

**Soldiering in the Canadian Forces:
How and Why Gender Counts!**

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2011

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Women have advanced in Canada since the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1970. This Commission made 167 recommendations to redress documented inequalities and inequities. Six pertained directly to the full integration of women in the Canadian Forces (CF). In 1989, a Canadian Human Rights Tribunal instructed the CF to “fully integrate” women. Removing these gender-specific barriers in the Canadian military signifies a major step toward equality. Few nations allow women unrestricted access to all military occupations. Since these legislative policies, the evidence indicates that the CF has been slow and unsuccessful to meet demands (Davis, 1994; Chapstick, Farley, Wild, & Parkes, 2005; O’Hara, 1998a, 1998b; Tanner, 1999). The present study examines the everyday soldiering experiences of Canadian female soldiers as a step toward an increased understanding of gender and the CF.

This research utilises both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitatively, statistics reveal tangible information regarding women’s success (e.g., earnings equality). Qualitatively, the focus rests on the examination of ruling texts and female soldiers’ life experiences as a means to explicate current institutional practices and the culture of soldiering. Using this multi-method comparative approach, the story of women’s integration emerges as varied. Quantitative results show that Non-Commissioned Member (NCM) female soldiers succeed relatively well. Yet, to do soldiering work, women give up on having a family, whereas men can do both. Female soldiers in the Officer class face more challenges; they do not earn as much as their male colleagues, and

unlike them, they also face difficulties in maintaining both military work and family life.

There has been progress, but the military is a governmental body publically controlled, thus, findings reveal insufficient efforts for such an agency. Although the military ideology is underpinned by obedience to orders, the CF did not obey fully the order to integrate women. Given the lengthy delay since the commission, and the moral and legal pressure that followed (human rights decision, employment equity act), the achieved results are mediocre. Such findings do not bode well for women in companies and organisations that do not fall under the employment equity act.

Sommaire

La vie de soldat dans les Forces canadiennes: un point de vue
sexospécifique!

Les femmes ont parcouru beaucoup de chemin depuis la Commission royale d'enquête sur le statut de la femme au Canada qui, en 1970, formulait 167 recommandations visant à corriger des inégalités et iniquités connues. De celles-ci, six portaient plus particulièrement sur l'intégration complète des femmes aux Forces canadiennes. En 1989, un tribunal canadien des droits de la personne ordonnait aux Forces canadiennes de procéder à l'intégration complète des femmes. L'élimination de ces barrières sexospécifiques représente une étape importante dans l'atteinte de l'égalité au sein de l'armée. Peu de nations peuvent se vanter en effet d'offrir aux femmes un accès libre à tous les métiers militaires. Il appert toutefois que les Forces ont peiné, voire échoué, à satisfaire aux exigences de ces politiques législatives (Davis, 1994; Chapstick, Farley, Wild et Parkes, 2005; O'Hara, 1998a, 1998b; Tanner, 1999). La présente étude examine la vie quotidienne de soldates canadiennes afin d'approfondir les questions liées au genre au sein des Forces canadiennes.

Une approche quantitative et qualitative a été privilégiée. D'un point de vue quantitatif, les statistiques fournissent des renseignements matériels sur les avancées réalisées par les femmes (p. ex., l'équité en matière d'emploi). D'un point de vue qualitatif, l'étude des textes des décisions et d'expériences vécues par des soldates permettent de mieux comprendre les pratiques institutionnelles et la culture de l'armée. L'approche comparative et multiméthode permet de dresser

un portrait inégal de l'intégration des femmes. Les résultats quantitatifs montrent que les femmes militaires du rang réussissent relativement bien. Par contre, pour exercer leur métier de soldat, les femmes doivent renoncer à avoir une famille, un choix que les hommes n'ont pas à faire. Pour ce qui est des femmes sous-officières, les défis sont plus nombreux : elles gagnent moins que leurs collègues masculins et, contrairement à ceux-ci, éprouvent des difficultés à équilibrer activités militaires et vie de famille.

Acknowledgements

Many people and organisations played a role in making possible the completion of the various phases constituting this dissertation. Since I started my PhD, I have accumulated a long list and wish to take this opportunity to sincerely thank them all.

First and foremost, I would be remiss if I did not begin by saying how grateful I am to the female soldiers who recounted their military life stories to me. Thank you for agreeing to share your time and stories. Thank you for telling me about the intimate, sad, and happy everyday experiences that comprised your military experience. Without those stories, my dissertation would have been so incomplete. I am deeply indebted to you.

On the military side, I also benefitted from Dr. Cheryl Lamerson and Karen Davis' invaluable help in attaining the military databases that represents my quantitative data. They also facilitated my contacting potential participants to interview. Thank you so much for your generosity.

Next, a special notation goes to Dr. Axel van den Berg for having enticed me into joining the graduate program at McGill University and welcoming me into the program in a positive and supportive fashion. Next, I want to thank Dr. Peta Tancred for inspiring me to follow this path. Peta was my MA supervisor and the first of my three PhD supervisors. Following Peta's retirement, Dr. Suzanne Staggenborg graciously took over the reins of my committee and stayed on until the very end. Dr. Elaine Weiner joined Suzanne as co-supervisor for the last two years of my degree. Elaine played a crucial on-site role, as Suzanne had moved

back to the US. To Elaine, I was a stranger from away, someone she did not know. In spite of this, she agreed to co-supervise me. Given the stage in the program at which I was at, my research was already too far advanced to integrate the emphasis that she might have wished for. Regardless of this fact, she embarked on this journey. Thank you Elaine for your pragmatic approach. I sincerely appreciated it. I also wish to thank Dr. Mike Smith for accepting to guide me through my quantitative inquiry with advice, expertise, and challenging questions. You helped me gain insights into the intricacies of statistical woes. I am grateful to my committee members for their time, hard work, feedback on numerous revisions, and guidance on my overall dissertation: Thank you Suzanne, Elaine, and Mike. Also from the Sociology Department at McGill University, I wish to thank all the support staff who helped me over the years: Erin Henson, Sharon Barqueiro, Franca Cianci, Joanne Terrasi, and Daniela Caucci.

My gratitude also goes to another team, invisible to many, but who played a major role in providing moral support, guidance, advice, feedback, critical thinking and listening skills. The support and help came in many different forms. I will endeavour to thank all... and hope that my memory serves me well now. If I forget someone, somehow, I beg your forgiveness. So here we go: A heartfelt thank you to: Barry Spinner (a true stats genius), Marvin Claybourn, Cindy Letts, Earl Letts, Lynda Ross, Joel Houston, Jonathan Griffith, Sherry Rose, Yvonne Poulin (ma coach formidable), Pierre Petit, Gisèle Poulin, Hélène Poulin, Gilles Versaille, Hélène Lépine, Maurice Poulin, Alice Poulin, Gilles Parizeau, Melissa St. Pierre, Lindsay Walsh, Kristina Hobson, Beverly Brazier (such a generous

woman), Bette Brazier, Freda Burdett, Kerri Gibson, Debbi Chomiak, Jennifer Moore, Jessica McCutcheon, and Heather Roxborough. A special acknowledgement goes to Christiane Maréchal, “traductrice extraordinaire,” and generous friend. I also wish to express my gratitude to a third and smaller team of supporters, distant only in time because their role was at the beginning rather than at the end of my journey as a graduate student. These people helped and sustained me in the early stages. Thank you Mark Wilson, Marjorie Carle, Serge Boudreau, and the late John McKendy (my BA co-supervisor). I also wish to acknowledge the support I received from those who talked with me during the last few miles and shared their dissertation challenges and joys. These individuals always ended on a positive note, and encouraged me to “hang in there.” Thank you Drs. Sylvia Hale, Marilee Reimer (my BA co-supervisor), and Peter MacDonald.

My family also provided a source of constant acceptance and support. I am grateful to you all for our shared past, values, and appreciation for each other that we hold. All this sustained me during my studies and continues to do so. Thank you to my father, (the late) Theodore Gouliquer (I wish you were still here for me to thank you), my mother, Georgette Gouliquer, my siblings, Brian, Nancy, Timmy, Sandra, Wendy, and Michelle, their partners and my nieces and nephews. You have my sincere appreciation.

Finally, I cannot express my gratitude enough for the tireless stream of support and caring I received from my partner, Dr. Carmen Poulin. Thank you for believing in me.

I was fortunate to also receive institutional support that made this dissertation possible. The following agencies deserve acknowledgement: O'Brien Foundation of New Brunswick, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche de Québec, McGill University Internal Research Fund, McGill Centre for Research and Teaching on Women, Defence Women's Advisory Organization, and the Canadian Armed Forces.

I dedicate this dissertation to all of my supporters because without them, it would not have come to fruition.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Women have made many advances in Canadian society over the 20th century with respect to equality (e.g., the removal of formal employment barriers) and equity (e.g., successful court challenges regarding the correction of gender-related salary gaps), especially in the labour force. Although such changes have been gradual, the mobilisation of Canadian women through the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s was a significant driving force behind the changes (Hamilton, 1996). In 1967, this mobilisation resulted in the creation of a Royal Commission to study the status of women in Canada (Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970). The Commission found that Canadian women lacked equality and equity in many areas of life and included 167 recommendations to redress the documented inequalities and inequities. This 1970 report now serves as a baseline against which changes can be measured.

Six of the 167 recommendations made by the Royal Commission pertained directly to the Canadian Armed Forces (CF). They were as follows: 1) that enrolment criteria be standardised, 2) that women and men receive the same pension benefits, 3) that women be allowed to attend Canadian military colleges, 4) that neither marriage, nor 5) pregnancy be a reason to release women from the military, and 6) that all trades and job classifications be opened to women (Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970). In the ensuing ten years, the CF removed the first five institutional barriers identified as potential setbacks for women's employment, contribution, and advancement in the CF. Yet, while

the Royal Commission had called for the opening of all military occupations to women, it took thirty-one years to remove all CF policies blocking women's access to all military trades (DND/CF, 2001). Earlier, a Canadian Human Rights Tribunal decision in 1989 forced the CF to open to women all occupations including the once exclusive male-only military combat roles and occupations (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). However, the Tribunal also recognized that CF submarines could not be physically changed to accommodate women, hence, submarine roles and occupations were only opened to Canadian women in 2001 when new submarines were purchased (DND/CF, 2001). Given that few world powers allow women unrestricted access to all military occupations especially combat (Harries-Jenkins, 2004), the removal of these gender-specific barriers to women's employment in the Canadian military signifies a major step toward equality. In addition to directing the Canadian military to eliminate the combat-related barriers to women's employment, the Human Rights Tribunal ordered the military to "fully integrate" women within the following ten years (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989).

There are some indications, however, that the military has been slow and unsuccessful in meeting this last mandate. For example, Davis (1994) found that in the early 1990s Canadian female soldiers with ten to twenty years of military experience were leaving the military at a consistently higher rate than their male colleagues. They not only gave up a career already well underway but also the pension plan associated with a twenty-year involvement. Tanner (1999) similarly found that during the 1990s, regardless of rank, Canadian women's attrition rates

were higher than those of their male counterparts. Moreover, while there were more senior ranking women in the CF in 1998 than in 1989, their average promotion rates remained lower than those of men (Tanner, 1999). O'Hara (1998a, 1998b) also documented that, despite the Armed Forces' official position of zero-tolerance on sexual harassment, sexual assault accusations plagued the CF. The 2001 Final Report from the Minister's Advisory Board for Gender Integration and Employment Equity in the Canadian Forces, and the 2001 report by the Canadian Forces Ombudsman André Morin (Ombudsman Annual Report, 2001) indicate that, while some progress was made, the integration of women has not been fully achieved and it is experiencing serious recruiting shortfalls for women (Canadian Human Rights Commission—CHRC, 2007). According to these reports, the army combat environment was the most problematic area of the Canadian military. In 2005, a CF study conducted by the army sector indicated a persistence of intolerance among male soldiers toward women and homosexuals (Chapstick, Farley, Wild, & Parkes, 2005). Taken together, these observations suggest that women's integration, as mandated by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal, has not been achieved. Given the CF's increasing involvement in hostile world conflicts (e.g., the Persian Gulf War, Kosovo, and Afghanistan), its emphasis on increasing the size of its army division (DND/CF, 2005, February 23), and the above-noted difficulties integrating women indicate that further research in this area is clearly needed.

The above-cited studies on the Canadian military raise questions regarding

the factors that contribute to women's continued marginalisation within the CF. If the nature of women's marginalisation was better understood, the failure to achieve the integration of women into the CF might also be better understood. It follows, therefore, that research examining the barriers that continue to influence women's participation in the military is required. The present study examines women's soldiering experiences and the gendered composition of the Canadian Armed Forces as a step toward increased understanding of the interaction between gender and the CF.

The research was undertaken from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. Using quantitative methods, I investigated many factors (e.g., education and training) to determine if male and female soldiers had similar career successes. Then, using qualitative methods, I focussed on female soldiers' everyday life experiences as a way to explicate the role of institutional influences (e.g., practices and culture) on women's integration. Specifically, I explored the institutional influences affecting the women who work in the Canadian military. In particular, I paid close attention to the interaction between social institutions and gender, and how women experienced living and working in such a hyper-masculine and male-dominated milieu. The quantitative data provided tangible information regarding women's achievement in this milieu and helped locate the narratives. Women's experiential narratives shed light on the CF culture that a quantitative inquiry alone could not achieve. By using this multi-method comparative approach, I gained further insights into women's integration into the CF.

Much has been written about the gender of organisations, and women in non-traditional work (e.g., Acker, 1990, 1992, 2006; Davies, 1996; Williams, 1989; Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Reskin, 2000; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Tharenou, 1999), and gender and militaries (e.g., Howes & Stevenson, 1993; Katzenstein, 1998; Weinstein & White, 1996). The main focus of the literature on gender and militaries, however, has been on the United States (US) and the continued discrimination against female soldiers (e.g., exclusion from combat roles and harassment) (Harrell, Beckett, & Chen, 2002). Although Canada and the US are close neighbours, their state employment practices and policies, and military histories differ significantly (Morton, 1999). In comparison to US-based research on its military, recent independent scholarship on women in the Canadian Forces is more limited (e.g., Chenier, 1984; Dundas, 2000; Kovitz, 2000; Prentice et al., 1996; Winslow & Dunn, 2002). Although there have been relevant studies conducted internally by the CF (Davis, 1997; Lamerson, 1989a, 1989b; Tanner, 1999), access to the reports is often difficult for reasons of national security. This dissertation, therefore, represents an effort to augment the academic and publicly accessible scholarly literature on women in non-traditional roles, specifically women in the Canadian military.

The remainder of this chapter provides a short history of women and the Canadian Armed Forces. I conclude the chapter with a statement of the theoretical importance of this research and an outline of the chapters that follow.

Historical Synopsis

Women have served in various capacities within the Canadian military for

more than 100 years. Historically, as in other countries, they were employed predominately in nursing roles. For example, women were recruited as nursing sisters in 1885 to take part in the North West Rebellion (Robinson, 1985; Women's Progress, 2005, January 21). In 1899, they were again recruited for the South African Boer War, and subsequently, in 1901, the Canadian Army Nursing Service was established (Chenier, 1984). During both World Wars, women were employed in great numbers in the nursing profession.

During World War I, women served exclusively in the role of nurse: “the majority served overseas in hospitals, on board hospital ships in several theatres of war, and in combat zones with field ambulance units” (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). Although Canadian women never served in any official capacity other than as nurses in this war, they performed their duties in combat zones. In addition, women in Canada also trained and organised into paramilitary groups, providing a ready reserve of trained military labour; however, this resource was never needed for the war effort (Chenier, 1984).

In World War II, approximately 5,000 women served as nursing sisters and in near-combat situations (Dundas, 2000; Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). This time, however, an additional 40,000 women entered a variety of other military occupations traditionally reserved for men (Chenier, 1984). In addition and for the first time, they served in all three traditional military branches (e.g., Army, Air Force, and Navy). Women were organised into separate parallel military units: The Canadian Women’s Army Corps, the Royal Canadian Air Force Women’s Division, and the Women’s Royal Canadian Naval

Service (Davis, 1996; Dundas, 2000). Although this was the first time women were incorporated into the Canadian military, they were institutionally segregated and subordinate to the all-male military hierarchy (Dundas, 2000). In other words, women entered traditional male roles such as drivers, parachute riggers, and airframe mechanics; consequently, the traditional sexual division of labour remained intact (Prentice, et al., 1996). For example, of the 6,000 women serving in the Army Corps, 62% worked in administration as clerks.

In the post-WWII era, the Canadian military downsized by demobilising many troops, but more women than men were sent home. All three of the women's units were disbanded (Pierson, 1986), and by 1950, women's numbers had been reduced to fewer than 100 (Dundas, 2000). Those who survived the cutbacks were nurses. With the onset of the Korean conflict (1950-53), the need for women's services re-emerged, and all three women's units were reinstated (Simpson, Toole, & Player, 1979). Despite the fact that the units were not disbanded following the Korean conflict, women's numbers were reduced again, and a cap was placed on the total number of women allowed to serve in the Canadian military (Dundas, 2000). Moreover, the military did not attempt to maintain this minimal level of women's involvement. For example, the number of women in the Air Force was capped at 2,500, but by 1955, only 530 women were serving (Davis, 1996). In 1965, the Canadian military set an overall "female ceiling" at 1500, an austere 1.5% of the total CF strength (Simpson, et al., 1979; Women's Progress, 2005, January 21). This limitation on women's employment in the Canadian military remained in effect until the Report by the Royal

Commission on the Status of Women was tabled in 1970.

Undeniably, employment for both male and female soldiers is linked to military requirements and the world situation, such as the presence of war and conflict between and within nations. Yet, the historical involvement of Canadian women indicates that they were considered more expendable than men were, and maintaining a significant core of trained female soldiers was deemed unnecessary. Historically, only unmarried women were recruited, and unlike men, they were released from the military if they married. Moreover, pregnancy during service was a criterion for release (Davis, 1996).

As noted above, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women prompted a variety of changes in women's employment opportunities in the 1970s, and this led to an increased involvement of women in the Canadian Armed Forces. Shortly after the tabling of the Commission's Report, the Canadian Forces lifted the restrictions on married and pregnant women's employment (Simpson, et al., 1979). By 1974, the CF had opened 67% of all military occupations to women and determined that the total number of women serving would be increased to between 8,000 and 10,000. However, all roles and occupations involving combat, postings to isolated locations, and all types of sea duty remained closed to women (Public Service Canada, 1974). On the economic equality front, the CF pension act was amended to equalise members' pension contributions and benefits for men and women in 1975 (Simpson et al., 1979).

By 1978, women's representation had increased to 5.9% of the CF (Davis, 1996). In the same year, the Canadian Human Rights Act came into effect, which

further influenced the CF to open its three military colleges to women (Davis, 1996; Women's Progress, 2005, January 21). Following the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and the tabling of the Canadian Forces Charter Task Force on Equality Issues Report in 1986, additional military occupations and units were opened to women. Specifically, women could participate in isolated deployments, such as the six-month deployment to Alert, a military post near the North Pole. The military also allowed women to serve in units that provided support services for primary combat units, such as vehicle repairs and supply deliveries. In 1986, four female soldiers and one male soldier launched a sex discrimination complaint against the Canadian Forces under the Human Rights Act (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). The women claimed that they were refused entry to combat and combat-support employment because they were women, while the male soldier alleged that delegating the combat risk exclusively to men was discriminatory against men. The Canadian Forces did not deny that it was discriminating; rather it argued that discrimination was necessary for military operational effectiveness, and claimed this was a bona fide occupational requirement (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). This rationale for discrimination against a group is sanctioned under Section 14 of the Canadian Human Rights Act. For example, physical ability and fitness still are believed to be bona fide occupational requirements today. Hence, the CF is allowed to discriminate against anyone who is not physically able or fit enough to be a soldier (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2007).

Primary combat roles remained closed to women until the Human Rights decision was rendered in 1989, although the CF commenced trials in 1986 to evaluate the impact of mixed-gender units on operational effectiveness (Lamerson, 1989a, 1989b). In 1989, the trials were prematurely terminated by the Human Rights Tribunal decision, and the Canadian military was directed to eliminate barriers facing women and to fully integrate them within ten years (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). It is clear from the number of years allowed for the integration to occur that the Tribunal recognised the presence of widespread prejudice against women within the military culture (Canadian Human Rights Advocate, 1989). The Tribunal, however, failed to set specific objectives, target dates, or define the meaning of integration. As a result, many years passed before the CF began setting specific goals (Minister's Advisory Board Final Report, 2001). Without a doubt, the Canadian Human Rights Act, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms had a far-reaching impact in further breaking down military employment barriers for women that the Royal Commission identified in 1970 (Bercuson, 1996).

Research indicates, however, that the Canadian military is challenged by incidents of racism, sexism, and heterosexism (Winslow, 1997). An internal study conducted by the Canadian Forces also indicates that anti-woman and anti-homosexual sentiments prevail, particularly in the army division (Chapstick et al., 2005). The racist, heterosexist, and homophobic attitudes documented indicate a lack of openness and acceptance of difference and hence a possible barrier to gender integration. Other observations also suggest that the military is not

welcoming to women. In 1998, Maclean's magazine ran a series of articles discussing numerous cases of sexual assault and harassment in the CF (Branswell 1998; O'Hara, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). In terms of sexual assaults alone, Maclean's reporters identified 27 cases (Lewis, 1998). Through letters to the editor, later editions of Maclean's magazine corroborated the stories of rape and cover-ups, while other CF women countered with reports of no incidents of sexual harassment or assault, and spoke of experiencing a positive military environment. The Maclean's reports, however, represent a journalistic investigation, and hence, it is difficult to know whether the findings are representative of the overall CF reality. Notably, in 1998, the Canadian military opened an Ombudsman office to review and investigate concerns and complaints from current and former Canadian Forces members (DND/CF Ombudsman, 1998). Over the DND/CF Ombudsman's last eight years of existence, it received all manner of complaints. Complaints related directly to gender (e.g., sexual harassment) were originally recorded separately but are now compiled under the general category of 'harassment complaints,' which includes all types of harassment such as abuse of power. Though harassment usually specific to gender is not calculated, the general category, harassment, remains in the top five categories most reported to the DND/CF Ombudsman (Annual Report 2007-2008: National Defence and Canadian Forces Ombudsman, 2007). Collectively, the above findings (journalistic and scientific) indicate that barriers to the integration of women in the Canadian military still exist.

Despite the oppressive nature of the military culture, there has been a

documented increase in the numbers of women in the Canadian Forces over the years. At the time of the Royal Commission (1970), women constituted 1.8% of the Canadian Forces' regular component (Davis, 1996) and they now comprise about 12.4% (Leuprecht, 2004). When looking at women's representation across the institution, however, Tanner (1999) found that they were located predominantly in the lower ranks of the military echelon, and clustered in traditional female domains such as medical roles, dental services, or administration. The Advisory Board on Women in the CF, established in 1990 to monitor women's integration and later reconstituted to the Minister's Advisory Board on Gender Integration and Employment Equity, concluded in its final annual report that the military had failed to integrate women in the combat roles and trades (Final Report, 2001). As noted earlier, the attrition rate for servicewomen has been higher than for men (Davis, 1994; Tanner, 1999). In addition, the number of women interested in and likely to join the military is lower than the eligible, recruitable population of available women (28.3% versus 47.6%; Tanner, 1999). Finally, since the 1990s, the increase in women's numbers has plateaued and remains relatively stable, fluctuating at around 12% (see Leuprecht, 2004 & Tanner, 1999).

More generally, until recently, nations around the world were uninterested either in allowing women to serve or in integrating them into their militaries. While some western countries such as Britain, Israel, and the US have relaxed restrictions and now allow women to serve in some "combat-related" roles (Katz, 2003; Segal, 1993), Canada is one of the few (e.g., Norway) that has removed all

restrictions on women's military employment. Hence, Canadian servicewomen are no longer isolated from or relegated to serve in less dangerous and non-combat positions. Yet, they remain discriminated against.

Investigating the Canadian military is most relevant for a number of reasons. First, the Canadian military operates with the underpinning assumption that it treats all soldiers equally (McGurk, Cotting, Britt, & Adler, 2006). Second, it has been nearly twenty years since it was forced officially to adopt a non-discriminatory position toward women (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal, 1989). Arguably, with an official egalitarian stance and twenty years to change, the integration of female soldiers into the military should be highly advanced. Women should have the same opportunities as their male counterparts and gender discrimination should be at a minimum, or at least greatly reduced from what it was twenty years ago. It also is important to study militaries (e.g., the CF) where women have unfettered access to the non-traditional military roles to gain an understanding of what happens institutionally. In addition, such a study facilitates a better understanding of women's experiences and examines gender (in)equality in a traditionally male dominated context. Hence, the outcome of this research would be useful not only to other domains in Canada where women are not traditionally employed (e.g., mining) but also to other nations' militaries. The military offers an ideal micro and semi-permeable society in which to examine gender questions and evaluate the effectiveness of prescribed social changes such as the integration of women.

Thesis Overview

The thesis is organised as follows. In Chapter 2, I review the literature representing the theoretical underpinning for my research on the gendered hierarchy of the Canadian military. This literature review also informs my methodological choices for the present project and analysis. Chapter 3 outlines the quantitative and qualitative methodology utilised. While Chapter 4 is devoted to the quantitative results, in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, I present the major qualitative findings. Finally in Chapter 9, I present an integrated discussion of both quantitative and qualitative findings, offer some concluding remarks regarding this field of research, the future prospects for women in the Canadian military, and for society's integration of women into non-traditional workplace areas such as the Canadian military.

Chapter 2

Theorizing Gender and Organisations

Despite the great strides forward and achievements that women have made over the past 100 years—including higher education, increased earning-power, more workplace status, etc.—nowhere in the world have they achieved unfettered access to the top jobs or economic parity with men (Charles & Grusky, 2004). Workplace rewards and privileges are allocated unequally according to social differences, such as class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, physical ability, and sex and gender (Lerner, 1993; Walby, 1990). Researchers still consider the social divide between men and women to be the most fundamental to the human race (Epstein, 2007). Within this category, men belong to the category generally more privileged and rewarded while women appear to be subordinated and the least rewarded (Epstein, 2007).

Although the fundamentality of sex/gender as a global social division is theoretically arguable, around the world there remain persistent inequalities in how labour and its rewards are divided between men and women (Bianchi et al., 2000; Epstein, 2007). Although men and women are biologically differentiated according to sex traits, it is the social-cultural meaning attached to their sex that produces gender categories and the gendered social processes that in turn shape organisations and society, delimit social and organisational opportunity structures, and guide personal experiences (Connell, 1987, 1995; Epstein 1988; Lorber 1994; Risman 1998). As West and Zimmerman (1987) argue, gender is not a given but

rather is achieved through social interactions among people and within social contexts. As such, relations of gender play a role in creating social institutions, which then provide the structural boundaries and arena in which gender is negotiated and re-negotiated (Levine, 2009; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

In many industrialized Western countries, women have broken through barriers such that it is now taken for granted that women are part of the paid labour force. Indeed, women now enter occupations and professions that were once epitomised as male-domains, such as engineering, business, medicine, and veterinary work (Statistics Canada, 2006a). However, compared with men, women largely remain concentrated in specific, traditionally female-associated occupations such as secretarial and administrative assistant roles, and are still less likely than men to achieve positions of authority and to earn top salaries (Charles & Grusky, 2004; England 1992; Padavic & Reskin 2002; Welsh 1999). Epstein (2007) notes that despite the social-economic differences between men and women and the fundamental nature of the gender social division, it is surprising that gender is not the default basic unit of analysis in social research. In part, she suggests that the failure to research the influences of sex and gender is an indication that many people will continue to benefit from the persistent inequality between men and women. This study furthers the research on the sex/gender social divide that exists between men and women, and specifically that which continues to differently shape their workplace experiences and limit their achievements in non-traditional work environments.

Women continue to face discrimination at work and have yet to meet the levels of success that men take for granted. Men and masculinity seem to shape workplace culture and to be the "definers" of the culture, policies, practices, and structures (Acker, 1990, 2006). Research indicates that this is particularly true of women in male-dominated occupations and professions (Williams, 1989; Wajcman, 1998a, 1998b). Soldiering is an example of one of these traditionally male-identified and male-dominated professions and is the subject of this study. As discussed in Chapter 1, overt employment discrimination restricting women serving in particular military occupations was lifted in 1989 (except submariner positions), and the Canadian military was directed to fully integrate women within ten years (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). To address this mandate, the military predominately focused on increasing women's numbers in the previously closed occupations. However, the military was unable to accomplish this task, and after the ten-year mark, the Human Rights Tribunal lost its jurisdictional powers to monitor women's integration (Final Report—Minister's Advisory Board, 2001). Since 2002, the Canadian military has come under the jurisdiction of the Employment Equity Act (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2007; Paradis, 2003). In contrast to the Tribunal Decision directive, however, the Employment Equity Act relates more to creating equality without evaluating whether the changes adopted actually address outcomes such as women's participation levels and full integration (Leuprecht, 2004). Using the mandate of the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal decision of 1989, this study focuses on women's "integration" in the Canadian military using a gender

analysis lens. More specifically, I probe women's inequality in the Canadian military context as a means to examine the outcomes of this integration. The reports the military produces in order to meet its obligations under the Employment Equity Act do not reveal such information. In other words, if women have been fully integrated, then the following factors should be reduced: inequality between female and male soldiers (e.g., such as military earnings), sex segregation, and an unwelcoming organisational culture. I now turn to the literature to see what it has to say about analysing gender.

Reskin (2003) argues that much research has been conducted examining women's inequality. However, she notes that researchers primarily remained focussed on examining "the why" explanations of inequality and that they have ignored "the how" explanations. For the large body of research examining the "whys" of gender inequality, Reskin was alluding to the multitude of quantitative studies that provide the "big picture" information about the contextual and measurable variables that relate to gender inequalities, such as education and workplace experience. However, she suggests that these studies have inadequately answered *how* the informal and invisible at-work social relations produce and reproduce gender inequalities, a task that she believes would be better addressed by using the rich, deep data yielded from qualitative research. Indeed, some researchers are turning to employ a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods to examine gender inequality (see Hodgkin, 2008). In so doing, they are using data to provide the general, big picture, or macro view similar to previous quantitative studies, as well as benefiting from using the in-

depth, deeply textured, and personal stories found in qualitative research.

Similarly, I examined the integration of women into the Canadian military by focusing on gender inequality using both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

In the remainder of this chapter, I examine the literature on both “the whys” and “the how” of workplace gender inequality. The first section illuminates the “why” question and the factors influencing the wage inequality that persists between men and women, providing a “macro” quantitative view of workplace gender inequality. Section two makes use of qualitative, ethnographic-like studies to examine the social practices and processes at play in the workplace—Reskin’s “how”—and presenting a “micro” picture of workplace gender inequality.

Peppered throughout the appropriate sections, literature specific to militaries and the Canadian military per se is presented.

Analysing Gender Inequalities at Work—“The Why”

When paid-work resembles a vocation, has a guiding directional and developmental path, and provides workers with part of their identity, it is often referred to as “a career” in contrast to “a job” or simply “employment” (Barley, 1989; Dalton, 1989). Embedded in this notion of career is the expectation of achievement and success, typically measured by employment income, occupational grouping, number of promotions, and status and rate of promotions (Melamed, 1995; Tharenou, 1999). Historically, “employment earnings” was the first factor that economists used to measure career success and interpret wage differences (Becker, 1964, 1993; Kiker, 1966; Mincer, 1958, 1962; Schultz, 1961, 1962) and it remains the measure most commonly used in contemporary research.

Human capital theory is the historically standard framework for the interpretation of wage differences (Becker, 1964, 1993). Although this theory originated within the field of economics, it is now substantially incorporated into sociology, including sociological research on earnings (dis)advantages and includes those (dis)advantages linked to gender. Other indicators of career success also have been examined, such as hierarchical level (Fernandez, 1998), rate of promotion (Chênevert & Tremblay, 2002; Spilerman & Peterson, 1999), number of promotions (Naff & Thomas, 1994; Tharenou & Conroy, 1994), and mobility (i.e., ability to relocate), authority, and job satisfaction (Baxter, 1996; Burke, 1999; Fernandez, 1998; Judge et al., 1995; Stroh, Brett & Reilly, 1992). However, examining wage differences and earnings remains the most popular method of assessing career success. In this study, I investigated wage differences (i.e., “military earnings”) as an indicator of soldiers’ success and a means to examining wage equality between female and male soldiers.

In sociology, assessing the earnings (dis)advantage by gender (race or other social categories) is usually estimated by adding a dummy variable—an indicator of the relevant ascriptive characteristic (e.g., race)—to a human capital earnings model¹. A negative coefficient is expected for the group labelled as “disadvantaged” (e.g., women in this study) after controlling for other variables such as human capital, structural factors, both institutional and worker. If a

¹ Alternative approaches to examine the earnings differences are used (e.g., economists use the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition technique), however, I am following the analytic conventions common among sociologists.

negative differential between the advantaged group—men—and the disadvantaged group—women—exist, it is taken as evidence of existing processes that produce disadvantages. Hence, I examined the integration of women in the Canadian military, using an earnings model. In other words, I analysed the “why” factors that shape Canadian male and female soldiers’ career success (defined as “military earnings”). For example, some human capital factors examined included: military-work experience; education; structural factors such as occupational groupings; worker-specific factors, such as training; and family obligations such as number of children.

Human Capital Factors

As a theoretical concept, “human capital” implies an investment in an employee and these investments are viewed as labourers’ marketable assets, such as knowledge and expertise (Becker, 1964, 1993; OECD, 1996). Human capital theory provides a standard set of measures for inclusion in wage models (models estimating the determinants of wages). The most basic measures are: 1) education and 2) employment experience. Human capital theory suggests that increments of either measure increases individual productivity and should, therefore, lead to increased pay (Becker, 1993). Each measure is discussed in turn as presented above.

Educational Factors

Early studies demonstrated a consistently positive relationship between knowledge (i.e., formal education)² and expertise (i.e., workforce experience)

² Formal education is seen as learning that took place in an officially

with workplace earnings (Becker, 1964, 1993; Kiker, 1966; Schultz, 1961, 1962). More recent Canadian research also shows that there is a positive link between formal education and earnings (Ferrer & Riddell, 2002; Hunter & Leiper, 1993). However, while it is common that increased education is associated with greater earnings for both genders, some research indicates that there are gender differences in where and how those gains are realised. For example, women realised more earnings than men with a bachelor's degree (Ferrer & Riddell, 2002), however, not all research on education has demonstrated similar findings on gender differences. Scholars found that in addition to quantity of education (e.g., years or levels), earnings are also influenced by educational quality (e.g., universities categorised as Ivy League; Judge et al., 1995). This suggests that within the Canadian military, attaining a university degree at the Royal Military College would not only be more desirable and prestigious than doing so at another Canadian university, but it would also positively influence a soldier's military earnings³. In summary, research suggests that formal education plays an influential role in predicting increases in career earnings; however, this research

recognized educational establishment such as secondary and post-secondary institutions. Informal education is viewed as employer-specific courses and training which is often not officially recognized outside the institution if an employee seeks employment elsewhere.

³ Unlike most community colleges, the Royal Military College is a university granting institution and provides both undergraduate and graduate level degrees.

also suggests that women may not benefit from such educational dividends to the degree that men do.

While most of the studies I reviewed examined education in the form of university degrees or trade school certificates, some researchers such as Tharenou, Latimer, and Conroy (1994) examined the influence of on-the-job training and found that it also positively predicted status attainment (e.g., managerial advancement). While their study only examined moving up in institutional status levels, it indicated that it is important to consider organisational training when examining career success and so it was included in this study. As with employees in many organisations, soldiers receive specialty training (e.g., military leadership courses). In my study, all additional training and courses soldiers received were viewed as holding value within the institutional context, and thus, taken into consideration as a type of informal education. It was hypothesized that informal education would positively predict soldiers' earnings.

Employment Experience Factors

The years of work experience have been found to consistently and positively correlate with career attainment. But, unlike formal education, work experience has been found to be the more statistically powerful influence on earnings (Melamed, 1995a; Naff & Thomas, 1994-5; Ranson & Reeves, 1996; Stroh, Brett & Reilly, 1992). Sonnenfeld and Peiperl (1988) argue that, compared to other human capital variables such as education, years of work experience may have even greater importance in closed labour markets than in open labour markets. Closed labour markets (e.g., fire service organisations) have very few

entry points into their organisational workforce, and jobs and promotions are typically protected for internal members. University administrations are examples of open labour markets as many of their positions are open to both internal and external candidates (e.g., president). The Canadian military is a closed labour market because new members can only enter at the lower levels of the military hierarchy, and all promotions are derived from the organisation's membership. Although workers in closed labour markets are expected to learn on the job, making education seem less important (Sonnenfeld & Peiperl, 1988), it is expected that formal and informal education will influence career earnings. Hence, workers within closed-labour markets like the Canadian military will use these two types of education to compete for positions that will in turn affect their organisational earnings.

Although work experience is expected to have the greatest positive influence on earnings, research also indicates that near the end of an employee's career the number of years of experience may decrease in utility (Cannings, 1991; Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1979). In other words, beyond a certain point in one's career, experience is assumed to have no significant contribution to one's earnings and may actually be associated with a decrease in earnings. To capture this non-linear relationship between earnings and experience, an additional variable, constructed by squaring experience, is usually added to the earnings model (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). It is expected to be negatively signed. The declining utility of experience later in a soldier's career was examined in this study.

In summary, human capital factors such as formal and informal education, prestige of university degree, and workplace experience are important career determinants and were employed in this study as indicators of earnings and gender inequalities. Although I include formal education in my analysis, the above literature indicates that formal education may be of reduced importance in the closed labour market system of the military. Rather, according to the research, experience is likely to be the most powerful predictor of earnings and gender inequalities.

Structural Factors

In addition to examining the influence of human capital investments on workers' career earnings, I also examined the influence of the labour market's structural factors (e.g., primary/secondary, private/public, and manufacturing/service sectors). Investigations into the differences among workers located in various labour market divisions have found that the workers are segregated into different sectors according to sex, with men residing in primary and private sectors that yield higher economic returns (Baxter, 1996; Clairmont & Apostle, 1997; Groshen, 1990; Hannan, Schömann & Blossfeld, 1990; Hodson, 1986; Melamed, 1995b; van den Berg & Smucker, 1997). Consequently, earnings and the potential for earnings will differ according to whether someone works in a particular labour market sector. For example, research indicates that in terms of earnings and hierarchical status, minority groups in the private sector are disadvantaged while workers in public firms are better off (Baxter, 1996; Kaufman, 1983; Wilson, et al., 1999). Collins (1983, 1989, 1993) argues this is

largely due to state intervention and the public sector's increased commitment to ensuring equity and equality. Chênevert and Tremblay (2002) found that compared to working in the private sector, working in the Canadian public sector was generally advantageous for workers. However, they also found a gender difference regarding earnings in the public sector, such that compared to their female counterparts, men were rewarded with higher earnings. Given that the Canadian military is a public institution, and based on Chênevert and Tremblay's (2002) findings, it is hypothesized that there will be gender differences in military earnings. In other words, while it may be more advantageous for women to work in a public institution like the Canadian military rather than a private organisation, women in the military will most likely earn less than their male counterparts.

Studies also indicate that occupational sex segregation is linked to gender inequality (Bird, 1996; Cook & Minnotte, 2008; Hunter & Leiper, 1993). Worldwide, occupational sex segregation remains high and women generally tend to remain in lower-status and lower-paying jobs (Charles & Grusky, 2004; Melkas & Anker, 1997; Rooth, 2004). The Canadian military is no different. Ten years after lifting restrictions on women's military employment, female soldiers remain largely employed in occupations that support the combat-labelled jobs (Chapkis, 1988; Harries-Jenkins, 2004; Tanner, 1999). Many of the occupations viewed as "support" mirror the types of jobs with which women are normally associated in the civilian-sector (e.g., administrative and medical functions; Harries-Jenkins, 2004). Using the Canadian military's occupational structure as the basis, I also examined the influence of sex segregation on soldiers' earnings in the Canadian

military.

Structurally, most large firms and institutions encompass numerous physically-separated plants and branches. Usually at least one of these sites is designated as the home-office or headquarters, and it coordinates the activities of the entire institution. Research indicates that employees working at a company's home-office or headquarters have an earnings advantage over other employees (Naff & Thomas, 1994-5; Orpen, 1998; Spilerman & Petersen, 1999). Although the military has one overall command centre (e.g., National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa), it is composed of a number of subdivisions (e.g., Air Force, Navy) each with its own headquarters unit. Given that the literature predicts workers located at a company's home-office will have an earnings advantage, I examined such an influence on Canadian Forces soldiers' earnings.

The managerial/worker differentiation is another seldom-mentioned marketplace structural division. Most employment-career research examines only the managerial sector of the labour force and little of it is dedicated to examining the blue-collar sector. Thomas (1989) argues that blue-collar workers (e.g., automobile factories, waitresses, secretaries) are structurally limited in their advancement and earning opportunities; hence, the expectation of a positive association between human capital accumulation and career earnings may not apply. The present study examines both the managerial and labour sectors of the Canadian military. I have two distinctly different groups: 1) the Officer corps, which in a very general sense resembles the managerial cadre; and 2) the Non-Commissioned Members (NCM) corps, which resembles the blue-collar working

class tier. The Canadian military offers all soldiers, whether NCM or Officer, a career. In addition, all soldiers inclusive of the NCM corps are viewed as professionals and belonging to the “profession of arms” (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003). Ideologically, therefore, NCM soldiers are more than blue-collar labourers without a profession and a career. In addition, given that the NCM corps makes up 75% of the military and thus a large number of women (Tanner, 1999), I felt it was important to investigate the influence of gender (e.g., (dis)advantages) in this particular sector as well. Thus, in addition to examining the Officer corps, I decided to test the feasibility of the wage determination models on the NCM corps, though it typically is used for managers.

Family Factors

Work and family are probably the two most important social institutions in most people’s lives. While family obligations impinge on most everyone’s work life, they produce differential results for similarly qualified men and women (England, et al., 2004). Research indicates that the number of children in the home differentially affects men and women’s careers. Specifically, women with children earn less than do their male counterparts (Burke, 1999; Daniel, 1995; England et al., 2004; Fernandez, 1998; Hundley, 2000; Melamed, 1995b; Waldfogel, 1998). Research also indicates that in addition to having the role of caretaker, being in a marital-type relationship, and the number of hours of housework performed, also negatively predict women’s but not men’s earnings (Hundley, 2000). Although no negative association was found between family obligations and men’s earnings in the research, some studies found a positive

association between having children and men's earnings while being married had no such effect. While it was not possible to measure the number of hours participants in the present study spent on household work, the effect of marital and parental status was examined. For my research, I hypothesised that servicewomen's earnings would be negatively affected by being in a marital-type relationship and the presence of children; given that there is no consistent indication in the research that men benefit from parental status, no influence was hypothesised for male soldiers.

Analysing Gender Inequalities at Work—“The How”

Reskin's (2003) “how” of gender inequality analysis narrows the research focus to the richly detailed gendered processes that are usually captured in qualitative analyses. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, gender permeates all aspects of life. Gendered notions about men and women's roles are socially-shared and pervasive hegemonic stereotypes (Lueptow, Garovich-Szabo & Lueptow, 2001; Spence & Buckner, 2000). According to Ridgeway & Correll (2004), “these gender beliefs are hegemonic in that the descriptions of women and men they contain are institutionalized in the media, government policy, normative images of the family, and so on” (p. 513). Gendered stereotypes are also globally persistent, albeit culturally and historically fine-tuned to various cultural contexts (Epstein, 2007). In general, cultural gender-role stereotypes situate men in a superior, dominant position to women, and portray them as intellectually superior, more status-worthy, more powerful socially, more competent, emotionally stable, achievement-oriented, assertive, objective, rational, and impartial. These same

characteristics have been associated with masculinity and leadership (Conway, Pizzamiglio & Mount 1996; Eagly, 1987). However, the feminine gender role is linked to characteristics such as being pleasant, polite, emotional, communal and family oriented, and overall being incompetent when compared to men (Chaffins et al., 1995; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Moskowitz, Suh & Desaulniers, 1994; Ridgeway, 2001). In addition, gender stereotypes construct women as primarily devoted and responsible for all home care, both emotionally and physically, of their family, especially the children. While men are also perceived as committed to the family, stereotypically it is associated with working outside the home to provide financial support (Lueptow et al., 2001; Mashall, 1993; Moskowitz, Suh & Desaulniers, 1994; Witz, Halford & Savage, 1996). These gendered processes and categories are continually and actively constructed, reproduced, negotiated, and renegotiated (Levine, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987). In other words, people routinely draw upon male and female gender stereotypes as they perform their jobs in the workplace (Chaffins et al., 1995; Davies, 1996). For women working within traditionally male-dominated milieus, the stereotype of femaleness seems to eclipse other work- or job-related characteristics and skills they exhibit. This phenomenon is commonly termed “sex-role spillover” (Drybugh, 1999; Gutek, 1989; Lueptow, Garovich-Szabo & Lueptow, 2001). Hence, I expect to find examples of sex-role spillover in female soldiers’ stories.

Gender Stereotypes and Domesticity

One way that gendered processes work is through the notion of the

gender-neutral ‘worker’, a concept that obscures and makes invisible the gendered hierarchy that pervades the workplace (Acker, 1990). The social constructs of ‘job’ and ‘worker’ are typically described as gender-neutral but in fact hide a male-centric image and lifestyle (Acker, 1992). For example, ‘the worker’ is perceived as being primarily devoted to the job; whereas women are considered to be more devoted to their children than to their work. This illustrates how an organisational culture, social relations, and power structures are sustained by values concomitant with the male gender-role stereotype—one that is particularly heterosexual and masculine. Thus, because of their gender, men and their masculine traits are associated with the brand of authority and power that underpins most institutional structures governing society (Acker, 1992, 2006; Smith, 1987). Acker (1990, p. 146) believes that in the workplace “advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.” Other researchers go further, asserting that gender relations not only sustain and permeate all social relations and social structures, but also penetrate and influence people’s cognitive processes and so, influence behaviour (Grant, 1996; Perry, Davis-Blake & Kulik, 1994). Consequently, it is important to examine the gender relations between male and female soldiers and how stereotypes about masculinity and femininity play a role in the CF’s organisational and workplace processes.

Although women in western capitalist countries largely participate in paid work without experiencing officially-sanctioned discrimination, traditional

notions, such as the male breadwinner and female homemaker, still pervade western cultures and encourage women to remain more devoted to the private-domestic responsibilities, such as the care of children and others (Clark, 2000; DeLaat, 1999; Hamilton, 1996; Kimmel, 2004; Lorber, 1994; Nelson & Robinson, 2002; Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Researchers argue that gender differences in family obligations are related to particular beliefs about men and women. In general, the sexual division of reproductive labour is often assumed to be natural and biologically-based (e.g., women's child care abilities are biological). Although the link between women and childbearing is undeniably biological, the link between women and childcare is not. According to Hamilton (1996), this link is a social construction specific to humans. These perceptions are no different in militaries. Unlike her male counterparts, a female soldier who is a parent is perceived as being primarily devoted to her children and to child rearing. This social expectation that women are mothers first, conflicts with the perceived military job commitments, especially with the ideology and legal, contractual commitment that the military job always comes first (Davis & McKee, 2004; Francke, 1997).

Tharenou (1997) suggests that family responsibilities indirectly impede women because their parenthood signals impending career interruptions (e.g., pregnancy), in a way that it does not for men. Thus, employers may be less inclined to hire women, promote, increase their salaries, or provide them with institutional training. Issues relating to looking after the home, motherhood, and childcare responsibilities seem to present costs and challenges in the workplace.

For example, research indicates that men do more work-related travel if they have a partner at home, but no such effect appears for women who are similarly partnered (Gustafson, 2006). Unfortunately, research also indicates that travel for work is linked to occupational advancement, which in turn affects income (Fisher & Stoneman, 1998). Hence, it is expected that male soldiers will do more work-related travel (e.g., Afghanistan, or Darfur) that would translate into greater incomes for them and not female soldiers.

The introduction of parental leave policies to supplement the traditional maternity leave program in western industrial countries was seen as beneficial for women (Fried, 1998). The now widely accepted parental leave programs were implemented to encourage men to be more involved in childcare thus freeing women to return to work earlier, improve their workplace opportunities, and alter the perception that women were uncommitted and disloyal workers. However, parental leave policies support the image of a gender equitable workplace by obscuring the reality that more women than men take parental leave (Fried, 1998). As such, parental leave programs have not changed the gendered perception that women are the primary caretakers of children. Neither the financial inducement, nor the idea of bonding with one's child, seems to be incentive enough to stimulate men to participate in parental leave programs to the degree that women do.

In summary, although women are no longer forced to leave the paid workforce when they marry or have children, the demands of family life affect women's careers differently than men's careers. Family and household

responsibilities differently influence men and women's participation in the paid workforce, specifically in terms of their career advancement, and hence, income earned. Grant and Porter (1994) suggest that the gendered structures advantaging men will be reproduced as long as it is women who 'have' to choose between the job and family. The stories of female stories will be examined regarding their career/family choices.

Hegemonic Masculinity/Concomitant Femininity

The marginalisation of women within traditionally male-dominated occupations and organisations is attributed to both their limited number (e.g., token status) and their gender.⁴ Researchers found that token women endure negative workplace conditions, such as social isolation and heightened performance pressures (Kanter, 1977; McDonald, Toussaint & Schweiger, 2004). Possessing social and hierarchical status (e.g., leadership roles) has been shown to reduce some, but not all, of the negative consequences associated with tokenism (Yoder, Schleicher & McDonald, 1998). It is notable that while token men in feminised occupations (e.g., male nurses, teachers) downplay their masculinity, compared with women their token status benefits them and results in quicker promotions and similar rewards (Koch et al., 2005). Christine Williams (1992) refers to this as the "glass escalator" for men. So while women's advancement within traditionally male-dominated organisations is contingent upon their

⁴ Members of a group (e.g., women, Blacks) are usually considered tokens if their number constitutes less than fifteen percent of the dominant group (Kanter, 1977).

willingness to surrender or submerge their femaleness, research on men in parallel, traditionally female-dominated organisations indicates that maleness is more valued, and underwrites the broader social context and defines what constitutes good organisational members. The male-gender role buttresses institutional structures, practices, and culture (Davies-Netzley, 1998; Etkowitz, et al., 1992), and sustains environments in which women feel like outsiders warranting little personal support (Lyness & Thompson, 1997), feel unsuccessful (Marshall, 1995; Ragins et al., 1998; Rusaw, 1996), and face unfriendly and sexist male cultures (Morgolis & Fisher, 2002).

Researchers (Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell, 1987, 1995; Kilmartin, 2000) propose that workplaces are hierarchically stratified according to differently-valued masculine characteristics (e.g., aggressive masculinity in soldiers); the top strata are the “hegemonic masculinities” (Connell, 1987). In speaking about and studying masculinities, it is important to understand that masculinity is not a fixed unitary entity but diverse and multiple (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1996b).

However, a hegemonic masculinity exists in particular socio-cultural contexts and gender configurations. The negotiations and contestations among masculinities occur in conjunction with the general subordination of women and devaluation of femininity that results in the social construction of ‘a’ hegemonic masculinity in particular contexts (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As a result, hegemonic masculinity is differently configured, institutionalised, and privileged in different organisations and settings (Barret, 1996; Cheng, 1996; Cockburn, 1991; Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kilduff & Mehra, 1996;

Miller, 2004).

Because hegemonic masculinity is a notion that creates normative social pressures, it is a powerful, socially-available set of assets that are typically deployed by men to maintain their advantaged social positions while subordinating other groups (e.g., women, gays, young people, visible minorities, and effeminate men). It is not necessary for men to always emulate and match the hegemonic masculine ideal for it to sustain its influential dominance.⁵ Hegemonic masculinity maintains its superior position through the social processes of “policing” the gender boundaries. Policing occurs in many ways, such as through excluding women, and discrediting, denigrating, and devaluing feminine characteristics while valuing, honouring, and crediting masculine traits (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). It also manifests through misogynist, homophobic, and femiphobic acts (Evans & Wallace, 2008; Martino, 2000; Plummer, 2006), as well as heteronormative social expectations (Jackson, 1995; Ramazanoglu, 1995). Policing the social boundaries of gender also occurs through social pressure such as explicit and implicit expectations regarding female and male roles, and masculinity and femininity (Tethewey, 1999). For example, teasing boys and men for being “sissies,” feminine, or gay encourages masculine heteronormativity and conversely for women being too masculine, or not feminine enough, delineates and patrols their gender borders (Hunter, 2008).

⁵ According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), there is no hegemonic femininity but an emphasised femininity because femininity is usually defined as the diametric opposite to masculinity.

Women who wish to succeed—particularly those in male-dominated organisations, occupations, and workplaces—must adopt a primary identification with the hegemonic masculinity (Cheng, 1996; Miller, 2004; Pierce, 1996; Taywaditep, 2001). Because of the hierarchy of masculinities and the subordination of femininity, women are forced to downplay their femininity and employ masculine attitudes, interaction styles, traits, and appearances to fit in (Koch et al., 2005; McIlwee & Robinson, 1992; McDonald, Toussaint & Schweiger, 2004; Sheppard, 1989; Yoder, Schleicher & McDonald, 1998). As a result, women are preoccupied with adopting and incorporating the hegemonic masculinity into their identity, which requires them to constantly adjust their gender identities, or presumed gender roles (Kilduff & Mehra, 1996). This means that women in male-dominated, male-identified environments are constantly engaging in performances of masculinity and femininity, such as revealing or hiding physical body parts, dressing conservatively or fashionably, conforming socially, and portraying themselves as more or less sexual and even asexual (Trethewey, 1999). Ironically, while women who act more masculine on the job may better fit their work role, they will also face negative consequences for doing so (Jackson, Esses, & Burris, 2001). When women transgress their socially-accepted gender roles, they are often harassed verbally and given derogatory labels such as frigid, prudish, lesbian, dyke, butch, mannish, or old maid (Gutek, 1989; Pogrebin & Poole, 1998). Lesbianism is stereotypically linked to behaving and appearing masculine; hence, lesbians challenge both traditional notions of heterosexuality and the assumed link between sex and gender (Caudwell, 1999).

Thus, women are socially pressured (i.e., policed) to respect the socially accepted gender role, which means they often actively engage in repairing their femininity.

Understanding the dynamics of policing (hetero)sexuality and gender stereotypes also helps explain why women in male-dominated contexts can be stricter social disciplinarians of the gender boundaries than are men. Women in these contexts may exert more control over other women as a means of avoiding the vicarious censorship and labelling to which their female colleagues' behaviours and appearance could expose them (Tethewey, 2001). Furthermore, acting masculine benefits women only to a point, as being masculine conflates with being male, something women can never be. Transgendered people's experiences illustrate that there can be a high negative cost associated with transgressing gender roles (Davies, 2002; Moran & Sharpe, 2004). Thus, women, directly and indirectly conduct their work lives according to an internalised, invisible, unvoiced "male-gaze" and censorship, and according to the external social cues from the culture, organisation, and the men and women with whom they work. In this way, the gendered social relations influence and define the socio-relational work context, and maintain and reinforce gender itself. Given the above findings, the concepts of hegemonic masculinity, male gender-role stereotypes, and their predominance in the workplace were all included as important factors in female soldiers' experiences in the Canadian Forces.

When a person's gender attributes or behaviours violate the socially-appropriate norms for her sex, discrimination is more likely to occur (Deaux, 1995; Eagly, 1987; Unger, 1997). For women working in traditionally male-

identified and male-dominated fields and workplaces, hegemonic gender beliefs can lead to their penalisation (Ridgeway, 2001). For example, women who step outside female gender stereotypes and behave assertively or aggressively may not be promoted (Tharenou, 1999). In addition, Deaux (1995) argues that environmental or cultural cues can provoke stereotypic beliefs and negatively prime the atmosphere. For example, displaying sexual images of women (e.g., “Playboy” or “Hustler” pinups) in the workplace increases the probability that women will experience negative consequences, such as sexual harassment. Deaux further contends that even occupational sex segregation increases gender-role stereotyping, and increases the likelihood that women will face sexual harassment. For example, research by DiTomaso (1989) suggested that women who were working among a higher percentage of men reported more sex discrimination and sexual harassment. The result, according to Sheppard (1989), is that women are in a collective Catch-22. Adopting a non-feminine demeanour, however, means women open themselves up to being labelled as sexually unattractive and perceived as unavailable to men.

Hegemonic Masculinity of Soldiering

Within the military context, particular notions of femininity and masculinity are evoked. For instance, women are cast as the passive, the moral mother, the caretaker, and the one in need of defending (Gilligan, 1982; Kaplan, 1994; Ruddick, 1983). Women are commonly associated with the preservation of human life because of their traditional role in reproduction, nurturing, and care of others (di Leonardo, 1985; Errington, 1993; Ruddick, 1983). Moreover, women

are generally believed to be fundamentally pacifist in nature (Ivekovic, 1993; Smith, 1989; Roach-Pierson, 1987). Men are stereotyped as being strong, brave, and protective, while the stereotype for women is associated with meekness, weakness, and pacifism (Enloe, 2000; Hartsock, 1989). Although women have participated in wars (e.g., WWII, the Gulf War, Tamil warriors of Sri Lanka), their motives for doing so are perceived as being unlike those motivating men. The perception is that men do it for glory, duty, and honour (Crevald, 1989), whereas women do it for justice and employment. Thus, ideologically and symbolically, women are socially constructed as non-combatants because they are perceived as inherently timid, fragile, and passive, and thus not the right material for soldiering (MacDonald, 1987).

Izraeli (2000), who has carried out extensive research on the Israel military, argues that, for men, soldiering enhances their masculine identity whereas for women it involves rejecting their feminine identity. As in other male-dominated, male-defined work, the ideal soldier stereotype demands that women violate female gender-role expectations. However, soldiering is different from other male-dominated, male-defined work because it requires women to traverse a gender role stereotype that has usually been preserved for men—the taking of lives and the role of combat (Higate, 2003a). Thus, performing one's military job well (i.e., soldiering) poses a dilemma for women who must juggle their displays of femininity with the soldier masculinity they are required to embody.

Historically and still at present, the military and the soldiering identity seem married to “masculinity.” In Higate's (2003a) edited book, each author of the

fourteen chapters make a point to discuss aspects of the close, inextricable, and pervasive knitted relationship between soldiering, war/conflict, militaries, and masculinity. Taking together, their views suggest that it is not a *particular masculinity* that is at stake. Rather, the military is a theatre for a constantly evolving and changing multitude of militarised masculinities, and each of these contribute in differing but reinforcing ways to the bonds binding soldiering to masculinity. Some of the authors (e.g., Kovitz, 2003; Harrison, 2003; Higate, 2003b; Summerfield & Peniston-Bird, 2003; Klein, 2003) explicate or allude to ways in which military masculinities, militaries per se, and the activity of soldiering also are defined, persistently underpinned, and sustained by particular formulations of femininity. Further, they highlight how these constructs are not only imbued with misogyny, gendered violence, and anti-femininity sentiments, but also with abhorrence for marginalised masculinities and disdain for civilian status. This is unlikely to change in the near future for two reasons. First, because organisations like the military value stability, and change whether perceive or real (e.g., the integration of women) threatens this stability (Soeters, Weibull, & Winslow, 2003). Second, in addition to their minority status, female soldiers in the CF are segregated in particular military occupations (Harries-Jenkins, 2004).

The small number of women in the Canadian military in general, and in leadership roles specifically, combined with the traditional sex-segregation of men and women into particular occupations (Davis & McKee, 2004; Harries-Jenkins, 2004; Leuprecht, 2004; Tanner, 1999), means marginalisation and tokenism of female soldiers can be expected. Moreover, the low number of female

soldiers in the military decreases the opportunities for women to form support networks and friendships with other women, something that is often taken for granted by male soldiers (Agostino, 1997). Forming close-knit bonds with one's colleagues is perceived as an essential element of building a cohesive military and is linked to military success (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003). In fact, bonding among male soldiers is the hegemonic norm; however, bonding among females is discouraged and demonised (Barkalow, 1990; Katzenstein, 1998).

Intersecting Marginalities

The intersections of gender with various other factors, such as race, ethnicity, age and sexuality, also represent major barriers for women in workplace organisations. For example, hooks (2000) argues that it is incorrect to build research and feminist theory solely on binary oppositions (e.g., the two genders) because factors like class and race interconnect, producing intersections of domination. Researchers investigating the effects of gender need to be cognisant of this intersection among different devalued statuses, such as race.

Race plays a discriminatory role for visible minorities, as gender does for women, such that it negatively predicts career advancement and success (Fernandez, 1998; Tang, 1993). In the context of this study, race was not examined for two reasons. First, as is the case with other organisations, the Canadian military is prohibited from formally recording the racial backgrounds of its soldiers. Hence, it was not documented and thus is not part of the military personnel data sets I received. Second, in 2003, based on survey research that ensured confidentiality to soldiers, the Canadian military population was found to

consist of less than 5% visible minority soldiers (Leuprecht, 2004; Paradis, 2003). In 2001, thirteen percent of the Canadian population consisted of visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2008). In addition, a large group of people in Canada (about 23 % of the population) are classified primarily according to their linguistic background (Statistics Canada, 2006b)—the Francophone population. The French language also has a special and official status as assigned by the Constitution of Canada.⁶ Typically, groups of people who can be identified according to common national, tribal, religious, “linguistic,” or cultural origins are referred to as an ethnic group (Mills & Simmons, 1995). Although not usually theorized as such, according to this definition, the Canadian Francophone population qualifies as an ethnic group because their language and culture distinguish them from the dominant Anglophone majority group. Moreover, in the 1960s and 1970s, discrimination toward Francophone Canadians was prevalent (Bernier, 1996; Pariseau & Bernier, 1988). One indicator was the under-representation of Francophones within the national, political, and institutional hierarchies of the Canadian government (e.g., the Canadian military; Beattie, 1975). The discrimination was so widely recognized that the federal government struck policies to deal with it. Federal institutions such as the Canadian Forces also implemented policies to increase representation across the organisation’s hierarchy and to provide training in the French language (Bernier, 1996; Pariseau

⁶The Official Languages Act ensures respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and supports the maintenance of French linguistic minority communities.

& Bernier, 1988; Official Languages Act, 1985). Consequently, an examination of the Francophone group and the possibility of its intersection with gender was an important consideration for this study.

The intersection of gender and race can produce interesting outcomes in military environments. Moore (1996), who writes about the disproportional over-representation of African American women in the US military, proposes this may be due to the fewer employment options that exist for African Americans in the civilian sector, as compared to those available to their white counterparts. Thus, the reason for black women to join the military is more an economic one than a career choice. Moore suggests that if joining the military is the only alternative to unemployment available to Black women, then they are forced to disproportionately bear the burden of national defence. Subsequent research supports Moore's assertion (Moore & Webb, 2001). The following comment by a Canadian soldier indicates the presence of racist thinking: "Success in the military is reserved for those who speak French and/or those who had the talent and good sense to be born ethnic, and/or female" (Getting back to basics, 2006, p. 7). However, given the lack of diversity in the Canadian military with regard to race (<5%; Leuprecht, 2004), the issue of a gender/race intersection may not emerge in this study. However, discrimination toward Francophones as discussed in the previous paragraph, was examined.

Conclusion

Though organisational demographics, leadership, practices, policies, recruitment, external pressure, and slack resources correlate with levels of

inequality, inequality at work does not just happen (Reskin, 2000, p. 707).

That inequality does not happen on its own implies that people's acts and failures to act in organisations shape the nature of equality and equity in an organisation and determine the degree to which it is present. In other words, organisational factors such as demographics, practices, policies, culture, gender, and race will be acted upon, or not, producing a particular climate and set of working relations. The research into the mechanics of various organisations reviewed in this chapter provided numerous examples of such interactions.

Overall, the view that organisations are gender-neutral is not supported by the empirical research. Yet, maintaining this belief is essential to maintaining the invisibility and the hegemony of masculinity in organisations and organisational processes. Cheng (1996) argues that these gendered relations are a means of power acquisition for some, and becoming powerless for others. It follows that participating in the labour market has unique social consequences and meanings for women and men. In conclusion, women may not find themselves reflected in the culture and milieu of traditionally male occupations and organisations.

The literature review also highlights two important points: 1) the workplace sphere's continued economic dependence on the essential, yet unpaid and unacknowledged, domestic work of women and; 2) the presence of an ideology that continues to reinforce the perception that women should take care of the domestic realm. Research indicates that some organisations more than others (e.g., the Canadian military, professional sports) are fundamentally sustained by the unpaid work of individuals in the private sphere, namely wives and female

common-law partners (Gmelch & San Antonio, 2001; Harrison, 2002; Harrison & Laliberté, 1994; Thompson, 1999).

The present research, therefore, seeks to generate new understandings regarding the contributions that an organisation, such as the Canadian military, can bring to the maintenance of persons as gendered, and on a particular form of gendered social relations of organising work. It further illustrates how the gendered social order is structured and is maintained by gendered persons. I view the organisation as a site of negotiation, contestation and struggle, and focus on the gendered and the gendering processes of the organisation (Acker, 1992; Clegg, 1989; Risman, 1998; Walby, 1997). By examining and explicating the configuration of gender relations underpinning the Canadian military, I illuminate issues surrounding women's integration into the institution. To address the complexity of the questions asked, the present study used both quantitative and qualitative approaches, and specifically focused on the integration of women in the Canadian military. The quantitative analysis offered a means to test the integration of women by examining the similarities and differences between male and female soldiers' career success. The qualitative analysis focused exclusively on the female soldiers' life history accounts to gain insights into their integration into the CF. Using both methods allowed for an examination of different aspects of the same questions. Employing both quantitative and qualitative methodologies significantly fills a gap in the findings and in the present understanding and knowledge.

The present study thus comes out of a need for further research on the

current state of women's integration and the barriers that continue to exist for women in the Canadian military. The findings of this research contribute to the knowledge regarding Canadian women in non-traditional roles and Canadian female soldiers in particular. The findings also provide insights useful for other institutions and nations endeavouring to integrate women into their militaries or meet employment equity requirements in general.

Chapter 3

Method

Epistemology Underpinning the Study

The assumptions underpinning my dissertation project are derived from the epistemological framework of feminist standpoint theory (Harding, 2004, 2001, 1987; Sprague, 2001). Feminist standpoint epistemology shares assumptions with a Marxist understanding of social relations (Hartsock, 1987). Marxism is a standpoint epistemology that acknowledges the proletariat, or lower class, as marginalised. Feminist standpoint epistemology extends this perspective to women and other marginalised groups. It posits that experience and struggle are ways of knowing, and it values the knowledge of the oppressed (e.g., women) over that of the oppressor (Harding, 1991). This is the case because marginalised people possess knowledge of life that embodies both their own world and that of the dominant group. They typically learn about the oppressor's reality through the provision of services (i.e., the proletariat provides labour for the owners of capital or the black woman provides nanny or housekeeping services for a white couple). Marginalised groups must understand and know the world of the dominant group from a different perspective or social location, and manage their lives in accordance with the demands that come from this knowledge (Harding, 1991). This means that they have some knowledge the oppressor lacks (Martin, 2001). For example, through their experience as domestics, black women possess a unique standpoint that produces different expressions of common themes like

class, gender, or race (Collins, 2004). Such knowledge has been referred to as a bifurcated (Smith, 1987), an oppositional (Collins, 1998; hooks, 2000; Sandoval, 2004), or a multiple (Ladson-Billings, 2000) consciousness. Martin (2001) argues that the standpoint of the oppressed provides knowledge that would otherwise be lost; thus, it compensates for and counterbalances bias about the dominant reality that the dominant group do not experience, can neither see, nor provide.

An important assumption of feminist standpoint theory, therefore, is that the standpoint of the oppressed is more comprehensive and closer to the truth than that of the oppressor (Harding, 1991). This is based on the belief that the oppressed are less committed to sustaining the status quo, and the dominant representations of reality (Sprague, 2001). According to bell hooks (2000), locating and starting research from the standpoint of the oppressed offers the possibility of alternative, radical, and new outcomes. Thus, feminist standpoint theory assumes a “transformational” aim of change (hooks, 2000).

It is important to note that the standpoint of a particular marginalised group is not an ascribed status but only develops as a result of, and through, political struggle. Harding (2004) argues that without political struggle, the understandings of the oppressed could simply reflect that of the dominant group’s ideologies and practices. The purpose of feminist standpoint research, therefore, is to expose and elucidate the practices that obscure, normalise, and justify the dominant taken-for-granted ways of organising life (Harding, 2004). For example, research from the marginalised standpoint of homosexuals illustrates the hegemony of a particular definition of intimate relationships, which devalues and

labels other forms as deviant and undesirable (Gouliquer & Poulin, 2005). In the present research, I adopted the feminist standpoint theory as my epistemological framework, and the experience of Canadian Forces female soldiers was the starting point for this investigation. As the assumptions of feminist standpoint theory suggest, by taking the location of female soldiers, a more comprehensive knowledge regarding the gendered hierarchy of the Canadian military may be obtained. More specifically, focussing on women's experiences made it possible to capture otherwise less visible information about how the military structures gender and how gender structures the military.

Starting the inquiry for this thesis research from the perspective of female soldiers was an epistemological advantage because their perspective on the organisation's structure and functioning provides a different insight than that of the dominant, hegemonic group (e.g., male soldiers) (Harding, 2004; Pharr, 1988; Schaef, 1985). Feminist standpoint theorists argue that the viewpoint of marginalised people (e.g., women and Blacks) is most interesting because these groups need to know more about the dominant power group and structure in order to survive. This is not to say that other perspectives, such as those in power, are not empirically interesting. However, the dominant group's understanding typically is based on knowing how to dominate. Therefore, it follows that since female soldiers are outsiders to the male dominated/masculine hegemony of the Canadian military, an examination of their stories will render an interesting, provocative, and in-depth understanding of the current social processes and structure of soldiering.

My Insider/Outsider Status

It is important for researchers to acknowledge their perspective and the influence it may have on the research process (Martin, 2001). Being a Canadian Forces veteran of 16 years locates me as a former-insider to the institution under study. As a former-insider, I was socialised for 16 years into the Canadian military culture. Because I am no longer a current member of the Canadian military, my status is currently that of outsider, albeit a former-insider. Thus, my former military experience provided knowledge of the institution and its social relations beyond that of a person who never served with the CF. However, as a female in the CF, I was marginalised, and hence also held an outsider-within status (Collins, 2004) given the dominant military culture, which is male and masculine (Winslow, 1997, 2002). According to Collins, the outsider-within has a unique status and vantage point when examining the dominant reality. Sometimes they cross into the military environment, and do not exit for days or months if on a training, peacekeeping, or war mission. A researcher holding an outsider-within status has advantages that insiders do not. When doing qualitative research on marginalised groups it may be difficult to obtain information if the researcher differs from the participants in terms of gender, sexual orientation, culture, language, or social, economic, ethnic or racial group membership (Clingerman, 2007). Thus, being a former outsider-within to the dominant military culture was advantageous.

Having an insider status, however, could also have a limiting effect on the research process. More specifically, it could limit what C. Wright Mills called the

“sociological imagination” (Mills, 1959).⁷ For example, as an insider, researchers may be less likely to extensively probe participants during interviews given that they may presume to know what the participants mean (O’Conner, 2004). In other words, insiders may be overly familiar with, and uncritical of, the institution and its culture. Insiders may also be constrained by institutional policies and laws and by their own loyalty.

In the Canadian military context, for example, soldiers are subject to a set of laws above and beyond all Canadian laws, the Queen’s Regulations and Orders (QR&Os; National Defence Act, 1985; Lunan, 1993). Specifically, military regulations (e.g., QR&O 19.14) discourage soldiers from making unauthorised comments, whether critical or supportive, because these actions could be construed as breaching military law and incur punishment. For insiders who may be liable under military law, these regulations could suppress their sociological imagination by inhibiting critical thought. These protective laws also serve to make the military structure impregnable to an outsider’s gaze (Friedland, 1997). Consequently, outsiders might encounter difficulty achieving access to conduct

⁷ The “sociological imagination” according to Mills, translates into a researcher (or ordinary person) being able to move beyond, but use, the narrower focus of personal interests and issues to make connections with the wider social context of public global issues and policies. In other words, the researcher is able to look beyond the micro while keeping it as a foundation that directs an inquiry that has the potential to explicate its connections to the macro or wider social forces at play.

research and to understanding the institution and culture.

Thus, a former-insider status to the military community may be considered both an advantage and disadvantage in conducting this research. On the one hand, the experience allowed for a lived-knowledge of the institution, while on the other hand, the experiences and military socialisation might have obstructed my critical thinking. However, two things helped preclude the latter: my training as a sociologist provided an opportunity to develop my critical thinking abilities, allowing me to take distance from the institution, its ideology, and from the data, but retain the lived-experiential knowledge. In addition, since retiring in 1995, spending time outside the military distanced me from the ideology that currently-serving members consciously and unconsciously espouse. These two aspects of my former-insider status created what Georg Simmel (1921) identified as a curious space of being-near-yet-removed-from, while also being-concerned-with-but-indifferent-to the data. In summary, I was a former-insider, possessing an insider's knowledge, yet also an outsider with a critical approach.

Although the status of women within the military hierarchy was examined using an empirical human capital theory model to analysis the quantitative data, it was grounded and conceptualised using feminist standpoint theory as my overarching theoretical position. For the qualitative data, Canadian female soldiers' experience of day-to-day military life was the entry point into understanding the military's social relations of soldiering. McGill's research ethics board formally approved my dissertation research project (see Appendix I). In the next two sections, I discuss the quantitative and qualitative methods,

respectively, which were utilised for my dissertation research.

Quantitative Method

Description of Quantitative Data

A randomised, cross-sectional data set from the Canadian Forces' institutional records on military personnel was secured with the aid of the Directorate of Human Resources Research and Evaluation, and the Defence Women's Advisory Organisation (see Appendix II: Military Memo). More specifically, the original quantitative data set comprised service members' general demographics, but did not include service members' military earnings. Data concerning the service members' military earnings were later secured. The general military demographics data set included such details as soldiers' age, rank, marital status, and other background information, while the earnings data set included all monies paid to soldiers by the Canadian military. Securing the data sets involved two years of negotiations with various departments at National Defence Headquarters. Due to privacy and security concerns, only National Defence personnel were allowed direct access to the military's data storage systems. In addition, all requests were coordinated through a contact person who was not directly in charge of extracting the data. Due to this indirect communication path, the data extracted only included soldiers who had joined the CF prior to 1990. Given the lengthy negotiation period, I decided not to renegotiate with the military to extract a data set representative of the entire military population (i.e., to include soldiers who joined the CF after 1990).

The CF numbered approximately 50,000 soldiers at the time of data

extraction. Given that women represented a small percentage of the military population (approximately 12%), a randomised sample may have produced inadequate numbers of women to conduct a multivariate analysis. Consequently, equal numbers of men and women were requested. The data set I received from the Canadian military consisted of 3999 soldiers, half men and half women, who had more than ten years of military service.

As indicated previously, the Canadian Forces is a state organisation comprising two separate and distinct groups: 1) the Non-Commissioned Members (NCM) corps, which bears a resemblance to the blue-collar sector of an enterprise comprised of supervisors and workers, and 2) the Officer corps, which resembles the corporate management and leadership sector. Moreover, each group represents a port of entry into the Canadian military's internal labour market, and the typical career path for a Canadian soldier begins and ends in either of these corps. While movement between these two corps can occur, it is unusual and typically only from the NCM to the Officer corps. Both the NCM and Officer corps have pyramid-type career path structures and are closed internal labour markets, meaning new members only enter the organisation at the bottom of the hierarchy. Consequently, the data were subdivided into two unique groups: NCM and Officer corps. In the following two sections, I elaborate further on the dependent and independent variables.

Description of Variables

Dependent Variable.

The dependent variable used for the models estimating the determinants of

soldiers' wages was military earnings. It is commonly assumed that Canadian soldiers receive a standardized pay aligned with their hierarchal position or military rank and thus earning differences between male and female soldiers do not exist. In part, it is true. Soldiers do receive a standardized wage based on the military rank they hold and the number of years in this rank. However, earnings among soldiers of the same rank vary according to other factors that are often not known, such as deployments or transportation and travelling expenses associated with military relocations—postings. Military pay and the factors that could possibly affect soldiers' earnings are further discussed in the section titled, "Pay Determination in the Military" in Chapter 4.

The independent variables were organized into five groups according to the theoretical concepts examined: 1) human capital predictors, 2) family obligations, 3) military career-enhancing experiences, 4) military structural divisions, and 5) military status. Each is discussed in turn in the sections below.

Human Capital Variables.

The human capital predictors consist of those variables traditionally examined in the literature, such as years of organisational experience, prestige of university degree (Officer's group only), formal education, and informal education. Organisational experience was a continuous variable measured in number of years served in the Canadian Forces. The variable, "experience-squared," was also included in this step. As discussed in Chapter 2, a curvilinear relationship was hypothesised to exist between experience and career success. By including the constituted variable resulting from the squaring of experience, this

effect was tested (Cohen et al., 2003).

The original category “formal education” was a discrete variable consisting of the following categories: less than high school, high school, 2-years college, some college, technical school, bachelors degree (BA), some graduate school, masters, doctorate, and post-doctorate. To give a more coherent structure, the categories were collapsed into the following: less than high school, high school, greater than high school but less than BA (e.g., cases with some technical schooling, some university or college education), bachelors degree, greater than a bachelors but less than a masters (e.g., some graduate school), masters degree, and doctorate degrees, which included the post-doctorate.

Similar to blue-collar workers in the general workforce, NCM soldiers usually do not have a university education. Given the small numbers of NCMs with any formal education above the bachelors level, and the skewing of the distributions, higher educational categories for NCMs (e.g., greater than a bachelors but less than a masters, masters degree, and doctorate degree) were collapsed into the BA category (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Ultimately, the final NCM formal educational variable consisted of four categories: 1) less than high school, 2) high school, 3) greater than high school but less than BA, and 4) BA and greater.

For similar reasons (e.g., small numbers and distributional skewing), some educational categories for the Officer group were merged. The less than high school and the high school categories were collapsed into one, as were the masters and doctorate degree categories. This produced five educational categories for the

Officer group: 1) high school and less, 2) greater than high school but less than BA, 3) bachelors degree (BA), 4) greater than a bachelors, but less than a masters degree, and 5) masters degree and greater. Given that the institutionally-desirable education level for the NCM corps is a high school diploma and that of the Officer corps is a BA, the other educational categories were compared to these two reference groups. For analytic purposes, the dummy-coding technique for the multivariate analyses (Cohen et al., 2003) was used to make comparisons between the reference group category and the other educational categories. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the prestige of the university degree affects earnings. In this study, the “prestige of university degree” variable demarcated Officers with a military college degree from other Officers. In other words, the “prestige of university degree” variable examines whether a military college degree was advantageous for an Officer. It was a dichotomous dummy variable.

For this study, soldiers’ abilities in their second official language were included as indicators of informal institutional education that would enhance soldiers’ human capital. As English and French are Canada’s official languages, soldiers are required to be fluent in one language to join the Canadian military. On joining, a soldier’s ‘first official language’ is identified, regardless of their ethnic origin or mother tongue. For most Canadians, English or French is their mother or home-spoken language. For immigrants, it is the official language in which they were most fluent. Hence, a soldier’s second official language ability indicates a soldier’s bilingual ability in Canada’s official languages. For the Officer corps, attaining bilingual proficiency in both of Canada’s official languages was viewed

as a requirement for their advancement, whereas for the NCM corps, second language training was optional. However, military-sponsored second-language training has always been available to both groups.

Soldiers' proficiency in their second official language was assessed on three factors: reading, writing, and speaking comprehension. For each of these language factors, a soldier was tested and assigned one of five levels (not tested, lowest level, second level, highest level, and exempt). Exempt refers to "not requiring further testing" because the individual scored as proficient at the time of testing. For analytical purposes, a score of 0 to 4 was assigned to each respective level for each of the three language factors. For both the NCM and Officer groups, the reading, writing, and speaking scores were added together to produce an overall second official language ability score. Thus, the language ability variable consisted of a 15-point composite variable. For the NCM corps, the language variable was highly skewed with over 50% of NCM soldiers scoring zero. In other words, half the NCM group had no ability in the second official language. Consequently, for the NCM group only, second language ability was collapsed into a dichotomous variable corresponding to having "some ability" and "no ability" in one's second official language. For the Officer corps, soldiers' second language ability variable ranged from 0 to 15. Arguably, fluency in both of Canada's official languages is an investment in human capital for soldiers.

In the institutional database, the CF asked soldiers to identify which of Canada's two official languages (English or French) was their first language. Given the deficiency of minority group individuals in the CF (Leuprecht, 2004), it

is arguable that those who identified French as their first language were identified with the Francophone cultural ethnic group. Given the nature of the data, the identification of other ethnic groups was not possible. Those soldiers identifying English as their first language were identified as Anglophone. Although arguably Anglophone by definition is probably not a cultural ethnic group, I chose to keep this designation, as it was most representative of the actual data. In addition, given the small number of minority persons in the CF, this group probably was largely representative of what is sociologically known as white Anglo Saxons. Hence, given the past discrimination experienced by Francophones, this study examines the Francophone cultural ethnic group and career success in the CF. The variable was dichotomous and called Anglo/Franco representative of the Anglophone-Francophone division in the data.

In summary, the human capital group of variables was comprised of five independent variables for the NCM group and six independent variables for the Officer group. The variables: “number of years served”, “number of years served squared,” “second language ability,” “Anglo/Franco,” and “formal education” were common to both the NCM and Officer groups. The variable, “prestige of university degree” was unique and additional to the Officer corps.

Family Obligations Variables.

The family obligations group comprised three variables: “family responsibility,” “relationship status,” and “gender-by-dependents” interaction term. Family responsibility was defined as the number of dependents for whom the military member was responsible. Overall, most soldiers’ dependents were

children; however, a few cared for their siblings or elderly parents. The dependents did not include spouses, common-law, or same-sex partners as these categories fell under the “relationship status” variable. Relationship status was a dichotomous variable that indicated whether the soldier was in an officially recognized conjugal-type relationship (e.g., married, common-law, or same-sex) or not in a relationship (e.g., single, divorced, or separated). The gender-by-dependents interaction variable was included to determine whether family responsibility differentially influenced earnings for male and female soldiers.

Military Career-Enhancing Variables.

The career-enhancing experiences group incorporated three variables: 1) “postings” (e.g., a long-term geographical relocation of a soldier and her/his family for work reasons to another base), 2) “deployments” (e.g., a short-term geographical relocation for usually six months and always without the accompaniment of the family), and 3) “headquarters postings” (e.g., a posting to a military-designated headquarters location). Posting and deployments were continuous variables; they represent the number of times a member was officially posted or deployed to another location. The distribution of the posting variable was normal. However, for both the NCM and Officer groups the deployment variable showed signs of positive skewness and kurtosis. A distribution is considered normal when the values of skewness and kurtosis are zero (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). To address skewness and kurtosis, extreme scores were merged into the next lower level (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The resultant deployment variable had a range of 0 to 6 for the NCM group, and 0 to 8 for the Officer group.

The distribution of the headquarters posting variable also showed high levels of skewness and kurtosis for both the NCM and Officer groups. In order to address the extreme skewed nature of the distribution and thus retain this variable for the analyses, a dichotomous variable was formed. It comprised two categories: 1) “no headquarters postings,” and 2) “one or more headquarters postings.” In summary, the military career-enhancing group comprised three variables: “postings,” “deployments,” and “headquarters postings.”

Military Structural Divisions.

This group was one variable representing the divisions within the Canadian military structure (i.e., military divisions). It comprised five categories: 1) Air Force, 2) Navy, 3) Army, 4) Engineer, and 5) Support. Traditionally, militaries are perceived as only being made up of three branches: 1) the Air Force, 2) Navy, and 3) Army. However, these traditional branches do not represent how the Canadian military is structured. In 1969, the Canadian military amalgamated under a unified single command structure, and officially became the Canadian Armed Forces (Morton, 1999). This amalgamation resulted in the traditional branches sharing resources and the services of soldiers in specific occupations, such as soldiers performing administrative and engineering jobs. The characteristics of these jobs are such that these soldiers could be and are often transferred back and forth, among the Army, Navy, and Air Force branches. Most of the shared occupations such as logistical, administrative, and medical occupations are designated as supporting the operational sectors of the military. This group of occupations is commonly referred to in the military as “support

trades” and for this study comprise the Support division. When compared to the other divisions, the Support division has the highest percentage of women (28% in the NCM corps, 31% in the Officer corps). Although many engineering occupations are classified as “support,” a small number, which are primarily associated with the Army, also include a combat role/component. Consequently, this small number of occupations holds a quasi-combat status, and hence, is given a separate status and designation. For this study, they are simply referred to as the Engineering division.

Military Status.

The final group was also comprised of one variable representing military rank (i.e., status). As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, generally increments in military rank are associated with increases in military earnings. For the Officer corps, the rank variable encompasses four levels representing the Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel ranks. For the NCM corps, the rank variable included six levels (Corporal, Master-Corporal, Sergeant, Warrant Officer, Master Warrant Officer, and Chief Warrant Officer). The rank variable was added in a final step as it is arguably endogenous to gender and possibly other variables (e.g., training, postings) in the analyses. In other words, the training, postings and deployments are career-enhancing activities that would lead to promotions and hence affect military earnings.

Summary.

In summary, a human capital earnings model was used as a means to assess the earnings (dis)advantage by gender in the Canadian Forces. In other

words, a negative coefficient on the gender variable was expected to indicate female soldiers' earnings disadvantage after controlling for the various variables discussed above. After the gender variable was entered, theoretically grouped independent variables (i.e., human capital, family obligations, military career enhancing experiences, military structural divisions, and military rank) were added one after the other forming a series of human capital earnings models. As each group of independent variables as listed above was added (i.e., controlled for) the change in the gender coefficient was examined. The dummy-coding technique was adopted to compare the categories within the independent categorical variables. The following categories of these variables were designated as the "reference" or "comparison group:" for gender, the reference group was men; for relationship status - no relationship; for ethnicity - Anglophone; for NCM education - high school; for Officer education - BA; for military division - the support division; for the headquarters indicator variable - no headquarters posting; and for the NCM second language indicator - no ability.

It was expected that the variable categories of men, no relationship, Anglophone, one or more headquarters postings (NCM corps only), and some language ability (NCM corps only) would predict greater earnings. The support division was chosen as the comparison category for the military divisions given the historically high percentage of women within it when compared to that of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Engineering divisions. Given the historical discrimination against women (e.g., officially sanctioned occupational segregation pre-1989), it was expected that the more male-dominated military divisions of the

Army, Navy, Air Force, and Engineering would predict greater earnings.

Analytic Design for Quantitative Data

Both univariate and multivariate analyses were used in the present study. Independent means and chi-square analyses were used to examine the extent to which women were disadvantaged/advantaged if they accumulated more or less of a particular human capital variable than men did (e.g., “years of military experience”). Given that women were oversampled in this study, all univariate analyses were weighted as recommended by Winship and Radbill (1994).⁸ The weighting factor was different for the NCM and Officer groups due to the different population percentages of women in each group. Thus, to make the data more representative of the general military population, for the NCM corps female scores were adjusted by a factor of 0.22 and male scores by a factor of 1.78, while for the Officer group, female scores were adjusted by a factor of 0.28 and male scores by a factor of 1.61. With respect to multivariate analyses, Winship and Radbill suggest that “when sampling weights are a function of independent variables included in the model being estimated, unweighted OLS [ordinary least squares] will be the appropriate course to take,” and weighting is not required (1994, p. 242). Though women were oversampled for this study, they formed part

⁸ Weighting is carried out to address distributional differences due to the oversampling and adjusts the data to be more representative of the actual population. The data is adjusted by applying a weighting factor, which is a ratio of the population percentage to the sample percentage for the variable in question where the oversampling occurred (Winship & Radbill, 1994).

of the independent variable, “gender.” Hence, in accordance with Winship and Radbill’s suggestion, I opted not to weight my multivariate analyses.

For the multivariate, cross-sectional analyses, a set of six regression models was explored using the SPSS (version 11.0.1) quantitative analysis program. Groupings of independent variables, gender, human capital, family obligations, career-enhancing experiences, and military structural divisions, were progressively added to subsequent models. Each group of independent variables was added as a way to investigate gender discrimination, and hence, to analyse the Canadian military’s gender integration. First, gender was added in Model 1 to determine if female soldiers earned less than men did before adding control variables. As each group of variables was added in the subsequent models, the effect on the gender coefficient was examined. In Model 2, the set of human capital variables was added to the equation. Then in Model 3, the set of family obligation variables was added; in Model 4, the set of military career-enhancing variables was added; in Model 5, a set representing the military's structural/functional divisions was added; and finally in Model 6, military rank was added. The dependent variable was “military earnings.”

*Summary of Quantitative Hypotheses*⁹

1. A positive association between “years of military service” (i.e., workplace experience) and “military earnings” was hypothesized. Further, it was hypothesized that it would be the most influential predictor.

⁹ The above hypotheses were tested on both groups: the Officer and the NCM corps.

2. Given that the military represents a closed internal labour market, a curvilinear relationship between experience and “military earnings” was hypothesized.
3. Education:
 - a. “Formal education” (e.g., level of education) was hypothesized to positively predict military career attainment.
 - b. In addition, informal or “on-the-job-military-specific training” was hypothesized to positively predict soldiers’ career attainment.
 - c. Holding a university degree from Royal Military College (i.e., a prestigious degree in the context of the military) was expected to positively influence Officers’ earnings.¹⁰
4. The military divisions (e.g., Navy, Support) are organisational specific structural/functional divisions. Accordingly, it was expected that there would be a main effect on earnings.
5. A headquarters advantage, referred to as the “home-office effect” in the literature, was hypothesized such that soldiers who were posted to a military headquarters unit would earn more than other soldiers would.
6. The “number of dependents” (e.g., children) was hypothesised as having a negative effect on the earnings of women but no effect for men.
7. It was hypothesized that ethnicity, specifically, Francophone and Anglophone ethnic groups, would predict military earnings.

¹⁰ The prestige of university degree was not a relevant variable in the NCM corps sample.

8. It was hypothesized that gender would predict soldiers' military career success. Such that male soldiers earn more than their female colleagues do.
9. The feasibility of applying a career-earnings model on the NCM corps (a closed-labour market blue-collar population) was carried out.

Qualitative Method

I utilised institutional ethnography as my method of inquiry (Smith 1987, 2005). Institutional ethnography is a feminist standpoint sociological method developed by Dorothy Smith in the late 1980s (1986, 1987, 2005). In general, institutional ethnography allows the researcher to examine the influences of social relations and social institutions on marginalised social groups, such as women. More specifically, it seeks to reveal and explicate the “relations of ruling” that give meaning and direction to women’s everyday experiences (Smith, 1987, 1993, 1999, 2005). The relations organising life within a culture or a social institution constitute the pervasive social structures, practices, and behaviours that regulate everyday life (Smith, 1987). Although it is assumed that only the organisation controls and structures people’s reality, the oppressed also participate in, and negotiate, the social relations of ruling (Smith, 1987).

While the oppressed actively participate, *how* they experience reality departs dramatically from the concepts available to them when thinking about this reality (Smith, 2005). For example, cognitively, the notion of ‘soldier’ evokes the image of a tough, emotionless, aggressive, macho heterosexual male (Agostino, 1998; Gouliquer, 2000; Winslow, 1997). For the heterosexual female, lesbian, or

gay-male soldier, this common, socially available soldier stereotype is at odds with their lived reality and with who they are. The lack of correspondence between the female soldier's experience, their material reality, the social stereotypes, and the cultural/institutional ideologies was of interest in the present study. In other words, female soldiers' experiences were the port of entry from which I began my sociological analysis of the male-dominated and male-controlled world of the Canadian military. Doing research from this framework allowed me to examine and highlight the tensions experienced by female soldiers encountering the hegemony of the more powerful insider group, male soldiers, and the male-defined institution and soldier ideology. Furthermore, focussing on female soldiers' accounts provided me with the opportunity to document women's self-definition and self-valuation within the context of the Canadian military, an organisation that espouses militarised-soldier masculinity.

Life-history research is generally understood to constitute the extensive recounting of one person's past life to another person who records, edits, and writes that life story (Geiger, 1986). I adopted this approach when conducting the interviews, but in an abridged fashion. In other words, I limited the interviews to an extensive exploration of the participant's life history but only during the time the participant was involved with the military. I used a semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix III). To assist potential participants in their decision to take part in the study, they were given a description of the study. Informed consent (written or tape recorded verbally), indicating agreement to participate in the research and to have their interview recorded, was obtained from all participants

(see Appendix IV). Snowball sampling, where participants were asked to provide names of others, was the technique used to recruit participants in this study. My experience as a Canadian soldier and continuing acquaintance with a number of Canadian servicewomen was the initial port of entry for recruiting some of my participants. Just prior to the commencement of conducting interviews, a military memo briefly describing the study, indicating military endorsement, and encouraging military leaders to allow female soldiers to participate in the study was widely distributed within the military structure (see Appendix II). Although no participants contacted me as a result of this memo, I provided the memo with the description of my study to all potential participants before they agreed to do an interview (see Appendix V).

As noted in the quantitative section, military approval of my research took nearly two years of negotiating. In accordance with military administrative regulations (CFAO 8-3), the military has to review research proposals for their methodological rigour, and ethical research standards. Thus, in addition to McGill University, the military granted technical authority for the conduct of the research, both quantitative and qualitative. This process took longer than expected due to the nature of the quantitative data set. Given it contained confidential data about military members, the military would not release data unless the confidentiality of personal information was protected as per the Privacy Act. This meant that the military had to ensure that confidential information such as names of CF soldiers was stripped from the data prior to sending it to me. This process may have taken longer or never occurred had it not been for the sponsorship of the Defence

Women's Advisory Organization (DWAO) and the help of a few well-positioned female officers who were interested in women's issues in the CF (i.e., Karen Davis and Cheryl Lamerson). Both of these female officers were part of the military's directorate of Human Resource Research and Evaluation at the time of my research request and provided invaluable support and endorsement.

The majority of the interviews were completed between 1999 and 2001. Later in 2006 and 2007, an additional two interviews were conducted. This was done in order to ascertain the relevance of the interview data to the contemporary military context and the observations of more recently serving servicewomen. In total, 39 interviews were carried out (see Appendix VI). In 2008, I also contacted eleven currently serving female soldiers (three Officers and eight NCMs) and asked if they would provide reflections on a preliminary analysis of the data. Ten of the eleven women contacted agreed, but only five provided reflections (see Appendix VI). Four of the women did so with written comments, while the fifth preferred to simply talk to me about her reflections in a telephone communication. These female soldiers were asked to read, reflect, and react to the themes/stories that had emerged from the original set of interviews. This practice is referred to as a testimonial validity (Stiles, 1993). In general, the readers' comments reflected experiences similar to those of the study participants. The following quotation captures the overall nature of the readers' comments:

This was extremely interesting to read! I could relate to a lot of sections. The women's stories were very thoughtful and I saw myself in a lot of the situations. (Maxine)

Analytic Design for the Qualitative Data

First, a general thematic analysis of all the interviews was carried out. This was followed by an in-depth analysis of the institutional events influencing the participants (e.g., deployments), and their coping strategies. The NVivo qualitative data analysis software, QSR International Pty Ltd. Version 8, was used to facilitate all levels of the qualitative data analysis. For the thematic coding, I organized the data into meaningful chunks. The major theoretical ideas identified in the literature review (Chapter 2) constituted the initial set of codes used to first approach the interview data. For example, ideas/themes such as “child- and family-care responsibilities”, “heterosexuality”, “military culture”, “military ideology”, “networking”, and “female bonding” were used as codes. However, as interviewing and data analysis progressed, these codes were adjusted, better defined, and sometimes collapsed together. For example, in the final writing of the qualitative analysis, female soldiers’ childcare experiences were merged with the theme on deployments. They were merged because women’s childcare challenges coincided with the institutional event of deployments. In other words, the women talked the most about their children when they were preparing for or on deployments. New themes also emerged from the data, usually those specific to the military environment (e.g., “postings,” “military training,” “attach-postings” (a.k.a. deployments), and “marginalisation”). In the final stages of the analysis, three themes dominated these women’s stories. They were: 1) *Social relations of soldiering*. This highlights how military life inclusive of processes, policies, and stereotypes influenced women’s lives. Given the historical time, the

influences of military employment practices, and the social norms about women's choices, I also discuss why these women joined the Canadian Forces. Moreover, as it was only intended as an icebreaker question it represents a small part of the overall interview; 2) *Deployments*. These short-term unaccompanied military assignments are linked to servicewomen's experiences of isolation and exacerbated marginalisation. Amongst other experiences discussed in this section, childcare responsibilities for CF servicewomen were very salient during deployments; and, 3) *Military culture and climate*. Given that I conducted life-history interviews, I contrasted the later part of these women's experiences (e.g., last five years) with women's earlier experiences. In 1988, the Canadian military introduced its first harassment policy that has since undergone review and change (Canadian Forces Military Law Centre, 2008). Examining and contrasting women's earlier and recent experiences provided the opportunity to explore if change has occurred.

Preserving Participant Confidentiality

Owing to Canada's Privacy Act, the quantitative data set received from the Canadian Forces was stripped of any identifying information. For the qualitative data, the following steps were undertaken to protect the participant. Every effort was made to ensure voluntary participation in this study. First, a study overview was given to each potential participant (see Appendix V). Participants were instructed that should they agree to do an interview, or should they start an interview, and then change their minds about participating, they were under no obligation to participate or complete the interview. They were also informed via

the consent form that they could withdraw from the study at anytime.¹¹

Participants' formal consent to take part in the research project was solicited. In addition, participants were asked to separately consent to the interview being audio-recorded (see Appendix IV). Following each interview, a pseudonym for the participant was attached to the audio recording. Subsequently, all interviews were transcribed into electronic word-processing data files. During the transcribing phase, the names of all people mentioned during the interview were changed.¹²

During the writing phase, all quotations from participants' interviews that were selected to exemplify theoretical themes, points, or arguments were further scrutinised to ensure participant anonymity. Whenever appropriate, names of places and identifying details were changed. For example, the name of an Air Force base might be exchanged for the name of an alternative Air Force base. In addition, quotations were edited for readability. As a final step, and to further conceal a participant's identity, pseudonyms were used and if more than one quotation from the same participant was used the participant's identity was changed or discontinued. The above steps helped to ensure greater participant

¹¹ Despite these assurances, one participant withdrew from the study over concern for her anonymity. She withdrew several months after completing the interview and a copy of her transcribed interview had been returned to her.

¹² The researcher stored the raw data and information in secure locations so that consent forms, audio recordings, and sanitized electronic data files could not be matched and possibly used to identify participants.

anonymity.

Qualitative Sample Data Description

Thirty-nine Canadian Forces servicewomen took part in this study (see Appendix VI). They were between the ages of 20 to 50 with an average age of 36.5 years. Participants typically joined the military at the age of 21, although this ranged from 17 to 29 years. They served an average of 15.5 years. Compared to my quantitative sample, these women served four fewer years overall. My qualitative sample probably differed slightly from the quantitative sample, since it included female soldiers who were less experienced and junior in rank. In this respect, the qualitative sample represents a more diverse group of women from across the military.

At the time of the interviews, all participants were in the “regular forces,” except for Olivia who was in the “reserve forces.” For seven out of the 12 years she served, she was in the regular forces, and during her time in the reserves, she usually worked in full-time contract positions for the regular forces. Twenty-five of the women interviewed were in the Non-Commissioned corps, and 14 were in the Officer corps. There were 20 junior Non-Commissioned Members, five senior Non-Commissioned Members, nine junior Officers, and five senior Officers. A junior Non-Commissioned Member designation includes the master-corporal, corporal, and private ranks. A senior Non-Commissioned Member is a sergeant, warrant officer, master warrant officer, or chief warrant officer. In the Officer corps, the ranks of captain, lieutenant, second-lieutenant, and officer cadet are considered junior ranks; and the ranks of major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and

general are senior ranks. To enhance the anonymity of the servicewomen who participated in this study, I did not directly link their specific military ranks to their identities in the text. In lieu of their rank, participants are designated as either holding a junior or senior rank within their respective corps. The female Non-Commissioned Members (NCM) who were interviewed were distributed between the different ranks as follows: four privates, nine corporals, seven master corporals, one sergeant, two warrant officers, one master warrant officer, and one chief warrant officer. With respect to the female Officers, the ranks were as follows: one lieutenant, eight captains, two majors, two lieutenant-colonels, and one colonel. Despite the fact that the snowball method was used to recruit the participants, the distribution of the women interviewed reflects well the military reality, so that most of the women are located in junior rank positions (74%) as opposed to senior rank positions (26%) (see Tanner, 1999).

To further classify the participants, I examined their occupations. It is difficult to classify military trades as being either traditional or non-traditional for women in a way that parallels the civilian sector employment classifications. The type of work soldiers perform in some military occupations is similar to that of civilian jobs typically associated with women, such as administrative or medical work; however, none of these military trades has been dominated by women as they have been in the civilian sector. The only exception to this trend is the military nursing occupation, which in military environments is, and always has been, dominated by women. For women, the military is already considered a non-traditional professional choice, independent of the occupation they choose.

Consequently, the traditional and non-traditional gender categorisations of civilian jobs are not directly applicable to the military. The military categorises occupations as either operational or support: most occupations (75%) are deemed 'operationally' necessary, whereas the remaining trades fulfil 'support roles' (25%) and are less essential to the immediate success of any mission. Based on the military's categorisation, 56% of the women interviewed were in military occupations classified as support, and the remainder (46%) were in operational-designated occupations. This trend is similar to the actual female soldier population, 60% of which is located in support-designated occupations.

I also considered the sexual orientation of participants, which is as follows: 15 servicewomen reported a homosexual orientation, whereas 24 reported they were heterosexual. The number of women with a lesbian sexual orientation may seem unusually high, particularly compared to numbers cited in research that attempts to measure the size of heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual populations. For example, after examining the existing international and US research on homosexual and bisexual populations, Diamond (1993) concludes that the often-used figure of ten percent is unreasonable, and contends that this number is closer to five percent. Diamond also notes that significant variability occurs in past studies due to differences in how questions were asked, definitions used, and research methods employed. As it stands, in Canada, no official statistics (e.g., Statistics Canada) or studies exist that document the rates of sexual orientation in Canada or in its military. Furthermore, the military does not systematically collect information on sexual orientation from its members, most

likely because the Employment Equity Act disallows organisations from collecting information that will identify its members as belonging to a visible minority. While lesbians are not a visible minority per se, the military's practice to not request a soldier's sexual orientation is in line with "the spirit" of the Act's regulations regarding the marginalisation and discrimination of identifiable groups. However, it is worth noting that in spite of this policy and the best of intentions on the part of military personnel, other military policies lead to sexual minorities being officially "outed" at work (e.g., documenting a soldier's next of kin or having soldiers declare conjugal-type relationships to acquire military-sponsored medical coverage). Research on the Canadian Forces indicates that lesbians may be more willing to come out than their male counterparts (Gouliquer, 2003; Poulin, 2001). The influence of military culture and incidents of hate crimes toward sexual minorities in society at large (Janoff, 2005; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999) may explain the lower number of gay servicemen who officially come out. Alternatively, fewer gay men than lesbians may be attracted to a military career (Cooper, 1990). Returning to the qualitative sample, although the number of lesbians interviewed seems high in proportion to the number of heterosexual women, without further research that documents actual population numbers, it is impossible to give meaning to this phenomenon. On the positive side, such a sample allows for a rare documentation of issues that may be unique or more common to the experience of lesbian service members, which would go unnoticed if their numbers were not as high as they are in this case.

In terms of language identity, the qualitative sample included five

Francophone soldiers and the remainder were Anglophones. At 13% of all the women interviewed for the qualitative sample, this percentage of Francophone women soldiers is below the 26% level of Francophone participants in my quantitative sample presented in the previous chapter, and below the 27% level of Francophone women in the actual military population (Leuprecht, 2004). Twenty-two (56%) of the women were in an officially-recognised intimate relationship, while 17 (44%) were not in a relationship. This trend is similar to my quantitative sample in which 62% of the women were in an officially recognised relationship, and 38% were not in a relationship. The participants' parental status ranged from having no children to having four ($M= 0.69$), which falls short of the average number of dependents (1.69) of women in the quantitative sample.

Conclusion

In summary, two substantively very different data sets, a large institutional cross-sectional quantitative data set, and qualitative data set consisting of numerous personal stories from female soldiers were examined. Both data sets were investigated as a means to analyse the integration of female soldiers into the Canadian military. In the following chapter, I present the quantitative results and discussion. Using human capital theory, this chapter examines how the factors such as education, number of years of military service, number of deployments, and gender influence soldiers' military earnings. Following the quantitative section of this study, I present the qualitative chapters. Four general themes are discussed: 1) Laying the foundations to understand women's soldiering experiences 2) Why women joined the CF, 3) Military deployments: The

transitory military lifestyle, and 4) Disrupting presence for the military masculinity: Women in the CF.

Chapter 4

Gender And Earnings: A Quantitative Exploration

This chapter examines the career attainment for both men and women in the Officer and Non-Commissioned Member (NCM) corps of the Canadian Forces (CF). In this chapter, the quantitative hypotheses discussed in the literature review and methods chapters are tested and discussed. This chapter is divided into five parts: a) the first section describes the steps taken in data conditioning; b) the second section provides a description of pay determination in the Canadian Forces; c) the third section presents the results and discussion of the multivariate model analyses for the Officer; d) the fourth section presents the results and discussion of the multivariate analyses for the NCM corps; and e) the final section presents a summary of the results, analyses, and chapter conclusions.

Data Conditioning

Prior to the analyses, all variables were examined for accuracy of data entry and missing values. They were also examined for fit between their distributions and the assumptions of multivariate analyses regarding sample and population distributions (Cohen et al., 2003; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The variables examined were military earnings, gender, years of military experience, education, military training, dependents (e.g., children and the elderly), relationship status, Anglo/Franco, language ability in French or English, military divisions, postings, deployments, prestige of university degree, and headquarters

postings¹³. In addition, both univariate and multivariate outliers in the data were identified. Univariate outliers were identified using histograms, normal probability plots, detrended normal probability plots, and z-scores (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Multivariate outlier cases were also identified using the technique of Mahalanobis distance (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).¹⁴

Given the large sample size, some outliers were expected, and in fact occurred in variables such as number of years experience, postings, promotion rate, and qualifications. However, an uncommonly large number of univariate outliers on the dependent variable, military earnings, was identified. As discussed

¹³ As described in the Methods chapter, the Anglo/Franco variable represents two broad cultural divisions in the military, Anglophone and Francophone. Postings are military relocations of the soldier. These usually involve a geographical move of the soldier and family. The military divisions variable is comprised of five categories: 1) Air Force, 2) Navy, 3) Army, 4) Engineer, and 5) Support.

¹⁴ Univariate outliers were cases that had a z-score greater than three standard deviations above and below the mean, and if they were clearly discontinuous from the distribution. Cases were identified as multivariate outliers if they were discontinuous on two or more variables from the distribution. Mahalanobis distance was used to identify multivariate outliers and its criterion for each sub-sample, NCM and Officer corps, was calculated. For the NCM corps, Mahalanobis criterion was $\chi^2(20) = 45.315$, $p < .001$ and was $\chi^2(22) = 48.268$, $p < .001$ for the Officer corps.

earlier, the category named military earnings only denotes the soldiers' institutional earnings. The outliers on military earnings broke down into two categories: those who received unusually low ($N = 72$) and unusually high ($N = 31$) military earnings. In addition to using the techniques described above to identify univariate outliers, I compared the official military pay scales associated with each soldier's rank to their actual recorded earnings. In all of the 72 low military earnings cases, the participant's indicated military earnings fell well below the official pay scale. Although it was impossible to know what factors might account for the reported low military earnings, some individuals may have taken their release or a leave of absence without pay from the military during the fiscal year the data were extracted. The military would have retained these cases for accounting purposes, and hence they were part the institutional data set at the time it was extracted. However, because the majority of the soldiers in the low earnings outlier group were women ($N = 66$), it is possible that the outliers simply reflected women who were on maternity or parental leave. In such a case, women's lower recorded earnings would result from them drawing unemployment insurance maternity benefits. These benefits would not be reflective in their military pay records while reported sum paid by the military would reflect the difference between the maternity benefits and their normal military salary (see the next section on pay determination in the military where military maternity allowances are discussed). The unusually high military earnings outliers were all in the Officer corps and all were part of three military occupations called medical, legal and dental. To be part of these occupations, a soldier must be a qualified

physician, lawyer, or dentist. Given the nature of these professions, it is assumed that the military is obliged to pay them more than the average officer (to be discussed further in the next section on pay determination in the military).

Another large group of cases (N = 182) were Officers who had served a considerable number of years in the NCM corps. Although moving from the NCM to the Officer corps is not a normal career path for soldiers, some non-commissioned members become Officers. This is typically accomplished in one of two ways. Senior NCMs such as those of Warrant Officer and above are nominated and promoted directly into the Officer corps without educational upgrading. More junior NCMs, such as Sergeant and below, are able to enter a special voluntary and competitive program. The program includes university upgrading to the bachelors level and upon successful completion of a bachelors degree, they are accepted formally into the Officer corps. With respect to the Officer corps group, the NCM soldiers who move into the Officer ranks are a minority and they do not become Officers via the typical direct route.

As a result of the above anomalies in the data (e.g., data errors, univariate and multivariate outliers), 431 cases were dropped from the analyses. Of these, 102 cases were data errors, 229 were univariate outliers, and 100 were multivariate outliers. Given the large sample size, excluding this number of cases (10.8%) did not compromise the analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). SPSS version 11.0.1 was utilised for all data analyses. Once all data conditioning was complete, the NCM corps comprised 2991 cases, and the Officer corps, 577 cases.

Pay Determination in the Canadian Military

Canadian military full-time soldiers are paid as per the Queen's Regulations and Orders (QR&O) 204: Pay of Officers and Non-Commissioned Members. Pay scales are similar across all its branches (i.e., Air Force, Army, Navy). In general, soldiers' pay is based on what rank they hold and not in which military branch they serve. Soldiers receive a limited number of yearly incremental increases in pay, which varies by rank and corps. Promotion to the next higher rank is not based on seniority per se, but also on merit. Soldiers receive annual performance evaluations upon which merit is determined and promotions are based. In addition, soldiers may earn extra monetary compensations called allowances. In the next sections, I present a brief explanation of the pay scales for the Non-Commissioned Members (NCM) and Officer corps, respectively.¹⁵ Following this, I present an explanation of the pay allowance system whereby soldiers earn extra military income.

Officers Corps Pay Scale

In the Officer corps, there are eleven ranks. Most officers in the Canadian military fall under the category of General Service Officer and receive a certain allotted pay depending on their rank and time in that rank. In the general service officer category, officers of the rank of Captain, Major, or Lieutenant-Colonel have eleven, eight, and five yearly pay increments respectively, with an increase of, on average, between \$95 and \$120 per month for each additional year of

¹⁵ To recap, the NCM corps is similar to the blue-collar workforce of an organization while the Officers corps is similar to the managerial cadre.

acquired experience. However, officers at these ranks in some occupations (e.g., Pilots, Navigators, Medical, Dental, or Legal Officers) receive salaries based on different pay scales. As discussed above, the medical, dental, and legal Officers were removed because they were univariate outliers.¹⁶ Pilots and navigators were retained in the sample because they were not univariate outliers. In addition, unlike the medical, dental, and legal officers, once pilots and navigators attain a more senior rank, they are paid under the general service office pay scale. Navigators only get paid differently while they are at the rank of Captain. Pilots are only paid differently as long as they are at the ranks of Captain, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel.

General service officers at the rank of Colonel, Brigadier-, Major-, and Lieutenant-General receive a yearly salary as opposed to monthly payments.¹⁷ According to the Queen's Regulations and Orders 204 (QR&O 204) on Pay of Officers and Non-Commissioned Members, these officers' annual rate of pay is determined when promoted, and there are no subsequent automatic yearly increases as there are for the more junior officers. Hence, their pay remains the same until promoted to a higher rank.

In summary, the salary range for junior officers is as follows: Captain (\$4,346-\$5,745), Major (\$5,877-\$6,590) and Lieutenant-Colonel (\$6,812-\$7,249)

¹⁶ The pay for junior officers (i.e., officer cadet, second-lieutenant, and lieutenant) is not discussed or included in the pay scales, as they were not part of this sample.

¹⁷ Note that Pilots and Navigators no longer have a different pay scale.

per month. For senior officers it is: Colonel (\$75,500-\$88,800), Brigadier-General (\$86,400-\$101,600), Major-General (\$105,200-\$123,700) and Lieutenant-General (\$119,900-\$141,100) per annum.

Non-Commissioned Member Corps Pay Scale

Within the NCM corps, there are seven ranks. At each rank, soldiers earn a different salary, and within each rank there are subcategories. These ranks and categories produce differences in pay. Within each rank, NCM soldiers' pay scale is further subdivided into "standard," "specialist-one," and "specialist-two" occupational groupings. A soldier in specialist one occupation earns more than a soldier in a standard occupation while soldiers in a specialist two occupation earn the highest salary within the rank. Most occupations (about 70%) fall into the standard occupational subcategory (e.g., infantry, administrative, or naval boatswain). For example, the resource management support (RMS) occupation that handles all the administrative, financial and logistic tasks for the military, or the infantry soldier who engages in direct combat missions, are classified as "standard" occupations. About 40 occupations are classified as specialist-one (e.g., avionic, aviation, naval electronics, medical radiation, or military police occupations). A handful of occupations (four) such as search and rescue, or flight engineer, fall into the specialist-two category. Soldiers usually remain in these specialist occupational classifications for their entire careers unless they change occupations. Thus, the earnings are greater for soldiers working in specialty occupational fields.

Within each NCM rank structure, there are five yearly increments in salary (basic, 1, 2, 3, & 4), with the exception of the Private rank.¹⁸ Consequently, soldiers' earnings are increased on average an additional \$40 to \$65 dollars per month each year within their rank and subcategory, until they reach the fifth year in that rank. Thus, the difference between a soldier in the standard sub-category in the first pay incentive and one in the specialist-two subcategory in the last available pay incentive varies from about \$250 to \$750 per month depending on rank. In summary, soldiers within the NCM corps receive an annual salary. Depending on the time spent in each rank and assigned occupational subcategory, these could range as follows: Corporal (\$40,944-\$50,484), Master Corporal (\$42,648-\$52,212), Sergeant (\$47,028-\$55,728), Warrant Officer (\$52,404-\$58,980), Master Warrant Officer (\$57,828-\$62,940), and Chief Warrant Officer (\$64,176-\$66,876).

Allowances

Military earnings for both NCMs and Officers are affected by such factors as number and type of deployments, training exercises, and time at sea. Soldiers are provided additional monetary allowances for these activities as per the Queen's Regulations and Orders (QR&O) 205: Allowances for Officers and Non-Commissioned Members. The following is a partial list of possible allowances that soldiers in this sample may have received: 1) Paratroop, 2) Casual Paratroop, 3) Rescue Specialist, 4) Aircrew, 5) Casual Aircrew, 6) Diving, 7) Casual Diving,

¹⁸ No soldiers holding the rank of private are in this sample and thus will not be discussed.

7) Sea Duty, 8) Causal Sea Duty, 7) Hypobaric Chamber, 8) Submarine, 9) Causal Submarine, 10) Exceptional Hazard, 11) Joint Task Force 2, 12) Field Operations, 13) Isolation, 14) Submarine Specialty, 15) Posting, 16) Foreign Duty, 17) Maternity, 18) Allowance for Personal Requirements – Persons held in Service Custody, and 19) Stress Allowance for Test Participants, and 20) Canadian Forces Station Alert.

In the next section, I provide examples of particular allowances and how they might affect a soldier's pay. Under the Aircrew Allowance, a pilot earns additional monies. Depending on years of accumulated service as a pilot, he or she could earn an additional \$219 per month with less than five years of accumulated service. This incrementally increases to a maximum of \$417 per month for those pilots with 18 or more accumulated years of service. Similarly, soldiers on ships are eligible for Sea Duty Allowance. Sailors with less than five years of accumulated service, who are posted to a ship, can earn an additional \$238 per month, and this amount increases to an additional \$600 per month for those with 18 or more accumulated years of service. Further, in addition to a submarine allowance, submariners can also access the Submarine Specialty Allowance. In other words, submariner soldiers who are below the rank of Corporal while serving on submarines are granted an additional \$162 per month, and for those who are Corporal and above in rank earn an additional \$292 per month. Soldiers eligible for Maternity Allowance were given this allowance for up to 15 weeks if they had completed at least six months of service prior to their leave. This allowance equalled the difference between the unemployment

insurance maternity benefits received up to 93% of the member's pay. Soldiers who are posted to a new base are granted the Posting Allowance and this entitles them to either a full month's pay or a half a month's pay in allowances for this purpose. Soldiers moving their families were entitled to an additional one-month of pay. Deployments were additional ways in which soldiers were able to procure monies through special allowances called specifically Foreign Duty or Services Allowances and were given to soldiers who serve outside of Canada. The amount of allowance allocated for each deployment varied according to various factors such as danger and risk, environmental hardship, hardship, and the length of time a soldier spent on deployment. Depending on the deployment, a soldier could have received between \$701 and \$1454 per month in addition to their regular pay.

In conclusion, soldiers' pay in the Canadian military is in large part determined by a semi-fixed pay scale that is tied to rank and occupational categorization. However, it also varies as a function of particular allowances they receive for engaging in particular activities such as a deployment to Afghanistan. The basic pay scales apply to all branches of the Canadian military. There is no formal or direct pay increase associated with educational upgrading for either the Officer or NCM corps, however, a limited lifetime allowance exists for educational upgrading. Like many organizations, internal training is integral to the military job and indirectly advancing up the organizational hierarchy; however, in the military it does not lead to certificates that are associated with a specific pay increase. Neither is there a formal premium for getting a degree from a military college and no special allowances associated with having a family (e.g., children).

Officer Corps

Description

Tables 1 and 2 provide a summary and description of the variables for the Officer group. Analyses such as independent t-tests for the continuous variables¹⁹ and chi-square tests for the categorical variables in this sample were used to look for significant gender differences on each variable. The Officer group included 577 soldiers of which 46% were female and 54% were male officers. Male and female officers were similar in average age (forty-one), but differed, significantly so, regarding: *earnings* (women earned \$5432 less), *years of military experience* (women had two years less), *training* (women had three fewer employment training courses), *postings* (women had one and a half fewer postings—job relocations), *prestige of their college degree* (more men had a military college degree (35% vs. 20%)), *relationship status* (more women than men were single (e.g., not married or common-law, 38% vs. 12%)), *rank* (women were less represented in the higher ranks), and *children* (women had 0.66 less children than men and 33% of the women chose to have no children as opposed to 14% of the men). There is a tendency for women to be better educated but not significantly so ($p=.06$). For example, while 19% of the men had less than a high school education only 5.7% of the women fell into this bracket. Twenty-nine percent of the women as opposed to 23% of the men had more than a high school education and less than a bachelors degree, and 55% of the women had a bachelors degree as

¹⁹ The independent t-test tests for the significance of the difference between the means of two independent samples.

opposed to 47% of the men. With regards to graduate training, 1% of the women and 2% of the men had less than a Masters degree, however, 9.5% of the women and 8% of the men had a Masters degree or greater. For the Anglophone/Francophone variable, men and women were similar and comparable to the national averages (75% and 25%, respectively). I also examined in which military divisions (i.e., army, navy, air force, support, and engineering) the male and female officers were situated. As expected, female officers were most visible in the Support division (69% of the women) and less so in the other divisions: Army (1.9%), Air Force (17%) Engineers (9.5%), and Navy (2.7%). Male Officers in the sample were more evenly distributed between the divisions: Army (22%), Air Force (34%), Engineers (8.6%), Navy (16.9%), and Support (18%).

Table 1: Officer Corps Characteristics by Gender T-tests (N = 577)

Table 1	Male (N = 313)			Female (N = 264)			Gender Difference
	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD	
Age	30.70 – 54.57	41.62	5.45	30.15 – 55.15	41.12	5.94	0.50
Earnings (\$)	61566.60 – 107772.01	80145.61	9339.70	61051.36 – 104272.90	74713.22	7835.09	5432.39***
Experience	12.11 – 34.84	20.64	5.57	12.52 – 31.26	18.51	4.50	2.13**
Training	1 – 30	12.96	5.92	1 – 23	9.76	4.50	3.20***
Postings	4 – 21	11.58	3.42	3 – 18	9.81	2.77	1.77***
Deployments	0 – 11	2.54	2.21	0 – 10	2.05	1.95	0.46
Language Ability	0 – 12	7.16	3.88	0 – 12	7.74	3.76	-0.58
Dependents	0 – 5	2.18	1.31	0 – 5	1.53	1.39	0.66***

Note: Given the over sampling of women, the independent sample tests (T-test of means) were weighted for gender (see discussion on weighting in Chapter 3). * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, & *** $p \leq .001$

Table 2: Officer Corps Characteristics by Gender Chi-square Tests (N = 577)

Table 2		Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
MILITARY DIVISION	Army	21.7	1.9	12.7
	Air Force	34.2	17.0	26.3
	Engineers	8.6	9.5	9.0
	Navy	16.9	2.7	10.4
	Support	18.5	68.9	41.6
HQ POSTING	Zero	36.7	45.1	40.6
	1 or more	63.3	54.9	59.4
EDUCATION	HS & < ^B	19.2	5.7	13.0
	>HS<BA ^B	23.3	29.2	26.0
	BA ^B	47.3	54.5	50.6
	>BA<MA ^B	2.2	1.1	1.7
	MA & > ^B	8.0	9.5	8.7
DEGREE PRESTIGE***	Military	34.8	19.7	27.9
	Other	65.2	80.3	72.1
ANGLO-FRANCO	Anglophone	75.4	74.2	74.9
	Francophone	24.6	25.8	25.1

Table 2		Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
RELATION- SHIP***	No	12.1	36.7	23.4
	Yes	87.9	63.3	76.6
DEPENDENTS***	0	14.1	33.0	22.7
	1	15.3	20.8	17.9
	2	26.8	16.7	22.2
	3	28.8	21.6	25.5
	4	12.1	6.1	9.4
	5	2.9	1.8	2.3
		Captain	39.6	57.2
RANK*	Major	43.8	33.7	39.2
	Lt-Colonel	12.5	7.2	10.1
	Colonel	4.2	1.9	3.1

Note: Chi-square analyses were run testing for gender differences and all were weighted for gender (see discussion on weighting in Chapter 3). ^B HS & < means high school and less, >HS<BA means more than high school but less than a BA, BA means a bachelors degree, >BA<MA means more than a BA but less than a MA, MA & > means an Masters degree or more. *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, & ***p ≤ .001

In summary, gender differences were found indicating that male officers, had on average, served longer in the military, had acquired more military training, had more children, had a military college BA degree more often, were more often

in a conjugal-type relationship, and were posted more often than their female counterparts.²⁰

Regression Analyses

Six regression models consisting of various combinations of variables theoretically grouped as gender, human capital, family obligations, military career-enhancing variables, military divisions, and rank were regressed on the dependent variable: military earnings for the Officer corps (For details regarding the regression analysis refer to Table 3 and for information regarding correlations between variables refer to Appendix VII).

²⁰ Postings are rather like lateral job mobility within an organization, which might positively influence earnings in the long run as it provides soldiers with a boarder institutional knowledge.

Table 3: Regression Analysis of Officer Corps Earnings

Table 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5b	Model 6
N	577	577	577	577	577	577	577
Adj. R ²	.09	.41	.41	.48	.50	.53	.67
Constant	80145.61	77792.92	77428.84	76743.25	75887.27	75535.96	3431.12
Gender ^A	-5432.39***	-3992.43***	-3744.91***	-2218.67***	-2259.52***	-1472.86*	-1260.71*
Experience		1035.93***	1009.80***	691.66***	699.21***	740.46***	473.63***
Experience Squared		-22.07*	-20.92*	-20.36*	-20.98*	-25.92**	-39.62***
EDUCATION ^A	HS & <	-413.80	-498.76	-1299.03	-1530.03	-2013.58*	44.11
	>HS<BA	-831.17	-829.95	-805.81	-892.75	-896.89	683.20
	>BA<MA	4989.17*	4998.93*	6295.69**	5996.55**	5736.06**	4933.09*
	MA & >	1083.32	1067.83	1258.47	752.45	1411.45	-447.40

Table 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5b	Model 6
Language	111.03	96.44	95.79	98.30	107.00	-110.11	
Prestige of Degree ^A	3401.71***	3340.14***	2923.16***	3297.84***	2793.01***	2052.01	
Dependents		687.13*	411.19	387.28	513.91	140.94	
Dependents by Gender		-750.55	-351.43	-377.86	-418.64	-231.79	
Relationship ^A		161.99	134.32	77.22	-172.55	-169.42	
Training			390.83***	287.25***	181.75**	109.84	
Postings			626.99***	693.32***	624.10***	171.00	
Deployments			-221.24	-143.70	-290.84	-215.02	
HQ Postings			637.95	817.67	1077.49	454.28	

Table 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5b	Model 6
Air Force					2655.48**	946.14	1096.34
DIVISION ^A Engineer					975.06	1204.99	1444.89
Navy					-118.87	914.25	1734.21
Army					-1010.07	-37.90	-258.76
Pilot ^A						7631.85***	7104.33***
Rank							6232.36***

^A Default Dummy Variable Categories: Gender (Male), Education (Bachelors Degree), Prestige of Degree (Military University Degree), Relationship (Not in official relationship), Division (Support), and Pilot (All other military occupations). Note: *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

Model 1.

In Model 1, only the gender variable was included to present the initial gender difference and facilitate comparisons. Adding the gender variable, first and alone, establishes if a gender difference in earnings between male and female Officer corps soldiers exists prior to adding other variables. Gender significantly accounted for 9% of the variance in the model. The first model indicates that men earn significantly more on average (\$5432) than their female counterparts²¹.

Model 2.

In Model 2, after controlling for gender, the block of control variables representing human capital variables was added to the analysis. It was comprised of eight variables (military experience, military experience squared, four categorical formal educational levels, language ability, and prestige of university degree). Adding this group of human capital variables increased the variance accounted for to 41% (adjusted R-squared). In addition to gender, four human capital variables in this model were significant (military experience, military experience-squared, prestige of university degree obtained, and the educational category – more than a BA but less than a MA).²² In contrast to Model 1, the gender coefficient decreased by \$1440 to \$3992, indicating that the human capital variables accounted for some of the original gender differences in earnings. In other words, the decrease in the male gender earnings advantage indicates that

²¹ This is the same dollar difference found in the descriptive tables.

²² The small number of cases in this educational category (n=10) means that it is probably substantively uninteresting and is not discussed further.

some human capital factors (e.g., greater military experience) secured them more earnings. As noted in the section describing the Officer group, male officers have on average 2 more years of military experience. It is noteworthy that the number of years experience benefits soldiers the most (e.g., about \$700 per each additional year of military service). In contrast to expectations, a military college degree did not garner officers additional earnings as hypothesised²³. Officers whose initial university degree (e.g., Bachelors) was not obtained from a military college earned a higher salary in general. Interestingly, more male officers held a BA degree from a military college than female officers. Whether or not female officers obtained a BA degree that was better rewarded (e.g., non-military degree), they still earned less overall than their male counterparts.

As noted above, the military experience-squared variable, which was used to test for a curvilinear relationship between years and earnings, was also significant and negative. This indicates that the increments in pay at the end of a soldier's career are smaller than earlier in her or his career, and hence, the military pay experience-earnings function shares the same broad shape as other earnings functions as reported in the literature (Cannings, 1991; Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1979).²⁴ In summary, even after controlling for human capital

²³ It was hypothesized that the military college degree would be more valued (prestigious) and hence rewarded in the military environment.

²⁴ When the curvilinear relationship was plotted, the decrease started in about the soldiers' 34th year of military experience. Given relatively few Officers have 34 or more years of service means that it is also probably substantively

variables, female officers still earn less than their male counterparts. Thus, a gender earnings difference still exists that is not attributable to women simply having more or less of the relevant human capital such as type of university degree or experience, than men.

Model 3.

In Model 3, the third block of control variables—family obligations—was added to the regression equation. It was comprised of three variables: number of dependents, relationship status, and the gender interaction variable (gender by dependents). The family obligations block of variables did not change the amount of variance explained. In other words, the adjusted R-squared remained at 41%. However, the number of dependents variable was significant, indicating that pay increases with dependents. Although no premium is paid to soldiers for having children, having dependents may motivate soldiers to work harder. Although insignificant, the dependents-by-gender interaction was negatively signed, suggesting that having dependents may further disadvantage women. Arguably, the number of dependents' influence on earnings might simply be a phenomenon of the data such as a type I error or reading too much (e.g., the effect of dependents) into the data. In conclusion, when family obligations were controlled for, the male earning advantage decreased. The gender coefficient decreased by nearly \$248 to \$3745.

Model 4.

In Model 4, the fourth block of control variables—career-enhancing

uninteresting in general and not discussed.

experiences—were added to the regression equation. It was comprised of four independent variables: military specific-training, number of postings, number of deployments, and whether the officers had been posted to any military headquarters units. Career-enhancing variables increased the amount of variance accounted for in military earnings by 7% (i.e., adjusted R-squared equals 48%). In contrast to Model 3, the gender coefficient decreased to \$2,219. In other words, the female disadvantage was reduced by a further \$1,526 when the military-related career-enhancing experiences group of variables was added to the model. Training and postings were the only two variables in this group to achieve significance in this group.²⁵ According to the regression coefficients, the amount of training and postings enhanced officers' earnings by \$391 and \$627 for each course or posting, respectively. With respect to postings, the military helps soldiers defray the actual costs of relocations such as paying for house-hunting trips and cost of moving furniture and effects. Hence, each additional posting corresponds to additional earnings in that year. The data did not allow controlling for the monies directly related to the costs of job relocations.

Overall, training and postings might be characterized as 'professional development' and hence human capital enriching factors. In other words, it is

²⁵ As a reminder, postings are permanent job relocations that usually involve moving the military member and her/his family to new geographical locations whereas deployments are temporary job assignments, which only involve sending the soldier to carry out a particular task for a more limited length of time (e.g., usually 6 months or less).

arguable that there would be a gain in soldiers' experiential knowledge due to postings, which would translate into greater institutional earnings. An examination of the descriptive statistics indicates significant gender differences for the training and postings variables (i.e., women have less of both, 3 & 2 respectively). These statistics may suggest several things: female officers are making choices that affect their earnings (e.g., turn down training or postings), particular types of training or postings might be associated with greater earnings, gender discrimination may exist such as barriers for women accessing training opportunities or postings, or possibly a combination of these three processes are occurring. It is noteworthy that, in the military, refusing training or posting is tantamount to disobeying an order. Hence, if women influence these decisions it is probably through unofficial negotiations rather than them directly refusing training or a posting. If women are negotiating, it is likely attributable to them placing their children's needs above the career-enhancing experiences. However, it also might be their superiors who think women should do childcare while men should get the training as they are more career oriented. Given the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes, this means that superiors may be choosing for the female officers and offering them less of the relevant human capital. If so, the gender/dependent interaction will be significant before such opportunities are added and that the size of the negative gender/dependent interaction coefficient would get closer to zero after controlling for career-enhancing experiences. Although the gender-by-dependent interaction was not significant in either Model 3 or 4, the interaction term coefficient (gender-by-dependents) was negative and

its size was more than halved—suggesting that there might be some support for this argument. This is just suggestive and hence should be further explored in future research.

Model 5.

In Model 5, the fifth block of control variables—military functional divisions—was added to the regression equation. Five military divisions: air force, army, navy, engineering, and support comprised this group of variables. Adding the block of military functional divisions uniquely accounted for another 2% of the variance in earnings (i.e., adjusted R-squared equals 50%). The only military division to predict significantly was the Air Force. In contrast to Model 4, the gender coefficient did not decrease, but rather increased slightly by \$32. Thus, while functional division of the military influences pay—people in the Air Force get paid more—this makes no difference to the gender difference in pay. One explanation for the higher pay earned by Air Force military personnel might be the training required to work on the sophisticated equipment (e.g., aircraft). For example, as discussed above in the pay determination section, Air Force pilots do have a different pay scale. An additional analysis of the data was run (i.e., Model 5b). In this analysis, the pilot occupation was controlled for, which resulted in the Air Force division variable no longer significantly predicting earnings. In addition, when pilots were controlled for in the Officer group, the gender coefficient further decreased to \$1473.²⁶ In Model 5b, when the pilot occupation

²⁶ The Anglo-Franco variable had no significant effect and no interesting effect on the gender coefficient and thus was dropped from the analysis at this

was controlled for, the inclusion of military functional divisions accounted for further differences in male and female officers' earnings, however, the gender coefficient (i.e., gender difference) was not reduced to zero and remained significant. Model 5b is used as the basis for the next and final model.

Model 6.

In this last model, military rank was added. The rank variable was comprised of four levels (Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel). Rank was added in a final step as it is arguably endogenous to gender.²⁷ Although it can also be argued that other variables are also endogenous to gender such as military training, postings, and deployments, it is also arguable that these variables are endogenous to rank. In other words, the training, postings and deployments are career-enhancing activities that would lead to promotions. Hence entering rank after these variables in a separate and last step makes casual sense. As anticipated, adding rank to the model produced collinearity (see for example the significant changes in the B coefficients on some variables—experience, prestige of degree, training, and postings). That the latter three variables became non-significant in Model 6 indicates that when rank was controlled for, it accounted for possible differences in rank within the prestige of degree, training, and posting variables on earnings. For example, in Model 5 officers with a non-military college degree had an earnings advantage over those with a military college degree whereas in

point.

²⁷ Endogenous variables have explicit causes within the model (e.g., gender effects rank).

Model 6 after controlling rank there was no significant advantage. Before controlling for rank (e.g., Model 5), it is possible that more high-ranking officers held a non-military college degree. Given rank affects military earnings, once rank was accounted for (Model 6), there was no difference between the non-military and military degree. Variance in the regression analyses was examined such as correlations between variables and the variance inflation factors (see Appendix VII for correlations). While some redundancy was present,²⁸ there was no serious multicollinearity (e.g., none of the variance inflation factors were greater than 10, and correlations were not greater than .7).

Adding rank to the model also significantly explained more of the variance (an additional 14%) in officers' earnings, and it further reduced the gender coefficient by \$212. However, in general female officers still face a significant gender earnings disadvantage of \$1261. A cross tabulation of gender, rank and seniority was performed as a means to assess the relationship between these variables (see Table 4). Years of experience were subdivided into 4 divisions (i.e., cohorts of seniority) representing 10 to 14 years, 15 to 19 years, 20 to 24 years, and 25 plus years of military experience. There seems to be a trend in the data that at the higher levels of seniority (20-24, and 25+ years), there are fewer women than men over all. In the three most senior categories (15-19, 20-24, and 25 plus years), a larger percentage of female officers than male officers are captains and majors (i.e., the lowest two ranks in this study). For example, 19.4% of the most senior female officers are Captains as opposed to 1.5% of their male colleagues

²⁸ Note that the rank-experience correlation was $r = .702$, $p < .001$.

and 32.3 % of the women versus 50.0% of the men are Majors. This indicates that not as many female officers compared to male officers are being promoted out of the more junior officer ranks of Captain and Major as they gain seniority. In the lowest seniority bracket (10-14 years seniority), it is the reverse. A higher percentage of male officers (82%) as compared to 70% of the female officers are Captains, indicating that short servicewomen (10-14 years seniority) are more likely than men to be promoted to Major. However, in the intermediate group (15-19 years seniority), servicemen are more likely to make it to Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel. Although the most senior women (25 years plus seniority) catch up at the Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel levels, as just discussed above, they are overly represented in the two lowest ranks. These findings indicate that rank is endogenous to gender, but males are only advantaged at the higher ranks. There are increments of pay associated with each increase in rank (refer to the previous section: Officer Corps Pay Scale). However, the overall increase from Lieutenant-Colonel to Colonel (\$2,400) is not considerably larger than the increase from Captain to Major (\$10,800), or Major to Colonel (\$7,200). As discussed above, this is due to the increased number of yearly incentives in the junior officer ranks. Hence, this indicates that the very high pay of a small number of men does not produce the differences in pay between men and women.

Table 4: Cross-tab of Gender, Rank and Seniority for Officer Corps (N = 577)*

Seniority	Gender	Rank		Total		
		Captain	Major		Lt. Colonel	Colonel
10-14 Years	Male	42	9		51	
	% within gender	82.4	17.6		100	
	Female	46	20		66	
	% within gender	69.7	30.3		100	
	Total	88	29		117	
	% within gender	75.2	24.8		100	
15-19 Years	Male	60	46	5	111	
	% within gender	54.1	41.4	4.5	100	
	Female	69	38	3	110	
	% within gender	62.7	34.5	2.7	100	
	Total	129	84	8	221	
	% within gender	58.4	38.0	3.6	100	
20-24 Years	Male	21	49	13	2	85
	% within gender	24.7	57.6	15.3	2.4	100
	Female	30	21	6		57
	% within gender	52.6	36.8	10.5		100
	Total	51	70	19	2	142
	% within gender	35.9	49.3	13.4	1.4	100
25 plus Years	Male	1	33	21	11	66
	% within gender	1.5	50.0	31.8	16.7	100
	Female	6	10	10	5	31
	% within gender	19.4	32.3	32.3	16.1	100
	Total	7	43	31	16	97
	% within gender	7.2	44.3	32.0	16.5	100

* Of the 577 soldiers in the Officer group, 46% were women and 54% men.

Summary

After all controls (Models 1 through 6) were added, a significant gender pay gap remains (\$1260.71) in the Officer corps. In other words, the regression analyses indicate that the female officer earnings disadvantage (e.g., gender coefficient) was reduced but not eliminated for the Officer corps. This reduction was accounted for by differences in human capital (e.g., number of years of military experience), military career-enhancing experiences (e.g., training, and postings), pilot's occupation, and rank. However, after controlling for all the above mentioned variables, there still remains a significant gender difference in pay. As discussed above, the residual or unexplained variance in earnings is sometimes treated as evidence of discrimination. However, it may also reflect different uncontrolled effects. In other words, there may be variables not included that may account for this result. In the next section, I present the analyses for the NCM corps commencing with the descriptive statistics followed by the multivariate analyses.

Non-Commissioned Member Corps

Description

Tables 5 and 6 provide a summary of the variables for the Non-Commissioned Members' group. Analyses consisting of independent t-tests for the continuous variables and chi-square tests for the categorical variables were used to investigate gender differences on each variable. There were 2991 members in the NCM group of which 49.8% were women and 50.2% men. Male

and female NCM soldiers were similar in average age (forty), but differed, significantly so, regarding: *earnings* (women earned \$2457 less), *years of military experience* (women had nearly one year less), *training* (women had three fewer job-related training courses), *postings* (women had half a posting less than their male counterparts), men were away more than women by one *deployment*, *relationship status* (more women than men were single (e.g., not married or common-law, 35% vs. 18%), *rank* (women were less represented in the top three ranks), and *children and dependents* (women had 0.42 less), however 21% of the NCM women had no children as opposed to 14% of the men. There is a tendency for women to be better educated. For example, while 46% of the men had less than a high school education 31% of the women fell into this bracket. Forty-five percent of the women had high school education as opposed to 41% of the men. Twenty-two percent of the women as opposed to 13% of the men had more than a high school education but less than a bachelors degree, and nearly 2% of the women had a bachelors degree or greater as opposed to half a percent of the men. For male and female NCM soldiers, the Anglophone/Francophone split was similar to the national averages (75% and 25%, respectively). I also examined in which military divisions the male and female NCM soldiers were situated. Similar to the Officer corps and as expected, female NCM soldiers were most visible in the Support division (64.7% of the women) and less so in the other divisions: Army (0.8%), Air Force (18.3%), Engineers (14.6%), and Navy (1.6%). Male NCM soldiers were more evenly distributed between the divisions: Army

(24.6%), Air Force (19.9%), Engineers (18.4%), Navy (14.5%), and Support (22.5%).

Table 5: Non-Commissioned Member Corps Characteristics by Gender T-tests (N = 2991)

Table 5	Male (N = 1502)			Female (N = 1489)			Gender Difference
	Range	Mean	SD	Range	M	SD	
Age	30-56	39.91	4.74	30-55	39.51	4.20	.40
Earnings (\$)	39,240-70,839	49,619	6,253	40,183-69,841	47,162	4,787	2457***
Experience	11-37	19.64	5.02	12-33	18.73	4.17	.91**
Training	1-32	11.03	5.41	1-32	8.03	5.04	3.00***
Postings	2-22	9.55	3.29	2-20	9.07	2.77	.49**
Deployments	0-6	1.81	1.57	0-6	.95	1.16	.87***
Dependents	0-7	2.13	1.28	0-7	1.71	1.27	.42***

Note: The NCM group was weighted for gender prior to running independent sample tests (see discussion on weighting in Chapter 3).

*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, & ***p ≤ .001

Table 6: Non-Commissioned Member Corps Characteristics by Gender Chi-square Tests (N = 2991)

Table 6		Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
MILITARY DIVISION***	Army	24.6	0.8	12.8
	Air Force	19.9	18.3	19.1
	Engineers	18.4	14.6	16.5
	Navy	14.5	1.6	8.1
	Support	22.5	64.7	43.5
HQ POSTING	None	69.0	68.6	68.8
	1 or more	31.0	31.4	31.2
EDUCATION***	<High School	45.5	30.6	38.0
	High School	41.1	45.4	43.3
	>High School<BA	12.9	22.4	17.7
	BA & >	.5	1.6	1.0
LANGUAGE ABILITY	None	58.2	46.9	52.6
	Some Proficiency	41.8	53.1	47.4
ANGLO/ FRANCO	Anglophone	72.8	71.3	72.0
	Francophone	27.2	28.7	28.0
RELATIONSHIP ***	No	17.6	34.7	26.1
	Yes	82.4	65.3	73.9

Table 6		Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
DEPENDENTS***	0	13.5	20.8	17.1
	1	17.4	27.1	22.2
	2	26.7	20.4	23.6
	3	30.9	25.7	28.3
	4	9.0	4.6	6.8
	5	1.9	1.3	1.6
	6	.3	.1	.2
	7	.2	.1	.1
RANK***	Corporal	29.2	35.2	32.2
	Master Corporal	24.3	28.1	26.2
	Sergeant	23.0	23.6	23.3
	Warrant Officer	14.4	8.5	11.5
	Master Warrant Officer	6.3	4.0	5.1
	Chief Warrant Officer	2.7	.7	1.7

Note: Chi-square analyses were run testing for gender differences and all were weighted for gender (see discussion on weighting in Chapter 3). * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, & *** $p \leq .001$

In summary, significant gender differences (i.e., differences in their means) were found indicating that on average, women earned less while men were deployed more often, more men than women were in a conjugal-type relationship, and women had fewer children than the men. With respect to education, NCM women appear to be better educated with a higher percentage of women having post-secondary education than men.

Regression Analyses

Six regression models consisting of various combinations of variables

theoretically grouped as gender, human capital, family obligations, military career-enhancing variables, military divisions, and military status were regressed on the dependent variable: military earnings for the NCM corps (For details regarding the regression analysis refer to Table 7 and for information regarding correlations between variables refer to Appendix VIII)

Table 7: Regression Analysis of Non-Commissioned Member Corps Earnings

Table 7	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5a	Model 6
N	2991	2991	2991	2991	2991	2991	2991
Adj. R ²	.05	.29	.29	.35	.38	.39	.68
Constant	49618.73	49125.81	48370.11	47723.51	46620.00	46499.38	36483.94
Gender ^A	-2456.96***	-1982.46***	-1953.93***	-1050.08***	-299.51	-297.61	-445.10**
Experience		540.90***	541.29***	345.95***	415.70***	419.29***	20.99
Experience-Sqd		17.33***	16.43***	22.42***	20.07***	19.47***	9.92***
EDUCATION	< HS ^A	-651.80***	-659.55***	-542.50**	-554.39**	-561.89**	-53.27
	>HS<BA ^A	49.09	-31.17	23.99	89.32	4.24	-80.47
	>BA ^A	2616.63**	2507.95**	3063.94***	3035.07***	3001.40***	810.46
Language ^A		202.55	154.39	-83.69	88.81	116.77	-34.31
Dependents			-75.43	-126.43	-87.91	-72.68	-143.31*
Dependents by Gender			-562.30***	-276.98*	-315.45*	-319.26*	-24.82
Relationship ^A			1005.27***	854.50***	806.93***	804.89***	-49.05
Training				194.86***	190.03***	159.61***	-1.38
Postings				345.15***	193.85***	193.48***	67.78*

Table 7	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5a	Model 6
Deployments				275.44***	236.62***	251.95***	297.15***
HQ Postings ^A				838.61***	1004.96***	1141.30***	371.15**
DIVISION							
Air Force ^A					487.31	-1081.04**	719.31**
Engineer ^A					497.41*	-535.60	-106.68
Navy ^A					4424.33***	2935.51***	1775.31***
Army ^A					1080.51***	1158.07***	236.31
Specialist Group						2173.11***	2635.50***
Rank							3200.89***

^A Default Dummy Variable Categories: Gender (Male), Education (High School), Bilingualism (None), Relationship Status (Not in relationship), HQ Posting (No Headquarters Postings), Division (Support), and Specialist Trades (Standard). Note: *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, & ***p ≤ .001

Model 1.

In Model 1, only the gender variable was included. Adding the gender variable, alone and first, establishes if a gender difference in earnings between male and female NCM soldiers exists prior to adding other variables. Gender alone explained 5% of the variance in the model. The first model indicates that men earn more on average (\$2457) than their female counterparts.²⁹

Model 2.

In Model 2, the block of control variables representing human capital variables was added. It was comprised of six variables: military experience, military experience squared, three categorical levels of education, and language ability. Adding this group of human capital variables increased the variance accounted for from 5% in Model 1 to 29%. In addition to the gender variable, four of the individual human capital variables in this model were significant (military experience, military experience-squared, and two of the educational categories—less than a high school, and the BA and greater.³⁰ The military experience-squared variable, which was used to test for a curvilinear relationship between years and earnings, was also significant. Interestingly, the experience-squared experience variable was not negative in contrast to the equivalent coefficient for officers.

²⁹ This is the same dollar difference found in the descriptive tables.

³⁰ The small number of cases in the BA and greater educational category (1%) means that fewer soldiers were affected and thus it is less substantively interesting and not further discussed.

This indicates that NCM earnings do not grow more slowly or decrease in the later years of their career. In fact the increments seem to increase (the coefficient is significant and positive). This finding means that the NCM pay experience-earnings function does not resemble the hypothesized earnings functions commonly reported in the literature (Cannings, 1991; Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Rosenbaum, 1979).³¹ When compared to Model 1, the gender coefficient decreased by \$475, indicating that human capital accounted for some of the original gender differences in earnings. As noted in the previous section describing the sample, male NCM soldiers have more military experience (1 year) while female NCM soldiers tended to be slightly more educated. While both education and experience increase pay, it appears that men and women differ on the amounts of the relevant human capital they acquire. Thus, although there was a decrease in the male gender earnings advantage, male soldiers' additional military experience secured them more earnings even though women tended to garner more earnings because they were a bit more educated. Thus, controlling for the basic human capital variables in Model 2 results in a reduction of the gender earnings difference by nearly \$500, however, female NCM soldiers still earn less (\$1982) than their male counterparts. Thus, an earnings difference still exists that is not attributable to women simply by having less of the relevant human capital than men.

³¹ Experience-squared predicts about a \$20 increase in earnings over time. Experience-squared is not further discussed given it is relatively substantively uninteresting.

Model 3.

In Model 3, the third block of control variables—family obligations—was added to the regression equation. It was comprised of three variables: number of dependents, relationship status, and the gender interaction variable (gender by dependents). The family obligations block of variables did not change the amount of variance explained. In other words, the R-squared was not reduced and remained at 29%. Nonetheless, the gender-by-dependents interaction, and the relationship variables were significant. As discussed in the above pay determination section, no premium is paid to soldiers for having children. That the gender-by-dependents interaction variable was significant and negative is consistent with the interpretation that having dependents negatively influences women's careers more so than is the case for men. Based on the descriptive statistics in the previous section, NCM women also have more of a tendency not to be in conjugal-type relationships when compared to their male counterparts. When coupled with the finding that being in a relationship has a positive effect on the earnings equation model, female NCM soldiers tendency to be single more often than men could negatively influence their earnings. The finding that being in a relationship had a significant effect was unexpected for a number of reasons. Since women have been in the labour force for many years now, it might be considered no longer a differentiator in general (e.g., being in a relationship is advantageous for both genders). Moreover, some research indicates that conjugal-type relationships negatively influenced women's earnings while having no influence on men's (Hundley, 2000; Melamed, 1995b). However, other research

(e.g., Judge et al., 1995) found a similar effect to this study's finding: that conjugal type relationships have a positive effect on earnings. This positive association between relationships and earnings, however, was significant for the NCM but not the Officer corps. This might be the case because relationships may provide supportive environments for NCM soldiers that may indirectly influence their military earnings. Perhaps being in a relationship allows NCM soldiers to be more devoted to their job and hence more rewarded (Aryee et al., 1994). In conclusion, after adding the family obligations variables into the model, an earnings disadvantage of \$1954 still exists for female NCM soldiers. It is important to note in this model in which the family obligation variables were added that the male earning advantage marginally decreased (\$28).

Model 4.

In Model 4, the fourth block of control variables—career-enhancing experiences—was added to the earnings equation. The gender variable coefficient was reduced by \$904. In other words, the female disadvantage went from \$1954 in Model 3 to \$1,050 in this model. The career-enhancing block of variables was comprised of: military training, number of postings, number of deployments, and whether the NCM soldiers had been posted to any military headquarters units. Adding career-enhancing experiences increased the R-squared (explained variance in NCM earnings) to 35%. All four of the variables added in this model achieved significance. According to the regression coefficients, the amount of training, postings, and deployments enhanced NCM soldiers' earnings by \$195, \$345, and \$275 for each course, posting, or deployment, respectively. If a soldier

was posted to a headquarters location during her or his career, she or he received an additional \$839.³² This model indicates that although there was a reduction in the gender coefficient (i.e., the male-soldier earnings advantage), the descriptive statistics suggest one of three possibilities: first, female NCM soldiers might be making choices that affect their earnings (e.g., turn down training which might be associated with greater earnings), or second, discrimination exists such as barriers for women accessing training opportunities, postings or deployments, or third, perhaps the truth includes a combination of these two factors. It is noteworthy that in the military, refusing training is tantamount to disobeying an order. Hence, if women influence training assignments, it is probably through unofficial negotiations rather than officially refusing. If women are negotiating to avoid training or postings then it could be seen as choosing their children over career-enhancing opportunities. However, it also might be their superiors who think women should be doing childcare, and thus, deciding not to recommend them for training assignments. In either case, one might expect the gender/dependent's interaction to be significant before such opportunities are added and that the size of the negative gender-by-dependent's interaction coefficient would get closer to zero after controlling for career-enhancing experiences.

The gender-by-dependent interaction coefficient between Model 3 and 4 was reduced but did not disappear, suggesting that there might be some validity to

³² Note: As discussed earlier, due to extreme skewing, the headquarters posting variable is presented as a dichotomous categorical variable indicating zero for one category and one or more headquarters postings for the second one.

this argument. Hence, it seems there is a possibility that women (or their superiors in place of them) might be making decisions regarding career enhancing choices that leads to women earning less. Given the gender-by-dependent interaction coefficient did not reduce to zero also indicates that similar to the findings in the literature (Blackaby, 2005; Burke, 1999; Daniel, 1995; England et al., 2004; Fernandez, 1998; Hundley, 2000; Melamed, 1995b; Waldfogel, 1998), dependents for men positively influence their earnings. The possibility of three way interactions (e.g., gender by dependents by training, or gender by dependents by deployments) or the interaction of gender with training should be further explored in future research.

In summary, all four of these variables might be characterized as ‘professional development’ and hence human capital enriching factors. Adding these professional experience variables almost reduces the female earnings disadvantage by nearly 50% with respect to the previous model. NCM women appear to earn less because they don’t engage in or are denied the sort of professional experience (i.e., the relevant capital such as training, postings, and deployments) which have a significant positive effect on pay.

Model 5.

In Model 5, the fifth block of control variables—military functional divisions was added to the regression equation.³³ Model 5 explains thirty-eight percent of the variance in earnings (i.e., R-squared increased to 35%). The five

³³ Similar to the Officer corps analysis, the Anglo/Franco variable was dropped because including it did not modify the gender coefficient.

categories of the military functional variable were the air force, army, navy, engineering, and support divisions. The engineer, navy, and army divisions when compared to the support division (reference dummy variable category) predict NCM earnings significantly, as well as the Anglo/Franco variable. The gender earnings coefficient was reduced to -299.51. Although the gender coefficient remained negative as per a female earnings disadvantage, it was no longer significant.

In general, the military functional division variable indicates that soldiers in the engineer, naval and army divisions earn more than soldiers in the support division³⁴. The possible difference in earnings among the Naval, Army, and Engineer divisions and the Support division is interesting especially given that it might be deployments (nature, duration, dangerousness) that would be quite different among these divisions. For example, infantry soldiers in the Army are currently engaged in very dangerous deployments. However, deployments were controlled in the previous model. As seen in the pay determination section earlier, some occupations are classified as specialist trades and receive greater pay. Similar to controlling for the pilot occupation in the Officer corps, I performed an additional regression and controlled for the NCM specialist one and two occupations (see Regression Table 7, column marked Model 5a). It was expected that such divisions as the Air Force, Navy, and Army because of the associated technology of the equipment would have more specialist trade groups. The

³⁴ This is a categorical variable and the support division was the default category or reference group.

specialist variable predicted significantly and positively (\$2,173). As a consequence of including it in the regression, the engineer division coefficient was no longer significant, while the Navy and Army coefficients remained significant. In the presence of the specialist group variable, the Navy division coefficient significantly decreased (\$4424 to \$2936) and the Army increased slightly (\$1081 to \$1158) when compared to the Support division. However, the Air Force division coefficient became significant and negative (-\$1081). The gender variable remained relatively the same (-\$298) and non-significant. These findings indicate that suppression may be occurring between this new variable and the military divisions. Although there was no effect on the gender coefficient, the specialist variable does suggest that some of the earnings differential among the military divisions might be due to these higher paid occupations.

Upon examination of the descriptive statistics (see Table 6 above), it is notable that in comparison to the other divisions, a large percentage of female NCM soldiers are employed in the support division as opposed to the other divisions. To fully understand the implications of women's predominance in the support division and the differences in pay between the divisions future research should focus on these findings. In summary, model 5a indicates that the addition of the military functional divisions and the specialist group variables reduced the gender differences in earnings to a negligible amount.

Model 6.

In this last model, military rank was added. The rank variable was comprised of six levels (Corporal—Cpl, Master-Corporal—MCpl, Sergeant—Sgt,

Warrant Officer—WO, Master Warrant Officer—MWO, and Chief Warrant Officer—CWO). Similar to the rationale discussed for the Officer corps, rank was added in a final model for the NCM corps as it is arguably endogenous to gender (the full rationale is presented above in the regression analyses section, model 6 for the Officer corps). Adding rank in this last model produced collinearity as indicated by significant changes in B coefficients on a number of variables). The coefficients on the following variables changed dramatically once rank was controlled: gender, experience, relationship, education, training, postings, headquarters postings, all the military divisions, and the specialist group. These changes in the coefficients indicate that the uncontrolled differences in rank allowed these variables to either significantly predict or not predict at all. For example, in Model 5a, there was a significant negative difference between the earnings of an Air Force NCM and a Support NCM soldier (dummy category for military division) with the Air Force NCM earning less. However, after controlling for rank (i.e., Model 6), the average Air Force NCM soldier earns significantly more (\$719) than the average Support NCM soldier. Variance in the regression analyses was examined such as correlations between variables and the variance inflation factors (see Appendix VIII for correlations). While some redundancy was present,³⁵ there was no serious multicollinearity (e.g., none of the variance inflation factors were greater than 10, and correlations were not greater than .7). Overall, adding rank in this model significantly increased the amount of variance explained in NCM soldiers' earnings (an additional 29%).

³⁵ Note that the rank-experience correlation was $r = .765$, $p < .001$.

Notably, the gender coefficient that was non-significant in the previous model is now significant when rank is controlled. As such, the gender coefficient now indicates a gender disadvantage for female NCM soldiers of \$445 when rank is controlled. As well, a cross tabulation of gender, rank and seniority was performed to assess the relationship between these variables (see Table 8 next). Years of experience were subdivided into 4 divisions (i.e., cohorts of seniority) representing 10 to 14 years, 15 to 19 years, 20 to 24 years, and 25+ (plus) years of military experience. Similar to the Officer corps, this table indicates that there may be a trend in the data that overall at the higher levels of seniority there are fewer female NCM soldiers. As well, senior female NCM soldiers are over represented in the lowest rank (Corporal) and underrepresented in the top rank (CWO) when compared to their male colleagues. However, unlike the Officer corps, this trend only exists in the last seniority cohort of 25 plus years. Overall, this table indicates that female NCM soldiers are pretty consistently disadvantaged by rank at all levels of seniority.

Table 8: Cross-tab of Gender, Rank and Seniority for Non-Commissioned Member Corps (N = 2991)*

Seniority	Gender	Rank						Total
		Cpl	MCpl	Sgt	WO	MWO	CWO	
10-14 Years	Male	182	93	47	6			328
	% within gender	55.5	28.4	14.3	1.8			100
	Female	201	103	39	1			344
	% within gender	58.4	29.9	11.3	0.3			100
	Total	383	196	86	7			672
	% within gender	57.0	29.2	12.8	1.0			100
15-19 Years	Male	170	158	123	66	4	1	552
	% within gender	32.6	30.3	23.6	12.6	0.8	0.2	100
	Female	225	184	120	22	6	1	558
	% within gender	40.3	33.0	21.5	3.9	1.1	0.2	100
	Total	395	342	243	88	10	2	1080
	% within gender	36.6	31.7	22.5	8.1	0.9	0.2	100
20-24 Years	Male	82	98	129	85	29	8	431
	% within gender	19.0	22.7	29.9	19.7	6.7	1.9	100
	Female	86	121	156	68	21	3	455
	% within gender	18.9	26.6	34.3	14.9	4.6	0.7	100
	Total	168	219	285	153	50	11	886
	% within gender	19.0	24.7	32.2	17.3	5.6	1.2	100
25 plus Years	Male	5	16	47	59	62	32	221
	% within gender	2.3	7.2	21.3	26.7	28.1	14.5	100
	Female	12	10	36	36	32	6	132
	% within gender	9.1	7.6	27.3	27.3	24.2	4.5	100
	Total	17	26	83	95	94	38	353
	% within gender	4.8	7.4	23.5	26.9	26.6	10.8	100

* Of the 2991 soldiers in the NCM group, 50% were women and 50% men.

Summary

In summary, for the NCM corps, after all controls were added (e.g., see Models 1 through 6), the gender coefficient was significant, indicating that a gender pay disadvantage also exists for female NCM soldiers, albeit a smaller disadvantage than the one for the Officer corps. The remaining unexplained variance in NCM soldiers earnings may reflect that different uncontrolled effects (e.g., other variables) were not included that may account for this result. The above analysis indicates that the female earnings disadvantage (gender coefficient) was reduced to a small but significant amount and this reduction was accounted for by the differences in such factors as the number of years of military experience, family factors, career-enhancing variables, military divisions, and military rank. On some variables such as the number of years military experience, training or postings, there was a gender difference. Thus, for female NCM soldiers, if they acquire the relevant human capital or career-enhancing experiences, they will earn the same pay as their male colleagues. That being said, the quantitative data does not help explain why there are gender differences on the relevant factors that positively influence earnings. In other words, it may be possible that female soldiers could be encountering discrimination with regards to acquiring training and postings or they may be unofficially negotiating not to participate in training or posting assignments. The pay differences indicated in this study between the military divisions should be further investigated as well as its possible relevance to gender differences. In the next section, I present an integrated discussion of Officer and NCM results.

Conclusions

As evidenced in Model 1, the initial earnings difference between male and female NCMs was much smaller than it was for officers—about \$2,500 and \$5400, respectively before controls. Upon examination of the descriptive findings (gender differences on the variables) and the regression findings (factors affecting military earnings), it is noteworthy that female soldiers had less of the relevant human, social and structural capital for producing military earnings than their male colleagues. For both the NCM and Officer corps, military experience (number of years), training (number of qualifications), postings (number of job relocations), specialist occupational group, and status (military rank) were all significant positive predictors of military income. In all cases, both male NCM and Officer soldiers had more of this capital than female soldiers.

However, many other variables only significantly predicted NCM soldiers' earnings and not the Officers' pay. These variables were the educational category (less than a high school education), relationship status (being married), gender by dependents interaction, deployments (number), headquarters posting, and three military divisions (air force, army, and navy). For all these variables except the education and headquarters variables, male NCM soldiers had the advantage (e.g., greater number of deployments, greater percentage were in a relationship, or in the Navy). Despite the fact that more male NCMs than women had less than a high school education, and given its negative effect on earnings, in general women still earned less. Only two variables predicted Officers' pay and not NCM pay (e.g., number of dependents and the prestige of their university degree). With

respect to dependents, female officers had less than the men indicating another earnings disadvantage for them. Indeed, more women officers than men had 'no' dependents in this study. Arguably NCM men with less than a high school education and male officers with a military college degree were disadvantaged for earnings. However, this earnings disadvantage on these two variables did not offset their overall earnings advantage in comparison to women.

Although fewer variables significantly predicted Officer's military earnings, it appears that in the Officer corps, the gender differences on the variables that predicted for both corps were greater than they were in the NCM corps. For example, for military experience, male officers had 2 years whereas male NCMs had 1 year more than women. This was similar for postings (male officers had 2 while NCM soldiers had 1 more posting than women). However, the two corps were similar with respect to gender differences in training. Male soldiers whether Officer or NCM had accumulated 3 more courses than the female soldiers. Thus, men in both the NCM and Officer corps had more experience, training, and postings, but the gender differential on particular variables was more pronounced for the Officer corps. Although fewer variables predicted income for the Officer corps than for the NCM corps, the gender differences on some variables in the Officer corps were greater than in the NCM corps. Hence, this might explain the greater gender earnings differential between the two corps. Arguably, women in the Officer corps had less of the relevant capital for earnings than women in the NCM corps.

Compared to previous studies of gender differences in pay, this study included many and well-defined controls (e.g., human capital, family obligations, career-enhancing, military structural and military status variables). In general, the results are consistent with previous research in that women in the Canadian Forces are still significantly disadvantaged on earnings. However, my findings indicate that female officers have a greater wage disadvantage than female NCM soldiers (e.g., \$1261 versus \$445, respectively). This difference may be linked to the fact that there are smaller differences in pay to be explained for the NCM than the Officer corps (the ranges are \$32,000 in the former, \$46,000 in the latter). It may also be related to the pay determination process. As seen above in the pay determination section, in general, it appears that pay might be more *bureaucratically* determined in the NCM than in the Officer corps (e.g., breakdown of NCM occupations into three specialty levels). In general, the data indicate that rule-based pay systems like the military tend to be associated with smaller differences in pay between men and women.

These analyses also suggest that men earn more because they are more likely to have had military-related career-enhancing experiences. Three possible interpretations for this phenomenon are: 1) there is discrimination against women in access to these experiences; 2) family obligations limits women's mobility more than is the case for men; 3) or, it could be some combination of the two. The discrimination may occur because superiors hold gendered assumptions and expectations, and consequently are less likely to offer career-enhancing experiences to women. However, it might also be the case that women hold

similar beliefs (or desires) and hence they might be more likely to refuse opportunities that require work mobility. This might be a form of statistical discrimination. It is noteworthy that military work hinges on mobility. Whether actively fighting in conflicts or participating in less conflictual affairs like peacekeeping, military work by definition is all about mobility. Moreover, as discussed earlier refusing work-experiences is virtually the same as refusing a military order and hence committing a punishable military offence. Some of the gender differences found for the professional development variables (training, posting, deployments) may be related to the influence of family obligations on women's careers and how gender roles are socially organized (Blackaby, 2005). The significant dependents/gender interaction for NCMs, and the insignificant but suggestive similar result for officers are consistent with this hypothesis and processes.

Women also may be reluctant to be transferred to another location (posting) and differential willingness to be mobile features gender differences in pay (Blackaby, 2005). Like other large organisations, the military moves its soldiers (postings) for operational effectiveness. Unlike civilians, however, military postings are not optional or negotiable but rather are considered a requirement and the equivalent to a military order. Of course, it goes without saying that it is possible that informal pressure can be exerted by a soldier to avoid a move. However, there are factors that mitigate against this occurring often. The decision to relocate a soldier is decided outside the soldier's immediate chain of command and usually at a different location. These decisions are carried

out at national military headquarters in Ottawa. Hence, the soldier has less influential power on and chances to influence the process. It makes sense from the military's viewpoint in two ways that soldiers cannot officially refuse or negotiate postings: 1) combat readiness is based on being able to move soldiers when needed, whenever and wherever, and 2) the military strives to treat all soldiers equally. That being said, there will always be informal negotiations even in the military, but I would suggest that they occur less often due to operational and national requirements.

Chapter 5

The Foundation To Understand Women’s Soldiering Experiences

The desires of social actors are never enough if structural conditions are not conducive to their realization (Coser, 1974, p. 99).

In the previous chapter, using a large quantitative data set and multivariate statistical techniques, I investigated soldiers’ military salaries for the presence of inequality as a gauge of gender integration. In the next four chapters, I examine organisational processes using a qualitative approach. Specifically, in these chapters, I examine formal structures (e.g., regulations, procedures), as well as informal practices and social interactions, from the perspective of female soldiers. My goal is to provide a new understanding of how soldiering is socially organised in Canada. By examining both the structural constraints and opportunities of soldiering through women’s experiences, motivations, and decisions, the “experiential integration of women” in the Canadian military is uncovered. Yet, to carry out this examination and make sense of the observations gathered, knowledge of the ideology, rules, regulations, and practices that organise the social relations underpinning the Canadian Forces (CF) is essential.

Providing this necessary foundation is the main purpose of the present chapter. It has two main foci, one that can be referred to as the ‘official’ or ‘textual,’ and the second as the ‘unofficial’ or ‘symbolic. The presentation is organised as follows: It begins with a brief description of some of the authoritative legal texts on which military actions and decisions are based. This introduces the official sources of the rules and practices that guide the social

relations of Canadian soldiering. In addition to this official foundational overview, the second section of the chapter focuses on the non-official practices of the military, and how it is imbued by masculinity and heterosexuality. This latter part provides insights regarding the culture and ideology of the CF milieu. The chapter ends with a brief summary of these two influences on the lives of female soldiers.

CF Laws and Regulations: The Official

According to Dorothy Smith (1993, 2005), understanding the social relations of an institution requires an in-depth look at the official texts and practices governing its operation. In the present context, this translates into the examination of the institutional texts organising and guiding how soldiering is accomplished in the Canadian military. Like other institutions, militaries are organised by administrative and regulating texts, and the CF are no exception. Although a comprehensive examination of all Canadian military policies and practices is beyond the scope of the present thesis, it is essential to understand some of the structural conditions that shape Canadian soldiers' lives to make sense of their experiences. Accordingly, I briefly examine a smaller number but critical selection of CF laws, regulations, and practices that shape soldiers' everyday lives. The basis of the selection and intent is to provide insights into the Canadian military's social, political, and cultural milieu, and help contextualise the experiences of female soldiers.

The Canadian military is a national institution tasked in a unique way with the defence of Canada, its interests, and its values. In addition, it is mandated to

aid in the maintenance of international peace and security. While the overarching authority is the government of Canada, the Prime Minister and Cabinet's governance is operationalised by the National Defence Act (NDA). The NDA is the foundational statutory text that not only delineates the broad mandate, structural makeup, and functions of the Canadian Forces, but also authorizes a separate and parallel set of laws for governing and ruling the everyday lives of Canadian soldiers. Therefore, the NDA is an official set of constitutional laws delineating military social relations and controlling soldiers' lives.

The NDA also is the central political and legal document from which all other military regulatory texts are derived. From the perspective of the present study, the most notable of these regulatory texts are the Defence Administrative Orders and Directives (DAOD), and the Queen's Regulations and Orders (QR&O). In other words, the DAODs and QR&Os are detailed interpretations of particular clauses of the NDA. In addition to containing specific laws regulating soldiers' duties and behaviour, one can find contained in these official texts much about the military's ideological underpinnings. The NDA, DAODs and QR&Os, therefore, are of primary interest since they inform the hierarchy on the direction, management, and organisation of CF and soldiering.

According to the NDA, the Canadian military has near absolute control over its soldiers (e.g., NDA, Section 27, and 33). At all times, under any circumstances, and regardless of their training, CF soldiers are bound to perform any function that the military requires of them in the name of national defence. If it is needed, while it is the most extreme function, the *raison d'être* of militaries

includes going to war and killing for one's country (McGurk, Cotting, Britt, & Alder, 2006). The regulation called "Universality of Service" (see NDA, Section 27 and DAOD 5023-0) is the specific text that allows the Canadian military to use soldiers as it wishes and also to demand higher standards of performance and abilities. In other words, soldiers are liable to be sent 'whenever,' 'wherever,' to do 'whatever' the military requires for operational success and national security. Arguably, the military requires this type of *carte blanche* legislation (complete power) over soldiers as a means to maintain operations and meet its commitments concerning wars and the security of the nation. The military's complete control of soldiers' lives is treated as a normal and acceptable part of soldiering, so much so that it is protected and sanctioned by the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA, Subsection 15[9]). Not only is this notion of unlimited service to one's country enshrined in the statutory texts of Canada (i.e., NDA and CHRA), it also is reinforced, idealised and endorsed in military doctrine to which all soldiers are exposed. For example, universality of service is described at length in the book, *Duty with honour: The profession of arms in Canada*, which is used for training and teaching soldiers about the ideological underpinnings of military work. In the next comment, Orly speaks about signing a military employment contract and the ultimate authority of the CF:

When you sign that paper [military employment contract] you can be deployed at anytime. You can be put in Afghanistan, in that jeep that's going to be blown up by a mine on the road. Not every civilian signs a piece of paper that gives away his or her life at any time, any day. (Orly,

Officer)

Being willing to fight and die for the nation is the most extreme requirement the CF requests of its members. It is also noteworthy that all military requests represent orders that soldiers must obey. Failure to obey an order constitutes a military offence punishable under military law and if convicted is “liable to imprisonment for life or to less punishment” (NDA, Section 83: Disobedience of lawful command). As already mentioned, the NDA is the defining legal statute that underpins a soldier’s employment contract and represents an additional set of laws and justice system. While the military justice system and laws are similar to the Canadian Criminal Code, all soldiers are subject to both. Soldiers are aware of this and Orly’s last comment illustrates this level of awareness, commitment, and unquestioning acceptance of the military’s terms of service. Indeed, Orly, like every participant in the present study, made it clear that, for soldiers, these demands are “taken-for-granted maxims.” While the nature of military orders may seem extreme, its normalisation is typical and part of military culture. As Pence (2001) argues, all institutions have prevailing practices that become so commonplace to their members that they are seen as natural. As a consequence, service members perceive these military practices as the only way to behave, rather than as “optional” organisational rules that ensure and support specific ideological ways of thinking, acting, and organising. For example, in the following quotation, Ursula illustrates the degree of acceptance of the military’s power in a soldier’s life:

I get back from a [military] French course and I’m on leave [holidays].

*I've been back two days, and I get a phone call [at home] saying
"You're going to Kosovo".... I said, "I just got back; that is, three tours in
five years".... Now at this point, unless I can literally find a permanent
substantial reason why I cannot go, I have to go. Otherwise, my career [is
over]. (Ursula, NCM)*

Like Ursula, Canadian soldiers accept that the organisation's requests are basically cardinal orders. Her quotation delineates the limits of her options: find a 'substantial' reason not to go, go on the assignment, or relinquish her military career. What is not clear, however, is *why* Ursula must give up her military career if she refuses the assignment. Under more usual work circumstances (i.e., in the civilian world), she could make her interests and choices known and expect, or at least hope, that her employer might offer her another option. But in the military, as Ursula notes, 'substantial' grounds are required as a reason for requesting not to obey the request. While Ursula expresses reluctance to be deployed given the number of recent deployments³⁶ she had, she does not feel that she has a substantial reason to request not to be deployed. For the military, an officially documented illness or injury would be a satisfactory reason not to be deployed, but only temporarily so (DAOD 5023-1, Minimum Operational Standards Related to Universality of Service). Because the military has the right to use soldiers

³⁶ The term deployment will be defined in more detail in Chapter 7. In general, however, it is used to refer to any period of time spent away from one's civilian home and/or from the home-base for military work-related assignments such as training or missions.

whenever, however and wherever, Ursula's options are limited.

Soldiers construe all military requests made of them as orders, whether they are associated with being sent on a war mission, a peacekeeping deployment, or a simple training exercise. As mentioned previously, refusing a military request is considered to be disobeying an order. Not complying with an order can be severely punished with imprisonment under military law (NDA, Section 83). Therefore, there are military laws to hold soldiers more accountable to putting their military job before their own needs than is usually expected of ordinary citizens. In addition, soldiers are ideologically socialised to accept it. For example, they are indoctrinated by such text as the *Duty with honour* that if it is not so, the military mission could be undermined and military lives compromised (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003). Ursula's quotation contrasts the military's power with a soldier's lack of control in this respect, and illustrates how both are embedded in institutional regulations and ideology.

What Ursula's quotation does not do, however, is elaborate on how a refusal to go on deployment could end her career. In fact in such a situation, there are a number of articles in the NDA that could be utilised as the basis of discharge. Although the act of refusing to follow orders (disobedience) is not in itself punishable by discharge, if Ursula refused to go on the deployment, she also could be charged with "prejudicing the good order" of the military under the NDA which reads:

Any act, conduct, disorder or neglect to the prejudice of good order and discipline is an offence and every person convicted thereof is liable to

dismissal with disgrace from Her Majesty's service or to less punishment.

(National Defence Act, Section 129(1): Prejudicing good order or discipline)

Ursula also does not mention how much time it would take to process an official request to decline the deployment order. Even if Ursula submitted a request not to be deployed, by the time the administrative process ensued, she would have to obey the order and deploy anyway. Indeed, the short amount of time between when she was informed of her deployment and the actual departure time did not afford her much time to react. Such a time frame is not unusual (see Chapter 7 on deployments).

Moreover, leaving the military or ending one's military career is more complicated than simply handing in a letter of resignation. The next two quotations illustrate that military releases are not easily obtained. For instance, consider Gail. She is a mother of a young child and married to a military member who is away on deployment. Gail is ordered to go on deployment while her husband is away. She explains that taking a release from the military was not a practical option to help her deal with her childcare and situation.

I didn't have 20 years in so it takes six months to get out. You can put in your release but you are there and back [on deployment] by the time you are done [releasing]. (Gail, NCM)

Similarly when Chantale found out that she was going to have twins, her military partner who was on a posting in Germany asked for an immediate

release.³⁷ Chantale explained what happened:

They weren't going to let her go. They said 'oh no, you're going to stay!' I was due to have twins and with twins you can go early. I was by myself and so she said, 'Ok, I'm not going to wait. I'm going to put my release in now.' And they [the military] said no to her. She was like, 'Oh my god, what am I going to do?' She had to get here. She told them she was going to go crazy or whatnot. She told them she could not stay there to just let her go. So finally, they did...but it wasn't until after the girls were born.
(Chantale, NCM)³⁸

Military regulations clearly outline that requesting to break one's military employment contract (i.e., requesting a release) is not a soldier's right, nor is it as simple as giving proper advanced notice of intention to leave the military.

Soldiers may submit a request for release from military service; however, until the release is granted and administratively processed, service members are bound legally to finish their contract and obey all military requests (Queen's Regulations and Orders—QR&O, Chapter 15, Release). The Canadian military is not obliged to honour a release-from-military-service request as soldiers are only entitled to be released at the expiration of their military contract (NDA, Section 30(1): Release Entitlement). Moreover, all releases are contingent upon military

³⁷ At the time that this incident occurred, the military was no longer allowed to discriminate against homosexuals.

³⁸ Since the mid 1990s, same-sex couples in the military have the same rights as heterosexual couples.

operational requirements, and the CF has the right to refuse or delay release requests as required (QR&O, Chapter 15, Release; NDA, Section 30(3)).

In the CF, therefore, not obeying a military request is treated like a criminal offence punishable with imprisonment. As also seen, the process of quitting one's job is more complicated and takes longer than it would in a typical civilian context. The rationale that underpins these harsh punishments and constricting regulations is based on the military's need to fulfil its mandate to ensure that it can meet its defence commitments at all times and protect the nation in the short and long term.

According to official texts, soldiers' rights to freedom of speech and freedom of association are also curtailed and censored (see QR&O 19.36, Disclosure of Information or Opinion; QR&O 19.37, Permission to Communicate Information; QR&O 19.44, Political Activities and Candidature for Office). Furthermore, soldiers have limited internal recourse (e.g., see National Defence Act, Section 29) if they are being ill-treated or wish to change the system. For example, eliciting outside help such as contacting one's Member of Parliament with a concern is punishable under military law (QR&O 19.09, Use of Outside Influence Forbidden). Under military law, it also is punishable if two or more soldiers come together to make a complaint or request about the military (QR&O 19.10, Combinations Forbidden). Hence, if two or more CF soldiers sign a petition to suggest some improvements to the military system, they are breaking military law. Soldiers seem to take this lack of rights for granted, and the notion of questioning the legitimacy of military practices is unthinkable (again, because

to do so is punishable under military law). In general, military service (i.e., soldiering) in Canada is ideologically and symbolically conceptualised as a voluntary act. However as illustrated above the voluntary part is limited to the decision to enrol. Once an individual signs the military employment contract, s/he is deprived of a number of fundamental rights, freedoms, and employment protections enjoyed by the Canadian civilian population. Soldiers are socialised to accept these relations of soldiering as the norm and to question as unthinkable and rigorously punishable.

As was already referred to in the quotations by Orly and Ursula, a taken-for-granted and frequent aspect of military life is the recurring demands of deployments. We will examine this aspect of military life and its special impact on soldiers who are mothers in Chapter 7. But deployment demands have a severe impact on all soldiers. In Chapter 4, soldiers were reported to be away on six-month deployments an average of ten times over a period of 19 years. For Ursula, over a five-year period, she was sent away for a total of two years. In another quotation by Orly, she also speaks of the frequency with which soldiers are sent away for military work:

[On the] 12th of April, I left for three months to Suffield, Alberta for live shoot exercises.... I came back, and that summer, I was gone for one month. You're in the [local] training area but you are still gone because you can't come home at night. I'm going to France next June. I'm going to North Carolina in October. You just go [away] all the time. (Orly, Officer)

Neither Orly's nor Ursula's experiences were unusual among the women interviewed. Their responses confirm that deployments are frequently occurring institutional events and these have an important influence on their lives as soldiers. Certain civilian jobs also demand abundant travel and long absences from home (e.g., musicians, travelling salespeople, pro-sports players); however, as described above, employment contracts and laws governing civilian jobs significantly differ from those of the military. Moreover, military travel is often associated with dangerous work (e.g., the war in Afghanistan, peacekeeping in Bosnia, humanitarian aid in Darfur), and the element of stress and chance of injury are significant. All soldiers work in an environment where there is an elevated degree of danger, whether they are associated with the Army, Navy, or Air Force branches, and whether they are involved in combat, support activities, or training roles. For example, all soldiers undertake training that simulates actual combat and peacekeeping missions. These training exercises also have elevated levels of danger. In 2005, one soldier died and two others were injured during a military training exercise in Canada (DND/CF, 2005, September 21). The following comments from Arlene and Ursula emphasize the danger:

People were terrified about chemical [attacks], and we had numerous scud [missile] alerts. You'd be in your gas masks for three or four hours at a time, not knowing whether it was a real chemical attack or not.

(Arlene, Officer)

I go to Kosovo and that's when that place just literally went to hell, just mass graves everywhere. Freaking shots flying everywhere.... There's mines going off, freaking rounds going off. (Ursula, NCM)

Arlene as a member of a medical unit took part in the Gulf War, and Ursula as part of an engineer unit was in the Kosovo mission. As the quotation by Arlene who is not employed in direct combat activities demonstrates, all soldiers cope with the dangerous nature of military work. For all these reasons, and regardless of one's specific military occupation, being away often on duty is a regular, stressful, and dangerous part of a soldier's life.

Another aspect of the military that is somewhat unique relates to the amount of time a soldier can be required to work. In most cases, individuals' involvement in their work organisations takes up a limited part of their daily life (e.g., 8 to 12 hours per day). Some formal organisations (e.g., prisons), however, produce an isolating effect on some of their members (e.g., the prison inmate). Most prison inmates must stay within the institutional boundaries 24 hours a day. Irving Goffman (1960, 1961) calls these types of organisations "total institutions." The Canadian Armed Forces also can be considered a total institution. At times, soldiers' work-lives resemble those of their civilian counterparts. For example, when soldiers are at their home base, they enter and exit their military work milieu following a regular working schedule. However, on many occasions during their military careers, soldiers are required to stay for extended periods of time (e.g., 24 hours-a-day for weeks and months at a time) within the CFs' institutional boundaries (e.g., basic training, training exercises, peacekeeping assignments, or

wartime tours of duty). As a result, soldiers are not just carrying out the work for which they were trained, but also eat, sleep, relax, and socialise together within their workplace environment. The implications this has for female soldiers on deployment are explored in-depth in Chapter 7.

All things considered, soldiering in Canada entails having fewer human rights, being subject to an additional and more stringent set of laws, facing more danger and stress, and enduring numerous and protracted absences from home. Despite the fact that the same set of military rules, regulations, and practices apply to both male and female soldiers, the military world is organised (and experienced) as a gendered place. To further prepare to examine the experience of servicewomen, the military's less tangible but equally influential social structure, ideology, informal rules and policies, and the gendered working conditions that such an organisation maintains is examined.

Military Soldiering Ideology: The Unofficial

As discussed in Chapter 2, sex segregation of the general Canadian workplace is very common with women and men working predominately in different fields and occupations (Statistics Canada, 2006a). Like most large organisations, the military is comprised by a variety of occupations. Although the military comprises many health care occupations (nurses, medical/nurse assistants, doctors, dentists, dental hygienists), unlike in Canadian society, women do not dominate and are under-represented in similar military medical jobs. A few military occupations (e.g., nursing) are the exception: nursing always has been dominated by women in the military and civilian life (Davis, 1996). Other

occupations, such as non-registered nursing, (e.g., medical assistant), however, are not and were never dominated by women. Thus, numerically, men dominate nearly every Canadian military occupation, including many that women typically dominate in the civilian society. Military women do occupy some of these positions but in token numbers. The combination of the masculine military culture and the token position of women is a feature of the CF to keep in mind when considering the experience of women in the next three chapters and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

As discussed in the introduction, historically, the institution of militaries and the art of warfare has been developed and controlled by men. Indeed, in the contemporary global and Canadian context, militaries are still dominated and controlled by men. That being said, whether one is male or female, a primary organisational goal of militaries is to create soldiers out of ordinary citizens. However, given the historical and contemporary reality, soldiering is symbolically synonymous with being male, and a means to confirm manhood and masculinity (Kaplan, 2003). Soldiering also is conceptualised ideologically as opposite to female and being feminine (MacDonald, 1987). Femininity is associated with mothering, weakness, passivity, and submission. In contrast, masculinity is associated with physical strength, aggressiveness, and agency (Seymour, 2003). Femininity within the military is highly feared because neither individual soldiers, nor their military, can afford to be perceived as weak (Kaplan, 2003; Kovitz, 2000). When the soldier is a woman, this ideology can result in misogyny, social alienation, and demanding gendered performances (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

The next two quotations provide examples.

When I go to work, the reality of it is that; I'm not a lesbian, I'm not a woman, I am technically a soldier and an operator, and I put aside a lot of trappings of life at home. ... I don't think that my male colleagues feel a need to dismiss their gender as much as my female colleagues do for the simple fact that there's never been a question of whether or not they belong there. ... And that's still the case. (Evelyn, Officer)

When I'm in uniform, the civilian side of me gets turned off and I am nothing but 100% don't mess with me attitude. That's why I find it hard to be roomed with or work with even women who are outwardly more "female" in uniform. (Maxine, NCM)

While Evelyn's comment illustrates that soldiering is synonymous with being male, Maxine's quotation exemplifies how the presence of other female soldiers and femininity threatens her ability to be a soldier. Militaries emphasise and encourage heroism, honour, aggressiveness, violence, physical prowess, self-control, professionalism, and mastery of dangerous technologies (Arking & Dobrofsky, 1978; Barrett, 1996; Braudy, 2005; Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003; Hartsock, 1989; Loomis & Lightburn, 1980). Many of these traits are associated with masculinity while femininity is usually associated with the opposite (Addelston & Stirratt, 1996; Kaplan, 1994; Kimmel, 1996a; Poulin, 2001). Marcia Kovitz (2000) argues that female soldiers present a conundrum for militaries, because symbolically, women and femininity are viewed as an enemy

within both the soldier and the organisation. Accordingly, “training for war is designed to make men tough by challenging that which is soft and feminine in them” (Carroll & Hall, 1993, p.20). Despite the passage of two decades since opening the CF to women, the above quotations reveal that ideologically, the CF continues to be underpinned by a strong symbolic connection between soldiering, masculinity and being male. They also reveal a persistent aversion to femininity and being a female.

In a similar fashion, there is an ideological link between soldiering and (male) heterosexuality. Embodiments of other sexualities were formally discriminated against (most recently in terms of homosexuality), and now, these are often informally marginalised (unless they serve to boost male heterosexuality; see Kaplan, 2003; for examples in the Israeli military and Kinsman, 1996 & Kinsman & Gentile, 2010; for the Canadian context). The next quotations illustrate an example of informally marginalising ‘other’ sexualities. Orly, a lesbian soldier, exemplifies an interpretation of her lived-experience whereas Sonya and Peggy, both heterosexual soldiers, made their comments after reading a preliminary summary of the results on the present study:

It's a lot harder for men to come out in the military. Because [heterosexual] men are not secure enough with their own sexuality to accept that a man could love another man. They think that it's all sexual, and that if they have to take a shower with this man that he'll obviously be [sexual]! ... That's their mentality [male heterosexual soldiers], there's no place for a homosexual next to them when they have to go fight that battle

on the front line. Not a man anyway. Cause women, they can always have them! Because it gives them good dreams to think about! ... They'll say well two women together that's like a man's dream. (Orly, Officer)

This research seems to be focused more on the difference between heterosexual - lesbian women than females in the military. I believe more females could have been interviewed. (Sonya, NCM)

I didn't think that your paper was based on lesbians. Had I known your research was so negatively based, I would not have agreed to read it. (Peggy, NCM)

In Sonya's quotation, she suggests that more females should have been interviewed. Her comment can be interpreted as suggesting that more heterosexual females should have been interviewed, and discounting the experience of lesbians as 'females.' For Peggy, if the study includes lesbians, it is negative. Overall, all three quotations indicate the prevalence of a heterocentric and heterosexist attitude. The quotations by Sonya and Peggy also imply that lesbian soldiers' experiences and concerns are not considered synonymous with those of female soldiers' experiences. Orly's quotation illustrates distrust of male homosexuality and domination of female homosexuality. As other researchers suggested, militaries support and glorify a particular form of heterosexual masculinity while using femininity and homosexuality symbolically as something different and to be feared and defended against (Harrison & Laliberté, 1994;

Poulin, 2001).

The promise of manhood through military service and combat remains a critical symbolic incentive (Kaplan, 2003). This presents servicewomen with a particular and fundamental contradiction with which to contend on a day-to-day basis. In addition, the symbolic takes the form of having combat experience, especially engaging in actual fighting (i.e., war missions). This activity epitomizes the ultimate means for this transformation. It stands as “The Test” for a soldier to pass and delineates the avenue to achieving a revered military status (Ben-Ari, 1998; Kaplan, 2003). Soldiers’ masculinity and their ability to fight, accordingly, can be called into question if they have not experienced the fundamental military role; namely, actual combat. It is relevant to note that the challenge presented by this soldier ideology is not only limited to the juggling of gender identity that servicewomen must face routinely. At the level of the organisation and the nation state, this also is relevant. Indeed, the credibility of the Canadian military in the pre-Afghanistan global political arena was publically questioned. For example, in 1998, a British military general publicly referred to the Canadian Armed Forces as “just a peacekeeping force.” Researchers contend that peacekeeping missions are zones of contestation for the male soldier because they are perceived as non-combatant and feminizing in nature (DeGroot, 2001; Sion, 2008; Whitworth, 2004). In other words, these types of mission do not provide a place where soldiers can practice and maintain the privileged status of a militarised heterosexual masculinity (Enloe, 2007). The British military general also went on to comment that “the Canadian army has surrendered any claim to be a war-

fighting force because of political correctness and a more liberal attitude toward accepting gay men and women in combat roles ... somewhere downstream, we shall lose a war" (Canadian Press, 1998, p. A3). The implications of the British general's comments is that the presence of women, gays, and lesbians somehow will prevent the Canadian military from being masculine enough to be combat trustworthy, thereby forgoing being counted as a "real" military. Hence, female soldiers symbolically embody a contradiction for the individual soldier and the military as an institution, as well as for people who think about soldiering.

The military does not differ from its host society in its denigration of particular groups (e.g., women and aboriginals), but it institutionalises and amplifies the socially prevalent attitudes and stereotypes. For instance, the military often punishes an entire group for the under performance of an individual soldier. The following quotations highlight this practice and the social dynamics that results.

During training, a female soldier was not pulling her weight. However, the military often uses the technique of punishing the group for the low performance or misbehaviour of one of its members as a means to encourage teamwork. ... She needed to be taught a lesson. ... I didn't mind that they did it to her [attached her with duck tape to her bed and put her outside over night]. I was so frustrated at that point because when somebody does something the group hates, and we were continually paying for what she was doing, it's just a weight. (Orly, Officer)

You got a whole battalion; you've got 500 people running. ... You've got stragglers. The CO would bring the entire battalion back to pick you up. And they'd [the guys] all be yelling and screaming. You can't blame the guys for getting pissed off. They're doing double. ... When we got into diversity training, I say, 'You guys can't bloody do this. It's group punishment. You're targeting people for harassment if you ask me.'

(Roslyn, NCM)

Roslyn identifies the problematic outcome of allowing, maintaining, and encouraging this type of group punishment as it fosters intolerance to differences and non-group conformity. The interviews illustrated that this is a commonly used military practice because it facilitates bonding, cohesion, and ultimately, group survival. This military training approach has the potential to foster an atmosphere where harassment is condoned and encouraged because people tend to embellish differences between groups and exaggerate within group similarities (Van Rooy, Van Overwalle, Vanhoomissen, Labiouse, & French, 2003). In turn, this process enhances gender polarization (Bem, 1993) because people readily draw upon stereotypes in their conceptualization and decision-making processes (Chaffins et al., 1995; Davies, 1996; Deaux, 1995). For women specifically, therefore, military group-discipline represents an organisational practice that can negatively prime the workplace, and enhance differences and stereotypes between female and male soldiers. In general, this practice can also train and condone bullying and racism toward others.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the gender order in Canadian society and the

CF has shifted over time due to social pressure and legal changes supported by texts such as the Human Rights Act. But despite these advances, some Canadian researchers argue that a conservative element in the soldier ideology has recently emerged in the CF and is possibly a phenomenon in progress (Davis & McKee, 2004). This emergent soldier ideology forges connections between traditional notions of what constitutes a warrior, masculinity, and soldiering (Braudy, 2005; Chisholm, 2007; Nuciari, 2003). Davis and McKee call this trend ‘warrior creep’ and contend that it may have a negative influence on women in the CF. This, in turn, would impede the integration of women.

Conclusion

The military milieu is unique for many reasons. Consequently, having at least a rudimentary appreciation of the content of the official texts and ideology of the CF should provide the knowledge necessary to explore the experiences of servicewomen. The present chapter provided a brief overview of the official texts and ideology of the CF and serves as a basic knowledge to understand the subsequent chapters.

Some of the important features playing a role in shaping the daily lives of Canadian service members are linked to the restrictions placed on members, and the consequences when these are breached. This type of control (e.g., limits on seeking help outside the institution, and accepted responses to a request) is part of the hegemony of the military. This is accomplished by intertwining the military’s legal code of conduct with the ideology of the military and the success of its mission. As a result, soldiers do not typically dispute it, and their cognitions and

behaviours tend to support it.

In the second part of the chapter, the less tangible, ideological particularities of the military were examined. I focussed that section on the predominant and omnipresent role of masculinity and heterosexuality. This will be particularly relevant because, as the next chapters will demonstrate, these are part of the Canadian Forces' dominant ideology and present a problematic influence when considering the experiences of servicewomen, including those who are lesbian. In fact, the strong historical and symbolic association between men, masculinity, and soldiering raises the question of why women would ever want to join the ranks of such a predominately male institution. This is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Why Women Join the Canadian Forces (CF)

Where war is defined as a male activity, and where highly-valued masculine characteristics are often associated with war, a female warrior must be seen as inherently unsettling to the social order (MacDonald, 1987, p. 6).

Militaries are known to be conservative public institutions and slow to change (Soeters, Weibull, & Winslow, 2003). For example, Gerard DeGroot sums up the nature of the US military as follows: “The military is an institution designed to uphold tradition. Essentially conservative, it is resistant to change” (2001, p. 32). Militaries also are commonly assumed to be male-centred, and researchers have gathered empirical evidence supporting this claim (e.g., see Sasson-Levy, 2003, regarding the Israeli’s military). In the previous chapter, the pervasiveness of androcentric ideology of the CF was discussed as well as the gender ratio of the CF, which, as in other militaries, is male-dominated. Given the common knowledge of this gender bias, in this chapter, I discuss why some women choose to join a traditionally male-dominated and male-defined institution such as the Canadian military.

This question is important on different levels. On the one hand, it is important to consider when investigating the history of the Canadian military, the social relations of soldiering, and what is commonly (stereotypically) known about the gendered nature of soldiering. On the other hand, it provides an entry point for the examination of the stories of women in the CF. The purpose of the

present chapter, therefore, is to explore this question through the answers of women who decided to join the CF. To do so, I first explain the context for this question to be part of the present study. Then, I provide a few related highlights about the era when most of the participants would have joined the military. This is followed by an in-depth examination of the different reasons servicewomen gave in response to this query.

Joining the Military

The first question asked in all of the interviews was: *Why did you join the military?* This question functioned as an icebreaker with the purpose of encouraging the women to start thinking about and telling their military story. The amount of time typically taken in answering this question was short as most of the interviews focussed on the remainder of their military life story. But I chose to report on this theme because it represents the beginning of these women's stories and sheds light on their life-circumstances at the start of their career. Examining women's rationales for joining the military, therefore, provides a logical entry point to shed some understanding on these women's non-traditional career choices and their motivation for entering into a masculine world. More than half of the thirty-nine women interviewed joined the Canadian military prior to 1990 (see Appendix VI). These women joined the CF at a time when unprecedented gender changes had taken place in Canadian society and in the military. One of these important social changes was the involvement of women in paid work. In 1976, women represented 42% of the paid workforce. In 1991, this figure had jumped to 54%, and in 2005, it was at 58% (Statistics Canada, 2006; Hughes,

1995). What had not changed, and this is largely true even today, is that over two thirds of all employed Canadian women remain concentrated in traditionally feminine-identified domains such as teaching, healthcare, administration, and services (Statistics Canada, 2006a). As the demographics from the quantitative data indicated (e.g., see Chapter 4, Table 2 & 5), this is also the case for Canadian servicewomen. Prior to 1989, the Canadian military restricted women's military employment and career choices. Today, all restrictions are gone and Canadian women can even choose to be combat soldiers. Yet despite these changes in employment rights, women are not rushing to become soldiers, and even less so combat soldiers. For the ordinary person, it is often difficult to imagine that a woman would choose to join the military, and in general, there remains a lack of interest by women to become soldiers. In the next quotation, Melanie speaks to the problems associated with recruiting women, especially to the combat arms.

I remember going to staff college and briefing them on the ad campaign, a specific ad campaign that we were doing to try to bring women into the combat arms. I knew that someone would say, and right on cue, somebody says, "But isn't that preferential treatment." I said, "Well, we were having difficulty attracting women to combat arms, so why should we go out and advertise for men. The men will come anyway. We know they're coming anyway. We don't have to advertise for them." (Melanie, Officer)

Joining the military, therefore, remains an unpopular, uncommon, non-traditional, and poorly understood career choice for women today. The continued presence of cultural mores that suggests that soldiering is something only men do

or would want to do reflects traditional attitudes and beliefs about women's place in the world (Klein, 1999; Taber, 2005). These attitudes and beliefs complicate the lives of the women who want to and do join the military.

What They Answered

Most of the participants' answers to the question of why they joined the military were not simple. They frequently spoke about more than one reason (e.g., finances, education, altruism, tradition, challenge, and escape), and the reasons often intersected with each other. Financial, and to a lesser extent, educational motives were the most commonly reported rationale, which contrasts with Moskos' (1990) findings about women in the US Army. He reported that female soldiers were more likely than their male counterparts to join for non-economic reasons. However, he did cite educational benefits as an attraction for the army women, which is equivalent to financial assistance. In the present study, the responses ranged from avoiding university debt to accessing a stable income. The next three quotations exemplify the financial motivations that some women had when they joined the CF:

It was a complete spur of the moment. I had graduated [from high school] and then I had done a year with an out-bound program, which was living with a group of 30 people for a year and doing lots of physical activities. So I came home after that and I was just sitting in the front room and I didn't know what I was going to do, and my father just said, "Well, only one thing left for you is join the military." (Helena, NCM)

I was not about to take a five-dollar hour job, like that's not going to pay my rent. It's not going to pay a babysitter and at the time I had a truck. So I had to make bank payments on that too. (Sarah, NCM)

The cost of post-secondary education was a specific financial worry to some women when they joined. The next quotations exemplify this concern:

My parents couldn't afford to send me to college. ... The fact that I didn't want to go to a civilian university ... and be stuck with a student loan was part of it. (Leonora, Officer)

I also wanted to go to university. ... He [my father] was a janitor; he did not make very much money. My mother was a clerk in a store. So there was not a lot of money but they would've found it to send me to university. I wanted to do it on my own. ... It was O-boy ... they [the military] are going to pay me to go to school. (Melanie, Officer)

These women were subsequently accepted into the officer corps and the military paid for their post-secondary (Bachelors') degree. When they finished their degree, they became officers. With such a program, the soldiers sign a contract whereby they are required to work for the military for a fixed number of years after receiving their degree. However, women like Evelyn, who already had some post-secondary education and met the educational requirements (usually a Bachelors degree) for the officer corps, joined because they also needed employment. In the next quotation, Jill, a non-commissioned member (NCM) in this study, talks about not being able to afford a post-secondary education.

[I joined] on the advice of my high school principal. Seriously, well see, my parents couldn't afford to send me to university. So I either had to work or go. So he suggested joining the service. So I did. Haven't regretted it since. (Jill, NCM)

It is unclear from her interview why she chose the NCM corps as opposed to applying for the officer-educational program. What is clear, however, is that joining the non-commissioned members corps gave her financial security and a steady job. But, it did not provide her the paid-opportunity to acquire a university degree. Members of the NCM corps can access some monies for educational upgrading. However, they must do it on their own time, and the program does not cover the entire cost (e.g. see <http://www.cda-acd.forces.gc.ca/dli-dai/pol/cbi-dras/210-802-eng.asp>).³⁹

³⁹ It is noteworthy that the CF has very recently started a program similar to the subsidized educational program for officers (e.g., the Non-Commissioned Member Subsidized Education Plan—NCM SEP). For those accepted, it provides students a salary, tuition, books, and academic equipment while completing their education. Successful applicants are required to serve in the CF for a further three years upon graduation. Many trades are subsidised (e.g., Electronics Engineering Technician-Computers, Aircraft Maintenance, Medical Radiation Technology, Paramedics and Dental Assisting programs) (see <http://www.confederationc.on.ca/node/2626> and http://blogs1.conestogac.on.ca/news/2009/12/canadian_forces_offers_tuition_1.php)

The financial reasons for joining the CF given by the participants support Ursula Franklin's (2010) argument that, "those who would go to war do so because they have no more attractive or more available choices for what they want to do with their lives." As the next two quotations indicate, however, some servicewomen also espoused ideological reasons such as altruism, nationalism or patriotism for joining the Canadian military.

The first reason was basically I was broke and I was tired of being broke.

The second reason was a little bit more deep-seated, but not as obvious to me at the time. It was a desire to give something back, give something to the country. (Evelyn, Officer)

Here is a place I can work for Canadians, for Canada, with Canadians.

(Melanie, Officer)

Given the retrospective nature of the interviews, these latter reasons are not surprising when considering the ideological messages soldiers receive throughout their careers. Honour, commitment, and duty to country before the self are strongly emphasized maxims permeating CF's doctrine, recruitment videos, Web-page messages, advertisements, and boot-camp training. This military motto is also the cornerstone of the professional development manual that all soldiers are obliged to read, *Duty with honour: The profession of arms in Canada*. Yet, despite the retrospective nature of the data, the above quotations demonstrate that women embrace altruistic thoughts and desires of fighting for their country. It is also worth noting that these quotations testify to the right women now have to

sacrifice themselves for their country, if they so wish. This was not always the case, since women's ability to serve was curtailed in Canada until 1989 when the restrictions on the *all-male-combat* enclaves were lifted. A number of activists and feminists have argued that, without this right, women are unable to acquire full citizenship (e.g., Pateman 1989; Sasson-Levy, 2003). Claire Synder (2003) reframes this citizenship rights perspective in terms of a national obligation. She argues that, at this point, women are obliged to share the responsibility of military service and of their country. Although none of the women interviewed formulated this responsibility as an obligation, some were aware of and willing to assume the altruistic motivation that supports it.

Through its socialisation, indoctrination, communal-training, and group-bonding, the military strives to garner and sustain soldiers' loyalty and commitment. As seen in Evelyn's and Melanie's preceding responses, these mechanisms socialise women effectively. The next quotation is a continuation of Evelyn's response to why she joined. It puts a slight twist on her ideological motive for joining the military. Evelyn espouses the altruistic rationale that soldiering entails the possible ultimate sacrifice of one's life for her country, but what is unique in her response is her merging of the ideology of serving one's country with the desire to leave a personal legacy:

My heterosexual counterparts know that they're going to leave an impact on the world just by the virtue of having children. When you're queer, that's not equated. It's not as much of a prerogative. ... So I thought [it was] my best way to leave a thumbprint on the world. (Evelyn, Officer)

While Evelyn's quotation suggests a divide between heterosexual and lesbians' motives to join the military, it is not possible to generalise to the larger groups. First, she was the only participant to formulate her ideological reasons to join the military in this fashion. Second, more and more lesbians today do have children. Finally, for various reasons, many heterosexual women do not have children.

Some women also spoke about adhering to a proud family tradition as part of their reasons to join the military. For example, Katherine stated the following: "*My dad was infantry. ... I'm almost following my dad's posting past, almost to a T.*" When asked why she joined, one reason Melanie recalls was that "*my dad had been military in World War II ... and [I was] very inspired by his stories of the military.*" When asked why they joined the military, about a quarter of the participants mentioned that they had relatives who had served, or were currently serving, in the military. Not surprisingly, they usually only mentioned male relatives. However, one participant, Ulanda, spoke of her mother who was a service member. The fact that Ulanda was the only participant to mention another female family member in the military speaks to the fact that few women actually join the military. Yet, it may also reflect how society and its policies influenced whether women joined. Ulanda joined in 1996, which means that her mother possibly joined in the early 1970s. This corresponds to the release of the 1970 report, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, and the subsequent increase in women's presence in the Canadian Forces (CF).

Like previously mentioned participants, when asked why she joined, Ina

also mentioned the influence of family members:

It's what I always wanted to do. My Dad was in. My grandfather was in.

I've had uncles in. It started actually when my brother joined Air Cadets.

... And I said, "Oh, I'm joining up next year." (Ina, NCM)

Ina, however, does not actually join the military till eight years following this family incident. During that time, she gets married, has four children and works part-time for the military (e.g., CF reserves). When she joins the full-time regular forces eight years later, she is in the process of a marriage breakup. Once she completes her basic soldier and occupational training and receives her first permanent posting, her children join her and she assumes full and sole responsibility for them. Although Ina does not identify finding a secure job as her reason to join, at that point, it seems clear that she needed a means to support her family as a single parent. Ina was still a single parent when I interviewed her eleven years later. Joining the military as a single mother was also the case for Sarah who is quoted above and also clearly speaks about the monetary benefits the military provided her in spite of her limited education.

In his study on US Army servicewomen, Moskos (1990) reported another motive, namely to do something different. Similarly, some female soldiers I interviewed indicated that it was the challenge that the military represented that appealed to them:

I was looking for challenges and change from the normal daily, what I call drudgery, and staying in the same spot all the time. (Quanita, Officer)

It was something I always wanted to do, just to see if I could do it.

(Katherine, NCM)

For one woman, there was an additional twist to the challenge: Petra identified a personal-political-activist agenda:

I thought it's very easy to be a lesbian in an academic setting. The people that I was surrounded with were educated, and very liberal. I thought, 'I'm preaching to the converted here. However, if I join the military, that would be more of a challenge.' I was hoping to break down some barriers there. (Petra, Officer)

Like Ulanda above, Petra joined the military in 2000, which was later than for many of the other participants (28 out of 40 joined prior to 1990). By 2000, same-sex couples were officially recognised through many legislative changes from social benefits to income tax filing, and the right to marry for same-sex persons was being pursued through the court system (see Sexual Orientation and Legal Rights under the Depository Services Program of the Government of Canada, <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/index-e.html>). Petra also was aware that gays and lesbians had secured the right to serve in the CF in the 1990s. As her quotation indicates, in spite of the fact that several years had elapsed since the 1992 revocation of the discriminatory military policy against homosexuals, she still expected a resistant environment in the military. Although Petra is a lesbian, it is worth noting that she is also a military officer and has a university education. Petra's social change agenda was different, but she was not the only one concerned about liberating ideals.

Although Melanie never mentions joining the CF with a social agenda to change the military for women, her interview indicates that she was a strong advocate for the advancement of women throughout her career. The next quotation speaks to her commitment to broadening women's presence and her activism:

He [Melanie's boss] said, "I don't think there's ever been a woman to go on the course. I want to nominate you for that reason. One of the things that you've been saying in this job is that we should be putting women into senior positions, and looking at women for them. Not just waiting for a woman to come up. We should be active in looking for them." So he said "I want to nominate you." and I said, "Well, okay. We want to make a point so let's do it." (Melanie, Officer)

Moskos (1990) observed that female officers were more politically aware and savvy about the gendered aspects of US army life and related career drawbacks than were the women in the enlisted ranks. As in the US Army, Canadian military officers are expected to have a university education, and often do. Petra's increased political awareness and social agenda, therefore, might be attributed to having more education, which often brings about more independent thinking and liberal attitudes. In addition, it is likely based on the expectation that officers are to think for themselves and make decisions as leaders; some pressure to be self-reflective may be at work. These expectations likely attract a different group of individuals to the officer corps in the first place. Taken together, the higher education and expectations placed on officers may provide an explanation

for the social activist motivation Petra articulated rather than her sexual orientation per se.

Olivia points out that the military provides people with a speedy opportunity to break away or escape, “I think people that are trying to get away from situations, it [the military] is a quick ticket out of anywhere.” Indeed, many participants spoke of escape. As the next quotations indicate, these women felt that the military provided them with alternative options and better opportunities

I always wanted to be a social worker. I didn't have the education. I got pregnant when I was 16. So that kind of put the dampers on furthering my education so to speak. So, I didn't have education to go to one of those different type of jobs. I didn't want to work as a waitress anymore. I didn't want to be working in men's clothing stores all my life and I didn't want to be confined to this little city all my life. So, I joined the military. Yeah. And found my niche. (Naomi, NCM)

I guess you could say it was just to leave home, but I was interested in something more and better. I was working at a grocery store and it wasn't my, it's just not my nature. I had to do something bigger and better. (Wendy, NCM)

These quotations echo the findings in Mokos' study (1999). Some of his participants felt like they wanted to create a new or different existence while escaping from an old one. As Helena mentions in her above quotation, joining the military was not only an escape, but also a spur of the moment decision. As the

next quotations indicate, this was a common occurrence for a number of participants:

To be honest, I had to get a letter off right away and the main postal centre was downtown Calgary. So I'm standing in line to get it off and I looked across the hallway in the building where I was, and there was the recruiting centre. They didn't even give you enough time to think because practically, I would say two to three weeks later, I was doing basic training. (Daphne, NCM)

I had a full time job. I was through high school. I would shop Friday afternoons downtown. This little sign says come in and have a coffee, talk to the recruiter. I went for coffee? Less than a week later, I joined and [I am] in Cornwallis going "Oh my God." Nobody in my family was in the military. (Xandra, NCM)

In the next quotation, Wendy suggests a possible answer as to why a speedy escape was possible for these women:

I joined because I was in a situation where I needed to leave home and there was pressure from my parents to leave then. I saw the ad in the paper and it looked pretty exciting. So, I pursued it and at that time they [the CF] were really recruiting women like mad. ... It was pretty easy, the process. I was led through it very quickly. (Wendy, NCM)

For some of these women, an escape meant avoiding a particular socio-familial setting. As in Chantale's case, these women were looking for an out from

an environment to which they felt they did not belong: “I never felt like I fit in at anything at home.” Véronique’s motivation was fuelled by similar sentiments. In addition to an impoverished existence and abuse of drugs, she mentioned a desire to avoid the traditional heterosexual option available to women (e.g., marriage and children):

I went military because...[if] I had stayed in my home little town, [I would have] gotten married like everybody else, had five kids that I don’t want to have, smoked dope and drank, had a job, and then gone on welfare for six months. (Véronique, NCM)

Véronique, like some other lesbians interviewed (e.g., Chantale), said that avoiding a traditional heterosexual gender role of marriage and children was a motivation to escape her local environment and join the military. Like many of the lesbians in this study, Véronique came out as a lesbian after she joined the military. Research indicates that lesbians often will reject the traditional feminine role before they are aware of any same-sex attractions (Cooper, 1990).

Developmentally, this order is not surprising, especially when considering the era when these women were coming of age. Again, more than half of the women interviewed joined the CF prior to 1990 and most were in their early 20s when they did. Given the stigma attached to being lesbian and the military’s anti-homosexual regulation of that time-period, becoming aware of a lesbian sexual orientation may have been quite negative, and likely delayed self-awareness in this respect. Yet, it was just not the lesbian soldiers who wanted to escape the more traditional heterosexual options. Some straight women interviewed also

espoused similar escape motives. For example, Denise stated:

Well I joined because I came from a large family. My family, my parents did not have a lot of money. I knew I did not want to stay around home. I knew I did not want to marry a farmer or have that kind of a life-style. The recruiters came to our school one day and then I decided then that I would probably join the military and take that avenue. (Denise, NCM)

Considering all interviews, it appears that the escape from a traditional heterosexual script was not a defining difference between lesbians and straight women but more a reflection of the time period when these women came of age. First, many lesbian participants said they came out as lesbians after joining the military. Therefore, they may have been escaping a social situation that was traditional and heterosexual but not necessarily consciously escaping heterosexuality as much as conservatism. Second, if one looks at who was escaping the options that their home environments were offering, it seems the pattern emerging is that this is more typical of the women who joined prior to 1990. As mentioned earlier, this may suggest that there may be a cohort effect such that each group had different options available in society at the time they joined. By choosing to join the military, these women chose an opportunity to leave their immediate social environment and secure a well-paying career. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Canadian society was a different place before the 90s and the first decade of the 21st century. What the Royal Report on the Status of Women also did was to inspire the military to change its discriminatory policies toward women (e.g., lift ceilings on number of women

who could be employed), which would have attracted more female candidates.

The escape motive is reminiscent of the theorizing by Jean Baker Miller (1986). In her classic book, *Toward a New Psychology of Women*, Miller discussed some of the successful means women used to cast off the traditional subordinate feminine role. She argued that, as a dependant, a woman was often alone and isolated, and needed to be more self-determining and authentic. As the above-quoted responses indicate, prior to joining the military, these women felt marginalised within their daily social reality. For them, the decision to join the military resulted from a search for a better social fit. In the post-Royal Commission on the Status of Women era, the military must have appeared to be a progressive milieu where past economic (pension and pay) and occupational restrictions against women were being eliminated. As Miller suggested, social support was (and still is) vital for women to achieve their goals and the military milieu offered that support. Denise's next quotation is a testimony of the presence, importance, and meaning attached to the kind of social support women found in the military:

You got very close to people. I have friends today that I went through basic training with. My girlfriend, we are still in touch. ... I did make some life-long friends. Friends that I think, without them, I wouldn't have made it through. (Denise, NCM)

Ironically then, the military became a site that helped to break women's isolation by bringing them together. For lesbians, this seemed to have a profound effect as these women found a new and accepting social group within the military

family, albeit a clandestine one in the pre-1992 era:

It [the military] felt like the right place to be. ... It [being gay] wasn't part of any of my [previous] social circles and it [the military] just felt like coming home to a family [a gay family]. (Chantale, NCM)

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the 1992 court-challenge against the anti-homosexual Canadian military's policy put an end to invasive and destructive interrogations and the discharge of homosexuals (Poulin, 2001; Poulin, Gouliquer, & Moore, 2009). However, lesbian soldiers did not feel safe or comfortable enough to officially come out until 2000 (Gouliquer, 2003). The incentive to officially come out came as a result of the additional 1996-1997 military policy changes that allowed same-sex couples to access the military socio-medical benefits that heterosexual couples had for years (Gouliquer & Poulin, 2005). In addition, the current Canadian social climate towards gays and lesbians provides an ever more accepting context for this transition.

Conclusion

Despite the former regulations that discriminated against homosexuality, and that restricted women from occupying combat and combat-related roles, the military offered a non-traditional job setting within which women were less bound to the cultural ideals of femininity. This reality, symbolised by the wearing of military uniforms (e.g., combats or fatigues) that rendered the female soldier nearly indistinguishable from her male counterparts, represented an additional option for these women. This option resulted in less social pressure and less policing in response to deviations from the symbolic markers of femininity.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the time period when many of these women (e.g., a little more than half) joined the Canadian military, work roles for women were more limited than they were in the 1990s and today, and society emphasized the heterosexual script of marriage and children for women (Rich, 1980). Taking into account the historical time frame, the military represented a non-traditional, exciting, secure, well-paid, and challenging escape. The independence associated with a military career was a means to avoid temporarily what seemed like to some of the participants as the inevitable heterosexual-marriage script, and for lesbians, the possibility of avoiding heterosexuality altogether.

For the women in this study, at the time they were looking for work, the CF offered them a military career with numerous occupational choices. In addition, it was secure, well-paid and offered upward mobility. Most of these women also were single at the time they joined the CF, which meant that they had fewer familial ties and obligations to constrain or influence their choices and decisions about their careers in general, and joining the military in particular. Kathleen Gerson (1985) in *Hard Choices*, found that work and family were implicated in varying degrees for various reasons in elite women's overall work-career aspirations and decisions. The above-data indicates that the military at the time these women were seeking work offered them greater opportunities and an expanded horizon than the traditional options available for women. The military also provided possibilities for both lower and upper class women (e.g., NCM and Officer corps).

For many women in this study, earning a decent living seemed to be a

strong motivator to join. This finding is similar to that reported for women who take up other non-traditional occupations or professions because male-dominated occupations tend to garner higher earnings than female-dominated ones (Adams, & Tancred, 2000; Ainley, 1995; Wright, 2005). Although prior to 1989, combat military occupations and roles were limited for women, participants in the present study mostly selected occupations similar in nature to traditional female jobs in the civilian world (e.g., administration). However, for the women in this study, the military offered them the opportunity to specialise in occupations not necessarily different from those occupied by civilian women (see Appendix VI). In spite of joining a traditionally male-dominated and ideologically masculine-oriented profession—soldiering⁴⁰, the female soldiers tended to choose the female traditionally oriented military occupations. Taken together, the military offered a vehicle towards independence, an escape from an undesirable social/familial milieu, the potential for personal growth, and a way to carry on a family tradition of serving in the Canadian military. These women spoke of multiple and intersecting reasons for joining the CF. Their answers to the question of ‘*why did you join*’ also indicated that women’s choices and alternatives were at times constrained or facilitated by the socio-economic and cultural conditions and

⁴⁰ The Canadian military espouses that all military service members are ‘soldiers first’ and as occupying an occupation, second. Ideologically, soldiering is the primary professional career while the occupation is considered secondary (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 5, this rationale is supported by the National Defence Act (Universality of Service, n.d.).

forces of the era.

In the next chapter, I examine an organisational event that defines much of what military life is all about. Specifically, I explore military deployments and how these events complicate all soldiers' lives, especially, the lives of female soldiers.

Chapter 7

Military Deployments: The Transitory Military Lifestyle

Extreme jobs may be deeply alluring, but they are certainly not cost free. Our data show that the extreme-work model is wreaking havoc on private lives and taking a toll on health and well-being (Hewlett & Luce, 2006, p.54).

According to the criterion Hewlett and Luce (2006) used in their study, a career in the Canadian Forces (CF) easily classifies as an extreme job. The characteristics of an extreme job include such factors as fast-paced work, tight deadlines, an inordinate amount of responsibility, work-related events outside regular work hours, availability 24/7, large amounts of travel, and an employee's physical presence at the workplace for long periods of time. In particular, soldiers are frequently on assignment away from their civilian homes and military home-bases. Because military assignments often represent protracted absences from their home-base and family, deployments may be different from the work-related travel activities of other jobs. As a consequence, a military career takes on a nomadic quality without one's family. While on deployment, soldiers also are expected to work extended hours and usually under stressful and dangerous conditions (e.g., present-day Afghanistan mission). As previously seen in Chapter 5, deployments are not only a recurring fact of military life, but also, are taken-for-granted. Soldiers are socialised to expect this transitory lifestyle as part of the military commitment and lifestyle. The research on work-related travel indicates

that men and women accomplish it differently (men travel more; Gustafson, 2006) and that it is linked to career advancement (Fisher & Stoneman, 1998). As revealed in the stories of female soldiers, deployments present them with unique and additional challenges. In this chapter, I discuss these challenges, and explore how female soldiers make sense of, and cope with, deployments.

The organisation of the present chapter is as follows: In the first half of the chapter, I discuss the merging of the public and private spheres of female soldiers' lives while on deployment, and how this merging significantly worsens their marginalisation. Then, I explain how the exacerbation of marginalisation is accompanied by an increase in isolation for female soldiers. In this context, the impact of the hegemonic masculine sexuality and the dominant sexist cultural shift typical of the deployment milieu are examined. Following this presentation, I discuss how women cope with these influences both cognitively and behaviourally. In the second half of the chapter, I turn to the impact of deployment on "military mothers" in particular, how they face this gendered reality, and how it influences their long-term career decisions. The chapter ends with a discussion of the competing demands of the institutions of the military and motherhood, and the interplay for military women of gender role spillover and deployments.

Marginalisation

When women join the Canadian military, they transition from a more or less gender-balanced world to a male-dominated environment. In Canadian society, women represent approximately 50% of the population (Statistics

Canada, 2006); however, in the regular Canadian Forces, their percentage falls to 12.4%.⁴¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, theory suggests that if a marginalised group makes up less than fifteen percent of the larger group to which it belongs, as is the case for Canadian servicewomen, its members will tend to be identified by their marginalised identity (i.e., gender) rather than their organisational role (i.e., soldiers) (Kanter, 1977). This is a common experience for women in the military, and is accompanied by a feeling of isolation. Female soldiers who participated in this study frequently reported being the only woman in a course, at a leaders' meeting, at a military social function, or in the role of a Commanding Officer. The following responses from my interviewees illustrate the nature of this gender-related isolation:

I found it very difficult being the only female. You had no companionship per se They shared rooms, and I had my own room. They [the male soldiers] would get ready and go to dinner or something else, and forget about me ... You were on your own a lot. (Susan, Officer)

So when the army Major comes in to talk about things, often he will speak to the army Captain who is a male and will once in awhile look at the female navy Lieutenant and myself. ... I mean it's a small thing, but it's just another reminder that they can, they have a shared history that

⁴¹ As discussed previously, the Canadian Forces is composed of two basic groups, the Regular and the Reserve Forces. In a general sense, "regular" denotes a full-time obligation, whereas "reserve" refers to a part-time obligation.

perhaps women ... it's (sigh) when I was going through training I was one of two women in my division. (Petra, Officer)

After a couple of months and they start to know you a bit better, and it's okay. It's just hard to be the only female in the course. That sucks.

(Laughs) I hate it. I mean, in most of the courses I go on usually, I am the only female. (Véronique, NCM)

Out of the 39 interviews that spanned thirty years of military-career life histories, few interviewees recalled attending a course or being part of a specific assignment in which half the soldiers were women. To have such an experience was an anomaly in these women's respective military life histories. The isolation experienced by these women was likely similar to those experienced by women in other male-dominated organisations (e.g., police forces, Corrections Canada). Yet, in addition to the "typical" gender isolation already operating in the traditionally male-dominated milieu of the Canadian Forces (CF), servicewomen also contend with military deployments. Deployments, whether they are field exercises, naval tours, peacekeeping or war missions, isolate all soldiers regardless of gender by taking them away from their home-bases and often their countries. It radically changes their everyday living conditions and experience. For the female soldiers, however, deployment means intensified isolation.

When the Private Becomes Public

Like their male counterparts, female soldiers establish private lives outside the military structure; they rent apartments, buy houses, and develop intimate

relationships. These activities function to offset the ubiquitous gender-isolating experience associated with their usual home-base military environment. In contrast, deployments relocate soldiers into closed military environments where most of the public and private aspects of their daily lives merge. The female soldier is then disconnected from her established private-civilian home-life and military home-base routines. Indeed, whether deployments take place abroad or in Canada, soldiers are typically physically segregated from their home-bases, their private lives, and the larger Canadian society. Soldiers then are required to adapt to the quasi home-away-from-home military living arrangements. Such arrangements usually entail living communally, sharing facilities (e.g., showers, dining facilities, and social-relaxation areas) with one's work colleagues, and adapting to less personal physical space. Communal living, or the living in close proximity to one's colleagues with minimal personal space, imposes a public quality on many activities normally experienced in the privacy of a soldier's civilian home life.

Even more than in the usual home base context, the deployment environment becomes a place where soldiers spend their days and nights together; they share their work, sleep, and play. In such a "total institution" environment, the barriers of life break down between the private sphere (e.g., home and play) and the public sphere (e.g., work) (Goffman, 1960, 1961). The following quotations illustrate how deployments result in a soldier's private life becoming enmeshed with her work-life.

We were in a compound. We had fencing all the way around with Constantine wire on top. For most of us, it felt like a concentration camp.... There were three of us in an iso-trailer, which was 12 to 16 feet by eight to ten feet. In that space, you've got nine barrack-boxes, because you've got three each. Then you've got a set of bunk beds and another bed. You really don't have enough space for three people for a six-month period. (Odette, NCM)

In Alert ... you are there with the same person [work colleague] for almost a full six months. You live with that person, you work with the person, you eat with that person, and that is all fine as long as you get along with everybody. (Francis, NCM)

From the military's organisational perspective, it makes sense that soldiers' private lives are subject to institutional control. Effectively, while deployed, soldiers are considered on duty 24 hours a day, seven days a week (National Defence Act, Section 33: Liability and Defence Administrative Order & Directive 5023-0: Universality of Service). The next quotations provide examples of the extensive commitment soldiers on deployment have to the military.

I came back [from deployment] exhausted because we were working 7 days a week. They used to believe in keeping us busy, because that way, the time would fly. Friday night was the only night that you really had off. You were allowed to sleep in on Sunday mornings. [We had] to be to work by 9 instead of 7; whoopie-t-do! You worked all day Saturday. We didn't

have a problem with that, it's just that Friday night...that was like time off and that only came after we were in the camp a couple of months. But they [the leaders] plan activities and then you would be encouraged like; "Sergeant-Major, we're going to do a bingo Friday night. Would you make sure the platoon's going to do a good showing." (Naomi, NCM)

Yeah you worked on ship; we were working 8-on-8-off, around the clock and every second day you did 16 hours, there's no such thing as a statutory holiday or a weekend until you're in port. (Xandra, NCM)

Deployments vary by degree of isolation and danger depending on the goal and location of the mission (e.g., compare a Canadian-based training exercise with a posting in Afghanistan). When the mission has a greater level of danger and importance associated with it (e.g., the Afghanistan mission), the military maintains a higher level of security and control over its personnel for their own protection and operational success. While the Afghanistan mission is generally known to be dangerous, which explains why soldiers are only allowed to leave the base for their work, the next quotation illustrates how other peacekeeping tours can also bring their share of instability and confinement.

If you're overseas, like when we were overseas in Bosnia, or in Africa for example, even if you're a man, you're not allowed to go out by yourself because you could get mugged. (Daphne, NCM)

The living conditions can vary from one deployment to the other. It can include living in apartments, such as was the case for the Air Force soldiers

located in Italy during the NATO's bombardment of Yugoslavia. It is more often the case, however, that the living conditions constitute sleeping, working and showering in tent cities, converted shipping containers or war-damaged buildings. These conditions were common for the Army and Engineer soldiers in such deployments as the Gulf war, Bosnia, and presently in Afghanistan. To deal with the unstable conditions, lack of security, and amount of destruction present on these missions, not only does the military limit the movement of soldiers outside the compounds, but it organises all aspects of soldiers' lives within the military encampment (working, sleeping, eating and relaxing). The following quotation associated with showering illustrates how institutional control is used to regulate concerns with privacy between men and women during deployments:

[On field exercises, there were] ten-man tents. You got one girl and nine guys.... Depending on how many girls there is, they try to round us all up at the same time so all of us can go shower. So we don't have to stop the guys from going in, or cause too much of a hold up. (Bailie, NCM)

Everybody [male and females] is staying in the same shack, there is only ... one washroom, so I have to get up earlier than everybody else.... They had no curtains in the shower either.... Eventually we got a shower curtain, and they [male colleagues] knew that the curtain shower was for me. But if I was in there, they were coming in anyways, usually they were like a couple of shower [stalls] away. Then I would sneak out. (Véronique, NCM)

Thus, for operational reasons, the military officially maintains control over all aspects of soldiers' lives both private and public during deployments. However, as seen above, these deployment situations pose particular challenges and stress for female soldiers. When deployed, female soldiers cannot escape the complications associated with the gender isolation of the male-dominated military environment. In other words, they are unable to leave work at the end of their work shift to enter a more gender-balanced world.

Military deployments not only increase the gender isolation and marginalisation for women soldiers; they also signal a change in socio-cultural norms. The next two quotations provide insights into the socio-cultural shift that takes place and also suggest a shift in military organisational culture:

I know even my language drops a couple of notches when I go into the field because it's almost like you have the liberty to say these things. But some of these guys, I mean every second word that comes out of their mouth is a swear word, or they're saying some insulting derogatory remarks to some women.... I've been out in the field with some of these units now, and they're all like that. (Quanita, Officer)

In the next quotation, Evelyn is speaking of being onboard a ship on tour as opposed to the ship being docked in port or being stationed at a Naval base (e.g., Halifax has a large naval base).

One of the interesting aspects of being in the Navy is that you can be pretty profane at times.... I mean the guys will be like, "Oh, yeah she's got a nice rack" You know, I'll play that game with them. I mean, you want

to be a pig? ... And the guys will be like, "Oh my God Evelyn, you're such a pig" It's more about the guys being really piggy than it is about me being cool.... They need to exert the fact that they are men. (Evelyn, Officer)

Both Quanita and Evelyn recognize that a change has occurred in the language used by both themselves and their male counterparts; namely, there is an increased acceptance of, and a freedom to make, vulgar comments and sexist remarks. Their comments indicate that a change occurs when soldiers are on deployment in that there is less social pressure to conform to the established gender norms of the home-base context. Similarly, in a study examining a large US army unit, Rosen, Knudson, and Fancher (2003) found that field-time was correlated with male soldiers' decreased acceptance of women in the military.⁴² Arguably, the increased use of sexist and hostile remarks reported by participants in this study signifies male soldiers' resistance to women's presence in the Canadian military. This is reminiscent of Murphy's (1988) social closure theory and Lin and colleagues' social capital theory (Lin, 2001; Lin & Erikson, 2008). For Lin and Erikson (2008), a defining feature of social capital theory "explicates how individual and collective actors invest in social relations through which they gain access to diverse and rich resources for expected returns" (p. 4). In this case, male soldiers have access to, but also actively maintain, an anti-feminine warrior-defined social network. Actively preserving this social network serves to protect

⁴² Field-time in this study refers to military training exercises away from the home-base.

their privileged dominant in-group status and exclude out-group interlopers.

Tactics of monopolisation and closure to protect jobs by male workers has been documented extensively in the literature (e.g., Levine, 2009; Williams, 1989). Rosen et al. (2003), however, propose that male soldiers' opposition to females is due to an increase in the endorsement of the hyper-masculine warrior ideology rather than a symptom of protectionism. The warrior creed draws upon mythical and historical traditions. In the present context, it brings together both military values such as honour, obedience, and loyalty, as well as macho-masculine values such as aggression, toughness, independence, and the denigration of "the other," such as women or homosexuals (Braudy, 2005). Increased endorsement of a warrior ideology implies a change in the social relations whereby male soldiers are garnering additional socio-political support and power that can then be used to protect the masculine image and status of their jobs (closure). The CF, like all militaries, is underpinned by a macho-masculine ideology (Addelston & Stirratt, 1996; Connell, 1995; Harrison & Laliberté, 1994, 2002). However, warrior ideology is a new and growing phenomenon in the Canadian military that has not been well documented. Nuciari (2003) calls it the warrior ideal. Nuciari also notes that it is hostile in nature and usually adopted by white male soldiers rather than female or ethnic minority soldiers. According to some Canadian researchers such as Davis and McKee (2004), such an ideological shift is of negative implications for the integration of women. The data suggests that this shift is cultural and marked by behaviour that is more traditional and sexist. Arguably, for Canadian soldiers, the stereotype of the male and masculine

soldier is being bolstered by a warrior creed, and accentuated in the deployment environment.

As the following comment illustrates, along with facing a deployment military culture that does not fully accept women, female soldiers experience deployments in foreign cultures where a heightened anti-woman sentiment is common:

In Saudi Arabia, we were hated because of our open [uncovered] faces ... You'd walk down the street ... and people would elbow you and try to knock you off the sidewalk.... Whenever I'd go any place with another male [soldier], he would typically [receive] offers to buy me. My new administrative officer kept threatening to get a few cows for me. He said, "I could get a whole herd in exchange for you." (Arlene, Officer)

Arlene was the commanding officer in this situation. However, this does not seem to have influenced her subordinate officer's comments toward her. Rather, he felt at ease in teasing her in a manner that highlighted his male power and her vulnerability. This type of harassment where those with more organizational power are harassed by those with less power has been called "contrapower sexual harassment" (Benson, 1984; DeSouza & Fansler, 2003). In this particular case, it demonstrates how the socio-cultural power associated with belonging to the male gender group trumps the organisational power ascribed to Arlene.

The preceding three quotations (those of Quanita, Evelyn, and Arlene) illustrate that when female soldiers are deployed, they must contend with changed

gender social relations. Rosen et al. (2003) suggest that there is a difference between the home-base and deployment cultures such that the home-base provides a more structured and "civilized" setting whereas deployments value and emphasize warrior traits. Moreover, it is generally believed that a warrior culture and warrior traits are necessary for succeeding in combat (Rosen et al., 2003). Indeed, in addition to the physically isolated environment of deployments, the presence of combat either simulated for training purposes or real is very common.

In sum, the data suggests that within the deployment context, CF male soldiers regained socio-cultural power (e.g., a more traditional male gender role), whereas women lost status and control. How did female soldiers cope with their male colleagues' increased use of vulgar misogynist language, and the different set of gender norms while on deployment? They seemed unanimous in their choice of coping strategies, and the following quotation illustrates the tactic used:

The guys are always a little bit amazed that I can out profane them.... I'm not sure if it is what I would describe as a coping strategy but it's a way of managing the repercussions of what some people say.... I think it developed into a defensive mechanism. (Evelyn, Officer)

By responding with equally crude and vernacular language, female soldiers gained a kind of tacit respect and acceptance from their male colleagues. According to Levine (2009), by adopting and exaggerating traditionally male interaction styles, women in non-traditional male-dominated work break down the male coworkers' ability to use such interaction in forming closure. In other words, Evelyn, by matching and exceeding the profanity and sexist language of her male

coworkers, usurped the male use of profanity and sexist language as an effective strategy to exclude her. Although women gain a certain acceptance, this approach leaves the norms unchallenged, since women are not sending the message that such behaviour is unwelcome or unacceptable. As described in the military's own harassment policy (DAOD 5012), challenging unacceptable behaviour is the first step to changing it. But one must ask why female soldiers would dare take such an initiative. Peniston-Bird (2000) argues that military women risk being rejected unless they become fully assimilated. Women who challenge the culture risk being labelled as non-team-players and ostracised. In an organisation that values camaraderie, conformity, and group cohesion as essential to mission success (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003), contesting their male colleagues' language or behaviours would differentiate them from the dominant group and possibly evoke a negative reaction among their peers. In contrast, female soldiers who adopt disparaging language find acceptance among their male colleagues. As the following comment indicates, female soldiers are aware of the consequences of challenging the hegemonic group:

I refused to play that role ... of 'gender cop' ... because I knew that as the only female [on the course], it was going to be tough enough. The guys would have shied away from me if I'd ever started playing some role where I took offence to everything that was said: I would never have survived the year. I would have been so isolated. (Susan, Officer)

Kanter (1977) hypothesized that working women risked being cast into female gender-stereotyped roles such as the mother, seductress, pet, and Iron

Maiden. According to Kanter, besides being described as cold, aloof, and tough, Iron Maiden women are perceived as dangerous by their co-workers. Hence, female soldiers who are perceived as challenging the dominance of the male gender relations in the military risk being further marginalised.

All participants coped with the complications associated with the exacerbated gender isolation by being outstanding achievers. This was not limited to the use of coarse language while on deployments. It also included their behaviours in a multitude of military contexts. For example, during the interviews, whenever the various courses and training participants engaged in was discussed, I often inquired about how well they performed. Although some women reported not having done well, most indicated that they placed in the top third of their military classes. As illustrated in the following responses, these female soldiers were high achievers:

I felt like I always had to just go that extra mile to do everything right, and it was always a performance thing. (Denise, NCM)

I carry my own weight. 'I can do what they can do, and they like that.' So, they leave me alone. (Bailie, NCM)

The reporting of such a high performance by female soldiers is not surprising and is likely necessary given their marginalised and token status in the military. It might also be that more competent women than men are recruited to the military because they have fewer opportunities in the civilian sector that offer as much job security and salary. According to Kanter (1977), tokens' high

visibility produces performance pressures, which may lead to either over- or under-achievement. In addition to gaining respect from their male counterparts, performing well and recognizing that this performance was outstanding helped these women soldiers cope. Lenora's comment illustrates this point:

I was top student on most of my courses.... You go through six [training] cells and you are outstanding. And then, you go to one cell and hit the bottom of the class. [You realise that], it is probably not me, as an individual, that is the problem. It is probably a problem with the person who's evaluating me. (Lenora, Officer)

Because of the knowledge of her previous top-performance on numerous occasions, Lenora rationalised that the extreme negative evaluation was not a fair evaluation of her abilities and probably due to her evaluator. Another strategy these women used to cope is cognitive; they "read the men" to understand how they function:

It depends on how you act with them [male colleagues].... You have just got to read them and figure [out] what's the best approach. (Bailie, NCM)

Like most marginalised groups, the success, well-being, and survival of female soldiers depend on their understanding and ability to predict the behaviour of the dominant group (Harding, 2004; Collins, 1998). According to standpoint theory, the need for such knowledge suggests that CF female soldiers are living and managing their daily military lives as subordinates to men, and not as their equals. In comparison, male soldiers define and benefit from what will constitute the practice of sexism in such a milieu and maintain and police it. Evelyn sums it

up in the next quotation:

[It is] more about the guys being really piggy than it is about me being cool.... They need to exert the fact that they are men."(Evelyn, Officer).

To summarise, the data indicate that when female soldiers are on deployment, they experience a deterioration in gender relations. In part, this is due to the blending, and even overlapping, of public- and work-life with private- and social-life. This lack of separation increases the time they spend in a milieu where they are in a token position. On deployment, there is also a cultural shift in terms of gender relations where the social power difference increases between men and women. Female soldiers are confronted with behaviours and practices of their male soldier colleagues that are more conservative and would normally be unacceptable on their home-base. This is not only when the deployment is in a foreign country where the rights and role of women are more restricted than those of men. The cultural shift is also linked to the exacerbated token position of women, given that it is present in deployments on Canadian land. Women soldiers deal with this situation by adhering to the sexist shift in culture so as not to further increase their marginalisation. They also utilise cognitive strategies to minimise the negative effects of this situation by increasing their awareness of the functioning of their male colleagues.

Sexuality: Everywhere and Nowhere

On deployment, in addition to dealing with the intensification of isolation and tokenism, female soldiers face an environment in which the sexualisation of women is more salient. As Quanita's comment suggests, a behaviour that would

typically go unnoticed on a usual working day at the home-base takes on disproportionate significance when away on deployment:

You're the most popular people going. I mean when you think about it, there's no women around hardly [while on deployment].... You're the most popular person in the place. You put on a new perfume, and they [the men] all notice. (Quanita, Officer)

The following quotation by Véronique also speaks to how the sexualisation of women is intensified and threatening. In this case, her status as a soldier is overridden by her gender:

When I went to South Africa, that was a horror... I couldn't go and work by myself. I couldn't go to the washroom by myself, because they never saw women before, I swear.... We had British people there ... maybe German and... it was a UN [United Nations] base. (Véronique, NCM)

The next comment illustrates that even if a woman is of a different sexual orientation (i.e., lesbian), her sexuality is made prominent:

Stephanie [a heterosexual woman] knew [my sexual orientation] and she just laughed. She'd make jokes about it and would tell all the guys [male peers]: "Well, it is too bad you guys aren't females." (Bailie, NCM)

The more a woman is sexualised, the more visible her gender is. Because being a soldier is a deviation from women's gender role, the greater their sexualisation the more their role and capacity as soldiers becomes eclipsed. This is a form of sex-role spillover (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). Research also indicates that in male-dominated workplaces, women are overly sexualized, whether they

are present or not (Burgess & Borgida, 1997; Gutek, 1985, 1989). It follows that the fewer the women (the more men dominate in number), the more women will be sexualised. If women are even more in a minority status when on deployment than at home-base, the less their role as soldiers will be prominent. In other words, the acceptance of women as competent soldiers is further undermined when they are on deployment. Further, when the deployments involve combat, as previously seen, this trend is expected to be even more pronounced. This seems to be in line with the experience reported by participants.

How did these women deal with the difficulties associated with being away in isolated military contexts and being perceived as a sexualised commodity? The following response exemplifies how some women used a cognitive strategy, namely, that “women must be aware and in control of the situation.” What is important to recognise is that this strategy allows women to maintain a feeling of control over the situation and acts to distance them from becoming victims as long as they remain in control. For example, Denise explains how young women may not be as skilled as older women at controlling their behaviours and hence the situation when sent to Alert, an extremely isolated and northern six-month deployment:

Many women go up there [to Alert] with good intentions, but in the end, the attention takes over, and they are young, and they don't know how to handle it. (Denise, NCM)

By making women responsible to control the situation, this cognitive attribution provides these women soldiers with a sense of personal control and

security. According to Crawford and Unger (2000), “Victims are seen as responsible for their misfortunes by people who do not wish to believe that the same random disaster could happen to them” (p. 84). Thus, female soldiers distanced themselves from the notion that they were vulnerable, and from any women who, according to the logic of the belief espoused in Denise’s quotation, failed to exercise control over themselves. This is also similar to what Crosby (1984) referred to as the “denial of personal disadvantage.” Crosby found that people felt distanced from the injustices that they recognised as affecting their reference group members. Crosby (1984), and Crosby and colleagues (1989) also saw the denial of disadvantage as an indication of people's need to believe in a just world. Unfortunately, women appear to experience or manifest sentiments of injustice about their own condition (Crosby, 1984) while denial as a strategy tends to reinforce the common perception that women are to blame for their own victimisation.

Female soldiers typically did not mention feeling physically vulnerable, in danger, or targeted within the sexualised deployment environment. Yet, some women felt the need to use specific protective strategies. The next quotations exemplify a pattern that emerged in the behavioural and cognitive coping strategies mentioned by these women. In this case, they made allies with specific male colleagues to provide them with protection:

People were calling me the best-protected female in NATO because these two guys are like huge. (Ina, NCM)

He [a work colleague] came into the mess, I gave him a great big hug, and I just looked at him and said, "Act like you're with me." ... He was a big guy. People just left me alone. (Treva, Officer)

Turning to a male colleague for protection is reminiscent of what Kanter (1977) referred to as role entrapment. Role entrapment means that tokens, rather than challenge the stereotypes held by the dominant group, find it easier and safer to accept the role. However, given that these women adopted strategies that were not always congruent with the stereotypic female gender role (e.g., turning male soldiers' sexist language back at them), it is not clear that female soldiers were trapped into performing traditional stereotypic behaviours. In all likelihood, due to their marginalised status within the military, coupled with the exacerbated isolation produced by being deployed, these women alternated between strategies and chose the one likely to best suit the situation, time, and place.

Regarding the strategy where female soldiers sometimes chose a male colleague to provide them with some protection, it is notable that in these women's minds, not just any male soldier could fulfil the protector role. They all invoked the image of a 'large' man familiar to them to allay their feelings of uncertainty and vulnerability. This approach of coping with unwelcome male attention, feelings of vulnerability, and harassment reinforces two ideas. First, it maintains the gendered stereotype that women are weak and vulnerable. Second, it affirms the gender schema that men are women's protectors (Goldstein, 2001; Young, 2003), especially those who fit the image of the friendly, big strong masculine guy. By evoking this "male protector" gender schema, it is possible

that female soldiers gained some peace of mind, but this is not an infallible strategy. In the following response, Denise recounts the story of a female colleague who had confided in her about being sexually assaulted while on a six-month overseas deployment:

She did go on her R&R [time off while on deployment] with some friends.

She thought they were friends: they were guys [male work colleagues].

They ended up going out drinking, and in the end, she did get raped.... He did get away with it in the end. (Denise, NCM)

The ability to choose trustworthy male soldiers as friends may be perceived as purely a judgment call. However, many situational factors are at play. The female soldier to whom Denise was referring to in the above quotation was on a deployment in a foreign country, and so in a more vulnerable situation with regard to gender isolation and access to her regular social support networks. As discussed previously, female soldiers on deployment often find themselves the only females within a group of male soldiers. If a female soldier is on deployment in a foreign country, spending her leisure time with colleagues is a typical practice. This is also encouraged by the military, as it is perceived as a more prudent behaviour for all soldiers but especially women. In addition, the military ideologically encourages group activities, bonding, and cohesion (Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2003). Soldiers are encouraged to engage socially with their military colleagues (e.g., at social events). If the female soldier referred to by Denise in the above quotation had not socialised with her colleagues, she would have contributed to the perception that she was not a group player, and

increased her alienation from the group. This story illustrates the vulnerability associated with the exacerbated gender isolation and marginalisation women soldiers on military deployments experience.

In contrast to the participants who aligned themselves with men for protection, some, like Xandra, felt that they could protect themselves. Unlike the participants who used the “male protector” stereotype to comfort themselves, Xandra emphasised her own physical size as an essential element for ensuring self-protection:

Just think about it; I'm six feet tall. If you saw me in a dark alley, you'd probably run like hell thinking I was going to mug you. So, it [the violence on base where she was taking a course] never bothered me. (Xandra, NCM)

The sexualisation of women, the association of vulnerability with women's sexuality, and women as a commodity for men cut across many interviewees' stories. Yet, only one woman talked about the presence of male sexuality:

The guys are mostly big on porn.... They were pretty open about the whole thing like, 'I'm going to masturbate now' and they take the magazine to the washroom. (Bailie, NCM)

While Bailie went on to express ignorance and shock about the openness of this aspect of male sexuality, she never problematised its presence or acceptability. The lack of talk about male sexuality in the interviews underscores its acceptance and invisibility in the military workplace.

The preceding participant responses highlight not only the increased challenges for female soldiers associated with being away on deployments but also their strategies to cope with this reality (e.g., evoking the physically large male stereotype as a defensive cognitive strategy and soliciting their protection as a behavioural approach). These women's stories also indicate that the oversexualisation of women heightened all soldiers' awareness of female soldiers' sexuality, whereas male sexuality was rendered invisible and a non-issue. Yet, male sexuality underpins military culture. That sexuality is pervasive in the military workplace is not a unique finding. As many authors have found, the underpinning of male sexuality is common to many organisational settings, and female sexuality is typically overly-emphasised in male-dominated organisations (Acker, 1990; Wajcman, 1998a, 1998b; Williams, Giuffre, & Delhinger, 1999). What seems unique in this data is the notion that, in some instances, as exemplified by the earlier quotation from Xandra, women could act on their own behalf and assure their own protection. This is despite women's token status and role entrapment. However, the data generally support Wajcman's (1998a, 1998b) suggestion that an emphasis on women's sexuality as a commodity for men and women's vulnerability sustains a culture of male dominance that continues to alienate and subordinate women.

Add Children to the Equation

While a large number of the female soldiers interviewed were mothers, many study participants had either remained single or had fewer children when compared to the male soldiers in the quantitative part of this study. Thus, similar

to the findings in the quantitative analysis (Chapter 4), female soldiers “do” families differently than their male colleagues. Whether partnered with another military member or single, the women spoke at length about the increased challenges and complications of having children as a part of their soldiering experience. As mentioned earlier (Chapter 3), 14 of the 39 women interviewed were mothers. Out of these mothers, 12 were heterosexual and two were lesbian (see Appendix VI). Two mothers were single (one lesbian and one heterosexual) and the remainder were partnered. The single lesbian mother’s experience mirrored those of the other mothers, whereas the heterosexual single mother did not speak of as many complications. However, the heterosexual single mother had not been deployed as often, which was atypical for this group of women. The second lesbian mother was partnered with a civilian woman. This soldier also did not speak in great detail about the influence of children on her career or her everyday military life, possibly because her partner was a full-time stay-at-home mom. Together, these three women stood out as exceptions in this group and each one had experienced limited deployments. Soldiers typically leave their home-bases to do training and courses. As the following response indicates, however, they downplay the importance of these deployments compared to peacekeeping or war-making missions:

I have not done anything, gone anywhere. The only course that I've had outside my 3s, 5s, 6s, JLC, SLC, was I went to Cornwallis as an instructor [instructors' course]. (Helena, NCM)

The threes, fives, sixes referred to in the quotation are military

occupational-specific courses that can last from a few weeks to a year depending on the occupation. The JLC and SLC (junior and senior leadership courses) are general professional development courses that typically last two months each. Taking military courses is considered a military order and hence not optional. Moreover, soldiers are typically displaced to another base for the training. Although it might be tempting to dismiss courses and field-training as not “real” deployments, the salient part of the definition for *deployment* is that it separates soldiers from their civilian lives and takes them away from their home-bases and their civilian-private-intimate lives. In such a context, mothers still faced similar complications, having to be concerned with the care of their children in their extended absence.

Every heterosexual woman with children, whether partnered or not, talked about childcare as if they were the sole caretakers and decision-makers. Women used the “I” pronoun rather than “we” when speaking about the demands and challenges of raising children. As the interviewer, I had to ask specifically about their husband/partners’ contributions. The following two quotations typify how the female soldiers spoke about their husbands and their involvement in the caretaking of their children:

A good example is when your son is sick: Who stays home? I know in my family, it is not my husband. It is just the way it is. I mean when my son went in for his surgery, I used three weeks of my annual leave [holidays].

(Katherine, NCM)

My husband was at the wood hobby shop.... He'd go there on weekends and give me time to clean the house and whatever with the kids and it just worked out great. (Jill, NCM)

These quotations illustrate that the servicewomen assumed that they were the primary care-takers; the care of their children was first and foremost their responsibility. The quotations also suggest that female soldiers willingly and unquestioningly accepted this responsibility. This is not entirely surprising considering that this behaviour reflects the same pattern identified in the literature on civilian women (e.g., see Blair-Loy & Wharton, 2004; Boulis, 2004). However, for female soldiers with children, being deployed frequently adds additional layers of complexity to this responsibility. Furthermore, unlike their male colleagues, most female soldiers are partnered with another soldier. As a result, the demands of a military lifestyle are multiplied and both individuals are deployed frequently. On occasion, they will be deployed at the same time. The case of the following participants, Judith is leaving on deployment as her husband is returning, whereas Naomi's husband is already gone when she leaves. Their responses speak to the complications of being deployed and being in a relationship with another military soldier this represents:

My husband was just getting back from a tour, and I was about to leave a 9-month-old baby with a man who doesn't really know his child. (Judith, NCM)

I went on my junior leader's course while posted in Cold Lake.... My husband was also on course. I had to put my son with a babysitter for the entire five weeks.... I never came home on the weekends because I felt it would be too hard on the child. (Naomi, NCM)

The following quotation illustrates the emotional upheaval that deployments created for many women with children:

When I actually left her [her daughter of 18 months] the first time [for a deployment to the Middle East] ... I remember thinking on the plane: "I will just have to tell them [the military] when I get there that I can't do it." ... I remember seriously thinking that I could really talk to these people, and they were just going to let me go home: But, I wasn't being rational. I remember on the plane really seriously saying, "I am not going to be able to do this. I can't leave her for six months, there is just no way." ... So I got to Toronto, I looked around and there were another 20 women [soldiers], and they were all crying. I thought, "Oh well there goes that plan." (Denise, NCM)

Denise's quotation speaks to the level of emotional stress these women experience. Yet, Denise also thinks she was not being rational, suggesting that she believes that simply making a request not to be deployed was unreasonable. To label her thinking as not rational, Denise had to internalise the ideology that accompanies military employment, namely that the military mission comes first, before all else, even leaving her 18-month-old daughter behind. Denise actually encountered this non-negotiable and challenging aspect of military life another

time in her career when, unexpectedly, her unit was called into work one evening and deployed several hours later:

Ullie [my husband] left for Yugo [Yugoslavia deployment], and two days later ... we [my unit] are called in and we are going to the ice storm in Montreal. They called us in at six o'clock at night and they said we are leaving at 12 [midnight]. I said, "Wait a second, I have an eight-year-old daughter, my husband left two days ago.... I can't leave in six hours; I have no one to take care of my place." They said, "You have got 24 hours. You'll be on the flight because you are going." (Denise, NCM)

In Denise's quotation, the non-negotiable potency of military orders comes to light. It also illustrates that the military, as an organisation relies on and takes-for-granted that soldier's usually have civilian spouses to assume responsibilities for the home and childcare at anytime. Research shows that the military indeed relies upon soldiers' spouses to take care of the home and the children (Harrison, 2002; Harrison & Laliberté, 1994). That women unquestionably take on childcare responsibilities and that the dominate group assumes women will do so illustrates the interplay of gender-based issues and stereotypes with role entrapment (Heikes, 1991; Kanter, 1977). In addition, because female soldiers are typically partnered with another soldier, they are unable to rely on this (invisible) civilian resource given the demands of the military career. Single parent female soldiers also face a similar challenge (lack of a dependable resource such as a partner). The above presented scenarios of female soldiers with children demonstrate how the needs of the military compete with

those of the family. Mary Segal (1986) argues that for women this entails being at the mercy of two needy and greedy institutions—the family and the military. Yet, unless the soldier leaves her military career, the CF's needs always supersede those of the family. Because female soldiers disproportionately shoulder the responsibility of childcare, the demands of these two institutions fall disproportionately on them.

For the women soldiers with children, coping with deployment took on various forms. The strategies varied from carefully planning their pregnancies, negotiating with their children, trusting sitters, and finally believing (or hoping) that no harm would come to their children during their deployment. The following quotations illustrate some of these strategies:

I always had three sitters: one regular, one backup in case, and a second backup. Always prepared! (Naomi, NCM)

I tell my son everything that affects him. I said [to him] ... “if we get a posting [relocation] next summer, and it's a split posting [she and her husband get posted to different locations], Bob, we're going to have to live with it until I have 24 years in.” (Roslyn, NCM)

Single mothers like Helena were reticent about being deployed:

As a single parent, I never want to go anywhere [deployments].... I still don't want to go until she [daughter] is gone [from home]. (Helena, NCM)

While Helena's reluctance to being deployed comes through in the above

comment, it also is clear that she does not feel that she received or asked for preferential treatment during her military career:

Since I've been in [the military], I've never asked for anything, never turned anything down. I have just done whatever they [military] ask of me.

(Helena, NCM)

Eventually, some of the mothers found that they had to choose between their military careers and their families. As indicated by Roslyn's preceding comment, she prepared her son for a military-enforced move that might split up their home. The following quotation is a continuation of the interview with Roslyn, and like other soldier-mothers who participated in the study, she discussed the degree to which she was comfortable allowing her military career to take precedence over her family commitments:

He [her son] has done almost four years without one of us around due to the operations [deployments].... He's aware of that [a split posting] and willing to live with that. But after that [posting], it will not be acceptable for me, and ... then I would pull the pin [quit the military], at exactly 24 years and a day. Because of my background, I should be able to get another job to supplement my pension and probably still make the same as I am making now. (Roslyn, NCM)

Acquiring 24 years of military service does not mean Roslyn or other soldiers for that matter have to retire. It simply means she would have the choice to retire and receive a pension, however, she also could continue working for the

military and receive a larger pension⁴³. In a similar vein, the following quotation exemplifies the soldier-mothers' willingness to leave the military career and its associated difficulties, in favour of a more traditional family life:

I find it is very stressful having two people in the military.... You are both going and you are both really career oriented and somebody has just got to give. It has got to be me.... [In] my own personal experience, you can't go, go, go, go, and have a child, and still have a life outside that as well, and be very active in other things.... If I can make it to 20 [years of pensionable time], I will do it. But it is basically decided that when my husband gets his Master Warrant Officers.... I will get out.... But as far as making a career out of it, I will let my husband do that. (Katherine, NCM)

Similarly, a woman soldier whose military husband died expressed regrets for staying in the military and prioritizing her military career over being a stay-at-home mom while he was alive:

If I had been home, I could have done all those things that housewives do for their husbands, have their shirts ironed and have supper ready, and there wouldn't have been quite the chaos in our family that there was all through the years. I could have done the grocery shopping in the day instead of at seven or eight o'clock at night. I was always tired. It would

⁴³ The military offers different points of exit out of the military with a pension (e.g., at 20 years or 24 years service). For soldiers thinking of changing careers, it means they can tap into a pension albeit smaller than if they had stayed in the military long enough to get a 'full' pension.

have been easier on me, and it could have been easier on the whole family, had I have gotten out. (Gail, NCM)

The data indicate that these female soldiers could easily envision themselves relinquishing their military careers for the sake of their children and family. These women spoke as if their military work was optional and they would leave their male partners to pursue the military career, thereby suggesting that terminating their careers for their family's sake was acceptable to them. In many respects, women seemed to be responding to the pull of the institution of motherhood, which is the ideologically-based notion that women are mothers first and that women should be the primary childcare providers, loving and nurturing selflessly (Braverman, 1989; Diem, 1998; Weaver & Ussher, 1997). Pamela Stone (2007) refers to this phenomenon as maintaining the illusion of choice. In her study, she argues that women found it easier and advantageous to say they were quitting for family reasons rather than talk about their dissatisfaction regarding work.

The fact that these women discussed leaving their professional careers for their children is not unique to the military setting. For example, Stone and Lovejoy (2004) examined managerial women who left their professional careers and found that these women also indicated that their children were the reason they had to leave their positions. Yet, most of the women in the present study were thinking about leaving the military later in their career; and most were near or beyond 20-years of military experience. The 20-year military employment contract allows soldiers to retire with a pension, albeit smaller than if they stayed

longer. These mothers also were contemplating leaving the military when their children were actually beyond one of the more needy stages in their development—the infant stage. This may suggest that these women’s choice to leave may not have been driven entirely by their children’s needs. Stone and Lovejoy argue that the women leave their careers because of their negative gendered workplace experiences while espousing family reasons. Arguably, the gendered military workplace also played a role in the decision-making processes of female soldiers who were thinking about relinquishing their careers, and the ideology of motherhood provided a socially accepted rationale for leaving early.

Conclusion

As discussed and illustrated in the preceding sections, the influence of the male-dominated military culture on their day-to-day existence is exacerbated for female soldiers while away on military deployments. The following factors were involved in intensify their experiences: the meshing of the private and the public, the reduction of private physical space, the changed gender standards of conduct, the hyper-sexualisation of their gender, and the complications of childcare responsibilities they bear. In addition, female soldiers with children (i.e., soldier-mothers) found themselves at the mercy of two greedy institutions—the family and the military (Segal, 1986). In addition, although the nature of the challenges faced by mothers who are in the military may not change with the number of children they have, the number of complications that they experience and their intensity can increase as a result of the intersection of mothering and the military lifestyle. One of the contextual factors helping to shed light on the complications

faced by service members in general, and mothers in particular, is that, although joining the Canadian military is a voluntary act, the work contract does not allow individuals to voluntarily or easily terminate their engagement. In the literal sense of military law, soldier-mothers cannot simply miss work or decline a deployment because their children are sick or need them, even though childcare falls disproportionately onto women. Hence, the impact of gender roles and stereotypes in the context of a military deployment seem to be doubly taxing for women with children.

Women cope with the effects of deployments by utilizing various strategies. For those with children, soldier-mothers double and triple their childcare solutions, and with time, divest from their military careers. In general, at times their strategies are cognitive, such as adopting the view that they are different from women who are victimized; at other times, they are protective, like strategically choosing a male friend with certain attributes or finding ways of enhancing and believing in their own abilities to protect themselves. In sum, given the particular spillover of gender into the military deployment milieu, female soldiers must adjust their psychological, social, physical, and practical behaviour to manage.

In the next chapter, I examine the implications that integrating women in the CF has meant for military masculinity and the outcomes that it brings for the women who serve today. While the experiences of servicewomen shed light on military culture, they also elucidate the role and limitations of policy and training in the CF.

Chapter 8

Disrupting Presence for Military Masculinity: Female Soldiers

The emphasis is on realizing that gender is not natural, objective, or neutral. Rather, gender is always a product of dominant cultural systems and of the structure of power relations in a given society. (Woehrle, 1999, p. 51)

Gender can be conceived as a social institution that underpins and organizes all domains of life including the workplace (Lorber, 1994). Similarly, research demonstrates that sexuality is an integral part of all aspects of organizations (Hearn et al., 1989; Hearn & Parkin, 1995). In their research, Gutek and Done (2001) demonstrated that male dominated workplaces are highly sexualized (e.g., the regular occurrence of sexual jokes). It follows then that the influx of women into traditionally male-dominated organizations challenges the prevailing hegemony of male heterosexuality. Researchers also found that an increase of women in an organization is sufficient for men to react negatively toward them (e.g., sexual harassment; Cockburn, 1991; De Coster, Estes, & Mueller, 1999). However, research indicates that the negative reaction of men leads to the introduction of new organizational policies and practices (Williams, Giuffre, & Dellinger, 1999; Williams, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1999). This series of findings actually maps the history of the CF in this respect: Coinciding with the historic opening of all occupations to women including combat,⁴⁴ the CF created

⁴⁴ All occupations were opened except those related to submarine duty because of material and economical barriers (i.e., new submarines needed to be

its first policy to deal with sexual harassment in 1988 (Canadian Forces Administrative Order--CFAO 19-39). Later in the mid 1990s, it implemented sexual harassment prevention training (Canadian Forces Military Law Centre, 2008). Then near the end of the 1990s, due to numerous incidents of sexual harassment being sensationalised by the media (Branswell, 1998; O'Hara, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c), an office of the Ombudsman was opened specifically to represent employees of the Department of National Defence (DND) and the CF (Department of National Defence and Canadian Forces, 1999, 2008). The DND/CF Ombudsman office was to be a place where civilians working for the military and military members (i.e., soldiers) could lodge complaints of any nature against the military (e.g., sexual harassment complaints, military benefits). At this office, complainants were to be protected from retribution or internal interference from within the military hierarchy. As seen in Chapter 5, soldiers are prohibited by military laws from making criticisms about the CF. Accordingly, the independence of this agency from the CFs' chain of command seems to represent a first for the military (i.e., it is a unique situation when soldiers are permitted to step outside the chain of command if they feel that they have been wronged). However, the recent appointment of retired military officers for the position of the Ombudsman could call into question the original commitment to institutional independence (and possibly, the assurance, or minimally the perception of protection from retribution or internal interference for complainants (see <http://www.ombudsman.forces.gc.ca/>). For instance, an accurate picture of

purchased to accommodate both genders, which took a few years to implement).

the *sexual* harassment that servicewomen in the CF may be experiencing has always been difficult to obtain. Based on its mandate, the presence of the Ombudsman's office should have facilitated access to this knowledge. Yet, since its inception in 1998, the DND/CF Ombudsman has always reported statistics on the general category of *harassment claims* to its office. Sexual harassment claims are subsumed under this general harassment category. To gain more specific knowledge in this respect, therefore, an alternative source of information is necessary.

In the first part of this chapter, I present an overview of the nature of harassment faced by servicewomen. To do so, I split the data into pre- and post-1995 periods. The reason for this particular split is that 1995 marks the year when the CF first introduced sexual harassment and racism prevention training (SHARP in military jargon). The division of the data into these two time periods draws attention to the lengthy period of time that went by—after the CF first introduced its harassment policy in 1988 and opened all military occupations to women—before sexual harassment and racism prevention training was initiated. The section that examines the post-1995 era also includes a sub-section specifically on lesbian baiting as a form of harassment. In the second section of this chapter, I examine the nature and implementation of the policy and training against harassment. Because this examination is through the experience of servicewomen, the information presented reveals the effectiveness and impact of the policy and training on the people it is most directly designed to benefit. In this context, I also discuss what evidence is present (or not) to suggest that the military values

women. The chapter concludes with suggestions for improving the handling of harassment and decreasing the devaluing of women in the CF

Women's Experience of Harassment Pre-1995

The pre-1995 period was a time of many changes for women in Canadian society and specifically in the Canadian military. This period includes such events as the Royal Commission on Women (1970), the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977), the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), the CF's sexual harassment policies (1988), and the Canadian Human Rights tribunal case that opened military occupations to women (1989) (see Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of this period in Canadian and military history). The year that participants joined the CF ranges from 1971 to 2000. Of the 39 women interviewed, eight women joined the CF in the 1970s, twenty in the 1980s, ten in the 1990s, and one in the new millennium. Hence, the previously mentioned social-political changes are most relevant to the present study and the data represent a historical timeframe that reaches back forty years.

The diversity of the participants is not limited only to the time-period covered by their careers; the sample cuts across the military structure and hierarchy. As already seen, internally, the military is demarcated by hierarchy and traditional environmental branches (i.e., Army, Navy, & Air Force). The division between the NCM and Officer corps represents a relevant and important hierarchal demarcation: The NCMs tend to implement orders and accomplish military tasks, and the Officers are generally considered to be the leaders and decision-makers. Despite the diversity present in the sample in those regards,

many experiences are shared among servicewomen.

The quotations that follow are reflective of these experiences that cut across interviews, two major hierarchical divisions, and military workplaces. They illustrate the overt nature and range of the gendered behaviours that were considered a normal and acceptable part of military culture and female soldiers' everyday work environment. The first three quotations are from soldiers in the NCM corps:

I'm a private [lowest military rank], I'm going into a transportation section [her workplace] into the locker room and there are a lot of [pictures of] naked women with a lot of vaginas hanging out.... Pin ups. And, the booze at the Christmas [party] back then it was a free for all.... I felt the unwanted touches and it's from a Sergeant [supervisor, senior NCM]. What do you say, he is writing your PER [performance evaluation report]? (Pauline, NCM)⁴⁵

I had the touching and fondling thing, a senior male supply tech, a senior NCO [Non-Commissioned Officer].⁴⁶ He was my direct supervisor. I just moved away and told him to stop. [It did not stop] not right away, after a

⁴⁵ Pauline served first in the NCM corps and latter after upgrading her education was accepted into the Officer corps. The quotation refers to when she was in the NCM corps.

⁴⁶ NCOs are the three top ranks of the NCM corps and are not officially part of the Officer corps.

couple of months.... Just touching, I would be sitting beside him and his hand would end up on my leg and stuff like that or he would put his arm around me. (Gail, NCM)

You had to scrub the decks twice a day, literally on your hands and knees.... Happened to me everyday for months and months and I don't even remember a day where it didn't happen. You'd be scrubbing the decks on your hands and knees... it's very small.... You couldn't walk past somebody without physically or just barely touching them.... It was just a common thing for a guy to come up and give a sexual gesture when you're on hands and knees scrubbing the deck or to say something while you're down there. And I remember, very often the Coxain [senior NCM supervisor]... is standing there and laughing at it. He would laugh at it. He thought it was the funniest thing in the world that he'd ever seen.

(Wendy, NCM)

The next two quotations are from female soldiers of the Officer corps.
I would go to the Officers mess [military-owned private bar] and senior officers expected that they could proposition me or call me sweetie-pie. That whole slimy thing was very much part of the picture then. (Arlene, Officer)

This guy [a General] had his hands all over everybody female. The CO [male Commanding Officer] didn't... feel that he could say anything to

this General so it was just kind of left to us [women to fend for ourselves].

(Melanie, Officer)

Taken together, the above quotations indicate that female soldiers routinely encountered both physical and verbal forms of sexual harassment from their male colleagues. The quotations also demonstrate that their lived-experiences were quite similar regardless of the military environment (e.g., Army or Navy) or corps. The similarity of participants' harassment experiences also suggests that, historically, sexual harassment was pervasive and 'normal' across the CF, regardless of the environment or whether they were Officers or NCMs. Therefore, positions of greater hierarchical power did not offer female soldiers a reprieve from a highly male-gendered and sexually-charged environment.

The present findings indicate that at least historically, the sexualisation and harassment of female soldiers were used as a means to maintain the male-gendered military hierarchy (De Coster, Estes, & Mueller, 1999). This is consistent with other research findings looking at sexual harassment in the workplace (Gutek, 1985; Harlow, 1996; Wajcman, 1998a, 1998b; Seymour, 2003; Stanko, 1994). Arguably, the pervasiveness of sexual harassment likely hampered the efforts and aspirations of female soldiers, especially those in more powerful positions whom, otherwise, may have promoted organizational change.

The examination of the historical experiences of these women provides a context to better understand and situate their more recent experiences and reactions, and helps shed light on the existing gender relations within the Canadian military today. Although the preceding quotations speak to the past

historical experiences of women in the CF, the reality they reflect is still embedded in the present military culture due to the collective history of the CF and the memories and identities of currently serving soldiers. In the next section, I examine the more recent atmosphere of the Canadian military as revealed through the contemporary experiences of female soldiers.

Women's Experiences of Harassment Post-1995

The first part of this section elucidates the more *current* gendered experiences of female soldiers interviewed for this study. Thus, all the quotations presented here speak to post 1995 experiences. Similar to the previous section, I begin with a series of quotations that provide insights into these women's experiences. Together, they illustrate the current structural and hierarchal divisions within the military. This part ends with a sub-section dealing with "lesbian-baiting," which is another form of female harassment discussed by the study participants.

As mentioned previously, the current gendered experiences of the female soldiers interviewed for this study took place after a series of societal and military changes had taken place. Next, the stories servicewomen shared illustrate how these changes did not eliminate misogyny from the military. Doing so would and does represent a challenging undertaking, especially for an organization with the kind of anti-women history as seen in the previous quotations. This is especially relevant to consider when examining the integration of women into its ranks. As will be shown, the resistance to this integration can take different forms, but the message remains essentially the same: 'you do not belong here'.

In its milder version, the resistance to the integration and presence of women in the military may come across as humour as described by Bailie:

I have to say more joking than [harassment]. But in a way, yes, in a very subtle way, as in, they want to say it [joke], to get it off their chest, but they were joking about it.... They just have to say it to be cool because it is a girl they were saying it to... and there are so many guys in the room type deal. Just a little bit of harassment at the start, but nothing to ever bother you or make you like quit or freak out; just rude comments. (Bailie, NCM)

Alternatively, it can take the form of ignoring women's presence and as a form of despising women and femininity. It is a little ruder and less subtle, but again, carries the same message. Ina and Chantale each speak to this type of reaction:

There was one guy. He didn't care for women in combat. It was very, very apparent. If he asked a question and I happened to answer it, he would kind of look at me and ask one of the guys. They'd give him the same answer and he'd go okay, and write it down. (Ina, NCM)

At work, it's very much an old boys club as far as the men that I work with. And they have that look, when they look at you, that they are looking right through you. Like you matter absolutely nothing to them. (Chantale, NCM)

Adams (2001) labelled these types of incidents as discriminatory and 'undermining' behaviours. The women in her study on the Australian police force

reported feeling undermined by incidences of exclusion and indifference at work. Undermining, according to Adams (2001), is a discriminatory behaviour that overlaps with traditional gender relations such that women are left feeling that they were not taken seriously. He also refers to the implications this has for weakening women's confidence and affecting their career development. Finally, in the following quotations, Denise and Véronique provide examples of facing more straightforward misogyny.

I think he [my boss] is a male chauvinist pig. Because when there is a new guy in the shop, he likes him so much.... Like, we got another girl in the shop... and he hates her as much as he hates me. (Véronique, NCM)

The first day I walked into the battalion. I went to the RSM [Regimental Sergeant Major – senior supervisor], I said.... “I am reporting in.” He said, “we didn't want you, we didn't ask for you, and I don't know what you are doing here....” I had never ever run into such straightforward, “we don't want women and I don't want you here....” He never shook my hand and I never went into his office.... I was humiliated and I left.

(Denise, NCM)

For Véronique, having another female co-worker helped her take her supervisor's comments less personally whereas for Denise, the impact of her supervisor's comments undermined her self-assurance. As can be noted, the preceding quotations were all from NCM members. To provide a comparison, the next quotations come from female officers. Again, they demonstrate how holding

a relatively higher organizational status does not offer protection against harassment for senior women (e.g., those in the Officer corps). Orly and Susan speak of their experience facing anti-women sentiments:

My Colonel [Commanding Officer of her unit] had a lot of jokes with respect to where a woman's place was. They were very distasteful jokes. Even male friends of mine told me sometimes, he's beyond that line.... Like, we all take diversity training in the military, we all take harassment training, and so we all know where that line is. (Orly, Officer)

Staff College is a good example. You're with a bunch of guys. Well, what goes on; the jokes and the talk and ... you remove yourself from the situation so you're not putting the guys in a position. Otherwise I would have really alienated myself.... The guys would shy away from me if I'd ever started playing some role where I took offence to everything that was said. I would never have survived the year. I would have been so isolated. I chose not to. (Susan, Officer)

In the case of Orly, it is clear that the status and power played a role and facilitated her bosses harassing behaviour, even to the annoyance of her male colleagues. However, given Susan is away on a course with male colleagues of equivalent organizational status, the situation implies that traditional gendered power relations are at play.

As illustrated in the above quotations, women's presence is not always welcome. Similar to what was observed in the pre-1995 data, the hostility faced

by female officers is similar to that faced by the NCMs. Its form ranges from subtle innuendo and jokes to more blatant sexism and resentment. In his influential book, the *Nature of Prejudice*, Gordon Allport (1954) defines verbal remarks against an individual or group as antilocution whose impact is often overlooked or underestimated.

Allport (1954) argues that antilocution creates an atmosphere where discrimination is not only tolerated but has consequences. For example, Susan's quotation indicates that women cannot easily be an integral and accepted part of the group. Susan felt like she had few options. In addition to tolerating the sexism, she could either isolate herself from male colleagues to escape the sexist and unfriendly atmosphere, or be isolated by male colleagues if she challenged their sexism. As discussed in Chapter 5, to militaries, group cohesion is perceived as fundamental and depends on soldiers being well-integrated and accepted team players. Hence, female soldiers seem to be caught in a catch-22, a no-win situation. Under the circumstances, the misogynist behaviours and attitudes of male soldiers create an alienating environment and place barriers in the path of female soldiers trying to attain a fundamental quality of good soldiering.

In summary, the preceding quotations indicate the presence of a generally unwelcoming and sometimes hostile atmosphere toward women. They reveal a workplace environment underpinned by misogynist undercurrents. Participants also discussed a particular type of harassment that speaks to the heterosexist nature of the hegemony in the military. We now turn to this unique form of misogyny, that of lesbian-baiting.

Lesbian-Baiting

Lesbian-baiting is a form of sexual harassment that can affect either heterosexual or lesbian women. It involves the practice of evoking prejudices about lesbian sexuality to intimidate, humiliate, embarrass, and discredit women (Rothschild, 2005). The sub-theme of lesbian-baiting elucidates a particular aspect of sexism, and the gendered climate that these female soldiers contended with while serving in the CF. In the pre-1992 era, lesbian-baiting would have been a significant threat to CF female soldiers:

There was this whole attitude of, if you go out with them [men] and if you put out, you are okay. I had pressure to put out. But if you don't put out, you're probably either a lesbian or there's something else wrong with you.

(Melanie, Officer)

As discussed in Chapter 5, women suspected of being non-heterosexual were submitted to intensive military interrogations and investigations, and many were discharged and lost their military careers (Gouliquer, 2000; Poulin, Gouliquer, & Moore, 2009). Lesbian-baiting, therefore, was a potent threat prior to 1992, whether or not the allegation of homosexuality was true. Interestingly, with the exception of Melanie, the heterosexual women interviewed did not 'explicitly' mention the notion of lesbian-baiting as a threat. Although this had to be part of all women's knowledge, as Melanie suggested, there were ways to ensure that they were perceived as "okay" (a.k.a., heterosexual). It is not clear whether the other heterosexual participants were consciously aware of the threat and acted in such a way as to protect their heterosexual reputation. All that can be said is that

this theme did not emerge as a substantial one during the pre-1995 era in the *heterosexual* women's life-histories.

In comparison, lesbian soldiers did speak about lesbian-baiting as harassment and discrimination against homosexuality and the impact it had on their lives. The difference between the two groups of women most likely is due to the following: First, lesbians would have developed a hyper vigilance surrounding the threats linked to their sexual orientation in (and out) of the military. Unless they lied and/or lived a double life (Kaplan, 2003), they would have automatically been discharged. Therefore, the threat of being found out and discharged would have been an incessant reality for them. Second, given that until 1992, the military officially discriminated against soldiers suspected or confirmed of being homosexual (Gouliquer, 2000), few heterosexual servicewomen would label 'lesbian-baiting' as harassment per se. Rather, it simply would have been labelled in terms of a breach of military law, and thus, justifiably punishable. In fact, despite the 1992 overturn of the discriminatory military policy against homosexual soldiers, the culture of the CF was such that most gay or lesbian soldiers were not comfortable or feeling safe about "coming out" for many years (Poulin, 2001). In the next quotation, Pauline indicates how, on the one hand, the 1992 change in the policy regarding homosexuality provided an unprecedented job protection. Yet, it did not convince her to come out:

It was a sense of relief that I wasn't going to lose my job. They can't throw me out for that [homosexuality]. But there's still the fear of being gay, and how people are going to react, and is it going to affect my promotions?

(Pauline, NCM)

The past history of the CF toward gays and lesbians did not inspire a sense of confidence in these women. Pre-1992, soldiers suspected of homosexuality were treated like criminals and suffered highly intrusive, and psychologically and physically damaging interrogations (Gouliquer, Poulin, & Moore, 2009; Poulin, Gouliquer, & Moore, 2009). After 1992, as suggested in Pauline's quotation, lesbians and gays were not guaranteed that homosexuals in the military would be protected against more subtle forms of discrimination such as those affecting career opportunities. In fact, the CF was still 'lawfully' discriminating against homosexual members in certain ways: Since Canadian legislation, and thus military regulations, did not recognize that the intimate partners of gays and lesbians were entitled to receive the same social and medical benefits as heterosexual couples until 1996, reasons to risk officially coming out did not exist (Poulin, 2001). Research indicates that lesbians and gays did not begin to "officially" come out until about the year 2000 (Gouliquer, 2003). And still, as the following quotations from female soldiers suggest, the subtle and not so subtle aspects of lesbian-baiting (e.g., homonegativity) are still present in the NCM corps.

He [a new soldier] was being trained to be a military police officer [MP].

He wasn't an MP yet. But by calling us dykes, it made him big.... Getting out of the elevator in St. Jean, he [publicly] said "F...ing dykes," and walked away. (Daphne, NCM)

I have a guy in my unit right now and I detest the guy because he's done me nothing but wrong. He used to be in the service battalion with me, and he'd always say, "Oh you're just a fucking dyke anyway." ... And now, we get [posted] in the same unit. Of course, the only thing that I can think of is what he called me back there. (Ursula, NCM)

Daphne and Ursula's experience reflects those from the NCM corps, but the next quotation indicates that the negative attitudes and lesbian-baiting practices were also part of some female officers' experiences.

The CO [commanding officer] will ask you questions about your personal life all the time. You know, how's it going at home.... I thought to myself, as a CO, he must know [about my sexuality] because everybody knows. I don't hide it and he must have gotten briefed by my [immediate] boss. You know, 'Don't ask her if she's got a husband because.' ... So I thought, he's got to know, right? So I didn't really stop when I said, 'Oh yeah, my partner Brenda.' As soon as I said that, his face dropped and his hands went over his ears. And I knew then that I was in trouble.... It was the first time I left a boss's office feeling like... 'What was I doing here?' My ears were burning, my face was burning and I just felt useless. (Orly, Officer)

These quotations also provide examples of Allport's (1954) antilocution and Adams' (2001) undermining behaviours, but in this case, it is toward lesbianism and lesbians. Herek (2000) contends that "expressions of sexual prejudice can demonstrate to others not only that one is heterosexual but also that one measures up to cultural standards associated with one's gender role" (p. 254).

Like other researchers (e.g., Skelton, 2002), he also notes that men feel socially pressured to perform masculinity. Daphne's above quotation provides support for what Herek is describing; male soldiers feeling pressure to exhibit heterosexual masculinity, and this translates into "lesbian bashing." In the next quotation, Arlene speaks about a backlash phenomenon also linked to this discrimination and taking place in the CF regarding the male gender role.

The disturbing thing is, and I'm hearing this from more than one source, it's almost like there's a reactive group of young males coming up who are more chauvinistic than their fathers in some respects. It's almost like a backlash. (Arlene, Officer)

Both quotations by Daphne and Arlene provide evidence for this gender backlash. This supports researchers' contention that a surge of male traditionalism is occurring in which the symbolic image of the soldier is being reinforced with traditional notions of warrior and masculinity (Braudy, 2005; Chisholm, 2007). This phenomenon was labelled 'warrior creep' and viewed as a possible impediment to the integration of women by Davis and McKee (2004).

Female soldiers, therefore, and primarily the lesbian participants talked about the negativity and unwelcoming attitudes toward a homosexual orientation. They also spoke of their related fear about career repercussions. If a woman was not known to be dating men and lesbian-baiting took place, in some cases it led to another type of aggressive response—sexual assault. One woman, Rachel described experiencing this kind of response.

Every Friday night, all the instructors would get together in this little bar and we would just talk about instructor stuff. That's the only thing we have in common really. So, we'd all sit around and have a couple of beer, and this one guy was an augmentee [auxiliary instructor]. He wasn't actually posted to the school and he knew I was gay. As I was leaving [the bar,]... he grabbed me and threw me against the wall and told me that he was going to change my mind so that I wouldn't be a lesbian anymore. He tried very, very, very hard. (Rachel, NCM)

Given that only one woman specifically spoke about sexual assault, however, it may be an isolated case. Yet, it is important to take into consideration that sexual assaults in general are under reported (Rennison, 2002). Moreover, Rachel's experience supports the argument that unconstrained prejudice can negatively prime an environment (Allport, 1954; Deaux, 1995).

The subtle and not so subtle behaviours and incidents exemplified by the above quotations signal that lesbianism is tolerated but not accepted, and that it is something to be joked about, ridiculed, and controlled. Thus, despite the progressive political and policy changes made by the Canadian public and military since 1992, the data suggest that behind the official façade of non-discrimination, anti-lesbian negativity and lesbian-baiting, behaviours persist. The following quotation sums up the nature of the subtle discrimination and threat that lesbians (or suspected lesbians) face: "*He [my military colleague] came right out and said it: 'Oh, you just need a good man'*" (Evelyn, Officer).

In Canada, lesbians and gays have secured a number of human rights.

Amongst them is the right to openly serve in the CF. Hence, the lesbian-identified soldiers in this study could more freely acknowledge the homonegativity present in their work environment, and not be so fearful to name this problem. Even so, some were still concerned that their sexual orientation might be detrimental to their career advancement. In general, lesbian-baiting and homonegativity seemed to be more of an issue for lesbians than for heterosexual female soldiers.

Rothschild (2005) suggests that some women do not recognise homonegativity or lesbian-baiting—and thus are unable to name these experiences—or they do not want to acknowledge that they are being labelled lesbian themselves. According to Damiano (1998-1999) and Brouwer (2004), lesbian-baiting serves as a tool to keep all women in inferior roles in the military, and to reaffirm the military's male-dominated power structures. Both of these authors are known for their work in the US, where the legal situation is different with respect to the repercussions that homosexuals face when serving in the military. However, the data indicate that homonegativity and the negative stereotyping of lesbians are still a part of the Canadian military workplace. While they are much more subtle now than they were historically, they are nonetheless present. Their continued presence signifies that they are still used as tools to maintain a male heterosexual hierarchy that is anti-homosexual in the CF.

In summary, when compared to the pre-1995 data, the post-1995 experiences of female soldiers indicate that the military workplace has changed significantly, and for the better toward women. However, this environment is still fundamentally unfriendly for women, femininity, and lesbianism. The interviews

with female soldiers reveal that they still faced an anti-woman, -lesbian, and -feminine culture; however, its manifestation now appears more covert than in the past. For example, in the pre-1995 period, Canadian servicewomen described extensive and publically visible displays of pornographic-type of materials, as well as the use of overtly sexist language and behaviours. This was less part of their post-1995 stories. The change can be explained in two ways: First, the introduction of harassment policies (former Canadian Forces Administrative Order, CFAO 19-39, now referred to as the Defence Administrative Order and Directive, DAOD 5012) appear to have had a positive effect; overt manifestations are less in evidence (whether these manifestations are in the form of visible pornography or blatant objectionable language and behaviours). Secondly, research indicates that attitudes toward women are correlated with the level of sexual harassment (Vogt, Bruce, Street, & Stafford, 2007). Consequently, when women are viewed more positively, less tolerance exists for such harassment. But taking into consideration the findings of Vogt et al., and the prevalence of a subtle but persistent anti-woman/ feminine/ lesbian atmosphere that emerged from the data of the present study, it can be argued that sexual harassment in the Canadian military is still tolerated. Given these findings, in the next section, I more closely explore the experiences of women soldiers as they relate to the Canadian military's harassment policy to shed light on its effectiveness and impact.

Military Harassment Policy

It is part of the harassment procedure that you have to tell somebody that you take offence to what they're saying first. Then if they don't cease, then

you go higher with it. The person has to be willing to do that first.... that's in the SHARP [Sexual Harassment And Racism Prevention] training.

They're told any time you are offended; you have to tell the person.

(Rachel, NCM)

The preceding quotation describes the current military harassment policy (DAOD 5012) and the initial steps that soldiers must take if they are harassed. This is also referred to as resolving the issue at the lowest levels. The above quotation also implicitly indicates that all soldiers go through SHARP training sessions. SHARP was first introduced in the mid 1990s and is now suppose to be an integral part of the military's policies and practices. All the women interviewed for the present study mentioned that they received SHARP training. Most said it was a one-time training session; however, a few said they were receiving a short refresher each year.

According to military harassment policy (DAOD 5012), the harassed person is instructed to let the harasser know that his or her actions are unwanted and inappropriate. Participants who used this strategy reported being successful. However, they often felt that they had to use inappropriate language or even physical means to be heard. As the next quotations reveal, they spoke as if these incidents required them to use what could be considered to be an extreme or exaggerated confrontational response to stop the workplace harassment.

When he gets to the door, he says, "If you don't like the heat, get out of the kitchen." And I just blew up. I put my foot on the door and slammed it. I started yelling at him and calling him an asshole and "who in the hell do

you think you are” and “you are going to stop this right now.” And we were screaming and yelling at each other and it was over after a couple of minutes. After that, he was great. He was even okay to work with, I couldn't believe it. (Barbara, NCM)

I told him if he touched me again, I'd break his fingers. So yeah, I handled it. (Lenora, Officer)

If anybody touched me, came near me at work or anything, I didn't look, I just swung.... It was just for people to know, don't touch me. (Treva, Officer)

This practice of confronting harassers and warning them that their behaviour is inappropriate is institutionally promoted as a policy and practice. This is so much the case that most of the women interviewed felt pressured to physically confront their harassers. But it leads to the following questions: Why does the military depend on the more vulnerable member to make the harassment policy work? Are such harassment policies the most effective tools to address the negative gendered behaviours of institutional members?

The preceding quotations exemplify women's 'informal' strategies to deal with harassment by confronting the perpetrator directly or indirectly. Next, I examine women's experiences with 'officially' dealing with harassment (i.e., following the policy of confrontation first and then reporting). The institutional response received by female soldiers who reported harassment varied. As the

following two quotations suggest, leaders either attempted to ignore the situation, internally relocate the victims, or transfer the perpetrators to another base. In these cases, it seemed that they were simply moving the problem and not dealing with the harassment per se.

He had already made us [the women] feel creepy. It wasn't really like a sexual thing or anything. It was just an "I don't like you, stay away from me," kind of feeling.... He'd always call me Mona and call her [female colleague] some other name. It was just annoying.... So I told him off one day, and he threatened to charge me and I basically told him to go right ahead. We all went in to see the Warrant [supervisor]. He said, "okay, you're going to go work over here, out of his way." I didn't really care for that but I thought well, what can I do? You know, I can keep bringing it up [through the chain of command,] higher and higher and higher, but before anything is done, he'd be long gone [transferred]. (Ina, NCM)

Things did improve quite a bit for me there because the guy [who was harassing] got posted out and we got a lot of new people in. We started getting more females in. Well the more females you get in, the more guys start acting the way they should be acting, and not like they're off in the jungle. (Quanita, Officer)

Physically removing the harasser or the person harassed from the situation alleviates the negative tensions in the workplace, especially for the person being harassed. However, by doing so, the military gives the impression that it is not

officially dealing with the issue of the harassment, but simply relocating the harasser and the problem (i.e., by sending the male perpetrator to a new base or position). In the next quotation, Naomi, who holds the highest rank in the NCM corps, suggests that military leaders may not want to officially document incidents of harassment because known documented cases might have negative career repercussions for them.

They [the military] maintain stats on how many units and how many harassment charges they get in a year... It's not a good mark if you've got a commanding officer of CFB X with 50 harassment claims, and say at CFB Z, there are only two. What does that say [to the military]? That says that he's a better CO than the guy at CFB X... that's how they perceive it.
(Naomi, NCM)

If military leaders feel that their careers may be negatively influenced by a large number of reported workplace harassment incidents, they may attempt to deal with these incidents in unofficial ways (e.g., by helping to arrange a new posting for the perpetrator or moving the victim). However, such a process sends the message that the leaders, and hence the institution, are more concerned with protecting perpetrators who are predominately male than with the harassment and the victims who are predominately female. In part, this may explain why on numerous occasions, women chose not to report incidents or confront their harasser. For them, the benefits did not outweigh the costs.

It can be seen, therefore, that although the CF has put in place policy and practices to deal with harassment incidents, many women still choose not to

follow the official route of confronting the harasser and then reporting the harassment. They, more often than not, employed their own strategies for coping with harassment. For example, some of the women interviewed decided that reporting was not worth it and so they turned a blind eye and/or modified their own behaviour. Alternatively, some used cognitive strategies such as labelling the inappropriate incidents as isolated cases, or interpreting the harassment as men attempting to connect or build bridges with women. As well, some women simply did not (want to) recognize or define certain behaviours as harassment. The ensuing quotations provide examples of such instances when the female soldiers decide that confronting and hence reporting their harassment would not produce a change, so “why bother.”

One guy in my unit right now, he'd always say, "oh you're just a fucking dyke." I just blew it off [ignored it] cause it's not going to get me anywhere [to report it]. (Ursula)

It's not even worth my time to worry about him [colleague harassing her] because I'm not going to change his mind. (Ina, NCM)

I didn't want to make [sexist language and behaviours] a big issue... because I don't like to play the gender police role. (Susan, Officer)

The last quotation illustrates how women believed that if they confronted and reported their harasser, they would be negatively perceived and hence alienated within their workplace. Hence, reporting harassment entailed negative

consequences for servicewomen. As mentioned above, another means to cope with inappropriate remarks for female soldiers was to excuse and downplay the behaviour of their harassers.

He always puts his foot in his mouth. He just doesn't think before he speaks. He's not a bad guy; he just does that a lot.... It wasn't the first time that he had said something that was [out of place].... He is just not very tactful with what he says.... He might have a bit of homophobia, but I don't think he means anything to hurt anybody. He is just a dud when it comes to what comes out of his mouth. (Orly, Officer)

Totally joking around, no one ever on our crew means anything. We all just joke and if someone were to listen in on it, they might totally get the wrong idea. (Valerie, NCM)

Clearly, Orly and Valerie felt that they had more to gain by maintaining the belief that the men involved in the joking were essentially nice guys and did not mean what they said. However, such beliefs leave the actual incidents of harassment unaddressed, and women in general more vulnerable in future situations. In the next two quotations, women explain that they pre-empted the discomfort of their male colleagues either by relaying the message that they would not be offended by their sexism, or by physically leaving the immediate environment so that their male colleagues would feel uninhibited.

I purposely [was]... the first one in the [training] syndicate to say the word, "fuck" or to tell the off-coloured joke. Because I want to get the

message to them: "Guys, you don't have to mind your Ps and Qs with me. Just be yourself, I'm not going to turn around and turn you in for looking at me wrong." Just so that we could get on with business and get the job done. (Naomi, NCM)

I joked with the guys a bit and if I found that it got to a point where they wanted to have their fun, and it was inappropriate for me to be there, I'd sort of remove myself. (Susan, Officer)

Taken together, the previous quotations suggest that female soldiers try to fit into the dominant culture by remaining present during harassment incidents or by anticipating it and leaving the environment without addressing the harassment. By trying to "fit" into their workplace environment rather than by confronting the sexism, female soldiers also avoid acknowledging that their work environment might be a sexist, female unfriendly, and possibly hostile place.

The next quotation is an example of how women also labelled their harassment as isolated cases.

The unwanted touches.... that's an isolated [case] - there's a whole lot of sergeants that didn't do that and we need to learn that. (Pauline, Officer)

And as mentioned above, some women interpreted inappropriate sexist remarks as males trying to communicate with them, non-offensive or simply not harassment.

The guys will say: "Oh I'm a lesbian too!" or "I could ask you some tips on giving good head." Stupid shit like that.... I interpret those comments

as a way for the guys to build bridges. ... They're trying to find a way to relate to me. (Evelyn, Officer)

[There] may have been comments in passing but I don't think it was actually harassment as such. I dismiss the words. (Jill, NCM)

This guy comes at me and he's drunk... and he absolutely lands on me by accident and I'm kind of pinned there. He keeps going on about how he loves me and stuff like that.... I consider that a drunken pass by a fool. (Patricia, Officer)

These last three quotations lead to a discussion of what conduct is or should be classified as sexual harassment. This is often the subject of disagreement (e.g., between an observer, perpetrator, or the individual targeted; Ombudsman, 2004). However, when the policy places most of the onus on the people being harassed to handle the situation, such as the military's sexual harassment policy, it leaves women and marginal sexualities at a disadvantage and disempowered. This is especially challenging given that the institutional cultural environment exalts heterosexual masculinity and group cohesion.

Overall, the data indicate that on more than one occasion, the women interviewed experienced harassment-like incidents and situations. However, as the preceding quotations reveal, women chose their own ways to deal with these incidents, such as ignoring them, redefining their meanings, or not labelling them as harassment. Thus, these women's stories were filled with experiences that were

negative and sexist, but they did not speak about them as harassment. This finding cuts across all interviews. By ignoring, downplaying, or re-interpreting incidents that are actually negative and represent harassment, women accomplish a number of positive outcomes: First, they do not have to deal with the immediate defensive or aggressive reaction involved in confronting someone who is being sexist. Second, on the short-term basis at least, they can work towards feeling that they belong to the group, despite their token status. In so doing, they might even get some accolades (e.g., Cynthia is cool, she doesn't police us) and associate with "power" (i.e., hegemonic heteronormativity and masculinity; Ridgeway & Bourg, 2004; Shelly, & Munroe, 1999). Third, they can avoid the cognitive dissonance between acknowledging that their colleagues perpetuate a woman-negative sexist culture and do not care about how this might make women feel, and continuing to choose to work in this milieu (Harmon-Jones & Harmon-Jones, 2008). This allows them to perceive their working environment as a place where women can work and to look up to and value the organisation.

Another explanation to understanding why servicewomen would ignore harassment could be that they lack confidence in the military system to deal positively and adequately with harassment situations. In a study examining sexual harassment in the US military, Fitzgerald, Drasgow, and Magley (1999) concluded that sexual harassment occurs less when individuals believe that superiors will not tolerate it. The expectation of the Canadian military harassment policy is that the victim, usually a woman, should confront her aggressor as the first step prior to reporting the harassment. This implies that the hierarchy

tolerates “all” behaviours because unless the harasser is confronted and reported, an official complaint never results. In other words, if the targeted individual does not make an official complaint, the hierarchy does not have to act.

Arguably, a particular challenge for the users of the CF’s harassment policy is its entrenched hierarchy and military culture (i.e., the prescribed adherence to the chain of command, obedience, loyalty, camaraderie, and cohesion). The military’s reliance on a rigid and authoritative structure directly conflicts with its anti-harassment policy. For example, if a superior officer harasses a subordinate, how is that subordinate to reconcile the hierarchy with her duty to face her harasser? The subordinate has to respect superiors and follow orders, but at a certain point, the victim has to decide whether or not a superior has crossed the line. If the harasser is a colleague, the victim might be less challenged by the hierarchy; however, she still must contend with issues of loyalty, group cohesion, and camaraderie. In other words, if women confront and report, they could be perceived as less loyal to the group and organisation, and a threat to group cohesion. Hence, in an organisation that is highly dependent on a rigid hierarchal rank structure, obedience, and loyalty, is it appropriate that subordinate persons in the hierarchy should be burdened with the onus to challenge the harassers and ultimately produce institutional and cultural change? The following quotations illuminate the weaknesses in this policy. In the first quotation, Yvonne illustrates how women are placed into the policy-enforcing role.

Because of all the education that they [the military] have now, they [the

men] feel you out before they say anything to you now... But if they know that you can take a joke, they will still do it... They are not supposed to do it, but they still will do it if they think that you can handle it, and it is like all [military] ranks still do it. (Yvonne, NCM)

In the first quotation, Yvonne recognises that her male superiors take advantage of the situation (i.e., supported by a policy that places the onus on the women to confront their harassers, her superiors continue to harass when knowing that the mechanism in place will not stop them). She also suggests that this is prevalent across the military hierarchy. In the next quotation, Daphne illustrates how the policy teaches the victim to feel responsible for the harassment.

I found, especially with the way the military has changed over the years and I've got to see from almost start to finish, that it's not all of their [the harasser's] fault for calling us dyke, and calling us canoe licker and all this. It's because we never told them, "Look this upsets me, I don't like that word." Cause not a lot of people are out to tell them that. A lot of the guys I work with I had to educate them on what to say and what's not really appropriate. (Daphne, NCM)

In this quotation, Daphne not only accepts her responsibility to confront her harassers but also goes further and puts some of the blame on herself (on the victim of harassment) for not doing what the policy demands—confrontation. Daphne seems to absolve the harasser from all guilt for his actions, because as her reasoning goes, he harasses others since he does not know any better, and no one has told him what is inappropriate. The emphasis on solving the harassment at the

lowest level (i.e., the level of confrontation) removes the responsibility from the harasser to recognise that their behaviour is inappropriate, and from the military hierarchy to take action when harassment occurs. It seems obvious that the language Daphne describes is inappropriate, regardless of having someone telling the harasser that it is. And yet, she does not recognise it to be so. By applying the logic of the harassment policy of the military more broadly, one could say that people have a license to do absolutely anything unless they are told that their actions are inappropriate. Could a rapist claim ignorance? The answer seems obvious and it raises the question of where and when the distinctions need to be better defined. At what point must someone be told that their actions are inappropriate before the onus of responsibility for their own behaviour falls on them? Many, if not all, anti-harassment policies use a complainant-driven process. However, not all of them require that the first step is a direct confrontation of the harasser by the harassed. Within the context of an institution so highly dependent on rigid power relations and social cohesion, other than protecting a certain culture, it is not clear why a policy and practices would place the responsibility to confront, and thus, educate harassers on the shoulders of the victim. But it may help to explain why victims do not report their harassment. A harassment policy should include some guidelines that detail “reasonable” behaviour, and these guidelines should be integral to ongoing harassment training programs and everyday practices.

It is interesting to note that in addition to some women taking on the responsibility of educating their male counterparts about harassment, two of the

participants explicitly stated that sexual harassment had not been part of their CF experience.

It just keeps getting better... I don't have a complaint in the world in the military. It's the best thing I ever did; I don't regret a day and never, ever had a problem with males, never. I've been lucky. (Helena, NCM)

I never really have, like when it comes to people harassing against you because you're gay and stuff like that. I've never encountered that.

(Ursula, NCM)

These women's responses were in answer to a question that I always asked at the end of each interview; namely, "*Have you or do you know of someone who has been harassed or sexually assaulted?*" These two women were the only ones who explicitly expressed that they had never experienced harassment during their military careers. However, when examining the entirety of their individual military life-histories, a discrepancy emerged between this final overarching statement and the presence of harassment-like experiences that they had described earlier on in their interviews. For example, as quoted earlier, Ursula recounted a situation where a male colleague had called her a "fucking dyke." Why the discrepancy? Are these women's memories at fault? I do not believe so, but as seen in the preceding paragraphs, female soldiers often avoided labelling or acknowledging such incidents as harassment. As suggested earlier, this behaviour may reflect a denial that allowed them to refrain from seeing their workplace negatively, or to identify themselves as victims, or more specifically, to label the

military as anti-women. But why should women in general or female soldiers in particular believe that the military values women?

In 2007, Bill S-3, an amendment to the National Defence Act, was passed including a particular clause that, for operational reasons, allows the military to withhold the names of convicted military sex offenders from the compulsory sex offenders registry (Bill S-3, 2007). Thus, if the military deploys a soldier who is a convicted sex offender to Afghanistan, his whereabouts would be withheld for operational reasons such as security. This practice is contrary to the guidelines of the National Sex Offender Registry. Despite concerns being raised as to why sex offenders should be allowed to continue serving in the CF in the first place, Bill S-3 was made into law. The military used the argument that despite being sex offenders, these men could be essential to maintaining 'operational readiness.' Nonetheless, in general, this Bill seems to be a discourtesy to women and possibly an infringement on their ability to freely serve in the CF. Since the large majority of the victims of sexual offences are female and the perpetrators are male, the message that this Bill sends to women is that male soldiers, even sex-offenders, are more important than female soldiers. Thus, on the surface, this particular clause may seem minor and maybe necessary to maintaining national security; however, one could also argue that it continues to value men over women. Ultimately, Bill L-3 sustains the sexist and anti-woman attitudes present in the Canadian military.

Conclusion

In summary, a comparison between the current (post 1995) and historical

(pre-1995) experiences of female soldiers in the Canadian military indicates that the military workplace has improved quite significantly in terms of integrating women and reducing harassment. Yet, it remains more subtly but fundamentally an anti-women, anti-feminine, and heterosexist organisation. The 1990 policy changes (the introduction of harassment policies and training) seem to have affected how blatant gendered and heterosexist workplace harassment is manifested. The overt sexism seems to have disappeared, but a subtle but pernicious anti-woman/anti-feminine climate still infuses the military workplace mostly informally but also formally (e.g., Bill S-3). Thus, as the data attest, it is pervasive, but essentially “officially invisible” because it subsists and survives outside the regulatory boundaries of the current CF harassment policies. The data also indicated that women soldiers usually do not report harassment incidents, and often do not confront their harassers. For these women, reporting seemed to be an ineffective and potentially costly action to take, and when the harassment was reported, the perpetrator seemed “to get away with it.” This phenomenon was particularly evident when the perpetrator or the victim was reassigned to a different job. This type of institutional practice also could interfere with female soldiers’ career advancement.

Physically separating the victim and the perpetrator without taking further action also sends the message that the institution (the CF) is not willing to address the actual problem (the harassment). In addition, the harassment policy and practices of the military forced women soldiers to police male soldiers’ sexist language and behaviours: Women became the “gender cops.” In the military, this

is an unsavoury position to be in, especially when the institution depends upon, encourages, and values cohesion that includes trusting and being trusted by the group. After a woman confronts or reports harassment, how can she be “trusted” by her male colleagues? Consequently, military policy and practices are not only counter to cohesion building, but also facilitates the labelling of women as outsiders to the group. Under the circumstances, a female soldier’s career advancement arguably would be negatively affected. Thus, despite the apparent comprehensive coverage of CF’s harassment policy, the findings of this study indicate that military harassment policy and practices may not be effective tools for changing a set of behaviours and attitudes in a culture that remains anti-woman, anti-feminine, and heterosexist. These tools seem to also fail in defining and identifying harassment. Institutions that rely on a victim to recognise and react to the presence of a harassment problem leave marginalised groups, in this case servicewomen, responsible for patrolling and policing the more powerful and dominant group’s behaviours. Research indicates that sexual harassment is associated with negative health outcomes such as depression, posttraumatic stress, and work withdrawal (Avina & O’Donohue, 2002; O’Connell & Korabik, 2000). Further, sexual harassment negatively effects the bottom-line of institutions such as legal costs, absenteeism, efficiency, and job turnover (Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). It would seem more efficient, productive, and progressive to shift the onus of responsibility to the institution (e.g., CF) and to the dominant group to provide a better working environment for all employees. In their research on sexual harassment in the American military, Butler and Schmidtke (2010)

found that “the more training individuals receive and the more individuals perceive that harassers are penalized, the more likely individuals are to report experiencing crude and offensive behavior” (p. 211). Hence, reviewing and amending instances of official policies or regulations that clearly discriminates against an identifiable group also could send a more positive message to servicewomen about their workplace.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine women's integration (or lack thereof) into the Canadian Forces (CF). As mentioned at the outset, twenty years ago, a Human Rights Tribunal ordered the military to fully integrate women (Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision, 1989). Thus far, there has been limited research examining the success of the CF in this particular mission, and most of the research to date has been completed by military researchers (e.g., Davis, 1997; Lamerson, 1989a, 1989b; Pinch, MacIntyre, Browne, & Okros, 2004). The present study, therefore, evolved in response to the paucity of independent empirical research and the knowledge gap regarding the integration and experience of women in the Canadian military.

Because research methods affect the particular answers one can obtain in response to a given research question, much consideration went into choosing the approach that would be best suited to this particular investigation. The goal was to gain knowledge that could be both representative of the macro picture, and insightful about the everyday, individually-felt experiences of women in the CF. I construed both types of information as necessary to analyze the CF's success in responding to the order from the Human Rights Tribunal. The methodological approach I chose, therefore, translated into two distinct methodologies: one examining quantitative data and the other, qualitative information.

First, using human capital theory as a guiding framework (see Chapter 2), I examined two large military data sets to determine if earning differentials

existed between male and female soldiers. The first set was on military officers (N = 577) and the second one was on Non-Commissioned Members (NCM) (N = 2991). As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, my starting assumption was that pay is largely determined by human capital (e.g., workplace experience and formal education). If women have similar human capital to men, they should have similar pay. However, if they have more human capital, they should have more pay – unless factors other than human capital in fact determine pay. The data reveal that there are differences: female soldiers earn less than male soldiers. One way to explain the difference might be that women have failed to accumulate the relevant capital such as training or job relocations. This may be either because of discrimination, or because women are subject to greater family related constraints.

As a means to investigate differences between female and male service members, first I tested how factors such as human capital, structural, familial, and career-enhancing factors influenced their pay. This analysis included a wide range of factors to determine if there was a gender gap in military earnings and, if so, to what degree that gap could be explained. Second, I carried out a series of qualitative interviews with female soldiers (N = 39). These provided me with insights regarding experiences of gender and soldiering relations in the CF and a means to explore in more detail military culture and structure. The qualitative component permitted the explication of the role and influences of the institution and gender on women's ability to soldier (i.e., the interplay between culture, structure, and agency).

This dual methodological approach allowed for a more comprehensive and

rich exploration of the factors influencing women's integration into the CF than either method alone could have provided. Indeed, each supplied a partial picture of the reality. The two methods proved useful and complementary in filling in some of the gaps in the academic literature on Canadian women in the military, and women in non-traditional work. In fact, using two methods and examining the results concurrently is rarely reported in the literature (see Chapter 3). As Kimball (1995) suggests, it is not that one version of the findings is correct while the other is wrong. Further, it is not by restricting analyses to only one of these versions of reality that knowledge will be advanced. Instead, documenting and examining the paradoxes and similarities that emerged provided more complete and informative knowledge. This knowledge can provide better insight not only for developing policies that can make real progress in terms of successfully integrating women in traditionally male institutions, but it also helps create a new sociological theoretical formulation of this integration.

The present study focussed specifically on the Canadian military. While some may suggest that findings on other militaries (e.g., US or UK) and other non-traditional work environments for women (e.g., see Williams, 1989, 1992) already provide sufficient information to generalize to the Canadian military context, this assumption is premature. Differences between the relationships of governments and their respective militaries evidently will have an impact on the experience of soldiers. For instance, one might consider the following: the degree of independence a military has from its civilian governmental body is not identical between countries. Furthermore, the specific cultural factors that are

unique to a particular country (e.g., in Canada, the French and English cultures), or the particular legal and policy differences that exists among countries (e.g., in Canada, the Human Rights Act and Charter of Rights and Freedoms), or institutions (e.g., the enforcement of the Canadian military's code of conduct versus the Canadian criminal code) may all affect the experience of soldiers in a distinctive fashion. Taking these nation-specific factors into consideration, it becomes clear that it is problematic to assume that research conducted in one nation-state will automatically yield the same findings elsewhere. Canada has its own history and approach in terms of the integration of women in the CF. The present study was unique in its ability to speak about various aspects of this reality. While the findings are specific to the Canadian military, however, when taken together with findings of other countries, new understanding of the interplay among variables and experiences can be obtained. Therefore, the present findings may not be directly generalisable to other countries or institutions. However, they provide new insights in terms of what factors should be considered to play a role in the integration of women, whether it is in a military environment or other non-traditional contexts. In addition, the data shed light on how some of these factors play themselves out in women's everyday experience. Such knowledge is not only relevant to the Canadian military and Canadian Society, but also may be interesting and useful to consider by other countries and institutions interested in integrating women.

In the remainder of this chapter, I provide a brief overview of the quantitative findings followed by those of the qualitative analysis. I then discuss

the strengths and limitations of my research. As part of this discussion, I examine the characteristics of the samples and consider additional implications for the generalisability of the findings, and the development of policies. I follow with a section that examines the impact of military texts and laws on the ability of servicewomen to be more influential as agents of change. Throughout the chapter, I comment on potential directions for future research. Finally, I offer suggestions for the use of the present findings and concluding comments regarding progress towards the full integration of women in the CF.

Overview of the Quantitative Findings

The main finding of the quantitative analysis provided some insights regarding gender earning differentials as a means to evaluate women's integration. An interesting aspect of the military is the structural presence of two social classes; namely, the Officer and the NCM corps. Therefore, factors that similarly and meaningfully predicted for both the NCM and Officer groups could be examined, as well as those that predicted differently in each corps. As discussed in Chapter 2, the NCM corps resembles the blue-collar working class of an organisation and officers the management class. As discussed in Chapter 2, most career-related research typically examines the managerial sector because past research indicates that for the blue-collar sector, human capital accumulation is not related with usual measures of career success (e.g., earnings) and career paths are nearly non-existent (Thomas, 1989). Given that soldiers in the NCM corps have a comprehensive career path and pay scale, and represent 75% of the CF, including them in an investigation of gender integration seem justified and

fundamental. This examination also provided an opportunity to test the feasibility of doing career success research on a blue-collar group using human capital theory. Based on the present findings examining both the NCM and Officer corps reveals new knowledge regarding the gender (dis)advantages between the two corps.

For both the Officer and the NCM corps, gender significantly influenced the earning potential of an individual. Specifically, a gender earnings differential, with female soldiers earning less than their male counterparts, was observed. In other words, the earnings difference between male and female soldiers' military earnings was not reduced to zero after accounting for various other factors (e.g., experience, education, military rank). On the one hand, this is not a surprising finding given that, on average, women in Canada still earn less than men (Statistics Canada, 2006a). Even in non-traditional work fields, women earn less than their male colleagues, although usually, they tend to earn more than other women in the general working population (Hughes, 1995; Statistics Canada, 2006a). On the other hand, considering that the Canadian military claims to have equality in its pay system and also claims that soldiers are treated the same, it is an unexpected finding. By using the selected analytical approach, I was able to illustrate which quantitative (e.g., human capital, structural), and qualitative (social, cultural) factors reduced or contributed to the gender earnings differential among soldiers.

For the officer corps, military experience, education (more than a BA but

less than a MA), prestige of university degree,⁴⁷ number of dependents, military training, postings, pilot status, and rank variables significantly reduced but did not eliminate the gendered earnings differential. For NCM soldiers, military experience, education (less than high school), relationships, gender by dependents interaction, military training, postings, deployments, headquarters postings, military division (air force, navy, and army), specialist group, and rank variables significantly reduced the gendered earnings differential but did not entirely eliminate it. As indicated in the descriptive data in Chapter 4, women accumulated less of the relevant human capital factors (e.g., military experience, training or postings) than men did. In other words, they had taken fewer military courses, and been posted or deployed less often. As a consequence, they would earn less. The quantitative data do not show why this might be the case. After all, women have been serving in the CF for many years without any official employment barriers (e.g., the 1989 Human Rights Decision opening combat military occupations to women). The qualitative data, however, suggest that childcare and military culture may be influential factors.

Perhaps women are negotiating to take less training, or fewer postings. Or, it could be the case that the institution is discriminating and providing them with fewer opportunities to accumulate the relevant and necessary human capital to garner earnings similar to that of their male counterparts (e.g., training and deployments). Although both explanations may play a role, the latter is arguably a

⁴⁷ Note that this was a dichotomous variable: royal military college versus civilian universities.

stronger hypothesis for a number of reasons. First, the number of dependents (e.g., children or elderly) attached to soldiers only influenced the gender earnings differential significantly for Officers (i.e., there was no main effect for dependents in the NCM corps; see Chapter 4). For the NCMs, however, there was a gender interaction whereby women's earnings were negatively influenced by the number of dependents in comparison to male soldiers. Second, militaries are typically the most conservative social institutions of nations, and hence, adhere to a conservative social ideology (Stiehm, 1994). It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that members of those organisations generally will tend to be more conservative than the rest of the population. It follows then that a traditional value, such as believing that women are the primary caretakers of children, would be adhered to and influence institutional leaders' decisions regarding women's training, postings, and deployments. The relevance of this discrimination is that these represent the experience linked to the relevant human capital leading to greater military earnings. In addition, given military ideology and laws, soldiers have very limited powers to negotiate any aspects of training, postings, or deployment demands of the military. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, soldiers are obliged to put the military's needs first and must obey all orders. Given the conservatism of militaries, therefore, it is more likely that women are not offered as many professional development opportunities as their male colleagues. Whether this is because the presence of a child or dependant in a woman's life is interpreted as weakening her commitment to the military, or because military members hold more traditional views regarding women's need to fulfil the female

caretaker role, it is not clear. Either or both reasons could be involved in supporting discrimination, and hence, female soldiers' ability to acquire the relevant human capital to earning a larger salary.

The qualitative data also suggest that soldier-mothers chose caring for their children over their military careers, or would have preferred to do so if the choice had been possible. This could be interpreted as a preference for childcare and a life of domesticity over a career. Alternatively, however, it could be understood as resulting from women being forced to choose between two greedy institutions (Segal, 1986). On the one hand, parenthood is not a status that can typically be changed. On the other hand, becoming a soldier is a less permanent status (e.g., soldiers can always ask to be released from their military contracts). Within each of these two greedy institutions, soldier-mothers have limited negotiation power (e.g., dealing with being posted or deployed, and childcare). The data show that women are drawn to taking their release from the military (i.e., giving up their military careers; see Chapters 5 and 7). It is also relevant to consider that this choice is taken in a particularly gendered context (i.e., masculine in terms of the military). The qualitative data suggest that in spite of the official claims that the military is integrating women across its ranks, female soldiers negotiate their institutional existence within a work environment that values masculinity and the male gender role over femininity and the female gender role. It still promotes the stereotype that soldiering is synonymous with being male (see Chapter 8), which means that being both a soldier and a mother is an oxymoron, and policies have not been developed or amended to take this

reality into consideration. In essence, for servicewomen, release becomes the path of least resistance: a means with which to deal with their work-family responsibilities. Davis' (1994, 1997) findings that women release at a higher and earlier rate in their military careers also support this explanation.

As noted above, the findings from the NCM and Officer corps data differed. Within the regression models, for the Officer corps, the number of deployments and children predicted but not in the NCM corps. In the NCM corps, the number of deployments, being posted to a headquarter unit, being in a relationship and the gender by dependents interaction variables predicted but not so in the Officer corps. How can these observations be accounted for?

The positive influence of military deployments on earnings of a soldier is understandable given the military system of pay-bonuses (allowances). As discussed in Chapter 4, incremental pay allowances (i.e., bonuses) accompany each deployment so that if a soldier goes on more deployments than another soldier, the former will earn more. What is less obvious or explainable is why this does not play the same role for the Officer corps, given that they too receive deployment pay allowances. Unlike deployments, there is no obvious institutional link between pay-bonuses and earnings to help explain why being posted to a headquarters unit plays a positive influential role on the salary of NCMs. There is one obvious explanation for the effect that being posted to headquarters units has on NCMs' military earnings. These postings provide soldiers with valuable organisational experience that cannot be easily acquired in other postings. We also should consider how being located physically closer to the military's

decision-making centres might provide these soldiers with quicker access to information that might be economically beneficial (e.g., calls for volunteers to undertake deployments or courses). In addition, there would be more opportunities for these NCM soldiers to be in contact with more military decision-makers (i.e., officers and senior NCMs), and this has been shown to positively influence employees' earnings over others in the same organisation (Naff & Thomas, 1994-5; Orpen, 1998; Spilerman & Petersen, 1999). For NCMs, the concentration of military decision-makers might be greater than it would be for officers, because all officers are also the military decision-makers. The data indicates that only about 30% of the NCM soldiers as compared to 75% of the officers had received a headquarters posting. Hence, a headquarters posting appears to provide greater dividends on earnings for the NCM corps than the Officer corps.

The finding that being in an officially recognised relationship (i.e., marriage or common-law) predicted military earnings for NCM soldiers, but *not* for Officers, was most interesting. In the literature, this relationship between officially recognised relationships and earnings is referred to as the 'marriage premium.' Although there is evidence that with time, the differential linked to this variable is decreasing (Blackburn & Korenman, 1994), the marriage premium for all men is believed to still be a contemporary phenomenon (see Loh, 1996; Cornwell & Rupert, 1997). While there is a general agreement in the literature suggesting that a marriage premium still exists, there is no consensus as to why this is so (Stratton, 2002). Moreover, recent research suggests that it might not be

as universal for men as previously believed (Maasoumi, Millimet, & Sarkar, 2008). Maasoumi et al. found that the marriage premium might be only a phenomenon for those men in the lower wage earning bracket category. They suggest that men in the low wage sectors possibly lack the usual human capital indicators (e.g., education) that employers depend on to predict a worker's productivity and value. If this is so, then decision-makers may discriminate based on marital status using it as a proxy indicator. Given that NCM soldiers are similar to blue-collar workers and hence paid less than Officers, the present finding that only NCM soldiers enjoy a marriage premium supports this observation. Other hypotheses also might explain the phenomenon that the military seems to favour married over single NCM soldiers. For example, not getting married may involve negative selection on one or another characteristic that may be relevant to work, so the single soldier might not be as good at her or his job as the married one. In particular, the partner-support hypothesis posits that men get support from their wives, which in turn has a positive effect on their careers (Blossfeld & Drobnie, 2001; Morrow, 1993). The research of Harrison and Laliberté (1994) demonstrates that the 'behind the scenes' work of military wives not only supports the individual soldier, but also provides valuable voluntary labour to the military. Hence, the superiors of NCMs would see marriage as beneficial and valuable characteristic. Another similar line of reasoning from male-breadwinner theory is that married individuals may develop a stronger work ethic due to the perceived responsibility that comes with marriage (Kaufman & Uhlenberg, 2000; Morrow, 1993). Arguably then, either NCM

soldiers lack some of the human capital markers to indicate their possible worth to the military hierarchy, or the institution places less value on particular types of human capital (e.g., formal education). Consequently, marriage may become a proxy-indicator of commitment and loyalty to work. Given the Canadian military indirectly rewards married NCM soldiers with higher earnings, but not Officers, supports the argument that the marriage premium only works for men in lower wage earning categories. These findings also suggest that military decision-makers maybe using marriage as a proxy-indicator of loyalty.

Do NCM female soldiers also benefit from the marriage premium and to the same extent as their male colleagues? To answer this question, the demographic data were examined. It revealed that a significantly smaller proportion of women were in officially recognised romantic relationships, when compared to their male colleagues (e.g., eighty percent of the male NCM soldiers in comparison to sixty percent of the females). Therefore, women were disadvantaged by not being in these relationships because male soldiers were able to benefit more than women from this positive relationship between marriage and earning. This prompts the question as to whether there is something about the job of soldiering that precludes female soldiers from having a relationship or that facilitates male soldiers in getting into and maintaining relationships. One likely possibility results from the interplay of gender relations. Stereotypically, a man is not expected to follow a woman. The military lifestyle requires not only soldiers but their families to go where they are sent. If the stereotype holds true, arguably it would be more difficult for a man to follow a woman and put his career and life

second to her military career. Thus, a servicewoman experiencing numerous postings and deployments throughout her career may have more difficulty maintaining long-term committed relationship with a man, as compared to a serviceman. This is possibly also the case if she is in a relationship with a woman, given the tendency for lesbians to be independent even in intimate relationships (Gouliquer & Poulin, 2005). Moreover, the qualitative data suggest that most heterosexual female soldiers are more likely than their male counterparts to marry another military member. As participants explained, on the one hand, marrying a male soldier complicated their lives exponentially due to their demanding schedules and time away from the home base (see Chapter 7); and on the other hand, their soldier-husbands understood the rules and culture of the military, and therefore, would understand their partners' work-demands. However, the qualitative data (see Chapter 7) suggest that married female soldiers' careers may come second in importance to their husbands. To fully understand this dynamic, more research seems necessary.

How does the interaction between gender and the number of dependents variable affect the earnings differential between NCM male and female soldiers, but not between male and female officers? In general and as previously mentioned, servicewomen who are mothers report carrying the primary responsibility for childcare. When inspecting the data, it also can be noticed that the significant interaction is explained by the negative impact dependants have on the salary of women, and that such a noticeable effect is absent in the case of servicemen. The interaction between gender and military earnings seems most

easily explained with the comments women gave regarding child-care responsibility. Despite women's non traditional occupation—soldiering—heterosexual mother-soldiers reported carrying the burden of care for their children (e.g., Chapter 7). In the case of men, the presence of dependents seemed to have no negative impact on their earnings. One explanation that the interaction between gender and dependents only predicted for NCM soldiers and not the Officers corps suggests that female officer soldiers may be able to afford childcare services more than NCM soldiers. Officers earn more than NCM soldiers.

Overview of the Qualitative Inquiry Findings

To better understand the context in which Canadian servicewomen exercise their careers, a brief presentation of soldiering ideology was presented. Chapter 5 focused on the laws and regulations that shape how soldiering is accomplished in Canada. Through the examination of military texts that delineate official rules, regulations, and policies, I showed how these guide the social relations of soldiering in the CF. It became clear how, as an institution, the military legally exercises more control over its workers than most organizations in Canadian society. The institution and its ideology that places the military mission first, eclipse soldiers' lives, including many of their decision-making abilities and human rights. To do so, the military weights as the most worthy cause—the protection of one's country—and conceptualises this as one that supersedes the lives of its institutional members, the soldiers. This is another way to say that according to the military's code of conduct, soldiers are expected to sacrifice the

private for the public. What does that mean when it is applied to women, given how the private and public divide and intersect with the female gender role? The three qualitative Chapters—6, 7, and 8—provided some answers to this question.

First, I examined female-soldiers' answers to the question of 'why women join' the CF in Chapter 6. As revealed, women chose to join the institution of the military for a multitude of reasons. These reasons often overlapped with one another such that their answers were rarely unidimensional. Some of the reasons they provided for joining the military included making a living, following a family tradition, and escaping a particular social context (traditional family values, lack of opportunities, limited or inexistent access to education and training). For a number of participants in the sample, the military also offered a way out of the traditional heterosexual-marriage script.

Depending on when individual women joined the CF, regulations were more or less limiting in terms of the occupations that were open to them. This had a significant effect on their choices. Yet, even though women now legally have unlimited choices, the data suggested that they still follow tradition: Women in the CF are found in larger numbers in domains traditionally occupied by women in the civilian context (e.g., nursing, logistical, & secretarial type work). This suggests that women are not drawn to the occupations that men typically choose in the military (e.g., combat, engineering, & pilots). Hence, it appears that their choices are influenced by dominant discourses on gender-appropriate occupations in general, on soldiering in particular, and as Chapter 7 indicates, on childcare responsibilities. Indeed, soldiering is perceived to be a male occupation, and one

that is very unforgiving to the person who is the primary childcare person.

In Chapter 7, I examined the experience of deployment for women. In this particular context, women face an even more traditional and male-dominated culture, when compared to that which is typical of home bases. Therefore, deployments create different realities for women and men. For female soldiers, exacerbated gender isolation and marginalisation becomes part of their daily reality. In this atmosphere, male dominance translates into a working culture where gender relations are charged. The standard for male conduct is more sexist and traditional. Women become hyper-sexualised, and a spill-over of sex-roles into the military workplace can be more prevalent. Finally but significantly, deployments result in the need for servicewomen who are mothers to negotiate the complicated childcare responsibilities they bear.

Female soldiers with children spoke of unique, heart-breaking, and challenging experiences because of the division of labour prescribed by their gender-roles. As already mentioned, “military mother-soldiers” find themselves at the mercy of two greedy institutions (Segal, 1986)—the family and the military. In addition, although the nature of the challenges may not change with the number of children they have, the number of complications experienced and their intensities can increase exponentially. As described in Chapter 5, obligations to the military come first above all else, even before the soldier’s life or that of a child. The military’s separate set of laws are as far reaching as those of the Canadian criminal code. They ensure that soldiers will do as instructed. The absolute precedence the needs of the military take over all others, such as those of

the family, place military mother-soldiers in unforgettable and endless states of struggle. Because childcare still falls disproportionately onto women's shoulders, the impact of this legal military reality has distinct effects on military mother-soldiers. Interviews with military mother-soldiers brought up multiple layers of complications. Hence, the intersection of mothering and the military lifestyle was found to be troublesome. This raises questions regarding the equality system among soldiers to which the military adheres. The military's *equal* demands of all soldiers is questionable in the context of the full integration of women in the CF. Given the strength of the internalisation of gender roles and its associated responsibility-taking in terms of the burden of care, a more *equitable* system that takes such inequities into account may be necessary. Such a system would certainly play an important role in making it more humane for military mother-soldiers (or for any soldier bearing the primary responsibility for a child or a similarly needy individual) to respond to the call to arms and to care for needy others such as children.

Overall, the impact of gender-role and gender stereotypes in the context of military deployments seems to be doubly taxing for women on both the home front (i.e., in terms of the care of their children), and the work front (e.g., in terms of the impact of their token status, sex-role spillover, the increase in their sexualisation, the influence of the hegemonic masculine heterosexuality, and the far-reaching impact of military laws).

The focus of Chapter 8 was on how servicewomen represented a disruptive presence for military masculinity. The particular masculinity that

permeates the CF is conceptually and actively part of everyday soldiering. The experiences of servicewomen, therefore, illustrates that the profession of soldiering is *not* gender-neutral. The qualitative data imply that the daily CF culture and the generic soldier identity is still underpinned by traditional masculinity, warrior rhetoric, heterosexuality, and anti-femininity/homosexuality sentiments. Indeed, the data suggest that a process of conservative re-masculinisation of soldiering in the CF is occurring. CF researchers have referred to this process as ‘warrior creep’ and hypothesized that it could be a deterrent to women’s advancement in the CF (Davis & McKee, 2004).

The qualitative data indicate that female soldiers cope with the military workplace, lifestyle, and its pervasive and oppressively masculine cultural subtext, by utilizing various strategies. Similar to those found in other research (Miller, 2004), Canadian female soldiers adopt behaviours that blend with, rather than challenge, the masculine normative culture and its ways. Female soldiers’ strategies to deal with the masculine anti-feminine work environment are cognitive and behavioural. Cognitively, they adopt the view that they are different from women who are victimized, thereby protecting their self-image and sense of safety. When required for physical protective safety, they chose to regularly “hang out” with a male friend with certain attributes (e.g., being tall and muscular). Alternatively, they find ways of enhancing their own physical abilities to protect themselves (e.g., if approached from behind, they always turn around swiftly adopting a protective and assertive stance). In sum, the data indicate that female soldiers adjust their psychological, social, and physical behaviours. The data also

show that in addition to being surrounded by a military culture and an institution that is saturated with a conservative warrior-masculinity, female soldiers face a double-bind situation. On one side, they must live up to their gender stereotype and its associated characteristics (e.g., women take on the burden of childcare, women are feminine, and femininity is equated to weakness and irrational emotionality). On the other side, they are soldiers, and the stereotype of the soldier prescribes and imposes a different set of attributes and behaviours diametrically opposed to those of the female gender stereotype. This soldier stereotype is integral to the military ideology and supported, if not enforced, through its laws. Similar to the struggle they have with managing the demands of two greedy institutions (the family and the military), therefore, it can be argued that female soldiers are pitted between the ideological institutions of femininity and military warrior-masculinity. In her critique of the CF, Taber (2005) captures this conundrum, “It was very easy to fall in with the men; in fact, it was much easier to become one of them and adopt their attitudes towards women than it was to dispute them” (p. 292). For most male soldiers, their masculine identity tends to remain unchallenged when they join the military. This is the case because masculinity is highly valued and lauded as necessary to the soldiering profession. Their assumed and embodied masculine identity results in male soldiers being rewarded because the male gender stereotype overlaps with the soldiering social schema: they are synonymous in many ways. Female soldiers, however, find themselves in a state of constant identity-management; they must adjust their identity to fit the soldier stereotype, but they also must maintain their femininity.

The many strategies that female soldiers adopt, as presented in the qualitative chapters, are indicators of the constant pressure they face while navigating between these two poles (i.e., feminine woman and masculine-soldier identities). As a result, in comparison to their male counterparts, female soldiers are at a disadvantage from the start and throughout their military careers. Arguably, woman's success as a soldier is contingent on her continued motivation and ability to balance these two competing identities.

In addition to juggling these two demanding social identities, military mothers tend to bear the responsibility for childcare. Given the nature of military work (i.e., unpredictable and transitory—deployments), military mothers must have multiple emergency childcare plans because reorganising childcare from deployment settings such as Afghanistan would be nearly impossible. Once again, as the data show, the strain and burden of childcare responsibilities overtime seem to lead military mother-soldiers to divest from their military careers (i.e., termination of their careers).

In summary, the combined results of this study suggest that a lack of correspondence between the social stereotypes of a woman and a soldier leads to a challenging reality for women. This incongruence is supported by the CF cultural/institutional ideologies. Together, this represents a significant barrier and stressor for female soldiers, and helps explain the gender earnings differential. The quantitative data suggest that female officers face a greater challenge with regards to earnings differentials than female NCMs. However, the qualitative data demonstrated that both NCM and Officer female soldiers face similar challenges

with regards to military cultural and gender stereotypes. The pressures on officers as leaders and managers, however, may add an additional layer of stress and challenge. Again, the stereotypes of leaders in general, and especially in the military, are congruent with the stereotypes for the male gender role, and may add to the challenge of fitting in for female officers. In addition, given that overall there are fewer officers than NCM members, female officers are isolated (tokenised) even more than NCM women (75% of military is NCM corps).

In sum, servicewomen, especially those who are mothers, must invent new ways of juggling the institutions of the military and the family. Further, servicewomen need to contend with traditional ideologies typically rigid about gender-roles. This often translates into the juxtaposition of two sets of values where positive, strong, and masculine are set in opposition to negative, weak, and feminine. In spite of the negativity of the latter, women are still expected to meet the demands of their gender role. They must perform a balancing act between the *stereotypical women and soldier* to function within the CF. This is costly and the findings suggest that part of the penalty is reflected in their salaries.

Contributions to Scholarly Literature

The literature on women in non-traditional work is diverse and abundant such as on police work (Prokos & Padavic, 2002), engineering (Walker, 2001), mining (Eveline & Booth, 2002; Somerville & Abrahamsson, 2003), the oil industry (Miller, 2004), construction (Denissen, 2010; Eisenberg, 1998), manufacturing (Levine, 2009), and airline pilots (Mills, 1998) and this research reflects many similar findings. In general, gender negotiations (i.e., traditional

notions of femininity and masculinity) appear to be the most relevant issue that cuts across all these studies when considering women's success. So how and why is this study different? This study is unique in its use of a multi-method approach to examine this dynamic system of values entrenched in the institutional texts, practices, and culture. It combined both quantitative and qualitative investigative approaches to examine the Canadian military, which to my knowledge, had not previously been done concurrently to this extent. Indeed no research regarding the Canadian military has asked about or examined for gender differences in the pay system. The research findings demonstrate how the gendered institutional culture continues to impede women's progress and success. This type of impediment has not been so clearly demonstrated in a particular organisation that has formally removed all the *obvious* structural (i.e., legal) discriminatory and exclusionary policies and rules.

Without examining strategically one single institution from various angles and perspectives, it would not have been possible to shed light on this dynamic situation. The results provide empirical observations that illuminate the debate regarding the role of policy and laws versus changing mores, values, traditions and culture as a means to eliminate discrimination. Indeed, while focussing only on the military limits in some ways generalisations to other institutions, it also demonstrates the potency and the limits of laws and official rules in reducing (and eliminating) discrimination.

The rights of women and of other minority groups have typically been the result of concerted efforts and strategic action made possible through solidarity

movements amongst these groups (Staggenborg, 2008). When the gathering of people with similar interests or shared realities is not possible, however, then political action is reduced or impossible. Throughout history, dictatorial governments and imperial forces have always strategized and intervened to prevent the gathering of opposing groups or ideas (i.e., “divide and concur”). Many have used laws making it illegal to gather, form coalitions, or take collective political action (e.g., Chinese policies and actions against protestors during the summer Olympics in 2009, or even more violently during the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre).

The military is an example of one of these institutions: To prevent internal gatherings and organising by soldiers, military law prohibits soldiers from congregating, voicing their opinions about their leaders or the organisation, or affiliating or organising with politically motivated formations (e.g., sign or organise a petition to protest a law—see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the influence of various military laws). These military laws are in line with its ideology that loyalty to the organisation is a critical military virtue. Through this set of laws and their accompanying ideology, the military renders the likelihood for internal critics nearly nonexistent, and the possibility for change to occur almost nil. As a result, the military context makes it extremely difficult for servicewomen to identify the commonality and negative aspects of their experiences. Yet this is how it would be possible for women to realise the role of the institution in shaping their experience.

Requiring loyalty to the military, and giving it institutional value, can

make soldiers feel disloyal and like they are committing a “treasonous” act if they critique its function, structure, and ideology (Taber, 2005). This is not to say that there have not been criticisms of the military by women both internal and external (see for example Davis & McKee, 2004; Katzenstein, 1996, 1998; Winslow & Dunn, 2002) or that positive change has not occurred. Research, however, is required to investigate the career implications for soldiers who do engage in such activities. For women, not to critique the military is synonymous with adhering to the underlying military fabric that denigrates femininity and anything or anyone who is different. Hence, no matter how female soldiers negotiate the multitude of the military’s cultural and institutional pressures, they live in a world where whatever they choose, they will be disloyal either to the military or to their gender. Given where power lies and the success of one’s career, it is possibly easier but more self-destructive to align with the military and not with their gender (see also Taber, 2005).

Although Frankforter (1996) believes that organisational change within long established organisations is possible, he warns that it may only be possible over an extended period. The Royal Commission on Women occurred 40 years ago and the Human Rights Tribunal Decision to integrate women into the CF 20 years ago. This indicates that the Canadian military had a lengthy amount of time to successfully implement change. Kinsman and Gentile’s (2010) research on gays and lesbians in the Canadian civil service demonstrate that the formal equality does not eliminate the oppression present in society nor its continued expression in institutional regulations. Indeed, the continued low number of

female soldiers serving, the resilience of the military's masculinist culture and ideology, and the gender-backlash of warrior creep mitigate against women identifying with each other and suggest that much more time may be required. This study demonstrates that women have legal access to soldiering but that many social, cultural, and institutional barriers remain blocking their acceptance as soldiers and their integration into the CF.

Consequently, the challenges and difficult gender-related issues remain individualised, and positive institutional changes for women less likely. To summarise, the concept of what it takes to be an inclusive and functional military on the one hand, and a soldier on the other, thereby remains unidirectional, imbued with a narrow conceptualisation of masculinity and sexual orientation. Levine (2009) stated that such dynamics results in missed opportunities for reducing gender-based barriers.

Blocked opportunity promotes competition for social rewards and animosity between mobile and immobile women, which divide women. Coupled with allegiances across gender lines, these divisions undermine the potential for solidarity among female workers, making resistance to gender-based barriers unlikely (p. 257).

Theoretical Considerations and Links

In combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, the present research elucidated some of the paradox present in the military. For example, on the one hand, the military removed all the obvious legal barriers hindering the full integration of women across its ranks. On the other hand, the

numbers still show that, overall, discrepancies between the genders persist. An examination of human capital theory, through the use of measures such as earnings as an index for women's successful integration, makes it clear that women and men in the military are still not encountering the same opportunities, challenges, and conditions. Having access to qualitative information facilitated the interpretation of the results of the quantitative analysis. It provided insights that brought to light additional aspects to consider in servicewomen's reality and their coping strategies when investigating their integration. In particular, it permitted the identification of the various pulls and pushes among the different competing social institutions and stereotypes, women must negotiate as service members. It also demonstrated how women engage with these daily challenges, which may at times resemble a battle. Unlike the presumed soldiers' battles, however, servicewomen typically face those battles on a daily basis, in isolation, and without social support. Indeed as discussed above, unlike other lines of non-traditional work, female soldiers lack or *are forbidden* the possibilities and circumstances to allow for the commonality of their experiences to become a source of shared strength and stamina.

This study is unique in its simultaneous examination of a large and new (i.e., not previously examined) quantitative data set, a large number of extensive interviews, and a number of the institutional textual rules and regulations. Additionally, because this research concerned the Canadian military, it offered specific insights. As mentioned earlier, it is possible to differentiate between laws and mores because the military documents so many aspects of its functioning and

has its own distinct legal system. Moreover, the uniqueness with respect to other research on non-traditional work environments is in the type of hegemonic masculinity with which servicewomen contend. Careful examination suggests that within each job, occupation, or professional context (the military included), the valued, promoted, and protected respective masculinity share similar properties with other masculinities but they are also distinct (see Connell, 1995 for a discussion of multiple masculinities).

This study also depicted that how women function within institutions is often the result of a combination of individual choices and institutional restrictions (i.e., agency versus structure). Indeed, women were choosing the best possible action at any given time taking into account the specific demands of the situation or faced challenge. But the structural elements set the outer limits to the choices or options available for women. Although in general, all women face similar obstacles, arguably, the options for female soldiers tend to be more limited than in other organisations given the National Defence Act and the more conservative, masculine and inflexible character of militaries.

Typically, researchers must choose either breadth or depth. My choice was due to the unique nature of this particular organisation. By choosing to use both quantitative and qualitative approaches, I was able to examine the integration of women in the military with both more breadth and depth than is typical in larger multi-institutional studies. When comparing my findings with those of previous research, as noted above, they support and extend earlier findings. The present findings confirm that generally, women earn less than men no matter where they

work (e.g., traditionally female- or male-dominated fields). They indicate that factors influencing women's success at integrating into a male dominated workplace are multiple, diverse, and that these factors can interact with each other thereby producing complex and not so obvious dynamics and situations (e.g., sexual orientation, mothering, gender role stereotypes, and the global context—deployments).

Limitations

All research has its limitations; and this current study is no exception. One of its limitations is that the quantitative section was based on archival data obtained from the CF. This presents two problems. First, because the data collected represent a snap shot in time, it is more difficult to draw causal inferences about the relationships observed. Second, because the quantitative data were collected for another purpose (e.g., for the government in its management of CF soldiers), the variables were fixed and not planned or designed for a specific research project. Hence, the data set contained some inflexibility as seen in Chapter 4. For example, despite the availability of a wide variety of variables, it failed to contain information that tapped into soldiers' formal and informal, social and workplace networks. Research suggests that the intersection of gender and worker's social/institutional networks influences their everyday lives and careers (McGuire, 2002). Ibarra and Smith-Lovin (1997) note that networks “shape the course of careers by regulating access to jobs, providing mentoring and sponsorship, channelling the flow of information and referrals, augmenting power and reputations, and increasing the likelihood and speed of promotion” (p. 359). It

would have been most interesting and enlightening to examine such variables on a sample of this size.

The retrospective nature of any qualitative data arguably signals that the data (i.e., the life histories of female soldiers in this study) are fallible due to errors in women's recall, and memory. Although this is not seen as an unusual constraint when doing qualitative research, I employed techniques to enhance my participants' memory and recall. With each participant, together, we constructed a chronological outline of her military career, which was then used to structure and guide the interview, thereby providing anchor points for the primed recall of specific meaningful memories and events. Although the retrospective limitations exist, I believe that the qualitative information provided rich and significant insights. Together with the examination of organisational texts, both qualitative and quantitative data sets and their analyses represent important insights. They add to an increased understanding of the level of women's integration into the CF and of both the degree and success the military has had fulfilling this mandate.

Conclusions

The findings of this research contribute to the knowledge regarding Canadian women in non-traditional occupations, and Canadian female soldiers in particular. The findings provide insights useful for the Canadian military if they are serious about fully integrating women, and identify areas that need to be worked on or changed. The CF could consider revamping their sexual harassment policies and practices. Based on the present findings, it would be pertinent for the military to go through a review combining internal and external elements, and

centrally incorporating a gender analysis. As a first step in dealing with the sexual harassment complaint process, however, there are already some steps that should be taken. For example, the policy that demands that the person being harassed should directly confront the harasser is problematic and should be revised. The qualitative data indicates that many female soldiers do not take steps to report harassment. Placing the responsibility to confront the harassers on the person being harassed does not work well within the rigid power relations and hierarchy of the military. Moreover, sexual harassment policies should include extensive examples that delineate “reasonable” and “unreasonable” behaviours, thus reducing the onus on women to identify what are offensive behaviours. This would go a long way to acknowledge and address some of the cultural change needing to take place. In addition, given the quantitative results regarding the presence of a pay gap based on gender, the CF should investigate military earnings to evaluate possible mechanisms favouring gender differences and eliminate them. This would be a more positive approach towards integrating women rather than assuming that the pay structure is equitable for all soldiers.

This study is also helpful to other institutions and nations endeavouring to integrate women into their militaries and ranks or meet employment equity requirements in general. This position is a hopeful one; in terms of the military, it offers room to manoeuvre and become more welcoming to women, in spite of its long cultural tradition of male exclusivity. Military women were not questioning their choice to join; they only wanted to have the conditions that would not hamper their integration. Women spoke of fair and equitable conditions, not

preferential ones. It is evident that without general structural and cultural changes from within (not only from society outside), women's progress will be slowed, stalled, and stymied. This likely translates into changes in concrete military laws and ideological beliefs regarding gender, social mores, and stereotypes.

What this study also indicates is that despite limitations, women positively have progressed over time through legislation, policies, political pressure, and feminist/womanist activism. Although this may sound like a cliché, it would be too simple to conclude either that no progress has been made or that everything is now fixed and that women are fully integrated in the military. It is also too simple to suggest that the integration of women in the CF is the exclusive result of the structural level and that women's individual differences have no impact in making a difference. Yet the social/cultural structural conditions have to be favourable to the integration of women. Without them, individual factors can only affect a very limited reality, especially in the context of such a large institution as the military.

Women are no longer the outsiders looking in at military careers and gender equity legislative changes. And yet, the present data make it clear that female soldiers still are marginalised within the organisation and are *ideologically* the outsiders. This suggests that the military remains fundamentally attached to an ideology and tradition of soldiering, and the institution that supports them, as one for and about men. Therefore, while it is undeniable that change has occurred because women are present and have advanced in the CF, it seems equally evident that women's presence is *tolerated* officially while being rejected and marginalised in reality and culturally. Indeed, acceptance and integration is far

from complete. As mentioned throughout this thesis, if the military is serious about fully integrating women (and diversity) within its ranks, it will have to consider how some of its fundamental assumptions and tenets stall this process.

Finally, this research demonstrates how institutions are fundamentally social creations with their blueprints and foundations well grounded in history and tradition, while their ‘garnishes and finishing dressings’ (e.g., sexual harassment legislation) take on more of a modern look. Consequently, although some of the present members are unlike the traditional clan, they walk the walk, and talk the talk in much the same way as those who came before. Indeed, the limitations of institutions, whether social or concrete, do not totally determine the actors’ deeds or future outcomes.

Appendix I: Ethics Approval

Appendix II: Military Memo

1000-22-1-6 (DWAO ASC Chair)
EF DWAOspshipLtr

8 August 2000

Distribution List

RESEARCH PROJECT - FACTORS INFLUENCING THE LIVES AND CAREERS OF SERVICEWOMEN

References: A. "The Patterned Hierarchy of the Canadian Military: Structural and Cultural Explanations", Ph.D. Thesis Proposal, Lynne Gouliquer, 1 Dec 99
B. CFAO 8-3

1. At reference A, Ms. Lynne Gouliquer successfully presented her thesis proposal to an academic committee at McGill University. IAW reference B, the Director Human Resource Research and Evaluation (DHRRE) under ADM (HR Mil) has reviewed the research proposal, determined that it demonstrates methodological rigour and meets ethical research requirements, and has thus granted *technical authority* for the conduct of the research within the Canadian Forces. As the research promises to yield results which will contribute in a positive way to the future of women in the CF, the Defence Women's Advisory Organization (DWAO) has accepted sponsorship of this research. The purpose of this letter is to introduce Ms. Gouliquer and her research to the organization, as well as solicit maximum cooperation in making personnel available to Ms. Gouliquer, should anyone from your organization be requested to participate.

2. A key goal of this research project is the exploration of factors which influence servicewomen's careers and lives. This will involve interviewing approximately 50 service members, primarily servicewomen, across Commands and ranks in the CF. To achieve maximum representation, it is anticipated that 16-18 persons per Command, including 4-5 at each of the rank groups (junior NCM, senior NCO, junior officer, senior officer) and from various MOCs will be interviewed. Many units will not be impacted at all by this research. This portion of the research will be complemented by a quantitative analysis of data which will be accessed through DHRRE in Ottawa.

3. Ms. Gouliquer will be contacting individuals directly to solicit participation in an interview. As participation will be strictly voluntary and confidential, assistance is not required to identify service members for an interview. However, if questions are directed toward the chain of command in reference to authority for members to participate, this letter cites the *technical authority* that has been granted by DHRRE. In addition, we hope

that Commanding Officers will provide support to the project by ensuring that members under their Command are encouraged to participate.

4. The cooperation of action addressees in ensuring that this information is given maximum distribution within their respective environments is requested and appreciated. Commanding Officers or other impacted personnel are invited to contact the DWAO directly should they have further questions in reference to this project. The DWAO OPI for this project, LCdr Karen Davis, can be contacted at CSN 845-6616/(613)995-6616. If detailed information is required concerning participation in the project, interested personnel may wish to contact Ms. Gouliquer directly at (506)451-9691, (514)529-0708 or via EMail: lgouli@po-box.mcgill.ca. Queries in reference to the DWAO itself can be directed to the DWAO co-chairs, Ms. Caroline Kerne at CSN 849-0356/(613)945-0356 or Maj Sue Wigg at CSN 847-3611/(613)997-3611.

// signed by //
H. D. MacQuarrie
Captain
Chair Advisory Sub-Committee
Defence Women's Advisory Organization

Distribution List
Action
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Information
ADM (HR-Mil)/DHRRE
ADM (HR-Mil)/DMGIEE
Ms. Lynne Gouliquer

Note:

OPI's coordinates (Karen Davis) are now (613) 995-5785
Current DWAO co-chairs are: Ms. Cheryl Read, (613)945-1228 and
LCdr Shelley Ganderton, (613)945-0664

Appendix III: Interview Guide

Posting/Attach-posting History Outline (from time member joined till present).

Place

1 _____ Date: _____

2 _____ Date: _____

3 _____ Date: _____

4 _____ Date: _____

5 _____ Date: _____

6 _____ Date: _____

7 _____ Date: _____

8 _____ Date: _____

9 _____ Date: _____

10 _____ Date: _____

11 _____ Date: _____

12 _____ Date: _____

13 _____ Date: _____

14 _____ Date: _____

15 _____ Date: _____

16 _____ Date: _____

17 _____ Date: _____

18 _____ Date: _____

19 _____ Date: _____

20 _____ Date: _____

Demographic information.

Can I have a copy of your Personnel History Resume (490).

1. Birth date: _____ Age: _____ Years Service: _____
2. Education on joining: _____ Education presently _____
3. Mother's Age: _____ Work/Occupation _____ Education _____
Father's Age: _____ Work/Occupation _____ Education: _____
4. Are you in a relationship? Common law, single, married, divorced, same-sex, other?
Has your partnered status changed during the course of your military career? _____
How? _____
5. Do you have children or other dependents, such as older parents, for whom you are primarily responsible? _____ Do they live with you?
_____ Have they always lived with you? _____
Birth dates of Children: 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
6. What is your first language? _____ Do you have a second language? _____ Any other language(s)? _____ Language profile? _____
7. What was your gross take home pay for 1999? _____
8. Your current rank _____.

Interview Guide.

10. Why did you join the military?

Military College (Officers Only)

11. Could you describe your experience of military college?

How many women were around or going through with you?

Was it co-ed?

What helped you make it through?

Who helped you make it through?

Did you socialize? With whom?

How long did it last?

Where did you take this training?

In what area were your studies?

12. How well do you feel you did in your studies?

What do you think would have made it easier or better?

Initial Training Basic & Occupational

13. Could you describe your experience of basic training?

How many women took the training with you?

Was it co-ed?

What helped you make it through? Who helped you make it through?

Did you socialize? With whom?

14. How well do you feel you did in your occupational training?

15. What was your occupational training in (MOC)?

How long did it last?

Where did you take this training?

For each Posting (i.e., strata of servicewoman=s life history), the following areas will be repeatedly explored.

Work

16. How did you get your 1st Posting?

Did that represent your preference?

What were your preferences?

What was your first choice?

17. What position or section did you start in?

Tell me a little about what you did in this job?

What was this job like for you?

How was the atmosphere at work?

How many co-workers did you have? What was the ratio of men to women?
Did you get along well with them?
Did you enjoy your work?
Did you look forward to going to work (why)?
Tell me about your superiors?
Were they male or female?
How were your performance evaluations?
In this particular, workplace did you have any particular concerns as a woman?

TD/Attached Postings

18. Did you go away while at this particular section on any attached postings or temporary duty trips?
Did you volunteer to go?
Where did you go?
For how long? How did you like it?
What was this experience like for you?
Who looked after things and dependents, if applicable at home while you were gone?

Sports & Leisure

19. Sports and leisure are important to the military (i.e., physical fitness). Did you participate in any kind of sports, teams, programs, or training?
Was it base, intramural or individual sport activities? If so what sports, when (time of day, number of times per week)?
Was this particular work environment supportive of people taking time to exercise or do sports of any kind?
Do you feel they were supportive of you?

Education and training

20. Did you have any career training? Had you asked for them?
What was it like for you? Can you remember the names of the courses?
How many women were on the course(s)?
Were these local courses or did you have to go away for them?
How did you handle going away with respect to other competing demands either on the work front or the home front?

21. Did you upgrade your education in any other way while at this section?
In what field?
Why did you do so?

Promotions

22. Did you get promoted while on this posting? To what rank?
Was this anticipated?
Did you remain in your present work environment or did you move sections?
Why or why not?
What was the experience of being promoted like for you?

How did your co-workers react? Your bosses?
Did you feel like you deserved the promotion? Why or why not?

Relationships

22. Were you involved with anyone during this time?
For how long?
What was the experience like?

Children

23. How about children?
Did you ever want or have children?
How were your pregnancies for you?
Where was your husband/partner during each pregnancy?
Did you take maternal leave?
What was the process like of asking for and taking leave from your job?
Was it hard to return? How so?
How did your co-workers/bosses react?
Did your husband/partner take paternal leave? Why or why not?

24. Children are very demanding with respect to time and energy.
How do you manage this aspect of your life?
Who gets to help the children with reading (homework) for school?
When they are ill, who typically takes them to the doctor?
What happens when you go away or your partner goes away for whatever reason,
who takes care of the children?
Did you plan, refuse, reschedule courses, temporary duty (TD) trips, attached
postings on account of your family obligations?
How do you balance the demands of your children, your partner, family and your
job?

Other Family Obligations

25. Has there been any major changes in your immediate family situation (e.g.,
major illnesses, disabilities, adoptions, other dependent family members)?
What has this meant for you with regards to the work that needs to be done at
home and at your job?

26. Did you experience any change in your relationship-status, the birth of a child,
or the death of a loved one during this posting?
Did you share this information with your boss?
With your co-workers?
How supportive was your workplace towards your needs while experiencing this
change?

Internal Moves

27. Where did you move from here, another section (e.g., internal moves)? Why?
Did everyone move around?

(Explore each workplace experience.)

Preparations for the next Posting

28. Did you go on a house hunting trip in preparation for your next posting?

Alone or with your husband/partner?

How did you manage the move? Preparations? Cleaning? Packing?

Who typically dealt with the children (e.g., their emotions)? Finding new schools?

How did the children integrate and find new friends? How smooth was the transition?

Were you excited or disappointed to go? Why?

Some Final Questions

29. What are your career plans or intentions?

With respect to the military, how far do you want to go?

What do you take into consideration when making these plans?

30. Regarding retirement, where do you see yourself when you retire?

What rank do you hope to obtain?

How many years do you plan to stay?

What will you do after retiring?

Where geographically will you retire? Why there?

31. Have you, a friend or an acquaintance ever been assault (sexual, physical, or harassment) during your military career?

32. What do you think the CF could do, offer, change, do better that would improve your life as a women/male in the military?

33. Confidentiality of my participants is of primary concern. Therefore, it is important for me to know whether there are specific ways in which your identity may be unwittingly revealed. Are there any particular identifying characteristics about your career or profile you wish to draw my attention so it is highlighted right from the beginning as sensitive (e.g., you may be the only female in your occupation or rank)?

Appendix IV: Consent Form

Research Consent Form – Servicewomen

Title of Research: The Patterned Hierarchy of the Canadian Military: Structural and Cultural Explanations.

Principal Investigator: Lynne Gouliquer
Department of Sociology
McGill University, Montreal, QC H3A 2K6
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Project Sponsor: This project is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Doctoral Fellowship)

Purpose of the Research: In Canadian society, women have made many advances with respect to equality and equity issues. The Human Rights Tribunal decision in 1989 directing the Canadian military to eliminate discriminatory barriers and to integrate women by 1999 was a major turning point for servicewomen. Some recent information, however, suggests that some barriers still exist. Women with ten to twenty years of seniority are leaving at a consistently higher rate than their male counterparts notwithstanding the pension rights attendant upon 20 years of service (Davis, 1994). While more senior ranking women were part of the Canadian Forces in 1998 than in 1989, their average promotion rates lag behind those of men (Tanner, 1999). The Army has been specifically trying to attract a higher rate of female recruits, but when compared to men, women generally leave at much higher rates (Tanner, 1999). Despite the Armed Forces' official position of zero-tolerance on sexual harassment, accusations of sexual assault (O'Hara, 1998a, 1998b) suggest that some woman-resistance still exists. However, irrespective of the budget cuts and downsizing of the military in the early 1990s, the overall percentage of servicewomen has not really changed; women currently represent nearly 11% of Canada's regular force and in 1989 it was nearly 10%. For my dissertation project, I will examine the structural and cultural factors influencing the careers and lives of servicewomen in the Canadian Armed Forces. More specifically, I will explore the common experiences and careers of women in a milieu which can be defined as conservative, traditional and male-dominated.

Description of the Research: In order to explore "what factors influence servicewomen's careers and lives in the Canadian military," my research project includes both a quantitative and qualitative component. The quantitative component evaluates the impact of particular factors (e.g., number of career moves, marriage, children, etc.) on women and men's military careers. In addition, forty to fifty life-history interviews of servicewomen and 10-20 interviews with senior military leaders will be conducted. The interviews of servicewomen will be limited to the period of their military service. Each interview will be structured by the unfolding events of the participant's military career. In other words, the chronological history of postings, promotions, etc. provides a natural set of events for discussion. It is expected that each interview will last from 1 to 2 hours. The time for each interview will be dependent, in part, on the length of the service career. The interview will be carried out at a time and place convenient to the participant.

Confidentiality: Only this consent form bears the name of the participant. It will be kept in a secure location separate from the research data (e.g., notes and

audio cassettes, if the interview is taped). The principal researcher, Lynne Gouliquer, will have exclusive access to the identity of the interviewee. In any oral or written presentation of the results of this study, the anonymity of the participant will be protected. In other words, personal identity will not be traceable to a particular participant or recognizable through any oral presentation or written material produced out of this research.

Potential Harms and Benefits: Given the identity of participants is strictly confidential, this project poses minimum potential of harm for participants. As a final question in the interview, participants will be asked to identify ways that their identity may be unwittingly compromised by particular identifying characteristics. For example, this will assist me to provide maximum confidentiality under such rare circumstances that one of the participants may be the only female in her occupation or rank.

Basis of Participation: The decision to participate in this study reflects an understanding that:

- a) Lynne Gouliquer (the researcher) will interview each participant at a mutually acceptable place and time. The general topic of discussion will be the life experience of the participant as it relates to their involvement with the military.
- b) The participant's permission to tape the interview will be solicited. If she agrees to this condition, she will show her consent by signing at the bottom of this form beneath the statement "*I consent to the interview being taped.*" Consent may also be given verbally and will be recorded on a tape separate from the interview.

Disposition of Research Results: A summary of the study will be sent to each participant who leaves a forwarding address. It should be noted that given that this is a PhD research project, a copy of the thesis is held by McGill University and accessible through the library.

Right of Exclusion or Withdrawal: Participants have the right to stop the interview at anytime, to not answer any of the questions, refuse inclusion in the research or withdraw at any time from the project.

Consent to Participate: I have read (or been fully informed if the interview occurs by telephone) and understand the above consent form. I agree to take part in the above described study. (Consent may also be given verbally and will be recorded at that time.)

_____ (signature) _____ (date)

.....
I consent to the interview being taped.

_____ (signature) _____ (date)

_____ (Researcher's signature) _____ (date)

Title of Research: The Patterned Hierarchy of the Canadian Military: Structural and Cultural Explanations.

Yes please send me a copy of the summary of the research?

Name: _____

Address: _____

Email: _____

Appendix V: Description of Study

The Patterned Hierarchy of the Canadian Military: Structural and Cultural Explanations.

Hi,

My name is Lynne Gouliquer. In 1995, after sixteen years of military service, I retired from the military and returned to university full-time. I enrolled in the Graduate program at McGill University in Montreal where I am currently doing my PhD in Sociology. As part of the requirements for my university program, I am doing a research project. Though I left the military, my interest in the organization has never diminished. Indeed, as a woman who spent 16 years of her life in the environment, and now as a student, I seek to understand women's involvement in such an institution. This is the focus of my research and the reason why I am contacting you.

An Introduction to the Project

Over the last thirty years, women have made many advances with respect to equality and equity issues in Canadian society and in the Canadian Armed Forces. For example, irrespective of the budget cuts and downsizing of the military in the early 1990s, the overall percentage of servicewomen was not effected; women currently represent 10% of Canada's regular force. The year 1989 was a major turning point for servicewomen. A Human Rights Tribunal directed Canada's military to eliminate discriminatory barriers and to integrate women over the next ten years. Subsequently, the military opened all combat occupations, roles and units to women except those on submarines. Some information, however, suggests that the goals of integration and elimination of discriminatory barriers may not be occurring. In 1994, Karen Davis found that women with ten to twenty years of seniority leave the military at a consistently higher rate than their male counterparts in spite of the pension accompanying 20 years of service. In a recent study conducted by the military, Tanner (1999) reports that while more senior ranking women were part of the Canadian Forces in 1998 than in 1989, their average promotion rates lag behind those of men. Despite the Armed Forces' zero-tolerance on sexual harassment, recent scandals and accusations of sexual assault (O'Hara, 1998a, 1998b) suggest that male resistance to women still pervades the milieu. Bearing in mind, the above information, the object of my research project is to examine the experiences, lives, and careers of servicewomen in the Canadian Armed Forces in order to provide further insights and information about the barriers women face and their integration into the institution.

The Project's Design

The research project includes two parts. A quantitative component will examine how particular factors (e.g., number of career moves, marriage, children, etc.) influence women and men's careers. A qualitative component will involve forty to fifty life-history interviews of servicewomen and ten to twenty interviews

with senior military leaders. If you agree, your involvement in the qualitative part is why you have been contacted. The interviews will simply consist of talking about each servicewomen's experiences while a member of the military, in other words her life history. It is expected that each interview will last from one to two hours. Of course, the time for each interview will depend, in large part, on the length of each woman's service career. The interview will be carried out at a time and place convenient to each servicewoman.

Participation.

Participation is voluntary and the consent of each individual will be obtained. The anonymity of all participants is important to me and will be respected. In other words, personal identity will not be traceable to a particular participant or recognizable as a result of the research. To further insure confidentiality, at the end of each interview, participants will be asked to indicate any way in which their identity may be unwittingly compromised by particular identifying characteristics. This will assist in providing confidentiality under such rare circumstances that one of the participants may be the only female in her occupation or rank. As well, all participants for my study will be obtained through word-of-mouth (e.g., friends) and not from any official lists. As such, officially no one, but myself, will have knowledge of who participates unless you tell them.

How to contact me.

If you leave your name and number with the person who gave you this sheet and they will contact me. I will then contact you, answer any questions that you may have, and if you agree set up a time and date for an interview. However, if you prefer you can contact me yourself in the following ways: by telephone in Fredericton at (506) 451-9691, in Montreal at (514) 529-0708, or anytime by email at lgouli@po-box.mcgill.ca. I have an answering machine so please leave a message containing your name, date of your call and a number at which I can call you. I always check my email every day even if away, therefore it is a very reliable method.

Once the study has been completed, in other words all the interviews completed, a summary report will be sent to all participants who leave a forwarding address.

I look forward to hearing from you.
Kindest personal regards,
Lynne Gouliquer
PhD Candidate
McGill University
Montreal, Quebec

Appendix VI: Qualitative Sample Demographics

Table 9: Qualitative Sample Demographics (N = 39)*

Table 9	Age	Age-Joined	Years Served	Children	Rank/Corps	Division	Relationship	Year Joined	Sexuality
Arlene	49	21	17	2	Senior/Officer	Support	yes	1971	Hetero
Bailie	20	19	1	0	Junior/NCM	Army	yes	1999	Lesbian
Barbara	40	20	20	4	Junior/NCM	Air Force	yes	1980	Hetero
Carla	29	17	12	0	Junior/Officer	Air Force	yes	1988	Hetero
Chantale	35	21	14	4	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	1986	Lesbian
Daphne	33	23	10	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	yes	1990	Lesbian
Darlene ^{ABE}	45	UK	8	0	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	UK	Hetero
Denise	39	19	20	1	Senior/NCM	Support	yes	1980	Hetero
Evelyn	30	21	9	0	Junior/Officer	Navy	yes	1988	Lesbian
Francis	33	22	11	0	Junior/NCM	Support	no	1989	Hetero
Gail	42	22	20	2	Junior/NCM	Support	no	1980	Hetero

Table 9	Age	Age-Joined	Years Served	Children	Rank/Corps	Division	Relationship	Year Joined	Sexuality
Helena	41	19	22	1	Senior/NCM	Support	no	1978	Hetero
Ina	38	26	11	4	Junior/NCM	Support	no	1989	Hetero
Janice ^{ABE}	49	UK	6	1	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	UK	Hetero
Jill	41	20	21	2	Senior/NCM	Support	yes	1979	Hetero
Katherine	30	18	11	1	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	1989	Hetero
Lenora	26	17	8	0	Junior/Officer	Support	yes	1992	Hetero
Marnie	31	19	12	0	Junior/NCM	Support	no	1987	Lesbian
Maxine ^{ACE}	21	UK	4.5	0	Junior/NCM	Army	no	UK	UK
Melanie	44	19	26	1	Senior/Officer	Support	yes	1976	Hetero
Naomi	46	24	22	1	Senior/NCM	Support	no	1978	Hetero
Orly	30	19	11	0	Junior/Officer	Engineer	yes	1994	Lesbian
Olivia	37	19	12	0	Senior/Officer	Navy	no	1988	Lesbian

Table 9	Age	Age-Joined	Years Served	Children	Rank/Corps	Division	Relationship	Year Joined	Sexuality
Odette	38	20	19	0	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	1982	Lesbian
Patricia	44	18	26	0	Senior/Officer	Support	no	1976	Hetero
Pauline	38	19	19	0	Junior/Officer	Support	yes	1981	Lesbian
Peggy ^{AE}	41	UK	22	0	Senior/NCM	Support	no	UK	Hetero
Petra	34	29	6	0	Junior/Officer	Support	no	2000	Lesbian
Quanita	47	24	23	0	Junior/Officer	Support	no	1977	Hetero
Rachael	37	18	18	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	yes	1991	Lesbian
Roslyn	41	22	19	1	Senior/NCM	Support	yes	1991	Hetero
Sarah	32	29	3	1	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	1997	Lesbian
Sonya ^{ADE}	41	UK	16	2	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	UK	Hetero
Susan	50	23	28	0	Senior/Officer	Support	no	1982	Hetero
Treva	39	18	20	0	Junior/Officer	Support	no	1981	Hetero

Table 9	Age	Age-Joined	Years Served	Children	Rank/Corps	Division	Relationship	Year Joined	Sexuality
Ulanda	23	19	5	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	no	1996	Hetero
Ursula	31	19	11	0	Junior/NCM	Army	no	1989	Lesbian
Valerie	21	18	3	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	no	1998	Hetero
Véronique	35	19	16	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	yes	1984	Lesbian
Wendy	29	18	12	2	Junior/NCM	Navy	no	1990	Hetero
Wilma	39	20	19	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	yes	1981	Lesbian
Xandra	39	20	20	0	Junior/NCM	Air Force	no	1981	Hetero
Yvette	44	20	25	0	Junior/Officer	Support	yes	1976	Hetero
Yvonne	47	23	24	0	Junior/NCM	Support	yes	1986	Lesbian

* The listed additional five participants were asked to reflect on the preliminary findings (testimonial validity check of data).

^A Currently serving female soldiers asked to comment on preliminary findings of study.

^B Reserve Forces soldier on full-time contract with Regular Forces.

^C Reserve Forces soldier serving full-time during summer and part-time during the winter while attending university.

^D Currently Regular Forces but also served in Reserve Forces (8 years in each).

^E Participated in validity check (reflections on preliminary data).

Appendix VII: Officer Corps Correlation Table

Table 10: Officer Corps Correlation Table

Table 10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Earnings (1)	1																						
Gender (2)	-.298 ***	1																					
Service Years (3)	.594 ***	-.204 ***	1																				
Years-Squared (4)	.268 ***	-.137 ***	.537 ***	1																			
HS & <(5)	.070 *	-.200 ***	.017	-.031	1																		
>HS <BA (6)	.007	.066	.027	-.040	-.229 ***	1																	
>BA <MA (7)	.137 ***	-.042	.107 **	.074 *	-.051	-.079 *	1																
MA & > (8)	.107 **	.026	.147 ***	.034	-.119 **	-.183 ***	-.041	1															
Language Ability (9)	-.002	.075 *	-.016	.002	-.118 **	-.023	.058	.008	1														
Degree Prestige (10)	.075 *	.168 ***	-.047	-.002	.194 ***	.307 ***	-.036	-.069 *	-.178 ***	1													
Dependents (11)	.159 ***	-.236 ***	.111 **	.019	.066	-.049	.002	-.005	.072 *	-.056	1												

Table 10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Relationship Status (12)	.143 ***	-.290 ***	.125 ***	.085 *	.019	-.092 *	.042	-.033	.106 **	-.116 **	.597 ***	1											
Gender by Dependents (13)	.002	-.143 ***	-.033	-.033	.013	-.070 *	-.016	-.031	.056	-.080 *	.705 ***	.538 ***	1										
Training (14)	.328 ***	-.288 ***	.161 ***	.121 **	.199 ***	-.007	-.062	-.007	-.047	-.067	.119 **	.105 **	.002	1									
Postings (15)	.544 ***	-.271 ***	.662 ***	.285 ***	.019	-.012	.087 *	.069 *	-.016	-.001	.115 **	.103 **	-.016	.080 *	1								
Deployments (16)	-.148 ***	-.109 **	-.157 ***	-.212 ***	-.069 *	-.138 ***	.033	-.036	.074 *	-.395 ***	.020	.047	.057	-.045	-.033	1							
HQ Posting (17)	.172 ***	-.085 *	.178 ***	.093 *	.067	-.050	.002	.003	.068	.029	.032	.077 *	.007	-.026	.261 ***	-.080 *	1						
Air Force (18)	.191 ***	-.194 ***	.011	.047	.167 ***	-.058	-.019	.068	-.047	-.137 ***	.133 ***	.117 **	.071 *	.531 ***	-.120 **	-.068	-.115 **	1					
Engineers (19)	-.030	.015	-.065	-.036	-.050	-.035	.005	.054	.115 **	-.047	-.043	-.012	.010	-.080 *	-.034	-.011	.124 ***	-.188 ***	1				
Navy (20)	.034	-.233 ***	.037	-.042	.003	-.034	-.002	-.044	.004	-.092 *	.029	.054	.029	-.162 ***	.300 ***	.378 ***	-.100 **	-.204 ***	-.107 **	1			
Army (21)	.013	-.297 ***	.072 *	.020	.147 ***	-.107 **	.029	-.062	-.010	-.124 ***	.111 **	.136 ***	.072 *	.051 *	.094 *	.075 *	.166 ***	-.228 ***	-.120 **	-.130 ***	1		
Pilot Ctrl (22)	.326 ***	-.266 ***	.033	.096 **	.204 ***	-.007	.001 *	-.080 *	-.078 *	.008	.062	.098 **	.022	.505 ***	.007	.017	-.087 *	.548 ***	-.103 ***	-.112 **	-.125 ***	1	
Rank (23)	.702 ***	-.175 ***	.600 ***	.396 ***	-.083 *	-.117 **	.105 **	.212 ***	.171 ***	-.047 ***	.167 ***	.156 ***	.021	.162 ***	.562 ***	-.121 **	.225 ***	.014	-.013	.013	.080 *	.049 *	1

Note: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

Appendix VIII: Non-Commissioned Member Corps Correlation Table

Table 11: Non-Commissioned Member Corps Correlation Table

Table 11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
Earnings (1)	1																				
Gender (2)	-.215 ***	1																			
Service Years (3)	.496 ***	-.098 ***	1																		
Years-Squared (4)	.329 ***	-.125 ***	.484 ***	1																	
<HS (5)	.015	-.154 ***	.104 ***	.036 *	1																
>HS<BA (6)	-.091 ***	.125 ***	-.199 ***	-.034 *	-.363 ***	1															
BA & > (7)	.026	.057 ***	-.035 *	.003	-.080 ***	-.047 **	1														
Language (8)	.028	.113 ***	.055 ***	.013	-.048 **	.035 *	.035 *	1													
Dependents (9)	.002	-.161 ***	.048 **	-.045 **	.023	-.085 ***	-.032 *	-.044 **	1												
Gender by Dependents (10)	-.045 **	-.117 ***	.019	-.027	.026	-.076 ***	-.025	-.034 *	.706 ***	1											
Relationship (11)	.088 ***	-.194 ***	.052 **	.024	.020	-.045 **	-.014	.006	.518 ***	.426 ***	1										

Table 11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Training (12)	.263 ***	-.276 ***	.187 ***	.020	.016	-.057 ***	-.037 *	.006	.054 **	-.012	.078 ***	1								
Postings (13)	.403 ***	-.080 ***	.580 ***	.218 ***	.044 **	-.107 ***	-.038 *	.111 ***	.011	-.042 *	.027	.008	1							
Deployments (14)	.117 ***	-.299 ***	-.016	.004	.101 ***	-.087 ***	-.052 **	-.044 **	-.042 **	-.079 ***	.016	.038 *	.066 ***	1						
HQ Posting (15)	.167 ***	.004	.167 ***	.155 ***	-.004	-.011	-.005	.040 *	-.029	-.055 ***	.014	-.123 ***	.251 ***	.081 ***	1					
Air Force (16)	.045 **	-.020	.034 *	-.041 *	-.008	.022	-.025	-.016	.016	.019	.029	.490 ***	-.083 ***	-.214 ***	-.173 ***	1				
Engineer (17)	.003	-.052 **	.004	.022	-.041 *	.028	-.037 *	.000	-.005	-.023	.010	-.017	-.068 ***	.083 ***	.181 ***	-.216 ***	1			
Navy (18)	.241 ***	-.237 ***	.011	.038 *	.035 *	-.038 *	-.006	-.073 ***	.010	.015	.039 *	-.053 **	.320 ***	.134 ***	.017	-.144 ***	-.132 ***	1		
Army (19)	.041 *	-.357 ***	-.034 *	.038 *	.109 ***	-.093 ***	-.029	-.022	.069 ***	.031 *	.077 ***	.164 ***	-.170 ***	.193 ***	-.078 ***	-.186 ***	-.170 ***	-.114 ***	1	
Rank (20)	.765 ***	-.128 ***	.583 ***	.342 ***	-.001	-.103 ***	.038 *	.067 ***	.049 **	-.018	.117 ***	.192 ***	.424 ***	.051 **	.200 ***	-.122 ***	-.024	.106 ***	.105 ***	1

Note: * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

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