the one observed for the reported self-assessment of the personal active duty performance (see Table 2). However, the between-group differences for men are not statistically significant. As far as the women are concerned, it appears that performing a typically male role (combat) boosts the work-related self-esteem of women vis-à-vis their female fellows, perhaps because they believe that by performing that very “male role” they demonstrate to other female soldiers that women can in fact perform *any* role within the military – hyperbolically speaking, the female “fighters” derive professional self-esteem from showing the “secretaries” that anything is possible. Such statements remain mere speculation at this point, but this observation certainly warrants further empirical analysis.

The discussion of the respondents' performance assessment by *male* fellows (see Table 4) can be kept brief, for the patterns observed are similar, if not identical, to the performance assessment by *female* fellows (see Table 3).⁶ The primary difference between those two perceptions is the fact that both male and female respondents appear to believe that women are more critical of the respondent's active duty performance, which manifests itself in slightly lower performance ratings across the board. In addition, it should be noted that male respondents performing a combat role report the most positive ratings of their performance by fellow male soldiers. By contrast, female respondents performing a combat or a technical support role report the lowest ratings of their performance by fellow male soldiers, whereas those females performing a staff, staff support or medical support role report the highest performance assessments by male fellows. In essence, it appears that male "fighters" feel the most appreciated by other males, whereas women who perform typically female duties (staff and medical support) feel that their performance is respected the most by male fellows. Yet, when women perform duties that are (stereo)typically "male domains" – combat and technical support – they feel that male fellows rate their performance less positively. Put differently, both male and female soldiers are more likely to feel that their performance is rated "above average" by male fellows when they perform roles that are (stereo)typical for their respective gender: men fight (and build), women care (and organize).

4.3.3. Perception of the Performance of Women in One's Unit

Finally, we move to the respondents' assessment of the performance of women in their military units (see Table 5). To begin with, the difference between the (more critical) assessment of the women's performance by the male respondents and the (more positive) assessment by the female respondents is statistically significant. Beyond this significant gender difference, we can observe the familiar pattern, i.e., the performance assessment becomes more positive with higher age, education and rank as well as with more years in service – regardless of the respondent's gender. Also, career servicemembers rate the performance of women significantly more positively than shorter- and longer-service volunteers – this observation is true for both male and female respondents. Furthermore, it appears that the experience of deployments elevates not only the self-perception of female soldiers (see Tables 2, 3 and 4), but to a lesser degree also their assessment of the performance of female peers. Additional notable observations are that both men and women serving in the army rate women's performance significantly lower than men and women in other branches of the military, and both men and women in combat and combat support roles rate women's performance significantly lower than men and women performing other duties, which suggests that combat (ground) troops have a negative bias regarding the perception of women's active duty performance, regardless of their gender.

Table 5: How do you rate the performance of the women in your unit: better than that of men (+), same as that of men (0), worse than that of men (-) or do not know (DK)?

	ALL				MEN				WOMEN			
	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK
Total***	11	62	17	10	5	60	27	8	14	63	12	11
Age	***				***				***			
17-30	10	58	20	12	3	46	42	9	13	61	14	13
31-40	12	67	13	8	4	68	21	7	17	66	8	9
41-50	11	71	11	8	9	71	12	8	21	70	3	6
51-60	9	74	10	8	8	72	12	8	14	82	0	5
Education	***				***				***			
Basic (8 yrs.)	7	50	26	18	3	48	32	17	12	52	16	19

⁶ In some instances, less than 5 respondents chose the option "below average," which is why the Chi²-test compares the differences between the specified groups regarding the responses "above average" and "about average."

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Middle (10 yrs.)	10	60	20	10	4	57	31	8	13	62	14	11
High (13 yrs.)	12	61	16	11	6	61	25	8	14	61	12	13
Tertiary degree	14	72	8	6	7	74	14	5	18	71	6	6
Children			*				***				**	
Yes	11	65	15	9	5	67	21	7	17	63	10	10
No	10	61	18	11	4	55	31	9	13	63	12	12
Living with Partner			n.s.				*				n.s.	
Yes	11	63	17	10	5	62	26	8	14	64	12	11
No	11	59	18	12	5	53	32	11	13	61	13	12
Rank			***				***				***	
Soldier	7	52	28	13	3	37	49	11	10	64	11	15
Non-commissioned Officer	11	60	19	11	4	58	30	8	14	61	14	12
Commissioned Officer	12	68	11	9	5	71	14	10	16	66	9	9
Staff Officer	12	76	7	5	9	75	11	5	16	77	3	4
Branch			***				***				***	
Army	8	55	25	11	4	54	34	9	12	57	17	13
Air Force	12	64	12	11	7	66	18	10	15	64	9	12
Navy	13	65	15	8	5	66	23	6	18	65	8	8
SKB (Support)	7	62	20	11	5	62	26	8	9	63	16	13
Medical Corps	15	66	10	10	3	66	20	11	16	65	9	10
	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK
Role			***				***				***	
Combat	4	52	41	4	1	52	44	3	12	51	29	7
Combat Support	7	54	31	8	5	50	38	7	8	60	22	10
Technical Support	9	55	24	12	3	52	33	12	12	58	17	12
Staff	11	67	11	11	6	72	13	10	14	64	10	12
Staff Support	9	63	18	10	7	62	25	7	11	64	13	13
Medical Support	16	66	9	9	7	68	21	4	17	66	8	9
Career Status			***				***				**	
Career Servicemember	11	59	19	11	2	47	42	9	14	62	13	12
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	10	70	13	8	7	70	15	8	15	69	8	9
Number of Deploy.			n.s.				n.s.				*	
0	13	61	13	13	7	67	21	5	13	61	12	14
1	10	61	19	10	4	58	28	10	14	63	13	10
2	9	63	21	8	4	60	27	8	15	65	14	7
3	11	61	20	8	7	59	27	7	18	65	8	9
4+	9	65	18	8	6	62	25	8	14	73	5	8
Years in Service			***				***				***	
1 to 4	10	57	19	14	4	45	38	13	11	59	15	15
5 to 10	11	58	21	11	2	44	46	8	14	62	13	11
10 to 15	12	66	14	8	5	65	23	8	15	67	9	8
More than 15	10	71	11	8	7	72	13	8	19	69	4	8

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.
Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.
Test: Chi², for response options "better than men," "same as men," and "worse than men."
Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

5.0 DISCUSSION

Earlier studies on the inclusion of women into the Bundeswehr have revealed that male soldiers harbor certain reservations about women's fitness for military service. These findings justified the present analysis, which focused on the analysis of self- and other-perceptions of the active service performance of women in the Bundeswehr. Although the inclusion of the set of items on performance perceptions in our study on the integration climate in the German armed forces was done in an exploratory perspective so far, we think the findings to be quite promising as they with an eye on the more concrete notion of 'performance' confirm the findings of our previous studies. Our analysis of self- and other-perceptions showed that more than a quarter of male respondents believed that the performance of women is "worse than men" (27 percent). We also found that younger soldiers, rank and file and non-commissioned officers, army soldiers and combat soldiers rated the performance of women soldiers the most negatively. It may very well be that combat and ground-oriented functions represent something like the last bastion of traditional masculinity. At the same time, we saw that female soldiers in combat roles reported the lowest ratings of their performance by their male comrades which indicates that the women clearly perceive the reservations and negative attitudes of their male comrades.

These findings are somewhat preliminary as further research on performance perceptions is surely needed. Nevertheless, they may already be relevant in both a practical and a research perspective.

In a research perspective the exploratory research avenue of self- and other-perceptions proved to be fruitful. Thus we will use the respective items in our further integration climate studies. The empirical findings also point to some theoretical constructs which may be used in subsequent studies to come up with a theoretically inspired model that can then be tested empirically. For instance, the observation that the respondents' assessment of their personal active duty performance (both in terms of their perception of their performance by themselves as well as their perception of their performance by others) is considerably more favorable than the assessment of the performance of the women in their military unit – irrespective of the respondent's gender can be interpreted as empirical evidence in support of the phenomenon known as self-enhancement (Taylor/Brown 1988): self-perception tends to be more favorable than the (comparative) perception of others.⁷ That both male and female soldiers are more likely to think that their performance is rated "above average" by male fellows when they perform roles that are (stereo)typical for their respective gender – men fight (and build), women care (and organize) – is in line with gender role theory (Eckes 1997; Segal 1999). The data also point to Kanter's tokenism theory in that quite a few women tend not to present themselves as outperformers in order not to be seen as a token. Also Kanter's phenomena of „women-prejudiced-against-women“ (Kanter 1977b: 980; see also Heintz et al. 1997: 44), i.e. female soldiers take over the reservations and the stereotypes of male soldiers towards women in the military, can be detected in the data.

In a practical perspective, the relevance of our analysis for the present symposium may lie in the expectation that the identification of the relevant factors influencing performance perceptions may in the long run help identify appropriate tools to improve the social interactions in mixed-gender combat groups. Our findings indicate that gender trainings are still needed and that such training should foremost be addressed to the groups of soldiers displaying the strongest skepticism and reservations as identified in this study.

⁷ See also Festinger's (1954) Social Comparison Theory. For more recent conceptual and empirical approaches to self-enhancement, see Kwan et al. (2004) and Kwan et al. (2008).

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Self- and Other-Perceptions of Military Performance of Men and Women in the Bundeswehr

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ABSTRACT

The paper first sketches the history of women's participation in the German armed forces up to. In a second step, empirical findings from previous studies on the integration of women into the Bundeswehr are presented, which leads the way to the analysis of self- and other-perceptions of service performance perceptions as such perceptions may very well influence the social interaction in combat situations. This analysis finds the most skepticism about the performance of women soldiers among combat and ground soldiers who may accordingly be made the special target of gender trainings.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Bundeswehr is a military that is fully open to women which means that women may serve in any function or capacity. However, so far, German female soldiers have experienced close and kinetic combat situations in very, very limited numbers only. From these few cases it is very difficult to infer general propositions this symposium is aiming for.

Nevertheless, we think that we can – to a certain extent – contribute to this debate because in our studies on the integration of women into the German Armed Forces we found considerable reservations and even resistance against the inclusion of women among male soldiers. These attitudes were most pronounced among younger soldiers, among rank and file and non-commissioned officers, among army soldiers and among soldiers serving in combat functions which implies that female soldiers in combat settings are generally confronted with more-than-average male reservations and resistance against them which may in turn negatively impact on their combat performance.

Our paper aims to shed some more light on this by looking at different forms of explicit performance perceptions in the German armed forces. The data come from the last integration climate study on the Bundeswehr that generally had the objective to identify difficulties and problems in the process of integrating women in the military in order to find appropriate ways and means to improve the situation. The items on performance perceptions were included in the survey in an exploratory way only. The underlying general hypothesis of the study is that attitudes, opinions and perceptions of male and female soldiers influence the social interactions in the military. Performance perceptions, then, may help us to better understand social interactions in combat situations which are the focus of this symposium. In an ideal world, the paper may therefore provide some insight into what to do to improve interactions of soldiers in combat.

The present article first sketches the history of women's participation in the German armed forces up to now as this might not be familiar to the participants (Sections 1 and 2). In a second step, empirical findings from previous studies on the integration of women into the Bundeswehr are presented (Section 3), which leads the

way to the analysis of performance perceptions (Section 4). A discussion of the findings and some thoughts on the road ahead will close the article (Section 5).

2.0 THE HISTORY OF THE INCLUSION OF WOMEN INTO THE BUNDESWEHR

Women have long been involved in German war efforts. During World War I women worked in the German armaments' industries and were recruited for medical, administrative and combat support functions. Towards the end of the war, 500 of them were trained for service in the field of communication. In World War II, the inclusion of females in the war went even further despite the pre-modern gender role conceptions of the National Socialists. A very substantial number of women, about 450,000, were recruited for the Wehrmacht Assistance Corps (*Wehrmachthelferinnenkorps*) and tens of thousands of them were even assigned combat functions. However, this was not officially acknowledged since their service was interpreted in terms of assistance only. (Seidler 1998)

The recognition of women as official and regular soldiers had to wait until the Bundeswehr came into being. The creation of German armed forces, to be sure, was by no means something 'natural' in the decade following the Second World War. In the end, it was the Cold War-turbulences in international relations in the late 1940s and early 1950s that persuaded the Western powers to view the rearmament of West Germany in a different light. As a result, in the mid-1950s the Bundeswehr was established.

At the time, few considered female soldiers to be an issue. Yet, the Bundeswehr soon employed thousands of women as civilian employees in the Federal Armed Forces Administration, i.e. in functions which in many militaries of the world would be done by people in uniform. It took another decade until the issue of women as regular soldiers began to be discussed in society and in politics due to wide-ranging democratization processes and significant socio-cultural and politico-cultural changes. Starting with the so called student movement, various parts of German society began to support important social movements that called for political and societal participation. Among them were various women's groups that criticized the patriarchal structure of German society and sought emancipation and gender equality as laid out in various UN documents. Accordingly, some parts of them also demanded equal access and participation to professions that had hitherto been exclusively male domains. Very soon the male-dominated soldierly profession and the Bundeswehr faced pressure from society that soon translated into the political sphere and put the issue of women in the military on the agenda. (Kraake 1992; Albrecht-Heide/Bujewski-Crawford 1991; Fischer 1997)

In late 1973, the German government, at that time a coalition of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and the Liberal Party (FDP), responded to these societal pressures by establishing the enquête-commission *Women and Society*. As a result, the Minister of Defense, Georg Leber (SPD), implemented the opening of the Bundeswehr for women. Thus, in autumn 1975, the year the UN had declared *Year of the Woman*, the first five women entered the Bundeswehr, soon to be followed by others. However, they served in the medical service only, where, the German armed forces had been confronted with substantial recruitment problems since the early 1970s resulting in a gap of 1,300 long-term service volunteers in the officer careers (Seidler 1998: 223, 225).

After some time, the access of women to military functions and capacities was extended to military bands also because of the legal connection between the medical service and military bands, i.e., in the case of an emergency the soldiers of the military bands are to be transferred to the medical service.

The discussion about extending female participation to new functions was to gain new momentum in the early 1980s. In 1981, an independent *Long-Term-Commission* had analyzed the shifts and the trends in demography of West German with an eye toward satisfying the Bundeswehr's personnel needs. One year

later, the Commission submitted its report that in one paragraph recommended considering extending voluntary service of women in the armed forces to additional non-combat functions. However, throughout the 1980s, no such political move was initiated. Nevertheless the issue remained on the agenda of societal and political debate and soon further steps were taken to enlarge the representation of women in the armed forces. Since the beginning of 1991 all the careers of the medical and military musical service were made accessible to women (see also the findings of Anker/Lippert/Welcker 1993; Klein/Kriesel 1993; Schaffer 1994); in 1994, Verena von Weymarn became Surgeon General, the first female general in German military history (Seidler 1998: 227).

In the late 1990s, female soldiers made up for 1.2 percent of all German soldiers. The number of women came close to 60 in the military bands and to 4,350 in the medical service, i.e. approximately 400 medical officers, 700 medical officer candidates, 2,300 non-commissioned officers, 200 non-commissioned officer candidates and 100 in private ranks (German Ministry of Defense 1999). In addition to that, close to 50,000 women worked as civilian employees either in the armed forces or in the Federal Armed Forces Administration.

This means that towards the end of the millennium women in the Bundeswehr were still confined to non-combat roles, whereas in other countries the integration of women had made significantly more progress (Lippert/Rössler 1980; Soeters/Meulen 1999; Kümmel 2002; Carreiras 2006). Although female soldiers were trained in the use of weapons, their utilization – except for cases of self-defense – was forbidden by Article 12a of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*).

3.0 THE CASE OF TANJA KREIL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

This situation changed fundamentally at the turn of the century due to a woman named Tanja Kreil who has been described by the media as embodying the – foremost male – “nightmare of a woman with a gun in her hand” (Kipphoff 2000: 39) and as indicating the end of the “rule of men” (Zielke 2000: 14). The story goes like this: In 1996, the 19-year old trained electrician Tanja Kreil applied for voluntary service in the Bundeswehr in the area of maintenance, i.e. in a combat support function. Her application, however, was declined by the Bundeswehr with reference to the above-mentioned Article 12a of the Basic Law: women serving in combat functions and with weapons in their hands were against the law. Tanja Kreil went to the courts and argued that her application was illegally rejected because the Bundeswehr resorted to her sex and used a gender-specific argument by saying that men were allowed to enter positions involving the use of arms while women were not. Eventually, her case was transferred to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in Luxemburg which, in its ruling of January 2000, followed Tanja Kreil’s argument (European Court of Justice 2000) Hence, the ECJ overruled the arguments of national sovereignty put forward by the German government. This means that the steps to open the Bundeswehr to women did not stem from genuinely political initiatives as one may have thought, but from a court ruling that required the political sphere to take some action (see also Stelzenmüller 2000: 6).

The ECJ’s ruling was quite vague because it only demanded from Germany to open more functions and capacities than before without defining the scope and extent of this broader inclusion in detail. Therefore, one of the main issues discussed was the depth or the degree of the integration and thus the question whether certain areas, functions and capacities should be denied to women or whether the Bundeswehr should be completely open. In order to tackle this question in particular and to implement integration in practice in general, the Ministry of Defense established an intra-ministerial steering group and asked its inhouse research institute, the Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences (*Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, SOWI*), to scientifically aid and support this process.

In mid-February 2000, the researchers turned against the idea of defining off-limits areas and instead advocated a principally unrestricted access of women to the military. The Ministry of Defense eventually

agreed to this option and, thus, the organization and implementation of this political decision began. Further on, according to the group of researchers, integration was to be based on the *principle of voluntariness*, i.e. women would enter the military services voluntarily and would not be subject to conscription as was the case for men at that time. Also, integration was not to be based on the idea of affirmative action, but on the *principle of equality of treatment*. Thus, there was to be a gender-free or gender-neutral assessment of those who applied for military service, i.e. everyone would have to pass the criteria for the position they requested irrespective of their sex. Lastly, the researchers recommended the introduction of a gender or integration training program. (Kümmel/Klein/Lohmann 2000; see also Kümmel/Biehl 2001)

The Bundeswehr Center of Innere Führung (*Zentrum Innere Führung*) in Koblenz was tasked to devise some sort of a curriculum for such a program which went into practice in November 2000 already, namely in courses for military leaders and trainers coming from those military units in which the military education and training of the servicewoman was to start in January 2001. The objectives of the curriculum were defined as: (a) improving the men's acceptance of women; (b) developing an atmosphere of mutual trust, tolerance and comradeship between men and women; (c) bringing to the men's knowledge relevant legal provisions; and (d) building and strengthening the men's security in behavior towards women. This was thought to be achieved by following the principle of multiplication, i.e. these courses were organized centrally for a core group of soldiers that were deemed multipliers who would pass their newly gained knowledge on to the various subordinate military levels and soldiers. In other words, the integration training operated with the notion of a trickle-down or cascade effect. (Zentrum Innere Führung 2000a; 2000b).

In the summer of 2000, the first job interviews and aptitude tests were conducted with female applicants. Simultaneously were taken to revise the German constitution. At the end of October and in early December 2000, the German parliamentary bodies, the *Bundestag* and the *Bundesrat*, voted with two-thirds majorities for the revision of the above-mentioned Article 12a of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*), respectively. Following this, and starting with January 2001, women became eligible to enter all functions and capacities.

In the following years, the Bundeswehr's personnel composition was to change quite dramatically, because the number of women soldiers in the Bundeswehr increased from about 2 percent by the end of the 1990s to 12 percent as of November 2018. Currently, 21,938 female soldiers are working for the German Armed Forces (Army: 4,028; Air Force: 2,287; Navy: 1,613; Medical Branch: 8,194; Cyber: 1,209; Armed Forces Base: 2,737; Department of Defense: 1,870). Regarding their rank, 5,583 of them are officers, 11,276 are non-commissioned officers, and 5,079 are rank and file. Most of them are shorter- and longer service volunteers (18,868); the number of female career servicemembers is 3,252).¹

4.0. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The process of integrating women into the Bundeswehr was accompanied by ongoing social scientific research of the SOWI and, later on, the Center of Military History and Social Sciences of the Bundeswehr (*Zentrum der Bundeswehr für Militärgeschichte und Sozialwissenschaften, ZMSBw*). In these studies (Kümmel/Biehl 2001; Kümmel/Werkner 2003; Kümmel 2008), there were hints at mixed feelings and ambivalence among male soldiers against their female comrades. According to these data and depending on the respective item, we found quite a few soldiers who showed some reservations and sometimes even strong resistance against the inclusion of women in the military. These attitudes and opinions could be traced back to persisting classical or traditional images concerning the role of women in society and vis-à-vis men, to biologically based perceptions and gender stereotypes and to modern sexism, i.e. the impression of men that, in an era of increasing workplace competition from women, they are the ones who are victims of discrimination.

¹ https://www.bundeswehr.de/portal/a/bwde/start/streitkraefte/truppe/frauen/staerke/!ut/p/z1/04_Sj9CPyKssy0xPLMnMz0vMAfIjo8zizSxNPN2Ngg18LZy83Awcjd3CQoOMHQ0MTEz0wwkpiAJKG-AAjgb6wSmp-pFAM8xxm2GsH6wfpR-ViViWWKFXkF9UkpNaopeYDHKhfmRGYI5KTmpAfrIjRKAgN6LcoNxREQDvzfFE/dz/d5/L2dBISvZ0FBIS9nQSEh/#Z7_694IG2S0M8BJFOA3FVUR3A0043

A number of these items dealt with combat-relevant and combat-related issues. For example, in the early 2000s, almost every third male soldier deemed women not to be suited for the challenging life in the field and more than two fifths thought that women are not suited for tasks that demand high levels of physical fitness. 15 percent of the male soldiers were strictly opposed to any measures and policies aiming to include women in the military. The traditional gender-role ascription that the man is the protector and the woman is the protected was widely shared; almost 45 percent could not imagine themselves being defended by armed female soldiers and one fourth perceived women as being in need of protection. We also found that men in the army had more reservations against women than those in the navy or the air force. The same applies to members of the combat forces compared to those in non-combat areas. Officers showed less reservations than non-commissioned officers and rank and file soldiers. The younger men up to 29 years of age were less supportive of the integration of women than the men aged 30 and older. Also, shorter- and longer-service volunteers displayed more skepticism than career servicemembers. (Kümmel/Biehl 2001)

Further on, we found that every fifth male soldier had some reservations when it comes to women in leadership functions. Again, there were 43 percent of the male soldiers who deemed women not suited for physically demanding functions and capabilities. More than 60 percent of the men even anticipated some negative effects of female integration on military combat capabilities. (Kümmel/Werkner 2003)

In addition, we found that men and women differed in basic attitudes and norms. For instance, compared to female soldiers, the male soldiers adhered to a more negative general image of human beings and showed more patriotism. What is more important in a combat perspective is that men were more inclined to advocate an active foreign policy for Germany and to use military means and military force in international relations than women. About 28 percent of male soldiers explicitly viewed the performance of women soldiers as worse than that of men, and between a fifth and a fourth of men stated not to have confidence in female soldiers when it comes to military missions abroad. (Kümmel 2008)

The findings from these analyses point to a rather widespread understanding that combat and actual fighting is a male business and that women somehow negatively affect military readiness and military effectiveness. We found such skepticism the strongest among younger men, among rank and file and among non-commissioned officers, among army soldiers and among soldiers serving in combat functions.

This left us wanting to dig deeper into this issue. We then decided to look into self- and other-perceptions of actual active duty performances because these items are explicitly based on comparisons. Such comparisons may provide a more accurate picture than the above-mentioned items, may help to better understand what goes on in combat settings and may even help finding appropriate tools to improve the social interactions in mixed-gender combat groups. The survey for the following integration climate study of the year 2011 (Kümmel 2014) thus included a set of items on self- and other-performance perceptions in order to get a first impression of the usefulness of these items and to decide whether it is worthwhile to explore this thematic field more thoroughly.

5.0 ANALYSIS

5.1. Sample

The present analysis is based on data generated through a paper and pencil survey of active German military personnel, which was conducted in September and October 2011. The survey covered a wide range of topics, including attitudes towards the integration of women into the armed forces, sexual harassment, and gender stereotypes. A total of 14,500 copies of the survey were distributed in all branches of the German armed forces. Every second service woman received a copy of the survey (8,500) and 6,000 copies were distributed to a random sample of men. The final sample size is N=4,835 (women = 3,058; men = 1,777), resulting in a return rate of 33.3 percent. Importantly, the sample is not representative of the active service personnel of the

German armed forces due to the overrepresentation of women. The characteristics of the sample are detailed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics

	ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Age			
17-30	58.5	38.9	69.8
31-40	27.7	29.8	26.4
41-50	9.9	22.1	2.9
51-60	3.9	9.1	0.8
Education			
Basic (8 yrs.)	6.9	11.6	4.2
Middle (10 yrs.)	47.2	44.7	48.6
High (13 yrs.)	26.7	24.3	28.1
Tertiary degree	19.2	19.4	19.1
Children			
Yes	32.7	43.8	26.3
No	67.3	56.2	73.7
Rank			
Soldier	10.8	13.4	9.2
Non-commissioned Officer	60.7	52.5	65.4
Commissioned Officer	17.2	16.9	17.5
Staff Officer	11.4	17.2	7.9
Branch			
Army	29.7	41.9	22.7
Air Force	13.0	12.8	13.0
Navy	11.3	12.9	10.3
SKB (Support)	20.5	25.5	17.6
Medical Corps	25.5	6.9	36.4
Role			
Combat	4.9	10.7	1.5
Combat Support	8.6	13.3	5.8
Technical Support	20.9	23.8	19.2
Staff	29.6	29.9	29.4
Staff Support	14.8	18.3	12.6
Medical Support	21.2	4.0	31.5
Career Status			
Career Servicemembers	67.5	41.7	82.4
Shorter-/Longer Service	32.5	58.3	17.6
Volunteers			
Years in Service			
1 to 4	18.9	7.4	25.5
5 to 10	41.0	28.6	48.2
10 to 15	18.7	19.2	18.5
More than 15	21.5	44.7	7.9

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

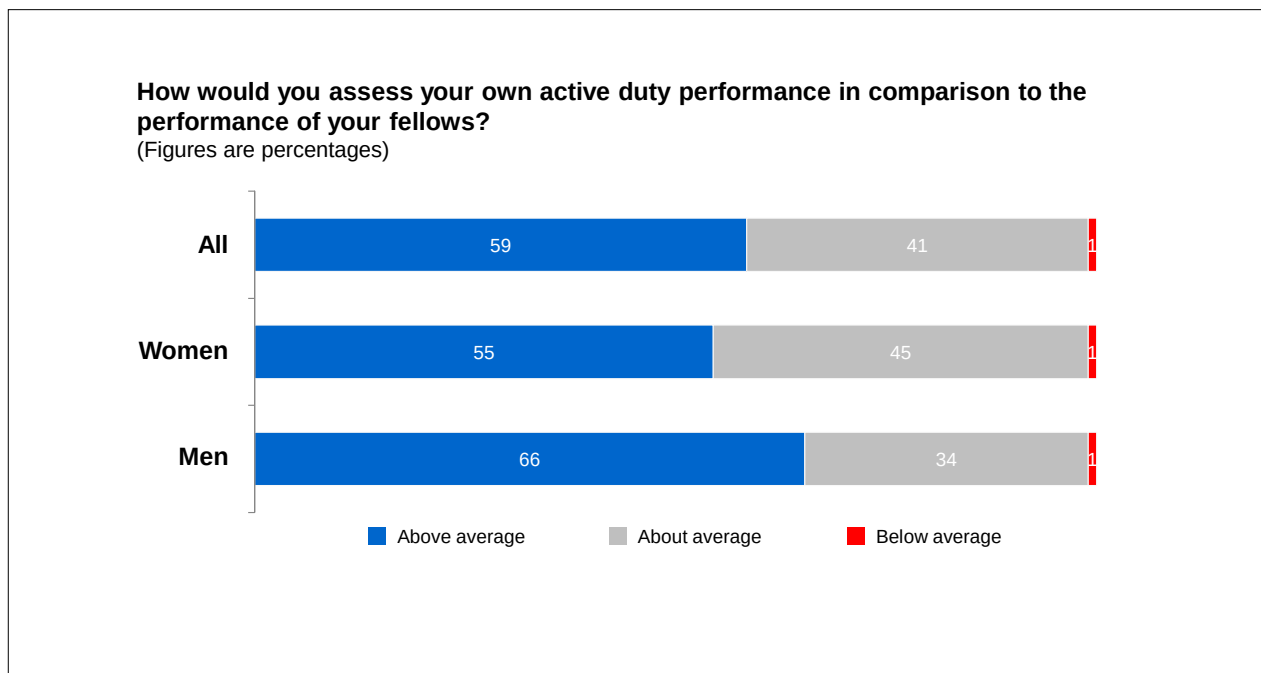
It should be noted that, on average, the female respondents are younger, slightly higher educated, have fewer children, occupy more junior ranks, and have served fewer years than the male respondents. Clearly, age (younger), rank (lower) and years in service (less) are related and all owe to the fact that service in the

German armed forces was fully opened to women only in 2001. Also, women are more likely to serve in the medical corps and to be shorter- and longer-service volunteers, and they are less likely to perform combat related functions than men.

5.2 Descriptive Analysis

4.2.1. Self-Perception of One's Performance

We begin our analysis by looking at the respondents' self-assessment of their active duty performance in comparison to their peers. It is important to note that only a minority of 1 percent of the respondents (both male and female) assess their own active duty performance negatively ("below average") in comparison to their fellows (see Figure 1). Consequently, the crucial distinction for analytical purposes is between those who consider their own performance to be "about average" and those who consider it to be "above average." On the whole, fewer women rate their own performance to be "above average" (55 percent) than men (66 percent). Hence, it appears that men display a greater level of confidence regarding their work performance.



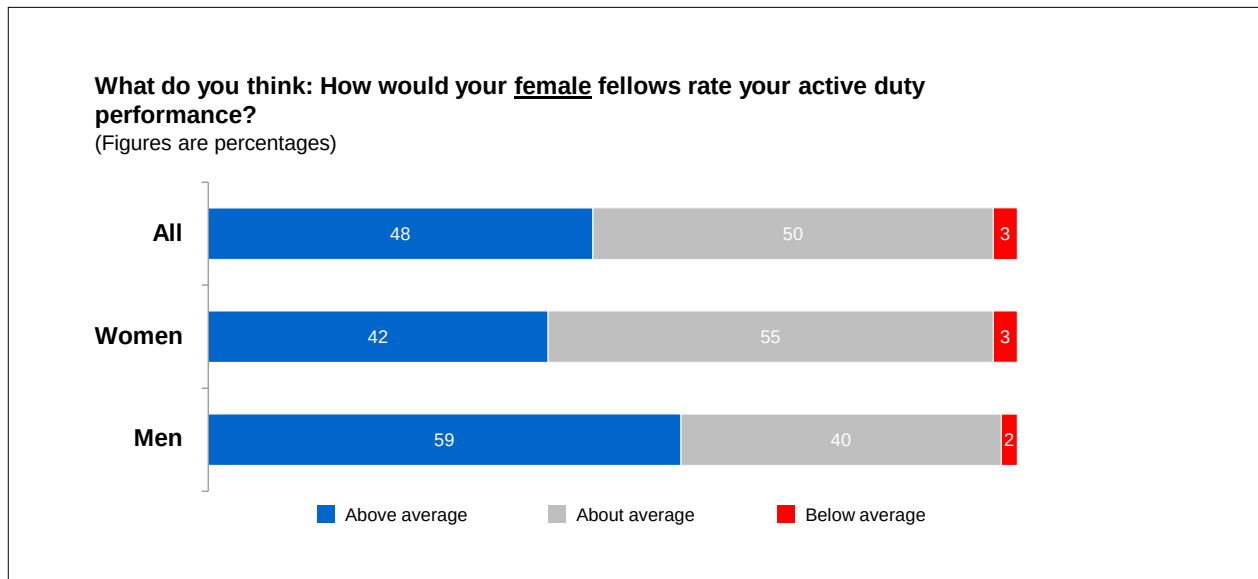
Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Figure 1: Comparative Assessment of the Personal Active Duty Performance

4.2.2. Perception of One's Performance by Others

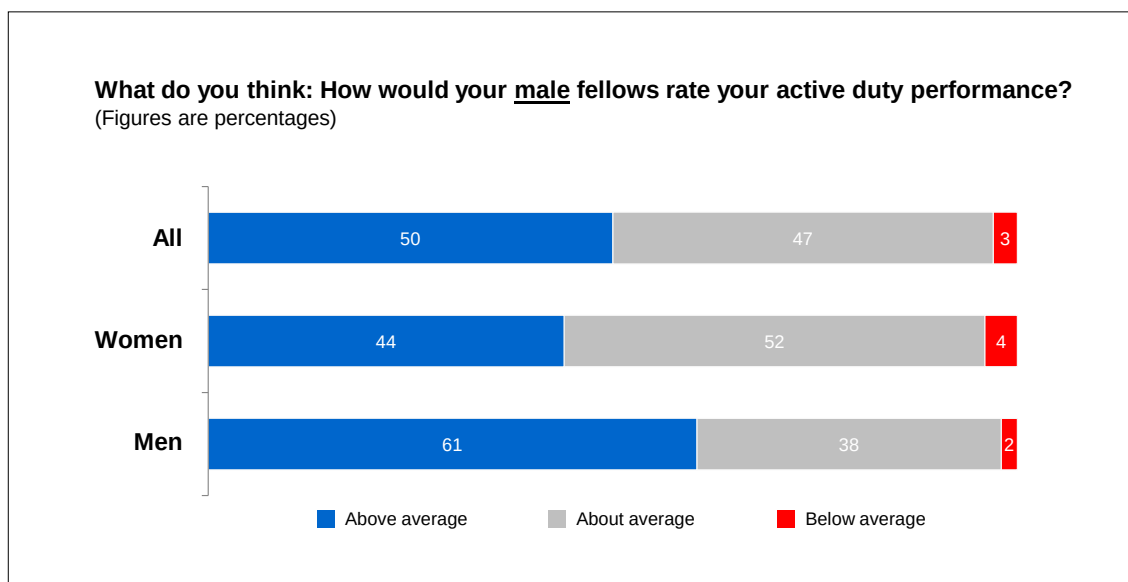
Moving from self-perception to the perception by others (see Figures 2 and 3), it is again notable that only a minority of 1 to 4 percent of the respondents believes that others (both male and female fellows) assess their active duty performance as being "below average." So, the crucial analytical distinction is once again between those who believe that they are seen as "outperformers" and those who feel that their performance is rated as being about average. Fewer women believe that their fellows (both male and female) assess their personal performance as being "above average" than men. In fact, the majority of female respondents believes that their personal active duty performance is perceived as being "about average," whereas the majority of male respondents believes that others rate their performance as being "above average" – regardless of the gender of the "other." So, once again, men display more self-esteem regarding their active

duty performance than women. Interestingly, the perception by female fellows is more critical for both male and female respondents than the perception by male peers. However, the difference is only marginal (2 percentage points).



Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Figure 2: Assessment of the Personal Active Duty Performance by Female Fellows



Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

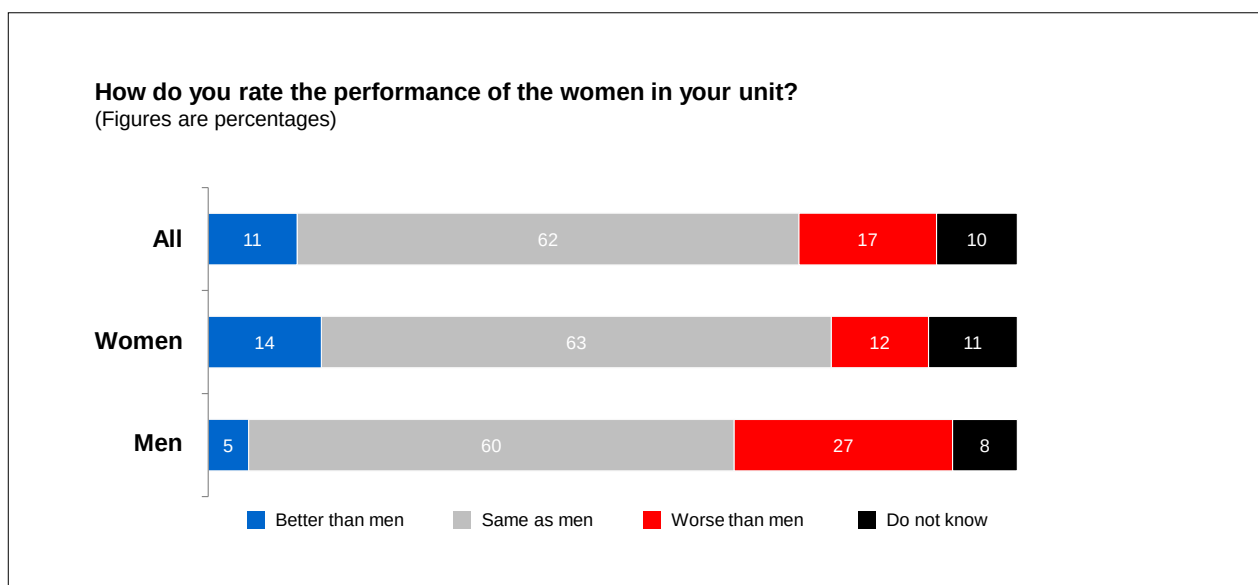
Figure 3: Assessment of the Personal Active Duty Performance by Male Fellows

4.2.3. Perception of the Performance of Women in One's Unit

Finally, the respondents were asked to assess the active duty performance of women in their military unit (see Figure 4). Overall, only a minority of respondents (both male and female) thinks that the women in their

unit outperform men. Nonetheless, more female respondents believe that women outperform men (14 percent) than male respondents (5 percent). The majority of both male (60 percent) and female (63 percent) respondents rates the performance of women as being the “same as men.” However, more than a quarter of male respondents believes that the performance of women is “worse than men” (27 percent). By comparison, only 12 percent of female respondents share this critical assessment. It should also be noted that 8 percent of the male respondents and 11 percent of the female respondents answered with “do not know,” which indicates either an unwillingness to answer the question or a genuine inability to do so.

At this point, it is worth highlighting that the respondents’ assessment of their personal active duty performance (both in terms of their perception of their performance by themselves as well as their perception of their performance by others) is considerably more favorable than the assessment of the performance of the women in their military unit – irrespective of the respondent’s gender.



Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Figure 4: Assessment of the Active Duty Performance of Female Fellows

4.3. Bivariate Analysis

Having described the overall differences between the male and female respondents regarding their perception of their performance by themselves and by others as well as the assessment of the performance of women in one’s military unit, we now disaggregate the group of respondents not only by gender, but also by age, education, rank, career status, years in service etc.. Importantly, in addition to a detailed description of the between-group differences in the outcome measures, we will test whether these differences are statistically significant (i.e., they did not just occur by chance).

4.3.1. Self-Perception of One’s Performance

We begin our analysis by looking at the self-assessment of the respondent’s personal active duty performance in comparison to the peer group (Table 2).² The first thing to note is that the difference between men and women is statistically significant, i.e., men evaluate their personal performance significantly more

² In some instances, less than 5 respondents chose the option “below average,” which is why the Chi²-test compares the differences between the specified groups regarding the responses “above average” and “about average.”

favorably (“above average”) than women. Beyond gender, the self-assessment of one’s active duty performance becomes significantly more positive with higher age, education and rank as well as more years in service – this observation holds for both men and women. In addition, the self-assessment of women becomes significantly more positive as the number of deployments increases. In short, the respondents’ assessment of their active duty performance becomes more positive with experience and achievement. Also, the self-assessment of career servicemembers (both men and women) is significantly more favorable compared to shorter- and longer-service volunteers.

Interestingly, while men with children assess their own performance significantly more positively than men without children, the difference is not significant for women. Also, while the difference in the self-assessment is significant for both men and women living with a partner compared to those living without a partner, the difference is more pronounced with men. So, “family guys” assess their own performance significantly more favorably than “lone wolves.”³

Finally, there are also significant differences between the various branches of the military and the different roles performed by the soldiers. For instance, men in the navy are significantly more modest in their self-assessment than men in other branches of the military, and women in the medical corps assess their own performance significantly more positively than women in other branches. Also, it is worth noting that women in staff or staff support roles report significantly more positive self-assessments than women in other capacities.

Table 2: How would you assess your own active duty performance in comparison to the performance of your fellows: above average (+), about average (0) or below average (-)?

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Total***	59	41	1	66	34	1	55	45	1
Age	***			***			***		
17-30	51	48	1	59	40	1	49	51	1
31-40	68	32	0	69	31	1	67	33	0
41-50	73	27	1	73	26	1	70	29	1
51-60	68	31	1	64	34	1	88	13	0
Education	***			***			***		
Basic (8 yrs.)	50	48	2	53	44	3	44	56	1
Middle (10 yrs.)	56	42	1	65	35	1	54	45	1
High (13 yrs.)	58	42	1	70	29	1	51	48	0
Tertiary degree	66	34	0	71	29	0	62	37	0
Children	***			**			n.s.		
Yes	62	37	1	69	31	1	55	44	0
No	57	43	3	63	36	1	54	46	1
Living with Partner	***			***			**		
Yes	61	39	1	68	21	1	56	43	0
No	52	47	1	56	42	2	50	49	1
Rank	***			***			***		
Soldier	45	54	4	53	46	1	39	61	1
Non-commissioned Officer	58	41	1	66	33	1	55	45	0
Commissioned Officer	59	41	1	66	33	1	55	45	0

³ However, it is probably safe to assume that, on average, “family guys” tend to be more senior (both in terms of age and rank) than men without families. So, the “family effect” may actually be driven by the respondent’s “seniority.”

Self- and Other-Perceptions of Military Performance of Men and Women in the Bundeswehr

Staff Officer	72	28	0	73	27	0	70	29	1
Branch	n.s.			*			*		
Army	60	39	2	65	34	1	55	45	0
Air Force	59	40	1	68	32	0	54	45	1
Navy	54	46	1	56	43	1	51	48	1
SKB (Support)	58	41	1	68	31	1	49	50	1
Medical Corps	59	41	0	68	32	0	58	42	0
Role	***			n.s.			***		
Combat	67	32	0	70	29	1	54	47	0
Combat Support	58	42	1	63	36	1	51	49	0
Technical Support	54	45	1	65	34	1	46	54	1
Staff	60	40	1	63	35	1	58	42	0
Staff Support	64	35	1	68	31	1	60	40	1
Medical Support	57	43	0	67	33	0	56	43	0
Career Status	***			***			***		
Career Servicemember	53	47	1	60	39	2	51	49	0
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	71	28	1	70	29	1	73	27	1
Number of Deployments	***			n.s.			***		
0	47	53	1	60	39	2	46	54	1
1	61	38	1	64	35	1	59	40	1
2	66	34	1	64	35	1	67	33	1
3	70	29	1	72	29	2	67	33	0
4+	68	32	1	69	32	1	70	30	1
	+	ALL	-	+	MEN	-	+	WOMEN	-
		0			0			0	
Years in Service	***			***			***		
1 to 4	48	61	1	46	51	3	37	63	1
5 to 10	59	41	0	61	39	1	58	42	0
10 to 15	66	33	1	70	29	2	64	36	1
More than 15	71	29	0	70	29	1	73	27	0

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi². Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

4.3.2. Perception of One's Performance by Others

Moving from self-perception to the perception of one's performance by others, Table 3 shows how the respondents' think that their *female* fellows would rate their personal active duty performance.⁴ Similar to the self-assessment, men report a significantly more positive ("above average") assessment of their performance (59 percent) than women (42 percent). Also, the assessment by female fellows becomes more positive with higher age, education and rank as well as more years in service. The differences between the lowest groups and the highest groups are between 20 and 30 percentage points and statistically highly significant. So, once again, work-related self-esteem appears to grow with experience and achievement – regardless of the respondent's gender. Interestingly, female respondents in the oldest age group (51-60) "surpass" male respondents in assuming that female fellows would rate their personal active duty performance "above average" – this is the only instance in which the "self-esteem" of the female respondents tops that of the male respondents.

⁴ In some instances, less than 5 respondents chose the option "below average," which is why the Chi²-test compares the differences between the specified groups regarding the responses "above average" and "about average."

Similar to the self-assessment reported in Table 2, the assessment by female fellows becomes significantly more positive (“above average”) for female respondents as the number of deployments increases. This is mere speculation, but perhaps deployments are seen by female soldiers as the ultimate opportunity to prove to their peers (both men and women) that they are “true soldiers” who can master the difficult challenges “in the field.” By comparison, the work-related self-esteem of men does not appear to be affected by the number of deployments (see Tables 2 and 3).

Furthermore, career servicemembers (both men and women) report significantly more positive assessments of their performance by female fellows. In which branch the soldiers are serving appears to make no difference, at least the between-group differences are not statistically significant (neither for men nor for women). It should be noted, however, that – similar to the self-assessment reported in Table 2 – the men and women in the navy stand out as the most modest, i.e., they report the lowest “above average” assessments of their performance by female peers. Interestingly, men with children and those living with a partner report once again significantly more positive assessments by female fellows. Hence, the initial impression that “family guys” are more self-confident than “lone wolves” receives additional support.⁵ By comparison, the differences between women with and without families are not statistically significant.

Table 3: What do you think, how would your female fellows rate your own active duty performance: above average (+), about average (0) or below average (-)?

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Total***	48	50	3	59	40	2	42	55	3
Age		***			***			***	
17-30	39	58	3	47	50	3	37	60	3
31-40	57	41	2	65	34	2	52	46	2
41-50	69	30	1	70	30	1	69	30	1
51-60	68	33	0	65	35	0	82	18	0
Education		***			***			***	
Basic (8 yrs.)	40	56	4	44	53	3	33	62	5
Middle (10 yrs.)	45	52	3	55	43	2	39	57	4
High (13 yrs.)	49	49	2	65	34	1	42	56	3
Tertiary degree	58	42	1	68	31	1	52	48	1
Children		***			**			n.s.	
Yes	52	46	2	63	36	1	42	56	3
No	46	51	3	55	42	2	42	55	3
Living with Partner		***			***			*	
Yes	50	48	2	62	37	2	43	54	3
No	42	55	3	48	50	3	39	58	4
Rank		***			***			***	
Soldier	36	59	5	42	54	5	31	63	6
Non-commissioned Officer	46	52	3	56	42	2	41	56	3
Commissioned Officer	53	46	1	67	32	1	46	54	0
Staff Officer	66	33	1	73	28	0	59	40	2
Branch		n.s.			n.s.			n.s.	
Army	50	47	3	58	40	2	43	54	4
Air Force	49	50	1	60	39	1	43	56	1

⁵ Please see footnote 3.

Self- and Other-Perceptions of Military Performance of Men and Women in the Bundeswehr

Navy	44	54	2	54	45	1	37	60	3
SKB (Support)	49	49	2	61	38	1	39	59	3
Medical Corps	46	52	3	59	37	4	44	53	3
	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Role		***			n.s.			**	
Combat	60	37	2	61	37	2	58	40	2
Combat Support	51	47	2	58	41	1	42	55	2
Technical Support	42	56	3	53	46	2	34	63	3
Staff	50	48	3	60	39	2	44	53	3
Staff Support	54	45	2	64	34	1	45	53	2
Medical Support	44	54	3	59	37	4	43	55	3
Career Status		***			***			***	
Career Servicemember	41	56	3	49	48	3	38	59	3
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	64	35	1	66	33	1	60	38	1
Number of Deployments		***			n.s.			***	
0	36	62	3	58	36	7	34	63	3
1	50	48	3	55	44	2	47	50	4
2	55	43	2	58	40	2	52	47	1
3	58	40	2	63	35	2	49	49	1
4+	62	36	2	63	36	1	60	37	3
Years in Service		***			***			***	
1 to 4	29	67	4	39	56	5	27	69	4
5 to 10	44	53	3	47	50	3	43	54	3
10 to 15	56	43	2	61	37	2	52	46	2
More than 15	68	32	1	69	31	1	64	35	1

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi². Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Table 4: What do you think, how would your male fellows rate your own active duty performance: above average (+), about average (0) or below average (-)?

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Total***	50	47	3	61	38	2	44	52	4
Age		***			***			***	
17-30	43	53	4	53	45	3	39	56	5
31-40	57	40	3	64	35	1	53	44	4
41-50	70	29	1	71	29	1	66	30	4
51-60	65	35	0	64	36	0	68	32	0
Education		***			***			*	
Basic (8 yrs.)	45	53	3	48	47	4	39	61	1
Middle (10 yrs.)	48	49	4	57	42	1	43	53	5
High (13 yrs.)	51	45	4	68	30	1	43	52	5
Tertiary degree	57	41	2	69	30	1	50	47	3
Children		*			n.s.			n.s.	
Yes	53	44	4	63	35	1	42	52	6
No	49	48	3	59	39	1	44	52	4
Living with Partner		***			***			*	
Yes	52	45	3	63	36	1	45	51	4
No	44	52	4	53	45	3	40	55	5

	ALL			MEN			WOMEN		
	+	0	-	+	0	-	+	0	-
Rank		***			***			***	
Soldier	41	55	4	50	46	4	33	63	4
Non-commissioned Officer	48	48	3	58	41	1	44	52	4
Commissioned Officer	51	46	4	65	33	1	43	52	5
Staff Officer	67	32	1	75	25	0	58	40	3
Branch		n.s.			n.s.			***	
Army	51	45	4	60	38	2	42	53	5
Air Force	51	45	4	63	37	1	45	50	6
Navy	48	49	3	56	42	2	42	55	3
SKB (Support)	49	48	4	64	35	2	37	57	6
Medical Corps	50	48	2	61	38	1	49	49	3
Role		***			*			***	
Combat	61	38	1	67	32	1	35	63	2
Combat Support	51	47	3	58	41	1	42	54	4
Technical Support	43	52	5	55	43	2	35	58	7
Staff	52	45	3	62	37	2	46	50	4
Staff Support	56	41	4	65	34	1	47	48	6
Medical Support	49	49	2	64	35	2	48	50	3
Career Status		***			***			***	
Career Servicemember	44	52	4	54	44	2	41	55	5
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	64	35	2	67	33	1	59	38	3
Number of Deployments		***			n.s.			***	
0	39	56	5	60	33	6	38	57	5
1	50	47	3	57	41	2	45	51	4
2	57	41	2	61	39	1	53	45	3
3	62	36	2	65	34	1	56	41	3
4+	64	34	2	65	33	2	61	38	1
Years in Service		***			***			***	
1 to 4	33	61	6	45	51	4	32	63	6
5 to 10	47	50	3	53	45	2	45	51	4
10 to 15	56	41	3	63	35	2	52	45	3
More than 15	66	32	2	68	31	1	58	39	4

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi². Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

Finally, it is interesting to note that women in a combat role report the most positive assessment of their performance by female fellows, whereas in the case of men it is those who perform a staff support role. This pattern is diametrically opposed to the one observed for the reported self-assessment of the personal active duty performance (see Table 2). However, the between-group differences for men are not statistically significant. As far as the women are concerned, it appears that performing a typically male role (combat) boosts the work-related self-esteem of women vis-à-vis their female fellows, perhaps because they believe that by performing that very “male role” they demonstrate to other female soldiers that women can in fact perform *any* role within the military – hyperbolically speaking, the female “fighters” derive professional self-esteem from showing the “secretaries” that anything is possible. Such statements remain mere speculation at this point, but this observation certainly warrants further empirical analysis.

The discussion of the respondents' performance assessment by *male* fellows (see Table 4) can be kept brief, for the patterns observed are similar, if not identical, to the performance assessment by *female* fellows (see Table 3).⁶ The primary difference between those two perceptions is the fact that both male and female respondents appear to believe that women are more critical of the respondent's active duty performance, which manifests itself in slightly lower performance ratings across the board. In addition, it should be noted that male respondents performing a combat role report the most positive ratings of their performance by fellow male soldiers. By contrast, female respondents performing a combat or a technical support role report the lowest ratings of their performance by fellow male soldiers, whereas those females performing a staff, staff support or medical support role report the highest performance assessments by male fellows. In essence, it appears that male "fighters" feel the most appreciated by other males, whereas women who perform typically female duties (staff and medical support) feel that their performance is respected the most by male fellows. Yet, when women perform duties that are (stereo)typically "male domains" – combat and technical support – they feel that male fellows rate their performance less positively. Put differently, both male and female soldiers are more likely to feel that their performance is rated "above average" by male fellows when they perform roles that are (stereo)typical for their respective gender: men fight (and build), women care (and organize).

4.3.3. Perception of the Performance of Women in One's Unit

Finally, we move to the respondents' assessment of the performance of women in their military units (see Table 5). To begin with, the difference between the (more critical) assessment of the women's performance by the male respondents and the (more positive) assessment by the female respondents is statistically significant. Beyond this significant gender difference, we can observe the familiar pattern, i.e., the performance assessment becomes more positive with higher age, education and rank as well as with more years in service – regardless of the respondent's gender. Also, career servicemembers rate the performance of women significantly more positively than shorter- and longer-service volunteers – this observation is true for both male and female respondents. Furthermore, it appears that the experience of deployments elevates not only the self-perception of female soldiers (see Tables 2, 3 and 4), but to a lesser degree also their assessment of the performance of female peers. Additional notable observations are that both men and women serving in the army rate women's performance significantly lower than men and women in other branches of the military, and both men and women in combat and combat support roles rate women's performance significantly lower than men and women performing other duties, which suggests that combat (ground) troops have a negative bias regarding the perception of women's active duty performance, regardless of their gender.

Table 5: How do you rate the performance of the women in your unit: better than that of men (+), same as that of men (0), worse than that of men (-) or do not know (DK)?

	ALL				MEN				WOMEN			
	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK
Total***	11	62	17	10	5	60	27	8	14	63	12	11
Age	***				***				***			
17-30	10	58	20	12	3	46	42	9	13	61	14	13
31-40	12	67	13	8	4	68	21	7	17	66	8	9
41-50	11	71	11	8	9	71	12	8	21	70	3	6
51-60	9	74	10	8	8	72	12	8	14	82	0	5
Education	***				***				***			
Basic (8 yrs.)	7	50	26	18	3	48	32	17	12	52	16	19

⁶ In some instances, less than 5 respondents chose the option "below average," which is why the Chi²-test compares the differences between the specified groups regarding the responses "above average" and "about average."

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Middle (10 yrs.)	10	60	20	10	4	57	31	8	13	62	14	11
High (13 yrs.)	12	61	16	11	6	61	25	8	14	61	12	13
Tertiary degree	14	72	8	6	7	74	14	5	18	71	6	6
Children			*				***				**	
Yes	11	65	15	9	5	67	21	7	17	63	10	10
No	10	61	18	11	4	55	31	9	13	63	12	12
Living with Partner			n.s.				*				n.s.	
Yes	11	63	17	10	5	62	26	8	14	64	12	11
No	11	59	18	12	5	53	32	11	13	61	13	12
Rank			***				***				***	
Soldier	7	52	28	13	3	37	49	11	10	64	11	15
Non-commissioned Officer	11	60	19	11	4	58	30	8	14	61	14	12
Commissioned Officer	12	68	11	9	5	71	14	10	16	66	9	9
Staff Officer	12	76	7	5	9	75	11	5	16	77	3	4
Branch			***				***				***	
Army	8	55	25	11	4	54	34	9	12	57	17	13
Air Force	12	64	12	11	7	66	18	10	15	64	9	12
Navy	13	65	15	8	5	66	23	6	18	65	8	8
SKB (Support)	7	62	20	11	5	62	26	8	9	63	16	13
Medical Corps	15	66	10	10	3	66	20	11	16	65	9	10
			ALL				MEN				WOMEN	
	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK	+	0	-	DK
Role			***				***				***	
Combat	4	52	41	4	1	52	44	3	12	51	29	7
Combat Support	7	54	31	8	5	50	38	7	8	60	22	10
Technical Support	9	55	24	12	3	52	33	12	12	58	17	12
Staff	11	67	11	11	6	72	13	10	14	64	10	12
Staff Support	9	63	18	10	7	62	25	7	11	64	13	13
Medical Support	16	66	9	9	7	68	21	4	17	66	8	9
Career Status			***				***				**	
Career Servicemember	11	59	19	11	2	47	42	9	14	62	13	12
Shorter-/Longer Serv. V.	10	70	13	8	7	70	15	8	15	69	8	9
Number of Deploym.			n.s.				n.s.				*	
0	13	61	13	13	7	67	21	5	13	61	12	14
1	10	61	19	10	4	58	28	10	14	63	13	10
2	9	63	21	8	4	60	27	8	15	65	14	7
3	11	61	20	8	7	59	27	7	18	65	8	9
4+	9	65	18	8	6	62	25	8	14	73	5	8
Years in Service			***				***				***	
1 to 4	10	57	19	14	4	45	38	13	11	59	15	15
5 to 10	11	58	21	11	2	44	46	8	14	62	13	11
10 to 15	12	66	14	8	5	65	23	8	15	67	9	8
More than 15	10	71	11	8	7	72	13	8	19	69	4	8

Source: Bundeswehr Center of Military History and Social Sciences, Bundeswehr Survey 2011.

Note: Reported figures are percentages. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Test: Chi², for response options "better than men," "same as men," and "worse than men."

Significance levels: ***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05.

5.0 DISCUSSION

Earlier studies on the inclusion of women into the Bundeswehr have revealed that male soldiers harbor certain reservations about women's fitness for military service. These findings justified the present analysis, which focused on the analysis of self- and other-perceptions of the active service performance of women in the Bundeswehr. Although the inclusion of the set of items on performance perceptions in our study on the integration climate in the German armed forces was done in an exploratory perspective so far, we think the findings to be quite promising as they with an eye on the more concrete notion of 'performance' confirm the findings of our previous studies. Our analysis of self- and other-perceptions showed that more than a quarter of male respondents believed that the performance of women is "worse than men" (27 percent). We also found that younger soldiers, rank and file and non-commissioned officers, army soldiers and combat soldiers rated the performance of women soldiers the most negatively. It may very well be that combat and ground-oriented functions represent something like the last bastion of traditional masculinity. At the same time, we saw that female soldiers in combat roles reported the lowest ratings of their performance by their male comrades which indicates that the women clearly perceive the reservations and negative attitudes of their male comrades.

These findings are somewhat preliminary as further research on performance perceptions is surely needed. Nevertheless, they may already be relevant in both a practical and a research perspective.

In a research perspective the exploratory research avenue of self- and other-perceptions proved to be fruitful. Thus we will use the respective items in our further integration climate studies. The empirical findings also point to some theoretical constructs which may be used in subsequent studies to come up with a theoretically inspired model that can then be tested empirically. For instance, the observation that the respondents' assessment of their personal active duty performance (both in terms of their perception of their performance by themselves as well as their perception of their performance by others) is considerably more favorable than the assessment of the performance of the women in their military unit – irrespective of the respondent's gender can be interpreted as empirical evidence in support of the phenomenon known as self-enhancement (Taylor/Brown 1988): self-perception tends to be more favorable than the (comparative) perception of others.⁷ That both male and female soldiers are more likely to think that their performance is rated "above average" by male fellows when they perform roles that are (stereo)typical for their respective gender – men fight (and build), women care (and organize) – is in line with gender role theory (Eckes 1997; Segal 1999). The data also point to Kanter's tokenism theory in that quite a few women tend not to present themselves as outperformers in order not to be seen as a token. Also Kanter's phenomena of „women-prejudiced-against-women“ (Kanter 1977b: 980; see also Heintz et al. 1997: 44), i.e. female soldiers take over the reservations and the stereotypes of male soldiers towards women in the military, can be detected in the data.

In a practical perspective, the relevance of our analysis for the present symposium may lie in the expectation that the identification of the relevant factors influencing performance perceptions may in the long run help identify appropriate tools to improve the social interactions in mixed-gender combat groups. Our findings indicate that gender trainings are still needed and that such training should foremost be addressed to the groups of soldiers displaying the strongest skepticism and reservations as identified in this study.

⁷ See also Festinger's (1954) Social Comparison Theory. For more recent conceptual and empirical approaches to self-enhancement, see Kwan et al. (2004) and Kwan et al. (2008).

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TEAM D+: Innovation in Promoting Diversity

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CANADA

ABSTRACT

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is a reflection of Canadian society, and in order to promote the increased diversity of Canada published the Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy in 2017. The CAF leadership endorsed the strategy at all levels, explicitly supporting its members as they promoted the principles contained in the strategy. Within 2 Canadian Division Support Group, members approached the Commander to create Team Diversity + (D+) to not only support the strategy but promote the inclusion of all groups into the Canadian Military. The strength of the group comes from the fact that it is volunteers which are interested and vested in the promotion of the principles in the Strategy, and not directed uniquely by the chain of command. The Team D+ membership not only proposed solutions to problems, but ideas on how to promote diversity, and engage stakeholders inside and outside the CAF. Team D+ has had successes since its creation, and those successes suggest that it could have enabled the integration of women into Canadian Army combat units thirty years ago. More importantly, the Team D+ construct could probably assist militaries going through the integration process today.

1.0 BACKGROUND

In 2017 the Canadian military released the *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* in recognition of the increase in diversity of Canadian society, and based on our operational experiences overseas that demonstrated that diversity is a force enabler. Our Chief of Defence Staff provided the following vision statement, “A CAF that is comprised of members who reflect the rich diversity of Canada and who are recognized and encouraged to maintain and contribute through their unique experiences, abilities, and perspectives within a respectful and inclusive environment”.¹ The *Diversity Strategy* included principles, strategic goals and objectives that indicated how the CAF would achieve this vision. The strategy is put into effect through the *Diversity Strategy Action Plan* under the responsibility of our Chief of Military Personnel.

Following the release of the *CAF Diversity Strategy* members within 2 Canadian Division Support Group (2 CDSG) proposed the creation of Team D+ (Diversity+). The members of the formation were interested in promoting diversity and inclusion within its ranks and in 2nd Canadian Division at large. The value proposition rests in the desire of Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) volunteers wanting to bring positive change to the organisation, rather than being ordered to do so. The fact that the idea to form Team D+ came from volunteers, rather than be directed by the chain of command is its strength. The team is comprised of a number of committees that focus on particular groups in order to better understand the challenges they face and make proposals to the chain command. Groups represented by Team D+ are: women, handicapped persons, aboriginal people, LGBTQ2+, visible minorities, and the different religious/spiritual populations. The purpose, ultimately, is to improve the quality of life for all and promote diversity in 2 CDSG, 2nd Canadian Division, and the CAF.

Team D+ is relevant to the forum “Integration of Women into Ground Combat Units” as its adoption by other militaries, could assist women as they integrate into the combat role. This did not exist in Canada 30 years ago when the Canadian Army started its process to bring women into this role, and our first female pioneers faced incredible challenges to join the male-dominated environment. At that time there existed no mechanism

¹ *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy*. (Office of the Chief of Defence Staff, Government of Canada, 2018), 2.

for women or their proponents to bring issues to the chain of command to facilitate the integration. After three years in operation it is a fair assumption that Team D+ could have enabled this. This paper will provide the fundamentals upon which Team D+ operates, the objectives of the team, and the factors that lead to success. Early success of Team D+ and some arguments how teams of this type could enable the integration into combat units will be explored.

2.0 DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

The CAF views diversity as the “...respect for and appreciation of differences in ethnicity, language, gender, age, national origin, disabilities, sexual orientation, education, and religion.”² This key to this definition is the inclusion of all Canadians, to ensure that the strengths, skills and talents of all can be put to use within the organization. Within the CAF, as has been observed outside our military, diversity promotes employment satisfaction, creativity, as well as retention.³ This then facilitates recruitment, and ensuring that the CAF attracts the best elements of Canadian society.

Operationally the CAF has observed that diversity not only promotes sound organizational practices, but enhances success. From our experiences in Afghanistan one study indicated that diversity enhanced group cohesion “...because soldiers are valued for their differential contributions to mission success and to the social functioning of the unit.”⁴ The success on operations and an increasingly diverse CAF led members of 2 Division to create Team D+. It compels people to act, mobilized them to take a stand and make our organization better for the future.

Team D+ was also driven by the concept of inclusion, which ultimately is about empowerment. In their study Deloitte proposed an inclusion model predicated on four elements: “1. Fairness and respect, 2. Valued and belonging, 3. Safe and open, 4. Empowered and growing.”⁵ These elements, although not laid out as such in the CAF Diversity Strategy, are fundamental to Team D+ and key to its success.

3.0 OBJECTIVES OF TEAM D+

As mentioned Team D+ is an all-volunteer team, that is supported by the chain of command in its mandate. As it focusses on issues that preoccupy each of the groups (D+ community) represented by the sub-committees, it has the following objectives:

- a. Propose to the chain of command innovative solutions to preoccupations of the D+ community;
- b. Assist the chain of command as it issues plans and directives that could affect the D+ community;
- c. Host activities that address the preoccupations of the D+ community;
- d. Advise the chain of command on ways to get involved in activities external to the CAF and engage the stakeholders; and
- e. Propose to the chain of command how the D+ Community could be involved in all military activities to further promote diversity and inclusion.

Just as the CAF has worked to improve diversity and inclusion, the civilian business community has as well. In the *2018 Diversity Disclosure Practices* report, premiere businesses in Canada reported that companies with

² Ibid, 1.

³ Frances J. Milliken and Luis L. Martins, *Searching For Common Threads: Understanding the Multiple Effects of Diversity in Organizational Groups*. (Academy of Management Review, 1996), 402.

⁴ Anne Irwin, *Diversity in the Canadian Forces: Lessons from Afghanistan*. (Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 2009), 504.

⁵ Juliet Bourke, *The Diversity and Inclusion Revolution: Eight Powerful Truths*. (Deloitte Review 2018), 7.

diversity and inclusion committees had greater success. ‘These committees are often chaired by key players in the organization, which reinforces their importance. It is a positive development...’⁶

4.0 SUCCESS FACTORS

There are many reasons why Team D+ has had early success. The first, and most important is leadership buy-in, or inclusive leadership. As Commander of 2 CDSG, like my predecessor, I have chosen to support this invaluable team. Inclusive leaders show, “...optimism, promote collaboration...want to see the group success...understand the importance of the team member in team work.”⁷ This is essential, too often policy statements are made without the proper tools to implement or support. Positive and effective leadership is required to promote diversity and inclusion, without this there can be no sustained cultural or organizational change.

In line with leadership, the CAF have long directed the appointment of Champions for many of the groups represented by Team D+. In 2 Division Formation and Divisional Units Commanders champion the handicapped, the aboriginal, women, LGBTQ+, and visible minorities. These leaders then optimize Team D+, where available and practicable, to promote each of these groups. This is leading by example. The involvement of our leadership allowed Team D+ to reach out and connect with stakeholders both in the CAF, and in the surrounding communities, thus reinforcing success. In fact, the *2018 Diversity Disclosure Practices* suggests that networking is essential for advancing women in the workplace.⁸

The aforementioned Champions are key to the development and promotion of Team D+. They also bring institutional credibility, which is critical when reaching out to the business world. For example, later we will show the success of connecting with *La Force au Feminin*. The Champion for women, accompanied by senior female leadership makes the promotion of Team D+, diversity and inclusion all the more possible. Similar trends are seen with the Champion for Aboriginal people as she connects with local tribes, and contributes to programmes that promote our first peoples.

The third is the time to act, and when Team D+ was created the time was right to act. Although we had experienced success on operations and at home, the creation of Team D+ on the heels of the release of the CAF Diversity Strategy was key. Not only did it reinforce the message of our Chief of Defence Staff, but it became an actualization of the Strategy where our people worked. Building on this momentum, Team D+ supported activities to promote activities on our bases and garrisons, and connected with external stakeholders.

Finally, constant communication is fundamental to the success of Team D+. Through its activities and its quarterly meetings Team D+ is able to discuss issues facing the different groups represented, and interact with the chain of command. There are two facets key to communication. First is internal, as we promote diversity and inclusion within the CAF. Empowerment of our different groups requires them to not only feel welcome, but that they are part of the team. Constant communication reinforces this, and that diversity is not a token gesture. The second is external, as it allows the CAF to connect with stakeholders and shows Canadians that the military is an inclusive and diverse team. Team D+ generated activities are supported by a communications plan and stakeholder engagement.

⁶ Andrew MacDougall and John Valley, *2018 Diversity Disclosure Practices: Women in Leadership Roles in TSX-Listed Companies*. (Osler, Hoskin & Harcourt LLP, 2018), 44.

⁷ Nicole Belanger, *Inclusive Leadership: If We Build it Will They Come?* (Canadian Military Journal, 2018), 38.

⁸ MacDougall and Valley, 40.

5.0 EARLY SUCCESSES OF TEAM D+

The release of the *CAF Diversity Strategy* raised awareness and promoted curiosity of the all members in the CAF. Questioning on issues facing groups supported by Team D+ contributed to the nascent 2 CDSG policy on unisex bathrooms to promote the inclusivity of transgender personnel. This is significant as there are no set national standards, but the Team brought to the attention of the chain of command the importance of this to promote inclusion. At the same time it ensured that some who are less comfortable with transgender personnel, for example women victims of sexual misconduct do not have to be side-by-side and thus contributes to retention.

With greater visibility is the work of the LGBTQ2+ sub-committee. Building off the momentum of our politicians participating in Pride Parades across Canada, and building upon our CDS direction that participation of uniformed members in these events is encouraged, 2 Division has participated in the Montreal Pride Parade for two years now. This external engagement demonstrated our openness as an organization, and we position recruiting teams on site to further promote diversity and inclusion. Internally, we now raise the rainbow flag on our Bases and Garrisons within the 2 Division Area of Operations to promote the concepts within the CAF. As previously mentioned, constant communication is encouraged in order to practice what we preach.

We also spend significant effort connecting with the Aboriginal communities within 2 Division. Internally we optimize Aboriginal Awareness Week, a national programme, to have a series of non-disruptive education events including themed meals in our Messes. Connecting the CAF to those outside our Bases and Garrisons, our Aboriginal Champion and Division Commander have promoted *Carcajou* (or Wolverine), a four-week course familiarizing Aboriginal military-aged youth to the CAF. To complement this we have built a spiritual lodge on one of our Garrisons, and we are in the process of doing the same on another Base. These initiatives allow the CAF to connect CAF members to Aboriginal communities.

For women we have been working with *Force au Feminin*, an external stakeholder, to promote the CAF as an inclusive environment. The *Force au Feminin* is a gathering of like-minded business people wanting to promote women in all facets of life. CAF presence at these gathering demonstrates our diversity and inclusion. Internally, we annually have a division-level Yoga event that we simulcast on FaceBook on International Woman's Day. Men and women participate, and we use the event to promote diversity and inclusion. All of the events mentioned reinforce the need for leadership involvement, communication and stakeholder engagement.

6.0 HOW TEAM D+ CAN ENABLE THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO COMBAT UNITS

Thirty years ago the CAF began integrating women into Combat Units, however it was not an easy transition. Despite having women in most non-combat functions, there was no voice for women amongst the leadership and thus no way to communicate the challenges. Team D+ would have been an enabler then, and could be for any military on the verge of integrating women into these units. The first and perhaps most essential asset of Team D+, to any military is facilitating communication. The direct access that Team D+ has to the chain of command, means that leadership has direct access of the preoccupations of the team. The team can raise the concerns and propose solutions, in order to facilitate the integration of women.

This also fosters inclusive leadership which is key to the success of any diverse organization. The direct link between Team D+ and the leadership in any organization, in our case the senior divisional leaders, will allow the early and immediate recognition of issues facing women. Some of these may appear uncomfortable, but is important enough for women and their proponents to raise, than they are important enough to prevent the inclusion of women into combat units. This does not mean that Team D+ circumvents the chain of command, rather ensures that the right information is in the hand of the decision-makers faster and more effectively.

Finally, Team D+ can also facilitate networking with organizations that have already completed similar integration. Engagement of external stakeholders, either other military organisations, first responders, or businesses, can bring fresh ideas to any military. Consultation with external stakeholders and other organizations that had integrated women into combat units brings legitimacy to the process. It also helps reinforce what could be a significant emotional event for an organization. Combat units around the world are not the first organizations to integrate women into a male-dominated environment, and the networking shares experiences facilitating the integration.

7.0 CONCLUSION

Team D+ should be viewed as an innovative way to promote diversity and inclusion. The fact that members of an organization believe in these values, as well as the organization demonstrates that these people care. So as organizations look to integrate women into combat units, they should examine the possibility of incorporating a team that promotes diversity as we have in the 2nd Canadian Division. Leadership engagement, communication and the engagement of stakeholders by, with, and through Team D+ will allow any military to open doors closed to those of different gender, sexual orientation, and beliefs.

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Women in Combat: Stress, Social Support, and Health.

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ABSTRACT

Few efforts have been dedicated to understanding experiences of female Service members. This study offers insight into the perceived social support from the unit, physical health, and combat experiences of deployed females. Survey responses from deployed Service members were assessed retrospectively. Surveys were collected by Mental Health Advisory Teams between 2005- 2012. The original sample included 570 females and 4,759 males. To investigate differences between males and females a matched sample was created based on key variables. Concerning social support, females reported significantly lower unit morale, unit cohesion, and marital quality. In terms of exposure to stressors, females reported significantly less combat exposures, yet did not differ from males in their report of other stressful life events during deployment. For health and functioning, women reported significantly more somatic symptoms and sick call visits than men, yet did not differ significantly on several other physical health variables. Health outcomes investigated in relation to combat exposure, found men but not women reported significantly greater functional impairment as the number of combat exposures increased. Both males and females reported more somatic symptoms, more sick call visits, greater difficulty falling asleep and sleeping less than six hours per night as combat exposures increased. Importantly, the association between combat exposure and several health variables were similar for males and females. Defining, understanding, and then fostering social support is necessary for males and females to ensure readiness for military missions by reducing effects of stress on health.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

To date there have been very few efforts dedicated to understanding the experience of female Service members. Fewer still are the studies generating empirical evidence related to how military service, or more specifically deployment and combat experiences, affect the health and readiness of these individuals. The current study offers insight into the perceived social support from female Service members' unit, physical health, and combat experiences - all of which were assessed in theatre. Whereas some data have been analysed and results published on both males and females in theatre, gender-specific data are not regularly analysed or reported (McGraw, 2016). To our knowledge, this is the first study to assess women's combat experiences, their perceptions of unit support, and their physical health while deployed.

At this point in time, females are being integrated into 52 combat-related military occupational specialties (MOSs) in the U.S. military that were previously closed to women. This change was brought about by the repeal of the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule (DGCAR) by the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 2013. Given these changes and the increasing

proportion of females in the military, it is important to build a literature on stress, social support, and health among female service members.

Since the repeal of the DGCAR, a flurry of discussion has been generated, regarding the suitability of females to hold combat positions. A Women in Combat Symposium was held in Virginia in 2014 to assess the state of the science and policy on the topics of performance, leadership and peer behaviours, and physical and psychological health of females serving in the military. Several gaps in both research and policy were identified and recommendations were offered to address these gaps (Tepe et al., 2016). In addition, several initiatives have been conducted to gauge the impact of integrating females into combat positions and assess effects on readiness of the force. However, for the most part, these efforts were limited in scope and lacked scientific rigor. Further, a majority of these studies were conducted with the intention of demonstrating why females could not be integrated into combat positions, instead of how to successfully integrate women into said positions. The few studies that were conducted with an experimental approach, increased understanding about females' ability to complete physical tasks, and importantly provided evidence necessitating job specific physical fitness standards and tests (Foulis et al., 2017). Several of the other Women in Services Studies (U.S. Department of Defense, 2018) resoundingly concluded the key roles of the leader in setting standards and of a culture which emphasizes and facilitates respect and equitable treatment of all members. While this finding may be apt and worthy, it seems this task may be easier said than done. Without a good understanding of the experience of military females, and how it is similar and different from military males, what guidance exists for helping leaders with this task? The purpose of the study presented here was to examine the relationship among stress, social support, and health of deployed female Service members and to begin to build a knowledge base for leaders regarding these variables.

This study is the first to date to report on data collected during deployment to Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) or Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) with a specific focus on females. Previous reports, using similar data generated from Mental Health Advisory Teams (MHATs) in Iraq and Afghanistan, did not report on females, did not have sufficient number of females to make a comparison or were collected during peace time operations and therefore did not investigate effects of combat exposure. The objectives of this study were to answer the following questions: do deployed males and females differ regarding stress, social support, and health; what is the relationship among these variables in a deployed military sample; and finally, does that relationship differ for males and females?

1.1 Stress

The perception, experience, and response to stress is highly individualized and, according to a growing stress literature on the subject, may be particularly different for males and females (e.g., Dickerson and Kemeny, 2004). Taylor, and colleagues (2000; 2006) theorized that males and females respond differently to stress at the physiological level based on adaptation via differences in evolutionary necessity. Briefly, the female stress response evolved because females, of any species, may be pregnant or responsible for caring for their young and may not be able to fight an enemy or flee from a threat. Their conceptualization has come to be known as the tend and befriend response to stress and it stands in contrast to the classic fight or flight response developed by Cannon primarily based on studies of males. Cannon's work demonstrated the role of epinephrine and norepinephrine (a.k.a. adrenaline and noradrenaline) in preparing the body to meet the physical demands in response to the stressor with a fight or by running away, flight (e.g., increased heart rate, increased energy for large muscle groups). Tend and befriend is based on the release of neurochemicals oxytocin and endogenous opioid peptides in females in response to stress (Taylor et al., 2000). These chemicals better prepare the body for the social behaviors of tending or protecting self and offspring to mitigate distress and initiate befriending which establishes and preserves social networks for protection. Several studies have used this theory to account for differences in behaviors or psychological responses of males and females exposed to stress (e.g., Klein & Corwin, 2002; Motzer & Hertig, 2004; Kaplow et al., 2005). It is this additional response that makes many suggest that social support is especially important for

females who experience stress. In this study, the experience of stress was assessed using responses to survey questions related to stress, emotional, and financial problems; stressful life events; and combat exposures.

1.2 Health

Physical and mental health are key to a Service member's readiness for deployment and combat. Several studies have been conducted with a focus on mental health and there is a growing literature on female service member reproductive health, traumatic brain injury, and sexual trauma. General physical health is important for day to day functioning and can affect performance. Stress can lead to poor health as well as worsen existing problems. Social support, on the other hand, has been demonstrated to reverse negative effects of stress on health. In this study physical health was assessed by self-reported sick-call visits, missed work days, overall health, and functional impairment.

1.3 Social Support and Health

The stress buffering hypothesis was first described by Cohen and Wills (1985) to explain how the availability of social support can reduce the negative effects of stress. In this way, social support represents the availability of help, assistance, and understanding provided by others via structural (i.e., social ties like marital, family, or church affiliations; McNally & Newman, 1999) or functional means (i.e., not just available, but available and able to meet the person's needs with specific resources). For Service members, positive environments within the unit facilitate social support and help individuals to cope with stress (Ryan, Burrell, Laurence, & Mathews, 2012). Further, the quality of the social environment plays a key role in the relationships between work stress and morale and between work stress and depression (Bliese & Britt, 2001). Conversely, individuals who lack social support are at risk for developing physical and psychological problems (Helgeson, Cohen, & Fritz, 1998; House, Robbins, & Metzner, 1982; Reifman, 1995).

Service members may need the most social support in deployed or combat environments, but because they are removed from their primary social networks of family and non-unit friends while facing new stressors, support from their unit members and leadership may be even more crucial in the deployed setting. Being able to rely on and trust members of one's unit is part of military culture and key to successful integration into military life. A Soldier who successfully integrates into their unit is likely to achieve a sense of belonging and increased self-worth, which contributes to positive health outcomes (Greenberg & Jones, 2012). In contrast, an individual who does not integrate into a group may experience negative health effects (Loo, Lim, Koff, Morton, & Kiang). Further, individuals who lack social support from supervisors and peers display worse psychological wellbeing and more unfavourable work outcomes (Kaniasty, 2012). Of direct relevance to the present study, social support is a significant factor in the psychological health of females who have deployed (Vogt et al., 2011).

In this study, social support is estimated based on responses to questions related to unit cohesion, unit morale, support from non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and officers, organizational support, emotional support, and marital quality.

2.0 METHODS

2.1 Participants

Survey responses from service members deployed to Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), and African Command (AFRICOM) were assessed retrospectively. Surveys were collected by Mental Health Advisory Teams (MHAT) between 2005 and 2012 (full reports available from the Army Medical Department website <http://armymedicine.mil/Pages/reports.aspx>), under the Land Combat Studies conducted by the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR). This large, ongoing program assesses

the effects of combat deployment on mental health and wellbeing of Soldiers. Protocols for each data collection were approved by the WRAIR institutional review board and specific procedures and samples have been described previously (e.g., Killgore et al., 2006). Within each data collection using the WRAIR Deployed Soldier Well-being Survey, females made up less than 14% of participants. This small representation limited analysis of responses from females and comparison to male responses. By combining datasets from four collections, this study was able to assess responses from a sufficient number of deployed female Soldiers and compare to matched male Soldiers. Before matching, responses from 570 females and 4,759 males were assessed. After matching 458 females and 458 males were assessed.

2.2 Survey Instrument

The Deployed Soldier Well-being survey assesses a broad range of topics related to mental and physical health and wellbeing using novel and validated items and scales. For the purposes of combining data collected using four different iterations of the survey, items and scales that appeared on all four surveys were selected for analysis in this study. Selected items and scales contained questions related to demographics, stressors, health and wellbeing, and social support factors. Demographic questions included: age, education, rank, gender, service component, and marital status.

Stressors were assessed with questions about stressful life events, emotional, marriage, family, and financial problems, deployment injuries, and combat experiences. The Combat Experiences Scale (CES) assess the frequency of combat experiences (Hoge, Castro, Messer, McGurk, Cotting, and Koffman, 2004), has been widely used in studies of deployed military populations (e.g., Cabrera, Hoge, Bliese, Castro, & Messer, 2007; Wilk, Bliese, Kim, Thomas, McGurk, & Hoge, 2010), and has demonstrated internal and external validity (Guyker, et al., 2013).

Physical health was assessed with questions about sick-call visits, missed work days, self-reported health, and functional impairment. The Walter Reed Functional Impairment Scale is a 14 item scale which measures functional impairment across physical, occupational, social, and personal responsibility domains (Herrell, Edens, Riviere, Thomas, Bliese, & Hoge, 2014) and has been used in similar surveys among military members (Hoge, Riviere, Wilk, Weathers, 2014).

Social support was assessed with questions related to support from leadership (non-commissioned officer [NCO] and officer) and the organization, as well as questions about unit cohesion and moral.

2.3 Procedure

The available surveys were assessed for items related to the variables of interest (stress, health, social support). Three investigators discussed the potential category for each item to be included. A systematic process was completed to reduce the number of items within each variable. This process was based on number of females within the dataset for which there were responses, correlation among variables (i.e., items that were not significantly correlated or were multicollinear ($r > .9$) were not included).

To investigate differences between males and females we created a matched sample. We performed a direct match using the following variables: age (four categories), education (three categories), rank (three categories), component, marital status (three categories), member of dual military couple, and having at least one child. Data analysis included chi-square and t-tests on the demographics and average social support, stress, and health variables. Linear and logistic regressions were conducted on the interactions of stress and health and social support and health. Finally, regression models with social support and stressor interaction terms were conducted.

3.0 RESULTS

The original sample included 570 females and 4,759 males. Males and females were significantly different on several demographic variables, including: education, marital status, years married, dual military couple and having at least one child (see Table 3-1). These variables were used to create a match sample. Characteristics of the matched sample can be found in Table 3-2.

Table 3-1. Demographic Characteristics of the Entire Sample

	Female (n=570)	Male (n=4,759)	Test Statistic for Difference	p value
Age, n (%)				
18-24	232 (41%)	1934 (41%)	X ² (3df)=0.97	0.808
25-29	158 (28%)	1287 (27%)		
30-39	128 (22%)	1138 (24%)		
40 or older	52 (9%)	394 (8%)		
Education				
Some High School	2 (0.5%)	14 (0.4%)	X ² (4df)=88.14	0.000
HS Diploma/GED	85 (21%)	1768 (45%)		
Some college/AA	227 (56%)	1606 (41%)		
Bachelors Degree	68 (17%)	433 (11%)		
Graduate Degree	23 (6%)	120 (3%)		
Rank				
E1-E4	301 (53%)	2567 (55%)	X ² (2df)=2.15	0.341
E5-E9	200 (35%)	1701 (36%)		
Officer/Warrant Officer	64 (11%)	443 (9%)		
Primary Component				
Active	210 (63%)	1262 (61%)	X ² (2df)=10.14	0.006
Reserve	57 (17%)	248 (12%)		
National Guard	68 (20%)	548 (27%)		
Marital Status				
Single, Never Married	214 (39%)	1589 (35%)	X ² (4df)=62.95	0.000
Married	226 (41%)	2488 (54%)		
Separated	39 (7%)	221 (5%)		
Divorced	76 (14%)	290 (6%)		
Widowed	0	8 (0.2%)		
Years Married to Spouse, mean (SE)	4.29 (0.32)	5.49 (0.12)	t=3.11	0.002
Dual Military Couple	68 (52%)	444 (35%)	X ² (1df)=14.12	0.000
At least 1 child	221 (40%)	2158 (47%)	X ² (1df)=9.12	0.003

Table 3-2. Demographic Characteristics of the Matched Sample

Demographic Variable	Female (n=458)	Male (n=458)	Test Statistic for Difference	p value
Age, n (%)				
18-24	203 (44%)	203 (44%)	X2 (3df)=0	1.000
25-29	127 (28%)	127 (28%)		
30-39	102 (22%)	102 (22%)		
40 or older	26 (6%)	26 (6%)		
Education				
HS Diploma/GED	81 (24%)	81 (24%)	X2 (2df)=0	1.000
Some college/AA	194 (58%)	194 (58%)		
Bachelors/Graduate Degree	62 (18%)	62 (18%)		
Rank				
E1-E4	258 (56%)	258 (56%)	X2 (2df)=0	1.000
E5-E9	153 (33%)	153 (33%)		
Officer/Warrant Officer	46 (10%)	46 (10%)		
Primary Component				
Active	166 (70%)	166 (70%)	X2 (2df)=0	1.000
Reserve	27 (11%)	27 (11%)		
National Guard	43 (18%)	43 (18%)		
Marital Status				
Single, Never Married	182 (41%)	182 (41%)	X2 (4df)=0	1.000
Married	181 (41%)	181 (41%)		
Separated/Divorced	83 (19%)	83 (19%)		
Years Married to Spouse, mean (SE)	4.33 (0.36)	4.69 (0.41)	t=0.631	0.529
Dual Military Couple	39 (46%)	39 (46%)	X2 (1df)=0	1.000
Have at least 1 child	178 (40%)	178 (40%)	X2 (1df)=0	1.000

Note. Due to missing data, not all numbers sum to the total number of Soldiers included in the analysis.

Concerning sources of social support, females reported significantly lower unit morale, unit cohesion, and marital quality (see Figure 3-1). Male and female soldiers did not significantly differ in self-report of NCO, officer, organizational or emotional support ($p > .05$). In terms of exposure to stressors, females reported significantly less combat exposures and deployment related injuries, yet did not differ from males in their report of stressful life events, marriage infidelity or having experienced a stress, emotional, alcohol or family problem during deployment (see Table 3-3). When queried about their health and functioning, women reported significantly more somatic symptoms and sick call visits than men, yet did not differ significantly in their functional impairment, self-reported overall health, missed work days, use of any medication or meeting diagnostic criteria for major depressive disorder. Women were significantly less likely to report sleeping five or fewer hours per night, while women and men did not differ in their report of difficulty falling or staying asleep (see Table 3-4).

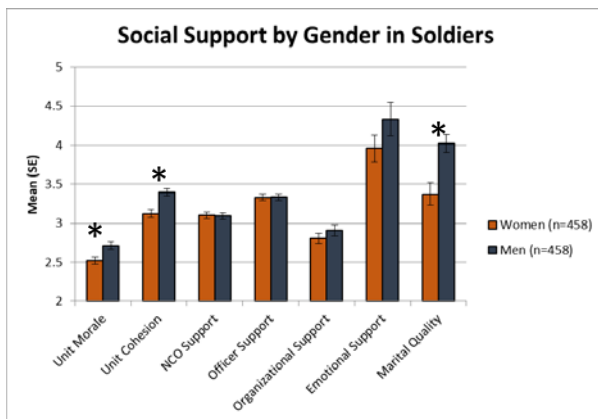


Figure 3-1. Social Support by Gender in Soldiers
* Significant difference between groups, $p < 0.005$.

Table 3-3. Stressors Experienced by Female and Male Soldiers

Stress Variable	Female (n=458)	Male (n=458)	Test Statistic for Difference	p value
Number of Stressful Life Events, mean(SE)	2.4 (0.11)	2.36 (0.12)	$t = -0.252$	0.801
Moderate or Severe Stress, Emotional, Alcohol or Family Problem During this Deployment, n(%)	22.74%	21%	$X^2(1df) = 0.249$	0.618
Possible or Definite Marriage Infidelity, n(%)	38%	32%	$X^2(1df) = 1.489$	0.222
Combat Exposures	3.98 (0.20)	7.31 (0.29)	$t = 9.367$	0.000
Number of Deployment Injuries	0.49 (0.05)	0.98 (0.08)	$t = 4.94$	0.000

Table 3-4. Health Related Reports for Female and Male Soldiers

Health Outcome Variable	Women (n=442)	Men (n=442)	p value
Functional Impairment	1.511	1.514	0.946
Somatic Symptoms, mean	1.489	1.376	0.000
Self-reported health	2.461	2.344	0.220
Missed work days, mean	0.271	0.216	0.347
Sick call visits, mean	0.877	0.649	0.003
Taken medication, n(%)	8%	5%	0.227
Average hours of sleep per day, mean(SE)	2.629	2.53	0.264
Difficulty Falling/Staying Asleep, mean(SE)	1.868	1.749	0.077
Major Depressive Disorder, n(%)	17.0%	18.1%	0.658

When health outcomes were investigated in relation to combat exposure, men but not women reported significantly greater functional impairment as the number of combat exposures increased, yet there was no significant difference in the strength of the association between men and women. Both males and females reported more somatic symptoms, more sick call visits, greater difficulty falling asleep and sleeping less than six hours per night as combat exposures increased. Females, but not males, endorsed significantly lower self-ratings of health as combat exposures increased, and gender was a significant moderator of these

associations. Missed work days, taking medication and meeting diagnostic criteria for major depressive disorder were not associated with combat exposure in males or females (see Table 3-5).

Table 3-5. Association of Combat Exposures with Health Outcomes in Male and Female Soldiers

Health Outcomes	Combat Exposures					
	Females		Males		Difference: Females-Males	
	Regression Coefficient	p value	Regression Coefficient	p value	Regression Coefficient	p value
Functional Impairment	0.01	0.146	0.01	0.029	0.00	0.814
Somatic Symptoms	0.01	0.010	0.01	0.002	0.00	0.651
Self-reported health	0.04	0.032	-0.02	0.138	0.06	0.009
Missed work days	0.01	0.472	0.00	0.859	0.01	0.468
Sick call visits	0.03	0.012	0.02	0.023	0.01	0.407
Taken medication	OR=1.06	0.335	OR=1.04	0.425	OR=1.02	0.825
Average hours of sleep per day	-0.05	0.000	-0.05	0.000	0.00	0.808
Sleeping 6 or more hours per night	OR=0.91	0.000	OR=0.93	0.000	OR=0.98	0.449
Difficulty Falling/Staying Asleep	0.04	0.000	0.02	0.001	0.01	0.273
Major Depressive Disorder	OR=1.03	0.270	OR=1.02	0.357	OR=1.01	0.672

We conducted preliminary analyses on whether sources of social support moderated the association between combat exposures and the measured health outcomes. For the model of NCO support as a moderator, we found NCO support moderated the association of combat exposure on functional impairment in males, with male Soldiers who had low NCO support, combined with high combat exposures showing higher levels of functional impairment (see Figure 2). The model in females appears to be slightly different than males, but the moderation was not significant (see Figure 3).

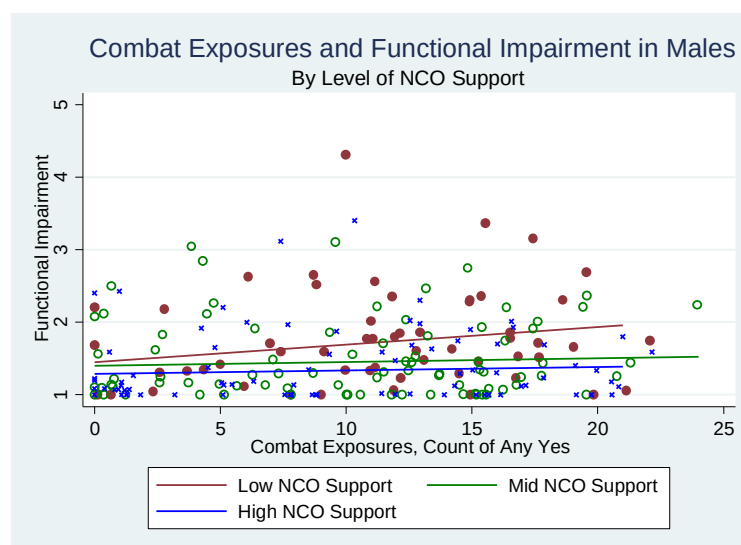


Figure 2. Moderation of the association between combat exposure and functional impairment by level of NCO support for males.

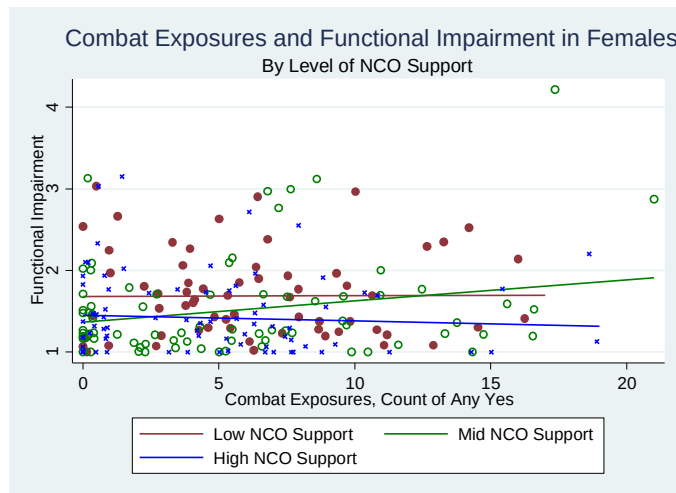


Figure 3. Moderation of the association between combat exposure and functional impairment by level of NCO support for females.

4.0 DISCUSSION

This study is the first to focus on female Service members while examining stress, social support, and health using data collected during deployment to OIF/OEF. Overall, our results suggest there are similarities between males and females when it comes to effects of stress on health and the role that social support plays in buffering these effects. However, our data suggest that females do not report the same levels of social support as matched males. We can use our results to highlight areas of potential intervention for leaders to improve social support for their female subordinates and to help them successfully integrate in to primarily male units.

4.1 Stress, health, and combat exposure

The first aim of the study was to describe similarities and difference in stress experienced by males and females. Results showed that females and males reported similar levels of stressful life events, infidelity, and stress, emotional, or financial problems, but different combat exposures and deployment related injuries. Consistent with reports to date (Vogt et al., 2008), females experienced lower levels of combat exposures than males. This is one of the first reports of data collected from women while deployed in a sufficient number to reflect a more generalizable sample as well as a comparison to demographically matched male peers. Previous reports using MHAT data had lower numbers of females and did not match based on demographic variables. Of potentially important note, the rates of stressful life events and stress, emotional, or financial problems were greater for females than males in the full sample (i.e., before matching). It may be relevant that individuals not included after the match were more likely to be 40 or older, less likely to only, more likely to have attended college, more likely to be senior enlisted or an officer, more likely to be in a reserve component, less likely to be married, more likely to be separated or divorced, and more likely to be a dual military couple; suggesting females with these demographic variables may have more stress while deployed than the females included in the matched sample.

Since combat exposure rates were different for males and females, they were used to predict responses related to health, which will contribute to the ongoing discussion concerning women serving in combat roles. Importantly, the association between combat exposure and several health variables were similar for males and females, such that there was a significant association between increased combat exposures and increased reporting of somatic symptoms, increased sick call visits, taking longer to fall asleep, and getting less than six hours of sleep per night. These results are consistent with available literature. In their study of gender

differences in combat-related stressors, Vogt and colleagues (2011) reported comparable levels of resilience for male and female Veterans of OIE/OEF.

The key take away from the analyses related to health is that males and females did not differ on overall health, functional impairment, missed work days, use of medication, meeting criteria for major depressive disorder, or difficulty falling asleep, despite increased reporting of symptoms and sick call visits. Further, effects of combat exposures on these health-related outcomes were not different for males and females.

4.2 Social Support

Regarding social support, females and males had similar rates of NCO, Officer, Organization, and Emotional support, but differed for rates of morale, cohesion, and marital quality. Females reported lower rates of marital quality, unit morale, and unit cohesion than males.

4.2.1 Marital Quality and Family Supportive Behaviours

Marital quality may be seen as a stressor by itself, and/or it may reflect the level of social support available from a spouse. For the purposes of this study, it was treated as a support variable for which females reported lower marital quality than males. Before matching, females also reported significantly lower marital quality and were more likely to be separated or divorced. These findings have been reported from other studies with majority male participants. Deployments have been linked to increased risk of divorce (Negrusa, Negrusa, & Hosl, 2014). In addition, military deployments have been reported as the greatest stress of military service (Rosen & Durand, 2000). Spouses under stress have a reduced capacity to stay connected, resulting in decreased marital satisfaction (Karney & Neff, 2013). Karney and Trail (2017) reported on the association between deployment and marital satisfaction; in this sample less than 8% of the Service members were female, but the results were significant nonetheless. Of particular interest, couples in which the Service member was a female had significantly lower marital satisfaction when considering other demographic (e.g., age), marital (e.g., children), and deployment (e.g., frequency, combat trauma exposure, and PTSD symptoms) factors. Our data are consistent with these findings and suggest an important area for intervention for female Service members. Increased support for females as it relates to family relationships may be beneficial.

Leaders may provide this support by using domain specific leadership for family issues. The theory of domain specific leadership and its associated literature suggests that when specific job-related problems or stressors are addressed by a leader, the negative effects on the individual should be decreased (Thomas & Ganster, 1995; Gunia, Sipos, LoPresti, Adler, 2015). In a recent extension of this theory Hammer and colleagues defined a set of four behaviours that leaders can do to mitigate effects of work related stress on their employees. The family supportive supervisory behaviours (FSSB) include: emotional support, role modelling, instrumental support, and creative work-family management (Hammer et al., 2009, 2011). Supervisory behaviours such as these are all within a military leader's capabilities to intervene. Training for leaders in FSSB may be beneficial to improving the experience of female Service members. For example, when supervisors model good balance between work and non-work life and demonstrate working strategies, subordinates may be better able to incorporate those strategies into their work-life balance and feel more supported by their supervisors. For role modelling to be effective it needs to be reinforced through written and oral communication within the organization (Kirby & Krone, 2002). The FSSB framework highlights ways that leaders can be used to go beyond formal policies and provide support to female Service members.

4.2.2 Cohesion and Reducing Prejudice

Females also reported lower unit morale and cohesion in our sample which is consistent with Kanesarajah and colleagues (2016) reports on data collected from Australian military personnel in which females recalled lower unit cohesion during their past deployments. Unit cohesion can be defined as the experiences among

Soldiers which bonds them together such that their will and commitment to each other, their unit, and their mission is sustained, regardless of stress experienced (Manning, 1994; Meyer, 1982). The concept has also been described as “social support among unit members (McAndrew et al., 2017, p. 2).” Further, unit cohesion can be seen as a shared sense of group efficacy, where members feel trust and confidence in the unit (Brailey et al., 2007). Most of the unit cohesion literature suggests that unit cohesion is protective against stress and a source of resilience (Bliese, 2006), linked to better self-reported health (Mulligan et al., 2010), better mental health (McAndrew et al., 2017), and enhanced wellbeing and readiness (Oliver et al., 1999). Given these factors, it is important to ensure females feel a sense of unit cohesion.

Several scholars have suggested that unit cohesion is a modifiable situational factor which can be monitored to identify areas contributing to decreases in cohesion (e.g., lack of trust and support among group members) that may be targeted with specific interventions to improve cohesion and thereby improving wellbeing, performance, and readiness (McAndrew et al., 2017; Kanesarajah et al., 2016; Brailey et al., 2007). Further, the literature suggests that performance is related to cohesion, such that units with higher cohesion perform better than units with lower cohesion. In particular, during peacekeeping operations, unit cohesion has been linked to mission success (Maguen, & Litz, 2006) and increased morale (Britt et al., 2007). Recent reports from the RAND corporation on female integration into combat units cite assessments from the mid-1990s, when gender policies were changed, to highlight that the integration of women had no major effect on readiness, cohesion, or morale of the unit (Schaefer et al., 2015). In fact, unit success has been demonstrated to increase cohesion of mix-gender groups when group-based tasks highlight participation from all members, and improved performance focuses on interpersonal communication and coordination versus a specified outcome (Beal et al., 2003). When all group members contribute to successful performance and women are not just included, but allowed to thrive within the group, then cohesion is higher in that organization (Mullen & Copper, 1994).

Leaders can facilitate cohesion for female Service members by enacting some principles of optimal group contact. Optimal group contact or equal status contact is a social psychological model used to reduce prejudice among group members and ensure better integration of minority members into the group (Allport, 1954). Using this model, leaders may be able to increase feelings of cohesion for females. Specifically, leaders should work to ensure their unit’s culture is: free of competition; one in which females are viewed as important by male members; establishing equal status for everyone; setting non-bias and non-prejudicial norms sanctioned by highest levels of the institution; and free from anxiety and other negative emotions (for review and critique of optimal group contact see Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005).

Important limitations to optimal group contact must also be considered as leaders attempt to increase feelings of cohesion for females. For instance, attitudes towards individual females may favourably change as she interacts with males, but she may be viewed as the exception and therefore bias perceptions about integrating females in general may remain unchanged (Rothbart & John, 1985). Further, interpersonal interactions may reduce some prejudice for individuals, but does not ensure enduring changes in perceptions of females or relations to them at the collective level (Forbes, 2004). Therefore, efforts may be most successful when focused to increase collective resistance to prejudice versus reducing individual biases (Reicher, 1986). The leader of the unit plays an important role in establishing a culture that is resistant to prejudice.

One question remaining from our analyses is why females report decreased moral and cohesion, but similar levels of support from organization and leadership? Differentiating vertical cohesion from horizontal cohesion may help to explain why females report low unit cohesion and morale, but do not differ regarding support from their leadership or the organization. Vertical cohesion describes the relationship between subordinates and their leadership. More specifically, the extent to which the individual believes their leader cares about them and how much trust and confidence they have in the leader (Segal & Bourge, 2002; Furukawa et al., 1987; Bartone and Kirkland, 1991). Whereas horizontal cohesion reflects cohesion among an individual and their peers (for a review on Siebold et al’s model of military group cohesion see the RAND report on integrating women into Special Forces, Szayna et al., 2015). Responses to survey questions about

cohesion may reflect individuals' feelings about horizontal cohesion or factors related to how female Soldiers are treated by their peers. It is beyond the scope of this report to identify these horizontal factors of cohesion, but other reports may be important to consider. Street, Vogt, & Dutra's (2009) summary of the available literature on interpersonal stressors (e.g., gender harassment) experienced by female veterans, suggests that combat stressors may be exacerbated by these interpersonal stressors. Gender harassment describes behaviours that are hostile, or degrading based on biological sex but are not sexually-based. Lipari and colleagues (2008) report that more than half of females in the military experience gender harassment each year. This experience may contribute to decreases in moral and cohesion for females.

4.2.3 Social Support as a Moderator

The assessment to determine how social support changes the relationship between combat exposure and health showed preliminarily that males with increased combat exposures, who reported poor NCO support, also reported greater rates of functional impairment. For females the pattern appears similar, but not significant. These initial analyses suggest that leaders can play a role in mitigating the effects of stress on health by facilitating a social supportive culture.

4.2.4 Summary of Social Support and the Role of the Leader

Culture matters in establishing the level of cohesion in the group and cohesion is important for health and performance. As previously described, the leader of the group plays a vital role in establishing the culture of the group. Our findings highlight the importance of the leader in providing family support as well as creating a culture that insist on equal and fair treatment of female Service members.

4.3 Limitations

This study is one of the only studies examining data collected from female Service members while in a deployed environment. Although the data are unique, there were limitations for this study. The variables used to represent stress (not including combat exposure) were not validated ways of accessing stress and social support and can be considered proxy variables at best. This limitation may be why no differences in non-combat exposure stress were found between males and females. While the social support variables were specifically related to support gained from leadership (NCO and Officer), they did not directly assess support from peers, friends, or family. Future investigation of social support for female Service members should use valid measures of social support.

Nonetheless, this study contributes to the small number of studies dedicated to understanding the experience of deployed female Service members and the first to date to focus on females and report on data collected during deployment to OIF/OEF. One of the strengths of this study is the large sample size, and especially the large number of females which allowed for the comparisons made and the sophisticated models that were tested. The structured data reduction approach and the matching of males and females to decrease variance of demographic variables is another strength of this study. This study was focused on physical health outcomes for female service members, it is important to examine how deployment may affect psychological health as well for similarities and differences between males and females. Future use of this data set will explore psychological health outcomes further.

4.4 Conclusion

Leader actions are important for successful integration of women into combat specialties and primarily male units. Defining, understanding, and then fostering social support is important for both males and females to ensure readiness to conduct the military mission by reducing the effects of stress on health. More research focused on the experience of females in the military is needed, especially as it relates to stress, combat, and

social support. Building a base of empirical evidence is the best way to inform policy and practice and develop and train leaders to ensure the successful integration of women into combat roles.

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Gender Integration and Citizenship: A Civil-Military Perspective

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ABSTRACT

A summary of the arguments protesting the integration of women into combat roles nearly all center around two main premises: physiology and readiness. This essay intends to move the discussion of this topic away from these two problematic criticisms to a conversational space of greater social and philosophical significance. Rather than fixating on the question of “how much can a woman carry?” the inquiry should instead focus on “who serves and why?” and “who matters?” both within the military and American society. Solutions to reconcile the difference in physical capabilities between men women in the armed forces will eventually be found. It is then a greater imperative to engage the challenging philosophical and socio-cultural questions that the impact of all this debate and change on national civil-military relations. I argue in this piece that the operative concept in this intellectual debate is not “physical strength” but instead “citizenship.” The past cases of the armed forces having to engage in social equality issues, the perennial debate of “rights versus readiness” may be false dichotomy. For each instance where issues such as this have reached national attention, the egalitarian social reform forced upon the military have never identifiably caused a regression in their fighting capability. In fact, more evidence exists that it has always improved it. So possibly it should not be a “rights” or “readiness” as an outcome of this decision. This essay asserts that the US military could actually have both.

1.0 BACKGROUND/CONTEXT

In November 2015, when Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter opened all Military Occupational Specialties (MOSs), including combat roles, to women he defied a military norm that some thought was cultural more than tactically relevant. The USMC (United States Marine Corps), however, two months prior had released reports indicating that combined units (men and women) were potentially less combat effective than all-male units. While the Marines have resisted gender integration, the leaders of other Services have moved forward with adapting their respective forces with new policies to incorporate women into combat specialties. Yet, Carter’s unilateral, universal, top-down shift in policy has not resulted in a concomitant change in combat units. Resistance is palpable among some while others accepted the obvious next step in the all-volunteer force of the twenty-first century military.

A summary of the arguments protesting the integration of women into combat roles nearly all center around two main premises: physiology and readiness. This essay intends to move the discussion of this topic away from these two problematic criticisms to a conversational space of greater social and philosophical significance. Rather than fixating on the question, How much can a woman carry? the inquiry should instead focus on, Who serves and why? and, Who matters?—both within the military and American society. Solutions to reconcile the difference in physical capabilities between men women in the armed forces will eventually be found. It is then a greater imperative to engage the challenging philosophical and sociocultural questions that the impact of all this debate and change on national civil-military relations. In this piece the operative concept in this intellectual debate is not “physical strength” but instead “citizenship.”

While nearly all of the literature that opposes women in combat specialties relies on the former as the basis of their arguments, it is not going to be the primary focus of this particular essay. No one, either scientifically or anecdotally, can argue that men and women are physiologically identical. Therefore, the question is raised whether or not this difference should be the universal discriminator for preventing women into combat specialties. The physical qualifications necessary for acceptance into the key ground combat training courses (Infantry Officer's Course, Ranger School, etc.) have eliminated nearly all female applicants from attempting them, while the physical demands of these courses have caused numerous others to fail out because of not meeting the standards or after receiving medical injuries. The universal fear of nearly all those in the combat arms community is that physical standards will be lowered in order to accommodate female success. This modification of requirements, they assert, will reduce the overall quality of the graduates and have a cascading effect of declining fighting effectiveness of the total force.¹

The dilemma with this position is two-fold. Female service personnel interested in entry into combat arms do not want a reduction in standards to facilitate their success.² They, like their male counterparts, are drawn to this career path because of the challenge and prestige of the combat arms branches. The easing of any standards would undermine their rationale of pursuing equal opportunity, especially for women who hope to advance to high-level leadership.³ Moreover, the overall intent of this initiative is the search for equality. Female service personnel demand the equality of experience and standards, not accommodation or preferential treatment. The skewing of requirements specifically for their success would "un-level" the playing field that they all pursue in the military profession.

Secondly, a historical examination of physical requirements for combat training reveals a surprising amount of inconsistency over the years. Although there are many challenges to these assertions, perhaps the best refutation comes from political scientist Robert Engvall, who argues that the two main arguments that traditionalists consistently use in their defense—standards and combat effectiveness—are have proven to be historically "fungible" concepts. The physical fitness criteria that used to vet incoming combat arms candidates has varied a tremendous degree over the years, often driven by the personnel requirements at the time. Moreover, the idea of combat effectiveness has proven similarly as problematic, as those in the military profession can neither find consensus as to what measures demonstrate a military's effectiveness nor a clear causational variable that undeniably indicate what makes a unit become ineffective. The elasticity of these concepts cast considerable doubt upon their sacrosanctity and immutability of physical requirements for men or women.⁴ Currently, there is no doctrinal publication, study, or policy that provides a clear and accepted definition of "combat effectiveness" in either the U.S. Marine Corps or Department of Defense (DOD). Yet, those who vocally oppose the inclusion of women in combat arms (or in other previous protests against social inclusion in the military) have relied on this concept as their primary argument with remarkable success.

Nearly all of the debate regarding women serving in combat specialties fixates specifically on female physiology. This is understandably so as the preponderance of studies conducted by the Department of Defense on gender integration place heavy emphasis on the physical capabilities of women service personnel. Far too much of the research, debate and focus has been directed to the singular myopic inquiry of, How heavy a pack can a female carry? Instead, the argumentative energies be directed to far more important philosophical issues and implications introduced by this controversy.

1 Charles E. Rice, "Women in the Infantry: Understanding Issues of Physical Strength, Economics and Small Unit Cohesion," *Military Review* 95, no. 2 (March–April 2015): 49–51.

2 Emma Moore, "The Marine Corps is Not Lowering Fitness and Training Standards," 2 July 2018, www.realcleardefense.com

3 Elizabeth M. Trobaugh, "Women, Regardless: Understanding Gender Bias in the U.S. Military Integration," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, no. 88 (1st Quarter 2018): 53.

4 Robert Egnell, "Women in Battle: Gender Perspectives and Fighting," *Parameters* 43, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 33–41.

2.0 A CIVIL-MILITARY RE-FRAMING

This essay proposes a redirection of the conversation from the physical carrying capacity of an infantryman to the relationship between the military and its government and people, and more broadly, the meaning of military service writ large.

In fairness, opponents to female integration into combat units do not dismiss the broader civil-military relationship issue out of hand. The most frequently articulated protest by military traditionalists when reacting to issues such as this is that the armed forces should not be a petri dish for social experimentation; this coincides with the argument that the pursuit of a “liberal political agenda” too often takes precedent over national security and readiness.⁵ This position gets less attention than the physical arguments but warns that such a misplacement of priorities puts the nation’s safety at risk.⁶ The military, instead, should be left alone to determine the means (manning, equipping, and training) to fight and win the nation’s wars. Their complaint inspires a broader question: should a military that is an all-volunteer force be made to demographically reflect the society it serves? Traditionalists frame this question in a frightening dichotomy. In deciding whether to allow women to serve in combat specialties, the American people are choosing between social diversity or the nation’s safety. One has to question, however, does the choice result in these mutually exclusive outcomes? Or can the military pursue equality and still maintain its superiority in military effectiveness? Those who champion this argument always frame diversity as intuitively reducing the military’s effectiveness and never consider that it could actually enhance it.

Supporters of this stance find intellectual reinforcement in what is arguably the foundational source of military professionalism, Samuel Huntington’s *The Soldier and the State*. In his thesis, which calls for objective control of the nation’s military, Huntington warns his readers that the “gravest domestic threat to national security” is the American liberal tradition.⁷ Liberalism, according to Huntington, represents a singular focus on the individual at the cost of the collective, a championing of social justice vice social order and embraces pacifism. Therefore, he argues that “liberalism” is then the greatest enemy of military profession. Huntington calls for the distinct separation of the military profession from the spheres of politics and broader society. The military professional should only embrace obedience and recognize the values of “liberalism” as antithetical to his own professional ethos.

To be sure, women having the opportunity to serve in the armed forces is not at issue today as they have served in uniform in some capacity for more than a century. Moreover, their role has expanded to nearly every military occupation specialty, to include piloting helicopter aircraft, commanding wars ships and comprising more than 20% of the U.S. Air Force’s total personnel.⁸ Over the last several decades, women have served bravely in uniform, been deployed to combat zones, and held high levels of command in all the services. But the question still remains—do women in the U.S. military enjoy the same social and professional equality as their male counterparts? And is denying their ability to serve in combat arms billets evidence of that inequality?

However, the soldier has played a crucial role in the sociopolitical construct of the republic and has been a foundational concept in the Western political tradition since ancient times. The earliest Western civilizations, the Greeks and Romans, embraced the concept of republicanism in their population, demanding that all citizens have to sacrifice for the common good of the republic. This sacrifice would come most commonly in the form of taxation, serving on juries, or most importantly, the nation-state’s defense. Both of these civilizations can attribute much of their nationalistic rise partially to their adoption of the citizen-soldier ideal, as they demanded that all free, able-bodied men provide military service as a condition of their

⁵ Fox News, “Trump Pentagon likely to abandon social experiments for core mission under Mattis, experts say,” 11 January 2017.

⁶ Mike Fredenburg, “Putting Women in Combat Is an Even Worse Idea Than You’d Think,” *National Review*, 15 July 2015.

⁷ Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, an imprint of Harvard University Press, 1957), 457.

⁸ Kristy N. Kamarck, *Women in Combat: Issues for Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 13 December 2016), 13.

citizenship. This construct was revitalized in the modern era with the rise of the modern nation-state and championed by such theorists as Machiavelli and Jean Jacques Rousseau. This requirement of military service as an application of citizenship was brought to the new world in the form of the first militia systems in America as early as the first permanent English settlements in the seventeenth century required all free men of military age (usually 18–35) to serve in defense of their colony. This connection of military service as a duty to the state and the representation of attachment/obligation to the state directly connected it to the ideals of citizenship.⁹

However, the conversation about what military service means in the American tradition has become less frequently engaged as the nation nears a half century of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) instituted in 1973. For most citizens, the AVF is all they have ever known and remains the understood reality of who serves in the military and why. As a result, a decreasing number of Americans have worn the uniform and have accepted that doing so has been and will continue to be done by a microscopic percentage of the population. As a result of these decreasing numbers, many observers are noting now that U.S. servicemen and women enjoy privileged status among the citizenry as the military continues to reign as the institution most trusted by the population (nearly triple the popularity of the elected government) and that individual troops are bestowed with praise, congratulations, and gratitude.¹⁰ In essence, soldiers in America enjoy elevated social and cultural status as military service is seen as unique, and because it is only pursued by a handful of citizens, it receives recognition beyond the expectations of normal citizenship.¹¹

Since the Civil War, military service in the United States has most frequently been applied to national conscription. Traditionally, conscription is viewed as the practical necessity used by the federal government to meet the overwhelming manpower needs of the military in times of large-scale wars. But the modern selective service (and its capability to facilitate a military draft) means much more than the simple requirement to man a mass army. Military sociologists and political scientists identify two primary positive impacts from conscription.¹² The first is that a draft demands broader sacrifice made by a larger group of citizens, thereby increasing the shared burden in the defense of the republic. This creates a greater sense of patriotism and connection to the state. Secondly, conscription draws from a wider pool of talent, as it demands service from all able-bodied citizens, regardless of economic background or social status. Today, similar sentiments can be applied to broadening the field of applicants and opportunity for ground combat arms. Recent statistics indicate that pool for qualified recruits is shrinking as recruiters struggle to meet quotas for an operating force that has greater demands put upon it by national security commitments.¹³ Philosophically, this could be a questionable time to embrace an exclusionary policy toward manpower requirements. Expanding the pool of the eligible, the draft demonstrates, expands the amount of talent available.

Second is the issue the relationship to the concept of citizenship. The connectivity between citizenship and military service has gradually eroded with the advent of the AVF as military service is now a choice and one made by an increasingly smaller part of the population. Nearly all those who do so argue that they serve out of sense of patriotism, duty, and obligation to protect the republic. Defending the republic allows for the

9 For a useful summary of the connection between military service and citizenship, see Eliot A. Cohen, *Citizens and Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 117–51. For studies on the concept of republicanism and American citizenship, see Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975).

10 Jim Gobly, Lindsay P. Cohn, and Peter D. Feaver, “Thanks for Your Service: Civilians and Veteran Attitudes after Fifteen Years of War,” in *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military*, ed. Kori N. Schake and James Mattis (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2016), 97–142.

11 Andrew Bacevich, *Breach of Trust: How Americans Failed Their Soldiers and Their Country* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2013), 189–92.

12 David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 1–16.

13 Recent news articles over the last five years chronicle a shrinking population of qualified candidates in the United States for military service. Many cite the statistic that approximately 71% of the nation’s youth are not qualified to serve under the current recruiting standards. In the last two years, studies conducted for USMC Recruiting Command cite decreased interest of military service in the eligible population and increased recruiter workload in order to meet recruiting goals in the last several years.

actualization of citizenship and subsequently, access to the opportunity that it provides to those who do answer the call to serve. It is the most conspicuous method for any person in society to demonstrate their worth through their selfless sacrifice for the good of the nation. The nation, therefore, demonstrates gratitude and offers privilege to citizens who serve. The greatest value and respect of citizens who serve, however, is reserved for those who serve in combat. African Americans recognized this connection between combat and citizenship recognition in every conflict since the Civil War, as they demanded the opportunity to serve on the front lines to prove their worth as citizens and their commitment to the nation by placing their lives on the line in the fiercest combat.¹⁴

This intersection of the government, military, and citizenry also needs greater attention in the debate of women in combat roles as opponents frequently rely on the social petri dish argument. Advocates for maintaining the combat arms as all male, lament that efforts at gender integration are motivated only by liberal politics and efforts to use the armed forces for sociocultural experimentation is an abuse of the nation's military.¹⁵ They assert that such changes (whether it be race, gender, or sexual orientation/identity) is unnecessary, intrusive, counterproductive, and potentially dangerous. Politicians and social reformers who seek to use America's military for social justice causes have no business doing so and both elected officials and the citizenry have no business or right to meddle in manpower policies and should leave the armed forces alone.

History, however, does not support them in this effort as the broader dynamics of civil-military relations throughout the nation's history need to be properly contextualized. The American armed forces are funded by a popularly elected government and is staffed by volunteers from the citizenry. The federal government gives the military its mission, designs the system of service (in this case, all-volunteer), its organizational structure through federal law, and a social service network during their service to facilitate their lifestyles (medical, housing, education, family support, etc.). All of the Department of Defense is supported by federal taxpayer dollars as Congress appropriates spending for the military annually as one of the largest portions of the national budget, and the public continues to support the armed forces socially and culturally as the most popular institution in the United States.¹⁶

Historically, the American military has been consistently resistant to both political and social policy initiatives that it views to be a violation of its own expert assessment of the ideal conditions to fight and win the nation's wars. However, historian (and retired military officer) William A. Taylor in his study on American military service is keen to point out that the government has labored to ensure that the armed forces remain consistent with broader American values when it comes to the issue of who serves. Moreover, he notes that nearly every episode in which the military has thought that it knew what was best for the defense of the republic in these situations, that the government has always proven to be right in the end.¹⁷

The military frequently does itself a disservice in this debate through its inconsistent assessment of the civil-military gap. The military professional in the age of the All-Volunteer Force has often identified itself as isolated, misunderstood, and underappreciated by the government and people that they serve. They demand a better connection with society and a greater closeness in understanding.¹⁸ But when asked to share and incorporate values and ideals from civilian politicians and society in order to better connect them, the

14 Christine Knauer, *Let Us Fight as Free Men: Black Soldiers and Civil Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 7–9

15 Center for Military Readiness, "Double-Think About Double Standards: 'Gender-Neutral' Training to Include Gender-Normed Scores," Center for Military Readiness Policy Analysis (November 2013), 1–8.

16 Gallup Poll, "Confidence In Institutions," 11 June 2017

17 William A. Taylor, *Military Service and American Democracy: From World War II to the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2016), 6. Taylor's work examines how the military has addressed the various broader social movements of the last 75 years (race, gender, homosexuality, conscription, etc.) and their effects on their personnel policy. Each of his case studies reinforces his general thesis that the federal government has always successfully overcome the military's conservative resistance to social change and make their values better coincide with broader American society to both the benefit of the armed forces and the national population.

18 Tod Lindberg, "The 'Very Liberal' View of the US Military," in *Warriors and Citizens: American Views of Our Military*, ed. Schake and Mattis, 221.

military professionals recoil at such notions as senselessly being manipulated and exploited.¹⁹ The closing of the civil-military gap consists not just of the public's increased awareness of how the military functions but, more importantly, the need to conjoin values, participation, and share common ideals. The military outwardly desires more engagement and connection to the broader population, but when it comes to certain recruiting policies that could connect them to that population, it wants to be left alone. The American military will always be a national institution, and in situations where that responsibility cause discomfort within the institution itself and inspires resistance, it causes the civil-military gap to widen.

An examination of the more than 200-year history of the American civil-military tradition portrays a larger give-and-take and back-and-forth relationship between the civilian government and the armed forces.²⁰ When assessing the requirements necessary for maintaining the nation's security, Congress and the executive branch have had to weigh countless factors (economic, social, political, etc.). They have rarely given the military a proverbial blank check for all that it demands to accomplish in its mission. Indeed, the military experience is one of never truly being satisfied with what the government has allocated for them and will always view themselves as having to pursue overwhelmingly demanding tasks with deliberately restricted resources in personnel, materiel, technology, and overall funding. Every attempt by civilian lawmakers to give the military less than what it requests is often met with incredulous threats that doing so could come at the risk of not being able to win the nation's wars or keep the country secure.²¹ Yet even with two centuries of Congress willfully not fulfilling their wishes, the military still continues to succeed on the world's battlefields and maintain its dominance among its competitors.

3.0 THE CIVIL-MILITARY VALUE OF GENDER INTEGRATION

Much like in other historical examples, traditionalists who resist social changes within the military nearly always fixate their protests on the negative outcomes of said changes. However, they rarely identify the consequences for maintaining the status quo. In this case, if the military becomes more exclusionary, it may invite the risk of reducing the pool of talented applicants for various duties. The DOD is already weighing the potential effects on recruiting/retention and public relations for its perceived embracing of misogyny, bias, and prejudice. The U.S. Marines, for example, in reaction to the Marines United scandal, has created the Personnel Studies and Oversight Office (PSO) to "ensure that the institution is properly recognizing, investing in, and leveraging the diversity of our Marines." The Assistant Commandant, General Glenn Walters, who pioneered this organization, asserts that attitudes such as bias and contempt actually damage the Corps' mission readiness. He vocally argues that a force that embraces inclusivity, equality, and tolerance create a better fighting force, not the opposite.²² By standing up and championing PSO's mission, it will lead to reduced resistance from fellow general officers to inclusion of women in ground combat specialties.

By extension, the concept of egalitarianism and the question of who can serve extends to egalitarianism within the force itself, particularly in the AVF professional force. Those in combat arms demand egalitarianism in the maintenance of common standards of entrance and performance—and rightfully so. Perception of inequality has a negative impact on morale within units and the profession itself, as the belief

¹⁹ There is a robust amount of literature chronicling resistance to social equality movements being "forced" on the U.S. military, which include volumes of articles and op-ed pieces over the last generation on such key topics as Don't Ask, Don't Tell, women in combat arms, and the service of transgender personnel. This literature also includes numerous books, nearly all of which chide the liberal political agendas that have driven these movements. See Janet Halley, *Don't: A Reader's Guide to the Military's Anti-Gay Policy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Robert L. Maginnis, *Deadly Consequences: How Cowards are Pushing Women into Combat* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2013); Brian Mitchell, *Women in the Military: Flirting with Disaster* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 1997); Kingsley Brown, *Co-ed Combat: The New Evidence That Women Shouldn't Fight the Nation's Wars* (New York: Sentinel, an imprint of Penguin Group, 2007).

²⁰ Russell F. Weigley, "The American Civil-Military Cultural Gap: A Historical Perspective, Colonial Times to the Present" in *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*, ed. Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 215–46.

²¹ Richard H. Kohn, "Coming Soon: A Crisis in Civil-Military Relations," *World Affairs* 170, no. 3 (Winter 2008): 69–80.

²² Staff, Personnel Studies and Oversight Office, "Marines United," *Marine Corps Gazette*, 102 (March 2018), 33–34.

that all share an equal burden in meeting the same standards—and burden sharing creates unit cohesion. Both those in the combat arms communities benefit from the absence of egalitarianism between the MOS communities themselves, specifically with career progression and institutional leadership opportunities. For the highest flag officer billets, preference is given to those in ground combat specialties for the two ground services (USMC and Army). Nearly all the Joint Chiefs over the last half-century from both of those services have come from the infantry community as with countless other high-level flag officer billets.²³ Without access to opportunities to combat arms billets, female service personnel are by default denied the access to the highest levels of command and responsibility. So the question of who gets to serve in the military broadly then translates to who matters within the institution itself. This question of who matters broadens the discussion to the value of servicewomen overall to the nation's security and, again, to the connection of military service to their broader value as citizens.²⁴

The issue also demands a more nuanced assessment of the military's role in the twenty-first century. The arguments from those who oppose women in combat, particularly those who fixate on physiological evidence, base their assessment exclusively through the lens of combat and conventional war.²⁵ However, the realities of the post-9/11 world have evolved the military into a broader role in national security strategy. Fighting and winning the nation's wars no longer adequately encapsulates the military profession's universal role as it is now more accurately serves as a key instrument in the projection of American interests, ideas, and values. The best means to accomplish this mission is to fashion a military that looks like America.²⁶ As the forward deployed military consistently represents the face of America, should it not look like America to those whom the nation looks to influence, embrace, and inspire? To wit, the traditional model of assessing a military's power through individual strength or toughness may be becoming more anachronistic and possibly counterproductive. While, to be sure, traditional hard power should seek to demonstrate strength to potential enemies and serve as a weighty deterrent to all adversaries.

But as the military increasingly functions as the ambassadors of Western liberal values in their effort to win "hearts and minds," and thus can contribute to this mission more effectively by being a visual representation of equality and opportunity for all as demonstrated by those wearing the uniform. This grand strategy demands a military of talent, intelligence, and judgment rather than pure physical endurance.²⁷ Air Force fighter pilots and Marine infantry continue to embrace the theories of Colonel John Boyd who contends that military success comes not to the strongest or best-equipped force but to the one that can think faster than their enemy.²⁸ If the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are any indication of the requirements of conflicts to come, these wars will be determined by the sharpest minds, not the strongest backs.

If recent history indicates that this type of war has indeed become the reality for America's fighting forces, then it may call into question some of Samuel Huntington's premises regarding his perceived dangers of liberalism. Experts can agree that much of his civil-military theory viewed the role of the military profession

23 Nelson Lim et al., *Officer Classification and the Future of Diversity Among Senior Military Leaders: A Case Study of the Army ROTC* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009), xiii.

24 For more studies on the intersection of women, military service and citizenship, see Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Kristen L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

25 Brigadier General George W. Smith, "United States Marine Corps Assessment of Women in Service Assignments," Memo, 18 August 2015.

26 Talent Management Operational Planning Team, Marine Corps History Division Archives Branch, Quantico, VA. The Marine Corps conducted a talent management study, led by current commandant General Robert B. Neller to examine how the USMC allocates talent. The study validated that greater diversity in personnel improved institutional effectiveness. The results of the study were never formally published or circulated.

27 The National Military Strategy of the United States of America: The United States Military's Contribution To National Security, 2015 (Washington, DC: Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2015), 14. The latest National Military Strategy reinforces this concept: "We are adapting our organizational culture. To enhance our warfighting capability, we must attract, develop, and retain the right people at every echelon. Central to this effort is understanding how society is changing. Today's youth grow up in a thoroughly connected environment. They are comfortable using technology and interactive social structures to solve problems. These young men and women are tomorrow's leaders and we need their service. Therefore, the U.S. military must be willing to embrace social and cultural change to better identify, cultivate, and reward such talent."

28 Robert Coram, *Boyd: The Fighter Pilot Who Changed the Art of War* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 2002), 327-344.

through the lens of the existential threat of the Soviet Union during the Cold War in which the future conflict would most certainly be a total war with only one nation surviving the outcome. This paradigm may not accurately reflect the conflicts of the twenty-first century, which may call for a different philosophical framework to understand the role of the military professional. Perhaps a more useful model is the one proposed by sociologist Morris Janowitz, whose seminal work, *The Professional Soldier* (1960), offers two concepts that better fit this dynamic. One, Janowitz challenges the idea that the military professional eschews the ideals and values of civilian society and instead argues that they should be leveraged to create a more dynamic officer corps. Secondly, he notes that most combat that American service personnel are most likely to encounter is that of “limited war”—small, political wars that require a much more nuanced, thoughtful, and varied collection of soldiers. He notes that America’s military is more likely to engage in a “constabulary” role, versus a large conventional war and will act more as police officers in the world, instead of warriors.²⁹ History demonstrates that conflicts of these kinds are best resolved by diverse military forces who bring diversity of thought and experience to situations that present a variety of challenges.

The greatest challenge to this issue is that the only way to truly assess if gender integration in ground combat arms impact combat effectiveness is through war itself.³⁰ In the absence of kinetic conflict, military thinkers, planners, and commanders are left to ponder and prognosticate what will make their force the most successful in the next fight.

They must tirelessly deliberate over which doctrine, demographic, organizational structure, and technology will give U.S. forces the best advantage against their potential adversaries. In the absence of real fighting (and killing), the military elite must rely on training, exercises and, oddly, history to provide any insight into what methods will be the crucial keys to victory. For the issue of gender integration, perhaps the latter can shed the most light as to its impact on the military’s future. The past cases of the armed forces having to engage in social equality issues, or the perennial debate of rights versus readiness may be a false dichotomy. For each instance where issues such as this have reached national attention, the egalitarian social reform forced upon the military have never identifiably caused a regression in their fighting capability. Those who have claimed of the inevitable decline in combat effectiveness as a result of such reforms have yet to provide valid data to prove their predications. So it should not be a false equivalency of “rights” versus “readiness” that determines the outcome of this decision. It would seem that the U.S. military could actually have both and still remain a prestigious military power on the world stage while also reflecting our egalitarian values.

²⁹ Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, an imprint of Simon & Schuster, 1960), 417–40.

³⁰ Women have served countless times in combat in the Global War on Terrorism. The assertion here is that they would have to now validate their value serving in these previously excluded units/billetts now in combat as well.

HFM: Combat Integration: Implications for Physical Employment Standards

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ABSTRACT

This series of papers reviews the outputs of RTG HFM 269 Combat Integration: Implications for Physical Employment Standards (PES). The aims of the group, and the outputs for the final report are to identify best practices for the development of Physical Employment Standards in Combat Integration. Specifically:

- (1) Develop research advice for designing PES to minimize inherent sex bias and agreed definition of terminology;*
- (2) Provide advice and guidance on injury prevention strategies with Combat Integration by:*
 - a. Facilitating international research efforts to monitor musculoskeletal injury (MSKI) risk in longitudinal investigations;*
 - b. Identifying female specific training strategies for achieving and maintaining PES.*
- (3) Produce a final technical report with a framework and practical recommendations for designing PES considering Combat Integration, supported by a comprehension compendium of all available related research, and current military PES.*

The views expressed in this abstract are those of the authors and do not reflect the official policy of the Department of Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

1.0 OVERVIEW

In 1995 a NATO DRG Panel 8 Workshop entitled *Optimizing the Performance of Women in the Armed Forces of NATO* was held in the United Kingdom (UK). No further working groups had focused on this topic until this research technical group convened in 2016. In 1999 the British Army implemented gender free physical employment standards (PES) testing, but ground close combat (GCC) roles were closed to females at that time. Given that USA, UK, and Australia have or are planning to lift exclusions of females in combat roles, and given that Canada was the first to develop, and implement a sex free PES for which there are no “neutralised” standards for all roles within the Armed Forces, a TAP and an ET was created for the topic of Combat (sex) integration and PES. The resulting NATO RTG HFM 269 includes 10 countries and the group has completed five of their six scheduled meetings.

2.0 PRESENTATIONS

A review of current PES practices across NATO nations and a “best practice” for the development of Physical Employment Standards, with consideration of Combat Integration. (Dr Sam Blacker and Dr Tara Reilly)

The goal is to provide an “off the shelf” guide for a defense scientist or military member to develop protocol(s) for the development of a sex free PES based on lessons learned and scientific and practical experiences primarily from Canada, UK, USA, and Australia.

Physical employment standards often become a contentious issue for females joining combat roles due to the literature indicating that there are differences in male/female physical strength and endurance capabilities (Miller et al 1993). However, these differences are irrelevant provided the demands of the occupation are being met (Friedl 2016).

Bias can arise from instrumentation and test methods of predictive fitness tests through a lack of validity or cultural artifacts. Bias can also be introduced by participants and/or Subject Matter Experts (SME). This HFM will develop guidelines with regard to the diversity required of the research sample in face of the challenges of a very small sample pool of females in combat roles. Topics will include recommendations on best practices for implementation of PES (accommodation by means of practice trials, training, or technique), and ways to facilitate success without compromising standards.

A Compendium of male and female performance data on both predictive physical selection type tests and occupational task/work samples. (Mrs. Marilyn Sharp)

This presentation will highlight sex differences in physical fitness tests in military members, as well as in performance of physically demanding military occupational tasks. The hypothesis being that for many of these fitness tests, which are designed to predict occupational tasks, the sex differences in maximal performance are at a level above that which is required for success on the task. These data will identify tests with the least bias for assessing occupational fitness, while still considering their predictive capability. While some predictive tests are maintained for historical/cultural reasons, they may result in falsely identifying females as incapable of performing an occupational task to a minimal standard. Existing training data for these tests and tasks will be presented to allow the researcher to identify the tests with the most potential for improvement to minimize a sex differential through physical training.

Facilitate international research efforts to monitor MSkI risk for female military members in longitudinal investigations; including an exploration of the role of PES in musculoskeletal injury risk. (Dr Jace Drain and Dr Keith Hauret)

Little data are available regarding injury rates specific to female Combat Arms personnel which could advise on if there is a cause and effect relationship with sex and injury rate. The data for non-combat arms personnel show higher risks associated with females, however, there are many confounding factors such as physical fitness. When female participants are compared to male participants, often their modifiable characteristics such as body mass, lean body mass, training status, and experience are not matched. Likewise, factors as simple as stature are not later analysed for interactions or effects. Recent findings of research from the US Army indicates that with a well-controlled analysis of injury risks of women compared to men controlling for age, race, and several components of measured entry level physical fitness, the only factor that remained significant in the logistic regression was run time (aerobic fitness). Therefore, women of the same level of physical fitness as men, in particular aerobic weight bearing fitness assessed by run times can be expected to experience similar risks of injury as men (Nindl et al. 2016).

The introduction of females into the combat arms in Australia, the US and the UK Armed Forces will provide an international opportunity to study the evolution of females throughout training and deployment, and advise on the best methods to prepare them physically for best performance on occupational tasks, with injury reduction being a major aim.

In addition, it is important to distinguish between “injuries” and “incidents”. Furthermore, information on the “impact” of the injury (time loss, temporary medical category modified duties, etc.) is crucial information for the organization and should be considered in any injury tracking/prevention program. These concerns have been expressed with involvement in the NATO RTG 283 on musculoskeletal injuries.

Military training strategies for achieving and maintaining PES. (Dr. Jace Drain, Dr. Sam Blacker, Mrs. Marilyn Sharp)

Physical training in the military has often not kept pace with known best practices due to resource limitations (i.e. time, space, equipment, trained supervision). A number of studies have shown that combined resistance and aerobic training programs can be used to improve the performance of females in physically demanding occupations. A recent review of the programs used to improve female performance of military occupational tasks concluded that a minimum of six-months training using job-task specific exercises for load carriage, with an emphasis on upper body strength and power were necessary to prepare females for combat occupations (Nindl, et al 2015). The performance gap for females and males on both occupational tasks and traditional predictive tests may narrow as females evolve their training from a callisthenic model to a mixed strength and endurance model with increased emphasis on higher intensity effort (Nindl et al. 2016). Research has demonstrated females are capable of significantly improving performance of physically demanding military tasks. A review these findings and advice on how to best evolve the female soldiers’ training program will be included in the NATO RTG HFM 269 report.

Incentives for improved performance to achieve or exceed PES standards with considerations for bias. (Dr Tara Reilly)

The PES for the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has been established as bias free and best practice at the minimal acceptable performance standard. The implementation of an incentive to encourage performance beyond the minimal standard is being examined for effectiveness and potential bias. To prevent bias, or maximise the number of females who will be incentivised and therefore inspired to excel, normative referencing in sex and age categories are applied. This practice is debatable as it provides females with an advantage over their male age matched counterparts. However, the highest incentive (top 5th percentile) may be unachievable by females. Normative physical performance data are used in the CAF to incentivise females, given the inherent sex differences in maximal physical capacities at an elite level.

The final goal of the NATO RTG HFM 269 is to produce a technical report with practical recommendations for designing PES considering Combat Integration, supported by a comprehensive compendium of all available related research.

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Integration of women into ground combat units – Slovenia as an example of a successful but a small country

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ABSTRACT

Slovenia has been a member of the Alliance since 2004. It has been participating in international operations and missions since 1997. In August last year, the share of women in the Slovenian Armed Forces amounted to 16.5%. In independent Slovenia, this has always been high share compared to other NATO countries, and has on the average ranked between 14% and 16%.

Slovenian women have traditionally been active in the domain of security and, in particular, national defence. They made an important contribution during WWII and after the war, when Slovenia constituted one of the former Yugoslav republics.

Slovenia as a small country, which spreads on about 20,000 km², with a population of about 2,000,000 and an armed force of 6,691 members is currently present in Kosovo, Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Syria, Lebanon, Macedonia, Serbia, Mali, Latvia and operation EU NAVFOR MED with 346 people per rotation, 242 of which are deployed in Kosovo.

Compared to large countries, Slovenia represents a small sample, which is generally not comparable and interesting enough for scientific research on an international scale. However, it is, on the other hand, eminent enough to represent a case study for other comparable countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and others. Women in those countries have also played a very prominent role in the armed forces, both from the aspect of their cultural tradition and a sociological point of view.

In the Slovenian Armed Forces, we have been intensively monitoring the role of women from several different perspectives. In 2015, on the anniversary of UN Resolution 1325, we focused on their role in international operations and missions. For this purpose, we prepared a special questionnaire and attempted to find out how they themselves perceived their role, how their role was seen abroad by their male colleagues and how they as women in uniform were accepted by the international environment in different locations.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 2019, the Republic of Slovenia celebrates an important anniversary with regard to international political, security and defence matters. As the first republic of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia joined NATO with the other nine countries in 2004. In the past fifteen years, Slovenia as a small country with its armed forces and police forces participated in many international operations and missions.

It is important to emphasize that when members of the former Yugoslav National Army left the territory of Slovenia after the ten-day war, the country had to establish its own military forces. Thomas Young writes that most Eastern European countries with post-communist regimes had specific problems with their armed forces, in the way that they had to transform the forces from a post-communist pattern to the Western way of developing the defence systems. However, in the case of Slovenia, a few of those points of view were different ¹¹. One of them was the fact that Slovenia's new military were members of the former republic Territorial Defence forces that had fought against the Yugoslav National Army and were the beginners of the new sovereign armed forces today known as the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF). Many women in the SAF today started their military careers as members of the Territorial Defence forces.

Slovenia is surrounded by four neighbouring countries: Italy in the west, Austria in the north, Hungary in the east and Croatia in the south. As a small country, which spreads on about 20,000 km², with a population of about 2,000,000 and an armed forces of 6,691 members is currently present in Afghanistan – RSM, Bosnia and Herzegovina – JOINT ENTERPRISE, Kosovo – KFOR, Macedonia – JOINT ENTERPRISE, Bosnia and Herzegovina – ALTHEA, Mali – EUTM, Lebanon – UNIFIL, Syria – UNTSO, Italy – EUNAVOR, Iraq – OIR and Latvia – eFP².

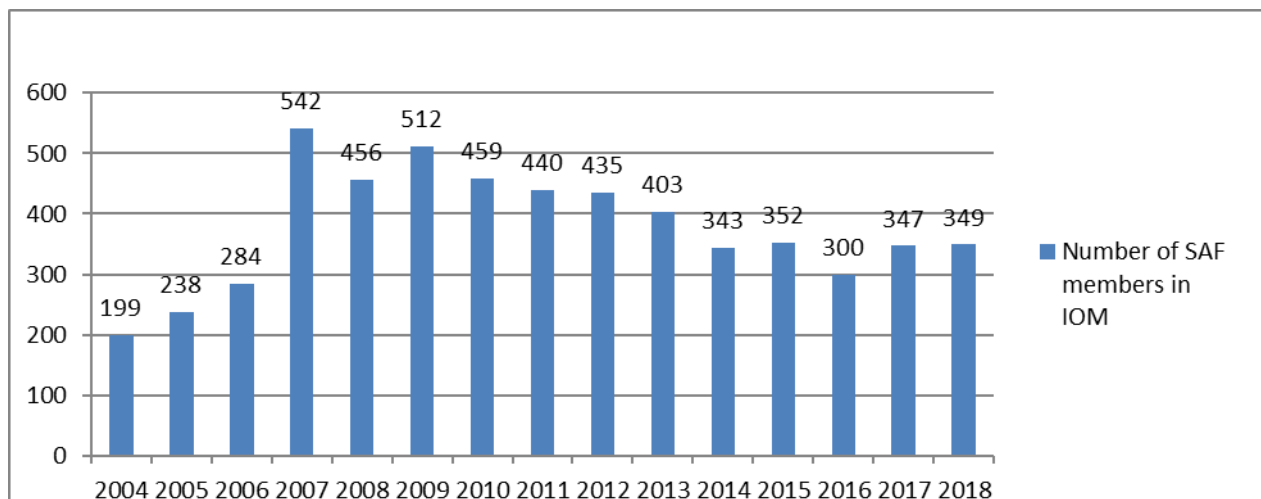


Figure 1: Number of Slovenian Armed Forces members in international operations and missions³ (IOM).

¹Young, T. (2017). Anatomy of Post-Communist European Defence Institutions, The Mirage of Military Modernity. Bloomsbury, London. (pp. 116-143).

² See more at <http://www.slovenskavojska.si/en/international-cooperation/international-operations-and-missions/>.

³ The numbers are from the end of December in each year in the last rotation. There are two to three rotations per year depends on the duration of each rotation and the location of the activities.

As shown on the official web page of the Slovenian Armed Forces, “International operations and missions”⁴, SAF members were deployed for the first time to a crisis response operation on 14 May 1997, namely to the humanitarian operation ALBA in Albania with a medical unit and four liaison officers. Female personnel from the medical branch were also included in this first contingent. Later on, the number of SAF members, also female, gradually increased.

Since 2004, when Slovenia became a member of Alliance and the European Union some 11.000 personnel were deployed, many of them several times.

2.0 IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 1325 IN SLOVENIA

The Republic of Slovenia is monitoring the processes and activities that are part of international ambitions to accomplish the quality level of human rights, equity for men and women, and is an active partner in the implementation of UN resolutions 1325 and 1820 as well as others, which are based on these two.

Slovenia adopted the Resolution on the National Programme for Equal Opportunities for Men and Women in 2005. Its 2015 edition applies to the period 2015–2020. Equal Opportunities for Men and Woman Act is the core legislative document for achieving equal opportunities for men and women in political, economic, social, educational and others areas of interest. Data show that Slovenia respects international resolutions on gender. National action plan for the implementation of both resolutions was adopted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2010. Since then, Slovenia has been reporting to the UN, OSCE and NATO Committee for Gender Perspective every year⁵. Special action plan on gender perspective for the Ministry of Defence and the Slovenian Armed Forces was envisaged in the National Action Plan. Together with the Defence Act, Law on Service in the Slovenian Armed Forces and Code of Military Ethics, we have the core legislative framework for the implementation of equal opportunities for men and women.

Within the project of the Professionalization of Slovenian Armed Forces (PROVOJ⁶) in 2004, a special subproject on equal opportunities was launched for both sexes. By order, special topics were determined such as organizational, professional-technical topics, equal representation of both sexes in the military structure and in the processes of military decision making, on the educational structures including international operations and missions, etc.⁷

Gender perspective in the Slovenian Armed Forces can be broken down into four periods.

1. The first one was before the independent Slovenia. Women joined the Territorial Defence forces as administrative or logistics support. There were less than 1% female officers in the period before 1992.
2. The next period was from 1993 to 2013. In this period, women were able to join the Slovenian Armed Forces according to the Defence Act, but they had to complete military schools within the Slovenian Armed Forces in two years. According to Šteiner, this was not the best solution concerning

⁴ <http://www.slovenskavojska.si/en/international-cooperation/international-operations-and-missions/>, 15.1.2019.

⁵ Šteiner, A. (2015). Slovenska vojska med tranzicijo in transformacijo. Slovenska vojska, Center vojaških šol. Ljubljana.

⁶ Original name of the project was *Poklicna vojska dopolnjena s pogodbeno rezervo*.

⁷ Šteiner, A. (2015). Slovenska vojska med tranzicijo in transformacijo. Slovenska vojska, Center vojaških šol. Ljubljana.

competences⁸, but Slovenia was going through a transition process and had to find solutions rapidly and effectively. In 2004, the voluntary military service was organized and available to men and women.

3. The third period was between 2004 and 2008, when women were able to participate in all structures of the Slovenian Armed Forces, although there were still some issues that needed to be solved such as the adaptations of uniforms, boots, separate accommodation and sanitary facilities, etc.⁹
4. In the fourth period, which started after 2008, we are following all the suggestions, resolutions and international trends on gender perspective as was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

Summaries of NATO reports from 2014 and 2016 show that Slovenia holds the six place among NATO nations in percentage (13.6%) of women on active military duty. The retention of women in 2014 was 2.7% higher than retention of men, which places Slovenia fourth among NATO nations. The Slovenian Armed Forces have no support networks established specifically for women, and there are no specific programmes and policies to maintain work-life balance. Slovenia has one training program related to the UNSC 1325 and gender-related topics are included into pre-deployment training for all personnel. The training aims in raising the awareness about gender perspective, includes UNSCR 1325 in the peace support operations with the emphasis on non-discrimination, and non-sexual harassment policies and code of ethics. Due to financial restrictions, not all equipment is fit for both men and women. The report shows unequal distribution of senior NCO and officer ranks (OF3 and higher). However, the overall percentage of women participation in NATO-led operations is 8.9%, which is higher than overall percentage of women, i.e. 5.6 %.

3.0 GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES

Awareness on the importance of gender perspective in the military has been present in the Slovenian Armed Forces since the beginning of our independence. In 1995, the Ministry of Defence published a special booklet on women in the armed forces. Its Centre for Strategic Studies joined domestic and foreign experts to exchange some views and case-studies to find out how to be prepared for the future. Jelušič emphasized how important the role of women was during the Second World War and still was today. She noted that the roles of a mother, woman and soldier were three important and very often incompatible roles, which women need to play¹⁰. The first account of a female senior officer showed how many different challenges the military could pose, especially at the beginning of the Slovenian Armed Forces development¹¹. Some foreign experts like Gasperini¹² and Bauwens¹³ shared their expertise and practices as a way ahead for Slovenia, but from the present perspective, important findings were presented by Kotnik¹⁴. He underlined

⁸ Jelušič, L. (2003). Slovenian Public Opinion on Security, Defence and Military Issues. V Marie Vlachova (ur.). *The Public Image of Defence and the Military in Central and Eastern Europe*, 182-200. Geneva: Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF); Belgrade: Centre for Civil - Military Relations (CCMR).

⁹ Šteiner, A. (2015). Slovenska vojska med tranzicijo in transformacijo. Slovenska vojska, Center vojaških šol. Ljubljana.

¹⁰ Jelušič, L., (1995). Ženske vojakinje – emancipacija ali muhavost. In Vegič, V., (ed.), (1995). *Ženske in oborožene sile*. Zbornik študij. Ministrstvo za obrambo, Center za strateške študije. Ljubljana, 1995.

¹¹ Pešec, M., (1995). Ženska kot nadrejena vojakinja – osebne izkušnje. In Vegič, V., (ur.), (1995). *Ženske in oborožene sile*. Zbornik študij. Ministrstvo za obrambo, Center za strateške študije. Ljubljana, 1995, pp. 149-157.

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¹⁴ Kotnik, I., (1995). Nekatera vprašanja vključevanja žensk v sodobne oborožene sile. In Vegič, V., (ur.), (1995). *Ženske in oborožene sile*. Zbornik študij. Ministrstvo za obrambo, Center za strateške študije. Ljubljana, 1995, pp. 87-92.

some factors that he found significant for increasing the number of female servicemembers in the armed forces. According to Kotnik, these include demographic trends; development of military technology, technique and weapons; changed role and tasks of armed forces, and changed role of women in the society (ibid). Later on in 2002, when the Ministry of Defence and the Faculty of Social Sciences published another booklet on gender perspective titled *Sexism and the Armed Forces*, Kotnik wrote an article on limiting factors at the inclusion of women into the armed forces¹⁵. These limiting factors¹⁶ were the leading imperative for the preparation of the concept of the questionnaire which was distributed among members of the Slovenian Armed Forces in autumn 2015. Once again, a few women from the Slovenian Armed Forces wrote articles about their experiences as women in the military. Later on in 2016 a special thematic issue of the *Contemporary Military Challenges* was published on the occasion of 15th anniversary of the UN resolution 1325 with the international group of authors¹⁷.

What we found important for our analysis in 2015 was the data about women positions and their ranks. This enabled the comparison of the functional and positional integration of women into the armed forces during the period of 15 years, and potential influence of UNSCR 1325 on this process¹⁸.

According to Tkavc “since its very beginnings, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Slovenia – at that time the Territorial Defence (TD) – have been open for employment to both men and women. The main reason was found in the national legislation which supported gender equality. There are no lawfully forbidden areas for female personnel nor programmes or branches legally excluding the participation of women in the SAF. The percentage of women in SAF structure has ranged between 15 and 16 percent in the last decade”¹⁹

Area	Women Percentage (%)	Men Percentage (%)
Administration	47.52	52.48
Communications	7.50	92.50
Finance	84.21	15.79
Infantry	13.85	86.15
Legal	64.71	35.29
Logistics	17.32	82.68
Medical	59.68	40.32
Musicians	18.75	81.25

¹⁵ Kotnik, Dvojmoč, I., (2002). Omejevalni dejavniki pri vključevanju žensk v oborožene sile. In Jelušič, L., & Pešec, M., (eds.), (2002). *Seksizem v vojaški uniformi*. Fakulteta za družbene vede in Ministrstvo za obrambo. Ljubljana, 2002, pp. 28-66.

¹⁶ The limiting factors according to Kotnik are the following: “tradition, culture and patterns of sexual roles; military costs; physical futures of women; psychological futures of women; health problems of women; parenthood and family life; relations between sexes and sexual harassment; morale, cohesion and efficiency of military units; the questions of including women in battle tasks; functional and positional differentiation and discrimination of women” (2002, pp. 28-66).

¹⁷ Thematic issue with the title Women, peace and security on the 15th anniversary of UN Security Council resolution 1325, http://www.slovenskavojska.si/fileadmin/slovenska_vojska/pdf/vojaski_izzivi/2016/svi_18_3.pdf.

¹⁸ Pešec, M., (2002). Ženske v Slovenski vojski. In Jelušič, L., & Pešec, M., (eds.) (2002). *Seksizem v vojaški uniformi*. Fakulteta za družbene vede in Ministrstvo za obrambo. Ljubljana, pp. 138-141.

¹⁹ Tkavc, S. (2016). Some of best practices in gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the 25 years of Slovenian Armed Forces. *Contemporary Military Challenges*, No. 18/3, September, 2016. Slovenian Armed Forces, pp. 45-63.

Personnel	38.68	61.32
Public Affairs	42.86	57.14

Figure 2: Positions held by women and men (as of 31 December 2015)²⁰

Tkavc claims that both women and men in the SAF are serving in leadership, commanding or decision-making positions at home and abroad. Those positions have ranged and continue to range from the tactical level (e.g. platoon commanders), up to the positions at the strategic level (e.g. heads of sections, divisions, joint divisions, chiefs of staff). The first female battalion commander was appointed in January 2006 as the commander of the Intelligence and Reconnaissance Battalion; the second was appointed in March 2007 as the commander of the Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) Battalion up to August 2010. By November 2011, one more female had been appointed commander of one of the motorized battalions. From 2011 to 2013, the Officer Candidate School was headed by a female commander. More recently, in October 2016, another woman took over the position of commander of the Initial Training Centre²¹.

Year	Number (No) Total	Female (No)	Female (%)
2000	194	10	5.2%
2001	165	16	9.7%
2002	136	8	5.9%
2003	341	9	2.6%
2004	425	13	3.1%
2005	474	49	10.3%
2006	575	68	11.8%
2007	994	88	8.9%
2008	961	94	9.8%
2009	1037	92	8.9%
2010	919	62	6.8%
2011	894	61	6.8%
2012	897	60	6.7%

²⁰ Tkavc, S. (2016). Some of the best practices in gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the 25 years of Slovenian Armed Forces. Contemporary Military Challenges, No. 18/3, September, 2016. Slovenian Armed Forces, p. 52.

²¹ Ibid.

2013	1119	80	7.2 %
2014	1129	101	8.9 %
2015	999	69	6.9 %

Figure 3: SAF female active military duty personnel deployed to IOMs in the period 2000 – 2015 (from 1 January to 31 December of each year)²²

The highest rank to be held by a woman in the SAF since 2011 has been that of brigadier general but at the end of the 2018 she became a Major General and Chief of Defence. As a brigadier general she has held one of the highest positions in the SAF at the General Staff before and was responsible for one of the three pillars in the SAF, i.e. the operations pillar; she thus held the position of Chief of Joint Operations Division and Assistant to Chief of General Staff. She has also held the positions of Chief of Staff at General Staff, chief of a division, commander of a battalion, and others. Until recently, one of the female colonels held the position of Deputy Commander of one of the brigades. Tkavc²³ mentions that here are also other women taking deputy commander's positions; one of these is, for example, in the Military Medical Unit (regiment level). The contribution of the SAF to the structures of different international institutions has been in place for many years. Several female SAF members have been posted to different positions, also holding senior and decision-making positions abroad. One example is a female military active duty officer who in 2008 was selected for the position of Director of the International Military Sports Council (CISM) in the rank of a colonel for a three-year tenure. She became the first female director in the 60-year history of this international organization with 134 member countries. She was also the Deputy Secretary General of CISM. From 2012 to 2016 one of the colonels was appointed to Allied Command Transformation as the National Liaison Representative. In July 2016, another colonel was posted to the position of Head of Training and Exercise branch at one of NATO's Joint Force Commands. Last but not least, the first female military attaché from the SAF was appointed in 2014, serving in the rank of a colonel²⁴.

Tkavc continues that both women and men from the SAF are posted to senior positions, performing decision-making and commanding duties in IOMs. For example, in 2007 a woman was deployed as Commander of the Slovenian contingent to EUFOR Althea (European Union Force Althea) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and two women were deployed as Deputy Commanders in the same year, one as Deputy Commander of the Slovenian contingent in ISAF in Afghanistan, and the other as Deputy Commander of a task force in KFOR (NATO peace support operation in Kosovo - the Kosovo Force). In the period between 2009 and 2010, two female Colonels were deployed as chiefs of branches at KFOR HQs. In 2013/2014, Slovenia deployed two Lieutenant Colonels, one as a shift director and another as the operations and training advisor. At the same time, the Ministry of Defence, which deploys civilian functional experts (as outsourced specialists, or MoD employees) in IOMs, also posted two female civilians from Slovenia to advisory positions in Kosovo. Both male and female, military personnel and civilians, are posted to different advisory

²² Tkavc, S. (2016). Some of best practices in gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the 25 years of Slovenian Armed Forces. Contemporary Military Challenges, No. 18/3, September, 2016. Slovenian Armed Forces, pp. 45-63.

²³ Lieutenant Colonel Suzana Tkavc is the first full-time Principal Gender Advisor (GENAD) in the SAF. She was appointed to serve in the General Staff of the SAF in June 2015. In 2018, she served for one year as Chief Gender Advisor (CHIEFGENAD) to the KFOR Commander.

²⁴ Tkavc, S. (2016). Some of best practices in gender perspective and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the 25 years of Slovenian Armed Forces. Contemporary Military Challenges, No. 18/3, September, 2016. Slovenian Armed Forces, pp. 45-63.

positions²⁵. The SAF had her first female commander in Lebanon-UNIFIL in 2017, and UN first female commander also.

4.0 ANALYSIS OF THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE SLOVENIAN ARMED FORCES – A QUANTITATIVE COMPARISON (2008-2016)

Before analyzing the questionnaire, we conducted a quantitative comparison of data on the position of women in the Slovenian Armed Forces (SAF) from 2008 and 2012 and assessed the position of women in the beginning of 2016.

In March 2016, the SAF had eleven generals (OF-6 to OF-8), three of whom were appointed to general's positions and one to a military position within the civilian structure of the Ministry of Defence. In 2012, seven women worked in top management positions and two in commanding positions. In 2016, the only Slovenian female brigadier general served in a general's position within the General Staff. Four female colonels, two female lieutenant colonels and two senior military specialists (equivalent to senior officers) worked in seven top leadership positions and one commanding position. We can estimate that since 2012 there has been substantial progress in the promotion of women to senior ranks and senior leadership positions, but a smaller number of female commanders. Since 2008, the share of women among senior officers (from major to brigadier general) has increased from 7 to 10 percent. Compared to 2008, the number of young female officers in the SAF has decreased. In 2015, there were 43 percent less first lieutenants and second lieutenants (39) than in 2008 (68).

The situation with the non-commissioned officers is similar. There are almost three times as many women with the top four NCO ranks as in 2008, but none of them in a top position. In 2015, there were 52 percent fewer women with the two lowest NCO ranks (53) than in 2008 (110).

In tactical units, the number of female platoon commanders has not changed compared to 2008. However, there has been a positive trend with company commanders. There are now three female company commanders compared to 2012 when there was only one. An analysis has shown that in this specific commanding position, which is the first one intended for the selection of future commanding officers, the possibility for a woman to be selected is the lowest. Although, since 2010, every young officer, male or female, who completes his/her officer training has to serve as a platoon commander or as a comparable-level commander, women are only rarely chosen to serve as company commanders, although this is a prerequisite for them to ever in their career be considered as candidates for a battalion or regiment commander. It can therefore be concluded that among equally qualified candidates the selection goes in favour of male candidates.

For officers, serving in a commanding position is a prerequisite for their advancement to the highest-level decision-making positions in the armed forces. A comparison between the data of 2008 and 2016 showed that in 2008 there were as many as 80 women serving in captain, major or lieutenant-colonel positions, however in the eight-year period up to 2016, only two women had the opportunity to serve as battalion commanders. In 2011, a first female officer in the Slovenian Armed Forces was appointed to become a military school commander. Since 2013, however, there have been no female battalion, regiment, school or brigade commanders in the Slovenian Armed Forces.

²⁵ Ibid.

5.0 RESEARCH OF 2015

5.1 Methodological approach

We decided to address almost identical questions to both men and women in the SAF simultaneously. We prepared 29 questions for women and 24 for men. Both questionnaires begin with the same 6 questions about the demography. The next part of the questionnaire for female respondents included 13 questions about women in the SAF in general, while the questionnaire for male respondents included 11 questions about women in the SAF which were the same as those for women. The last part of the questionnaire was about international operations and missions and included 8 questions for women and 7 for men. However, this article includes only a few selected results referring to international operations and missions, with focus on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325).

The questionnaires were designed on-line with the support of the www.mojaanketa.si webpage and were separate for men and women. We started to invite women to fill in the on-line questionnaire on 3 September and the men were invited the next day. By the end of the month, 99 female SAF members (9%) and 80 male SAF members (1.3%) filled in the questionnaire. We did not proceed with the process, because we had already reached our goal – the sample of 5 to 10% of all women in the SAF as well. It would be very good to have a 5 to 10% sample of the male population in the SAF, but we realized that this would be very hard to reach since there were 5,912 male SAF members in October²⁶ 2015. After all, our main focus was on women in the SAF and their involvement in international operations and missions.

5.2 Results on International operations and missions

In order to ensure better understanding of the results, it is important to take into consideration the demography of our sample (Table 2). Most of female respondents were in the age category 30 to 50, but the largest percentage (44.4%) included respondents between 40 and 49 of age. The largest male age group in the sample (36%) of male servicemembers was of the same age group (40 to 49). The majority of women (84.8 %) and men (88.8%) were married.

Table 1: Military personnel (by category).

	privates	NCOs	officers	military specialists	civilians
Female	10%	25.3%	28.3%	24.6%	12%
Male	15%	33.8%	45%	5.1%	1.3%

In the section of the questionnaire about international operations and missions we started with the question on how many times Slovenian Armed Forces members had participated in international operations and missions. Below, you will find the comparison of the answers given by male and female Slovenian Armed Forces members respectively.

²⁶ This kind of goal would be very hard to reach because Slovenia witnessed severe floods in September and many SAF members were included to help on the field. Additionally, the SAF hosted the exercise Immediate Response 2015.

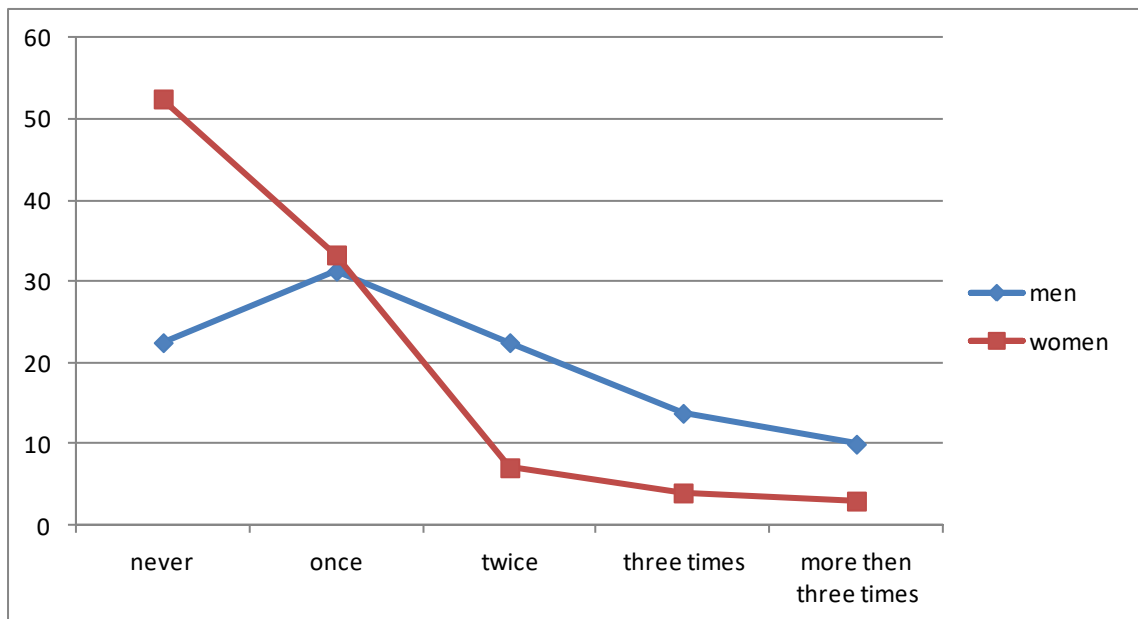


Figure 4: Question: How many times were you deployed in international operations and missions?

The results in Figure 4 show that more than half of women in the sample had not been deployed in international operations and missions. In order to understand this in comparison with the Slovenian Armed Forces statistics, we need to take into the consideration that only 6.1% of women respondents work in the combat area; 36.7% of them perform specialist tasks such as law enforcement, protocol, information and technology (CIS); 42.9 % work in staffs within planning, human resources and similar branches, and 14.3% of them on administrative and technical support.

Additionally, we asked if they worked mainly in the HQ/Command structure or in the combat units, also if they have been regularly deployed on field duties. 80% of the women who had been deployed in international operations and missions responded that they had worked in the HQ/Command structure of the military base. In the 'comments' section, some of them explained that they had worked at both places depending on the international operation and mission, as they had been deployed more than once. Three women in the sample have been deployed in international operations and missions more than three times.

In the following question, we wanted to confirm if our respondents believed that the participation of women in international operations and mission contributed to the quality of the mission.

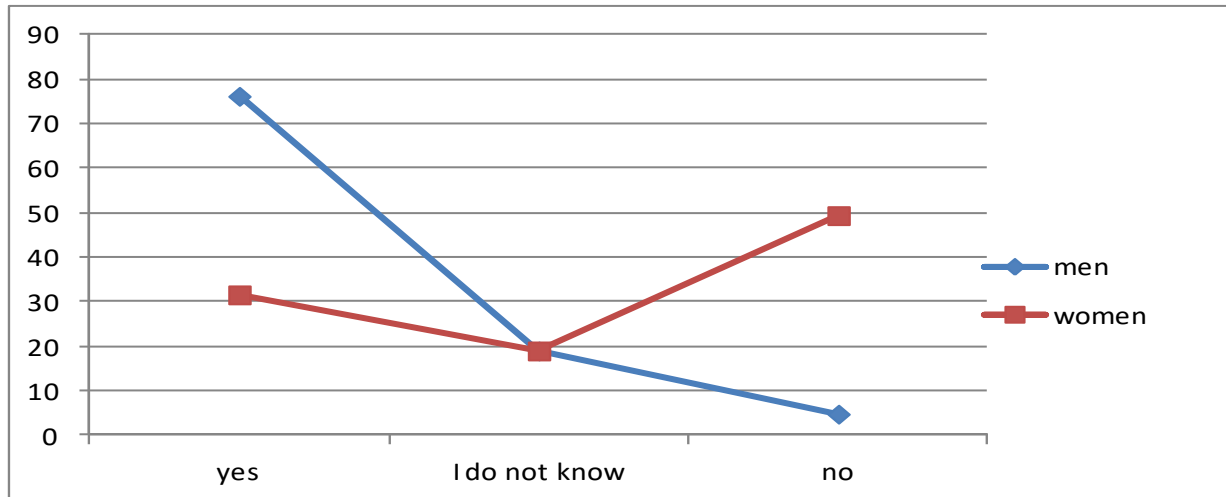


Figure 5: Question: Do you believe that the participation of women in international operations and mission contributes to the quality of the mission?

The answers show that male Slovenian Armed Forces members value the role of women in International operations and missions more highly than women value themselves.

With the following question, we focused on the local environment of international operations and missions where military personnel are deployed. We wanted to find out more about the opinion on the role of female members with regard to the local environment as well as get an insight into the awareness on gender perspective in international operations and missions.

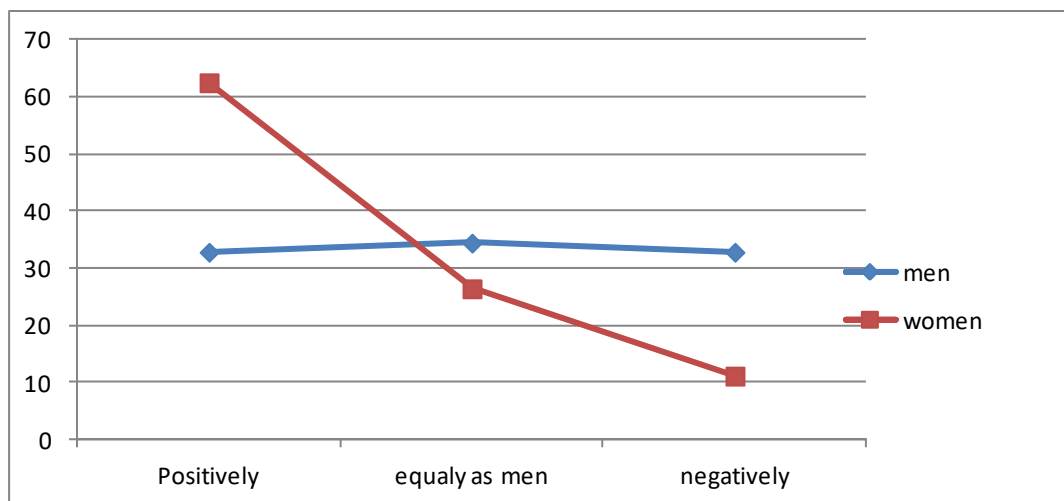


Figure 6: Question: According to your experience, how does the local environment in the country where military members are engaged, accept women in comparison to men?

The question focused on the acceptance of female military in the local environment in comparison to male service members. It was interesting to see if there were any differences between men and women regarding this question. In the sample of 99 women, 72 of them responded to this question and their attitude about it was very positive. We understand this as a view of the women who have actually been deployed and speak

from their own experience. The rest of them commented on this question in a special section for comments where they wrote that they had not been deployed yet. The answers of male respondents were evenly distributed among the three possibilities.

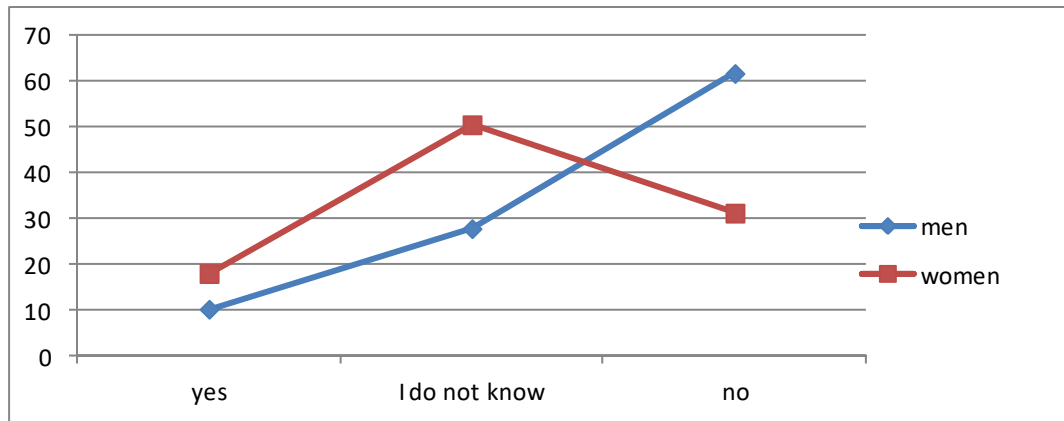


Figure 7: Question: Do you believe that there are duties within military operations for which it is essential that they are performed by women?

The results presented in Figure 7 at first seem surprising. It is interesting that just a small part of male and female respondents replied affirmatively and that a large part of the respondents replied either negatively or chose the answer “I don’t know”. By looking deeper into the results, we found that the awareness about the role of women in international operations and missions was present. Nevertheless, most comments to this question were added at the end. The majority of comments were provided by female respondents. They emphasized the importance of cultural background of a country where military forces were deployed. For some posts, it is essential that they are held by women. This is especially important in the areas where military forces come into interaction with the civilian environment. Liaison Monitoring Teams, medical support, intelligence, security in relation with senior local leaders and inspection of persons at check points were specifically mentioned.

The last question referred to UNSCR 1325 and the social roles of women in the local environment with the focus on the question if women in the military could induce changes there.

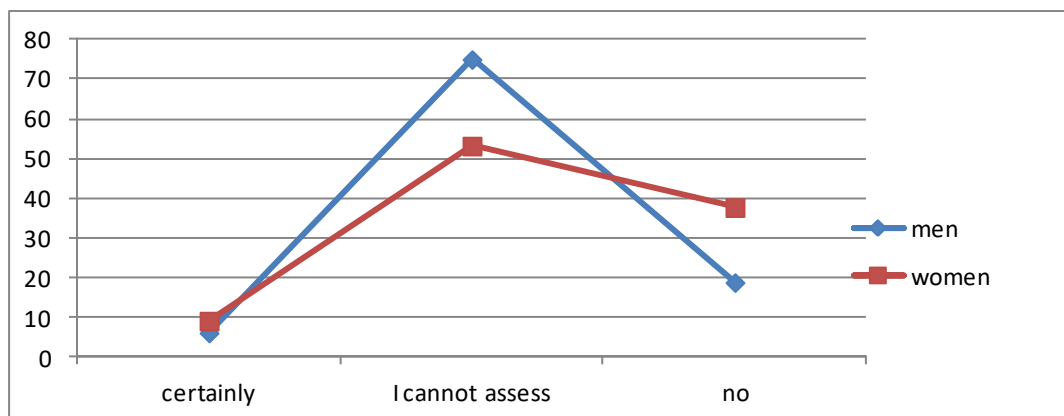


Figure 8: Question: Do you believe that there are duties within military operations for which it is essential that they are performed by women?

The majority of respondents, both male and female, replied “I cannot assess”. A substantial number of them replied negatively, and just a small number of respondents replied affirmatively. Nevertheless, like with the previous question, the comments speak for themselves. None of the male respondents commented on this question. However, female respondents did add comments. They emphasized the role of education which is, according to their opinion, even more important for men than it is for women. Many respondents commented that female military can be seen as role models for local women, encouraging their empowerment. It can be concluded from the comments that female military with international experiences understand the complexity of the international environment and how challenging and important their assignments on the mission are. Those results also showed the awareness about the role of the UNSCR 1325.

6.0 CONCLUSION

On the 15th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Slovenia, special attention was devoted to its implementation in the Slovenian Armed Forces. We made a review of two booklets published before UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted. We had a brief look at the history of Slovenian contribution to gender topic so far. Additionally, we made an overview of the acts, documents, resolutions and other references and asked male and female SAF members about their opinions on the currently applied gender perspective. Later on, new thematic booklet was published in 2016 with the title “Women, peace and security on the 15th anniversary of UN Security Council resolution 1325”. It included articles by SAF GENAD advisor, UN Women advisor, and experts from Ireland, Serbia, New Zealand and Slovenia.

Research has shown that women limit themselves when deciding to serve in the commanding positions of combat units. Some of the most frequent self-limiting factors that have been exposed in research since 2000 as well as in the 2015 questionnaire are the division between work and family and judging or doubt of their own abilities. The research has shown that self-limiting factors are often the result of the lack of adequate organizational support for women who, as mothers, face more difficulties performing military duties (absences, balancing/control of work and family obligations), or are put in an unequal position with most of their male counterparts in their subsequent career due to the use of their right of absence from certain military activities (field activities, exercises, deployments) at the time when children are small. Self-limitation was also identified in the fact that women assess their abilities in a multi-dimensional manner, only rarely in terms of their ambition for progress. Women often do not choose to accept the offered positions, if they are not fully convinced of their own knowledge, skill and experiences. This is due to the fact that they are aware that as members of the minority they are more exposed and more rigorously assessed.

Our findings can be characterized as good; not because the results are so perfect, but because we learned what we have to do in the future to see improvement in this area of research. In this context, international operations and mission are of special importance. As our results have shown, the share of women in international operations and missions is small. The functional and positional discrimination there is thus even more evident. Most female servicemembers perform support tasks and work in the headquarters. None of them have assumed a commanding position in the past seven years (except the one who was a commander in UNIFIL Lebanon but this was in 2017). According to the majority of our male respondents, women have a negative impact on the quality of functioning of armed forces and no influence on the changes of the role of women in the local environment.

Such observations confirm that when deciding on the posting of women in operations, the determining limiting factors are still related to the issues of morality, cohesion and effectiveness of combat units.

Above all, decision makers are the ones who can ensure full gender mainstreaming, continuous promotion of

gender equality and women's participation in the activities related to defence. Slovenia adopted Resolution 1325 and its implementation should be doing more, and follow good practices. Therefore, the need for a systematic empirical monitoring of the position and the role of women in the SAF remains equally important in the future.

We believe that experiences, good practices and results of the SAF on gender and equality topics can be very interesting for other small countries such as Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Continuous monitoring is the core methodological instrument for every country to improve their efforts on this field of research. The presence and effectiveness in international operation and missions is very important, regardless of the fact if the troops are coming from a small or a bigger country. Slovenia with its legacy in international operations and missions can be a good case study in the future for other Western Balkan countries aspiring to become members of the Alliance.

The Integration of Women in to the Australian Army Infantry Corps: Dimensions for Success

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ABSTRACT

This paper overviews reflections and lessons learned against five dimensions for the successful integration of women in to the infantry corps:

- 1. Physical (including nutrition)*
- 2. Professional*
- 3. Environmental*
- 4. Social*
- 5. Cultural*

Over the last two years, the Australian Army has integrated a number of women in to its Royal Australian Infantry corps, and arms corps more broadly. This paper describes some of the key challenges and highlights from this period and explores a number of key themes. Discussed against the five dimensions of success, noted above, are gender and physical fitness standards and gender and nutrition; and the importance of resilience, positivity and determination by recruits. In addition, the significance of tailored mentorship and advice (both professional and personal); the criticality of timely and appropriate access to information and the importance of acceptance and preparedness of staff and peers to the presence of female recruits. Environmental aspects of integration – including physical (co)location – are also discussed.

This paper will also share insights from female soldiers as they traversed the historically male dominated domain of Infantry. Female infantry trainees viewed themselves as soldiers and platoon members primarily, not as women soldiers.

There are a number of cultural factors that are enablers or barriers to the successful integration of women in infantry. They relate to the tolerance of microaggression (accepted as normal ‘banter’), the importance of initiative and leadership at all levels, and education and standard operating procedures that incorporate the nuances of having females in a male dominated domain.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This paper summarises findings from the first phase of a longitudinal study of the integration of female soldiers in to the Australian infantry. It examines interview findings against five dimensions for success – physical, professional, environmental, social and cultural. These are not exhaustive, however provide a useful framework to discuss the main challenges and considerations that emerged. It will also note changes made to the integration approach as the process evolved and matured.

This paper will also briefly overview the methodology used and provide research reflections. In conclusion it will discuss the initiatives Army developed to respond to issues as they emerged.

1.1 Background

In line with changes that were occurring in other countries, in 2011 the Australian government announced that gender restrictions on specific employment categories in defence would be lifted. This followed a period of close and intense public and political scrutiny of Australian Defence Force (ADF) members behaviours, attitudes and norms with regard to women and more generally.

From 1 January 2013, current serving women could apply to become clearance divers, mine warfare and clearance diving officers in Navy; airfield defence guards and ground defence officers in Air Force; and infantry, armoured corps, and artillery roles in Army.

As of 1 October 2018, women comprise 14.4 per cent of the Army (Reserves and Full-time force), up from 11.3 percent in 2012. Women have been able to undertake the selection process for Special Forces roles since January 2014 and apply for the Special Forces Direct Recruitment Scheme since 1 October 2015.

Defence began direct (ab-initio) recruiting into combat arms employment categories in 2016. Unsurprisingly, and in line with other countries, there has been slow uptake of these newly available roles (see Figures 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4)

As at 1 October 2018, 21 Infantry women have been posted to an infantry unit. This includes 19 soldiers (5 of which are Gap Year Program soldiers) and 2 officers (Table 1.1).

Additional information:

- *Special Measure provisions.* Army has enacted Special Measure provisions under the Sexual Discrimination Act 1984 including Recruit to Area, Recruit When Ready and reduced Initial Minimum Period of Service for women. Four employment categories offer reduced periods of service (2 years) to women only, including armoured cavalry, combat engineer, artillery observer, and rifleman.
- *The Army Pre-Conditioning Program.* The Army Pre-Conditioning Program is a seven-week course designed to improve the fitness of women so they can meet the Army physical fitness enlistment standard prior to commencement of the Army Recruit Course. The program entry standard matches entry standards of Navy and Air Force.
- *Physical Employment Standards (PESA).* The Physical Employment Standard Assessment was implemented on 1 January 2016. The activities within the assessment are derived from scientific analysis of common military and trade specific tasks and are gender and age neutral.

Table 1-1: Training success rates of men and women in infantry since January 2016– service category 7 and service category 6 (Permanent and Reserves) as at 1 October 2018

	Female		Male	
	No	%	No	%
Enlisted in the RAINF	166	N/A	3609	N/A
Trained Force	38	22.9	1516	42.0
Still in training	47	28.3	1209	33.5
Transferred to other employment categories				
	45	27.1%	194	5.4%
Separated from Army	36	21.7%	690	19.1%

- Figures are for Other Ranks only.
- Figures do not include soldiers recruited on the Regional Surveillance List.
- Figures do not include those that enlisted into other employment categories and transferred into Infantry.

Table 1-2: Women in combat roles – service category 6/7 (permanent)

Headcount		Trained Force	Training Force		Total
		Unit	Recruit Training	IET Training	
RAINF	Commando (ECN 079)			1	1
	Infantry Officer	2			2
	Rifleman (ECN 343)	14	3	12	29
RAA	Artillery Command Systems Operator (ECN 254)	7	1	1	9
	Artillery Gunner (ECN 162)	3	4	5	12
	Artillery Observer (ECN 255)			1	1
	Artillery Officer	12			12
	Operator Air and Missile Defence Systems (ECN 237)*	11	1	1	12
	Operator Unmanned Aerial System (ECN 250)*	22	1	6	29
RAAC	Armoured Cavalry (ECN 060)	15	3	12	30
	Armoured Officer	12			12
Total		98	14	38	150

* Trades previously open to women.

Table 1-3: Women in combat roles – Gap Year

Headcount		Trained Force	Training Force		Total
		Unit	Recruit Training	IET Training	
RAINF	Rifleman (ECN 343)	5		5	10
RAA	Artillery Gunner (ECN 162)			1	1
	Operator Air and Missile Defence Systems (ECN 237)*			5	5
RAAC	Armoured Officer	1			1
Total		6	0	11	17

* Trades previously open to women.

Table 1-4: Women in combat roles – service category 5 (reserves)

Headcount		Trained Force	Training Force		Total
		Unit	Recruit Training	IET Training	
RAINF	Combat Support Operator (ECN 305)	11	17	2	30
	Infantry Officer	5			5
	Patrolman (ECN 304)	14	5		19
	Rifleman (ECN 343)	25	18	9	52
RAA	Artillery Light Gunner (ECN 161)	2	5	4	11
	Artillery Officer	1			1
	Operator Air and Missile Defence Systems (ECN 237)*	1			1
	Operator Unmanned Aerial System (ECN 250)*	1			1
RAAC	Armoured Officer	2			2
	Light Cavalry Scout (ECN 062)	8	7	12	27
Total		70	52	27	149

2.0 STUDY OVERVIEW

The purpose of this study is to gather qualitative data to monitor and better understand the lived experience for women preparing for and entering Infantry corps. However, as action research its primary focus is to provide a rapid feedback loop to key stakeholders in Army - senior leadership and the chain of command - to adjust conditions, processes, and policies, where possible, as required. This is the value of this work. It is not simply observation and analysis, rather it is about providing Army's senior leadership with situational awareness, insight and opportunities for timely intervention.

The project is longitudinal and ongoing, and this paper presents selected findings from the first 18 months of data collection.

2.1 Objective

From the outset the project sought to:

- document the challenges and gains for the first cohorts of women as they enter Infantry corps.
- document the personal and professional growth of these women as they are faced with and overcome any challenges.
- identify the enablers of success and leverage women's personal experiences so that those who come after them may benefit from their experiences.

2.2 Method

This longitudinal project uses a method of rapid ethnography and is framed by a model of action research. It is situated in a sociological framework, examining how women's lived experiences intersect with macro cultural and structural aspects of the ADF. That is, the policies, processes and behavioural norms of the organisation.

Action research refers to a process of progressive problem solving; actively participating in a change situation whilst simultaneously conducting research.¹ Action research is problem centred, client centred, and action oriented. It involves the client system in a diagnostic, active-learning, problem-finding and problem-solving process.

Rapid ethnography refers to a collection of field methods intended to provide fast, efficient data collection when there are time pressures and limited time in the field. The core elements include limiting or constraining the research focus, using key informants, capturing rich field data by using multiple and interactive observation techniques, and collaborative qualitative data analysis.²

For this project, rapid ethnography has also been about collaborative sense-making of the data and co-design of initiatives and strategies to address challenges as they emerged. The output at a practical level involves knowledge sharing between the research team and Army, and identifying opportunities to adjust standard operating procedures, policies and approaches where possible.

The rapid ethnography approach has three key parts:

¹ Dickens, L., & Watkins, K. (1999). Action Research: Rethinking Lewin. *Management Learning*, 30(2), 127–140. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507699302002>

² Millen, D. R. (2000, August). Rapid ethnography: time deepening strategies for HCI field research. In *Proceedings of the 3rd conference on Designing interactive systems: processes, practices, methods, and techniques* (pp. 280-286). ACM accessed at <https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=347763>

1. Using in-depth interviews as both insight and intervention.
2. Using observation of organisational artefacts - structures, policies etc – to deeply understand the barriers to, and opportunities for, change.
3. Using reflexive research practice – as researchers, understanding our own context as an outsider to the organisation, and being aware of our own biases and assumptions.³

2.2.1 Sample and data collection

Interviews were conducted with women enlisted as Employment Category Number (ECN) 343 riflemen at seven time periods over 2016-2017, allowing experiences to be captured at different stages of the training continuum and in to the Regiment.

- Recruit training (Kapooka) x 1
- Initial Employment Training (IET) (School of Infantry) x 2
- Regimental posting – up to 5 times over 18 months

In total 55 interviews were conducted with 33 women, some soldiers being the subject of multiple interviews over time while others were only interviewed once before they decided to leave.

Interviews at Kapooka ceased in the second half of 2016 due to the large number of women corps transferring prior to arrival at the School of Infantry (SOI). With further investigation it was found that at recruitment women were not being given enough information about the infantry employment category (lifestyle, what the job involved, physical requirements beyond initial training) and were not making informed decisions to enlist. This was rectified through the development of a video for recruits to watch in the early stages of recruitment and a letter from the Chief of Army, both of which provided more details.

Interview questions explored expectations, career intentions, family and personal background, health and wellbeing, challenges and achievements, and reflections and observations of their time in training and/or at the unit.

In addition to interviewing women entering infantry corps, key informant interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders. These included, Commanding Officers at the training establishments, current and previous Commanding Officers at the infantry unit where women were posted, Army Headquarters and Forces Command staff involved in the removal of gender restrictions, Physical Employment Standards Assessment (PESA) implementation, soldier career management, Personnel policy development, and culture reform. Also, Defence Science and Technology Group (DSTG) staff/researchers who also developed the PESA requirements, medical staff (physiotherapists for example) in the training establishments and on base, and physical training instructors (PTIs) at each location.

Regular conversations were also had with senior Army personnel including the Chief of Army, Deputy Chief of Army, Head of the Infantry Corps, the Forces Commander, the Commandant Combined Arms Training Centre, the Commandant Army Recruit Training Centre, and the Director General Personnel – Army.

Although not systematic, interviews were conducted (approximately 30 in total) opportunistically with the chain of command (platoon sergeants, warrant officers) at training establishments, and with male recruits, and soldiers at the unit where women were posted following IETs.

³ Mariam Attia & Julian Edge (2017) Be(com)ing a reflexive researcher: a developmental approach to research methodology, *Open Review of Educational Research*, 4:1, 33-45, DOI: [10.1080/23265507.2017.1300068](https://doi.org/10.1080/23265507.2017.1300068) accessed online at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23265507.2017.1300068?cookieSet=1>

3.0 FINDINGS

3.1 Preliminary analysis: Dimensions of integration success

We identified five integration dimensions for consideration in enabling women to succeed in infantry:

1. Physical
2. Professional
3. Environmental
4. Social
5. Cultural

Time doesn't permit a more detailed account of these dimensions; one that contextualises it with the growing body of research on women in combat arms. A systematic review of related literature has been done for the project, however this paper will focus on our empirical data. In what follows each dimension is discussed including observations, risks and issues identified during interviews, and considerations for enabling success. In conclusion, Army's initiatives to address the issues identified are discussed.

The below data only relates to interviews with females.

3.1.1 Physical dimension

The physical dimension has been well documented in international research. It includes nutrition, load distribution, injuries, and risks, amongst other things.

Observations from interview data

Resilience

Recruits all displayed levels of resilience, positivity and determination. Those with stronger physical training histories, knowledge of their bodies (ie time needed for recovery) or that completed pre-conditioning (either provided by Army or done independently) experienced an increased level of success. They were better able to understand, predict and react to any setbacks. Life experience, either related to age or physical training, was perceived and experienced as an indicator of resilience.

Nutrition

Some recruits voiced concerns over nutritional requirements in training, and if the diet while at Kapooka was giving them what was needed to sustain their energy and perform. Many commented on the lack of protein options in the mess, describing a good range of vegetables and salad, but protein, such as chicken or red meat as 'go[ing] straight away' and they miss out.

Interestingly, a number of recruits described having self-imposed restricted diets prior to enlisting; calorie counting, weighing portions and body building to be 'fit' for Army life. This approach obviously does not accord with the realities of mess dining at recruit school (or perhaps any mess dining) and was an uncomfortable reality for some when they arrived.

Injuries

Anecdotally all women noted that hip injuries, whether minor or significant, were common in training (ie. the first six months). These may not all be visible to the chain of command due to the reluctance to report and 'get through'. All women interviewed shared an acute sense of concern for the impact training was

having on their bodies, particularly long term. For a number who subsequently discharged or corps transferred, the unknown impact on their bodies over the long term was cited as a reason for wanting to leave. At the SOI ill-fitting equipment was described by female trainees as a widespread concern. This was also noted as an issue for smaller framed men.

All women interviewed shared the view that younger women (17-19yo) in training were disadvantaged both physically and psychologically.

Key challenges

The School of Infantry undertook a considerable amount of work to prepare for the arrival of the first cohorts of women. Still, there was a disconnect between this, and the implementation of some (not all) of the changes. This was not dissimilar to the implementation of change in other contexts across the broader Defence organisation.

With further investigation, it appeared that small, better fitting body armour was available but had not been issued to female trainees on arrival. While it has been noted by the chain of command that the women could seek out small sizes, the women were not wanting to 'complain' and so were not going to ever do this voluntarily.

The approach to data collection (injury rates for example) was to be gender-neutral and so data was aggregated and de-identified. The focus on being 'gender neutral' in this instance was to the detriment of the female recruits. Special attention needed to be paid to female injury rates, even those at a low and formally unreportable level.

Key considerations going forward

- The appropriateness of PESA without appropriate conditioning;
- Load carrying equipment (ie take in to consideration appropriate fit, sizing and load carriage distribution and impact points on female bodies);
- Personal hygiene requirements and aides (especially the ability to tailor or modify equipment to accommodate these needs);
- Physical fitness and strength training
- Iron, calcium and possibly Vitamin D supplements to assist in preventing stress fractures and aide recovery.
- Minimum age requirements for entry in to SOI IET.
- The possibility of full medical screening prior to entry in to SOI (including bone density, and iron and calcium levels)

3.1.2 Professional dimension

The professional dimension includes the need for mentorship and advice and acknowledgement that there are 'taken for granted' networks that men easily access to get information that may not be accessible to their female peers.

Observations from interview data

Access to information

There were varying levels of acceptance and preparedness of staff and male peers to the presence of female recruits, which often transferred to a sense of either inconvenience or encouragement to the recruits. There

was a clear message that increased clarity over what to expect in regard to processes, protocols, privacy, lodging and the differences to be expected at each stage of training would be beneficial and enable recruits to be more mentally prepared for these realities.

Like all recruits, some female recruits experienced an adjustment to military life, with some having feelings of being over controlled. Although they had a relative understanding that these ‘controls’ were in their interests, there were questions over the systematic withholding and restriction of information and speculation whether it was a necessity or a training tactic. Males appeared to be able to move around these barriers more freely and use networks to gain information. Females tended to not have access to such networks and were left to speculate what would happen, for example at each location. Further, some noted the ‘loosening’ of control once in their initial employment training, with further adjustment being required again.

Recruits had positive experiences with both military and civilian staff who would answer any queries, however there was variability in treatment due to staff attitudes (towards recruits in general, and/or female recruits), particularly apparent when recruits are ‘back-squaded’ or moved to a platoon that was not expecting a female. Some staff appeared to be more suited or prepared to engage with female recruits and ensure they have a positive experience (i.e. sensitive to possible issues they may face, such as living separately). Others were described as not so sensitive, and attributed to (perceived) instructor quality and generally ‘old school’ attitudes to teaching and enculturation. Therefore, the level of support for female recruits swayed between inconvenience and encouragement.

Knowledge was described as key to a smoother experience.

Mentorship and advice

Women described limited opportunities for professional mentorship once in their unit. At the time of data collection, there were no female role models within comparable employment categories (ie combat corps) and the female support network designed to assist the ECN 343 women was perceived to be more like a ‘just in case’ list of names. Women were inclined to over-identify with being ‘anti’ support corps, perhaps as an opportunity to identify with their infantry ‘team’ and be an insider rather than an outsider.

All (infantry) women at Kapooka and the SOI emphasised the value of an opportunity to speak to the women who had completed training and were now at the unit.

Key challenges

A key challenge for the professional domain, and in fact across integration dimensions identified, is the need to balance ‘preferential treatment’ with ‘appropriate treatment’; a gender-neutral approach versus a (sometimes) gendered approach. As a new minority cohort, women in infantry required targeted communications in some instances. Over the course of this project, it was the researcher who often became a conduit for information - able to pass on the experiences from one cohort to the next; answering questions, connecting recruits at different stages in the training pipelines, connecting women who were posted to the same location yet had never met, describing the physical environment of their next stage in the training continuum ie what the School of Infantry ‘looked’ like.

Key considerations going forward

- The critical features of a mentoring model, where there are no employment specific and experienced female JNCOs, SNCOs, WOs or Officers to be drawn on;
- The limitations of a ‘female support group’ model on base that is not aligned with their profession (ie no one from combat corps)
- Opportunities for female infantry soldiers who are now in the unit to visit those at SOI and Kapooka

- Infantry as a pathway to a broader Army career, rather than a career in itself.
- Improved functional and procedural communication

3.1.3 Social dimension

Social cohesion is a key aspect of the success or failure of integration.

Observations from interview data

Peer engagement and support

IETs appeared to be able to fit in well with their platoons, although initial reactions by males to some female recruits was not 'welcoming', which was expressed through body language or conversations that were overheard. There was no mention of social ostracism or direct peer-to-peer harassment at SOI. Collegial banter did occur, but it was good natured and taken as a sign of belonging rather than targeting for the sake of gender. Women felt a sense of validation when some of their male peers who had been the most negative did not make it through training, and they did.

Female IETs viewed themselves as soldiers and platoon members primarily, not as *women* soldiers. Although they did acknowledge their part in this new definition. There were some recruits who did mention that they found it 'easier' to have at least one other female present, often for comparison, whereas others did not mind being on their own.

There were social dynamic changes 'caused by' women being present, such as not to swear or use the term 'guys'. Some female recruits were more bothered by the imposed restraint rather than the terminology being used and were concerned about the flow on effects of behaviours being changed only when they were present. It was acknowledged that these feelings may not reflect those of all female recruits.

The use of senior female staff informally checking on the recruits was taken as a good strategy. Some females were aware of this potential network of support, however had not experienced it, or there were some who felt overwhelmed and did not want to be seen as getting 'special treatment'.

The existence of a female support network however was seen as less useful the longer women were in training, and less so in the unit. It is likely this is due to the women identifying with their corps and the majority of women nominated to the support network were non-combat and therefore perceived to be limited in giving advice.

In the unit, the female infants described high levels of social marginalization and in some instances the undermining of their ability to succeed (ie through 'accidental' forgetting to tell them to pick up new additions to their field equipment).

The women in the infantry unit used different strategies to meet other women and broaden their peer group, in particularly through their involvement with ADF sport. Unfortunately, this was perceived by their male peers as 'special treatment' and became the subject of harassment.

Microaggression⁴ appears to be at its peak at the unit and is further fueled by any injuries the women endure. This reinforced the stereotype that the women are 'weak', and, ultimately, don't belong.

⁴ Micro aggressions are 'brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership'. Micro aggressions generally happen below the level of awareness of well-intentioned members of the dominant culture...Micro aggressions can include statements that repeat or affirm stereotypes about the minority group or subtly demean them. They also position the dominant culture as normal and the minority one as aberrant or pathological, that express disapproval of or discomfort with the minority group, that assume all

Key challenges

As a micro minority within an infantry battalion female infanteers have a limited number of peers, at least until a critical mass in a particular location is achieved. To assume that they have female peers from other corps posted into these battalions is erroneous.

Key considerations going forward

- The careful management of cohorts (from recruit training to IET and then to posting within a battalion) so that bonds forged during training are preserved;
- Integration into battalion and mess life;
- The ability to engage in competitive sport; and
- Back squad management at training establishments.

3.1.4 Environmental dimensions

Observations from interview data

At the SOI there was variability in treatment and in feeling a cohesive part of the platoon due to the requirement to be housed in separate quarters (particularly for those whose platoon was in old accommodation). There were unexpected consequences, such as limiting the opportunities to interact and bond with their peers. 'Pizza nights' were often cited as examples of logistical exclusion and were suggested that they could occur in the mess hall rather than in the lines. Small things such as dress codes and having to walk a short distance to attend limit the potential for full engagement. There were also logistical consequences for platoons being separated, such as everyone allocated 20 minutes to shower and pack, but females needing to travel for 10 out of the 20 minutes, thus restricting their ability to be prepared.

As women are expected to be 'treated just like men' at the unit, more so than ever, questions about appropriateness of facilities and practices, particularly out field, are important. Most women described trying not to urinate for days on end, and that having time to attend to female hygiene was nonexistent (ie time to change a tampon and wash your hands). Women also described being mocked for carrying an extra pouch with feminine hygiene products in it.

Feedback from the chain of command described that women are given time...the "same two minutes" that men are given, and that privacy can be sought behind a tree. This does not take in to account the need to remove clothing and webbing etc. The 'she-wees' issued require rinsing after every use (which is not always possible), and there is a perception that they can lead to UTIs as they get so dirty.

These artefacts – pouches, she-wees – acted to further emphasise to women a sense of difference and as not belonging and were perceived and experienced as a subtle reinforcement that they required 'special' treatment.

Key considerations going forward

- Safety and privacy in infantry battalion lines without compromising esprit de corps and team bonding;
- Safety and privacy in the field while operating as a member of a mixed gender infantry section; and

minority group members are the same, that minimize the existence of discrimination against the minority group, seek to deny the perpetrator's own bias, or minimize real conflict between the minority group and the dominant culture⁴.

- The appropriate design of social spaces.

3.1.5 Cultural dimensions

Observations from interview data

Physical fitness culture

Beyond important objective factors such as physical standards, physical fitness training and nutrition, there are cultural factors, such as the perception of 'injury as weakness' and the 'exceptionalisation' of women in frontline roles, that also have a complicating effect on efforts to attract and sustain women soldiers.

Injury as weakness

The image of a stoic 'hard-man' soldier is ingrained in traditional Army culture and manifests in the tendency not to complain and to ignore or minimise injuries. This affects men as well as women. However, as injury rates are higher for women and physiologically, women are more susceptible to overuse type injuries (as compared to traumatic injuries like broken bones), the effects may be more pronounced or problematic for them.

To minimise damage and optimise treatment, early identification of injury needs to be reframed as a positive action in support of career longevity (which should outweigh competing preferences such as graduating with cohort or being heroically stoic).

Exceptionalisation

In military culture, women who succeed in physically demanding roles (e.g. in combat training) are widely regarded as exceptions (to the category of women, who normally cannot succeed in those roles). This is not simply a question of small numbers of women being successful. There may also be small numbers of men successful in certain employment categories (eg Special Forces). In their case, however, selected men may be regarded as hyper-masculine. The tendency to see women as successful in spite of their gender – or even against the nature of their gender - likely has flow-on effects for role modelling and influence on others (women who do not see themselves as exceptional).

Key challenges

The culture of an Infantry Battalion, particularly that of the Company, Platoon and Section can best be characterised as hyper-masculine. It is unrealistic and perhaps counter-productive to attempt to change this situation. However, hyper-masculinity in this instance must be compatible with the greater values, ethics and high behavioural standards that is expected of all soldiers in Army.

Micro minorities are particularly susceptible to subtle and covert, yet damaging, behaviours that may be engaged in by the dominant group's cultural norms (ie micro aggression).

Key considerations going forward

- The likely existence of microaggression and the risk that it is 'unseen' by the chain of command.
- The risk of the marginalisation and exclusion of female infanteers from the normal bonding and team building conventions of their male counter-parts as well as by other non ECN 343 women posted to infantry units; and
- Deliberate discrimination

4.0 DISCUSSION

There has been a range of lessons learned as the Australian Army has trained and integrated its first cohorts of women into infantry.

By monitoring and understanding the lived experience for these women, Army has been equipped with the knowledge and insight to consider changes, where appropriate. Where these have been able to be done immediately, they have. Some of the issues identified, however have required more detailed review and more deliberative action. Indeed, some of the issues identified prompted reviews not just as they related to women, but for all men in infantry, and for some, for the whole of Army.

Initiatives that responded to specific women in infantry issues:

- Command initiated oversight of body armour issuing
- Opportunities for women to access Physical Training Instructors (PTIs) and the gym differentially (ie after hours)
- Batching of female recruits where possible (however it is acknowledged that keeping women in their platoon cohort is preferred to keeping women in holding until other women arrive).
- All women interested in enlisting to infantry must watch the information video prior to application
- All women in infantry can have an in-service transfer at any time
- More deliberate posting of senior women in related employment categories to the infantry battalion for support (ie female combat engineers)

Issues that were deemed to have effects broader than just the women in infantry cohort resulted in, or are being addressed by, the following:

- A Chief of Army letter to all 2*s that outlined his approach to recruiting, training and sustaining the whole workforce, including:
 - Recruiting to the combat arms (provision of the ‘right’ information to potential recruits)
 - Initial development of Army’s people (conditioning)
 - Unit life within Army (respectful behaviour)
 - Transition within service (women in combat arms able to transfer out at any time)
- Development of the ‘Good soldiering’ program that focuses on optimizing Army’s culture through its values – initiative, teamwork, courage and respect - and a ‘team of teams’ approach.
- Army has conducted 14 Army Pre-Conditioning Program courses. 81 per cent of graduates (258 women) went on to successfully complete their Recruit Course. These began as being open to only women but are now open to everyone.
- PESA is in the process of being reviewed as part of a conditioning continuum (Kapooka to IETs) for both men and women.
- A nutritionist was recruited to Kapooka to assess nutrition and provide advice.
- Review of the role of PTIs to shift from physical training to human performance more holistically

The women interviewed for this project were, and are, exceptionally resilient. While Army cannot control

how individuals react, it can change how the organisation responds to risks and issues. The last few years of cultural reform in Army have undoubtedly demonstrated this to be the case. For the majority, the integration of women in infantry has brought with it challenges, certainly, but overwhelmingly it has brought an opportunity to examine structures and processes long held captive by unchallenged cultural norms.

The integration of women in infantry brings with it disproportionate benefits; for the men and women of Army who benefit from a refresh of the approach to physical conditioning and subsequent reduced injury rates; for women across all of Army who witness women's success in traditionally male roles; and for the women in the training pipeline (or even earlier) to become infanteers – to have women who have already succeeded as role models and mentors.

To conclude on two final reflections from this research: Firstly, being 'gender neutral' does not necessarily equate to gender equality. That is, an integration approach that assumes women will simply assimilate with the norms that have been created for, and maintained by, males, will not set women up for success. Allowing "the same two minutes", for example, for male and female soldiers to take a comfort/personal hygiene break, does not treat them 'equally'. Secondly, differential treatment is not necessarily preferential treatment. Understanding the nuances here does not come easily and requires ongoing monitoring and evaluation for decision support. In doing this Army has been able to shift from an approach focused on recruitment and retention, to sustainment and success.

5.0 NEXT STEPS

We have broadened the study to include all women in arms corps, that is infantry, armoured and artillery. The next wave of interviews across the entire training continuum and in units begins in February 2019.

The Headers and Footers in the templates contain specific information about the STO Publication and the document itself. In order to automatically generate this information, the following data must be entered into the Document Properties Summary Tab as follows – see Figure 1 and Table below:

Promoting Active Participation of Women in Japan Ground Self Defense Force: Female Integration into Close Combat Units

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ABSTRACT

Japan is facing big changes of social structure, such as aging society, declining birth rate and advancement of higher education. It may cause serious influence for shortage of human resources in Japan Ground Self Defense Force (JGSDF).

In Japan, there becoming a stream that those who suffer from a variety of circumstances become to be utilized more flexibly in the society. It is because that the facilitation of women's active roles has been positioned as an important element of the "third arrow" of Abenomics in Japan's Revitalization Strategy. Based on the stream and the strategy JGSDF adjusts to the society to maintain its strength by increasing women's participation.

In SAS Panel, I would like to share our policy and challenges for women's participation in JGSDF.

We formulated the "Initiative to Promote Active engagement of Female Self Defense Force (SDF) Personnel - Aiming for Attractive SDF that Adapts to the Times and Environment -" in April 2017 to specify its conceptual policy for promoting the active participation of female SDF personnel.

In April 2017 JGSDF opened almost all position for both men and women. Now the number of female JGSDF personnel is about 10,185 as of the end of March 2018. It is equivalent to about 7% of the whole JGSDF personnel. As a result, the proportion of female SDF personnel is increasing largely.

SDF is now trying to increase much more female personnel so that the proportion of female SDF personnel among total SDF personnel reaches over 9% by FY2027. Now JGSDF is trying to encourage more female to be involved in close combat units.

In this panel, I'd like to share our challenges and explain our policy for women's participation in JGSDF with some pictures of women who are actively involved in close combat units.

1.0 BACKGROUND

The "power of women" has the greatest potential in Japanese society, which is not only yet fully mobilized. It is essential for a vibrant and growing society to create an environment where women under various situations can demonstrate their power to the fullest extent by realizing their own hope. The facilitation of women's active role has been positioned as an important element of the "third arrow" of Abenomics in Japan's Revitalization Strategy.

Based on the strategy, Ministry of Defense (MOD) announced the Ministry's action plan in October 2014. It

is called as a “Reform for promoting active participation of female SDF personnel”. In April 2017, MOD formulated the “Initiative to Promote Active Engagement of Female SDF personnel –Aiming for Attractive SDF that Adapts to the Times and Environment”. In this initiative, MOD makes clear the significance of promoting active engagement of female SDF personnel and the policy of personnel management. This initiative enables SDF to secure and maintain useful human resources, utilize diverse perspectives and reflecting shared values of the nation.

MOD decided to open up a path for female personnel with motivation, ability, and aptitude to have opportunities to demonstrate their capabilities in various fields, and aims to double the ratio of female SDF personnel. For employing and promoting female SDF personnel, MOD set out a personnel management policy and specific efforts to ensure equal opportunity for men and women and to assign the right person to the right place based on the person’s motivation and ability. For instance, GSDF expands the recruitment of female SDF personnel and eliminates of the usage classification by sex. Now GSDF opens all branches and almost all assignment for both men and women.

As the number of female SDF personnel increases, we came to recognize necessity for various support for both men and women. MOD developed various support programs. They are 1) Child Care 7, which includes 2days spouse maternity leave and 5days childcare leave for men, 2) Improve office facilities and ensure the capacity of the childcare facilities, 3) Temporary childcare support in the event of emergent duty in support of disaster operations and 4) Temporary employees and reemployment of ex-SDF personnel.

This paper explains the JGSDF way for women’s participation in close combat units and shares our experience and challenges.

2.0 PRESENTATION OUTLINE

2.1 GOVERNMENT STRATEGY

The “power of women” has the greatest potential in Japanese society, which is not only yet fully mobilized. It is essential for a vibrant and growing society to create an environment where women under various situations can demonstrate their power to the fullest extent by realizing their own hope. The facilitation of women’s active role has been positioned as an important element of the “third arrow” of Abenomics in Japan’s Revitalization Strategy in September 2013. Japan’s Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe is trying to create “a Society in which All Women Shine”. “A society in which All Women Shine” is one of the policy decided by Japanese Government in October 2014. “A Society in which All Women Shine” means the society sufficiently to demonstrate their character and ability while satisfying their aspirations at enough at home, civil society and office followed by our own hope. In this policy Japanese Government is trying to create an environment where women under the various situations can demonstrate their power to the fullest extent by realizing their own hope. Their own hope is, for example, to receive necessary support for living and working in a community, to solve uneasiness and isolation in child raising, to leverage the experiences of child-raising and housekeeping, to live a safe and peaceful life without any harm from crime, to choose a working style which fits their own lifestyle and life stage and easily to obtain information to support aspirations and circumstances and so on...

In 2017, at the cabinet meeting, the 2017 priority policies for accelerating the promotion of active participation of women were determined and discussion took place on the state of the enactment of the bill on promoting active participation of women. The next step was to create a positive cycle whereby autonomous initiatives advance throughout the country, to generate good results, and to encourage proactive approaches. In order to improve participation of women and facilitate its utilization in the labor and capital markets, Japanese government promotes the work style reform and encourage more men to take the

childcare leave. For further advanced reforms it is necessary for us to change working styles and men's awareness.

As I mentioned above, Japanese government has promoted the policy to increase the number of women in the workforce in line with its aim of realizing innovation and enhancing productivity through diversity. As a result, women's advancement in Japanese society—traditionally thought to be male-dominated—has progressed. According to statistics from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the labor force participation rate for Japanese women aged 25–64 has reached 71.1%, surpassing the figure of 69.9% for the United States. But the glass ceiling that hinders women from rising to executive positions continues to be an issue in Japan, just as in many other countries.

2.2 MOD ACTION PLAN and INITIATIVE

Follow on the Japanese government strategy and policy, MOD set an action plan for women's empowerment in October 2014. It is called as a reform for promoting active participation for female SDF personnel. This action plan includes the expansion of recruitment/promotion, a planned training and removal of assignment restrictions for women in combat branch. MOD set a recruitment goal as follows:

- 1) Increase the proportion of female SDF personnel among total SDF personnel to over 9% by FY2027 and more than 10% of total newly employed SDF personnel by FY2027.
- 2) To facilitate achievement of the recruitment goal, improve facilities for females.

Japan MOD also set a promotion goal as follows:

- 1) Increase the number of women ranked Major or above to over 3.1% (current figure).
- 2) For personnel anticipated to reach the rank of Major or above, emphasize assigning them to a Company Commander or Assistant Commander post at the rank of Captain, with the aim of allowing them to gain experience.

In April 2017 MOD formulated the “Initiative to Promote Active Engagement of Female SDF personnel – Aiming for Attractive SDF that Adapts to the Times and Environment” to specify its conceptual policy for promoting the active participation of female SDF personnel. In this initiative, MOD makes clear the significance of promoting active engagement of female SDF personnel and the policy of personnel management. This initiative enables SDF to secure and maintain useful human resources, utilize diverse perspectives and reflecting shared values of the nation.

SDF faces diversification and complication of the duty, the necessity of tough and strength, high preparedness and changes in operation forms and advancement of accessories. In order to solve these issues, MOD opens up a path for female personnel with motivation, ability, and aptitude to have opportunities to demonstrate their capabilities in various fields, and aims to double the ratio of female SDF personnel. For employing and promoting female SDF personnel, MOD set out a personnel management policy and specific efforts to ensure equal opportunity for men and women and to assign the right person to the right place based on the person's motivation and ability. For instance, GSDF expands the recruitment of female SDF personnel and eliminates of the usage classification by sex. Now GSDF opens all branch and almost all assignment for both men and women.

As a result, the trends in incumbent Female SDF Personnel increased. As of the end of March 2018, the total number of female SDF personnel was about 14,700 (approximately 6.5% of the total number of the current uniformed SDF personnel). Compared with ten years ago (at the end of March 2008, it was approximately

4.9% of total number of the uniformed SDF personnel), this is a rise of 1.6% point, indicating that the proportion of female SDF personnel has been on the rise in recent years.

Japan is now standing at the starting point because we have just opened all assignment for female SDF personnel. Almost 70 years have passed since SDF established in 1950. Until present we passed “Initial Stage”, “Expansion Stage” and “Enhancement Stage” in terms of the system change for female SDF personnel.

The initial purpose for the system is to open opportunity for direct participation in national defense to everybody, regardless of gender and to enhance female interest in the SDF by recruiting female uniform personnel. Based on the system change for female SDF personnel, we open branch for female step by step.

At first, Japan started recruitment nursing students in 1958 and next started public recruited officer who had specific skill and ability in 1967 and after that started recruitment for private in 1969 as an initial stage. During the initial stage our policy was to position female as replacement on women like position. It was the position related signal corps, logistics and finance.

During the expansion stage we open some branch for women in 1979. And first women admitted to National Defense Academy in 1992. In 1993 finally JGSDF opened all branches for women. But in this stage we had restriction for assignment of female.

In enhancement stage, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law for Men and Women was legislated in 1985 and the Childcare leave law was legislated in 1991. As the domestic law improved, JGSDF developed the childcare facilities and substitute personnel system for childrearing and nursing care. After the Great East earthquake in 2011, we improved emergent duty support system and the accompany leave system. The emergent duty system is useful especially for the family that both mother and father are a member of SDF. For the emergent duty requirement, we might need to go for operation at the same time and in the emergent situation nursery school and kindergarten might be closed. Our children need shelter until their grandparents or relative come to pick them up for support. For the event of emergent duty in support of disaster operations this support works well.

Another system, the accompany leave system is that SDF personnel who need to work abroad for official reason like as defense attaché and as liaison officer and so on, accompany with his/her spouse. The spouse might be also a member of SDF. In this case, according to the previous system she/he needs to retire to go abroad together. Now she/he doesn't need to retire and can take accompany leave to go abroad with family in condition with the maximum 3years.

Based on the change of the system for female SDF personnel, JGSDF policy for women participation was changed. JGSDF treat equal for men and women. The policy prior to 1993, Assignment to close combat units and work fields with physical burdens had not been removed. SDF recruited female personnel since its establishment in 1954 and JGSDF started recruitment of female personnel in the general areas in 1967. In 1993, all branches open for women, except for a part of position which had been still limited for female personnel. The limitation has been eliminated gradually. After opening of the position for fighter and reconnaissance plane of JASDF in November 2015 and opening of the position for Anti- Tank helicopter and a part of NBC unit of JGSDF and patrol guided missiles, minesweeper and Special Boarding Unit of JMSDF in March 2016, the all positions of JASDF and JMSDF were opened and all positions of aircraft operator of 3 services were opened. The rest of the JGSDF positions, such as infantry companies, tank companies and so on, were opened in April 2017, through the consideration of provision of the equal opportunities. JGSDF exactly have an assignment restriction for NBC Weapon Defense Unit and the JGSDF Tunnel Company of the Engineer Corps because of the domestic law restriction- the Labor Standards Law, for maternal care. JGSDF will continue to carry out the empowerment of female personnel through promoting the required

preparation including the establishment of a new standard and assigning talented female personnel to the new opened position after completion of establishment of living environment.

2.3 JGSDF FEMALE PERSONNEL in CLOSE COMBAT UNITS

Now JGSDF female personnel started serving in close combat units. In my presentation I share some pictures about first female AH pilot, first female Regiment Commander at 6th logistics support regiment and female JGSDF soldier training in close combat units.

Female personnel work not only at domestic operation but also serving in international society. I share some picture of a female staff officer (SO) in the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) , female NCO in the Deployment Support Group for Counter Piracy Enforcement in the Republic of Djibouti, female JGSDF personnel in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation(UNPKO). Besides field mission areas, JGSDF send female personnel symposium, forum and other international meeting. Last May JGSDF send delegation for the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP) as one of the NATO partner nations.

2.4 SUPPORT for ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT of FEMALE SDF PERSONNEL

As the number of female SDF personnel increased, we recognized necessity for various support for both men and women. MOD has developed various support systems. In my presentation I introduce 4 kinds of system as follows:

- 1) Child Care 7 including 2days spouse maternity leave and 5days childcare leave for men.
- 2) To improve office facilities and ensure the capacity of childcare facilities.
- 3) Temporary Childcare Support in the event of emergent duty in support of disaster operations.
- 4) Temporary employees and reemployment of ex-SDF personnel.

The Child Care7 is the system for encouraging male members to take childcare leave to promote men's participation in family life. The word "Childcare7" means spouse maternity leave as 2days plus childcare leave as 5days. It means that men can take 7days leave when his spouse gives a birth. According to current statistics the male usage rate of the spouse maternity leave is 72.8% and the male usage rate of childcare leave is 47%'. MOD set objective for the male usage rate up to 100% by FY2020.

The second one is to improve office facilities and ensure the capacity of childcare facilities. The number of female staff is increasing and JGSDF need to expand for installations (quarters, classrooms and other infrastructure) for education. JGSDF also ensure the capacity of childcare facilities and it counts 8 facilities in MOD now. First childcare facility in MOD was built in 2007 and it located in and around camps and military residences. For military officers we need to change assignments every 2-3 years and it is difficult to enter kindergarten and nursery school timely because in Japan the capacity of the childcare facility is limited especially in city area. MOD childcare facility gives priority basis for SDF personnel.

The third one is temporary childcare support in the event of emergent duty in support of disaster operations. In Japan, natural disaster like typhoon and earthquake hit frequently. For the event of emergent duty it is difficult to leave children at nursery school because kindergarten and nursery school might be closed in the emergent situation. It will influence SDF personnel resources during the operation. To improve our capacity, we started giving temporary childcare support within camp for the emergency case on 16 March 2012. The target children's age for this system is from 1year old to 12 years old and the period giving support is basically about 5 days. It is because this support is only for the purpose for temporary use until their relatives arrive to pick up their children.

The last one is the system about the temporary employees and reemployment of ex-SDF personnel. Temporary employees are a substitution for SDF personnel who are in childcare leave and spouse accompany leave. JGSDF can employ ex-SDF personnel as a substitution with designated period. This system enables SDF personnel to take childcare leave easily. And also enable them to take the spouse accompany leave without worrying about his/her absence. Reemployment ex-SDF personnel system is to employ ex-SDF personnel again. The target ex-SDF personnel are mainly female ex-SDF personnel who retired SDF because of their life event, for example, marriage, maternity, childcare and other necessary reason. Even if she retired SDF, focused on their housekeeping work and taking care of children, they still have ability to work again as SDF members after children's grow up. JGSDF try to utilize potential power as much as possible as our active combat power.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This paper explains the JGSDF way for women's participation in close combat units and shares our experience and challenges. Behind JGSDF way, there is the government powerful leadership shown as the policy for creation "a Society in which All Women Shine". It might be called as top-down approach in my word. The word "top-down approach" might be used for the unfavorable situation rather than the word "bottom-up approach". On the other hand the "top-down approach" may bring quick impact exactly. In fact Japan announced National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in 2015 for the first time. That was right after announcing the strategy for the facilitation of women's active role.

JGSDF takes positive actions for the promotion of both active participation by women and 'Work-Life Balance' in order to prepare for the future aging society. It is essential to ensure a warm working environment for women in order to encourage and empower female SDF personnel. This will enable the SDF to gain and maintain human resources, utilize diverse perspectives, and reflect the values of the nation. Especially considering the future aging society, the JGSDF devotes serious attention to improving systems, facilities, and environments. For time-restrained SDF personnel, including those involved in childcare or nursing care, this enables the full demonstration of service members' capabilities and enables operational unit employment.

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Why make a special platoon for women? An assessment of *The Jegertroppen* at the Norwegian Special Operations Commando (NORSOC)

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ABSTRACT

In 2014, the Norwegian Special Operations Commando (NORSOC) established a pilot project named Jegertroppen (The Hunter Troop) to recruit more women for operative military service. This unusual approach, integration of women by separating men and women during education, brought national and international attention, including admiration and wonder. This article explores why NORSOC segregated male and female operators, and assess the effectiveness of the segregated approach for recruiting, selecting, and retaining female operators.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden in 1905 has Norwegian women been organized and participated in Norwegian Armed Forces (NorAF). The positive experience with women in NorAF during the Second World War gradually formed the modern role of the Norwegian military leaders as promoters of women in the armed forces, especially in non-combat positions. With more women in non-combat positions, more men could be recruited to combat positions (Steder, 2015).

However, this rather opportunistic version of a gender based resource allocation management model was not agreed upon with the Norwegian politicians. Despite some drawbacks every now and then in the principle discussions that followed in the postwar period, there was a positive trend for more equal treatment of men and women as well as increased opportunities for women in NorAF. Forty years after the end of World War II, in 1985, the Norwegian Armed Forces, as one of the first NATO countries, opened up all military positions to both men and women (Steder, 2015).

One remaining and major issue to resolve was equal terms in regards to military service for men and women. NorAF had more or less practiced military conscription for men since 1814 and opened up all positions for voluntary women in 1985. After the end of the cold war the number of male conscripts slowly dropped to an all-time low in 2002 which boosted the principal discussion of equal treatment in regards to military service. Finally, in 2013, the Norwegian politicians decided to change current practice and introduced the selective gender neutral conscription service in Norwegian Armed Forces, expected to be fully implemented by fall of 2016. All men and women at the age of 17 are to complete a self-assessment and later evaluated, interviewed and tested (cognitive and physically) by the Norwegian Armed Forces (Køber, 2017). Only those who are found eligible and motivated, currently about 10-15 percent of the cohort, will be selected for 1-year military service. After this one year basic training period they are free to apply for a position as profession soldier or further military education.

Despite the fact that all military positions has been open for qualified Norwegian women since 1985, the share of women has always been low or absent in the combat units. About one year after the political

decision to introduce selective gender neutral conscription in NorAF, the commanders of the *Norwegian Special Operations Commando (NORSOC)* decided to introduce an all-female platoon; *Jegertroppen* (The Hunter troop). This decision generated a rather binary debate. How can the Norwegian Armed Forces promote selective gender neutral conscription at the same time as they are establishing an all-female platoon, denying men to participate?

This article will examine the main reasons for why NORSOC chose to organize a separate (pilot) platoon for women only. Then it will be explored whether the Jegertroppen, that is a pilot project that ends in 2019, seems to be a good approach and measure to recruit, select and retain women for combat positions. Why did women apply to the Jegertroppen and what were their expectations of the 1-year military service? Given that gender-differentiated physical requirement, special treatment and affirmative action for women have been considered by many to be unfair, how does it feel to complete a separate selection process and serve in a separate platoon for women? And finally, it will be looked into their motivation and desire for future military service. It will also be explained how the “gender-segregated selection and education” was organized, and why it was organized this way.

2.0 THE JEGERTROPPE; A PILOT PROJECT BASED ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

The Jegertroppen – the all-female SOF-platoon – is one of three platoons in the Training Wing at NORSOC. In addition to *Jegertroppen*, the Training Wing consists of the “traditional” *Fallskjermjegertroppen* (Paratrooper Platoon) and the more advanced 2nd-year education for SOF-operators¹. *The Fallskjermjegertroppen* was established in 1965 and recruits conscripted soldiers to undergo their first year of military service. To become part of *The Fallskjermjegertroppen* one needs to complete a physically and mentally demanding selection process where as little as one percent of the total number of applicants is taken up as aspirants in the platoon. *The Fallskjermjegertroppen* opened formally for women in 1985 when all positions in the Norwegian Armed Forces (NorAF) opened for women. Some women have attended the rigorous selection competition, but no women have won a position among the selected few in this hard competition. This is the main reason for why *The Jegertroppen* was established in 2014 as a separate platoon for women only (Rones & Steder, 2017).

Jegertroppen is in many ways a unique and groundbreaking project, and the platoon has gained a lot of media attention; both nationally and internationally. For example, an article in *Foreign Affairs* declared that *Jegertroppen* is “the world's first all-female special forces” and “the world's first all-female military training program” (Braw, 2016). However, this is a truth with some modifications.

Women have been used for special and secret operations in relationship building, intelligence gathering and analysis, reconnaissance, human intelligence, courier service and sabotage for many years (Aleksijevich, 2014; Hatledal, 2011; Lemmon, 2015). Several countries have also had own units and/or training programs for women within the special forces, and one can find mention of such capabilities from South Korea, China, and Russia. Furthermore, we know that The United Kingdom has extensive experience with female operators in the Special Operations Executive (SOE) during WW2² as well as in their Special Reconnaissance Regiment since 1973³, and Lemmon (2015) show that the United States has used women in so-called Cultural Support Teams, in support of their special operations.

¹ Counter terrorism (CT), Direct Action (DA), Special Reconnaissance (SR) and Military Assistance (MA). In order to start this education one must complete another rigorous set of selection tests.

² See: <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/The-Female-Spies-Of-SOE/>

³ See: <http://www.eliteukforces.info/special-reconnaissance-regiment/> and <http://www.eliteukforces.info/the-det/>

In short, female special operators are not a new thing. However, their stories and contributions are rarely known or written about and often the women have been put in service without operational training before deployment and operations (Aleksijevich, 2014; Hatledal, 2011; Lemmon, 2015). Given this history of women in the military, especially in the special operations and intelligence community, it can be said that what's new and sensational about Jegertroppen is that NORSOC establishes a separate education for women at the same time as it is known to the public⁴.

2.1 Method and data collection

When we studied *The Jegertroppen* in the first three years of its existence we found it useful to use a mixed-method approach (Creswell, 2008; Creswell & Clark, 2010). In this period, both *The Jegertroppen* and *The Fallskjermjegertroppen* participated. Parts of the longitudinal survey have been in common with the Army Brigade survey (Hanson, Steder & Kvalvik, 2016). It gave us a great opportunity to compare the (quantitative) answers from the respondents in *The Jegertroppen* with female respondents in NorAFs Army Brigade.

This article is using only parts of the collected data material and will refer to the selected and used quotes, interviews and data material from report written in Norwegian (Rones and Steder, 2017). Whether the gender-segregated approach is a good measure to educated women has been discussed in two other articles (Rones, 2017 and Rones & Steder, in review), while this article is dedicated to the issue of female recruitment, selection, and retention.

3.0 WHY DID NORSOC CHOOSE TO SEPARATE MEN AND WOMEN?

The Jegertroppen appears, at first glance, the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*'s female twin. On the surface, the purpose of the two platoons seems the same. A year in the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* prepares the soldiers for the selection process to the more advanced Special Forces education (the following year – if selected), but this is not the goal for *The Jegertroppen*. So, what is the goal?

The first time *The Jegertroppen* was made official to the public was at a conference in May 2013. The arguments used at the establishment of *The Jegertroppen* were that NORSOC is not diverse enough. *We are a male-dominated unit consisting of members with similar backgrounds* said the NORSOC commander Eirik Kristoffersen when he received the Chief of Defence (CHOD) equality award in 2014 (Forsvaret, 2014) and continued:

We seek increased flexibility and increased understanding of tomorrow's challenges. I think that increased diversity can contribute to this. Having said that, we have experienced in a number of conflict areas, among other in Afghanistan, that there is a specific need for women on the front line (Forsvaret, 2014).

Kristoffersen also pointed out that "the need for women has proved particularly clear in the work of training the Afghan Special Police Unit", a separate unit with female special police officers. In NORSOCs mentoring work with this police force, it proved to be absolutely necessary with "*Female mentors to assist the female special police*".

⁴ On the webpage strategypage.com it says: «Nearly all the major special operations organizations of the 20th century have had some female operators. What was unusual about Norway was that they issued a press release» (www.strategypage.com, March 2nd 2016)

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The goal of the Jegertroppen is to increase our own capabilities. We believe that recruiting women to Special Forces through an attractive conscription period can contribute to increased diversity and improve our operative capabilities. We do not want to alter the requirements in the selection process, but let the women systematically work towards the same requirements throughout the education period⁵(Forsvaret, 2014).

These arguments suggest NORSOC promotes increased capability through the establishment of the *Jegertroppen*. The recruiting information for the unit, however, conveys a different message. On NorAFs webpage (Forsvaret, 2018) for the *Jegertroppen*-applicants, it says that after completion of the education⁶period in the unit, the candidates will be "well qualified for further education in NorAF...[and] combat role contracts in all branches."⁷ The website describes further service in NORSOC in conditional terms: "an opportunity when the unit has open positions available" (Forsvaret, 2018). The message here stands in contrast to the one for male applicants for the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*: "After completing conscription in NORSOC you are well prepared for the advanced SOF-education and a career as an operator at NORSOC. You are also qualified for the NORSOCs reserve and follow-up force." (Forsvaret, 2018b)

Given these major differences of the future career advancements for female and male operators, it is tempting to assume that the possible vacancies in NORSOC that qualifies from spending on year in the *Jegertroppen* are not in the combat structure, but in the combat support or non-combat support structure. This observation suggests that the overall aim of *The Jegertroppen* has changed since it was initiated, or silently adapted to the outcome that further career opportunities in NORSOCs combat structure are still limited for women.

When asked about this point in interviews, different leaders in NORSOC claimed that increased capability in the combat structure is perceived as the main purpose of the *Jegertroppen*. All other interpretations of the project "*Jegertroppen*" are only supporting the main purpose: preparing and education women in different SOF and combat roles, inside and outside NORSOC.

Leaders interviewed explained that NORSOC has defined infantry skills such as shooting as a very basic and crucial military core competence and promotes the *Jegertroppen* as a result of that women have not necessarily gained good enough access to this field of competence. Given this perspective, the purpose of the *Jegertroppen* is educational in nature and is simply about making sure that women possess necessary and basic skills (Rones, 2017).

Despite its criticism of the NorAF, and in particular the Army, for failing their ability to recruit and educate women to combat roles, NORSOC accepts little self-criticism, especially on the subject of women's access to military core competence. The lack of acceptance leads us to the main category of reasons for establishing the *Jegertroppen*, namely challenges with physical gender differences in the recruitment, selection, and education process.

NORSOC acknowledges that physical selection criterions and male-dominated selection process have denied women getting access to the basic military education at the traditional *Fallskjermjegertroppen*:

The Fallskjermjegertroppen has always been open to women. But the women haven't succeeded to win a position. It is ten out of thousand applicants that are admitted. (Instructor Training wing) (Rones and Steder, 2017, p31)

⁵ 1 year of military conscription

⁶ After one year in Jegertroppen

⁷ Army, Navy and Airforce

NORSOC emphasize that it is neither the formal standardized physical tests nor the requirements that prevented women from entering the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*, but the competition in the selection process itself. The selection process at NORSOC is intense and its purpose is to identify the best candidates in terms of attitude, collaborative skills, situational understanding, etc., among the physically fittest applicants. Women and men's results on the military fitness tests in the selection process for military conscription⁸ illustrate which group NORSOC selects "the best" from given their minimum standards (usually around mark 7 on a scale to 9), and how few women it is in this group compared to men. In the top interval (between mark 7 and 9) for endurance you will find about 41 percent men and only 3 percent women. For muscle strength the share is lower, only 24 percent men and 1 percent women. The males competing for a position at NORSOC and "Fallskjermjeger-troppen" are all in the top performance group for men at the physical test (Sesjon) before the conscription period starts. There is just a small fraction of women that are in this group (Køber, 2017).

In the three years we studied the selection process at NORSOC, there have been about 1,400 qualified male applicants for the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*. Approximately 300 qualified and participated in the five-week long selection process where they competed for one of the 15 available positions—as little as one percent of the applicants, or approximately four percent of those who showed up for selection qualified for basic SOF-education. The men who compete are in the upper part of men's normal distribution of physical tests, illustrated by a red line and arrow.

According to an instructor in NORSOC "it should be self-evident" (Rones and Steder, 2017, p33) that basically no women can be evaluated fairly when competing in the same selection process with the fittest men through several weeks of physical trials. A potential woman candidate must be an extreme "statistical outlier" in the women's normal distribution in order to qualify or be selected for service at NORSOC. If a woman should be so extraordinary that she competed against the extreme fit men, it is likely that she became a lone woman in a male-dominated environment. Accordingly, as Kristiansen (2017) also points out, she will most likely operate individually or as a member of a regular (male) SOF-team, not as a member of a female SOF-team, which was the NORSOCs argument in order to increase its recruiting pool of candidates.

NORSOC employees started to ask themselves the question: "How can we recruit and select the best women for SOF?" (Rones and Steder, 2017, p33) NORSOC leaders exhibited no preference for using affirmative action and let a group of selected women compete on male territory and terms. As a result, they came up with the idea that targeted women eligible for military service should compete with each other, not against men. The education should be based on the same physical and operational requirements as earlier, but the selection process is based on women's physical terms and capabilities. Therefore the process in the *Jegertroppen* will select and educate the best and most motivated women based on women's physiological criteria, while the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* will select and educate the best and most motivated persons on men's. The recruitment and selection process for the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* is still open for women, but the *Jegertroppen* is for women only.

One can claim that the *Jegertroppen* is based on an operational need for women who possess military core competence for combat operations where gender matters. One can also claim a pragmatic and partly pedagogical discussion on how to select, prepare and educate women for a male-dominated arena. Instead of a demand-based recruitment of eligible women, who are then put them into operational use without appropriate training, NORSOC has supply-based their recruitment of eager and eligible women well qualified for military education.

⁸ Based on a mandatory self-assessment among 17 year olds (Egenerklæringen) the NorAF selects 20,000-25,000 motivated and eligible candidates for physical screening (Sesjon). As a part of this screening process, about nine-to-18 months before service, they have to complete a set of physical tests (endurance and strength).

4.0 WHY DID WOMEN APPLY TO THE JEGERTROPPEN AND WHAT ARE THEIR EXPECTATIONS?

The *Jegertroppen* is not only an unusual tool of recruitment and selection of women for combat roles (in Norway). A mixture of a transparent and objective presentation of SOF combined with personal invitations/letter to women with effective results from the physical tests, active posts on social media⁹, a three-day welcome-and-training camp, participating with an information booth at different educational fairs and school visits¹⁰ has proven to be an effective recruitment strategy, with 319 applicants at the beginning of 2014, 174 applicants in 2015, and 222 qualified applicants in 2016. These numbers exceed the results of other recruitment strategies used by the NorAF.

In the month of April every year, applicants to the *Jegertroppen* are invited to a three-day welcome-and-training camp at Rena military camp. The applicants get a tour of the area, the military base and they are presented for some of the activities that *The Jegertroppen* offers. The primary objective of this weekend camp is to prepare the applicants on what awaits them a few months later, demystify the selection process, and guide them into the physical training exercises to prevent injuries at a later stage. With the right amount of physical training in a 10-week period before selection, one is better prepared and the risk of injuries occurring reduced.

On average there are around 60 applicants present at the welcome-and-training weekend every year. In one of the sessions over the weekend, they are being asked to answer a short electronic survey on their telephone, which most applicants do. Here we asked not only about the training camp itself but also about their motivation and thoughts about the *Jegertroppen*. One of the questions was: “Why did you apply for Jegertroppen?” They could use their own words in the answer and the vast majority responded. On average, their responses were short: 125 characters or 22 words. The shortest was less than 30 characters and the longest was over 300 characters (60–75 words). The latter described several reasons in detail:

I have always found the Norwegian Armed Forces as an attractive workplace and now I have the opportunity to be a part of it. I seek a challenging military service that can provide me the best foundation for a further career in NorAF, for example as a conventional soldier i.e. in Telemark battalion¹¹. I feel that the Jegertroppen is something that suits me well and I love challenges and enjoy physical activities. I regard myself to be a little rough, tough and an energetic girl (tomboy) (Rones and Steder, 2017, p37)

As illustrated with the example above, we conclude women seek the *Jegertroppen* primarily because they want a challenging, varying and exciting military service where they get to test their own physically and mentally limits. Several respondents also mention that they seek “something extra” from their conscription, not just complete it or “been there, done that.”

Approximately 10 percent of the survey responders explicitly mention the increased possibility for a further career in the NorAF as one of the main reasons for seeking the *Jegertroppen*. Other reasons mentioned they mentioned were “to be a part of a military unit that obviously regards women as a valuable asset” and that “the Special Forces are a unique asset which I now have a chance to be a part of.” A final reason mentioned is that “it will be a harsh military education together with other women with similar interests and values” (Rones and Steder, 2017, p38). In other words, the responder found comfort in completing a military service with women as the majority-group, not as a minority group which is the usual case in the military.

⁹ From NorAF, NORSOC and employees in NORSOC

¹⁰ Military information meetings at different high schools

¹¹ The only professional conventional mechanized infantry unit in Norway

In the following qualitative interviews, among those candidates that qualified and completed the five-week selection process, the reasons for applying and staying motivated throughout the selection process were much the same as the reasons given at the welcome-and-training camp. One difference, however, is the pride of having completed the selection process and being a visible member of a unique unit. Statements in interviews like “it is a hard and demanding selection process that very few are able to complete – something that very few are able to do” and “the opportunity to get a great action-based education in a selected group without the focus on executive training” (Rones and Steder, 2017, pp. 41-42). Another difference was the acknowledgment that the *Jegertroppen* was tailored for women and that it was a tough selection process.

The reasons for applying to *The Jegertroppen* and their expectations for a future career in NorAF are similar to those women applying to officer training schools (Rones, 2015). The women passing initial screening and the selection process for non-commissioned officer candidate school (OTS) are also motivated by similar but also different reasons. Responders mentioned the difficulty of the selection process but the women in the *Jegertroppen* are different in three key areas: most applicants to the *Jegertroppen* had little or no interest in NorAF before it was an option; they did not seek executive training in NorAF; and they were attracted to the idea that the *Jegertroppen* was comprised entirely of women.

Through previous research, debates in literature and newspaper articles in Norway we have seen several arguments for that woman in the NorAF should be equally treated and not given any kind of special treatment. The NorAF are considered meritocratic, where both women and men have argued for affirmative action and that different physical requirement is unfair (see, for example, Edström, Lunde & Matlary, 2010; Eide, Lauritzen, Olsvik & Stokke, 2014; Gustavsen, 2011; Harsvik, 2010; Hellum, 2010; Olsvik & Lauritzen, 2014; Steder, 2015b; Steder, Hellum & Skutlaberg, 2009; Rones, 2015; Rones & Fasting, 2011; Rones & Hellum, 2013). Based on this consideration, we ask two research questions: How is a separate and gender-based selection perceived among the candidates themselves and how is it perceived among those observing the selection process from the “outside”?

5.0 THE COGNITIVE AND PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS IN THE SEGREGATED MODEL

In order to get selected for the *Jegertroppen*, the women must go through a selection process similar to the selection process for the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*. The candidate’s cognitive and physical capabilities are evaluated before and during the education at the *Jegertroppen*.

Cognitive capabilities for candidates are measured on a nine-level scale before the conscription period starts; where nine is the highest score (see Køber, 2017). The cognitive requirements to be considered for the *Jegertroppen* are actually higher for *Jegertroppen* than for the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* due to the requirement¹² for the non-commissioned officer education, one of the educational options after completion of *Jegertroppen* (conscription) at NORSOC.

The physical requirements, on the other hand, are adapted to women's difference in physiology and prerequisites. The main argument used by NORSOC is that a number of men have trained and prepared themselves for the selection process from their early teens.¹³ This option makes a number of men more robust and motivated to pass this phase of selection. NORSOC believes that few or no women have had similar preparations, mainly due to the newly created *Jegertroppen* as an option within the Norwegian conscription system. For these reasons NORSOC concludes the standardized physical tests for the *Jegertroppen* must differ somewhat from the standardized *Fallskjermjegertroppen* ones.

¹² One year later

¹³ See, for example, the background description in the book *Jæger - in war with the elite* written by the Danish SOF Operator Thomas Rathack (2011)

This difference in preparation from early teens is reflected by inserting a principle of progression (see increasing requirements in Table 5-1) for the candidates to the *Jegertroppen* until the "identity-statement" static course in late November, about five months into their education. Applicants to the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* must pass the requirements at the primary selection process in June in order to proceed.

Table 5-1: There is a planned progression of the physical testing requirements throughout education (1-year) for Jegertroppen (FMS, 2018). Applicants to Fallskjermjegertroppen must pass the final requirements upfront at the initial selection process.

Planned Progression in the Physical Testing	Welcome-and-Training Camp (April)	1-year Conscription Period			
		Initial Selection (June)	Selection process (July)	Static Course (November)	Hunter-mark (July)
<u>Backpack Run</u>					
- Length (km)	7	7	7	7	15
- Weight (kg)	15	15	22	22	22
- Time Requirement (min)	no	yes	yes	52	135
Hang-ups	1	1	1	5	6
<u>Sit-ups</u>	35	35	35	35	50
- Time Requirement (min)	no	no	1	1	2
Push-ups	20	20	20	30	40
Hyperextension	20	20	20	20	25
<u>Swimming</u>					
- Length (meter)	200	200	200	no	400
- Time Requirement (min)	no	no	no	no	11
- Under Water (meter)	no	no	no	no	25
Introduction to Tests		Increase in Minimum Requirements			

The static course as "identity-statement" can be understood as a transitional ritual from aspirant to *Jeger* (hunter). Above all, passing the requirements for the static course gives the right to wear the distinctive parachute emblem on the uniform. This emblem is an important identity symbol, and serves as a "quality stamp", as NORSOC does not want anyone to wear it that has not passed the milestone. The physical requirements to the static course are referred to as absolute, and it was never an option to lower the requirements for wearing the "wing" when the *Jegertroppen* was established in 2014. Instead, NORSOC introduced the principle of planned progression for women and trained them for the absolute requirements in the static course, see static course column in Figure 1.

The main reason for the principle of planned progression in physical testing, according to our informants, is that they were worried that NORSOC would have too few women to choose from if the requirements were too difficult up front (see initial selection column in Figure 1). In other words, if there were too few women that came through the initial phase of selection, NORSOC would not succeed in creating the "healthy competition" that the rest of the selection period is characterized by. According to other research on special

operations forces, such competition is an important factor for upholding the reputation and myth of some SOF as “tier one units” (Ben-Ari, Turnley & Michael, 2018; Danielsen, 2015; Resteigne, 2018; Turnley, Ben-Ari & Michael, 2018).

6.0 THE GENDER-SEGREGATED SELECTION PROCESS

The competitive part of the selection process begins with a hectic recruitment period. During the recruitment period, the recruits acquire skills and knowledge necessary to complete the admission exercise. The five-week recruitment period includes basic training in land navigation (map reading and the use of a compass), weapon education, combat technique, combat medic and physical training. This period involves self-selection because those who do not “make it” or lose motivation are withdrawing voluntarily. Some also drop out for medical reasons and there is a great risk of being selected out if it is obvious that the candidate is unsuitable. Reasons to be selected out may be the inability to follow progression, awkwardness, unwanted attitudes, and like.

At the end of the recruitment period, in the physically and mentally final exercise referred to as “hell week,” all candidates are judged on both individual and team-player achievements in small teams. The final exercise is relatively similar for the two segregated platoons. Even though co-operation and team spirit are required to get through the final exercise, it is still a competition for acceptance into the *Jegertroppen*. It is in this competitive part of the traditional selection process (before the *Jegertroppen* was established) that no female candidate has competed against men sufficiently to be selected for *The Fallskjermjegertroppen*. This is NORSOCs main reason for arranging a separate selection process and final exercise in which women compete with other women. Anyone who wants to take part in the competition for the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*, regardless of gender, can still do so.

Over the three year period we followed the *Jegertroppen*, the number of applicants ranged from 319 to 174, of which about 60–70 women were summoned to compete for about 15 positions in the platoon. Although there has been some variation in the application number and the number of participants in the recruitment and selection period to *The Jegertroppen*, the “dropout curve” is relatively stable in the period. This curve is illustrated in Figure 6-1.

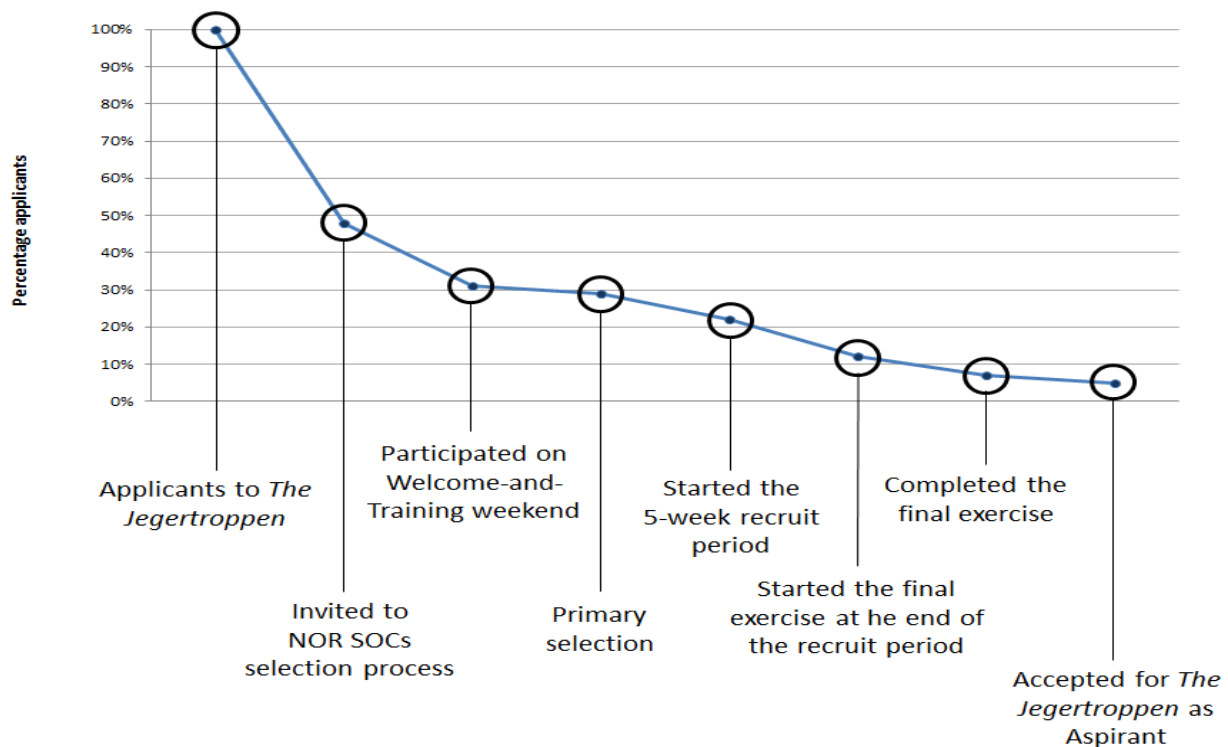


Figure 6-1: There Illustrated dropouts in the selection process from submitted application and final selection for *The Jegertroppen* based on the average drop-out in the period 2014–2016.

The illustrated dropout rate in the selection process is based on the average dropout for the period 2014–2016. Figure 2 clearly illustrates that about 70 percent fall from relatively objective assessments, such as preliminary test results,¹⁴ security clearance, standardized tests, medical and gradually lack interest and motivation for *The Jegertroppen*. Most people who drop out of the 5-week recruit period are volunteer dropouts without any special negative pressure or assisted “pressure” from NORSOC.

When the final exercise begins, at the end of the five-week recruitment period, NORSOC is left with about 10–20 percent of the original number of applicants of *The Jegertroppen*. At this stage in the selection process, the instructors from NORSOC begin its subjective assessments of the candidates. Based on clear preferences as to who is best suited, as well as the candidate's performance and rating on the different tests, each candidate is assessed throughout the final exercise. Those who complete the final exercise, but are not given a place in a platoon after an evaluation in the selection council, are usually negatively assessed on their collaborative skills and the relationship with fellow soldiers and instructors. How these subjective criteria are used varies with the number of available candidates, their performance as well as number of seats available.

7.0 UNIFORMITY OR DIVERSITY

Edström et.al (Edström, Lunde, & Matlary, 2010) argue uniformity (equality) is important in the military context and that this can be justified in operational need for functionality. Diversity, on the other hand, relates allegedly to political ideas of representation, especially women, in societies where it is possible to ignore operational needs (functionality).

¹⁴ From the selective conscription process before conscription starts; self-assessment questionnaire, physical and cognitive tests as well as interview with an officer

In previous studies of women in the Norwegian Armed Forces, and in line with these arguments, the authors suggest that both men and women must be selected and evaluated through equal tests with equal requirements (uniformity), regardless of education, function, and role for which they are being evaluated (Steder, 2015; Rones, 2015). The "best" person is the one that can walk long distances with a heavy backpack, or successfully struggle through a muddy obstacle course. This argument is based on the belief that everybody, both men, and women, must be able to rotate between function and role after a basic education, and everyone must be ready to meet the "requirements of war."

It is this understanding of fairness that NORSOC violates when they established the *Jegertroppen*. Given the *Jegertroppen*'s specialization in urban special reconnaissance the need for muddy obstacle courses and long walks with heavy backpack are not needed. Hence, NORSOC ranks the uniformity argument behind increased diversity and specialization perspective through prioritizing complementary features in their unit. Diversity is justified through the operational need for personnel with different skills and abilities, including gender, because women are different than men (see Rones & Steder, in review, for an elaboration of how the different view of fairness and functional need affected on the women in *The Jegertroppen*).

7.1 Equality, diversity and special treatment; The creation of two A-teams

Since NORSOC's goal was to recruit women, the difference in the selection process and "special treatment" of women is justified. Had the goal been to recruit a higher capacity in carrying heavy backpacks over great distances they could increase the recruitment and size of *The Fallskjermjegertroppen* instead.

I do not see anything wrong with it [the segregation / special treatment of women] that's the goal here, right? We create an arena for women because it is women that we need. It's not because we want a larger platoon of parachute jumpers [The Fallskjermjegertroppen]. (Instructor in Training Wing) (Rones and Steder, 2017, p56)

Another reason and justification for the difference in the selection process, or the "special treatment," is that NORSOC established the *Jegertroppen* and the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* to serve two different purposes. If NORSOC had selected men and women for the same platoon through different requirements one would risk creating two different teams; an internal A-team (the men) and one internal B-team (the women). In order to reduce this risk, they established slightly different roles and functions through introducing two parallel platoons.

Since the education and training in the *Jegertroppen* are intended for a separate role and functions at NORSOC, they also have a different specialization period from the one of the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*. Interviewees perceive the specialization period in the *Jegertroppen* as more exciting and action-filled than the specialization period in the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*. The main reason for the variety in disciplines between the two platoons is explained by the fact that *The Jegertroppen* have to reach the educational requirements of urban special reconnaissance, requirements that *The Fallskjermjegertroppen* do not have. These disciplines are traditionally a part of the more advanced SOF education the following year.

In our interviews, we did find some skepticism among the members of the *Fallskjermjegertroppen* towards the women in the *Jegertroppen* upon entry. That skepticism, however, was tempered over the course of the one-year training period:

[...] now that I've been admitted myself, I've seen the added value of them[women]. They are incredibly good, the girls, to lift, carry and push themselves. Having women in certain roles at NORSOC, I think it's of great value (Paratrooper Fallskjermjegertroppen) (Rones and Steder, 2017, p58)

An important factor that made the separation of the two platoons a success was the equal allocation of resources in the form of materials, training arenas, and skilled instructors. Several women told that they had expected to be perceived as “the B-team,” in accordance with previous experience from high school and in sports. In group conversation with the members of *The Jegertroppen* at the urban shooting course, they enthusiastically mentioned that they “never ever” thought that they should be so highly prioritized. One tells us that she suspected that it could be as it had been on the football¹⁵ team where the girl's team had had to practice on an outdoor gravel without light, while the boy's team was given practice time in the new, well-lit indoor hall. The feeling of being prioritized in the same way as the guys, as well as having access the best equipment, the best training arenas, and the best instructors, have most likely been an important factor in establishing the observed sense of equal status.

There were also notions and among the instructors. In sum, these notions were important in establishing the sense of equality among the women in *The Jegertroppen*. For example, both platoons received a booklet with instructions for the common parachute course (static course). In this there was a “man in front”-drill to be repeated, prior to jumping out of the airplane. When the instructor introduced them to this drill, he said, “now that we have women here too, we say “parachuter in front” not “man in front” and they consistently used the gender-neutral phrase “parachuter in front” rather than the gender-biased phrase “man in front” in the static course.

Given the sum of all action points completed when establishing the *Jegertroppen*, it seems that NORSOC has succeeded in equipping the women with a sense of equality and high priority, as well as an experience of fairness despite a level of “special treatment” in Training Wing (see Rones, 2017 and Rones & Steder, in review for an elaboration on this topic).

8.0 THE GRADUAL ACCEPTANCE

The authors have presented NORSOC's conscious steps to create a sense of equality between the women in the *Jegertroppen* and the men in the *Fallskjermjegertroppen*. It can be argued that NORSOC has taken sufficient steps to prevent unwanted resistance internally in the unit, although everything was not been thought out or planned for in advance.

The proposal to establish the *Jegertroppen* was first launched by NORSOC commander Eirik Kristoffersen at the Chief of Defence (CHOD) Gender Conference in 2013. Those interviewed in Mørkved's (2017) project at the Norwegian Business School (BI) state that most staff members in NORSOC, including the staff function responsible for planning the department's activity, had not heard or read about the project before it was suggested at this Gender Conference. In the period immediately following the launch of the *Jegertroppen*, according to those we interviewed, there was a rancorous discussion within NORSOC. During the discussion many arguments were made both in support of and against the suggestion of establishing a segregated platoon for women at NORSOC.

Mørkved (2017), however, found the initial project quickly gained support from both managers and others at all levels in the unit. The reason for this rapid support can be explained by three reasons. First, the Ministry of Defence (MOD) had seen a need for women in SOF over several years. Second, the top management in NORSOC suggested it themselves. Third was the creation of “change agents”. These “change agents”, innovators at all levels, were exploited in the planning and anchoring process in the unit and thus giving ownership to the female platoon. One of the most important measures to the managers of NORSOC was to pull key people from multiple levels into the design of the platoon, including the choosing the symbolic patch and the name of the platoon.

¹⁵ Referred to “soccer” in the US

To investigate different attitudes towards *The Jegertroppen*, FFI chose to conduct a survey of all NORSOC staff members¹⁶ and platoon commanders in NorAFs Army Brigade in August 2014. At this point, the first platoon of *The Jegertroppen* had been in service for about three weeks. From these answers, it appears that the majority of NORSOC employees regard *The Jegertroppen* as a good measure. However, we also found a significant group of respondents who tended to regard *The Jegertroppen* as a "completely worthless proposal". This statistically proven difference in attitude¹⁷ may be explained by the difference in exposure and understanding of *The Jegertroppen* internally in NORSOC than outside of NORSOC. At this point in time, there was very little objective information about *The Jegertroppen*¹⁸, mostly different rumors or stories that was presented by military members that had some sort of interaction with NORSOC. Over time, given improved flow of information regarding *The Jegertroppen*, this difference in attitude is reduced.

9.0 IMPROVED RETENTION?

Whether NorAF will succeed in keeping the women from the *Jegertroppen* is difficult to answer now. It is just been three years since the first women finished the education at the platoon. Our indications of success are based on interviews with most of the graduates from the first cohort (n = 7) from the *Jegertroppen* after 8–10 months in continued service, either on a working contract (professional soldiers/or support positions) or in further military education in NorAF (Rones and Steder, 2017, p97). All of the women continued in the NorAF after graduation from the *Jegertroppen* because they enjoyed the training and education they received. They hoped that continued military service would offer more of the same opportunities and experiences.

The graduating women also talked about the *Jegertroppen* as the best year in their lives, a period that further service most likely cannot measure. Those graduates who opted for further military education realized some of the factors they have experienced earlier: a demanding selection process that resulted in motivated colleagues willing to make an extra effort, new tests they must stretch against, a demand for progression, and the feeling of being valued or being part of a privileged unit. Accordingly, they were still motivated and satisfied.

Those women on a working contract viewed their experience, and continued opportunities in the NorAF, quite differently. Many are now considering to leaving the NorAF:

Researcher: Did you ever consider leaving the Jegertroppen?

Graduate: No, I never considered quitting. [...] Except that [the thoughts spinning in your head when you're exhausted on exercises], I never considered quitting.

Researcher: Have you considered quitting your current military position?

Graduate: Eh - yes. But again, I do not know what to do either. I feel that I [negatively] judged this service a bit fast, that I perhaps need to give it more time. But I realize that I am not that fond of it (Rones and Steder, 2017, p99).

There are several reasons why the graduates of *The Jegertroppen* who continued in a working contract are dissatisfied with the current service as a professional soldier. First and foremost, they have an "elite

¹⁶ Most of them in no direct contact with The daily activities of *The Jegertroppen*. The employees of NORSOC and NorAFs Army Brigade responded to an anonymous survey, which was sent on the NorAFs internal network. The final response rate was about 50 percent, with 107 respondents from NORSOC and 97 from the Army Brigade.

¹⁷ One of many questions proving difference in attitude, using t-test assumed unequal variance, ANOVA and dummy variables in a regression analysis of the survey results

¹⁸ Less than five major articles in national papers presented the platoon before the first cohort started their education in July 2014. It was after a 2 hour TV documentary of the second cohort of the platoon that most people, inside and outside of the military, got a good impression of the activity "inside of the fence" at NORSOC

orientation”, or performance motivation that does not match the more relaxed requirements of current service. Second, they miss the privileged status inherent in elite units, the feeling of being involved, prioritized and being part of a close and cohesive community. In addition, they experienced in the NorAF sexist “men’s humor” as well as ridicule and “comments” on their background in an “experimental” SOF unit. The graduates from the *Jegertroppen* also experience that there is insufficient requirements to be a professional soldier compared to their time in NORSOC. In addition, they view the training as “not serious enough,” that the opportunities for advancement are lacking, and the service cultures are too “sluggish” compared to NORSOC.

In sum, these stories suggest negative experiences by contracted as a soldier in the NorAF. Graduates from the *Jegertroppen* who have continued as a professional soldier, and especially in operational positions, do not thrive as much. This leads former *Jegertroppen* to the desire to leave NorAF and get back where they want to be, namely in NORSOC. We can conclude from all of our interviews that it is highly uncertain whether NorAF is able to retain the women from the *Jegertroppen* after graduation. The graduates claim to be assigned tasks below or at different levels of their competence, being poorly treated, and in addition experiencing degrading or negative comments about their performance (Rones and Steder, 2017, pp100-102).

9.1 Should NorAF continue *The Jegertroppen*?

Most of SOF leaders, instructors, and platoon commanders we interviewed believe that *The Jegertroppen* is a success. Such beliefs are mainly due to that the young women in the platoon have become impressively skilled in key operational core disciplines and that most of them signed up for continued service or military education in NorAF. There is nevertheless one reservation that every interviewee mentioned: the primary weakness of the all-women SOF-project lies in further opportunities within the NORSOC.

Researcher: Do you have any arguments that the Jegertroppen should continue as a permanent unit/education?

Graduate: What should I say? Right now, it's not really a very good argument for them to keep it. We were somehow thrown out, or not thrown out, but there was no position for us at NORSOC (Rones and Steder, 2017, p106).

Instructor: It might as well be that the model is determined to continue, but it may not necessarily be continued here at NORSOC. This unit does is not aimed to educated soldiers for the NorAF. We produce soldiers for ourselves, and that's what we have the capacity for, as of today (Rones and Steder, 2017, p107)

Those we interviewed told us that the *Jegertroppen* was originally implemented because of the operational need for women with military core competence for SOF operations where gender plays a significant role. By creating an arena where women competed with other women, the *Jegertroppen* grant women access to skills needed for NORSOCs operations (see Rones, 2017).

10.0 SEGREGATED, EDUCATED, INTEGRATED AND RETAINED?

Based on our analysis over a three year period, the *Jegertroppen* has succeeded in recruiting women who would not otherwise have chosen a military career. The new and for many a surprisingly concept of segregated education has appealed to women usually not interested in the military, in part because they do not believe they would thrive in a male-dominated environment. Thus, NORSOC has attracted (military) women who express a far more positive attitude towards other women than we have seen in previous studies. A very common observation in the male-dominated NorAF of women suggests the latter take the role of

"one of the boys," distancing themselves from other women as a result from the so-called "queen bee" phenomenon (see Rones and Steder, in peer review).

The scheme of a tailored selection based on women's own physical premise and another tailored selection on men's own physical premise has created a sense of creating "two A-teams" at NORSOC. After the one-year conscription period and segregated education at the *Jegertroppen*, the women are far more motivated for further military service than we find in other NorAF units.

No further career ladder, however, has been established to retain these skilled and specialized women at NORSOC. The women are therefore referred to further military education and contract as a professional soldier in regular military units. With such a "dead end" within NORSOC, it is difficult to believe there was a real need for women in special operations that formed the basis of establishing the *Jegertroppen*. It is also uncertain whether the NorAF will succeed in retaining these skilled, development-oriented and partly elite-oriented women. In sum, we can conclude that the *Jegertroppen* has been a very good measure to recruit, select and educate competent women to NorAF, but we are very uncertain whether NorAF will succeed in retaining them.

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The Queen Bees and the Women's Team – A contextual Examination of Enmity and Friendship between Military Women

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ABSTRACT

In several studies of women in the Norwegian Armed Forces, we have found an assertion that female groups are so riddled with conflicts and enmity that it is preferable to keep women few in number and mixed up with men, even in dormitories (Hellum 2014; Lilleaas and Ellingsen 2014; Rones 2015). Yet, when the Norwegian Special Operations Command (NORSOC) organized an all-female Special Reconnaissance Platoon, the NORSOC leadership would conclude that they had seen “almost disappointingly little of the conflicts that allegedly should occur in groups of females” (Rones and Steder 2017). Accordingly, this article will critically explore the assertion that women are often so quarrelsome that it is preferable to keep them few in number and mixed with men 24/7.

It will be argued that women's alleged tendency towards enmity is a myth that is made ‘true’ by ‘queen bee behavior’. Queen bee behavior is seen as an act of recognition, whereby women comply with existing gender stereotypes, evaluate women negatively, but set themselves apart from the category of ‘women’ as someone who fits better with men, i.e. a performance of complicit masculinity. It is further argued that queen bee behavior is a response to the social-identity threat women experience when they enter a unit in which their gender has a low reputation and status, and where it is expected that a woman should fit seamlessly in as one of the guys, and accordingly have to make a symbolic ‘change of gender’.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 2013, the Norwegian Special Operations Command (NORSOC) came up with the idea of organizing an all-female Special Reconnaissance Platoon. The NORSOC leadership was, however, warned against doing so, since collecting many women in one place would allegedly result in the cat fights one had ‘learned to expect from all-female dormitories’. The warning came especially from military women and with reference to research on military culture that promoted all-encompassing integration as an important tool to obtain gender equality. This literature was based on the claim from informants that gender-mixed dormitories eased the negative consequences that would result “if women become too numerous or live too close to each other” (Lilleaas and Ellingsen, 2014, 53). The all-female platoon was nevertheless organized and, after two years’ experience, the NORSOC leadership would conclude that they had seen “almost disappointingly little” of the conflicts that allegedly should occur in all-women groups (Rones and Steder 2017, 76).

Based on findings from the all-female platoon and other qualitative case studies of women in the Norwegian Armed Forces (Bjerke and Rones 2017; Hellum 2014; 2016; Lilleaas and Ellingsen 2014; Rones 2015), this article asks the question: why is it claimed that women are often so hostile towards each other that that it is preferable to keep them few in number and mixed with men 24/7? It will be argued that women's alleged tendency towards gossiping, drama and conflict-making is a myth that is made ‘true’ by ‘queen bee behavior’ that follows the social-identity threat women experience when they enter a unit in which their

gender has a low reputation and status. In an effort to be accepted as 'one of the guys' in such a culture, 'the queen bee' will typically disparage other women, and keep a distance from them by emphasizing how she herself is different from other women and accordingly fits better with men (she is more like a man) (see Derks et al. 2011a; Derks et al. 2016). In her struggle for recognition, 'the queen bee' will also often deny that gender discrimination exists. Queen bee behavior is a problem because gender stereotypical views expressed by women contribute to a powerful legitimization of gender discrimination. In addition, queen bee behavior seems to keep women in a weak position by perpetuating the myth that women are each other's worst enemies, and accordingly should be kept few in number in the armed forces and separated from each other.

The organizational psychologists Derks and colleagues (2011a; 2016) sees 'queen bee behavior' as a response to the socio-contextual situation these women have entered, rather than an inherent personality trait. Accordingly, it is important to understand the contextual situation in which queen bee behavior is encouraged, and in which it is hampered. The purpose of this article is therefore to explore the context, including gender ideologies and views on fairness, which may have hampered queen bee behavior in the little group of women who were admitted to the all-female training program organized by and located in NORSOC's male-dominated Training Wing. This will be done by a comparing the NORSOC context with the context in a gender-mixed training program, where a high level of behavior characteristic of the queen bee response was observed, i.e. Rones's (2015) ethnographic study of the Army's Non-Commissioned Officer Candidates School (ANCOCS).

2.0 MYTHS OF CONFLICTS AND COHESION CAUSED BY GENDER COMPOSITION

The narrative of quarrelsome women became particularly evident in a study on military masculinity-culture by the sociologists Lilleaas and Ellingsen from the University of Oslo's centre for gender research (Lilleaas and Ellingsen 2014, translated into English in Ellingsen and Lilleaas 2017). They had carried out a comparative case study in a large Navy camp where men and women had separate rooms, and a smaller Army camp where men and women bunked together. In the Navy camp, informants reported that the women's rooms were riddled with conflicts, backstabbing, and cliques (Ellingsen and Lilleaas 2017, 104–108). The women in the Army camp depicted purely female cultures as a 'horror story' characterized by social drama and rivalry. They claimed that the gender-mixed rooms helped to integrate them as 'one of the boys', and prevented the type of cliquey atmosphere and female gossiping that would normally be expected among women (Ellingsen and Lilleaas 2017, 78–80).

Following Lilleaas and Ellingsen's (2014) study, the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment's anthropologist Nina Hellum scrutinized the gender-mixed rooms in two different Army camps. Like Lilleaas and Ellingsen (2014), Hellum (2014) found that both men and women thought that female groups and rooms were characterized by drama and conflicts. Accordingly, women preferred to live with men in mixed rooms, and men also thought that quarrelsome women were better off in gender-mixed rooms (pp. 18–20). Moreover, men claimed that the mixed rooms diminished the vulgar and abrasive culture that often could occur among men, since they behaved better with women present.

In a later study of the Norwegian Air and Missile Defence Battalions' experiment of a 50/50 distribution of conscripted men and women, Hellum (2016) finds that the "myths of the all-female rooms as riddled with drama" still circulate among officers and soldiers (p. 32), but that the notion that more women also means more drama doesn't apply to this case. Hellum explains the latter with reference to Rosabeth Moss Kanter's well-known study of men and women in the corporation (1977), and her theory that a minority will no longer be treated as tokens when they reach a critical mass that is assumed to be over 15–20 per cent. Although more women meant a tendency towards gendered clique formation, the soldiers believed that gender-mixed rooms slowed this tendency down.

In contrast to these positive observations regarding the mixed rooms, Rones's (2015) ANCOCS study reports from an educational platoon where female officer candidates who lived in gender-mixed rooms had problems getting along and expressed quite hostile attitudes towards each other (pp. 195–205 and 270–273). In this platoon (in the Northern Brigades Medical Battalion), there was a 50/50 distribution of men and women, demonstrating that Kanter's theory of critical mass does not always apply. The actors themselves believed that it was the high proportion of women that affected the culture in a negative way (pp. 196–206). Moreover, female officers and candidates at both the ANCOCS headquarters and in the other educational platoons where there were very few women (<3), were skeptical about an increased number of women in the military. They believed this would result in increased conflicts and a culture of female scheming. The female officers legitimized their skepticism towards more women by pointing out: "Historically, we know that all the conflicts are in the girls' rooms", contending that "it has something to do with how women are" (Rones 2015, 271–273).

Both Lilleaas and Ellingsen (2014) and Hellum (2014; 2016) point out that all-women rooms are not always riddled with conflict, and mixed rooms are not entirely free of negative events. Nevertheless, they assign several positive observations to the gender-mixed rooms. In addition to less gossiping among women, this includes less gender stereotypical behavior, less fraternization and sexual harassment, as well as increased team cohesion, respect, tolerance and non-sexual camaraderie across genders. They conclude that mixed rooms have facilitated an intense exposure to the opposite gender, which in turn has made gender insignificant. The argument is based on immigration research (in particular, Thomas Pettigrew's inter-group contact theory) that postulates that increased exposure to a minority (in this case, women) will decrease prejudice, stereotypes and tensions. These results gained tremendous international attention and an all-encompassing gender-mixed existence seem to have been promoted as an important tool to ease the integration of female soldiers into the Norwegian Armed Forces (see Rones 2017).

Given that single-sex group, or more especially the all-male group, has been considered crucial to avoid (jealousy-)conflicts and maintain concord and cohesion in the US and UK military debate (Kronsell 2012; Mackenzie 2015; Simons 2000; 2014) it seems a bit peculiar that a 24/7 gender mix is believed to reduce gender-related conflicts and promote cohesion in the Norwegian Armed Forces. Cohesion refers to the ties that bind soldiers together, and the issue has been more or less absent in the debate on gender in the Norwegian Armed Forces. This may be explained both by different traditions and ideologies regarding gender equality and by the Norwegian defense discourse that has put more emphasis on the individual soldier and his/her physical achievements than the units and how they can be bound together (Ulriksen 2002).

In the US, however, cohesion, or 'the band of brothers', has been regarded as decisive for soldiers' motivation and willingness to stay behind and fight with their own lives at stake, ever since Samuel Stouffer and his research group conducted 500,000 interviews with soldiers who had been fighting during World War II. They found that neither patriotism nor ideology lies behind a soldier's combat discipline. Instead it was a desire to protect their comrades and keep their own unit alive, prove that they were men, and achieve promotion while doing so (Ryan 2010; RAND 2010). The study did not actually explore what really caused the desire to protect their comrades. Yet, many have suggested that homogeneity, i.e. social identification and sameness, is the key to creating the important 'band of brothers', while heterogeneity, especially with regard to sexuality and gender, is believed to be a threat to cohesion. This assumption has lain at the heart of the US ban on women and homosexuals in combat units (King 2013; 2015; 2017; Kronsell 2012; Mackenzie 2015; RAND 2010; Titunik 2000) For instance, Professor Anna Simons, who is considered a leading researcher in Special Forces theory, has argued that opening up combat units to women will create a dangerous dynamic and an internal competition (over the women) that will ultimately kill cohesion (Simons 2000; 2014). Mackenzie (2015) argues, however, that 'the band of brothers' is a military myth that is used to justify the politics of combat exclusion by conveying the 'truth' that all-male units are more capable of accomplishing the military mission and maintaining combat discipline than mixed-gender units.

Newer research on team cohesion in the military (King 2013; 2015; 2017) has also shown that the ability to

perform the task with professionalism and the sense of achievement resulting from successful performance seem to be more important for establishing unity and cohesiveness than identity-category, personal ties, camaraderie and brotherhood. As a result, military sociologists have argued that it is adequate training of the soldiers, which ensures their ability to perform well and succeed, that is the critical backbone of strong unit/team cohesion, not gender homogeneity or sexual homogeneity (see Ben-Ari et al. 2010; King 2013; 2015; 2017).

So, in sum, while the US has cultivated the belief that single-sex groups (in the form of all males) are crucial to maintain harmony and avoid conflicts among soldiers, it seems to be a belief in the Norwegian Armed Forces that having many women together in a single-sex situation will result in disharmony and quarrels. It is against this background that we are interested in exploring the claim that women, *unlike men*, are so hostile towards each other that it is difficult for them to interact harmoniously in single-sex units.

We will argue that the myth of quarrelsome women results from 'queen bee behaviour' that is encouraged in a misogynist context where the male is the norm and the women must symbolically 'change gender' to become accepted *as one of the guys*, i.e. assimilation, not integration. The article will also pay attention to the limited possibility of obtaining gender equality and avoiding gender-related problems through a particular group composition based on social-identity categories. We also hope the article will remind researchers to evaluate critically to what degree their use of informant-assertions can come to make the research-field's myths into 'scientific facts'.

3.0 QUEEN BEE BEHAVIOR – AN ACT OF RECOGNITION

The queen bee concept is used within organizational physiology and seeks to describe an observed behavior whereby women fulfill their career aspirations in male-dominated work environments by dissociating themselves from the identity-category of 'women'. This is for instance done by disparaging typical 'womanish behavior' and emphasizing how they themselves differ from other women (Derks et al. 2016). As such, the queen bee concept seeks to describe a woman who joins a male-dominated environment *as one of the guys*.

The queen bee concept originates from Staines, Travis and Jayerante (1974), who used the label 'queen bee syndrome' to explain the observation that some female leaders who had been individually successful in male-dominated work environments (business/corporation) could be more critical of their female subordinates and impose stricter demands on them than on their male subordinates. Moreover, these women were likely to actively oppose the women's movement, as well as denying that gender discrimination may still exist.

The label 'queen bee syndrome' came under critique, among other reasons because it led to the assumption that hostile behavior towards other women was inherent in the personalities of successful career women. Moreover, discussions of the queen bee phenomenon, especially in the popular media, concluded from these findings that women were their own worst enemies, and that women themselves were an important cause of gender discrimination. The assumptions also led to research that tried to find out who 'the queen bees' were, looking for stable personality traits to explain their misogynist behavior (see Derks et al. 2011b).

Others, however, have sought to examine organizational conditions that foster queen bee behavior, suggesting that the observed behavior is a response to the socio-contextual situation these women have entered, rather than a syndrome or an inherent personality trait (Derks et al. 2011b; 2016). One example is the organizational psychologist Ellemers (2001), who was the first to describe the queen bee phenomenon as a response to the social-identity threat women experience in organizations in which their gender is devalued or has a low reputation and status. This view was later substantiated by her colleagues at Utrecht University (Derks et al. 2016; Derks et al. 2011a; Derks et al. 2011b). These authors accordingly present a more

nuanced view of the popular idea that women are their own worst enemies, and as such are more inclined than men to undermine each other.

In more detail, Derks and colleagues have argued that women who enter environments with a high degree of gender prejudice and discrimination against women are negatively affected in their professional/personal identity. One way by which these women resist the disadvantage of belonging to a devalued group is by dissociating themselves from that group, i.e. from women. Accordingly, the women may comply with existing gender stereotypes, but set themselves apart from the group 'women' in an attempt to prevent others from evaluating them on the basis of their gender. These women can say, 'Women are less career-oriented than men, but *I am*, by exception, very career oriented and fit better with the guys'. Derks and colleagues refer to this behavior as 'self-group distancing', i.e. a coping response and a strategy that can successfully be used to improve the individual woman's personal career outcomes at the expense of other women. However, these women's coping strategy does nothing to improve the standing of women as a group or category. Instead, the queen bee response is detrimental to the reputation of other women. The queen bee behavior is thus seen as a pervasive dynamic in which women contribute to perpetuating and legitimizing the current gender hierarchy as well as the negative stereotyping of their own gender (Derks et al. 2016).

By looking to Pierre Bourdieu, we believe that the queen bee response can be understood as an act of recognition, and an effect of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence can be understood as the values, ideals, and ideas a (historical and/or present) ruling group has imposed onto subordinated groups (and even later generations) by the use of symbols and symbolical acts which communicate recognition and misrecognition. In turn, this communicates which persons and behavior are of high status and value, and which are not. Symbolic violence is thus a soft power that imposes on men and women tacit ideas of what they 'must' do in order to gain recognition (e.g. be accepted as 'one of the guys'), and in particular to avoid misrecognition. Accordingly, symbolic violence is exercised upon the subordinated groups/persons with their complicity. This is how Bourdieu explains the subordinated group's paradoxical submission to the established order and the dominant group's interests (Bourdieu 1998, 1–2; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 167), and the queen bee response seems to be an example of women's paradoxical submission to masculine domination. In Connell's (2005, 79–80) sketch of a gender hierarchy, the queen bee behaviour can, in our opinion, be understood as a form of complicit masculinity, performed by women. That is the form of masculinity many people *do* in their struggle to live up to hegemonic masculinity, i.e. a normative ideal that men, and some women, are encouraged to emulate.

According to Enloe (2000), compliance is a key to the maintenance of the military as a patriarchal institution, and we believe the queen bee response, as an act of recognition and compliance/complicit masculinity, contributes to the reproduction of the military field's traditional valuation criteria and ideas on gender. As such, the 'queen bees' help to justify an order where both women and so-called feminine behavior are seen as less important and valuable than men and so-called masculine behavior. That is why it is important to better understand the contextual situations where the queen bee behavior is encouraged or hampered.

4.0 METHOD

This article is based on a targeted and explorative comparison of contextual issues that may resulted in the observation of, respectively, a hostile and a friendly relationship among the women in two of our previous

studies, i.e. 1) Rones's (2015) study of the Army's gender-mixed NCO-Candidate School (ANCOCS)¹ and 2) Rones and Steders's (2017) study of the NORSOC all-female Special Reconnaissance Platoon².

Both the previous studies were based on an inductive content analysis of ethnographic material in the qualitative data analysis software MaxQda 11. The way that the codes and categories were developed was inspired by Charmaz's (2006) suggestion for doing grounded theory. That means that content in each meaningful segment of the data was summarized in a short sentence (i.e. a code), and these sentences were then grouped/categorized in topics that were summarized with a new sentence/code. This resulted in a hierarchical system of short sentences/code-words that summarized the content of the material. There was a striking difference in the summarizing codes and categories that were developed from the two datasets regarding the relationship between men and women, as well as between women themselves.

Regarding the relationships between women, codes developed from the ANCOCS material were for example 'power relations and hierarchy struggles', 'competition', 'conflict', 'girl-gangs struggle to get along', 'prefer to be the only woman' and 'it's so tiresome with other women'. Examples of codes developed from the NORSOC material were 'mutual admiration', 'good friendship', 'social support' and 'couldn't imagine being the only woman'.

Since the findings on the soldiers' relationships were so different in the two studies in spite of them being based on the same methodical approach, we decided to systematically compare the two coded and categorized datasets. Since the results in addition stood in contrast to the expectation that should follow from the previous described claims (findings) regarding the effect of gender-mixed and all-female units (Hellum 2014; 2016; Lilleaas and Ellingsen 2014; see also Rones 2017), we suggested that it was different contextual issues that could have caused conflicts in the gender-mixed case and cohesion in the gender-segregated case. Therefore, we sought explicitly to identify contextual issues other than gender composition when we compared the two datasets. How the contexts may have contributed to the different relationships *between* the group of men and the group of women has already been presented and discussed in a previous article (Rones 2017). Regarding the relationship *among* the women, we identified contextual differences between the two datasets that could be grouped into five themes that we will present in this article: i.e. 1) uniformity and usability for everything vs diversity and specialization as an ideal; 2) selection based on performance of behaviour classified as masculine vs feminine; 3) the opportunity to be one of the guys vs one of the girls; 4) gendered vs non-gendered division of the internal labour; and 5) identity-threat for men and women vs unique and attractive status for both men and women.

Since this article is based on a comparison of findings and contextual issues from previous studies, we will provide the reader with references to the pages in the articles where the different topics have been described earlier. Since we compared the two datasets for this research, some unpublished material will also be included. The aim of this article is to use the previous studies to explore the reason why we, and other researchers who have studied women in the military, have found the assertion that women are so quarrelsome that it is preferable to keep them few in number and mixed with men 24/7. As mentioned, we

¹ The empirical material was gathered through multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, containing 72 days of participant observation conducted at joint training and in-service specialization in the Armored Battalion and the Medical Battalion, as well as 65 interviews, of which 32 were with women.

² The empirical material was gathered as a result of the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment being assigned to contribute an external evaluation of NORSOC's all-female training programme. In this regard we applied an ethnographic approach. First, Steder conducted 8 days of observation and 13 interviews from the first cohort of women (2014–2015). Then Rones followed the second cohort (2015–2016), doing 28 days of observation and recording 64 interviews. All females belonging to this cohort were interviewed twice, 7 female alumni from the first cohort were interviewed after 8–10 months in continued service, 11 males in the regular training program were interviewed at the end of the program, and different leaders and instructors were interviewed throughout the year. The observation and interview guides contained several of the same topics and questions as used in the foregoing ANCOCS study.

believe that this is a myth that is made true by the 'queen bee response' that follows from a context such as the one we observed in the ANCOCS case, and that is hampered by the contrasting context in NORSOC.

5.0 THE QUEEN BEES AND THE WOMEN'S TEAM; A CONTEXTUAL EXAMINATION

The relations between women at the ANCOCS were characterized by hierarchical struggle, conflicts, irritation and jealousy (Rones 2015, 195–205 and 270–273). Most of the women were of the opinion that having a lot of women resulted in backbiting, plotting, drama, disputes and scheming. Some women asked 'why the hell' some women had been selected, and argued that the other women in their unit were annoying, tiresome, pushy, ill-tempered, competitive, attention-seeking, unfit, and even too ambitious or not ambitious enough. These opinions about other women can be seen as examples of *self-group distancing*, i.e. according to Derks et al. (2011a; 2011b; 2016) behavior that results from the social-identity threat women experience in organizations in which their gender is devalued and has a low status.

The women also spoke about an all-embracing competition (e.g. who was first in bed and first to get up), characterized by malicious pleasure and laughing and gloating over each other's failings, as this quote exemplifies:

I think there are many [of the women in the platoon] who are so reckless. They hope that those they do not like will not succeed [...] If someone is a bit off track: "Ha-ha! Cool!" In particular there are some of the girls that really like competition [...] they are more like: "We have to conquer! Now it is a competition and we will win even if it has to be blood, sweat and tears!" It is a rather hot-headed atmosphere. I think it's funny when they fail, because they become very sulky and sour for days after it. It is very fun (Female NCO-candidate, Rones 2015, 199).

In addition, many ANCOCS women fiercely opposed any form of affirmative action, such as quotas, special treatment, and lower physical requirements for women. Instead, they required both themselves and the other women to prove themselves to be of a sufficiently high standard, in particular at physical tests (Rones 2015, 3 and 210–218). It is likely that this is something these women do as an act of recognition, because they think it will increase their individual status and career outcome. It can further be argued that these findings describe how women comply with the premises and norms set for and by the dominant group, i.e. men. When they advocate for the importance of masculine physical capital, they also contribute to the reproduction of the dominant group's prerogatives and traditional value criteria, even though it helps to make women – themselves – less valuable in the field. This can be understood as a paradoxical effect of symbolic violence (incorporating ideas of what they 'must' do in order to gain recognition) and a classic queen bee response.

Turning to NORSOC, the leaders said that there had been a "surprisingly" peaceful environment between the women in the all-female platoon, and that they cooperated well and supported and helped each other (Rones and Steder 2017, 76). The women themselves describe good friendships with mutual admiration and support. On the question *what has been the best experience of the year in the all-female platoon*, it is precisely the unity among the women in the platoon that is mentioned (pp. 77–78). Stories about harsh competition among the women are absent in these interviews. Instead, many of the women emphasize a sense of achievement in addition to strong friendship:

[the best has been] All the exercises, the sense of achievement, the unity with the girls, which have only become stronger and stronger. Created new ties with new people, with people you might never have hung with in civilian life. [...] you live so closely, you shower together, you sleep side by side, you eat together, you do everything. In the end, you get a really close bond and you are really fond of everyone. Now, we are really the best friends ever, you see – who you never want to lose contact

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with. [...] It's a very special relationship that you will never experience with anyone else (Soldier in the all-female platoon, Roness and Steder 2017, 77).

So, what was the contextual situation that may have encouraged queen bee behavior in the ANCOCS case and may have hampered it in the NORSOC case where a little group of women were admitted to 'a special treatment program' in the NORSOC's male-dominated Training Wing? We identified differences in the context that could be grouped into five themes, that we will now present.

First, the NORSOC personnel valued diversity and had the opinion that gender matters, while the ANCOCS personnel valued uniformity and claimed that gender did not matter. This difference was again linked to a different view on fairness and operational needs.

In the book *Uniformity or Diversity* (Edström et al. 2010), it is argued that uniformity (likeness) is important in the military context and that this can be justified by the operational need for functionality. Diversity, especially when it comes to women, should according to the authors be related to political ideas and requests for representation in 'safe societies of surplus', where it is possible to ignore the operational need for functionality.

At the ANCOS, we find, in line with the uniformity argument, a sense of justice and fairness which implies that everyone must be treated alike and, not least, that they must be selected for training through equal tests with equal demands, regardless of the type of education, or the function and role afterwards. This was evident in the existence of a joint selection process for all NCO schools and branches of training within them. Several seemed to think that 'the best' for all purposes was he (or she) who was best able to carry a heavy backpack over long distances, or who performed best in the obstacle and mud course. This was because 'a soldier is a soldier' and everybody had to 'be potatoes', able to rotate to all functions. Moreover, everybody had to be ready to meet the 'demands of war', which were often related to obstacles and mud courses, exemplified by the fact that exercises in the obstacle and mud course were termed and spoken of as 'demands of war-test/exercises'.

Since the aim was to select 'the best' (for no particular task or job), it was claimed that gender didn't matter:

I do not care if it's a man or woman, I want the best, bottom line (Officer at Joint Selection, Roness 2015, 215).

Several women also insisted that their gender was irrelevant, denying that they had been given access to training or positions *because* they were women.

In NORSOC, we find a different context. The idea of the all-female platoon resulted from an operational need for women for special operations where gender matters, e.g. house-search, body-search and interrogation in gender-segregated societies, reconnaissance and other unconventional tasks in populated areas. That means that NORSOC needed women because they were women, and as such it can be argued that the initiative relied on an assumption that men and women are essentially different (a gender difference approach, see Kristiansen 2017 for why women are needed for special operations in particular, and Solhjell 2013 and Persson 2013 for more detailed discussion of the quest for women to enter international military service).

Interestingly, in this war-experienced unit, it is a diversity perspective that is justified by an operational need for functionality, while uniformity/likeness and the idea that everyone should be able to rotate to do any task was viewed as an ideology that hampered the opportunity to take advantage of complementary specialties and traits, including visual diversity, such as gender, ethnicity and skin color:

As long as you think everyone is equal, everyone has equal opportunities and everyone can be used

for the same tasks, you are not able to take advantage of people's different qualities [...] If it is not allowed to say that: "You should not go first [in the door in an operation] because you are petite and female, instead we are going to have you in the back of the queue, because we want you to talk to women we have taken control of" – if that is discrimination and you can not say it, so you have to rotate so she is allowed to go first in the door sometimes, then you can just skip everything and go back home (Leader/Instructor in NORSOCs Training Wing, Rones and Steder 2017, 30).

Based on such statements, it can be argued that NORSOC abandons the principle of likeness and uniformity in favor of a diversity and specialization perspective, where different types of people are selected for different tasks. This point of departure justified different treatment (equity) and different regimes for selection and assessment of the women. The NORSOC officers said that there was no operational reason that women should be able to carry heavy backpacks at the same pace as the strongest man, or be the fittest men's equals in the obstacle course. If the goal had been to get hold of more people who could carry heavy stuff over long distances, they would have increased the number of positions in the regular training program instead, but the goal was to get hold of the most capable women because they were women, not the strongest person (pp. 55–56). Officers in NORSOC also criticized the mindset that everyone should be measured in relation to *one* ideal, which mentally excludes women, as exemplified in this quote:

I have seen that in the Army. They are very keen to measure everyone in relation to the ideal infantryman. That infantryman possesses some characteristics that do not connect with everyone. So, then the girls are mentally excluded already there. And they cannot quite see that the Armed Forces represent more than that [...] At that point, I think the Army fails a lot (Officer/instructor in the all-female platoon, Rones and Steder 2015, 56).

The second contextual issue that may have contributed to the different relationship between the women in the two cases was that the ANCOCS and NORSOC women were selected on different criteria regarding behavior that is often classified as masculine and feminine. The ANCOCS offered leadership training through a selection process that in particular emphasized the ability to stand out as the energetic leader of the group. For instance, the informants said that the ANCOCS had admitted a lot of 'strong-willed', 'extremely extroverted women' who had 'strong competition instincts', so that all desired to be both 'the best' and the leader (Rones 2015, 196–201). One might imagine how the performance of such dominant qualities results from a selection process in which a woman not only must enter a male-dominated environment, but must also convince the selection officers that she is able to stand out as the leader who takes command over the group of men. Until recently the ANCOCS has been the (only) gateway to permanent employment in the Norwegian Armed Forces. Thus, its premises for admission may have contributed to reinforcing the view of women as particularly quarrelsome. Display of dominance is usually not classified as a feminine behavior, and this may have contributed to the women who had the desired ability to stand out as the leader and enforce their will on other people (see Rones 2015, 183 and 240–241) being interpreted as particularly 'difficult' and quarrelsome by those who had to submit and obey their orders.

In NORSOC, the all-female platoon offered a secret elite-soldier training through a rigorous selection process that favored cooperative skills and team-playing qualities. Several of the women in the all-female platoon said that they hadn't been interested in the Armed Forces before. One reason was because the options had either been the basic service they felt anyone could do (no demanding selection process required) or the ANCOCS. The ANCOCS had the attractive selection process they desired, but some of the women said that it wasn't an option for them because it was leadership education, and they did not like to 'stick out' the way a leader had to do (they were too shy). It can thus be argued that NORSOC opened up recruitment and selection of women on new premises that may have allowed for women to enter the military without having to take the role of commander. Shyness and willingness to cooperate (or subordinate) are often linked to femininity, and so these women may also have been interpreted as less 'quarrelsome' than those admitted on the ANCOCS leadership premises.

Third, the ANCOCS 'offered' the possibility of becoming one of the guys, while NORSOC offered the possibility of becoming one of the girls. This seemed to have attracted women with different desires regarding gender and group-belonging. For instance, many ANCOCS women said that they preferred to be with men, and seemed to have actively and purposely steered away from environments with many women, which they believed were characterized by intrigues and drama (Rones 2015, 271–273):

Female NCO-Candidate: There is a big difference between [a combat]-service and medics – I wouldn't have done that!

I: Why not?

Female NCO-Candidate: First of all, because there are so many women there. It is the worst thing of all [...]

I: Why is it the worst of all that there are so many women there?

Female NCO-Candidate: [...] It's so incredibly annoying to be with women. There's so much drama immediately. It is so much easier with the men. [...] I think that it has mostly something to do with me. I am very fond of attention, and I get jealous very quickly. I think it's okay to have all the guys to myself (Rones 2015, 273).

Based on statement like this, it is possible to suggest that the Armed Forces' male-dominance has offered a possibility for escape/an opportunity to women who, for different reasons, have challenges with other women, or may not want to belong to the category 'women'. However, many of the ANCOCS women struggled to be fully accepted as one of the guys. They argued that it was preferable to be the only woman because it made it easier to become 'one of the guys', since it was expected that they should hang out with the women as soon as there were more women (p. 203).

In contrast, several NORSOC women could not imagine themselves entering the military as the only woman among a bunch of men (Rones and Steder 2015, 81–82). The risk of being a lone woman was also a reason why some of the NORSOC women had not been interested in the military before the all-female platoon became an opportunity (Rones and Steder 2015, 81–82):

I do not think I would have thrived in a guys' environment, only guys and then me. – No.

Being the only girl in a squad, I think that would have been challenging [...] I think I would have felt very lonely.

(Soldiers in the all-female platoon, Rones and Steder 2017, 81)

Several successful and non-successful applicants said they had applied to the all-female platoon because they believed it would be great to be part of such an all-woman group, and find other women who shared their interest. Some even emphasized that the absence of men was an advantage (Rones and Steder 2015, 47).

It's fun to think that "yes!- Girls can do a lot of stuff and we are really good at what we do." We are not the [physically] strongest in everything, but it's insanely cool that we are a girl-gang. [...] I really want to have it this way. Zero guys! That's cool [laughs] (Soldiers in the all-female platoon, Rones and Steder 2017, 48)

An important attraction value in the all-female platoon seems accordingly to be that it was primarily intended for women. This seems to have attracted women who had a positive attitude towards other women, and who were comfortable/or desired to belong with 'the girls'.

Moreover, since NORSOC need women because they are women, the leadership did not expect women to become one of the guys:

We want girls in the Armed Forces, but they do not have to become guys. Because then we would have just recruited guys (Officer/instructor in the all-female platoon, Rones and Steder 2017, 81).

In this way, the NORSOC context did not require the women to distance themselves from their gender category, or do the symbolical 'change of gender' that is involved in becoming 'one of the guys'. Instead, NORSOC allowed women to combine the group-identities of female and military professional, i.e. two identities that traditionally have been constructed and imagined as incompatible opposites (see Rones 2015, 59–60, 62–63, 67; Titunik 2000). This may have hampered the tendency to 'self-group distancing' that was observed among the ANCOCS women.

A fourth factor that influenced the social relationships was that internal labor became distributed according to traditional gender roles in the gender-mixed ANCOCS case. This hampered both men and women from developing skills and full confidence in tasks where the opposite gender had the power to define the expected standard. Moreover, it triggered the women into withdrawing from male-dominated tasks with the feeling that they were 'in fact' inferior to the men. This, in turn, contributed to establishing experience-based anecdotes that 'confirmed' the traditional narrative that 'women have nothing to do in the Armed Forces'. In this situation, some of the ANCOCS women blamed each other for low performance and lack of success. Moreover, they struggled for individual recognition among the men through self-imposed performance requirements, and by criticizing women who did not perform in accordance with the imposed standard, i.e. a classic queen bee response.

In contrast, the NORSOC's, gender-segregated approach provided the women with a space to develop skills and competence in the most male-dominated tasks, without being competed with, judged or overrun by men. The single-sex training also 'forced' the women to take the main responsibility for traditional male tasks, and so reinforce their skills acquisition. Thus, the women in NORSOC's all-female platoon acquired skills that enabled them to handle 'hard core' military tasks with confidence. This unobstructed skills development resulted in recognition from the NORSOC men, and contributed most likely to the above-mentioned sense of achievement. This is in line with King's (2013, 2015) findings that women can be respected and accepted in the military's inner sanctum if they can perform their military role with competence and professionalism. From the newer research on cohesion (Ben-Ari et al. 2010; King 2013; 2015; 2017), it is also likely that the successful training and performance contributed to binding the NORSOC women together as a cohesive and mutual supportive women's team (the consequences of the gendered division of labor for the women and men's skill acquisition, and the men's relationship to the women at ANCOCS are further elaborated in Rones 2017).

However, at this point it is important to take note of King's (2015) findings that sometimes women can be denigrated precisely because they are highly able and, therefore, threatening to male soldiers. For instance, some of the women who had formed the first all-female platoon cohort experienced being perceived as cocky, swollen-headed, arrogant, and smarty-pants in their subsequent service in the conventional forces, as a result of their high standards and not least NORSOC's elite status that was visible from the symbols on their uniform. This leads us to the fifth and last contextual situation we identified: NORSOC provided the women with a unique elite status without threatening the NORSOC men's unique elite status. Meanwhile, at ANCOCS it seemed like both men and women experienced an identity-threat from being associated with women.

For instance, the female NCO-candidates in the Medical Battalion had experienced more harassment and discrimination from their male peers than female candidates did from male candidates in other battalions where there were only a few women. The women believed this was a result of a tendency to assign most women to the Medical Battalion (i.e. a service whose tasks and expertise was classified as feminine), thus reinforcing the battalion's already poor status as the "girly battalion" (Rones 2015, 280). The men in the Medical Battalion had had the experience that men from other services saw the medical service as less physically demanding, and thus suitable for women, and that they looked upon them as "puny", "wimps" and

“nurses in uniform” (Rones 2015, 276–284). It is likely that these men’s harassment of the women was amplified by a need to reconstruct their self-image as masculine in a context in which the battalion and service they were associated with was classified as feminine. This classification had the following consequence, as expressed by one of the male candidates: “But it is also that we are seen as a gang of girls, and that we are *all just girls* in the Medical Battalion” (Rones 2015, 282). This illustrates how the men’s identity and desire to be ‘one of the guys’ (claim of masculine status) was threatened by a high proportion of women; suddenly, the men were seen as one of the girls, and that seemed to create a need in the men in the Medical Battalion to get rid of the women (Rones 2017, 207, 303). This finding is in line with research that has shown that an increased share of women can arouse fear and skepticism among men and accordingly increase gender discrimination instead of diminishing it, as suggested by Kanter’s theory of critical mass (see e.g. Yoder 1991). According to Derks et al.’s (2016; 2011a; 2011b) queen bee theory, the queen bee behavior is encouraged by the identity-threat the women experience when they enter a unit in which their gender has a low reputation and status, and this finding shows that the women’s status can be influenced by identity-threats experienced by the men.

In the NORSOC case, on the other hand, the women did not challenge the men’s attractive elite status as ‘the best men’, or ‘the selected few’, and there was no question of them having the high physical fitness level required of these men. On the contrary, the need to establish a dedicated platoon for women served to confirm the assumption that no women would be able to manage the physical hardship required to be part of the regular training program in the Parachute Ranger Platoon (Rones 2017, 22–23).

Women are allowed to apply to the Parachute Ranger Platoon. But nobody can do it. It gets too heavy [...]. They do not have a chance, it will become too heavy (Male soldier in the Parachute Ranger Platoon, Rones 2017, 23).

Moreover, the women in the all-female platoon had not been selected to beat the men or become the men’s equal in the most ‘identity-defining’ task. “If we had needed more people to carry a heavy backpack over a mountain plateau, we would have taken in more men” (Rones 2017, 22), said one of the leaders. Accordingly, it could be expected that the all-female platoon would be seen as a B-team, compared to the Parachute Ranger Platoon. However, it appeared that NORSOC had succeeded in creating a sense of equal status and value (equivalency) among the women and men in the two single-sex platoons. The feeling of equal status was for instance expressed by a male paratrooper who said that he saw the two single-sex platoons as “two A-teams”. The all-female platoon selected the best on women’s physical premises. The regular training program selected the best on men’s physical premises. The view of the two platoons as two A-teams seemed, however, to result from several conscious and ‘pedagogical’ decisions from the NORSOC leadership. Important for the women’s feeling of equality in this regard was the equal allocation of resources in the form of equipment, training arenas, and skilled instructors (Rones 2017, 23; Rones and Steder 2017, 59–61).

Despite the fact that the NORSOC women had been admitted on a ‘special treatment’ program, it does not seem that the NORSOC women suffered under the constant suspicion that they were admitted unfairly under affirmative action, as has been reported from women at the ANCOCS and in the Armed Forces in general (Eide et al. 2014, 53–55). On the contrary, it appeared that NORSOC had managed to establish a pragmatic approach to the selection criteria, where the intended work-requirements and tasks (i.e. diversity and specialization) were more important than being selected as the strongest or physically fittest person (uniformity). However, several actors in NORSOC said that they had to defend the NORSOC women’s position to outsiders, who argued that the females had been admitted and prioritized for special forces training at the cost of ‘better men’. This means that the recognition provided for the NORSOC women only existed inside NORSOC. The reports from the first NORSOC women under service in the conventional forces, who said they were being perceived as cocky, smarty-pants, indicated that they met some of the same challenges as the ANCOCS women when they left NORSOC: i.e. a tendency to be ‘jacked down’ if showing signs of ‘superiority’. For instance, at ANCOCS several women had been told that they had no reason to

brag or be proud of being selected, since allegedly all interested women had been admitted on a quota for political reasons.

The constant suspicion that they were admitted under affirmative action (see also Eide et al. 2014, 53–55), and accordingly had not had to prove themselves fit for ‘the demands of war’ was an important context for the ANCOCS women in particular. This seemed to contribute severely to the classical queen bee behavior where the ANCOCS women imposed strong and sometimes unreasonable performance demands on their female peers and subordinates. It was also an important reason why they fiercely opposed any form of special treatment, and required both themselves and other women to prove themselves at a sufficiently high standard (Rones 2015, 210–220). Due to this context, many women got annoyed at other women who did not deliver in accordance with the expected standards. Young NCOs and candidates said for example; “I hate women who are not able to carry their own backpack” and “who are not physically fit” (Rones 2015, 201–202). Older female officers/NCOs said that they had done the same when younger in the interest of the image of women as a group, clearly drawing attention to how the other women’s performance had threatened their own identity. However, the women’s tendency to set performance and behavior requirements for the other women was an underlying cause of the so-called ‘cat fight’ observed among the ANCOCS women. This was exemplified in their accusation of the other women as being both too competitive and ambitious, and not ambitious enough. An officer also identified the most ‘ambitious’ women’s tendency to engage in the more ‘relaxed’ women’s performance as a direct cause of conflict between two ‘girl-gangs’:

There have been conflicts, [among the women] because some of the candidates aim very high, make high demands, want much more, they are more ambitious than the other candidates are, and not all the candidates are happy with that (Instructor at ANCOCS, Rones 2015, 200).

So, in sum, these factors may have contributed to making the myth of the quarrelsome women come ‘true’, as was partly mentioned by one of the female NCO-candidates:

I have tried to discuss it with the girls [the tense situation among the women in the platoon]. If we are not even able to say ‘good morning’ when we meet for breakfast, we run right into that ‘girls will always argue’ thing (Female NCO-candidate, unpublished quote from Rones 2015 dataset).

6.0 CONCLUSION

This article started by asking the question: why have military personnel, in particular military women, claimed that women are often so hostile towards each other that that it is preferable to keep them few in number and mixed with men 24/7? The NORSOC case showed us that women are able to cooperate harmoniously in an all-female situation, even when they are admitted on a ‘special treatment’ program into a heavily male-dominated unit. It is therefore argued that women’s alleged tendency towards gossiping, drama and conflict-making is a myth that is made ‘true’ by ‘queen bee behavior’. With reference to Bourdieu, we have interpreted queen bee behavior as an act of recognition whereby women comply with misogynist gender stereotypes and evaluate women negatively but set themselves apart from the category/group of women as someone who fits better with the guys. Moreover, we have claimed that this paradoxical submission to masculine domination can be seen as a performance of complicit masculinity in Connell’s sketch of a gender hierarchy.

With inspiration from organizational psychologists who have argued that ‘queen bee behavior’ can best be understood as a response to the socio-contextual situation the women have entered (Derks et al. 2011b; 2016) we compared the harmonious NORSOC case with the ‘conflict riddled’ ANCOCS case, to see if we could identify contextual issues which could have hampered queen bee behavior in NORSOC and encouraged it at ANCOCS. Increased knowledge on why queen bee behavior occurs is important, because misogynist views expressed by women contribute to a powerful legitimization of continued discrimination

against women.

The contextual examination indicated that queen bee behavior observed at ANCOCS could have been encouraged as a result of the combination of several factors: an ideology of uniformity and 'generalist skills', a view on fairness as equal treatment, the expectation that women should fit seamlessly in as one of the guys and the claim that gender doesn't matter even though the man and masculinity was the norm and the ideal. In this situation, both men and women experienced an identity-threat from being associated with the category 'women', and as such the women were 'forced' to distance themselves from their own social-identity group by doing a symbolical 'change of gender'.

In contrast to this, the article has shown how NORSOC needed women for special operations where the soldier's gender matters and applied an ideology of diversity and specialist skills. That resulted in a pragmatic approach to selection and assessment, with a view of fairness as equity (different treatment) and equivalency (equal value). Nor was it expected that the women should 'become one of the guys', or assimilate to masculine norms, standards and expression (style/humor). Accordingly, these women were not 'forced' to choose between their gender (group identity/category) and a professional/military identity. Combined with a *pedagogical* focus on the female's skill development and a single-sex organization that made any gendered division of internal labor impossible, NORSOC provided the women with an unobstructed and unhampered opportunity to develop skills usually reserved for men. That enabled the women to succeed and perform as professionals in hard-core military activities, something which bound the women together as a self-confident 'women's team' instead of setting them up so that they were 'forced' to distance themselves from the category 'women'.

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Challenges of Integration of Women in Peacekeeping Operations

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ABSTRACT

Integration of women in peacekeeping operations is imperative for inspiring new solutions and solving conflicts. Men, women, boys and girls are affected differently by armed conflict which calls for a gendered approach to peacekeeping to adequately respond to their needs, therefore, UN has also shifted to a gendered approach in peacekeeping by passing the first Resolution 1325 in the year 2000. Many subsequent Resolutions have been passed since then so that the peacekeeping mission may not overlook vital issues of gender inclusive security essential for establishing sustainable peace and efforts are being made to impart an exclusive pre-deployment training to women officers. The current study aims to explore the challenges faced by deployed women peacekeepers which impact their effective integration into the peacekeeping operations and to propose strategies to deal with them. The data was collected from 13 women military officers from different countries who were undergoing pre-deployment training: female military officer course at CUNPK, Delhi wherein aspects related to female deployment on UN missions were covered. The women officers with deployment experience were taken for the study. A semi-structured interview was used for data collection. The data was analysed using qualitative content analysis method.

The major themes that emerged from the analysis highlight the main challenges faced by the women peacekeepers that include family responsibilities, motherhood, cultural sensitivity, sexual exploitation and abuse, gender role as determinant of success and occupational tasks. The study suggests the strategies to counter the challenges faced by women peacekeepers which include: acceptance of incongruent gender roles, building cultural intelligence of the peacekeepers, taking a proactive stance against sexual harassment and bullying, facilitating social support to the family members of the deployed women and optimized utilization of the women peacekeepers.

Key words: Challenges, Gender Integration, Peacekeeping, Pre-deployment, United Nations, Women Peacekeeper

Relevance to the meeting – *The study is directly relevant to the meeting as it focuses on the challenges faced by women military officers during deployment. These help shed light on the social, cultural and psychological factors that impact integration of women in peacekeeping units. It also suggests strategies to counter these challenges and contributes to existing solutions to promote a gendered approach to peacekeeping.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

UN started a major exercise to analyze its peacekeeping experience and introduce a series of reforms to strengthen its capacity to manage and sustain field operations in the year 2000. Former Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon had established a High-level Independent Panel on UN Peace Operations on 31 October 2014, to make a comprehensive assessment of the state of UN peace operations today, and the emerging needs of the future. The Secretary-General said that “the world is changing and UN peace operations must change with it if they are to remain an indispensable and effective tool in promoting international peace and

security.” The Panel considered a broad range of issues facing peace operations, including the changing nature of conflict, evolving mandates, good offices and peace building challenges, managerial and administrative arrangements, planning, partnerships, human rights and protection of civilians. This led UN to shift its peacekeeping mission mandate beyond exclusive military operations to multidimensional missions. It subsumes various key priorities like help countries in the transition from war to lasting peace, restructuring states’ institutions, reorganizing judiciary and rebuilding of societal norms, help to the sexual abuse and violence victims.

All this has led to an increasing recognition that a *gendered approach to peacekeeping* is essential to adequately respond to the needs of men, women, boys and girls who have been affected differently by armed conflict. There are two key dimensions in taking a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution. Firstly, the approach must acknowledge differences in women and men’s experiences, ensuring that women’s interests and needs are met. Secondly, it involves recognizing the key roles that women play in peace building and conflict resolution and facilitating those roles wherever feasible (UNSC, 2000). Such an approach facilitates the implementation of new security policies that may respond to all the different needs and issues on the ground.

The risk in not having a gender perspective is that the mission will overlook important issues of inclusive security that will jeopardize agreements and threaten any fragile peace. Applied at the mission level, gender mainstreaming is one tool for understanding complex situations, reaching a broader consensus, inspiring new solutions and solving conflicts by incorporating new approaches and viewpoints. By following and implementing gender-sensitive policies and procedures, a peacekeeping operation can provide a good example to national and local institutions. UN website provides some situational awareness of the extent of gender integration in the military: As per UN statistics (Feb, 2018) there are total of 3156 peacekeepers (military observers and staff officers) across the globe out of which 269 are women military observers and staff officers.

1.1 International peacekeeping perspective

The UN inextricably links women and peace by basing its call for women in mission roles on the idea that women are peaceful and nurturing. Since masculinity and femininity by definition are constructed by standards of the social order the integrated role of women may lead us to explore broader gender-based issues in various settings, including those in conflict. Thus, peace and security scholars propose that conflict can be understood by “deconstructing gender relations” (Pruitt, 2013). Women and men play different roles in violence. The gender order (by this, equating to the methods or constructs in which society shapes the notions of masculinity and femininity into power relations) can feed the conflict and help in making peace by providing incentives and disincentives to men and women for engaging in violence and security work.

The basis for ‘war culture’ has been traced to the masculine-feminine dichotomy by Goldstein (2003). It is by devaluation of femininity that the state traditionally constructs the association between masculinity and militarism wherein the soldier has to prove that, ‘he is a man’ by fighting. Through the inclusion of women in peacekeeping, this notion is directly challenged as women are not only observers of peace but also trained as combatants to maintain law and order as peacekeepers.

The present gender order grants superior status to masculinity and also leads to undervaluing of ideas connected with femininity; promotion of peace in such a context is seen as feminine and hence is deemed relatively less important (Pruitt, 2013). Hence, it is crucial to make widespread transformation within the gender order a legitimate concern for peace-building and peace-making. There are various benefits as well as challenges in the incorporation of women into mission roles. Some of the many positives include establishing better relationships and contact with local women to normalize and de-escalate tensions that may have risen between locals and their male colleagues. Women peacekeepers may have greater sympathetic awareness and sensitivity to local female needs and their challenges. However, there are

numerous challenges still faced by women peacekeepers as their participation in peacekeeping roles has a relatively short history. Primarily, on a global level, this implies an overall lack of adequate training is given as a female peacekeeper. Additionally, most female peacekeepers are from developing countries with more traditional norms in society such as maintaining dual responsibilities of work and family and exposed to a lack of resources and access to basic education, including learning the English language. Further, many women still struggle to engage in peacekeeping missions because there is a lack of global political will to integrate them, and many national policies are still enforced in which women are not actively encouraged in the military or state-based forces (Ghimire, 2017).

1.2 UN perspective on Women in peacekeeping

UN rationale for inclusion of women in peacekeeping is grounded on the belief that the presence of women can “help to reduce conflict and confrontation; improve access and support for local women; empower women in the community; provide a greater sense of security to local populations, including women and children; help create a safer and less fearful environment for women; highlight the UN’s commitment to diversity, inclusion and gender equality”; and ‘broaden the repertoire of skills and styles available within a peacekeeping mission’ (UN, 2011). There have been reports of better and more civilized behaviour by male staff in the presence of female mission staff (Simic, 2010). Further, the cases of HIV and brothels near peacekeeping reduce with the presence of female peacekeepers. The presence of female police officers increases the reporting of crime by the local women (Vlachova & Biason, 2002). These reports clearly indicate the benefit of presence of women peacekeepers. However, this inclusion also comes with its own set of challenges.

The first major challenge is the military setting itself. Traditionally, women in peacekeeping tend to be military and police officers from troop-contributing countries (TCC). The gender order prevalent within the institutionalization of military and police is just as evident in the peacekeeping setting. Women peacekeepers, who are socialized to the highly masculine culture of these institutions, have internalized notions of ‘boys will be boys’; as a consequence, these individuals are less likely to report sexual abuse and exploitation (SEA) offences committed by their male colleagues against locals (Jennings, 2008). This may compromise the trust of the local women towards the police rather than enhancing it. However, in order to achieve a higher percentage of women in peacekeeping roles it is essential that the overall recruitment of women in TCC is increased.

1.3 Military Perspective on Benefits and challenges of Inclusion of Women

The military can be defined as an institution responsible for the legitimate forms of violence (Greenwood, 2017). It is related to but different from militarism which is defined as a system of ideas designed to legitimize the use of military force, and militarization, the process and practices that uphold militarism (Greenwood, 2017). The military is a closed system where individuals experience controlled and coordinated work, living, and emotional experience (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978). It is perceived as a microcosmic society by itself - a select fraternity that has its own special set of traditions, associations and affiliations amongst its members that set it apart from civil society (Bakshi, 2006). It is fundamentally gendered based upon the central notion that the ideal soldier is essentially male (Woodward & Duncanson, 2017). This reflects the gender order of society and also reinforces it.

The inclusion of women in such a set-up comes with social barriers and challenges that need to be addressed. Women and men are socialized to military culture through basic training; Military culture is dominated by a model of military masculinity and has hostility towards the idea of gender integration and cooperation (Woodward, 2000). These notions are internalized by the recruits who then become entrenched in their rigid gender identities, materializing in the form of structural and attitudinal barriers to inclusion of women in military. The performance of women does not act as a barrier to inclusion. These barriers lie at organisational level and also in the day- to-day working level wherein informal exclusionary practices and attitudes breed

prejudice hampering the professional growth of the women (Bakshi, 2006).

Women in the military also face personal struggles and challenges besides organisational and work. Bakshi (2006) reported that women officers are generally appraised as performing on par with men based on the feedback from the Service Headquarters, personal observation and interviews of officers. However, their professional availability is greatly limited by the domestic constraints placed on them as caregivers, compared to their male counterparts who enjoy more flexibility in the domestic sphere. In order to gain acceptance in the predominantly masculine environment, they might reject their traditional feminine roles yet they may not be considered 'one of the boys', they are seen as rejecting feminine values and embracing traditionally masculine values, despite the fact that societal gendered norms teach that women's naturally softer characters simply do not 'fit' those of the typical hegemonic, masculine soldier (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978). These newly adopted masculine values tend to be in line with the generalised stereotype of the traditional 'macho fighting man' symbolising physical strength, aggression, emotional control and heterosexual competency (Hinojosa, 2010; Masters & Stouffer, cited in Whitworth, 2004). Yet on returning to society they are still expected to resign to their designated gender roles of being the caring, nurturing, and homely female.

Interviews with servicewomen showed that females who took on traditionally male roles struggled to get on with male colleagues as opposed to those who took on administrative roles (Basham, 2009:734). This behaviour reinforces the idea that women are judged on their collective gender rather than individual skills (Chandler et al, 1995:129). Equally, a key problem with women as a minority in the forces is that each individual is often treated like a model for that minority.

The integration of men and women is beneficial to the culture of the military units. Excluding women from roles considered more demanding, reinforces the assumption that women are a collective body that should be treated and managed differently to male colleagues (Basham, 2009:734). The introduction of a more inclusive policy is thought by many as welcome improvement to military capability.

1.4 Objective

The current study aims to explore the challenges faced by deployed women peacekeepers which impact their effective integration into the peacekeeping operations and to propose strategies to deal with them.

2.0 METHOD

2.1 Sample

The sample included 13 women military officers from different countries (India, Sweden, UK, South Africa, Malawi, Fiji) who were undergoing pre-deployment training: female military officer course at CUNPK, Delhi wherein aspects related to female deployment on UN missions were covered. Women military officers with deployment experience were included in the sample. The age range of the sample varied from 32 years to 46 years and their duration of service in the military or police force ranged between 12-28 years. The ranks of the participants ranged from Major to Lieutenant Colonel.

2.2 Tools

A semi-structured interview schedule was developed by the author for the study with the objective of understanding the role of women in peacekeeping operations. The objective was broken down further into various dimensions of exploration based on the purpose of the study. Keeping these dimensions in mind, an initial list of questions was generated. This initial list was further refined with the focus to elicit responses that reflected personal opinions of the respondents. The questions were worded in a neutral manner to avoid

biasing the responses towards the opinion of the researcher. Any ambiguity emerging in the initial list of items was eliminated by making them more specific. The questions were embedded with cues that primed the respondents to think about their personal experience before responding to avoid eliciting socially consensual responses. The interview began with a general question then moved to specific questions on the topic under study. The final interview schedule was sent to five subject matter experts (SMEs) for validation and recommendations were incorporated in to it. The questions aimed to elicit information regarding work-life balance, training for peacekeeping missions, women's access to leadership positions, and further challenges to greater integration of women in peacekeeping missions.

2.3 Procedure

The data was collected from the participants who were undergoing pre-deployment training: female military officer course at CUNPK, Delhi. The researcher explained the purpose of the study to the participants and it was asserted that participation is voluntary. An informed consent was obtained from the officers and the semi-structured interview was carried out. The data gathered was analysed through qualitative content analysis which involves making valid, replicable, and objective inferences based on explicit rules about the sender, the message or the receiver of the message (Prasad, 2008). Qualitative content analysis is critical in nature and involves penetrating the deeper layers of the message by examining the latent content (Du Plooy, 1995). Five methods for undertaking qualitative content analysis have been stated by Mayring (2014): summarising, inductive category formation, explication, deductive category formation, and mixed methods. As the nature of the present study was explorative with no set theories existing in literature for guiding the data analysis, Mayring's **inductive approach** was used for category formulation.

Initially a selection criterion was established for determining the material for analysis. Responses from the participants included in the study were considered for analysis which was followed by definition of categories and identifying level of abstraction. The data was worked upon line by line to identify the content bearing parts of the text. Codes and sub-codes were formulated by one researcher through content analysis and new categories were formed or subsumed. Revision of categories was done by moving back and forth between the data and formulated codes and sub-codes. The codes and sub-codes were grouped to form the basic themes, organizing themes and global themes. The frequencies and percentages were calculated.

3.0 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The interview schedule aimed at understanding the challenges faced by deployed women peacekeepers which impact their effective integration into the peacekeeping operations. The questions can be further categorized into seven broad areas pertaining to the challenges of the women peacekeepers and their effective integration. These are motivators to join peacekeeping, maintaining work life balance and family support, gender segregation of the tasks, pre-deployment training, leadership, gender based violence and sexual exploitation and experiences in the host country. The details of the organizing themes and basic themes emerged in these are given in Table (3-1 to 3-7) below:

Table 3-1: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on motivators to join peacekeeping

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (<i>f</i>)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (<i>f</i>)	Organizing theme (<i>f</i>)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizing theme (%)	

1. Benefits of Joining peacekeeping	1.Financial support to carry out family responsibilities	• 3 • • • • 2 • •	4	23.07	30.76	“UN mission phele barr mahilaon ke liye thay. Yeh avsar mila issleye hum UN mission mai janay ka mann kiya apnay se UN mission janya ka teyaar hua kuch paisa zayada milega uss paisay se kuch kaam aajae. Khushi bhi thi. UN mission pe jana paisa milega uss samay ghar ki parishthiti kuch achi nahi thi sab kuch ho gaya.” (UN Mission was for women for the first time. Got this chance so felt like going to the UN Mission and got ready by myself as will get some more money. That money may be of use. There was happiness also that going to UN mission will get money. At that time home’s condition was not so good, everything happened.)
	2.Increased social status	• 2		15.38		
	3.Exposure to foreign country	• 2		15.38		

Table 3-2: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on maintaining work life balance and family support

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (<i>f</i>)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (<i>f</i>)	Organizing theme (<i>f</i>)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizing theme (%)	

1. Family Support	1.Role of family / husband's support	• 9	11	69.23	84.61	<i>“Apne desh, ghar, bachho ki yaad aathi thi. Kyonki bachhe chote the. Mere pathi ne bachho aur ghar dono ke saath-2 duty bhi dekha.”</i> <i>(I used to remember my country, home and children. Because children were young. My husband looked after the home and children as well as his duty.)</i>
	2.Emotional turmoil, requirements and predicaments	• 7		53.84		
	3. Technology: Bridging distances	• 2		15.38		
2. Work life balance	1.Dilemma of multiple roles	• 8	9	61.53	69.23	<i>“UN mission ke dauran humay bachon avum family ko adjust karnay me dikat ayi”</i> <i>(During the UN misssion, I had difficulty in adjusting my family and children)</i>
	2.Challenges of being a working woman	• 6		46.15		
	3. Culturally determined roles of a woman	• 6		46.15		

3. Challenges of a working mother	1. Expectations from a mother	9	9	69.23	69.23	<i>“Kuch paristhiyon ka samna karna padta. Pehle bataye 6 mahinay ka usskay baad 1 year ka ho gaya. Khushi bhi hui. Uss samay shadi nahi hui thi. Phone pe baatay ho jati thi. Par jo shaadi shuda thi. Ussay apnay bachon ko apnay se door 1 saal bahut badi chunauti ka samna karna pada...”</i> <i>(Some difficulties had to be faced. First they told us for 6 months, then it increased to 1 year. Felt happy also. At that time, I was not married. Was able to talk on the phone. But those who were married. They had to face a big challenge in being away from their children for 1 year...)</i>
	2. Continued contribution to child's upbringing (even when abroad)	7		53.84		
	3. Separation from child a major "sacrifice"	5		38.46		

Table 3-3: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on gender segregation of the tasks

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (f)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (f)	Organizing theme (f)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizing theme (%)	

1. Gendering of peacekeeping roles	1. Perceived Gender Roles in peacekeeping missions	9	9	69.23	69.23	<i>“Sometimes it is easier for a woman to get information or commit a search at a check-point and so on. Sometimes it is easier to be a man.”</i>
2. Presence of men as essential	1. Underlying need for male presence 2. Relatively challenging tasks to be performed by men	5 4	6	38.46 30.76	46.15	<i>“To some extent yes. However, when I was deployed I carried similar tasks as men. However, there are some tasks which are more challenging and from another point of view, need to be carried out by men. For instance- combat engineering”</i>

Table 3-4: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on pre-deployment training

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (f)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (f)	Organizing theme (f)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizing theme (%)	
1. Gender neutral training	1. Similar training for both men and women	2	2	15.38	15.38	<i>“I wouldn’t want to discriminate against men... so whatever efforts made for women, men also deserves them... so yes both men and women deserve further training than basic training.”</i>

2.Recommen dations for training	1.Language training	1	2	7.69	15.38	Training on “CRSVs & SEAs, sexual violence”
	2.Dealing with Conflict Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) and Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA)	2		15.38		

Table 3-5: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on leadership

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (<i>f</i>)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (<i>f</i>)	Organizin g theme (<i>f</i>)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizi ng theme (%)	
1.Gender and Leadership	1.Boldness as criterion for leadership	1	3	7.69	23.07	“Purush leader mahila leader dono apnay jagah bold hai. Parantu purush leader perfect hai”. (Male leader, female leader both are bold in their own place. But a male leader is perfect.)
	2.Prototype of ideal leader as male	2		15.38		
	3.Changing scenario	2		15.38		

2.Perception about female leaders	1.Same approach as male leaders	2	4	15.38	30.76	<i>“Mahila commander ko hum sub bathe batha sakte hai. Purush ko hum sabhi baathe nahi bathaa sakte hai.”</i> <i>(To a female commander, we can disclose all. To a male, we cannot disclose everything.)</i>
	2.More understanding	2		15.38		

Table 3-6: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on gender based violence and sexual exploitation

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (f)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (f)	Organizing theme (f)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizing theme (%)	
1.Gender based violence	1. Sexual harassment during deployment	2	3	15.38	23.07	<i>“Liberian me apas me mahilaye apni majboori me mission ki shikar ho rahi hai. Vahan kuch paisay vali public avum kuch vyaqti vahan ki mahilayon ko khanay avum paisay ka lalach dekar unka shoshan kar rahay hai. Avum kahin kahin vahan ki janta bhi jabardasti uskay sath rape jaisay case kartay hai, avum choti-1 ladkiyon bhi yaun-shoshan ka shikar ho rahi hai jiski jankari humay duty ke dauran dekhney ko mili hai”</i> <i>(In Liberia, women are falling victims in the mission due to their helplessness. Some public with money and some people are exploiting women by tempting them with food and money. And at some places their population also rapes them, and young girls are also falling prey to sexual exploitation about which we get to see during our duty.)</i>
	2. Violence against women	2		15.38		

2. Recommend ed Action	1.Need for a strict action against perpetrators	4	4	30.76	30.76	“Repeating – constantly- that SEA is unacceptable. Many contributing nations do not feel that SEA is so bad in my experience. They need commanders to repeatedly tell them it is not and take action on those who carry it out”.
	2.Need for training	2		15.38		

Table 3-7: Organizing Themes, Basic themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis on experiences in the host country

Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Frequency (f)		Percentage (in %)		Excerpts (example)
		Basic Themes (f)	Organizing theme (f)	Basic Themes (%)	Organizing theme (%)	
1. Lack of Cultural awareness	1.Underlying sense of "Othering"	6	6	46.15	46.15	<i>Humne vahan dekha driver gaadi bina licence ke chalaathe the. Vahan shaaririk samband jyaada baanathe hai. Vahan kisi kaa kahi parivaar nahi hai. Bina shaadi ke bachhe paida karne ki izaazat hai. Bachhe kisi ke shaadi kisi se karte hai. Gaadi bahut theez gahti se chalaathe hai. Vahan par bijli Nahi hai. Gariibi bahut jyaada hai”.</i> <i>(We saw there that drivers drive cars without a license. Physical relations are established more there. No one has any family there. Having children without marriage is allowed. They have children with someone and marry someone else. Drive cars with a lot of speed. There is no electricity there. Poverty is too much.)</i>
	2.Culturally determined concept of "being civilized"	4		30.76		

2. Cultural differences	1.Observed cultural differences	7	7	53.84	53.84	<i>“At first I was surprised that families wanted to dig up graves of their dead family members (when moving back to Serbia). As a Swede it felt wrong and like a violation to the descended. But after a while I realized that it was the right thing to do for the Serbians. Their actions sprung from love, they wanted to keep their descended family member close- and bring them back home to Serbia. Putting my ‘Swedish Glasses’ aside this made perfect sense!”</i>
	2.Moral dissonance due to cultural exposure	6		46.15		

Qualitative content analysis revealed main themes that emerged from the seven broad areas. These themes were recurring through the data and representative of the individuals who were participants in the study and are not intended to represent the services as a whole. The following Global themes emerged from the qualitative content analysis (Table 3-8): -

Table 3-8: Global Themes, Organizing themes, frequencies and percentages emerging from the data analysis

Global Themes	Organizing Themes	Frequency (<i>f</i>)		Percentage (in %)	
		Organizing theme (<i>f</i>)	Global theme (<i>f</i>)	Sub theme (%)	Global theme (%)
1.Family Responsibilities	1. Family Support	11	11	84.61	84.61
	2. Work life balance	9		69.23	
2. Motherhood	1. Challenges of a working mother	9	9	69.23	69.23

3. Sexual Exploitation and Abuse	1. Gender based violence	3	4	23.07	30.76
	2. Recommended Action	4		30.76	
4. Gender Role as determinant of success and occupational tasks	1. Gendering of peacekeeping roles	9	9	69.23	69.23
	2. Presence of men as essential	6		46.15	
	3. Gender and Leadership	3		23.07	
5. Cultural Sensitivity	1. Lack of Cultural awareness	7	7	53.84	53.84
	2. Cultural differences	6		46.15	
6. Training for peacekeepers	1. Gender neutral training	2	3	15.38	23.07
	2. Recommendations for training	2		15.38	
7. Motivators	1. Benefits of Joining peacekeeping	4	4	30.76	30.76

4.0 DISCUSSION

The results depict seven global themes emerging from the organizing themes and the basic themes. Out of these global themes, five are aligned to the objectives of the current study which was to investigate the challenges faced by deployed women peacekeepers which impact their effective integration into the peacekeeping operations. These five global themes that depict the major challenges faced by women peacekeepers are: family responsibilities, motherhood, sexual exploitation and abuse, gender role as determinant of success and occupational tasks and cultural sensitivity. Family responsibilities (84.61%) emerged as the dominant global theme followed by motherhood (69.23 %) and gender roles as determinant of the success and occupational tasks (69.23%) that reflected the challenges of the women peacekeepers as

reported by the participants. The obstacles encountered by the women peacekeepers are discussed in this section.

4.1 Family Responsibilities

The participants expressed their difficulties in fulfilling family responsibilities because of their changed professional role. Herein, the support provided by their spouses and extended family members was considered essential. One of the participants shared her difficulties in managing her family and children while she was deployed on mission. She said:

“UN mission ke dauran humay bachon avum family ko adjust karnay me dikat ayi”^{R6}

(During the UN mission, I had difficulty in adjusting my family and children)

Women across cultures are traditionally considered responsible for domestic chores and care-taking of children. Thus when they are unable to devote time to their families, they tend to experience dissatisfaction as it runs contrary to the notion of an “ideal woman”. For instance, one of the participants expressed:

“Being away from home for one year is quite challenging and it takes a lot of sacrifice especially being away from loved ones”.^{R1}

This can be contrasted with the men who have to stay away from their families for providing financial support to them. They are less likely to be faced with questions about managing their domestic responsibilities with their work life because the domestic sphere is conventionally associated with women.

4.2 Motherhood

Motherhood is considered as a vital phase in a woman’s life. Women deployed for peacekeeping operations reported lack of means to stay in touch with their children, which made it tough for them to feel connected to their family. A participant elaborated that it was easier for her to carry out her duties because she was unmarried. However she expressed that it was challenging for married women as they had to stay away from their children for a year.

“Kuch paristhiyon ka samna karna padta. Pehle bataye 6 mahinay ka uss kay baad 1 year ka ho gaya. Khushi bhi hui. Uss samay shadi nahi hui thi. Phone pe baatay ho jati thi. Par jo shaadi shuda thi. Ussay apnay bachon ko apnay se door 1 saal bahut badi chunauti ka samna karna pada...”^{R12}

(Some difficulties had to be faced. First they told us for 6 months, then it increased to 1 year. Felt happy also. At that time, I was not married. Was able to talk on the phone. But those who were married. They had to face a big challenge in being away from their children for 1 year...)

Concerns over pregnancy, childcare and family life are frequently mentioned in the accounts of servicewomen. Many have to carefully consider the commitment to deployments or to family, as for the most part, the role of a sailor and a mother are viewed as mutually exclusive (Kelley et al, 2001:56). Pierce (1998, cited in Kelley et al, 2001) reported that active-duty Air Force women who gave birth between the beginning of Desert Storm and the time of the survey (2 years later) were twice as likely to leave the military as women who did not give birth during that time. Similarly, around one fourth to one third of the women listed the difficulty of balancing a Navy career with family responsibilities as a reason they planned to leave the military. (Kelley et al, 2001:67).

4.3 Sexual Exploitation & Abuse

Another major challenge that women peacekeepers tend to face is that of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA). Many researchers have reported women officers' experiences of sexual harassment and inappropriate conduct by their male colleagues in the military as well as by the host population (Carreiras, 2000; Simic, 2010).

Kate Hendricks Thomas (2017) shared a narrative account of her personal experiences when she was a part of the US Marine Corps. Once, she along with her unit was deployed to Iraq where soldiers from military units of other countries were also present. She recalled the prolonged stares she used to receive from soldiers from other units because she was the only female Marine officer on the deployment. She also recounted a horrific incident when she was on the verge of getting raped one night by drunken foreign soldiers. Moreover, she expressed her concerns over objectification of women officers. During her deployment, she and her team had to carry spray paints to cover graphic uncouth paintings of her that soldiers from other units used to draw on the washroom walls. Thomas expressed guilt over remaining silent after such experiences and encouraged other women officers to raise voice and take action against any form of sexual assault and harassment.

During analysis, it was observed that while the women did not share any personal experiences of SEA, they did talk about the need for sensitizing the troops about seriousness of this issue and for taking strict action against the offenders. For instance, one of the participants stated:

"Repeating – constantly- that SEA is unacceptable. Many contributing nations do not feel that SEA is so bad in my experience. They need commanders to repeatedly tell them it is not and take action on those who carry it out".^{R3}

This implies that the participants were aware of such incidences taking place however, they did not disclose any detail for the same.

4.4 Gender Role as determinant of success and occupational tasks

Traditional roles associated with gender are seen as a determinant of success and occupational tasks in the military. The organizational culture is reflective of such exclusionary beliefs and policies. Women officers are posted to limited locations depending on the physical location of the unit, level of hardship faced, availability of accommodation and operational commitments of units.

Another inference drawn from the analysis was the underlying need of male presence for tasks that were considered to be more challenging. For example, when asked whether women and men should perform different tasks on peacekeeping missions, one of the participants stated:

"To some extent yes. However, when I was deployed I carried similar tasks as men. However, there are some tasks which are more challenging and from another point of view, need to be carried out by men. For instance- combat engineering".^{R2}

Further, women are still assigned supporting roles and roles that are sometimes incongruent with their qualifications. Despite the mandates, perceptions about gender determined roles in peacekeeping missions persist. This eventually results in the underutilization of female officers' skillsets which emerges as one of the barriers to their integration. In the light of such beliefs, a participant said:

"Due to stereotypes kind of individual who are in mission leadership, usually they would like to apply their own perception as far as gender is concerned from their various countries. In a sense that when planning any activity, women in uniform will not be considered in most cases until as

Gender Advisor you scrutinize the plan and provide advice to the commander”.^{R3}

Moreover, women officers rarely progress to higher positions of authority. Role Congruity Theory (Eagly and Karau, 2002) explains such gender stereotyping of leadership positions by maintaining that perceived gender roles may conflict with expectations regarding leadership roles, especially when an occupation is held predominantly by one sex. The theory elaborates that prejudice towards female leaders occurs because societal expectations from women are perceived to be incongruent with the characteristics associated with a successful military leader. Although some women carefully try to balance the masculine and feminine aspects of their behavior, it may compromise their advancement to higher level positions because their behavior may appear less powerful and confident than that of their male counterparts.

Kanter's (1977) study on concept of tokenism is well applicable to the study of women who work in the non-traditional jobs. He reported that women's negative experiences on the job and their inability to achieve equality is attributable to their token status- their low proportion in workplace dominated by men. The structure of male domination in the armed forces can be changed if the proportion of women is significantly increased (Michael, 1982). This is one of the major reasons for barriers to the inclusion of women as due to their relatively small proportion they are perceived as 'token representatives' of their category rather than independent individuals. Their performance is held under close scrutiny and small mistakes made by few individuals are seen as a reflection of the entire group.

The theory of critical mass (Dahlerup, 2006) suggests that in order for a group to make an impact there needs to be a critical number that provides them with a commanding position to meaningfully establish their authority. These challenges are not faced in all countries; women in militaries are often deployed in all positions and given the high amount of female numbers overall, this indicates a significant change in global gender dynamics.

4.5 Cultural Sensitivity

Lack of cultural sensitivity is another key challenge that needs to be addressed. Some of the excerpts from the participants reflect their lack of understanding about the culture of the host population. They tend to view actions and behavior of the host population from the lens of their own cultural context rather than that of the host population. For instance, one of the participants said:

“Humne vahan dekha driver gaadi bina licence ke chalaathe the. Vahan shaaririk samband jyaada baanathe hai. Vahan kisi kaa kohi parivaar nahi hai. Bina shaadi ke bachhe paida karne ki izaazat hai. Bachhe kisi ke shaadi kisi se karte hai. Gaadi bahut theez gahti se chalaathe hai. Vahan par bijli Nahi hai. Gariibi bahut jyaada hai”.

(We saw there that drivers drive cars without a license. Physical relations are established more there. No one has any family there. Having children without marriage is allowed. They have children with someone and marry someone else. Drive cars with a lot of speed. There is no electricity there. Poverty is too much.)^{R10}

The participant described that people in the host country frequently indulge in physical relationships. She purported that the host population did not have any 'family culture' as people in the host nation tended to have children without getting married. Through this verbatim, it can be seen that peacekeepers tend to judge and compare the host population with their own cultural context without acknowledging and accepting the cultural variations and diversity.

It is therefore important for peacekeepers to adopt a culture-sensitive approach while dealing with populations from various cultural backgrounds. One of the participants narrated her experience when she was deployed to Kosovo. She expressed how adopting a culture-sensitive approach helped her look beyond

her own cultural lens and develop a better understanding of the host nation. She shared:

“At first I was surprised that families wanted to dig up graves of their dead family members (when moving back to Serbia). As a Swede it felt wrong and like a violation to the descended. But after a while I realized that it was the right thing to do for the Serbians. Their actions sprung from love, they wanted to keep their descended family member close- and bring them back home to Serbia. Putting my ‘Swedish Glasses’ aside this made perfect sense!”^{R5}

Certain strategies need to be adopted to counter the challenges faced by women peacekeepers. Officers need to be trained to adapt and to accept the incongruent gender roles that require to be performed during the course of their duties. This will ensure optimal utilization of the women peacekeepers.

Military organization can take several measures to facilitate social support to the family members of the deployed women. These may include providing access to child care facilities and making available counselling services to the family members of the deployed officers.

As stated by one of the participants above, a proactive stance against sexual harassment and bullying should be adopted so that women are encouraged to report such incidences. This will discourage the tolerance of such acts which will promote integration of women officers.

They also need to be trained on building cultural intelligence as a part of their pre-deployment course. A lack of cultural sensitivity can result in biased perceptions and judgments which can ultimately impact the effectiveness of the mission.

5.0 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Interview method was used for the purpose of data collection however no further probing could be done because of time constraints on the part of participants. Male participants were not included in the study. Future research can take into consideration the male perceptions of women peacekeepers.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The current study aimed to explore the challenges faced by deployed women peacekeepers which impact their effective integration into the peacekeeping operations and to propose strategies to deal with them. In line with the objectives of the study, the main challenges faced by the women peacekeepers were found to be family responsibilities, motherhood, cultural sensitivity, sexual exploitation and abuse, gender role as determinant of success and occupational tasks. The study also proposes certain strategies to counter the challenges faced by women peacekeepers.

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Socio-Cultural Change in Gender and Military Contexts: Measuring Values

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ABSTRACT

Women have been pursuing careers within the combat arms in the Canadian military since 1989, and today comprise 4.8 percent of combat arms officers and 4.1 percent of combat non-commissioned soldiers. In the wake of widespread assumptions regarding the achievement of gender integration by 1999, along with the demonstrated contributions of women to Canada's operations in Afghanistan, limited research has been conducted to determine the extent to which espoused socio-cultural change has been achieved, and in particular within the combat arms. However, in response to a recent external review on sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, coupled with calls for increasing the participation of women in international operations, the Chief of the Defence Staff has placed high priority on socio-cultural change. Canada's most recent Defence Policy, Strong Secure Engaged, reinforces this priority, including the imperative of mitigating harmful and inappropriate behaviours, integrating gender-based analysis into defence policy and planning, and integrating gender perspectives into military operations. While numerous institutional initiatives have been established to achieve these objectives, the measurement and monitoring of culture and culture change is a persistent challenge. This paper provides an overview of culture change initiatives within the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, followed by discussion of measures and methodologies for measuring, monitoring and assessing socio-cultural change objectives, including support for shifting cultural narratives and inclusions, such as the integration of gender perspectives into operations, increasing the representation of women, or the introduction of women into previously all-male roles. Finally, the paper presents the results of a values study recently conducted in the Canadian Army, thus highlighting important considerations for understanding culture change, including readiness of personnel to adapt to social change. The discussion concludes with observations regarding the relevance and importance of the measurement and monitoring of values as a key dimension of assessing readiness for, and progress toward, socio-cultural change in military context, including the participation of women in combat roles.

1.0 BACKGROUND

Women have served continuously in the Canadian military since 1951,ⁱ and today represent over 15 percent of military personnel serving in virtually all roles in both the Regular and Reserve Forces. This includes 4.8 percent of combat arms officers, and 4.1 percent of combat arms non-commissioned soldiers.ⁱⁱ In response to several key milestones, including the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (RCSWC) in 1970, the proclamation of the *Canadian Human Rights Act* in 1978, a 1989 Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) ruling directing the full integration of women into all military environments and roles, and most recently the federal *Employment Equity Act*, the representation of women has increased in the midst of military negotiation of human rights and equality agendas, appropriate roles for women, and recruitment challenges. Prior to the direction of the CHRT in 1999, resistance to the full participation of women in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), and in combat occupations in particular, was driven by cultural beliefs and assumptions that the participation of women would undermine the values of the masculine heterosexual warrior identity, a vocational orientation to military service, and operational effectiveness.ⁱⁱⁱ Even as military leadership recognized that the military needed the contribution of women in

support roles, they sought scientific evidence related to the culture and cohesion of all-male heterosexual combat teams to resist legislation that would force the inclusion of women in combat occupations.^{iv} Immediately following the 1989 Tribunal decision, CAF leadership adopted a gender neutral posture that sought to satisfy the minimum requirements, thereby limiting the impact of the ruling on CAF culture. Gender differences were minimized, though gender-related challenges prevailed.^v By 2000, change was visible in terms of gender neutral policy development, but limited evidence was brought to bear on claims of full integration and culture change. Institutional strategy to employ women was largely subsumed within broader diversity objectives,^{vi} and assumptions regarding the gender neutral character of the Canadian military.^{vii} Canada's commitment to Afghanistan followed, and from 2004 to 2011, Canadian military women contributed in virtually all roles, including combat.

In 2010, Canada launched its initial National Action Plan (CNAP) on Women, Peace, and Security. This provided a framework for a whole-of-government approach to support Canadian and UN efforts to implement UNSCR Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security^{viii} and reinforcing the significance of the contributions of women to defence and security. A second and expanded version of the CNAP was published in 2016 to include implementation and monitoring plans for partner defence and security organizations in Canada.^{ix} As these related initiatives developed, the Canadian military also engaged in several key activities to address the employment of women including: Operation (Op) HONOUR in a bid to eliminate sexual misconduct;^x recruitment and retention initiatives to increase the representation of women to 25 percent by 2026;^{xi} and the publication of the CAF diversity strategy to address gender and diversity. In 2016, the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) also issued direction for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (and subsequent women, peace and security SCRs), and Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) into planning and operations.^{xii} Canada's 2017 Defence Policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged* further reinforced the priority of these objectives,^{xiii} along with a call for culture change to promote a culture of leadership, respect and honour, in support of these and related priorities identified in the policy.

This paper provides an overview of social science strategies and indicators that have been used to inform socio-cultural change in CAF context along with a summary of the challenges associated with monitoring culture change. Noting particular gaps in tracking the least visible influences on culture – assumptions expressed by attitudes, and values – the paper presents results of a recent measure of attitudes in the Canadian Army. Further, this discussion claims that the integration of a gender-based perspective in the development of a socio-cultural measurement and assessment strategy is critical to ensuring the effective integration of women, from human rights and operational effectiveness perspectives, and across military roles, including combat.

2.0 INTRODUCTION: CULTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

Culture and culture change is a persistent challenge for military leaders and, as such, has been addressed in various ways in recent decades. Important socio-cultural challenges experienced by the Canadian military throughout the 1990s included those related to sexual harassment, diversity, gender integration, and in particular the integration of women into combat arms occupations.^{xiv} Experience with these and other challenges contributed to the development and widespread inculcation of leadership doctrine to establish understanding of the relationship between military leadership and culture.^{xv} Largely based on Edgar Schein's framework of leadership and culture,^{xvi} Quinn's competing values framework^{xvii} and values-based leadership, this leadership doctrine provides a model for understanding military culture, as well as guidance for leading change. Notwithstanding the significant contribution of these documents to the training, development, and socialization of military members and leaders, the social challenges facing the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) today demand further understanding of cultural dynamics, including successful approaches to culture change. Past research has well established the importance of measuring and monitoring of change initiatives^{xviii}; however, there is little evidence-based research that includes, for example, measures or assessment of successful culture change initiatives, the sustainment of culture change objectives over time,

or the identification and assessment of key enablers (and barriers to) of culture change, including attitudes and values.

2.1 Military Culture and Culture Change

Canadian military personnel research includes monitoring and assessing cultural dimensions, and in particular the experiences of women, members of visible minority status, and Indigenous members. Recently, in response to the external review on sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, a comprehensive research plan was implemented with three objectives related to better understanding culture: determine the scope of sexual misconduct in the CAF; identify key risks and barriers to a healthy and inclusive CAF culture; and identify key cultural dynamics and behaviours that enable positive cultural change, including effective response to inappropriate sex- and gender-based behaviours in the CAF.^{xx} The objectives of this research reflect the assumptions that military cultures and subcultures are socially constructed to meet the challenges of national defence and security;^{xx} culture is inherently linked to a foundation of values, beliefs, attitudes, and leadership practices that highly influence member and organizational behaviours;^{xxi} and that the intersections of gender with authority, power, race/ethnicity, sexuality, and religion are essential considerations when conducting organizational analysis.^{xxii} The research proposal also considers different, frequently contradictory, analyses of military culture, with a view toward better understanding the role of gender in shaping military member behaviours and experiences.^{xxiii}

The theoretical frameworks that address military culture often rely upon interpretations of the military as a “total institution”; that is, “a world with its own unique set of norms of behaviour and dress, its own judicial system, and its own rights and responsibilities”,^{xxiv} and in which the military regulates almost every aspect of a member’s life.^{xxv} From gender-based perspectives, analysts have further claimed that military culture is dominated by military masculinity that draws heavily on traditional conceptions of male warriors, and is reinforced through enduring cultural processes. In her gender analysis of UN peacekeepers, for example, Sandra Whitworth highlights the role of military myths in defining what is natural, normal, and legitimate within a framework of military masculinity – courage and endurance; physical and psychological strength; rationality; toughness; obedience; discipline; and patriotism.^{xxvi} Historically, military leadership has been strongly committed to assumptions regarding operational effectiveness that were dependent upon all-male heterosexual teams, and in combat domains in particular. Researchers have conceptualized this dichotomy as the combat masculine warrior paradigm^{xxvii} or warrior paradigm,^{xxviii} emphasizing key assumptions about the essential differences between women and men in society.

Importantly, conceptions and assumptions related to a masculine warrior paradigm have been linked to behaviours in the military. In their study of bullying in the Austrian military, for example, Koeszegi, Zedlacher and Hudribusch confirmed that women were significantly more vulnerable to bullying, and further linked such workplace aggression to hypermasculinity manifested by high power orientation and adherence to traditional (masculine) military norms which are often expressed in socialization processes in training centers and combat units.^{xxix} Clare Duncanson seeks understanding of such dominant conceptions of hypermasculinity, using the concept of hegemonic masculinity. She claims that hegemonic masculinity reinforces a gender dichotomy through dominant conceptions of masculinity. Citing several theorists of masculinity,^{xxx} she emphasizes that hegemonic masculinities dominate through consent, not force, of groups of individuals, typically heterosexual men, whether explicit or implied, to maintain status quo membership and power.^{xxxi} She further challenges conceptions of the persistence of masculine power through dominant masculinities, instead positing that hegemonic masculinity holds an important key for social change in military context.^{xxxii} Importantly, Duncanson posits that movement away from hegemonic masculinity happens when the dominant power of the group is diminished by lack of consent, to the extent that there is no longer a dominant masculine perspective.^{xxxiii} Instead, social space is created for alternative and diverse expressions of masculinity and femininity.

In contrast, defence analysts emphasize the significant change that military institutions have realized in

recent decades, relying on the representation of women in greater proportions and expanding roles as evidence of social change. Since the end of the Cold War, military scholars have also assumed a shift from masculine military culture and ethos to military cultures that reflect androgynous/gender neutral ethos and structure with greater permeability with civilian society. For example, military sociologist Charles Moskos includes movement from partial to full gender integration as an important component of the military shift from a late modern (1945-1990) to a post-modern (post-1990/ColdWar) institution.^{xxxiv} From a Canadian perspective, military sociologist Franklin Pinch claims that the CAF has become “more democratized, liberalized, civilianized, and individualized”.^{xxxv} Furthermore, according to Pinch, “the presence of women is affecting, and will continue to affect, the units’ masculine cultural norms”.^{xxxvi} However, in spite of the removal of restrictions in 1992, on the military service of homosexuals, in 2000 Pinch noted, for example, that “culture-based homophobia persists below the surface, especially among males within some segments of the combat arms”.^{xxxvii} This is just one example of the persistent gap between formal policy and physical presence of difference, and culture in practice even as social change takes place within the military.

2.2 Gender, Culture and Change in the Canadian Military Context

Throughout the periods of socio-cultural shifts discussed above, the CAF has developed and implemented numerous measures to support related institutional challenges. Since at least the early 1990s, for example, social science research has been conducted to measure the effectiveness of harassment policies, with a particular focus on measuring experience of harassment in the CAF through voluntary, anonymous surveys. Administered to random stratified samples of military members, these surveys asked participants to respond based on their experiences in the 12 months immediately preceding the survey. In 2012, 1.5 percent of all CAF members overall (women and men) reported experience of sexual harassment.^{xxxviii} The analysis of surveys, administered in 1992, 1998, and 2012, indicate that the proportion of women who report such experiences has declined at each measurement point (26, 14^{xxxix} and nine percent,^{xl} respectively); however, military women remain much more likely than military men to report experience of sexual harassment.^{xli} To better understand the role of gender on the experiences of military members and military culture, recent efforts have also been made to monitor experiences beyond the traditional sex and gender binaries. The survey of sexual misconduct in the CAF administered in 2016, for example, revealed that LGBT (lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender) Regular Force members were more likely than non-LGBT members to report experience of sexual assault (5.6% compared with 1.6%). Furthermore, LGBT men were three times more likely to report experience of sexual assault than non-LGBT men (3.5% versus 1.1%), and LGBT women were almost twice as likely as LGBT women to report experience of sexual assault (8.8% compared with 4.5%).^{xlii}

Canadian military policy has shifted to reflect social values and legislation, yet integrated analysis of the values, attitudes, perceptions, experiences and behaviours of military members to support claims of socio-cultural change is limited. Figure 1 below provides a gender-based conceptualization of the changes that have been claimed by the CAF in recent decades in moving from a male heterosexual warrior paradigm characterizing military values until 1989, to the various gender-based imperatives that the CAF is facing today. The concepts presented in Figure 1 and discussed below represent different phases or dimensions of culture and, in particular, military culture from a gender-based perspective, over recent decades as efforts waxed and waned in meeting socio-cultural objectives demanded by Canadian society. The extent to which the phases and concept discussed below influence gender dynamics within military culture today, however, is not well understood. Essentialism, gender neutral, gender integration, and the integration of gender perspectives are each discussed below, and in particular as they have been represented within Canadian military culture.

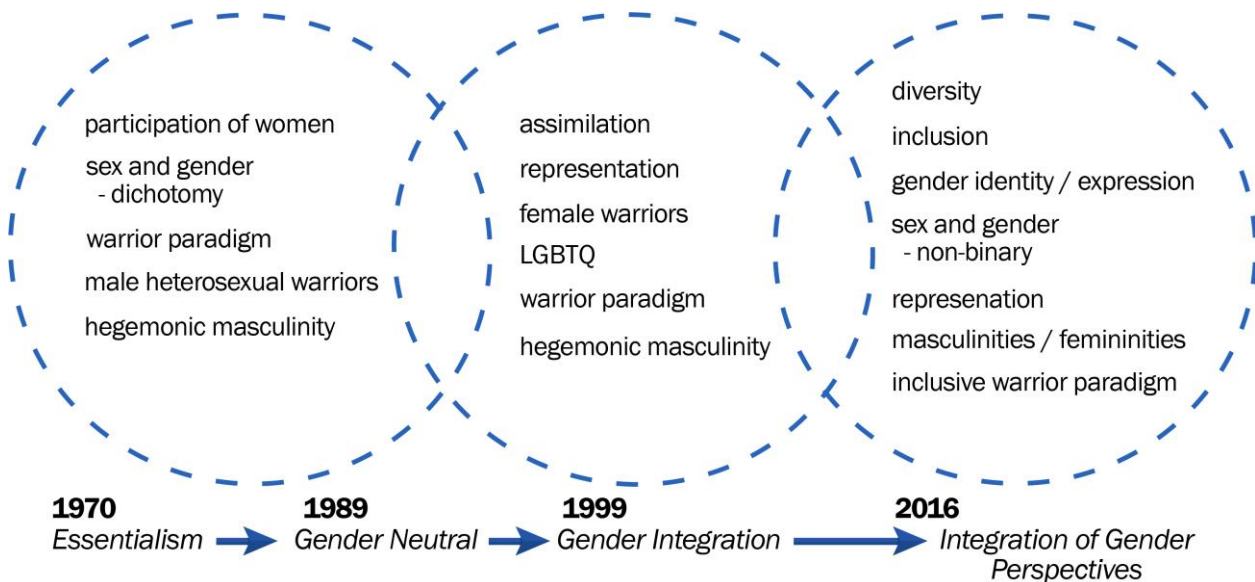


Figure 1: Negotiating sex and gender dichotomies to inclusion

2.2.1 Essentialism

Within sex- and gender-based context, essentialism represents the fixed and permanent quality of distinctions based on sex (male and female). According to gender historian Joan Scott, gender was introduced into research as a way to challenge essentialism as a male/female dichotomy and to “insist on the fundamentally social quality of distinctions based on sex.”^{xliii} Use of the term gender also places focus on how conceptions of gender develop within socio-cultural contexts that formally and informally perpetuate assumptions, expectations and understandings of men and women, in relation to one another.^{xliv}

In a military context, this translates into assumptions that have guided institutional decision-making regarding appropriate roles for women, and associated conceptions of the physical, psychological, and cognitive attributes of women as a homogenous female category, unique from a homogenous male category. Notably, this dichotomy assumes that males, as a homogenous category, are aggressive, embody physical prowess and are capable of expressing a “will to kill”. Women, on the other hand, are natural nurturers and embody physical and psychological weakness. By extension, Judith Hicks Stiehm dubbed this as a dichotomous and limiting construction of men as Protectors and women as Protected.^{xlv}

2.2.2 Gender neutral

Gender neutral is an adjective which indicates suitability for, or applicability to, both women and men, and, therefore, cannot be attributed to one or the other. Gender neutral language, for example, includes terms such as flight attendant to replace steward and stewardess. Gender neutral policy and processes are intended to result in equitable impacts and opportunities for women and men, yet differential and unintended impacts can become evident once the policy is applied to different women and men. In the case of traditionally male-dominated domains in particular, claims to gender neutrality are critiqued as camouflage for policies and practices made by and for the participation of dominant male members while claiming equitable relevance and opportunity for all women and men.^{xlvi}

The 1989 CHRT directed the CAF to “fully integrate” women into all environments and roles in the following 10-year timeframe,^{xlvii} thus marking an important turning point to on the employment of women in the Canadian military. The military was forced to formally abandon dichotomous assumptions regarding the

unique suitability of women and men for particular roles. The CHRT stated that operational effectiveness was a gender neutral concept. In response, the CAF acted quickly to adopt policies to formally establish the military as a gender neutral organization, including the removal of all formal restrictions to the employment of women (with the exception of submarine service as supported by the CHRT), and to declare that women shared unlimited liability and equal opportunity with men in the military; that is, women became eligible and immediately liable for operational deployments and roles from which they were previously restricted, yet the impacts of such policies had significantly different impacts on women and men.^{xlvi}

2.2.3 Gender integration

As noted above, the immediate response to the CHRT was the adoption of gender neutral policy in claiming equal opportunity for women in the CAF. As the CAF struggled to both understand and meet the expectations of the CHRT throughout the 1990s, the language also shifted, from the integration of women to gender integration. In the lead up to the 1999 decision of the CHRT, this language shift was intended to reflect the inclusion of women and men in the integration process with a focus on mixed-gender cohesion and the equality of women and men rather than differences.^{xlix} By the late 1990s, the CAF settled on gender integration “as the process of facilitating the full participation of women in the CF [Canadian Forces]”,¹ a definition which embedded gender as language referring to the equality of women in the CAF rather than a gender inclusive concept. The term gender also became useful in organizational contexts as it sounds more neutral and objective than women and thus dissociated itself from what has been broadly understood as the strident politics of feminism.^{li} Importantly, the shifts in policy and language also generated faulty assumptions within the CAF that gender integration was equivalent to gender neutral. Furthermore, the institutional position of gender neutral and gender integration, adopted by the CAF in the lead up to the 1999 10-year deadline imposed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission for achieving the full integration of women in the CAF, has been criticized as a process reflecting assimilation rather than integration. In 1999, the CHRT determined that the CAF had not achieved full gender integration as directed; however, also expressed confidence that CAF leadership was committed to continued effort toward the objective of full gender integration.^{lii}

Assimilation reflects a process which places disproportionate focus on representation and numbers; that is, including different bodies, without facilitating inclusion or integration of differences. Indeed, the “body-counting” approach has been challenged as it does not account for the social construction of gender, masculinity, and femininity^{liii} across multiple intersections of difference. As an alternative to that proposed by the CAF in 1999, gender integration can be understood as “the absence of workplace barriers that differentially impact individuals based on sex or gender, as well as the inclusion of thoughts, ideas, and concerns from all individuals in the workplace, regardless of identity characteristics”.^{liv} In other words, gender integration acknowledges and facilitates inclusion of differences among women and men, with predominant focus on achieving human rights and equality objectives.

2.2.4 Integrating gender perspectives

In recent years, research regarding gender and diversity in organizations has shifted from a discussion of integration to one of inclusion. Reinforcing the limitations of body-counting, the objective, according to organizational analyst and diversity trainer Stephen Robbins, is to move from diversity as an exercise of counting; that is, an exercised focused on representation without inclusion, to objectives focused on inclusion to make diversity count.^{lv} From this perspective, inclusion places predominant focus on human rights and equality outcomes. In an analysis of the integration of gender perspectives in military organizations and operations, Robert Egnell, Petter Hojem and Hannes Berts^{lvi} describe the integration of gender perspectives as the assessment of gender-based differences of women and men reflected in their social roles and interactions, in the distribution of power and the access to resources, and further note that implementing a gender perspective is done by adapting action following a gender analysis.^{lvii} Finally, this perspective places emphasis on the implementation of gender perspectives as an issue of operational effectiveness,

distinguishing it from internal issues of gender equality and women's rights within organizations.^{lviii} This paper further argues that the integration of gender perspectives can be enhanced through focused training and development of women and men, but also claims that gender integration is an important foundation, but not sufficient condition, for the development of individual and organizational capacity to integrate gender perspectives. Finally, analysis of socio-cultural dynamics and influences in military culture is an important step in understanding the broader relationship between gender diversity, equality, inclusion, and integration of gender perspectives, as well as identifying strategies for mitigating barriers to equality such as harassment and sexual misconduct.

3.0 MONITORING AND MEASURING SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE

Culture can be understood through analysis of different layers and the relationships among them. For the purpose of analysis, Schein identifies three levels of culture: artifacts, including visible structures, processes and behaviours; espoused beliefs and values, including ideologies and rationalizations (both congruent and contradictory to other artifacts and behaviours); and basic underlying assumptions, including taken-for-granted values and beliefs that influence thought patterns and behaviours.^{lix} Culture can be defined and understood through observation and analysis of different cultural dynamics including: observed behaviours, rituals and celebrations, espoused values, group norms, rules of the game, shared meanings, cultural narratives, etc. However, as noted by Schein, even the most visible are difficult to analyze and connect to related cultural dynamics and influences. In the CAF context, those assumptions, values and beliefs that are the least visible, yet potentially important influences on behaviour, are the least likely to be subject to analysis. Rather, and as discussed below, behaviours, opinions, and experiences of CAF members, such as reported experiences of harassment, are the most likely to undergo analysis.

As noted above, there is considerable divergence between those analyses of military culture that assume gender neutral approaches and outcomes, and those that posit significant influence of culture dominated by masculine values. While the culture change literature predominantly assumes the former, socio-cultural change related to sex- and gender-based behaviours and inclusion is a key area of focus for many military organizations. Although increasing gender diversity has played a key role within military culture for several decades, and currently represents an important imperative in operational context, little evidence is available to determine the extent to which gender integration has been achieved and what is actually required to facilitate identified objectives such as the mitigation of sexual misconduct and the integration of gender perspectives in operations. Analysis of all layers and dimensions of culture is an important strategy for revealing the scope and distribution of behaviours across units and sub-cultures of the military, as well as the underlying influences on those behaviours. Such knowledge can provide important input to culture change strategy.

When coupled with changing concepts of gender, as illustrated in Figure 1 above, it is plausible to claim that these measures of behaviour align with changing cultural conceptions regarding the roles and values of the contributions of gender diversity in the military, including women in the military. However, further analysis is required to determine the extent to which such indicators align with other dimensions of culture, and how this knowledge can contribute to current culture change objectives. Military personnel research is conducted in Canada to provide expert advice and assistance to policy and strategy related to a broad range of issues related to military personnel. The discussion below provides an overview of various dimensions of analyses that have been conducted or are currently ongoing, with a view toward identification and coordination of various conceptual layers of cultural analysis. For the purpose of this exercise, particular focus is placed on research related to sexual harassment, sexual misconduct and the relationship of these behaviours and experiences to culture.

3.1 Strategic Objectives and Institutional Activity

In keeping with Schein's layers of culture, outputs include those artifacts that are the most visible and accessible within military culture. Espoused beliefs and values, for example, can be readily accessed through doctrinal publications and senior leadership communication. Personnel research supports socio-cultural objectives through the development and implementation of Performance Measurement Frameworks (PMFs).^{lx} The PMF is an important mechanism for reporting on performance alignment with DND/CAF strategic objectives such as those identified through the *Employment Equity Act*, Op HONOUR, SSE, and ultimately reported to Government of Canada through the Departmental Results Framework. PMFs include strategic objectives supported by real time measures of outputs (e.g. number of female recruits), efficiencies (e.g. resource usage such as person years), and outcomes (e.g. measure of desired effect).^{lxi} Military personnel surveys, such as the Your Say Survey and the Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the CAF, also contribute to performance measures through the collection of real-time outcomes and measures such as self-reported perceptions, opinions, and experiences. However, the extent to which the espoused beliefs and values that support strategic objectives are congruent with observed behaviour and fundamental beliefs of leaders and members of the organization is more difficult to determine.

3.2 Institutional Objectives and Behaviour

Data and analysis regarding quantitative indicators derived from numerous surveys in the CAF provide valuable measures of CAF outputs, several of which contribute to PMF measures, through self-reported perceptions, opinions, and experiences. These outputs, along with other performance indicators included within a PMF, when re-administered over time, provide measures of organizational response to policy and leadership direction. Within the context of sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, for example, the CAF Your Say Survey provides real time measures of the impact of Op HONOUR initiatives on members' understanding of sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, awareness/experience with Sexual Misconduct Response Centres,^{lxii} and opinions regarding the climate established by leadership in supporting Op HONOUR objectives.^{lxiii}

Importantly, survey administration is routinely employed to capture a range of experiences and behaviours related to sexual harassment and sexual misconduct. The Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the CAF (SSMCAF) includes behaviours and responses related to sexual assault, sexual harassment, and discrimination based on sex, sexual orientation and gender identity. The CAF Workplace Harassment Survey captures experiences of personal harassment, sexual harassment, abuse of authority and hazing.^{lxiv} The Defence Workplace Well-Being Survey assesses psychosocial workplace factors, including psychological safety and civility/respect, and their impact on health and engagement among military and civilian personnel. Finally, qualitative analysis is also frequently conducted to access and understand the experiences of individuals and groups of individuals within the CAF. Qualitative research related to sexual harassment and sexual misconduct is being conducted to better understand the impact of the socialization process on member perceptions and behaviours, as well as to gain greater insight into the experiences, perceptions, beliefs and preparedness of leaders in mitigating and responding to sexual harassment and sexual misconduct in the CAF.

3.3 Attitudes and Values

As noted by culture researchers as well as social psychologists who study the relationship between attitudes and behaviours, values and attitudes represent important taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs which influence behavior. Attitudes and values in practice are difficult to access and assess; however, given the importance of attitudinal influence on behavior, it is important to consider what attitudes are, how they function, and why they might be resistant to change.

3.3.1 Understanding Attitudes

Attitudes are “exhibited in our beliefs, feelings or expressions of our intended behavior,” thus fitting well within a tripartite model of attitudes comprised of a cognitive component, an affective or emotional component, and a behavioural component.^{lxv} Well known attitude theorist and researcher Daniel Katz described attitudes as functional, and further notes that Katz and others have built upon this initial claim to identify several functions served by attitudes:

- a knowledge function (indicating an individual’s need to categorize the world in a meaningful and consistent fashion);
- an instrumental function (reflecting an attempt to maximize rewards and minimize punishments, as expressed in behaviouristic learning theory approaches);
- an ego-defensive function (for coping with anxieties generated by intrapsychic conflict, or providing protection against acknowledging basic truths about oneself);
- a value-expressive function (indicating an expression of values which are important to one’s self-concept, or attitudes which are appropriate to one’s personal values); and
- a social adjustment function (used to mediate one’s interpersonal relations).^{lxvi}

As researchers have tried to understand why some attitudes are considered more resistant to change than others, several explanations have been considered:

- important attitudes are associated with other attitudes, beliefs and values, thus exerting a stabilizing force;
- attitudes are normally accompanied by large stores of relevant knowledge which can be used to counter-argue discrepant information;
- people tend to associate with others who share similar attitudes, thus attitudes are reinforced through social norms; and
- individuals are more likely to commit themselves in public to attitudes they consider important, which increases their resistance to changing the attitude^{lxvii}

Given the gender neutral assumptions that inform military culture today, initiatives related to gender are often resisted, as are suggestions that cultural practices reflect gender-based dynamics. While the roots of social resistance can vary, it is likely that resistance to moving from gender neutral to gender integrated perspectives can be explained, at least in part, by attitudes. In their analysis of resistance to gender mainstreaming and gender training Lombardo and Mergaert^{lxviii} suggest, for example, that learning about gender: can make individuals feel exposed to criticism and suggestions that there is a need to change their own personal identity; can evoke beliefs that an agenda of gender transformation is a feminist agenda based on ideological and emotional arguments, rather than those that are rational, scientific, or legal; or generate negative reactions based on learner belief that the teacher/gender instructor is trying to manipulate them in some way.^{lxix} In her study of gender, folklore and military culture, Carol Burke notes that that above all, “basic training demands a suppression of individual difference and exacts conformity in all outward actions and dress,”^{lxx} and that recruits undergo a process of “deindividuation”, suspension of the self, and an uncritical investment in group identity.^{lxxi} Claims to gender-based differences further challenge traditional military strategy to socialize new members. These observations underscore the need to better understand why certain attitudes are resistant to new perspectives, including how they align with institutional effort to inculcate values which promote the inclusion of gender-based diversity and the integration of gender perspectives, as well as initiatives to mitigate sexual harassment and sexual misconduct in the military.

Notwithstanding the relative paucity of values and attitudes-based research, there are some exceptions,

including surveys administered within the CAF to better understand attitudes and opinions regarding gender integration and diversity. In 1997, a Mixed Gender Opinion Questionnaire (MGOQ) was developed and administered across the Canadian military to assess member attitudes and perceptions toward the integration of women,^{lxxii} and was re-administered along with a Diversity Climate Scale in 2005.^{lxxiii} While top-line results of the MGOQ indicate, for example, that in 1997, 47 percent of CAF members agreed that women should be employed in all military occupations, comparative analysis has not been conducted to determine how related perceptions and attitudes toward the employment of women in the military, from 1998 to 2005, have shifted.^{lxxiv} More recently, a 15-item survey was administered in 2017 to determine CAF member attitudes toward sexual orientation and gender identity. The results overall were positive, yet provided information for strategy to increase acceptance. For example, 86 percent of respondents indicated that they would be comfortable with a gay or lesbian boss, but fewer (75 percent) would be comfortable with a transgender boss.^{lxxv} Research has not been conducted on values across the CAF, however, the discussion below provides a summary of values research that has been conducted in the Canadian Army.

3.3.2 Measuring Values: Canadian Army Climate, Culture and Socio-Cultural Survey, 2004

In 2004, socio-cultural research was conducted across the Regular and Reserve components of the Canadian Army (CA) in partnership with Environics Canada. The study found that many members of the CA have a strong emotional attachment, a feeling of identification to the values, goals and achievements of the organization; overall, the analysis concludes that the CA has a strong culture.^{lxxvi} Overall, the analysis further confirmed that the values and attitudes of members of the CA, compare favourably with those represented within Canadian society;^{lxxvii} however, in comparison to Canadian society, soldiers also tended to be more likely to represent conservative values and attitudes with regard to gender and minorities.^{lxxviii} Although more adaptable to the complexities of life, soldiers were generally more comfortable with structure than the average Canadian.^{lxxix} Not surprisingly, those in combat units expressed the most negative attitudes toward women in combat roles, and soldiers at the lower rank levels were the most negative regarding several issues, including the integration of women.^{lxxx} Overall, and similar to an assessment of ethical values in DND in 2000, this study highlighted some serious gaps between espoused ethos and values, and soldier responses regarding organizational rules, organizational fairness, and self-interested behaviour.^{lxxxi}

3.3.3 Measuring Values: Canadian Army Values Profile Study, 2015

The Canadian Army Values study was originally intended to replicate the 2004 socio-cultural survey described above; however, direct comparative analysis was not possible due to the proprietary nature of the data collected by the industry partner, Environics Canada.^{lxxxii} Notwithstanding this limitation, the study offers a baseline for future research within the context of the CA. The CA values study is based on Schwartz's Theory of Values (TOV),^{lxxxiii} a widely adopted model of personal values. This model defines values as guiding principles in people's lives.^{lxxxiv} According to Bardi and Schwartz, values convey motivations, which may or may not translate into actual behaviours depending on their importance and also depending on situational, including normative, pressures.^{lxxxv} Schwartz's taxonomy depicts personal values in a two-dimensional space through 10 interrelated values types and their associated motivational goals,^{lxxxvi} and it can be used to distinguish between several broad groupings:^{lxxxvii} self-transcendence (or compassionate)^{lxxxviii} values and self-enhancement (or selfish) values; and between openness to change (openness) and conservation values. According to Blackmore, Sanderson and Hawkins,^{lxxxix} these groupings contribute to understanding the influential role of values on individuals' concerns, such as diversity and equality, as well as on civic, political, and social behaviours.^{xc}

The analysis of data collected across the Regular and Reserve components of the CA^{xc} resulted in three personal values profiles, labelled based on their scores on the ten values types represented in the survey:

- The largest group of CA members (42 percent of the sample), the Protection group, showed average-to-high levels of Selfish and Conservations values and low-to-average levels of

Compassionate and Openness values;

- The Others-Oriented group (32 percent of the sample), had the highest levels of Conservation and Compassionate values and the lowest levels of Selfish and Openness values; and
- The smallest group (26 percent of the sample), the Self-Oriented group, generally showed the highest levels of Selfish and Openness values and, for the most part, the lowest levels of Conservation and Compassionate values.^{xcii}

Given its high levels of Compassionate values and its low levels of Selfish values, the Others-Oriented group appears to be the most aligned with the core Canadian values of inclusion, compassion, and respect for diversity and human rights, as well as with the Canadian ideals of diversity, respect, and inclusion, all reinforced with Canada's 2017 Defence Policy.^{xciii} The analysis also indicated that several demographic characteristics increased the odds of belonging to the Others-Oriented group:^{xciv}

- Being a female;
- Being 35 and older;
- Being a senior non-commissioned member or a junior officer; and
- Having a military occupation other than combat arms.

Further, the data indicated greater/lesser likelihood of belonging to the Others-Oriented group, depending upon the CA Division to which the respondent reported;^{xcv} that is, there seemed to be evidence of different values expressions and priorities across CA sub-organizations. The data did not reveal any differences between the Regular and Reserve respondents to the survey.

Overall, when the personal values of young CA members were compared to young Canadians of a similar age, the data suggests more similarities than differences. This finding is congruent with the findings of the 2004 socio-cultural study;^{xcvi} however, the 2004 study also indicated that relative to young Canadians, young CA members had higher levels of Conservation values reflecting compliance, interpersonal conformity, and social security. Importantly, the 2015 values study confirms particular challenges regarding the extent to which soldiers in the combat arms are open to difference, including gender diversity. Given the lower levels of propensity toward change among young soldiers, junior non-commissioned soldiers, and combat arms soldiers, this values study provides an example of values-based insights that can provide important information to guide institutional strategy in meeting defence objectives.

4.0 SUMMARY

Although the experiences of women and men in the Canadian military, including the combat arms, reflect positive change since CHRT decision in 1989, there is a paucity of data and analysis to support leaders in better understanding how to focus culture change efforts in ways that are most effective for new members, as well as the overall effectiveness of mixed gender combat arms teams and units. It is clear that there are both similarities and differences between young civilians and young CA members, which have been attributed to both self-selection into the military and particular military roles,^{xcvii} as well as socialization within the military.^{xcviii} What accounts for differences among sub-organizations in the military is not clear, but that knowledge is an important piece of strategy as the CAF moves forward. CAF objectives to increase the representation of women cannot be realized without significant increase in the proportions of women who participate in male dominated occupations and roles, including the combat arms.

In tracing claims to socio-cultural change in the Canadian military, this paper suggests that conceptions and expressions of masculinity and femininity coupled with gender balance and unit climate driven by leadership are important influences on the extent to which sub-cultures across the military are open and supportive of gender diversity and human rights. This discussion further suggests that the socio-cultural change efforts identified in Canada's Defence Policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged* can be strengthened through consistent measurement and assessment of multiple dimensions of culture, including short and medium term indicators of change such as representation, rates of incidence of harmful behaviours such as harassment and assault, and longer term monitoring of gender-based values and attitudes which can influence member behaviours and experiences, and ultimately operational effectiveness. Values-based research, such as the 2004 and 2015 CA studies presented in this paper, is an important piece of such a research strategy.

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Architecting a Paradigm Shift to Further Invest in Human Capital

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ABSTRACT

Scope of the Contribution

Common themes and discussion points consistently emerge in the dialogue on gender integration. This includes beliefs about women that are not always based on facts, but instead are misconceptions (i.e. pregnancy, sexual harassment/assault, physiological characteristics, etc.). This is prevalent not only in the military but also in the civilian sector, and can lead to cultural, behavioral, and group dynamic changes in the organization. Such misconceptions and generalizations can have a negative impact on women who currently reside in an organization and/or for the introduction of women into a previously male only organization. Additionally, the idea of equal opportunity for underrepresented populations can lead to concerns about lowering requirements/standards and not hiring the best capable and most qualified candidates because often leadership feels compelled and/or pressured to rush the process and meet quotas/goals from higher. This means that job requirements and standards (i.e. knowledge, skills, abilities, and attributes) must be clearly established, and then the assessment and selection criteria must be clearly aligned with the job requirements, and be gender neutral. Finally, the idea of reaching a critical mass is not always a realistic goal in certain organizations that simply do not have a large population of interested women to pull from, and then to further search for fully qualified and capable women inside the already small interested population does not happen immediately, but takes time and patience.

The U.S. Military has taken several steps towards opening previously closed positions and organizations to women. However, in many instances, women have been creatively attached and/or working directly in ground combat units for quite some time. Women have been assigned to U.S. Army Special Operations Command (USASOC), attached to combat units in direct operational roles, and serving as members of Civil Affairs (CA) and Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) career fields for over 20 years. In 2013, the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff initiated the Women in Service Review (WISR) Implementation Plan directing each Military Service and U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) to develop plans to integrate women into previously closed units and positions. Subsequently, USASOC examined all special operations jobs and assessed how to further integrate women into Army Special Operations Forces (ARSOF). Furthermore, the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) conducted a job analysis for USASOC to determine the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attributes essential to effective performance for the Special Forces and Ranger Regiment Soldier. USASOC validated all assessment and selection programs that were closed to females, with a focus on ensuring that the tasks and standards were operationally relevant, current, and gender neutral. USASOC's policy continues to be - to accept all qualified applicants while selecting the "best and most qualified" candidate, regardless of gender.

USASOC additionally participated in and conducted several studies with third party research and academic organizations (i.e. RAND, OPM, Kansas University, JSOU, NPS, etc.) to better understand integrating women into the organization, and developed a deliberate integration process beginning with select senior leader positions. None of the research or studies provided a defensible argument to request an exception to policy to keep the current closed occupations and positions closed. The studies did not predict that the integration of females into ARSOF would lead to a decrease in mission success or readiness. None of the

studies identified insurmountable concerns to the integration of females in previously closed occupations and positions, but they did indicate that implementation would be complex due to U.S. Army guidance and maintaining team cohesion. Studies indicated that the opposition over integration would decline over time. There were several leadership challenges identified in the studies and most of the concerns required action at all levels. Lastly, the studies recommended consideration of the specific unit of assignment and the cultural norms of the area of operation to ensure the highest level of effectiveness for the individual and unit.

Relevance to the meeting - Measurement of operational and combat effectiveness; Group dynamics, conformity, and cohesion; Practical integration; Critical mass

1.0 BACKGROUND

In recent decades, the United States Department of Defense (DoD) made progress toward integrating women into the Armed Forces. In 1975, DoD opened the military service academies to women with the first women Academy graduates commissioned in 1980. Congress repealed laws prohibiting women from serving in air and naval combat units in the early 1990s. Additionally, in 1993 DoD allowed women to fly fighter jets and serve on combat ships at sea. In 1994, DoD also issued the Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule (DGCAR), which prohibited women from being assigned to units whose primary mission was engaging in direct ground combat.

This rule stood for two decades, until January 2013, when the Secretary of Defense rescinded it and opened 110,000 positions to women. This allowed women across the Armed Forces to make progress (i.e. Army Ranger School, serve on submarines, etc.). However, 220,000 combat positions remained closed. The decision for opening these remaining positions was pushed to the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Air Force, and the Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM). They had three years to study the issue of opening all positions to women and request any exemptions, if deemed necessary. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff would review these requests, and the Secretary of Defense would decide whether to approve them. This period of study expired in January 2016 and examined questions about the operational and political risks involved in integrating women into combat positions.

Although the military services collaborated throughout the period of study, Army Special Operations Forces (ARSOF) efforts and decisions regarding integration were separate and distinct from the Army. The USASOC Implementation Plan was a deliberate, phased approach that outlined decision points for the assignment of senior/experienced female Soldiers to support the expansion of opportunities in ARSOF enabler positions, the opening of positions/units that are closed to women, and developing a future female capability in support of Special Operation Forces (SOF) core activities. USASOC collaborated with the Army and USSOCOM on the physical standards validation for SFAS (Special Forces Assessment and Selection) and RASP (Ranger Assessment and Selection Program), and with USSOCOM's social science studies focused on SOF specific issues. In addition, USASOC worked closely with the Army to ensure that the plan supported the Chief of Staff of the Army's (CSA) Strategic Priority to build adaptive leaders for a complex world. USASOC remains committed to maintaining the highest standards and delivering the most qualified ARSOF operators to the Nation, regardless of gender.

2.0 REQUIREMENTS AND OPERATIONAL STANDARDS

In 2013, the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff initiated the Women in Service Review (WISR) Implementation Plan directing each Military Service and USSOCOM to develop plans to integrate women into previously closed units and positions. Subsequently, USASOC examined all

special operations jobs and assessed how to further integrate women into ARSOF to support the ARSOF 2022 priority – Invest in Human Capital. The end state is enhanced capability. This review consisted of three efforts: (1) expanding opportunities in ARSOF enabler positions, (2) examining the positions that were closed to women, and (3) developing a future female capability in support of SOF core activities.

USASOC worked from the point of view that “we have it right, and have had it right” as reflected in the performance of the force for the past 30+ years. USASOC continually looks for refinements that will serve to enhance the success already realized with the standards and methods. Physical Standards must be clearly established, enforced, and operationally relevant. This ensures that the right Soldiers are assessed, selected, and qualified throughout their career regardless of gender.

2.1 Job Analysis

USASOC’s initial work on the standards validation in 2013, resulted in identifying the need to conduct an updated job analysis for SF and the 75th Ranger Regiment. The job analysis was not to make a decision about integrating women, it was simply to update the outdated job analysis that the Army Research Institute (ARI) last completed in 1996. A job analysis is the foundation for all assessment and selection decisions. It is crucial to fully understand the nature of that job in order to identify the best person for the job. A job analysis provides a way to develop this understanding by examining the tasks performed in a job, the competencies required to perform those tasks, and the connection between the tasks and competencies. Information from a job analysis can also be used to determine job requirements, training needs, position classification and grade levels, and inform other personnel actions, such as promotions and performance appraisals. As a result, USASOC solicited third party support from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to conduct two job analyses: one for the Career Management Field (CMF) 18 Special Forces, and a second for the 75th Ranger Regiment. The purpose of these two analyses was to examine role requirements and expectations that are common for any CMF 18 SF Soldier, and, separately, any member of the 75th Ranger Regiment. Additionally, they determined the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attributes essential to effective performance for Special Forces and 75th Ranger Regiment Soldiers. The job analysis also incorporated recent changes to doctrine and the application of SOF in the current operational environment.

OPM psychologists worked with USASOC personnel to conduct the analyses using a multi-method approach composed of three primary steps, each conducted for both SF and the Ranger Regiment: (1) document review, (2) interviews, focus groups, and observations, and (3) quantitative survey administration and analysis. The overall goal was to provide current information on the tasks involved in job performance and the individual attributes (competencies) needed for successful performance.

First, OPM psychologists reviewed job-related documentation and existing academic and military literature to develop draft lists of job information for both CMF 18 and 75th Ranger Regiment. For SF, examples included Command Briefs, Commissioned Officer and NCO Development Guides, MOS-specific course documents, Operational Handbooks and Field Manuals, Doctrinal Publications (ADP 3-05), Tactical Human Optimization, Rapid Rehabilitation and Reconditioning (THOR3) information, a previous SF job analysis, and ARSOF 2022 documents. For the 75th Ranger Regiment, examples included the Ranger Handbook, the Blue Book Standards, Ranger Charters, the Ranger Creed, and ARSOF 2022 documents. The draft lists contained information on job tasks (duties that SF Soldiers or Rangers may perform), competencies (personal attributes that make SF Soldiers or Rangers successful), and contextual aspects of the environment in which SF Soldiers or Rangers operate.

Second, OPM psychologists conducted site visits at each Special Forces Group and at several U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School (USAJFKSWCS) facilities. Psychologists also visited each Ranger Battalion and observed components of the RASP 1 and 2 programs. Site visits took place between August and November 2014. During the site visits, psychologists observed training exercises,

conducted focus groups with Soldiers, and interviewed experienced Soldiers. Groups of subject-matter experts (SMEs; current Soldiers, leadership, training personnel) at these sites were convened to review and revise the draft task, physical ability, and competency lists to ensure the materials fully and accurately covered the CMF 18 or the Ranger Regiment.

Third, OPM developed and administered command-wide Job Analysis Surveys separately for current CMF 18 Special Forces and 75th Ranger Regiment Soldiers. Surveys were administered between December 2014 and January 2015. In completing the Job Analysis Survey, Soldiers indicated whether they performed sets of tasks, along with providing judgments about the importance of work duties and operation in various types of environmental conditions. Soldiers also judged the importance of a series of competencies, including physical abilities. For general competencies, Soldiers provided input on the degree to which each personal attribute is required at entry to the SF or Ranger career. For technical competencies, Soldiers indicated the level of proficiency needed to perform successfully at their rank.

Responses from over 3,000 SF Soldiers were included in the analyses. OPM used the data gathered in the site visits and surveys to identify the tasks and competencies critical to successful performance as an SF Operator. The analysis of primary focus was to examine results across all CMF 18 respondents. –Responses from over 1,500 Rangers were included in the analyses. As with SF, OPM used the data to identify critical tasks and competencies for Rangers, and the primary analysis was across all participating Rangers.

OPM found that the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attributes essential to effective performance for SF and Ranger Regiment Soldiers have changed little from 1996 to 2015. Task and competency information such as that collected in this study provide the foundation for a variety of integrated human resources initiatives including competency-based assessment and selection strategies, training curricula, performance management, and career development plans. For example, the current job analyses identified selection competencies that could be used in USAJFKSWCS's continual evaluation and support of SFAS, the 75th Ranger Regiment's RASP, and other assessments. The results also identified developmental competencies that could be used as a basis for assessing any skill gaps in the current SF organizations or Ranger Regiment force, and for carrying out training initiatives related to these occupations. Although the results focused on analyses across all respondents, analyses were also conducted by unit, rank, and MOS (SF only) to provide USASOC with additional information for use in other aspects of the organization.

2.2 Validation of Assessment and Selection Standards

As directed from DoD, USASOC validated all ARSOF assessment and selection programs that were closed to women. This included Special Forces Assessment and Selection (SFAS) and the Ranger Assessment and Selection Program (RASP). The focus was on ensuring that tasks and standards are operationally relevant, current, and gender neutral. Under the direction of USSOCOM, the Naval Health and Research Center (NHRC) built on OPM's job analysis and USASOC's standards validation, in order to analyze and validate all SOF training and occupational standards. Specific to USASOC, NHRC validated the physical standards for the SFAS and the RASP. The NHRC researchers concluded that the physical standards are fair and reflective of the job demands. Additionally, they found that Special Forces training and occupational standards are operationally relevant and gender neutral. These standards are used in all phases of SF assessment, selection, training, and operational qualification. The NHRC researchers also found that the 75th Ranger Regiment RASP training and occupational standards are operationally relevant and gender neutral. These standards are used in all phases of RASP. Both standards validation processes verified that SOF standards are occupationally specific, operationally relevant, and gender-neutral.

2.3 Measurement of Operational Effectiveness

There is a distinction between the U.S. Army and U.S. Army Special Operations as far as the focus on entry-

level and operational standards, especially as approached through the standards validation process. Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) was the lead for the Army on establishing legitimate, defensible standards. Additionally, TRADOC was charged with identifying institutional and cultural factors that would impact integration, assist in policy and execution guidance, and communications. TRADOC focused on evaluating and establishing clear tasks, conditions, and initial entry level standards based on occupational specific requirements. They identified 31 total physical tasks with 7 common to multiple occupations, and then high demand tasks specific to Infantry, Armor, Field Artillery, and Engineers (generally those occupations considered combat arms). They converted these tasks into a predictive (physical) test to administer to initial entry Soldiers to best determine their capability for specific occupations and then assign them accordingly. An important distinction here between Army initial entry and SOF initial entry standards is that the Army established minimum physical standards required to enter a specific occupation (i.e. Infantry, Armor, Aviation, etc.). If a Soldier meets these minimum standards, then they can serve in that occupation. Conversely, the SOF standards are set and applicants must meet these requirements to be considered for the assessment and selection course. If there are more applicants than positions, then the applicants are ranked from 1 to n and the best and most qualified candidates are selected for assessment and selection. Those that successfully complete the assessment and selection course are then rank ordered again and move forward to the qualification course in rank order based on the number of positions available. Additionally, SOF standards were already naturally gender-normed (those occupations that were closed to women only had one standard, not male and female standards) and in some cases, most are age-normed as well. After completing the job analysis and standards validation process, all SOF standards were updated to be age and gender-normed, if they were not already. Physical Standards are clearly established, enforced, and operationally relevant. In addition to physical standards, SOF units look for the “total person” and seek applicants with the ability to reason through a problem, make decisions logically, work in teams, and respond to unexpected circumstances. These qualities are considered combat-relevant and incorporated throughout assessment and training courses. This ensures that the right Soldiers are assessed, selected, and qualified throughout their career regardless of gender.

3.0 IMPLEMENTATION

The United States Army Special Forces (SF) and Army Special Operations attribute their lineage to the Operational Groups and Jedburgh Teams of the Office of Strategic Services Branch (OSS) during World War II. As part of the ARSOF linkage with Unconventional Warfare (UW) and the OSS, women served as operators conducting UW within the OSS. Women were recruited, trained and employed as UW operators. One legendary example is Virginia Hall, whose language skills and regional knowledge along with further training in intelligence collection, communications, and demolition enabled her to provide exceptional support to the resistance effort.

In support of both ARSOF 2022 and the USSOCOM CDR's future female capability initiative, USASOC developed an enduring female capability organic to ARSOF formations. ARSOF requires an enduring force that utilizes females to more effectively operate within ALL aspects of a population, as determined by the mission and operational objectives of the Geographic Combatant Commands (GCCs) across the spectrum of SOF core activities and operations. This is a separate effort from the integration of women into SF and Ranger Regiment.

On 24 January 2013, the Secretary of Defense (SECDEF) rescinded the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule (DGCAR) and directed the integration of women NLT 1 January 2016, into currently closed units and positions after the development and implementation of validated, gender-neutral occupational standards. This decision allowed women to potentially serve in units whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground. Based on the CSA's and the USSOCOM Commander's guidance, the USASOC Commanding General (CG) approved an implementation plan in March 2013 that provided an

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explicit timeline for evaluating the opening of military occupational specialties (MOSs), units, and positions to women as part of the USSOCOM implementation plan.

Women serving in Army Special Operations is not new. Women have been assigned to USASOC, attached to combat units in direct operational roles, and serving as members of Civil Affairs (CA) and Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) career fields for nearly 30 years. The female population currently serving in CA and PSYOPS is comparable to the percentage of women serving in the Active Army. All have served exceptionally well, living up to the exemplary standard set by early SOF pioneers.

Prior to the SECDEF rescinding the 1994 DGCAR in January 2013, the CSA approved USASOC's request to open helicopter pilot and crew chief positions (CMF 15 Aviation positions) in the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment (SOAR) in December 2012. Congress subsequently approved USASOC's notification request to open all CMF 15 Aviation positions throughout the entire Army Special Operations Aviation Command (ARSOAC) on 19 June 2013. The opening of Aviation positions within the 160th SOAR to women was a natural transition, as these Aviation occupations were already open to women in the Conventional Army. Female aviators and crew chiefs may now apply, assess, and be selected for assignment into the 160th SOAR. USASOAC recruits, assesses, selects and trains highly qualified aviation experts to execute the Nation's most complex missions. All applicants must meet stringent standards to serve in the 160th SOAR and there have been no changes to the current assessment process, or to the training and qualification standards, and there are no quotas. USASOC does not provide specific and/or individual results of women applying, assessing, and selected, as is the case with all personnel attending assessment and selection courses.

In January 2015, Congress approved SOF notification packets to open all remaining positions to women in the in Army Special Operations Aviation units (except 13F as it was still a closed MOS at that time) and opened enabler positions to women in SF Command, the JFK Special Warfare Center and School, and also Tactical PSYOP Teams. Therefore, the ONLY remaining positions closed to women in ARSOF units in 2015 were due to (1) Career Field and (2) Position. "Career field" refers to CMF 18 (Special Forces), 11 series (Infantry), 13F (Field Artillery), and 12Bs (Engineers), which were tied to the Army's decisions on 11 series, 13Fs, and 12Bs. "Position" refers to positions that were coded "male only" due to an Additional Skill Identifier (ASI), such as Ranger positions indicated with a "V" coding. These closed positions existed in the 75th Ranger Regiment, Ranger coded positions throughout ARSOF, and Special Forces Companies.

Finally, the DoD Implementation Policy of 2015 opened ground combat occupations and any remaining units previously closed to women service members. As a result, those "career fields" and "positions" described previously as closed were finally opened to women. Women service members can now apply to initial entry SF programs and to serve in the 75th Ranger Regiment.

As can be expected, the number of women applicants who have volunteered and applied for SOF training is small. As of the April 2018 USSOCOM Report on Progress of Integrating Women, three enlisted women began the SF assessment and selection process and none progressed beyond the initial assessment and indoctrination phase. Two women were selected on the Officer Selection board to attend SFAS. No women service members have successfully completed the entry level SF qualification and training program. However, three women began the 75th Ranger Regiment RASP, with two women successfully completing it, and then selected to positions within the Regiment.

For some additional perspective, the 2018 report shows that there are only 2% (1665 of 77,019) of eligible male Soldiers who applied to enlisted SF positions. For those enlisted positions, 81% (1350 of 1665) of the men who applied were selected to attend SFAS. There are only 0.0003% (2 of 5,439) of eligible enlisted female Soldiers who applied to enlisted SF positions. For those enlisted positions, 50% (1 of 2) of the women who applied were selected to attend SFAS. For officers, 20% (811 of 4044) of eligible males

applied and 35% (287 of 811) were assessed in SFAS. For female officers, 3% (2 of 75) of the women who applied were selected to attend SFAS. In SFAS, the attrition rate for men was 50% and the top three causes of attrition (in order) were failure to meet course standards, injury, and drop on request (DOR). For women, attrition was 100% and the cause was failure to meet course standards. Following successful completion of SFAS, Soldiers return for the Special Forces Qualification Course (SFQC) which lasts just over a year. The attrition rate in SFQC was 45% and the top three causes (in order) were failure to meet course standards, DOR, and injury. Upon completion, Soldiers are then designated as a CMF 18 Special Forces Soldier and assigned to SF units.

RASP has similar trends but has different entry points for Soldiers to apply to assess and subsequently join the organization. Enlisted Soldier can enter through a Ranger School contract, attend basic training, then the preparation course for RASP (Pre-RASP), and finally RASP 1 (if they pass Pre-RASP). The second route is enlisted Soldiers in basic training (without a Ranger School contract) can apply to attend RASP. The third route is Soldiers in-service (enlisted and officers) can apply to attend RASP and upon successful completion be reassigned to the 75th Ranger Regiment. RASP is divided into two separate courses based on rank and a previous assignment to the 75th Ranger Regiment. Junior enlisted Soldiers attend RASP I and it currently holds a 53% attrition rate with causes of attrition being DOR, failure to meet course standards, and injury. RASP II is for NCOs and officers with the current attrition rates of 31% and 25% respectively. Causes of attrition for the NCOs was failure to meet course standards, elimination by end of course board, and injury. Causes of attrition for the officers were elimination by end of course board, injury, and failure to meet course standards. One junior enlisted female Soldier attended RASP I, but she did not meet the course standards. Five female in-service Soldiers applied for RASP, one was selected to attend RASP II, and that one female passed RASP II, and was assigned to a position in the 75th Ranger Regiment.

Although separate from Special Operations, it is important to note that 24 women have completed the Army's Ranger School since it opened in April 2015 as part of a limited test program with 19 women, and then officially opened in September 2015 after the first two women graduated from Ranger School (from the original group of 19 who started in the test program). Attrition rates have remained the same at Ranger School, meaning attrition rates have not decreased to potentially indicate a lowering of standards. This is significant because many Soldiers who earn an Army Ranger Tab subsequently apply for SOF level training programs and do well.

Critical Mass: Opening everything to the entire population translates to a larger pool of eligible applicants who can compete for positions, and then potentially be selected for elite assignments/units if they can meet the standards, especially since including women would double the potential pool of candidates. Discounting half of the population's talents and skills is just not a good business practice, especially since only 1% of the U.S. population has the propensity and eligibility to serve in the military.

Studies indicated for a variety of reasons that only a small number of women would compete for the newly opened combat positions initially. This is not surprising because current female service members surveyed expressed that they were generally happy with their current occupation and/or were too senior to make a career change. Additionally, some would have been interested in previously closed jobs/units if they were open during their initial entry into the military. Other factors that cause women to be hesitant to join include concerns over long term career path options, family planning, tokenism, and balancing a dual military/career/income household (The majority of female Soldiers who are married, are married to another service members or someone who also works). The idea of reaching a critical mass is not always a realistic goal in certain organizations that simply do not have a large population of interested women to pull from, and then to further search for fully qualified and capable women inside the already small interested population does not happen immediately, but takes time and patience to see progress.

Keeping these concerns in mind, and balancing the small population of females expected to pursue SOF, USASOC planned to leverage already established ARSOF females (i.e. CA, PSYOP, support roles) as

instructors/cadre for initial entry SOF training and qualification programs as women began entering SFAS and RASP. There is also potential to expand this to SOF females from other countries as instructors/cadre. Additionally, USASOC has ensured equal opportunity for all Soldiers in occupations based on vacant positions and potential for performance, over the concern for trying to keep "female buddy teams" together. Finally, USASOC minimized media exposure from the beginning of implementation and when applicable, provided equal opportunity to press engagements for both genders.

Even when you examine other occupations and career fields outside the military that have been traditionally dominated by men, the progress is slow for the number of women to meet the number of men. Reaching a critical mass is not a realistic goal and that is okay. Leaders can take action to help clear a path for an increase in the number of women, but not at the expense of changing job requirements and lowering standards simply to meet a quota.

USASOC integrates all Soldiers into units following the normal process, and that has not changed since opening everything to women. Women have been assigned who are already established and experienced in their occupation (i.e. officers, senior NCOs, etc.). This initially began with the support occupation positions in SF units, where senior, more experienced women were assigned on a normal assignment cycle to the unit. There was no additional Sexual Harassment/Assault Response and Prevention Program (SHARP) Training. Integration will be a long-term process – not an event. Education, leadership, training, and evaluation programs at all levels are critical to the success of expanding opportunities for women and improving ARSOF for the future.

4.0 TEAM DYNAMICS AND COHESION: STUDY RESULTS

In conjunction with USSOCOM, USASOC conducted several studies with third party research and academic organizations to better understand integrating women into the organization, and develop a deliberate integration process. The research examined the standards, opportunities, effects, and implementation issues inherent in opening combat positions to women.

The studies validated occupational standards, and also examined unit cohesion, propensity to serve, attrition/success/injury rates, equipment sizing/supply/facility modifications, and potential effects on living arrangements and sexual assault. These studies included surveys and focus groups of the force (male and female). They also examined comparable organizations, such as other military organizations and elite mixed-gender teams operating in close quarters (NASA, law enforcement, three letter agencies, etc.). Aside from the physical standards validation studies mentioned previously, USSOCOM and USASOC sponsored social science studies that examined the following topics:

Joint Special Operations University (JSOU): Can SOF mixed-gender elite teams effectively accomplish SOF mission objectives?

Kansas University (KU): Examine the potential benefits and barriers to integrating women into SF ODAs, specifically focused on task cohesion and unit cohesion.

RAND Corporation: Implication of gender integration on unit cohesion (SOF)

Naval Post Graduate School (NPS): Can mixed-gender SF ODA Teams effectively accomplish SF mission objectives?

USSOCOM and USASOC manage human capital very well, and have extensive experience with mixed-gender teams. Therefore, the studies focused on outcomes, and what would maximize team effectiveness.

These studies yielded insights beyond gender integration and increased understanding of the physical and physiological demands on service members and the cultural currents that influence unit cohesion and morale.

SOF teams function as more than just a sum of their parts/people. Even before integrating women, building a 10-man SF team with the right people, the right skills, and the right personality mix to get the job done is challenging. There is an art and a science behind it. Understanding the impact of task and unit cohesion and why and how these teams work is critical to not only creating a highly effective team, but also how best to integrate women on such teams. The idea of equal opportunity for underrepresented populations (in this case, women) can lead to concerns about lowering requirements/standards and not hiring the best capable and most qualified candidates. Although there are physiological differences between men and women, this means that job requirements and standards must be clearly established, and then the assessment and selection criteria must be aligned with the job requirements, and be gender neutral. This is the best way to combat these concerns. Teams work best when they know and trust that everyone is capable of doing their job. This is task cohesion; a team that performs well together. The more difficult part of cohesion, regardless of the idea of gender integration, is building team cohesion in SOF teams. This is not the same as task cohesion - the team's collective ability to do its job and each person's ability to do their specific role, but it is about building a team that has a deep sense of connection and belonging to the team and mission. None of the studies indicated insurmountable concerns to the integration of women into SOF teams, but that implementation would be complex initially to maintain team cohesion, and opposition would decline over time.

There has long been concern about why women are underrepresented in a variety of career fields. The military is not unique to this issue, but it happens to have certain physical job requirements, and men and women have physiological differences. Fire fighters, law enforcement, three-letter agencies, and other occupations are similar. However, when physical standards are clearly established and enforced, then the right people who are fully qualified will be selected for such occupations, regardless of gender. Aside from concerns about physical standards and women's abilities to perform such standard, other issues surface and potentially create a gender bias. Similar to underrepresentation of women in the military, another area of underrepresentation is in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math), which has led to calls for increased mentoring, better family leave policies, and workshops designed to teach women how to negotiate like men. A vast literature of sociology research shows women in science are deemed to be inferior to men and are evaluated as less capable when performing similar or even identical work. This systemic devaluation of women results in an array of real consequences: shorter, less praise-worthy letters of recommendation; fewer research grants, awards, and invitations to speak at conferences; and lower citation rates for their research. Such wide-ranging devaluation of women's work makes it harder for them to progress in the field.

Leah Boustan, an economist at Princeton University, suggests that the problem can be understood in terms of the "pollution theory of discrimination." The theory, articulated in 2002 by Claudia Goldin, an economist at Harvard University, says that because women are perceived as lower-skill, their presence reduces the prestige of a previously all-male profession. Men thus intimidate female colleagues to keep them out of the profession and protect its prestige. Often this type of behavior is attributed to misinformation and bias.

A variety of other studies and research conducted have shown that misinformation and bias exists, and are probably the greatest challenges that organizations face when trying to integrate and/or increase an underrepresented population. In the military, misinformation often surrounds concerns about female personal hygiene needs, which were recently debunked when Ranger School opened to women. Additionally, concerns about pregnancy, sexual harassment, and sexual assault are all dictated by DoD and Army policies but misinformation continuously rise to the top of discussions rather than facts. For example, pregnancy and having a non-deployable status should not be a more concerning issue than the assortment of other reasons that makes a male Soldier non-deployable. Less than 1% of the female force in the Army is ever not available for duty due to pregnancy. In fact, when examining primarily male operational units, the non-deployable rate is approximately 14.5% due to medical (i.e. surgery, injuries, motorcycle accidents, etc.),

administrative (i.e. parental leave, vacation, etc.), and/or legal reasons. Even when examining these simple facts and data, survey data showed that these non-deployable reasons are somehow seen as more acceptable than pregnancy.

While sexual harassment is certainly an issue, there is a need to examine in depth gender bias. Systemic sexism and racism exist within the confines of science, government, and the military. Those women who do make it to the upper ranks have often been told that they were only given that job, award, opportunity, promotion, etc. because they are women. This implies that the organization is admitting less-deserving women simply to increase their numbers. But in fact, studies show that many of the women must be more capable than the men, to even have advanced in the occupation. Therefore, in addition to misinformation, there is the challenge of bias, which includes implicit bias and unconscious bias. These terms describe broadly similar biases and are often used interchangeably. However, they do have slightly different meanings. Unconscious bias refers to a bias that a person is unaware of, and happens automatically. It is triggered by our brain making quick judgments and assessments of people and situations, influenced by a person's background, cultural environment and personal experiences. Implicit bias refers to the same area, but questions the level to which these biases are unconscious especially after being made increasingly aware of them. Leadership is responsible for recognizing and acknowledging biases and finding ways to mitigate their impact on the organization, behaviour, and decisions.

5.0 CONCLUSION

The U.S. Military has taken several steps towards opening previously closed positions and organizations to women. Common themes and discussion points consistently emerge in the dialogue on gender integration. This includes beliefs about women that are not always based on facts, but instead are based on misinformation, misconceptions, and/or bias. This is prevalent not only in the military but also in the civilian sector. Such misconceptions and generalizations can have a negative impact on women who currently reside in an organization and/or for the introduction of women into a previously male only organization. Acknowledging and understanding that bias is often a result of a culture or societal norms, and that it will exist within the organization regardless of the changes leaders try to make is important. It is up to leaders to recognize this and take the necessary steps to shape the cultural, behavioral, and group dynamic changes in the organization.

None of the research or studies provided a defensible argument to request an exception to policy to keep the certain ARSOF occupations and positions closed. As a result, USSOCOM and USASOC recommended opening all positions in their components to women. They concluded that some concerns about integration, such as unit morale, cohesion, and readiness, were either unlikely to materialize or could be addressed in implementation. The studies did not predict that the integration of females into ARSOF would lead to a decrease in mission success or readiness. None of the studies identified insurmountable concerns to the integration of females in previously closed occupations and positions, but they did indicate that implementation would be complex due to U.S. Army guidance and maintaining team cohesion. Studies indicated that the opposition over integration would decline over time. There were several leadership challenges identified in the studies and most of the concerns required action at all levels. Lastly, the studies recommended consideration of the specific unit of assignment and the cultural norms of the area of operation to ensure the highest level of effectiveness for the individual and unit.

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