CULTURAL CRISIS? AN ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES AFFECTING
THE ASCENSION OF WOMEN IN THE AUSTRALIAN ARMY

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fulfillment of the requirements for the
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14. ABSTRACT
Militaries are responsible to reflect the society from which their personnel are drawn. Therefore as societies change, so too, should the respective military. The Australian society is seeing an emerging trend of females striving to achieve success in both the family and work environments. The introduction of family friendly policies in civilian organizations is improving the ability for females to achieve a work-life balance. In an attempt to reflect society, the Australian Army has introduced policies to afford its personnel the ability to also achieve a work-life balance.

However, the percentage of females in senior ranks is still low. What are the issues affecting the ascension of women in the Australian Army? How does a society influence the military? How does the Australian Army compare to other armies from around the world? Are our leaders equipped with the right training to drive cultural change? Is the Flexible Work Arrangements policy effective? Finally, will lifting restrictions for women to serve in combat roles improve the ascension rate within the Australian Army?

This thesis explores these questions to identify the issues affecting the ascension of women in the Australian Army.

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ABSTRACT

CULTURAL CRISIS? AN ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES AFFECTING THE
ASCENSION OF WOMEN IN THE AUSTRALIAN ARMY? by Major Meegan B.
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women in the Australian Army.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ACRONYMS

ADF   Australian Defence Force

ADFA   Australian Defence Force Academy

CA   Chief of Army

CDF   Chief of Defence Force

FWA   Flexible Work Arrangements

U.S.   United States

TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Culture: A set of shared mental assumptions that guide interpretation and action in groups and organizations by defining appropriate or acceptable behavior for various situations; habitual behavior in response to characteristic organizational problems and situations. Culture is an organization as personality and character is to an individual. Culture is commonly seen as holistic, historically determined, socially constructed, difficult to measure, and difficult to change.
>
> — Major General Orme, *Beyond Compliance*, 2011

Background

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the existing culture within the Australian Army to determine its affect on the recent initiatives to improve the ascension of women in the Australian Army. In doing so, this thesis investigated the effectiveness of two core initiatives, Pathway to Change and the Flexible Work Arrangements (FWA) policies. Further, this thesis compared the Australia Army to other militaries, to determine how the relationship between a military and a society can drive or resist change.

The Problem

"You can have it all, just not at the same time." This quote has been repeated by a variety of prominent and successful women throughout history, including the first female Australian Governor General, Quentin Bryce. The quote directly addresses an important contemporary issue concerning the ability for women to be successful and strive for senior leadership positions while raising a family.

Over the past decade, the Australian Defence Force (ADF) has attempted to improve female representation within the senior officer ranks. As of 30 June 2013,

women make up 11 percent of the Australian Army, with a slightly higher percentage of 15.2 for officers.[1] The methods adopted include FWA, informal mentor programs, an annual Female Road Show Workshop conducted by Army Headquarters, and directly addressing the perceived cultural issues through the Pathway to Change[2] initiative. More recently, the Australian Army opened combat roles to females in an effort to balance the workforce and remove discrimination. Despite these initiatives, there continues to be a low percentage of women represented in senior positions, with only 6 percent of Colonels being women.[3] Further, there appears to be an aversion to fully supporting the concept of work-life balance, a notion supported by the low percentage of personnel taking advantage of FWA, despite the obvious desire to achieve a greater balance. The aversion can be attributed to the effectiveness of the initiatives coupled with the masculine culture entrenched within the Australian Army. Moreover, it appears that despite the efforts of FWA, females are still not achieving career goals while raising a family. A 2012 Exit Survey identified the inability to balance work-life in two of the top three reasons for personnel leaving Defence.[4]

In 2012, the Chief of Defence Force (CDF) launched Pathway to Change, to counter a series of high profile incidents involving the degradation of females. Pathway to Change endeavors to develop a more inclusive culture. As culture is shaped by history

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[1]Commonwealth of Australia, "People-Women in the ADF Report," *Defence Annual Report* (Canberra: Australian Government, 2013), 56.

[2]An initiative introduced in 2012 by the Australian Chief of Army in an effort to adjust organizational culture.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 20.

and society, it stands to reason that culture in the Australian Army would be masculine in nature.[5] The challenge for the senior leadership is to ensure the organization has both the appetite and impetus for change, coupled with a strong leadership framework to support the implementation of Pathway to Change.

Research Question

The primary research question underpinning this thesis is: What issues affect the ascension of women in the Australian Army?

Secondary Research Questions

In order to answer the primary question, several other questions need to be addressed.

1. How does society influence military culture?

2. Is FWA effective in increasing opportunity for female career progression?

3. Does the organizational culture within the military impede the effectiveness of FWA?

4. Will the policy shift regarding females in combat improve the ascension of women in the Australian Army?

Significance of this Research

The role of women in the Australian Army has always been and will continue to be a contested topic, partly due to public opinion and political debate. In 2011 a scandal at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) involving the degradation of a female

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[5]Australian Government, *Pathway to Change: Evolving Defence Culture; A Strategy for Cultural Change and Reinforcement* (Canberra, ACT: [Defence Publishing Service], 2012), 5.

cadet thrust the issue into the media spotlight. The Defence Minister of the time, Stephen

Smith, leveraged the incident to criticize the ADF's treatment of women. He argued there

was a link between the exclusion of women in combat roles to the perceived poor

treatment women receive in the military. He ordered an immediate investigation into the

ADFA incident, as well as a detailed review on ADF's treatment of women. Smith was

both widely criticized for his "knee jerk" reaction and commended for his strong stance.

As Stephanie Peatling from the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote, "Smith should be

commended for his continuing efforts to drag the kicking and screaming ADF into the

21st century when it comes to the treatment of women within its ranks."[6] However, for

every supporter of Smith's position, there is criticism, particularly from within the ADF,

of his perceived meddling in the ADF's business. The scandal, and ensuing

investigations, initiated the recent shift in policy regarding females serving in combat

roles.

Female representation in senior officer ranks in the Australian Army is vitally

important to ensure the military accurately represents society. Pathway to Change seeks

to broaden the senior leadership group by increasing diversity, including a greater

representation of women.[7] FWA is available to both men and women, and was

implemented as one of the methods to assist personnel in achieving career goals while

simultaneously balancing a family. There are no formal barriers for females to be

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[6]Stephanie Peatling, "Smith should be Commended for Dragging the ADF into the 21st Century," *Sydney Morning Herald,* 9 March 2012, sec. Opinion, http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/smith-should-be-commended-for-dragging-the-adf-into-the-21st-century-20120308-1ums6.html (accessed 12 January 2014).

[7]Australian Government, *Pathway to Change*, 6.

promoted to senior levels; however there are artificial or self-imposed obstacles impeding career advancement, such as the inability to commit to long hours due to child care constraints. Further, certain senior positions within the military were previously limited to males, due to the requirement for a combat background. This obstacle may slowly diminish with the opening of combat roles to women, however this will be a slow and gradual change given the lengthy time required to reach one star status.

Scope

The scope of this thesis includes an analysis of current policies pertaining to the employment of females within the Australian Army from 2008 to 2014. The analysis of Pathway to Change and FWA form the cornerstone of the concept of work-life balance, to determine if the Australian Army is being successful in making the balance more achievable. The research analyzes the Long Hour culture to determine if it impedes the success of FWA. The qualitative component includes personal interviews with females currently serving in the Australian Army ranging from E5 to O5. A comparative analysis was conducted to compare and contrast the Australian Army against Canada, Sweden, and the United States (U.S.). The researcher also analyzed the current argument regarding females in combat to determine if the shift in policy will assist in increasing the ascension of women in the Australian Army.

Limitations

This thesis is limited to the Australian Army from 2008 to 2014 and focused on leadership positions ranging from E5 to O5. Although the thesis makes reference to corporate businesses, the study is primarily focused on the Australian Army. The thesis

did not incorporate the Australian Department of Defence civilians, although similar issues may exist.

Female Australian Army personnel with children were deliberately selected to participate in the oral history interviews due their respective experiences with balancing a career and family. The researcher opted against interviewing males as the thesis pertained to the ascension of females within the Australian Army. However, future studies pertaining to this topic could be expanded to include aspects of male ascension or the perception and opinion of male commander's with regards to FWA and organizational culture.

Organizational theories dating back as far as the 1980s were used to analyze trends and improvements. As the author is currently residing in Kansas, the ability to include literature specific to the Australian Army was limited to Internet based sources. Further, as the issues associated with culture within the ADF are current priorities for both the CDF and Chief of Army (CA), the author attempted to remain up to date with policy changes and information, however changes or updates released post April 2014 are not included in this thesis.

Although at times the research draws on U.S. literature, there are many similarities with Australia, including organizational culture, debates on females in combat, and the glass-ceiling concept.

The study's principal aim is to identify the contributing factors impeding the ascension of women in the Australian Army. The study offers recommendations, which may assist in reducing or removing the obstacles identified.

Finally, given the author's current location, the personal interviews were conducted via email.

Delimitations

Although this research included aspects of the women in combat argument, this thesis did not seek to contribute to the debate on whether women should be permitted in combat. The thesis analyzed the effect the policy may have on the ascension of women within the Australian Army.

Assumptions

The following assumptions were made for the purpose of this research:

1. To the researcher's knowledge, the personnel selected for the oral history interviews remained focused, unbiased, and objective.

2. The researcher remained unbiased, her gender and experience did not influence the analysis and conclusions of the thesis.

3. My role as the researcher influenced the candid, open, and honest responses received during the oral history interviews.

Definitions

Defining key terms assists in contextualizing the problem and gaining an understanding of the issues associated with the ascension of women. The definitions are derived from a variety of published civilian and military documents.

Culture: "A set of shared mental assumption that guide interpretation and action in groups and organizations by defining appropriate or acceptable behavior for various situations; habitual behavior in response to characteristic organizational problems and

situations. Culture is an organization as personality and character is to an individual. Culture is commonly seen as holistic, historically determined, socially constructed, difficult to measure, and difficult to change."[8]

Flexible Work Arrangements: An agreement between a commander and a subordinate to alter working arrangements for the following scenarios:

1. enabling respite from arduous periods of service;

2. fulfilling education, training, or other aspirations without terminating service;

3. allowing continued work during recuperation from an injury or illness;

4. enabling members to meet their personal obligations; and

5. enabling members who are accompanying their spouse or Service-recognized interdependent partner on posting interstate or overseas, and who would normally be required to take Leave Without Pay, to continue working.

There are three forms of Flexible Work Arrangements; Part Time Leave Without Pay, Temporary Home Located Work, and Variable Work Hours:

a. Part Time Leave Without Pay–enables a member to work part-time so that they can attend to other personal commitments. Example: A member works a five-day fortnight with a reduced salary.

b. Temporary Home Located Work–allows members to complete work tasks from their home or another location outside of their normal place of work. It is designed to be a temporary solution to provide the member flexibility. Example: A member accompanies a spouse on an overseas posting and conducts flexible project work from posted location.

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[8]C. W. Orme, *Beyond Compliance: Professionalism, Trust and Capability in the Australian Profession of Arms: Report of the ADF Personal Conduct Review* (Canberra: [Department of Defence], 2011), 45.

c. Variable Work Hours–allows members to adjust regular work hours and report timings to attend to personal demands. Example: A member requests variable work hours to enable them to drop children at school.[9]

Glass-ceiling: "An unfair system or set of attitudes that prevents some people (such as women or people of a certain race) from getting the most powerful jobs."[10]

Leadership: "Is the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation to accomplish the mission and improve the organization."[11]

Long Hour Culture: "A way of life in which people spend many hours a day at work or working."[12]

Mentor: "An experienced and trusted adviser: an experienced person in a company, college, or school who trains and counsels new employees or students."[13]

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[9]Australian Army, *Flexible Work Arrangements: Army's Gide to Flexible Work Arrangements for Commanders and Soldiers* (Canberra: Army Headquarters, 2013), http://www.army.gov.au/Army-life/Health-and-welfare/Families/~/media/Files/Army%20life/Health%20and%20welfare/062013_FlexibleWorkArrangementsGuide_18 NOV13.pdf (accessed 18 November 2013), 9-14.

[10]Merriam-Webster, "Glass Ceiling," http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/glass%20ceiling (accessed 18 May 2014).

[11]Department of the Army, ADRP 6-22, *Army Leadership* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), 1-1.

[12]Cambridge Dictionary, "Long Hour Culture," http://dictionary.cambridge.org (accessed 9 February 2014).

[13]Oxford Dictionary, "Mentor," http://www.oxforddictionaries.com (accessed 12 September 2013).

Presenteesim: "The practice of coming to work despite illness, injury, anxiety, etc., often resulting in reduced productivity, or the practice of working long hours at a job without the real need to do so."[14]

Work-Life Balance: "One's ability to maintain a measure of control over the aspects of "when, where, and how" they are employed so that they can balance work and personal obligations."[15]

Summary

This chapter introduced the background, the problem, and provided the framework for this thesis: What issues affect the ascension of women in the Australian Army? Key terms, limitations, and delimitations were defined to provide the reader with context and a general understanding of the various aspects of the research.

The next chapter provides an overview of the literature analyzed during this research, compartmentalized into three distinct, yet related categories. Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology, while the primary and secondary questions are analyzed in chapter 4. The final chapter provides the key conclusions and recommendations.

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[14]Dictionary.Com, "Presenteesim," http://dictionary.reference.com (accessed 1 April 2014).

[15]Australian Army, *Flexible Work Arrangements*, 7.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

> There are additional reasons why achieving increased participation of women and greater diversity in the ADF is an important issue. Increased diversity will not only help the ADF to build stronger links into a diverse Australian community, but will also have significant capability benefits, in terms of facilitating broader and more nuanced perspectives that will support more effective and richer decision-making.
>
> — Major General C.W. Orme, *Beyond Compliance*, 2011

There are volumes of literature available on the various aspects associated with the ascension of women within the Australian Army. There are a variety of books and journals debating the topic of females in combat, arguing the validity of the glass-ceiling and an abundance of literature on leadership, management, and organizational culture. The key to this research is extrapolating the relevant information from all three areas and synthesizing its affect on female representation in senior officer ranks within the Australian Army.

In this chapter, the literature will be reviewed and categorized into three distinct genres:

Category One: Literature on females in the military, including in combat.

Category Two: Literature on organizational culture.

Category Three: Literature on women and society.

Category One: Literature on Females in the Military, Including in Combat

The subject of females in combat has been contested around the world for decades. Both Australia and the U.S. recently commenced the process of integrating

females in direct combat roles, although it is widely accepted that females have been serving in combat related roles for over a decade. The literature available on this topic ranges from supporters of women in combat, to those who are vehemently opposed. Despite varying opinions; the process is gaining momentum and the complete integration within Australia and the U.S. is likely. This thesis reviewed literature on this topic, to analyze one of the secondary questions on whether opening combat roles to females would eventually improve the ascension of women in the Australian Army. The thesis uses the debate to provide insight into the secondary question as opposed to analyzing the policy debate.

Should Women be Allowed to Serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces, edited by Diane Henningfield, is a collection of essays written by academics, editors, journalists, current and retired service men, lawyers, and political analysts. The authors provide differing points of view on whether females should serve in combat. Despite the opposing points of views, most authors acknowledge that females have been fighting in combat during the past decade. An essay by Michael Brower suggests that providing females the opportunity to gain combat experience will invariably generate credibility and subsequently open up career progression.[16] He concludes his essay with a quote from Martin Van Crevald (*The Transformation of War*), "The real reason why women are excluded [from combat] is not military but cultural and social."[17] An opposing view comes from Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer and conservative political analyst, "Much of the

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[16]Diane Andrews Henningfield, ed., *Should Women be Allowed to Serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces* (Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2008), 16.

[17]Ibid., 18.

demand for women in combat comes from female officers who are eager to obtain medals and promotions."[18] Although, this is an opposing view, Phyllis Schlafly does recognize the connection between combat experience and promotion. Law professor Valerie Vojdik, a prominent and active voice in woman rights for more than two decades, contests that the continued exclusion of females in combat fosters an environment of hostility and harassment. Moreover, the exclusion highlights women as "sex objects" as opposed to "warriors."[19]

   Women in Combat, by Rosemarie Skaine, takes a broader approach to the topic and examines aspects associated with women in combat, including, but not limited to, balancing family with the military, sexual harassment, and an analysis of world perspectives. Skaine makes the comment "It takes time to effect social change."[20] Further, Skaine discusses the concern that women have with separation from family during deployment, a reason many service women have provided, for exiting the military.[21] Worldwide perspectives are provided in the book, which assisted in conducting a comparative analysis.

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[18]Phyllis Schlafly, "Women Should Not Be Allowed to Serve in Combat Roles in the U.S. Armed Forces," in *Should Women Be Allowed to Serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces*, ed. Diane Andrews Henningfield (Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2008)*;* Henningfield, 20.

[19]V. K. Vojdik, "Should Women be Allowed to Serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces; The Combat Exclusion Law is Unconstitutional and Should be Struck Down," in *Should Women Be Allowed to Serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces*, ed. Diane Andrews Henningfield (Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2008), 50.

[20]Rosemarie Skaine, *Women in Combat: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 33.

[21]Ibid., 48.

Undaunted, by Tanya Biank, provides an insight into the lives of women in the U.S. military, including experiences, struggles, and commitment to achieve success in a male dominated environment. The author explores the lives of four active-duty service women, through crucial career years involving choices, changes, and growths.[22]

A Canadian Forces Leadership Institute report titled, *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues,* is the third and final book written following an international conference held in Ontario in 2002. The book explores various topics with the underlying theme of gender and diversity. The book asserts that Canadian Forces had led the way in the domain of diversity and equity. "We have opened countless doors that remain closed in other militaries and we have systematically removed employment barriers for the citizens of Canada."[23]

A global search on women in combat yielded many results, articles from the Canadian, Swedish, Australian, and U.S. perspectives all provide interesting and opposing points of views. The articles provide the basis for a comparative analysis between the Australian Army and other nations, specifically the Canadian, Swedish, and the U.S. Army, to ascertain if the removal of combat barriers has improved the representation of females in senior leadership positions.

Flexible Work Arrangements is a relatively new initiative introduced throughout the ADF from 2008. In the inception stages of FWA, there was reluctance at all levels to take advantage of the options available, partly due to the lack of understanding of the

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[22]Tanya Biank, *Undaunted: The Real Story of America's Servicewomen in Today's Military* (New York: NAL Caliber, 2013), 5.

[23]P. R. Hussey, *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues* (Ontario: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2004), iv.

policy and the concern over the possible affect on careers. FWA is not limited to females or lower rank soldiers, male soldiers and senior officers are also taking advantage of the options. The two key policy documents relating to FWA include; *Defence Instruction General–Flexible work arrangements for members of the Australian Defence Force* of 2008 and an Army guide, *Flexible Work Arrangements–Army's guide to Flexible Work Arrangements for Commanders and Soldiers* of 2013. Both documents provide the policy framework for the implementation of FWA.

Pathway to Change: Evolving Defence Culture identifies the strength of an organization's culture, as the cornerstone to capability and provides the vision for the ADF's future in terms of inculcating a more inclusive culture. The document provides an implementation plan in terms of milestones and timelines and draws on the ADF's leadership to ensure success.

Following the aforementioned incident at the ADFA, Stephen Smith (previous Defence Minister), directed a review into the treatment of women at ADFA and the wider ADF. Led by Elizabeth Broderick (Sex Discrimination Commissioner), the Australian Human Rights Commission released the report, *Review into the Treatment of Women at ADFA* to the public in two phases (2011 and 2012), which contained an extensive list of recommendations. The recommendations cover such issues as cultural change, sexual ethics programs, establishment of Residential Support Officers, and the development of a new Unacceptable Behavior Survey. The opening message in Broderick's review is "the equal treatment of women should be at the core of any Australian workplace–regardless

of its size, history or purpose."[24] This sends a clear message that the review was of vital

importance and the ADF is accountable for its actions, specifically regarding the

treatment of women. The review is both positive and scathing and provides a very

thorough insight into the past, present, and future issues facing the ADF. The final Audit

Report written by the Australian Human Rights Commission was released in March

2014.

Defence Annual Report 2012-13 Department of Defence includes a chapter on

"People–Women in the ADF Report," was released in response to one of the

recommendations outlined in the Broderick Review. The report presents information in

the four areas of women's participation, women's experience, access to flexible work,

and sexual harassment and abuse. Further, the report leveraged from extant Defence data

collection methodologies, including surveys and provides tables containing numerical

data pertaining to women in the ADF.[25]

<center>Category Two: Literature on
Organizational Culture</center>

The second category of literature focuses on organizational culture, leadership,

and management. Lieutenant General D. Morrison (Chief of the Army) is driving cultural

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[24]Australian Human Rights Commission, *Review into the Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Phase 1* (Sydney, NSW: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011); Australian Human Rights Commission, *Report into the Review into the Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Academy, Phase 2 Report* (Sydney, NSW: Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012), 1.

[25]Australian Government, *Defence Annual Report: 2012-13 Department of Defence* (Canberra, Australian Government, 2013), Supplementary Online Content, http://www.defence.gov.au/AnnualReports/12-13/default.asp (accessed 18 November 2013).

change within the Australian Army in an attempt to reduce the perceived masculine culture, which is complementing the CDF's Pathway to Change initiative. Change is complex, even more so when there is an existing entrenched culture, such as the perceived masculine culture within the Australian society and the Australian Army. *Transforming your Leadership Culture*, written by John McGuire and Garry Rhodes, provides a practical guide for achieving feasible cultural transformation. The book explores the complexity of changing organizational culture and the myth that change is beyond the reach of managers.[26]

A parallel literature, *Leading in a Culture of Change*, is a book written by Michael Fullan, provides a framework for leading change. An interesting opening statement, "The more complex society gets, the more sophisticated leadership must become,"[27] highlights the complexities with integrating societal changes into organizational cultures. The statement relates to the changing role of women in society and the subsequent requirement to adjust culture within the military.

Organization Theory, a book written by Mary Hatch, an American organization theorist, provides multiple perspectives on organizational theories and concepts. Organizational culture, conflict and contradiction in organizations, and organizational change and learning are analyzed using historical context. Hatch uses military metaphors to articulate the concept of strategy within an organization. The chapter titled, "National Cultural Influences on Organizations," provides an analysis of various countries in terms

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[26]John B. McGuire and Gary B. Rhodes, *Transforming your Leadership Culture* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 33.

[27]Michael Fullan, *Leading in a Culture of Change* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2001), v.

of individual masculinity versus femininity. Australia ranked with the countries that demonstrate a strong masculine culture.[28] The book provides a view on organizational theory, and is a good framework for exploring the organizational culture within the Australian Army.

Cultures and Organizations-Software of the Mind, by Geert Hofstede, Gert Jan Hofstede and Michael Minkov, is based on research conducted in more than 70 countries over four decades and explores similarities and differences within societies. The authors conduct country comparative analysis within the domains of: (1) Power Distance, (2) Individualism, (3) Masculinity, (4) Uncertainty Avoidance, (5) Pragmatism, and (6) Indulgence.

The authors identify that inequalities can occur in any society, however the depth of the inequality differs between nations, and is dependent on the inherent culture within that country's society. Chapter 5 explores the notion of masculinity and femininity as a dimension of societal culture; the book offers the following definition:

> A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. A society is called feminine when emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life.[29]

The *Australian Army Journal*, released quarterly, provides an opportunity for honest and open debate on subjects affecting the Australian Army. Culture was the

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[28]Mary Jo Hatch and Ann L. Cunliffe, *Organization Theory: Modern, Symbolic, and Postmodern Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 183.

[29]Geert H. Hofstede, Geert J. Hofstede, and Michael Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010), 140.

cornerstone subject for the 2013 Winter Edition of the *Australian Army Journal*, with submissions from current serving and retired Army officers and non-commissioned officers, public servants, and academics. The submissions pertaining to this thesis include:

"Steyrs and Sheilas: The Modern Role of Women in the Australian Army."

"Sexuality, Cohesion, Masculinity, and Combat Motivation: Designing Personnel Policy to Sustain Capability."

"Hazing in the ADF: A Culture of Denial."

"Family Friendly Army–First Class Policy, Second Class Implementation."

"On the Culture of the Australian Army."

"Steyrs and Sheilas: The Modern Role of Women in the Australian Army," written by Lance Corporal Hannah Evans, discusses the debate on defining the term combat and argues that combat duties are inherent in most categories, therefore women are already exposed to combat. Further, Evans discusses integration; specifically the minimal growth the Australian Army is experiencing in terms of the percentage of females, suggesting the Australian Army is not an attractive employment choice for women. The article continues with a historic examination of past and present policies pertaining to women in combat and discusses whether the agreed five-year integration plan will be effective. Evans concludes, by encouraging caution and patience to avoid the accusations of "tokenism and gender norming."[30]

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[30]Hannah Evans, "Steyrs and Sheilas: The Modern Role of Women in the Australian Army," *Australian Army Journal* X, no. 3 (2013): 53.

Lieutenant Colonel Kirsty Skinner and Ms Chloe Diggins article, "Family Friendly Army–First Class Policy, Second Class Implementation," examines the Australian Army's family friendly policies, inclusive of FWA and affordable day care. Further, the article analyzes the role of the commander in implementing and approving policy and the challenges associated with the policy implementation.[31] The authors offer recommendations for policy change including more diverse career management and improving the management skills for FWA.[32]

Major General C.W. Orme's 2011 review, "Beyond Compliance: Professionalism, Trust and Capability in the Australian Profession of Arms" analyzes the organizational culture of the ADF and the affect inappropriate behavior has on reputation and the ability to improve culture. The review clearly identifies the issues associated with the male dominated culture within the Army. "Social stratification coupled with a male dominated cultural model tends to create various manifestations of 'insiders' and 'outsiders.'"[33] He offers definitions for both terms with women falling into the "outsiders" category. An underlying argument in his review is the ADF's tendency to change administrative procedures and processes, as opposed to focusing on the requirement to cultural change.[34] This is particularly interesting in relation to his research, the FWA offers the change in policies, however does not address the cultural issues of acceptance of such policy.

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[31]Kirsty Skinner and Chloe Diggins, "Family Friendly Army–First Class Policy, Second Class Implementation," *Australian Army Journal* X, no. 3 (2013): 172.

[32]Ibid., 184.

[33]Orme, *Beyond Compliance*, 4.

[34]Ibid.

Orme's review seeks to identify the root-cause of incidents of unacceptable behavior and offers a simple framework for cultural change. He suggests that the significance of the recent spate of unacceptable behavior indicates that the ADF has a serious problem with its culture.[35] One of the final points made by Orme is the lack of diversity and subsequent poor representation rates for females at the strategic committee level. He suggests that improving the representation level would improve the performance of the senior committees.[36]

Literature on organizational culture, leadership, management, and change management provide an important framework for this research.

<div align="center">Category Three: Literature on Women and Society</div>

The study of Women and Society provides important background and context. The military is a microcosm of society; therefore examining the role women play in society, assists in making the correlation to the role women play in the military. There is wide range of literature available on this topic dating back to the 1950s. The literature selected for this research includes studies from the 1970s to present day.

Woman, Culture, and Society is a collection of essays by prominent women anthropologists analyzing the place of women in society. One of the early comments relating to the link between the role of wife and mother and the associated fewer powers illustrates an interesting paradigm, which is examined in more detail throughout this

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[35]Ibid., 11.

[36]Ibid., 22.

thesis.[37] The book provides an overview of the role women play in various societies.
Gaining an understanding on the history and role of women in society will assist in
analyzing the issues faced in the military in respect to female career progression. The
book also questions why woman have been the less dominate role for such a long period
of time and seeks to gain an understanding and potentially change the quality of women's
lives. Moreover, it discusses the role of wives and mothers and the link with fewer
powers and prerogatives.[38] One of the early essays, written by Michelle Zimbalist
Rosaldo, makes a bold statement, "in every human culture, women are in some way
subordinate to men."[39] The essay conducts comparative analyses with societies
throughout the world in an effort to draw parallels, trends, and contrast.

The glass-ceiling concept is widely studied in the corporate world and the
military. The concept suggests that there is an invisible ceiling impeding the ability for
females to progress through the ranks. Hilary Clinton used the term as she withdrew from
the U.S. Presidential campaign in 2009; she argued that the glass-ceiling had been
cracked.[40] One of the studies conducted by the U.S. Federal Government in 1992, *A
Question of Equity: Women and the Glass Ceiling in the Federal Government*, explores
the issues of female representation within senior-level and executive positions. The study

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[37]Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, Louise Lamphere, and Joan Bamberger, *Woman Culture and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 3.

[38]Ibid., 5.

[39]Ibid., 17.

[40]Tina C. Elecqua, Terry A. Beehr, Curtiss P. Hansen, and Jennica Webster, "Managers' Beliefs about the Glass Ceiling: Interpersonal and Organizational Factors," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (2009): 285.

concluded that barriers do exist for females, especially those with families, and that concerted action is required to improve the imbalance.[41]

A *Psychology of Women Quarterly* article, "Managers' Beliefs about the Glass Ceiling: Interpersonal and Organizational Factors," explores the glass-ceiling concept based on "Interpersonal Issues," "Situational Issues," and "Perception of Differential Treatment of Women by Their Employers."[42] The article analyzes the concept of the glass-ceiling by the conduct of a quantitative survey at an insurance company. The article suggests that factors including the role of managers as mentors, the existence of an "old boys" network, and access to influential friends, are variables contributing to the glass-ceiling. The existence of an, old boys, network is argued as an obstacle for women to progress within an organization, this is a concept that the current Chief of the Australian Army is addressing with vigor. Morrison recently released a short video outlining his intent in eliminating the, old boys, mentality from the Australian Army. The video was placed on YouTube and to date has received 1,388,040 views.[43]

In a study conducted by Sonia Liff and Kate Ward, *Distorted Views Through the Glass-ceiling,* based on an organizational analysis of a United Kingdom high street bank, the Long Hour culture emerged as an important issue for women in an organization. Attempting to conduct work within the core hours of an organization was perceived to

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[41]United States Merit Systems Protection Board, *A Question of Equity: Women and the Glass Ceiling in the Federal Government* (Washington, DC: Merit Systems Protection Board, 1992), i.

[42]Elecqua et al., 286.

[43]Australian Army HQ, "Chief of Army message regarding unacceptable behavior," youtube.com, June 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QaqpoeVgr8U (accessed 22 October 2013).

show a lack of commitment, therefore women who attempt to balance work and family commitments were perceived as less ambitious. Interestingly, work hours increase parallel with career progression, thereby providing a glass-ceiling for woman balancing family with career.[44] The authors discuss the lack of improvement in statistics, despite the organization's formal commitment to equal opportunity, and the internal concern relating to a lack of representation of women in senior roles. The article suggests there was a need to go beyond formal equality approaches.[45] Finally, the article discusses "masculine" characteristics and behaviors required to achieve promotion, thereby making it easier for men to be selected.[46]

"Chipping Away at the Glass Ceiling," an *American Economic Review* article by David Matsa and Amalia Miller, introduces the issue of career interruptions due to childbearing as a limit to professional advancement; an issue that is certainly prevalent in the Australian Army and was evident in the interview responses. Further, the article supports the notion that the lack of women in senior leadership impedes the ability for same-sex mentors. The article suggests that female mentors are required to help other women experience career progression. A correlation is made between the composition of an organization's board, with the selection of women to fill leadership positions, suggesting that the female share of the board may increase the desire to hire female

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[44]Sonia Liff and Kate Ward, "Distorted Views Through The Glass Ceiling: The Construction of Women's Understandings of Promotion and Senior Management Positions," *Gender, Work and Organization* 8, no. 1 (2001): 23.

[45]Ibid., 21.

[46]Ibid., 22.

executives.[47] A military board exists for the purpose of selecting personnel for both

promotion and command positions, the lack of females in senior leadership positions and

subsequently on such boards, may be seen to inhibit the selection of females for

promotion and command positions. However, increasing the female selection based on

quotas, risks the notion of tokenism in the military.

Catherine Taylor analyzes tokenism in her essay, "Glass Ceiling or Glass

Escalator? The Social Environments of Tokens in the Workplace." Catherine Taylor's

essay discusses the social support available in the workplace for both token men in a

female dominated environment, and token females in a male dominated environment.

Catherine Taylor synthesizes previous studies and concludes that there is in fact a

disadvantage for females in male dominated organizations in terms of social support

networks.[48] The reduced social support is connected to social exclusion, sexual

harassment, hostilities, lack of trust, and blocked access to promotion and high status

mentors.[49] Catherine Taylor's study refers to this disadvantage as contributing to the

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[47]David Matsa and Amalia R. Miller, "Chipping away at the Glass Ceiling: Gender Spillovers in Corporate Leadership," *American Economic Review* 101, no. 3 (2011): 635-637.

[48]Catherine Taylor, "Glass Ceiling or Glass Escalator? The Social Environment of Tokens in the Workplace" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Hilton San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, August 8, 2009), 1.

[49]Ibid., 6.

glass-ceiling.[50] Further, the study reports that women in high status, male dominated occupations are often seen as a threat, which subsequently leads to a lack of acceptance.[51]

An article co-authored by Elizabeth Gorman and Julie Kmec, titled "Hierarchical Rank and Women's Organizational Mobility: Glass Ceilings in Corporate Law Firms," initially questions the notion of the glass-ceiling and argues that previous studies have failed to support the notion of the glass-ceiling.[52] The article states there are three key factors inherent in high-ranking organizational positions; high status, work uncertainty, and the historical predominance of male incumbents. The three factors combined, triggers biases in the decision maker's evaluation of male and female candidates.[53] The article argues that female mobility in an organization is hindered by the preference of male candidates over females and females are forced to do more to prove their ability than men.[54] The article concludes with, "women's disadvantage in organizational mobility increases as they move higher in organizational hierarchies."[55] Further, the study suggests that efforts to recruit women in low-status positions will not increase women's representation at the top.[56] This final argument is interesting, as logic would suggest that

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[50]Ibid., 2.

[51]Ibid., 5.

[52]Elizabeth H. Gorman and Julie A. Kmec, "Hierarchical Rank and Women Organizational Mobility: Glass Ceilings in Corporate Law Firms," *American Journal of Sociology* 114, no. 5 (2009): 1429.

[53]Ibid., 1430.

[54]Ibid., 1431-1432.

[55]Ibid., 1465.

[56]Ibid., 1468.

increased recruitment of women should correlate with increased representation in management positions. The Australian Army introduced recruitment drives parallel with initiatives to retain women, although required in terms of sustainability of females; the study suggests that this, in itself does not improve promotion rates.

Another aspect holding women back from career progression is the innate or internal feelings of guilt associated with balancing work with family. A book written by Barbara J. Berg, aptly titled, *The Crisis of the Working Mother, Resolving the Conflict between Family and Work*, explores the issues with combining a job and motherhood, discussing such factors as guilt associated with success at work, babysitters raising children, and the perceived inequity of household chores.[57] The author uses qualitative research in the form of interviews with women from across America. The crisis of balancing work and family is one of the cornerstones of this research. The complexity of balancing a career whilst raising a family is closely linked to the opening quote of this thesis, "You can have it all, just not at the same time," and the "Long Hour culture" associated with high status positions. Arguably, if organizations kept control of the increase in 'core hours', more women would strive for career progression.

<u>Summary</u>

This chapter reviewed key literature relevant to the primary and secondary research questions. The literature review categorized the sources into three distinct areas, women in the military, organizational culture, and women and society. The research

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[57]Barbara Berg, *The Crisis of the Working Mother, Resolving the Conflict between Family and Work* (New York: Summit Books, 1986), 22.

questions nest into the three categories, providing the framework for the analysis contained in chapter 4.

The next chapter outlines the research methodology adopted to answer the research questions.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I believe that it is as much a right and duty for women to do something with their
lives as for men and we are not going to be satisfied with such frivolous parts as
you give us.

— Louisa May Alcott, *Rose in Bloom,* 1876

Chapter 2 provided an overview on the available literature related to this research, compartmentalized into the components that provide the framework for this study. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology applied in chapter 4, including the process adopted to answer the primary question: What issues affect the ascension of women in the Australian Army? Key to this research is the supporting secondary questions:

1. How does society influence military culture?

2. Is FWA effective in increasing opportunity for females to pursue career

    progression?

3. Does the masculine culture within the military impede the effectiveness of

    FWA?

4. Will the policy shift regarding females in combat improve the ascension of

    women in the Australian Army?

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this exploratory study is to determine the factors affecting the ascension of women within the Australian Army. The thesis analyzes current research and policies pertaining to the primary research question, examines the affect of societal

influences and organizational culture, and provides recommendations that may assist in improving the ascension of women in the Australian Army.

<center>Qualitative Research</center>

The qualitative research methodology adopted for this thesis is detailed in this chapter. Qualitative research was selected as the primary means to gain a thorough understanding of the issues associated with the thesis. As Michael Patton said, "Using qualitative methods is simply an interest in observing and asking questions."[58] By analyzing human behavior, contextualizing previous research in terms of the primary and secondary questions outlined in the first chapter, the researcher synthesized the data and provides an observation through a lens not previously explored. Qualitative research included personal interviews with current serving female personnel and an analysis of previous research in this field. Qualitative research presents a challenge in terms of the interpretation of the data collected, ensuring the analysis remains unbiased, and the extensive time required conducting effective and valuable research. The personnel who participated in the semi-structured interviews were key to the analysis of the human behavior aspect of this research. The researcher gained an insight from female Australian Army personnel who are directly affected by the issues impeding female ascension, through their personal experiences, reflections, and observations. The interview questions were directly linked with the primary and secondary questions, providing a framework for this thesis.

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[58]Michael Quinn Patton, *How to use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1987), 21.

Case Study Methodology

This qualitative research is complimented by an analysis of policies and practices of other countries pertaining to women in the military. Specifically, Canada, Sweden, and the U.S. were used as control groups to determine if similarities exist when compared to the Australian Army. The case studies of other armies allow for a comparative analysis and provide an interesting and valuable insight into the same issue from a different lens.

Data Collection

In qualitative research, data collection encompasses four primary methods including direct observation, interviewing, involvement in the setting, and analyzing documents or materials.[59] Interviewing and analyzing documents or materials were the two methods adopted in this research.

Interviews provide a valuable contribution to qualitative research, as it presents the researcher with information through a different lens. Marshall and Rossman accurately identify the importance of the participant's point of view, as opposed to the researcher, "The participant's perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it."[60] During the conduct of research, a vulnerability to the thesis exists when a researcher attempts to shape the direction based on inherent bias. This vulnerability can be mitigated by objectively analyzing the information collected during the interviews.

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[59]Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), 78.

[60]Ibid., 80.

Due to geographic limitations, the interviews were conducted via email. Multiple emails were exchanged between the researcher and the participant for clarification of answers. Ten participants aged 35 to 50, holding the rank of E5-O5, and balancing career and family, were selected to participate in the oral history interviews. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured framework, which provided the researcher the opportunity to expand on the structured questions when required. A semi-structured interview provides flexibility and allows the researcher to respond to the changing situation and worldview of the respondent.[61] Interviews were conducted until saturation was achieved; "in purposeful sampling the size of the sample is determined by informational considerations."[62] Saturation occurred after 10 interviews. The questions used for the semi-structured interviews may be viewed in Appendix A.

Analyzing documents or materials form another significant cornerstone of qualitative research. As research is seldom conducted without prior academic studies pertaining to the same field, it is imperative for the researcher to examine and analyze previous research. Despite the new angle or lens adopted by the researcher, previous studies can provide context and an inception point. Moreover, the previous research may form an important component of the thesis which can be leveraged, and negate the requirement to conduct further research. However, it is important for a researcher to ensure the thesis is taking a new direction and not merely regurgitating previous research. This is particularly pertinent for this research, given the recent reviews conducted by and

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[61]Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), 74.

[62]Ibid., 64.

for the ADF. The primary and secondary questions provide the divergent point from previous research.

A combination of literature from the Combined Arms Research Library, Fort Leavenworth and the Internet were used to collect a wide range of information relating to the research question. The literature review assisted in generating trends, focal points, and subsequently the development of the secondary questions. The glass-ceiling concept, females in combat and organizational culture were widely researched, however, there was a lack of the synthesis of the data to correlate with female representation in senior leadership positions in the military.

Data Analysis

The Oxford Dictionary defines "data" as: "acts and statistics collected together for reference or analysis." Analysis is defined as: "detailed examination of the elements or structure of something."[63] Collectively, data analysis is the process of collecting information and examining in detail in an attempt to identify trends, patterns, and possible friction points. As Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman identifies, "The process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative, and fascinating process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion; it is not neat."[64]

The two methods of data collection used in this thesis were interviews, documents, and materials. The data analysis synthesized the results of the two methods to

[63]Oxford Dictionary, "Analysis," http://www.oxforddictionaries.com (accessed 1 February 2014).

[64]Marshall and Rossman, 111.

develop a framework for the research. Although data analysis is a chaotic process, it is required prior to the researcher entering the coding phase.

<p style="text-align:center">Coding</p>

Coding is used to simplify and categorize data to allow the researcher to retrieve collected information logically at a later time.[65] In a sense, an element of coding commenced during the literature review. Chapter 2 presented the literature in three distinct themes:

1. Category One: Literature on females in the military, including in combat.

2. Category Two: Literature on organizational culture, leadership, and management.

3. Category Three: Literature on women and society.

The initial literature review allowed the researcher to conduct open coding, which is the forming of initial categories of information about the topic.[66] Sharan Merriam discusses coding as "Nothing more than assigning some sort of short-hand designation to various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the data."[67] During the conduct of data analysis, the coding was refined into more specific categories. The coding assisted in the development and refinement of the secondary questions, to ensure the thesis remained relevant and was presented in a logical manner. Moreover, as research is often conducted over a long period of time, coding provides a method of

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[65]Merriam, 164.

[66]John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication, 1998), 57.

[67]Merriam, 164.

organization to allow the researcher to keep track of the data collected, thoughts, musings, speculations, and hunches during analysis.[68]

<center>Interview Selection</center>

The personnel interviewed were purposefully selected and drawn from across the Australian Army comprising females ranging from the rank E5 to O5. Fraenkel and Wallen define purposive sampling as, "A nonrandom sample selected because prior knowledge suggests it is representative, or because those selected have the needed information."[69] The researcher knew the background of the selected personnel, therefore ascertained the sample would be both representative and would provide the data required for the research.[70] The female personnel ranged from career focused with children, currently on maternity leave, to officers who have opted to transition away from the traditional command career model[71] because of their family. The researcher opted against interviewing males as the thesis pertained to the ascension of females within the Australian Army. However, future studies in this field could be expanded to include aspects of male ascension or the perception and opinion of male commander's with regards to FWA and organizational culture.

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[68]Ibid., 165.

[69]Jack R. Fraenkel and Norman E. Wallen, *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*, 6th ed. (Boson: McGraw Hill, 2006), Glossary G-6.

[70]Ibid., 100-101.

[71]The Australian Army introduced a career model comprising multiple pathways including Command, Operations, Logistics, Personnel and Project Management. This provides an opportunity for officers to elect a pathway other than Command.

Role of the Researcher

The role of the researcher can be instrumental during qualitative research.[72] During the conduct of oral history interviews, the researcher is required to build the trust of the participants to entice honest and candid responses. The researcher's interpersonal skills can influence the effectiveness of the interviews.[73] Arguably, the researcher's demographic allowed trust to be established from the start, which was evident from the open and candid responses.

Summary

This chapter described the methodology adopted during this research and forms the basis for the analysis contained in the next chapter. Although an element of quantitative research, in the form of statistical analysis is used, qualitative research forms the cornerstone of this thesis.

Qualitative research consisted of data analysis, comparative analysis, and oral history interviews. The next chapter examines information in the first three chapters by analyzing and synthesizing the collected data to answer the primary and secondary research questions.

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[72]Marshall and Rossman, 59.

[73]Ibid., 64-65.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Defence has always valued–and produced–outstanding leaders. More than most other organisations, we assign tremendous responsibility to our young, junior staff, and that responsibility extends to the care and wellbeing of their peers and those they lead. We know what constitutes good leadership: character and vision. Yet there are occasions when we lose our moral centre and forge the tenets that we signed up to when we joined the Defence.

— Department of Defence (Australia),
Pathway to Change: Evolving Defence Culture

Introduction

Chapter 2 provided the literature framework for the thesis, including introducing previous research conducted in the areas of organizational culture, the glass-ceiling concept, the Long Hour culture, women in society, and women in combat. Chapter 3 described the research methodology adopted to effectively answer the primary and secondary research questions. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and synthesize the research literature to answer the primary and secondary research questions. It is important to explore and analyze the concepts, policies, and possible fallacies, to determine whether the current approach to improving the ascension of women in the Australian Army is effective and whether alternative or additional options are necessary.

Findings: Secondary Research Questions

As the secondary research questions provide the substance to answering the primary research questions and are significant components of this research, these questions are presented first to provide the reader with context.

<center>How does Society Influence Military Culture?</center>

A woman's role in society has undergone significant changes over the past half a century, more women now elect to re-enter the workforce following the birth of children.[74] In 1960, only 19 percent of women with pre-school aged children worked, by the late 1980s this percentage jumped to 52 percent.[75] This paradigm shift provides both a boost to workforce capability and a dilemma in terms of inculcating a support network conducive to the "working mother." Further, there is a dilemma women face in terms of the inherent feelings of guilt associated with working, as opposed to staying at home to care for children; an issue raised in the interview responses. The feelings of guilt are exacerbated by the difficulties in securing appropriate and suitable childcare. Moreover, there are complexities of working a profile job with long hours and synchronizing this with childcare hours. Working mothers are constantly attempting to balance the demands of both family and work commitments. Barbara Berg makes the following observation about working mothers, "They worried that they were causing emotional damage to their children by being apart form them each day, that their professional lives were being short-circuited by the time and energy they devoted to their children".[76] As hours increase commensurate with promotion, the balancing act becomes more problematic the more senior a women becomes. The paradigm shift also challenges the previously defined role of women in society. Rosaldo and Lamphere assert, "their roles as wives and mothers are

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[74]Ann Crossley and Carol A. Keller, *The Army Wife Handbook: A Complete Social Guide*, 2nd ed. (Sarasota, FL: ABI Press, 2012), preface.

[75]Berg, 17.

[76]Ibid., 20.

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associated with fewer powers and prerogatives than are the roles of men . . .

contemporary societies are to some extent male-dominated."[77] A Canadian Military

Report on gender and diversity issues identifies the changing role of women in society;

"Women have made perhaps the most dramatic gains in participation rates in all

employment and societal organizations, including the military."[78]

This secondary question is partially answered using a comparative analysis

between Australia, Canada, Sweden, and the U.S. The Geert-Hofstede study, *Cultures*

and Organizations provides an analysis of the masculinity index of countries; the

researcher compared the masculinity index to the ascension rates within the respective

militaries to determine its influence on the culture within the military.

The Canadian Army provides an interesting perspective due to the relative mature

policy regarding women in combat roles, and the moderate score of 52 for the

masculinity index of the Canadian society. The Swedish Army provides a completely

different perspective as the Swedish society is considered relatively gender-neutral. The

U.S. Army was selected due to the similarities with the societal culture and the current

policy shift regarding women in combat.

Australia is considered a male-dominated society, as supported by the Geert-

Hofstede's cultural study:

> Australia scores 61 on this dimension and is considered a "masculine" society.
> Behavior in school, work, and play are based on the shared values that people
> should "strive to be the best they can be" and that "the winner takes all."

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[77]Rosaldo and Lamphere, 3.

[78]Franklin C. Pinch et al., *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues* (Winnipeg: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, Canadian Defence Academy, 2004), 2-3.

Australians are proud of their successes and achievements in life, and it offers a basis for hiring and promotion decisions in the workplace. Conflicts are resolved at the individual level and the goal is to win.[79]

The masculine society within Australia has evolved throughout history, from early settlement, to Australia's military involvement in world conflicts, and the current stereotype of the "Aussie bloke" watching sport with his "mates." When you review the role of males in Australian society over time, there is a distinct lack of reference to Australian women.

The Australian Army's inherent masculine culture is a direct reflection of Australian society. Major General Orme, in his report of ADF personal conduct review asserts, "Social stratification coupled with a male dominated cultural model tends to create various manifestations of 'insiders' and 'outsiders.'"[80] Outsiders are generally minorities such as women. Further, Orme discusses the term "mateship" which underpins the Australian Army's values as reinforcing the masculine stereotype. The term is an example of an unconscious bias inherent within the Australian Army.[81] Recently, Lieutenant General Morrison introduced Respect as an addition to the Australian Army Values of Courage, Integrity, and Teamwork. The inclusion of Respect as the fourth value supports the CA's desire to drive cultural change. Respect is needed at all levels in order for the Australian Army to become an inclusive organization and to reduce the incidents of discriminative and unethical behavior.

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[79]Geert-Hofstede website, "Country Comparison," http://geert-hofstede.com/australia.html (accessed 2 March 2014).

[80]Orme, 4.

[81]Ibid., 18.

Despite the CA's commitment to improve culture, improve recruitment and retention of women, and increase work-life balance, there is still an issue with the ascension of women. Table 1 clearly identifies a decrease of over 10 percent from O2 to O6. It is the largest decrease between the four countries examined.

Canada shares a similar culture to Australia in terms of the historic British influence, western ideologies, and the quest to ensure the Canadian Army reflects society. The Geert-Hofstede cultural study reflects Canada's masculinity index as lower than Australia:

> Canada scores 52 on this dimension and can be characterized as a moderately "masculine" society. While Canadians strive to attain high standards of performance in both work and play (sports), the overall cultural tone is more subdued with respect to achievement, success and winning, when compared to the US. Similarly, Canadians also tend to have a work-life balance and are likely to take time to enjoy personal pursuits, family gatherings and life in general. This is not to say that Canadians are not hard workers. As a general rule, Canadians strive to attain high standards of performance in all endeavors.[82]

Canada considers itself as a leader in the integration of women in the armed forces, the National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces website states: "Canada is a world leader in terms of the proportion of women in its military, and the areas in which they can serve. Among their allies, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) are highly regarded as being at the forefront of military gender integration."[83] Similar to Australia, the Canadian society is diverse in terms of gender, ethnic, race, and religion, therefore,

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[82]Geert-Hofstede website.

[83]National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, Website, http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/index.page (accessed 7 April 2014).

face similar challenges to ensure the Armed Forces is an inclusive organization.[84] A 2012

CBC News article discusses Canada's failure to meet targets for recruiting females,

aboriginals and visible minorities. The target of 25 percent representation of women was

set in 2010, in order to better reflect Canadian society, however as of 2012, the

percentage was still below 15 percent. The article asserts that although the target has not

been achieved, Canada is still leading other like-minded democracies.[85] Matthew

Kellway, a Canadian Member of Parliament, points out the importance of the military

reflecting society, "If the Canadian Forces wants the support of the Canadian population,

it's imperative that they reflect the diversity of the population."[86] Walter Dorn, a

professor of Defence Studies at the Royal Military College of Canada states:

> The military is doing much work to improve the numbers–but still needs to do
> more to change the culture . . . there's still a tendency for white males to dominate
> the Canadian Forces. . . . By being themselves they're going to have tendencies
> and biases that aren't shared by other communities.[87]

Canada lifted the ban of women serving in combat roles in 1989, which is well in

advance of both Australia and the U.S. Despite this, the Canadian Army is also

experiencing an issue with the ascension of women. Table 1 indicates a decrease in

percentage from the rank of O2 to O6 from 16.4 to 9 percent. Similar to the Australian

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[84]Canadian Forces 2009 National Report to the Committee for Women in NATO Forces, http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/meeting-records/2009/national-reports/canada-national-report-2009.pdf (accessed 7 April 2014).

[85]Kathleen Harris, "Military missing employment equity recruiting targets: Canadian Forces still dominated by white men," CBC/Radio Canada, 2 August 2012, http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/military-missing-employment-equity-recruiting-targets-1.1255186 (accessed 7 April 2014).

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid.

Army, the Canadian Armed Forces are committed to removing discrimination, improving culture, and improving representation rates of women. Current and future initiatives include recruitment and retention, diversity and education, and family support.

Sweden is known globally as being a gender-neutral society, which is reflected in the Geert-Hofstede masculinity index. Sweden scores a 5, which is significantly lower than Australia, Canada, and the U.S.:

> Sweden scores 5 on this dimension and is therefore a feminine society. In feminine countries it is important to keep the life/work balance and you make sure that all are included. An effective manager is supportive to his/her people, and decision-making is achieved through involvement. Managers strive for consensus and people value equality, solidarity and quality in their working lives. Conflicts are resolved by compromise and negotiation and Swedes are known for their long discussions until consensus has been reached. Incentives such as free time and flexible work hours and place are favoured.[88]

This definition of Sweden's masculinity index suggests that a work-life balance is considered an important aspect of the culture. If the military reflects society, it would indicate that achieving a work-life balance in the military is relatively easy and common, which would equate to an organizational culture conducive to both the representation and ascension of women. Further, Sweden has a very generous parental leave policy, with up to 480 days paid leave following the birth of a child; this is split between both parents with one parent permitted to take up to 420 days leave.[89] However, as table 1 below illustrates, the Swedish Army comprises 12 percent women, which is a relatively low percentage, considering the gender-neutral society. Moreover, the percentage of women

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[88]Geert-Hofstede website.

[89]Your Living City, "Maternity & Paternity Leave in Sweden," http://www.yourlivingcity.com/stockholm/work-money/maternity-paternity-leave-sweden/ (accessed 8 April 2014).

at the rank of O6 is half of the percentage of O2, indicating that the Swedish Army is also experiencing an issue with both the representation and ascension of women.

The U.S. shares a similar masculine culture with Australia, with a masculine index score of 62. Given the plethora of literature available on issues associated with women in the military, it can be assessed that the U.S. Army experiences similar issues with the integration of women. This is particularly pertinent now that the U.S. has lifted the ban on women serving in combat roles. The U.S. Army is facing criticism over the perceived high level of sexual assaults, which can impede the ability to establish an inclusive organization culture. A *Washington Post* article cited a figure of 6 percent of females were victims of unwanted sexual contact, including rape. The article comments on the media's portrayal of the U.S. Army as a haven for sexual misconduct. Despite the objections from the Pentagon, the Defense Secretary, Chuck Hagel has stated his commitment to address the sexual misconduct as his top priority.[90] Decreasing the occurrence of sexual misconduct may improve the organizational culture, particular during the transition involved with lifting the ban on women serving in combat roles.

Inadvertently, the U.S. Army exacerbates the male-dominated culture and perception by supporting[91] the publication of *The Army Wife Handbook*.[92] In spite of the author's attempt to downplay the stereotyped title, it clearly portrays the role of women

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[90]Rowan Scarborough, "Doubts on military's sex assault stats as numbers far exceed those for the U.S.," *Washington Times*, 6 April 2014, http://www.washington times.com/news/2014/apr/6/doubts-on-militarys-sex-assault-stats-as-numbers-f/ (accessed 8 April 2014).

[91]Although not published by the U.S. Army, the publication is readily sold in military bookstores.

[92]Crossley.

in the military as the "wife" supporting her husband. Although, the book is quite useful in terms of a social guide, a simple rewording of the title to, *A guide for Army Spouses*, would go a long way to reflect societal changes, not only in terms of the role women play, but also the changing dynamic of the family. The "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy was repelled in 2011, paving the way for same sex couples to serve in the U.S. Army. Further, there are an increasing number of couples opting not to marry, therefore the term Army Wife is clearly outdated.

A 2012 RAND Report titled, *A New Look at Gender and Minority Differences in Officer Career Progression in the Military* examined the issues associated with the representation and promotion rates of women in the U.S. military. Focus groups conducted, determined that "women perceived themselves to have limited occupational roles and concerns about harassment and family obligations."[93] Further, the report states that female officers are less likely to be promoted than white males, particularly to the rank of O5. White male officers experience likelihood for promotion of 46.9 percent from O5 to O6, compared to 3.4 percent for white females.[94] However, table 1 illustrates that the U.S. Army percentage decrease between the ranks of O2 to O6, from 19 to 12 percent, is less than the Australian Army, which decreases from 19.5 to 9.1 percent.

The following table illustrates the relationship between the Geert-Hofstede cultural analysis and the percentages of the representation of women in the respective countries. The statistics were drawn from the following sources:

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[93]Beth Asch, Trey Miller, and Alessandro Malchiodi, *A New Look at Gender and Minority Differences in Officer Career Progression in the Military* (Santa Monica, CA: National Defense Research Institute, 2012), ix.

[94]Ibid., xi-xii.

Geert-Hofstede cultural compatibility study

Defence Annual Report: 2012-13 Department of Defence

Canadian Forces 2009 National Report to the Committee for Women in NATO

Forces

National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces Website

U.S. Army Deputy Chief of Staff Army G1 Website

Email from the U.S. Army G1 cell of 7 April 2014

Swedish Armed Forces Website

Email from the Swedish Armed Forces of 17 March 2014

Table 1.   Country Comparative Analysis

	Masculinity Index of the society	Percentage of Women in the Army	Percentage of Women at the rank of Lieutenant	Percentage of Women at the rank of Colonel
Australia	61	11	19.5	9.1
Canada	52	12.4	16.4	9
Sweden	5	12	6	3
United States	62	14	19	12

Source: Created by author.

Table 1 illustrates that there appears to be no correlation between the masculinity

of a society and the ascension of women in the military. Although Sweden has a very low

masculinity index and is considered relatively gender-neutral, there are a low percentage

of women in the military. Further, the Swedish Army appears to have similar issues as

Australia, in terms of maintaining a constant percentage from O2 to O6.

Although this comparative analysis did not identify a direct link between the Geert-Hofstede masculinity index of a society and the ascension of women in the military, it did identify the importance of the military reflecting society. Further, it identified that the Australian Army is not alone in the challenge of reducing the affect a masculine culture can have on the pursuit of an inclusive organization and the ascension of women. Franklin Pinch summarizes the extent of the challenge:

> The military's deliberately powerful socialization system and processes create and reinforce a "tight culture" in which in-groups undoubtedly develop. One of the intended consequences of these socializing influences is the development of the cohesive, highly motivated groups deemed necessary for group survival and successful missions. One unintended–often negative–result is the mergence of norms, values, and stereotypes that exclude the "not like us" groups.[95]

The challenge for the Australian Army is to balance the cultural change with the desire to maintain a culture underpinned by tradition and history. Moreover, ensuring the culture remains cohesive and motivated in order to maintain an effective operationally focused capability. A risk associated with enforcing a change in culture is the perception of tokenism and positive discrimination. Women should equate to a minimum of 15 percent in an organization to be considered more than a token,[96] as identified in table 1, Australia, Canada, Sweden, and the U.S. fail to achieve this representation. Attempts to increase representation percentage may be met with the label of positive discrimination. Despite this, in order to maintain public support and an effective capability, militaries must continue to pursue an organization that reflects society.

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[95]Pinch et al., 3.

[96]Ibid., 6.

Is Flexible Work Arrangements Effective in Increasing Opportunity
for Females to Pursue Career Progression?

This secondary question is answered in two ways, first by examining the policy

framework that underpins FWA, and secondly, by examining the responses to the oral

history interviews.

The CA identified the direct link between an enhancement of capability and

effective personal management, thus determining a requirement for a new initiative.[97]

The FWA policy was introduced as a retention initiative providing opportunities for

Australian Army personnel to more effectively balance work and family. In the FWA

Guide released in 2013, the CA detailed his expectations:

> It will be usual for all members to access informal and formal flexible work
> arrangements.
>
> It will be normal for units to plan to accommodate those arrangements in the
> development of daily routines, training, and exercise plans.
>
> There will be no disadvantage to members who access flexible work
> arrangements through careful consideration and negotiation with Commanders
> and the appropriate Career Management Agencies.
>
> Commanders will consider Flexible Work Arrangement applications with the
> expectation that they will find a way to accommodate and approve them.[98]

The CA identified the changing demographics of today's society in his

introduction to the FWA policy framework. He cited the change in terms of the family

composition, with a rise in single parent, dual parents working, and women in the

workforce. He connected the societal changes to a requirement to adjust personnel

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[97]Australian Army, *Flexible Work Arrangement*, preface.

[98]Ibid.

management policies.[99] This sentiment is complemented in Lieutenant Colonel Kirsty Skinner's article, "Family Friendly Army–First Class Policy, Second Class Implementation," "Broader societal influences have seen employment patterns change for Australian families."[100] As stated previously in this paper, the military is a microcosm of society; therefore it must be prepared to adjust policies in line with societal trends and shifts. One of which is the rising role of women in the workforce and an increasing acceptance of family friendly policies.

Unfortunately, the low percentage of personnel on a FWA, and the responses received via Skinner's survey suggest there is a stigma of non-commitment (non-competitiveness) attached to FWA, thus dissuading personnel from seeking FWA. Interestingly, 50 percent of the oral interview respondents indicated that they did not believe that being on a FWA affected their competitiveness. However, it was noted by a number of respondents that their career aspirations did change after having children, their desires for high profile positions reduced.

Although FWA is relatively nascent, less than 1 percent of Army members have entered a FWA. The low percentage suggests a significant reluctance to enter an agreement.[101] The reluctance can be linked to a lack of understanding on the policy, coupled with the negative connotation associated with FWA. Skinner identifies the management issues associated with the implementation of the policy and provides a recommendation, that managers should be provided formal training on the FWA policy.

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[99]Ibid., 1.

[100]Skinner and Diggins, 177.

[101]Ibid., 178.

A greater understanding of the policy and the identification of the link between FWA and increasing, as opposed to decreasing capability, will encourage managers to embrace the concept. Once managers begin to accept the FWA policy, more soldiers and officers may seek to enter a FWA. From the 10 oral history interviews conducted, 57 percent of supervisors had a poor understanding of the FWA policy, compared to 43 percent with a good understanding.

Battalion and company commands are key and influential leadership positions that could become the inception point for change. If battalion and company commanders actively encouraged a work-life balance, supported subordinates seeking FWA, and dissuaded extended hours, a cultural shift could be possible. As suggested in Skinner's article, education is the key to ensure battalion commanders understand not only the procedures for processing FWA, but also the capability enhancement the policy can bring.

Symmetra is an international specialist consultancy assisting clients in both the private and public sector to embed inclusive workplace cultures.[102] Symmetra recently released a White Paper, *The Conundrum of Workplace Flexibility*, highlighting the issue with the negative bias towards flexible workers. The White Paper "explores the evidence that deep-seated unconscious biases, harbored by leadership, act as a major barrier to the uptake of flexible working."[103] Symmetra identified three myths relating to flexible work:

> 1. Full-time workers are materially more assertive and self-promoting than flexible workers. This myth has its origins in the premise that flexible workers are

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[102]Cecilia Herbet, *The Conundrum of Workplace Flexibility* (Pyrmont: Symmetra, 2014), 26.

[103]Ibid., 1.

mainly female. The corollary is that assertiveness is in essence a masculine attribute and prescriptively females should exhibit 'female' behavior. This places females in the classic "double bind". If they are highly assertive they are perceived to be bossy and aggressive and if they are too retiring they are seen to be not worthy of promotion.

2. Flexible workers are considerably less ambitious than full-timers. This is an unwarranted belief. Many C-suite and self-employed business people choose their work hours and are highly driven and ambitious. There is no objective basis for concluding that an employee working flexibly who is fulfilled and satisfied with the number of work hours is of necessity less ambitious than a full-time worker.

3. Flexible workers are less committed than full-timers to developing others. This misconception finds it roots in the belief that flexible workers are generally less committed to their organizations than full-time workers. In fact, a large body of research shows that flexible workers are more motivated, engaged and committed and are just as prepared to mentor or assist colleagues and co-workers as their full-time counterparts.[104]

These three myths really provide the crux of the issues associated with implementing and embracing the concept of flexible work arrangements. Further, it highlights the possible reasons for the discrepancy between the desire for FWA and the very low percentage of personnel currently on a FWA. The study can be synthesized with the issues surrounding the inherent masculine culture within the Australian Army, particularly the myth of full-time workers being perceived as more assertive, self-promoting, ambitious, and committed. Inadvertently, this myth identifies an unconscious gender bias, reflecting an assumption that more females opt for flexible work, whereas full-time workers exhibit more masculine characteristics.[105]

The White Paper indicates that some organizations implement flexible working practices to maintain social and political correctness, without the actual appetite to

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[104]Ibid., 1-2.

[105]Ibid., 7.

effectively implement the change. Although the CDF introduced the Pathway to Change with the clear purpose to drive cultural change, it is evident the leadership framework inherent within the Australian Army does not support the desired cultural change. The lack of support is evident in the staggering low percentage of Army personnel who believe that Pathway to Change will benefit Defence, 15.6 percent of women and 20.1 percent of men indicated a positive response. Only 12.5 percent of women had seen evidence of Pathway to Change being used in their work area.[106]

Another consideration for leaders accepting FWA for subordinates is leaders themselves adopting to undertake flexible work. Some argue that you cannot be in a command position and be on a FWA, however the Symmetra paper refutes this notion, "There is no logical reason why one cannot exercise the skills of leadership while working in a flexible role." Despite this possibility, the priority remains to encourage leaders to accept Pathway to Change. Cultural change is complex and multi-layered and must be driven by leaders; the CA is certainly leading from the front and has provided the model by which Commanding Officers can emulate. Changing an institution like the Army is both an exogenous and endogenous process.

It must be noted that FWA may not always be achievable, particularly when a unit is in the readying phase of the force generation cycle. However, there are many situations where FWA is achievable without affecting capability. Further, individuals who identify a requirement to seek FWA have a responsibility to articulate this requirement (desire) to career managers to enable forward career planning. Career managers would then have the

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[106]Commonwealth of Australia, Defence Annual Report, *Women in the ADF Report*, 71.

ability to take this into account when conducting the posting plot. A trend identified in the oral history interviews indicates both a low level of understanding of FWA with supervisors and career managers and a reluctance to accept a supervisor's request. One respondent indicated that FWA was the reason she is still serving full-time, without the flexibility she would have elected to discharge. Another issue appears to be the requirement to search for a position conducive to FWA. One respondent indicated that she was forced to search for a position herself and then educate the supervisor on the policy and procedures of obtaining a FWA.

Flexible Work Arrangements is a method to assist personnel transitioning back to the workforce following maternity leave. Of the personnel interviewed, 80 percent entered a FWA following maternity leave; however one respondent indicated she did not enter a FWA due to the affect it would have had on her competitiveness.

Does the Organizational Culture Within the Military Impede the Effectiveness of FWA?

Culture within an organization can affect a leader's ability to make changes, improve effectiveness, and to create an inclusive environment. Culture within the Australian Army has been identified as masculine, thus providing an obstacle for Pathway to Change. This secondary question will be analyzed in four parts: leadership, presenteesim,[107] the Long Hour culture, and the glass-ceiling.

The leadership-training continuum within the Australian Army is not a continual process and is limited in content. The current framework includes a five-day Command, Leadership, and Management Training module, delivered to captains in order to provide

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[107]Presenteesim is defined in the definitions section.

the necessary skills in preparation for company command. Command, Leadership, and

Management Training comprises the following topics: (1) Military Risk Management;

(2) Brigade Commander's Expectations of a Major; (3) Commanding Officer's

Expectation of a Major; (4) Reflections on Sub Unit Command; (5) Law of Armed

Conflict; (6) Ethical Leadership; (7) Resolving Workplace Conflict; (8) Command

Philosophy; (9) Dimensions of Leadership.[108] Although important topics, there is a clear

omission of leadership topics that provide company commanders the ability to transition

from tactical to organizational leadership.

The Australian Command and Staff College, prepares officers at the rank of O4

for future command and staff appointments. Although the Australian Command and Staff

College delivers a more robust leadership module, the leadership topics still do not

address complex contemporary leadership challenges, nor does the training provide

future battalion commanders with the necessary knowledge to affect organizational

change. The leadership seminars, delivered throughout the year, are one hour in duration

(totaling 11 hours per year). The topics include: (1) What top leaders do; (2) Making a

difference; (3) Self-appointment and anointment; (4) Importance of a Vision; (5) Leader-

follower relationship; (6) Ethos and Ethics; (7) Physical and mental demands of top

office and decision-making; (8) Imperatives of effective leadership (9) Contemporary

leadership challenges.

Delivering one-hour lessons twice a month does not provide the training

environment conducive to analysis, discussion, and to ensure the information resonates

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[108]Land Warfare Centre, Officer Training Wing, Command, Leadership,
Management Training schedule, 2014.

with the students. Further, the topics do not directly address the Pathway to Change desired organizational cultural change. The Australian Command and Staff College is attended by a small percentage of high performing Australian Army officers, thus precluding a large percentage of O4s. As Fullan identifies in *Leading in a Culture of Change*, "The more complex society gets, the more sophisticated leadership has become."[109] Leadership topics that are critical to successful organizational leadership and to create a learning organization include but are not limited to: (1) Leading Organizations in Change; (2) Organizational Culture and Climate; (3) Developing Learning Organizations; (4) Organizational Stress and Resilience; (5) Implementing an Organizational Vision; (6) Developing Leaders; (7) Effective Followership; (8)Moral Courage.[110]

The topics listed above are delivered to students at the United States Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Leadership training is delivered in two modules; L100 focuses on Developing Organizations and Leaders, and L200 transitions to Command and Leadership Applied. In total 42 hours of leadership training is delivered to students. This model compared to the leadership training delivered during Command, Leadership, and Management Training highlights a lack of emphasis on the importance of effective leadership. The Command, Leadership, and Management Training fails to define and deliver the leadership skills required during the transition to organizational leadership, particularly as the Australian Army attempts to develop a positive climate for cultural change. Therefore, it is evident that the current leadership-

[109]Fullan, v.

[110]Command and General Staff Course L100 and L200 Leadership Model, 14-01

training continuum delivered in the Australian Army, is not adequate to support the

CDF's Pathway to Change, inclusive of the acceptance of FWA.

The Canadian Forces report, *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, identifies the importance of effective leadership during cultural change, "Effective leaders recognize that people are different. They also understand that one approach does not fit all, and that both diversity and gender integration within groups are strengths not weaknesses."[111] The Australian Army is an organization with a firmly established leadership framework and an entrenched culture; therefore any desire to adjust the culture will need a strong commitment from the leadership. In *Transforming your Leadership Culture*, John B. McGuire discusses five components of leadership; "moral purpose, understand the change process, develop relationships, foster knowledge building, and strive for coherence–with energy, enthusiasm, and hopefulness."[112] All of which are important components for driving cultural change.

Within the oral history interviews, it was noted that COs were reluctant to take on an officer on a FWA due to the perception that reduced work hours equated to reduced capability. Lieutenant Colonel Skinner identified this issue in her research, "the key obstacle in implementing flexible working arrangements is the culture of presenteeism."[113] In the conduct of her research, Skinner conducted a survey to ascertain

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[111]Franklin C. Pinch, Allister T. MacIntyre, Phyllis Browne, and Alan C. Okros, ed., *Challenge and Change in the Military: Gender and Diversity Issues*, preface by B. Horn (Winnipeg: Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, Canadian Defence Academy, 2004), v.

[112]McGuire and Rhodes, 11.

[113]Ibid.

the effectiveness of FWA; one survey respondent highlights the issue of presenteeism, "the belief that if you are not standing in front of your commander you are not productive member of the team."[114]

The issue of presenteesim can be viewed parallel with the Long Hour culture. The Long Hour culture is defined as "a way of life in which people spend many hours a day at work or working."[115] A synthesis of the data analyzed in this research identified the Long Hour culture as a significant barrier affecting the ascension of women in both the military and civilian organizations. In Liff and Ward's report, the Long Hour culture emerged as an important factor affecting the representation of women in senior management positions. The report provides an interesting perspective on the affect of organizational culture on female progression; it introduces the possibility that women are not rejecting managerial positions, more so they are rejecting the way in which such positions are organized.[116] Interviewees identified the characteristics consistent with promotion were more problematic for women to achieve. Moreover, the conflict between senior management jobs and active parenting was identified as a significant factor affecting career progression. Although the organization used in the case study was assessed as embracing equal opportunities, the inherent Long Hour culture was seen as a contradiction. Further, the report identified a clear connection between a willingness to

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[114]Ibid.

[115]Cambridge Dictionary, "Long-Hours Culture," http://dictionary.cambridge.org (accessed 9 February 2014).

[116]Liff and Ward, 19-20.

work long hours and ambition and commitment.[117] Responses to Skinner's survey suggest the Long Hour culture is a barrier for women attempting to establish a work-life balance. Therefore, the success of the FWA policy is in conflict with the inherent Long Hour culture within the Australian Army. 100 percent of the oral history interviewees who have entered a FWA indicated that the policy enabled them to achieve a work-life balance. One respondent indicated that FWA was the reason she was still serving in the Army.

Symmetra's White Paper makes the assertion that there is no rational basis equating the number of hours worked to ambition. The paper refers to previous studies that affirmed there is no basis between the aspirations of part-time versus full-time workers. Further, the paper also draws comparisons to Generation Y and the change in mindset in terms of the reliance on technology and a desire for flexibility. Younger employers perceive flexible work as normal and appreciate the benefits that modern technology brings to the ability to be "flexible."[118] Based on this finding, it could be argued that perhaps the cultural change desired through Pathway to Change, will be much easier to both accept and implement once the preponderance of Australian Army leaders are in fact Generation Y. Despite this assertion, the Australian Army has a responsibility to reflect society, therefore current leaders must accept the conditions contained within Pathway to Change and be actively supporting and encourage the notion of flexible work.

The glass-ceiling concept is widely studied in the corporate world and the military. The concept suggests that there is an invisible ceiling impeding the ability for

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[117]Ibid., 23.

[118]Ibid., 9.

females to progress to the next level. The Long Hour culture is an element of the glass-ceiling concept. Women are reluctant to aspire to senior positions due to the associated long hours, which could be seen as a glass-ceiling. David Matsa and Amalia Miller's article, "Chipping Away at the Glass Ceiling: Gender Spillovers in Corporate Leadership," highlights the low representation of women in executive positions, "Although women make up 47 percent of the overall labor force, they account for only six percent of corporate CEOs and top executives."[119] The article also asserts, "Women may shy away from competition for promotions or choose to avoid the stress and work-life imbalance associated with occupying the executive office suite."[120] This was certainly a trend identified in the responses to the oral history interviews. Of the personnel interviewed, 80 percent indicated that their career aspirations changed once they had children, they no longer considered themselves competitive. Further, career interruptions due to childbirth and subsequent maternity leave also affects competitiveness. Based on the 10 oral history interviews, 8.8 months was the average time for maternity leave. Many of the respondents indicated that between 9 to 12 months was the optimum time for maternity leave. Three of the respondents indicated they were pressured back to work early due to securing childcare placements and the pressure of remaining competitive. Depending on the individual's circumstance and the time of the year, an absence of between 8 to 12 months may equate to a missed Performance

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[119]Matsa and Miller, 635.

[120]Ibid.

Appraisal Report,[121] which can certainly affect competitiveness. The current policy

indicates that a member can take up to 52 weeks of maternity leave, comprising 14 weeks

paid, without affecting the member's cohort, which aims to protect the member from

being disadvantaged due to having a child.[122] However, this policy maybe

counterintuitive, it could be argued that it places unnecessary pressure on the female to

return to work to avoid missing a Performance Appraisal Report. Perhaps it would be

more in the interest of the female in terms of both career and pressure, to insert an option

for the female to drop a cohort for absences of over eight months. This would allow the

female to take the optimal 9 to 12 months on maternity leave without the stress of

missing a Performance Appraisal Report.

<div align="center">

Will the Policy Shift Regarding Females in Combat Improve
the Ascension of Females in the Australian Army?

</div>

Chapter 2 presented various points of views surrounding the argument regarding

females serving in combat roles within the military. As discussed in chapter 1, this thesis

did not seek to contribute to the debate on whether women should be permitted in

combat; instead it analyzes the effect the policy may have on the ascension of women in

the Australian Army.

As discussed in the introduction, the 2011 ADFA scandal and subsequent Human

Rights Commission reports triggered the change in policy regarding women serving in

combat roles. This is a major and significant cultural shift that has vocal critics on both

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[121]Performance Appraisal Report is issued to members of the Australian Army on an annual basis and is the tool used to determine the member's relative ranking and competitive for postings, promotions, and command positions.

[122]Commonwealth of Australia, *Pay and Conditions Manual*, Division 1, Part 4.

sides. First, there is no doubt that females have been and are currently fighting in front line units. Both the Canadian and U.S. Army have experienced female casualties in the current conflict in Afghanistan. Tanya Biank refers to the 2012 Pentagon decision to allow women to be officially assigned to combat battalions as "finally giving a team jersey to a player who had been hitting home runs in the field for years."[123] The argument centers on the ability for females to serve in direct combat roles such as infantry, armor, and artillery. Many critics base their argument on the female physique or the fact society is not ready. The latter argument has been somewhat quashed given the fact females have been killed in combat. Societal influence cannot be understated; however can the relationship between society and the military be reversed, with the military leading society? Certainly this has happened in the past, including the 2005 acceptance and recognition of same sex relationships in the Australian Army. Military members in same sex relationships are now completely recognized and receive the same benefits in terms of housing and postings as heterosexual members. This is in contrast to society where the debate continues regarding the recognition of same sex relationships.

Despite the opposing opinions on whether females should serve in combat, will the revised policy benefit women in term of ascension? Arguably, the past restrictions exasperates the warrior versus non-warrior mentality in the Australian Army, which in turn invariably creates the superior—inferior relationship between males and females. This notion is supported in Hatches study on masculine versus feminine national cultures. Australia is assessed as being one of the more masculine cultures globally. In masculine cultures, men are expected to be more assertive and women more nurturing. Moreover,

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[123]Biank, 4.

masculine cultures place greater emphasis on assertiveness and decisiveness and feminine cultures experience a greater equality.[124] This study highlights the gender stereotype of men being the assertive decision makers, translating into effective leaders in the military. Conversely, women are the nurturing type, therefore are more suited to raising a family. Valorie K. Vojdik supports this argument in her article, "The Combat Exclusion Law is Unconstitutional and Should Be Struck Down,"

> The refusal of military leaders to open their ranks to qualified women does not rest on mistaken judgments about their capabilities, but upon a deep-seated hostility toward females which is institutionalized through a range of social practices that privilege masculinity and demean femininity.[125]

Vojdik draws the parallels between the exclusion of women in combat and the inherent inequality existing in the military, "the exclusion of women from combat preserves the ideology of masculinity or "manhood," rationalizing male access to power."[126] The challenge is to redefine the term warrior in a more inclusive manner, to afford the opportunity for males and females to be referred to and connect with, the term warrior.

Credibility is another component of the argument of woman in combat. To be appointed as a maneuver brigade commander or Chief of the Australian Army, an officer must have a combat background. Previously, this meant that only men were qualified to command such organizations. As these positions are seen as the pinnacle of success, the inability of women to be selected further exacerbates the divide between men and women

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[124]Hatch and Cunliffe, 184-185.

[125]Vojdik, 44-45.

[126]Ibid., 45.

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and enhances the masculine culture. Phyllis Sclafly, in her article, "Women Should not be allowed to serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces," makes a bold assertion, "Much of the demand for women in combat comes from female officers who are eager to obtain medals and promotions."[127] The author also asserts that lifting restrictions will create an androgynous society.[128] There is no evidence in her article to substantiate either claim. Sclafly further strengthens the argument of women in combat by making the connection between serving in combat and promotions. A 2012 RAND report assessed the affect of restricted occupations on female promotion rates, by comparing career progress for women in occupations partially closed to them, with that in occupations fully open to them. The report concluded that there was no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of reaching O6. However, the report identified that an unanswered question remains regarding whether lifting or reducing career restrictions will affect career progression.[129]

Mackubin Thomas Owens asserts that the presence of women in combat erodes unit cohesion, he draws parallels with Clausewitz's "fog and friction of war" suggesting women add to the friction.[130] A contrasting argument is to question why unit cohesion is defined and restricted to the same sex. Owen's argument suggests that mixed gender teams are not as cohesive as male only teams. This assertion only strengthens the

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[127]Sclafly, 20.

[128]Ibid., 21.

[129]Asch, Miller, and Malchiodi, viii.

[130]M. T. Owens, *Physical Differences Make Women Incompetent in Combat Roles*, in *Should Women be Allowed to Serve in Combat in the U.S. Armed Forces,* ed. Diane Andrews Henningfield (Farmington Hills: Greenhaven Press, 2008), 40.

argument regarding the requirement for cultural change in the Australian Army. Vojdik augments the unit cohesion discussion when describing the Joint Chiefs of Staff objections to women on combat based on unit cohesion and effectiveness. Her article insinuates policy makers deliberately use the affect on unit cohesion to perpetuate the argument against lifting the restriction on females serving in combat.[131]

As previously mentioned in this thesis, the cultural issues inherent in the Australian Army were recently thrust into the spotlight, resulting in the CA recognizing the need to change the masculine culture and shift towards a more inclusive culture. The CDF's Pathway to Change is the policy that aims to drive the cultural change. Lifting the ban on women serving in combat roles may compliment Pathway to Change by removing the warrior versus non-warrior mentality.

Synthesizing the results of this question, it could be argued that the lifting of restrictions on combat roles may eventually bridge the gap of warrior versus non-warrior, thus building a culture of better equality. The preponderance of arguments surrounding the debate on whether women should serve in combat, centers around the issues of the masculine culture. However, it must be stated that there is no data or analysis to suggest that removing restrictions on women serving in combat will improve promotion rates for women.

<center>Summary</center>

Society influences the organizational culture within the military; however, the Gert-Holfstede masculinity index of a society does not necessarily affect the ascension of

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[131]Vojdik, 47.

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women in the military. The Australian Army is not alone in the issue of female integration and representation percentages, Canada, Sweden, and the U.S. are all facing the similar concerns.

Flexible Work Arrangements provides soldiers and officers an excellent opportunity to establish a greater work-life balance. However, the number of personnel on a FWA indicates either a reluctance of the both the supervisor and the member, or a lack of understanding of the policy and availability. Leaders are the key to inculcate a better understanding and acceptance of the policy. The introduction of Pathway to Change will compliment the FWA Policy; however there is currently a lack of understanding on the policy framework.

Lifting the ban on women serving in combat roles may reduce the warrior mentality and subsequent masculine culture; however there is no evidence to suggest that this will improve the ascension rate of women.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We are a national institution. Our ranks are open to every person whose allegiance is to Australia regardless of their race, their gender, their sexual preference or by what name they call their God.

— Lieutenant General D. Morrison,
Speech, "Respect the Fourth Value Remarks", Townsville, 4 July 2013

Conclusions

The issues affecting the ascension of women in the Australian Army are not mutually exclusive; instead they overlap and influence each other. The conclusions are categorized within the secondary research questions.

How does Society Influence Military Culture?

The organizational culture within the Australian Army is influenced by the masculine culture inherent in Australian society, which is supported by the Geert-Hofstede masculinity index. Both Canada and the U.S. share a relatively high masculinity index, thus both militaries are considered to have a masculine culture. Sweden has a relatively gender-neutral society; therefore, the Swedish Army should have a gender-neutral culture. However, the Swedish Army has very low female representation rates within the officer ranks, approximately half of both the Australian and U.S. Army. Further the ascension rates within the Swedish Army are also low; the percentage rate from O2 to O6 is halved from 6 to 3 percent. Therefore, it can be surmised that although society does influence the organizational culture of a military, it does not necessarily directly affect the ascension rate of women. However, the masculine culture can affect

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the retention of women and the implementation of initiatives to increase flexibility within

the workforce.

Is Flexible Work Arrangements Effective in Increasing Opportunity
for Females to Pursue Career Progression?

Flexible Work Arrangements has improved the work-life balance of officers

within the Australian Army; however the participation rates are significantly low with

less than 1 percent of personnel entering an agreement. There is reluctance amongst

officers that FWA will affect competitiveness and job selection. Commanding Officers

appear to be hesitant in both approving and encouraging subordinates to undertake FWA,

as it is perceived that reducing hours at work equates to a decrease in capability.

Does the Organizational Culture Within the Military
Impede the Effectiveness of FWA?

Pathway to Change is an effective policy framework, comprising the right

language and realistic goals; however there is a lack of understanding on its content

including intent.

The Long Hour culture is prevalent in the Australian Army and can dissuade

women to seek profile positions due to the inability to achieve a work-life balance.

Profile positions are required to remain competitive and subsequently compete for both

command and promotion. This directly affects the ascension of women. Further, it is less

likely that FWA will be achievable in profile positions.

Major General Orme's aptly titled report into ADF culture, *Beyond Compliance:*

Professionalism, Trust and Capability in the Australian Profession of Arms, offers a

framework for cultural change.[132] The term "beyond compliance" speaks directly to the leadership responsibilities within the Australian Army. A commitment to support Pathway to Change and FWA is required by leaders at all levels. However, the current Australian Army leadership training continuum lacks depth and content including important topics such as understanding organizational culture, change management, effective followership, moral courage, and developing leaders.

Will the Policy Shift Regarding Females in Combat Improve the Ascension of Females in the Australian Army?

There is no current and substantive data or analysis to suggest that lifting the restriction on women serving in combat roles will directly improve the ascension of women in the Australian Army. However, allowing women to serve in combat may assist in reducing the warrior versus non-warrior mentality, which in turn may assist in establishing a more inclusive culture. An inclusive culture is more conducive to equal opportunities and possibly the acceptance of flexible work practices.

Recommendations

Leadership is such an important component to establishing an effective and inclusive organization. This is particularly critical during periods of transition, including efforts to drive cultural change. The current leadership training within the Australian Army is inadequate and does not provide our leaders with the knowledge and tools to support Pathway to Change and to lead change. FWA is not being completely embraced nor supported, which can change with a mindset adjustment from leaders. Further,

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[132]Orme, *Beyond Compliance: Professionalism, Trust and Capability in the Australian Profession of Arms*, 5.

Pathway to Change is not widely understood nor supported. The following

recommendations are made:

> Restructure and formalization of the Australian Army Leadership Training Continuum within both the Command, Leadership, and Management Training and Australian Command and Staff College. Topics to be considered are: Leading Organizations in Change; Organizational Culture and Climate; Developing Learning Organizations; Organizational Stress and Resilience; Implementing an Organizational Vision; Developing Leaders; Effective Followership; Moral Courage.[133]

> Formal leadership training to be delivered at each rank level and be tailored to be

relevant to the leadership challenges faced at the next rank.

> Pre-Command Course to include a greater emphasis on the Pathway to Change

and FWA policies and its benefits to Defence.

> Pathway to Change to be delivered formally as an interactive session between

leaders and subordinates. Discussion to be highly encouraged and led by a minimum of

company commanders.

> Career Management Agencies develop a greater understanding of FWA and

identify suitable positions conducive to FWA. An increased dialogue between Career

Management Agencies, potential units, and personnel returning from maternity leave

would improve the transition back to the workforce and enable FWA to be explored and

established.

> Females provided the option to drop a cohort for maternity leave that exceeds

eight months to reduce the pressure and stress of missing a Performance Appraisal

Report.

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[133]Command and General Staff Course L100 and L200 Leadership Model, 14-01.

Reflections

This thesis provided the researcher with an invaluable insight into the various contemporary issues affecting the ascension of women in the Australian Army. As the scope of the thesis was limited, there is the fear that important and relevant information pertaining to the topic was omitted. Further, the qualitative nature of the research, coupled with ever evolving policy on cultural issues within the Australian Army, forced the researcher to continually review the literature, specifically policy, to ensure the thesis remained relevant and up to date. The oral history interviews provided the researcher perspectives and observation through a different lens. The challenge was to ensure these perspectives and observations were accurately captured, synthesized, and articulated within the data analysis of the thesis. Moreover, the researcher was left speculating whether the questions were structured effectively to facilitate and assist with the analysis of the thesis. The greater the depth of the analysis, the more effective the questions could have been structured to support the thesis. An observation made by the researcher was the overwhelming trend that some women are content with the decision to transition away from a competitive career path in favor of spending more time with their families. This cannot be neglected from the discussion on the ascension of women. Despite this observation it remains important to ensure the choice is available, obstacles are removed, and the military reflects society in terms of establishing a greater work-life balance.

During the conduct of the research, the sensitivity of this topic was realized. The topic of female equality, the feasibility of work-life balance, and cultural issues within the military draws a plethora of opinions and observations. The topic is relevant and has considerable implications for the Australian Army.

In closing, the researcher is very obliged to the female personnel who agreed to be interviewed and spent time considering the questions and providing in-depth, relevant, and personal responses.

Chapter Summary

Recommendations made in this thesis are not insurmountable, are relatively resource neutral, and can be implemented within a short timeframe. The benefits of a more robust and effective leadership framework are significant, in not only supporting and driving cultural change, but also to address contemporary leadership challenges. Our leaders are insufficiently equipped to face the complex issues inherent in today's society and to prepare for future conflicts. Moreover, establishing a more inclusive culture within the Australian Army will enhance capability, improve organizational effectiveness, and ensure all personnel are treated equally. Improving the ascension rate of women in the Australian Army will ensure the Army accurately reflects the society from which it is drawn.

APPENDIX A

RESERCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were used:

1. How successful have you been balancing family and career from the conclusion of maternity leave until 2013?

2. How long were you on maternity leave for? Did you feel that this time period was adequate?

3. Please describe your transition back to work following maternity leave?

4. Did you enter a Flexible Work Arrangement (FWA) during the period between your maternity leave and 2013? (If no, please proceed to Q9)

5. If so, how did you find the acceptance of the FWA from both your superior and peers?

6. Did your supervisor appear to have a good understanding of the policy and procedures?

7. Did the FWA assist you in balancing family and career?

8. Do you believe that being on a FWA impacted your competitiveness and subsequent career management decisions?

9. Have you used a senior mentor for career management decisions and advice?

10. If so, did this mentor assist in your career decisions, particularly pertaining to balancing family and career?

11. Did your career aspirations change when you started a family? (If so, please describe).

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