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Culture Shift to Bridge the Gap: How the Canadian Armed Forces Can Become an Employer of Choice

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**CULTURE SHIFT TO BRIDGE THE GAP: HOW THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES
CAN BECOME AN EMPLOYER OF CHOICE**

By Lieutenant-Colonel L.J. Rediger

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian Armed Forces is struggling to recruit enough people to keep up with rates of attrition, is failing to meet its obligations under the Employment Equity Act and its own diversity strategy is having little, to no, discernible affect on recruitment or attrition rates. This paper argues that the CAF needs to fundamentally change its organisational culture and its members' attitudes towards diversity and social change in order to attract, retain and support a diverse workforce that serves Canadian interests.

The CAF presents all employment equity groups with unique and overlapping barriers to their attraction, recruitment and retention. This paper focuses on the female experience within the CAF, with a lens on culture. Barriers include the troubled history of gender integration, the public's perception of the institution, and systemic problems with the recruiting system. It also delves into barriers caused by the CAF's sexualized culture, the negative attitudes regarding social change, as well as a lack of family support.

Contrasting these barriers with current plans, outstanding recommendations and recent reports, produced a list of policy and cultural gaps that need closing to transform the CAF from an employer of last resort into an employer of choice for women. A culture shift is required to produce meaningful change of both policy and culture. To facilitate this change the CAF needs to be authentic in its pledge for change, following it up with clearly laid out and poignant action. It needs to invest the resources and political will necessary to create a readiness for change through communication, education and open discussion. Changes needs to be participatory. Concerns from those who resist need to be considered, but if found wanting, attitudes and behaviour need to be corrected.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This was a very difficult paper for me to write. I am torn between pride in the work that the Canadian Armed Forces does for Canada and the world everyday, and disappointment with its imperfections. Too many people have been hurt by those who should be working together to protect others. However, the first step to healing is acknowledging that there is a problem, and with that I believe we are well underway.

The challenge is tremendous, but pales in comparison to the challenges of all those amazing women who came before me. Their struggles, perseverance and endurance laid the groundwork so that I could get to where I am today, and they continue to motivate me to improve the institution for those that will come after me.

I could not have completed this work, nor endured these twenty years in the CAF without my amazing family. To my heart, my husband, retired Master Warrant Officer, and current domestic concierge, Steve, thank you for your love, your patience, your motivation and your unwavering support.

To all the strong women in my family, specifically my mother, my sister-in-law, my aunts, my nan and my cousins, watching you thrive and make waves in this world is nothing short of inspiring, don't let anything stop you.

To my fellow service women, I am here for you always, because I know you are there for me. Let's make our own waves, take on the mantle left by our predecessors and drive those yard sticks forward, so that those who come after us will find a place where they can serve and make a difference in the world, in a positive, safe and inspiring Canadian Armed Forces.

I've learned that people will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel.

— Maya Angelou

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is openly struggling to recruit enough people to keep up with rates of attrition.¹ It is also failing to meet its obligations under the Employment Equity Act (EEA) and its own diversity strategy is having little to no discernible affect on recruitment or attrition rates.²

Reflecting on my own reasons for joining the CAF twenty years ago and contrasting them to the disconcerting conversations I consistently experience now with my peers and subordinates, I am struck by emotions of ambivalence. The juxtaposition between the pride I feel in the underlying purpose of the CAF, in service to Canadians and people worldwide, is severely contrasted with the institution's failure to embrace diversity and to follow its own pledge to "respect the dignity of all persons".³ So much so, that many of my comrades actively dissuade their children from joining the service. I find myself saddened by the loss of institutional credibility, embarrassed of my past

¹ Canada, *Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 15 June 2020), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/proactive-disclosure/supp-estimates-a-2020-21/other-issues/personnel.html#toc6>.

² Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

³ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#; Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng; Canada, *A-PA-005-000/AP-001, Duty with Honour: The Profession of Arms in Canada* (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2009), 31, <http://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/duty-with-honour-2009.html>.

blindness to many systemic social problems and motivated to be part of the solution. The CAF's current organisational culture is not attracting sufficient diversity, and this lack of diversity affects its institutional credibility.⁴ A better understanding of which aspects of the CAF's organisational culture are incongruent with its diversity goals is required to be able to move the organisation forward.

I decided to join the CAF after five years of positive experiences in the Army Cadet Program. I wanted a career where I could be part of something bigger, with purpose, and where I could contribute meaningfully to society. I considered myself, and still do to an extent, altruistic. The fact that the military could provide me an education, in my chosen field, at no cost to me was just a bonus. My initial years, learning, experiencing new environments, meeting new and interesting people, and serving my country "as one of the boys" was exhilarating and filled me with pride.

Reflecting on that period now, without the blinders of youth, I can see clearly the cultural barriers I had faced. Those I shared with my cohort, and those that differed from my male counterparts. The culture of the training system, and of the military college, spurred me to make decisions according to what I felt was expected of me, rather than what I felt was right. The fear of being left out, or not proving myself as a warrior, prompted me to participate and bare witness to the highly sexualized and alcohol focused

⁴ David Akin, "Canada's Armed Forces, struggling to hit diversity goals, turns to new digital recruiting tools," *Global News*, last modified 14 September 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4450927/canada-armed-forces-diversity-goals-digital-recruiting/>; Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng; Canada, *Total Women Officers and Non-commissioned Members in the Canadian Armed Forces Regular Force* (Ottawa, Government of Canada, last accessed 15 January 2021), <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/b1387439-a242-4b91-bff4-300a2aa2c599>.

culture of the CAF. I can also see clearly now, the toxic culture that would have made that experience poisonous for Indigenous people, visible minorities, non-Christians, and members of the LGBTQ2 community. There are innumerable examples of events and behaviours within the training system that were not only condoned, but encouraged including inappropriate sexualized behaviour, cultural appropriation, the use of derogatory language, and other behaviour inappropriate for military members, and especially, future leaders.⁵ Although many of these ‘traditions’ have been faded out, their legacy persists within CAF culture and is manifested throughout the entire organisation in the form of negativity towards inclusion and diversity.

My experiences are antidotal but reflect the reality of many others that have been documented in various reports and audits on the CAF over the last few years.⁶ On top of relatively high attrition rates over the past decade, specifically for women,⁷ and the

⁵ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, i, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>; Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 96, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009); Andrea Lane, “Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces,” *International Journal (Toronto)* 72, no. 4 (2017): 473, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

⁶ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#; Canada, *2018 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2018, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201811_05_e_43203.html; Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng; Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>.

⁷ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#; Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Regular*

frustration of having to continuously defend my choice to remain in the institution and consequence I witnessed most, time and time again, is that my colleagues do not want their children to go through the same experiences and so would not recommend the CAF as a career to anyone.

The CAF, which has provided me the opportunity to attain an education, experiences, adventure, friendships, and empowerment, is failing to adapt with Canadian society.⁸ It is also missing out on the potential and skills that a more diverse, people focused CAF could offer as force enablers.⁹ Unfortunately, instead of embracing change, change is being forced upon the institution in the form of legislation and public pressure.¹⁰ Internal resistance to this change has acted as a catalyst, accelerating the CAF's transition from an employer of choice (EOC), for those looking to serve their country, get an education, and experience the world, into an employer of last resort, in

Force Attrition by Officers and Non-Commissioned Members (Ottawa, Government of Canada, last accessed 15 January 2021), <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/c48a7ca3-8d53-470b-90c9-87decc3801c1>.

⁸ David Akin, "Canada's Armed Forces, struggling to hit diversity goals, turns to new digital recruiting tools," *Global News*, last modified 14 September 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4450927/canada-armed-forces-diversity-goals-digital-recruiting/>; Lee Berthiaume, "Canada Aims for Greater Diversity in Military," *The Globe and Mail*, last modified 26 June 2017, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/newspapers/canada-aims-greater-diversity-military/docview/1913223048/se-2?accountid=9867>; CBC, "Visible Minorities under-represented in Canadian Forces: Stats Can," *CBC News*, last modified 23 July 2008, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/visible-minorities-under-represented-in-canadian-forces-statscan-1.740382>.

⁹ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 23, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>; Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 93 (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009). Karen A. Jehn, Gregory B. Northcraft, and Margaret A. Neale, "Why Differences make a Difference: A Field Study of Diversity, Conflict, and Performance in Workgroups," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1999): 741, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/why-differences-make-difference-field-study/docview/203946264/se-2?accountid=9867>.

¹⁰ Canada, *Canadian Force Employment Equity Regulation*, (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>; Canada, *Employment Equity Act* (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/e-5.401/>.

which its members simply strive to endure until they can find a better opportunity or can retire.¹¹ Illustrative example of all of these effects will be explored throughout this paper.

It is not that the CAF has changed overmuch, it is actually that Canadians have changed. Demographics, values and priorities have evolved and are reflected in the wants and needs of those in the CAF and those who may be interested in serving their country through this institution.¹² For the CAF, failure to adapt translates into decreased legitimacy, relevance, credibility, and eventual obsolescence. People looking for a career will not be drawn to such an institution.¹³

The scope of this problem is tremendous and therefore cannot be fully explored in a single research project. It is not the intent of this paper to argue that CAF cultural changes are needed for just one specific group, but rather that cultural change will benefit all currently serving and future members of the organisation, regardless of their personal characteristics. However, as a starting point, this paper will focus in on the female experience in the CAF, with a lens on culture. It will argue that the CAF needs to fundamentally change its organisational culture on inclusivity and its members' attitudes

¹¹ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

¹² Canada, *Immigrants and Non-permanent Residents: Statistics* (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, last modified on 2 February 2021), https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/subjects-start/immigration_and_ethnocultural_diversity/immigrants_and_nonpermanent_residents; Canada. *Census Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2016), https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code_1=01&Geo2=&Code2=&SearchText=Canada&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1&type=0; Gloria Suhasini, Baisakhi Roy, Kaitlin Jingco and Steven Meurrens, "Diversity in Canada: An Overview," *Canadian Immigrant*, (4 July 2013), <https://canadianimmigrant.ca/guides/moving-to-canada/diversity-in-canada-an-overview>.

¹³ Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 801, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

towards social change in order to attract, retain and support a diverse workforce that serves Canadian interests.

This project will begin by defining diversity, exploring what makes an organisation an EOC and taking a brief look at the CAF's diversity strategy. Chapter three will explore the barriers facing women, with respect to attraction, recruitment and retention in CAF. Chapter four will conduct a gap analysis, examining the available reports, audits and recommendations concerning diversity and the inclusion of women in the CAF and contrasting them to established plans and goals to determine what, if anything is missing. Chapter 5 will categorise the gaps and provide recommendations on the next steps needed to transform the CAF into an EOC for women. Finally this paper will conclude with a summary of the findings and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

What is Diversity?

Diversity is defined as “the condition of having or being composed of differing elements”.¹⁴ Within an organisation diversity implies the presence of people from different races and cultures,¹⁵ but can be logically extended to different genders, backgrounds, experience levels, beliefs, orientations and ages.

Diversity is widely accepted as a force enabler within the private and public sector. Guillaume *et al.* argue that the existence of diversity in organisations enhances

¹⁴ Merriam-Webster, s.v., “Diversity,” accessed 10 January 2021, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/diversity>.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

decision-making and increases innovation.¹⁶ While studying the effects of diversity within organisations, Jehn, Northcraft and Neale argue that grouping together people with different information, backgrounds and values can produce higher quality solutions to complex organisational problems, consistently outperforming homogeneous groups.¹⁷ This is because social diversity breeds diversity in perspective, experience and information which can lead to new and unique insights.¹⁸ However, leveraging these benefits is not simple nor easy.

The inherent differences in a diverse group of people will cause conflict when different ideas, values and perspectives do not align.¹⁹ However, it is this conflict from which new ideas and approaches emerge.²⁰ Guillaume *et al.* note that social diversity benefits can only be leveraged within an organisation that also fosters openness to new ideas, and facilitates information sharing and the constructive debate of ideas.²¹ Homogeneous groups may avoid the loss of efficiency and communication challenges conflict can cause within diverse groups but this comes at the price of innovation and the risk of group-think.²² Success within socially diverse groups depends on the

¹⁶ Yves R. F. Guillaume, Jeremy F. Dawson, Lilian Otaye-Ebede, Stephen A. Woods, and Michael A. West, "Harnessing Demographic Differences in Organizations: What Moderates the Effects of Workplace Diversity?" *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 38, no. 2 (2017): 276, <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1002/job.2040>.

¹⁷ Karen A. Jehn, Gregory B. Northcraft, and Margaret A. Neale, "Why Differences make a Difference: A Field Study of Diversity, Conflict, and Performance in Workgroups," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1999): 741-742, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/why-differences-make-difference-field-study/docview/203946264/se-2?accountid=9867>.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 742

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 745

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 745-746

²¹ Yves R. F. Guillaume, Jeremy F. Dawson, Lilian Otaye-Ebede, Stephen A. Woods, and Michael A. West, "Harnessing Demographic Differences in Organizations: What Moderates the Effects of Workplace Diversity?" *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 38, no. 2 (2017): 292, <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1002/job.2040>.

²² Karen A. Jehn, Gregory B. Northcraft, and Margaret A. Neale, "Why Differences make a Difference: A Field Study of Diversity, Conflict, and Performance in Workgroups," *Administrative Science*

organisation's ability to manage, rather than avoid, disagreements and its ability to examine new ideas.

One important difference to understand when discussing diversity within organisations is the difference between assimilation and integration. This is especially important when discussing strategies for a uniformity driven institution like the military. J.W. Berry describes the process of assimilation as a member of a sub-culture having to give up aspects of that culture in order to become part of a larger, overarching culture. In contrast, integration implies the interweaving of cultures so that parts of the sub-culture are still intact and added to the whole of the overarching culture.²³ In short assimilation implies the person must change to fit the organisation, where as integration adds the new characteristics to the whole. For this to work, both cultures need to be compatible.

Diversity in Canada

Canada is a very diverse country, has a high rate of foreign-born immigrants, over 150 spoken languages from over 200 ethnic origins.²⁴ As of the 2016 National Census, women made up 50.9 percent of the population. Indigenous Peoples made up 4.9 while, self identified visible minorities made up 22.3 percent of the population.²⁵

Quarterly 44, no. 4 (1999): 742, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/why-differences-make-difference-field-study/docview/203946264/se-2?accountid=9867>.

²³ J.W. Berry, "Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies," *Canadian Psychology* 40, no.1 (1999): 14, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/614333164/pq-origsite=summon>.

²⁴ Canada. *Census Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2016), https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code_1=01&Geo2=&Code2=&SearchText=Canada&SearchType=Begin&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1&type=0.

²⁵ Canada. *Census Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2016), <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=01&Geo2=&Code2=&SearchText=Canada&SearchType=Begin&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1&type=0>; Canada, *Ethnic*

According to Statistics Canada 21.9 percent of Canada's population were foreign-born as of 2016,²⁶ with the majority settling into the highly urban regions of Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec.²⁷ In general, Canadian's have a positive view of diversity. A recent Canview survey noted that 79 percent of Canadians "felt very or somewhat positive about diversity".²⁸ A government survey in 2017 revealed that 65 percent felt strongly or somewhat agreed "that diversity is a defining characteristic of Canada", 60 percent of which noted that "diversity is an economic benefit" to the country.²⁹

In contrast, in the same year as the last census, only 14.9 percent of CAF members were female and only 2.6 percent and 6.7 percent identified as Indigenous or as visible minorities, respectively.³⁰ These numbers have increased in subsequent years but are still far from national proportions,³¹ and thus is not reflective of Canadian society.

Diversity and Immigration (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, last modified 17 January 2018), <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-402-x/2011000/chap/imm/imm-eng.htm>

²⁶ Canada, *Immigrants and Non-permanent Residents: Statistics* (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, last modified on 2 February 2021), https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/subjects-start/immigration_and_ethnocultural_diversity/immigrants_and_nonpermanent_residents.

²⁷ Gloria Suhasini, Baisakhi Roy, Kaitlin Jingco and Steven Meurrens, "Diversity in Canada: An Overview," *Canadian Immigrant*, (4 July 2013), <https://canadianimmigrant.ca/guides/moving-to-canada/diversity-in-canada-an-overview>.

²⁸ Canadian Viewpoint, "79% Feel Positively About Diversity and Inclusion in Canada. It's just not evenly distributed," *CanView*, last modified 17 June 2020, <https://canview.com/2020/06/79-canadians-positive-diversity-inclusion-racism-survey/#:~:text=Across%20the%20entire%20sample%20of%20diversity%20and%20inclusion%20in%20Canada>.

²⁹ Monique Scotti, "Canadians love diversity, just not the change that comes with it," *Global News*, last modified 21 June 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4288791/diversity-immigration-canada-mixed-feelings-survey/>.

³⁰ Canada, *Canadian Force Employment Equity Regulation*, (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), 9, <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>.

³¹ Canada. *Census Profile* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2016), <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=01&Geo2=&Code2=&SearchText=Canada&SearchType=Begin&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1&type=0>.

Diversity and the CAF

The Joint Union/Management Task Force on Diversity and Inclusion in the Public Service describes a diverse workforce as “made up of individuals who have an array of identities, abilities, backgrounds, cultures, skills, perspectives and experiences that are representative of Canada’s current and evolving population”.³² Furthermore, it defines an inclusive workplace as “fair, equitable, supportive, welcoming and respectful” and that it “recognizes, values and leverages differences in identities, abilities, backgrounds, cultures, skills, experiences and perspectives that support and reinforce Canada’s evolving human rights framework”.³³

While the CAF does not define diversity as a term, its diversity strategy describes its application as meaning “respect for and appreciation of differences in ethnicity, language, gender, age, national origin, disabilities, sexual orientation, education, and religion”.³⁴ *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* describes the need to build a Defence team that is “composed of people with new perspectives and a broader range of cultural, linguistic, gender, age and other unique attributes”.³⁵

³² Canada, *Building a Diverse and Inclusive Public Service: Final Report of the Joint/Union/Management Task Force on Diversity and Inclusion* (Ottawa: Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2017), <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/corporate/reports/building-diverse-inclusive-public-service-final-report-joint-union-management-task-force-diversity-inclusion.html>.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), 1, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

³⁵ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 23, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

Diversity as a Force Enabler

In his foreword to the diversity strategy, former Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) General Vance, purports that the CAF needs to become more reflective of Canadian society in order to retain relevance and to better connect with Canadians.³⁶ He defines diversity as recognizing the “unique talents, perspectives and cultures of our soldiers, sailors and aviators” to enable them to “fully contribute to the execution of CAF missions...”³⁷ The former CDS further describes diversity as a “force enabler” that will enhance the operational effectiveness of the force by allowing the CAF to attract and retain members from an “increasingly diverse labour market” by becoming an “employer of choice” that values the unique identities of prospective members.³⁸ Vance insisted that the diversity strategy should not be confused with the legal requirements imposed by the EEA, but that these policies should be complementary.³⁹ It is interesting to note that nowhere in his message, does the former CDS mention that inclusivity and diversifying the CAF is just the right thing to do from a moral or ethical prospective.

What is an EOC?

An EOC is an organisation that employees consciously aspire to work for, given more than one option, and one that they would recommend to others.⁴⁰ Such

³⁶ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), Foreword, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 799-800, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

organisations are able to attract, and compete for, top-tier, highly trained and experienced employees.⁴¹ The term also implies an organisation that is able to retain its employees long-term.⁴² Becoming an EOC has many benefits including increased attraction and retention of qualified personnel, increased employee satisfaction, engagement and referral rates as well as lower rates of absenteeism.⁴³

Although it is acknowledged that the criteria which makes an organisation, an EOC, varies for each individual and demographic group, there is very limited research available for specific groups. Moreover, intersectionality, the layering or interaction of biological, social and cultural characteristics will complicate this process much more.⁴⁴ However, there is a general consensus on two broad themes focused on work content and work culture.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 614, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become and Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1486, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>.

⁴² Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 614, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>.

⁴³ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 614, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become and Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1486, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 799, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁴⁴ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 614, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>.

⁴⁵ Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become and Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1486, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of

Work content includes the aspects that revolve around the employee experience with respect to their position within the organisation such as task diversity,⁴⁶ and value proposition.⁴⁷ These aspects include satisfying work settings, training opportunities, balanced work-life expectations, varied work and challenging tasks, compensation and rewards, flexible work hours, job security and close alignment of abilities to the work required.⁴⁸

Work culture focuses on the person-organisation fit.⁴⁹ Person-organisation fit is the alignment of a person's beliefs, culture and values with those of the organisation.⁵⁰ Such an EOC normally includes aspects such as value compatibility, friendly relationships between employees, linking organisational success to employee work,

Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 801, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁴⁶ Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become an Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1495, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>.

⁴⁷ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 615, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 800, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁴⁸ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 624-628, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 809, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁴⁹ Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 709, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁵⁰ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 615, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 800, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

welcoming diversity, compatible styles of working, whether the organisation gives back to the community or is considered humanitarian, and participative decision making.⁵¹

In general, people prefer and stay in organisations where they feel that they fit in, can contribute meaningfully to and offers what they consider important, personally and holistically.⁵² It is the promise of these aspects which attracts potential employees and creates a kind of a “psychological contract” with them.⁵³ Both themes of work content and work culture focus on aspects of an organisation that create an emotional connection with employees through positive experiences. It is the fulfillment of this value proposition that makes an organisation an EOC in the eyes of potential employees. It is important to note however, that these two themes have a marked impact on organisation attractiveness only if they boost the emotional connection with employees and create positive perceptions of the organisation.⁵⁴

Awareness of initiatives, cultures, values and work content is key in becoming an EOC, as a choice can only be made if the information is available, communicated and

⁵¹ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 324-328, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 809-816, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁵² Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 615, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become and Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1495, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 801, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

accessible.⁵⁵ It is about attracting people but also about selling the organisation. However, the messages need to be authentic and backed up by honest testimonials. Negative stories seem to travel farther and faster than positive ones.⁵⁶ For example, information on the benefits of joining the CAF webpages are available on its webpage, but communication relies on potential candidates going to this site to ‘pull’ that information out. In contrast, negative news stories about the CAF are actively pushed to Canadians via social and traditional media.

Research indicates that salary, and advancement opportunities have relatively little impact on EOC rating by employees.⁵⁷ Changes in organisation to these employment characteristics are more often undertaken because they are more easily measurable and simple to implement than crafting positive work culture for example, but are less effective.⁵⁸

There is no one way for an organisation to become an EOC. It depends on the intended organisational demographics. Therefore, given the CAFs aim of diversity it needs to make changes with relation to the groups it is attempting to attract. To encourage diversity in general, the CAF needs to incorporate a wide range of employment incentives

⁵⁵ Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 803, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become and Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1486, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>.

⁵⁸ Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become and Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1496, <https://www-tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>.

and factors that will attract as large a range of individuals as possible while ensuring the critical needs of the organisation are met.

Balancing diversity and culture change initiatives with the critical needs of the organisation is a delicate process. Critical needs should not be confused with established practices, procedures, culture and traditions. The needs of an organisation for operational readiness, or critical capabilities need to be identified, validated and screened for bias in order to really understand what the CAF needs to be successful rather than what it has used to be successful in the past.

General Vance lists a set of actions required for the CAF to become an EOC which include: appreciating different experiences and perspectives, recognising, embracing and actively promoting diversity, and safeguarding the respect and dignity of all persons.⁵⁹ However, as altruistic as these goals are, there is little within the former CDS's message that describes how this value proposition will be fulfilled.

The CAF can only reach EOC status when members from the targeted groups want to join over other viable options and remain with the organisation. This begins by establishing a value proposition, a promise of what the CAF can offer to perspective members and then can follow through with that promise. A key example for women would include the elimination of harmful and inappropriate sexual behaviour (HISB) and the creation of, not just an environment where members are not afraid to report abuse, but one where members feel safe working without the fear of abuse.

⁵⁹ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), Foreword, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

The CAF Diversity Strategy

In its diversity strategy, the CAF argues that “[m]aximizing the potential of a diverse workforce is not only a social imperative, but is also an operational advantage.”⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that the focus on this statement is on “maximizing the potential” of a diverse workforce rather than maximizing diversity within the workforce. This implies that the CAF’s focus is on enhancing the quality of work of current *diverse* members rather than enhancing the CAF to attract members from a more diverse recruiting pool. Although the strategy does go on to direct changes in the CAF’s approach to diversity, this statement starts the policy off with a ‘how you can change to help us’ vibe, rather than a message on ‘how we can change to better serve Canadians.’

Within the strategy, diversity is defined as the “respect for and appreciation of differences in ethnicity, language, gender, age, national origin, disabilities, sexual orientation, education, and religion” and is about “moving beyond simple tolerance to embracing, celebrating, and integrating the rich dimensions of diversity within each individual”.⁶¹ The value of diversity for the CAF is described in terms of being able to add “unique perspectives, work experiences, life styles, and cultures to the institution” as well as a broad range of skills and perspectives that will aid the CAF in fulfilling its domestic and expeditionary operations.⁶² To attract a more diverse workforce the CAF aims to facilitate the creation of an inclusive environment “where everyone feels empowered to contribute their full potential in the execution of their military duties”.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶¹ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), 1, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 2.

However, operational imperative demands that the mission comes before self thus diversity initiatives must be balanced against the needs of the institution, the principle of Universality of Service and that the individual values of members must always be in line with those of the CAF.⁶⁴ This is something that is unique to the military when compared to other public or private organisations.

The CAF envisions a force whose members “reflect the rich diversity of Canada and who are recognized and encouraged to maintain and contribute through their unique experiences, abilities, and perspectives within a respectful and inclusive environment”.⁶⁵ It plans on creating this reality through a litany of actions that will endeavour to “make diversity a core value” and “promote the respect of human rights”.⁶⁶

The CAF diversity strategy is centered on five principles: Reflectiveness of Canadian Society, Operational Effectiveness, A Values-Based Model, Leadership Commitment and Merit Based Standards. The reflectiveness principle essentially means that, in order for an armed force to have legitimacy within a democratic society, it must accurately reflect the demographic make-up of the society, within which, it exists. The operational effectiveness principle describes military personnel who are multicultural as force enablers, with unique experiences that position them to better interact with international organisations, multi-national partners and non-governmental organisations. The ‘values-based’ principle marks an intentional change from the external enforcement of diversity initiatives to an internal motivation to facilitate change. The leadership

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), 2, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

commitment principle sets the accountability standard for CAF leaders to create and enforce an environment where positive change and education can take place and thrive. The final principle, merit based standard, is a reminder that specific criteria to maintain universality of service and specific entry criteria will remain unchanged in order to maintain operational readiness but also that individual merit will be the only criteria for trade selection, promotion, succession planning and appointments.⁶⁷

The diversity strategy is intended to span all aspects of the organisation from programs and policies to doctrine and procedures.⁶⁸ Figure 2.1 depicts the overarching intent of the CAF Diversity Strategic Framework. It is founded on the legal requirements of the Canadian Human Rights Act and the EEA, CAF policies established to action these legal requirements and the establishment of designated groups within the organisation which will be targeted by the strategy. Bridging the gap between these foundational policies and the goal of “An operationally Effective, Diverse, Respectful and inclusive CAF”⁶⁹ are four goals: “understanding diversity culture, inculcate a culture of diversity, modernize policies to support diversity and generate a CAF that reflects Canada’s Diversity”.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁶⁸ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), 6, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

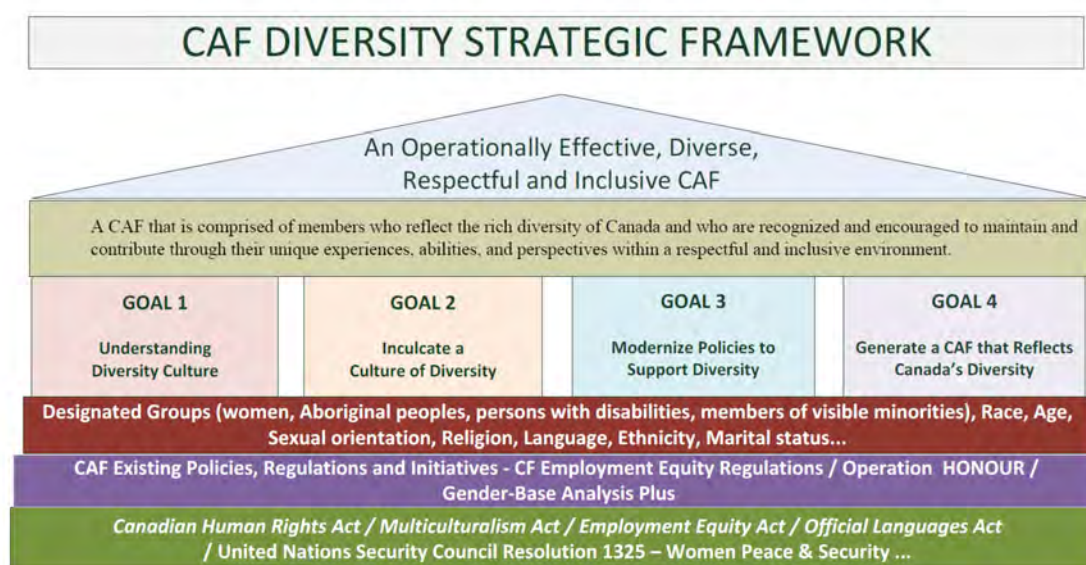


Figure 2.1 - CAF Diversity Strategic Framework

Source: Canada, Department of National Defence, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy*, 6.

The goals described in the framework are designed as stepping stones and guidance towards a culture change in the CAF with the intent of recruiting and retaining more women, visible minorities and indigenous people. The year the CAF diversity strategy was released only 14.9 percent of CAF members were women, 6.7 percent self-identified as visible minorities and 2.6 percent self-identified as indigenous people.⁷¹ In response to the legal requirements in the EEA but moderated by a “military factor”,⁷² the CAF set a goal of increasing representation of women to 25 percent, visible minorities to 11.8 percent and indigenous people to 3.5 percent by 2026.⁷³

⁷¹ Canada, *Canadian Force Employment Equity Regulation*, (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), 9, <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>.

⁷² Hans Jung, "Can the Canadian Forces Reflect Canadian Society?" *Canadian Military Journal* (Ottawa) 8, no. 3 (2007), 30.

⁷³ Canada, *Canadian Force Employment Equity Regulation*, 9, (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>.

Although it clearly lays out the organisation's intentions, the diversity strategy does not directly identify or address potential friction points that diversity initiatives cause within a tradition heavy, conservative organisation such as the military. The CAF is a relatively large organisation and therefore slow to change. It is built upon the idea of instant obedience, and uniformity. Although diversity is being embraced by very senior leaders primarily because of the need to widen recruiting pools to keep up with attrition rates, there is an underlying impression, stemming from deficiencies in the CAF strategic messaging, that diversity is being foisted upon the CAF rather than being adopted from within as a force enabler. There is considerable push back on training and accommodation initiatives, therefore by solely focusing on meeting recruiting targets, the CAF is missing an opportunity to educate its members on the operational benefits of increased diversity.

Progress

From 2016 to 2019 the percentage of women in the CAF increased only .8 percent, to 15.7 percent.⁷⁴ Given the ten year goal, and the rate needed to reach 25 percent by 2026 meant the CAF was already falling behind its female recruitment target by 2.2 percent. Although, some gains has been made, the majority of women remain concentrated at lower rank levels. However, this is to be expected since it takes time for new members to be recruited and successful candidates make their way up the ranks through their careers.

⁷⁴ Canada, *Canadian Force Employment Equity Regulation*, 9, (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>.

Unfortunately, the CAF is also suffering from proportionally high attrition rates. From 2018-2019 the CAF recruited 10,118 individuals in an effort to increase the total number of CAF members to 101,500, 30,000 reserve force members and 71,500 regular force members. Over the last decade the CAF has been experiencing attrition rates between 7-8 percent.⁷⁵ Moreover, the attrition rates of women were considerably higher than their male counterparts, at the twenty year mark, reducing the chance that these new recruits will remain part of the CAF long enough to become senior leaders.⁷⁶

Layered on to the reality that the CAF is falling behind in its recruitment of women, is the fact that the original target is far below the level needed to accurately reflect Canadian demographics. In fact, should the CAF reach its goals, women would still only be represented at half the national rate. These low goals have been permitted as an exception to the EEA for the CAF to compensate for the “military factor” which allows the adjustment of goals for specific realities or perceptions that may affect a person’s “interest *in* and propensity *for* joining” the CAF.⁷⁷ Such factors include the

⁷⁵ Canada, *Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 15 June 2020), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/proactive-disclosure/supp-estimates-a-2020-21/other-issues/personnel.html#toc6>.

⁷⁶ Carol Agócs, “Canadian Dilemma: Is There a Path from Systemic Racism Toward Employment Equity for Indigenous People in the Canadian Forces?” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 308, <https://jmss.org/article/view/62832>; Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#; Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng; Canada, *Plans at a Glance*. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 10 March 2020), 64-65, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/departamental-plans/departamental-plan-2020-21-index/plans-at-glance.html>.

⁷⁷ Hans Jung, “Can the Canadian Forces Reflect Canadian Society?” *Canadian Military Journal* (Ottawa) 8, no. 3 (2007), 30.

requirement to meet universality of service standards, having to follow orders, having little control over postings and deployments, dangerous working conditions and possible separation from friends and family.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The Government of Canada states that “embracing diversity will enhance military operational effectiveness by drawing on all of the strengths of Canada’s population.”⁷⁹ All the unique skills a diverse team can bring to the military, including a broader understanding of culture, language skills, gender and age group perspectives as well as different leadership approaches will “contribute directly to efforts to develop a deeper understanding of our increasingly complex world, and to respond effectively to the challenges it presents”.⁸⁰

Women, visible minorities and indigenous peoples do not necessarily need the CAF, but the CAF needs diverse people to survive, to maintain legitimacy and to remain relevant.⁸¹ Specifically, the CAF needs to figure out how to effectively leverage the 50.9

⁷⁸ Carol Agócs, “Canadian Dilemma: Is There a Path from Systemic Racism Toward Employment Equity for Indigenous People in the Canadian Forces?” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): #, <https://jmss.org/article/view/62832>; W.B. Brown, “Multiculturalism and Diversity in the Canadian Forces: The tip of the iceberg,” (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2012), 67, [https://cfcc.ent.sirsiidynix.net/client/en_GB/cfc/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD_ILS\\$002f0\\$002fSD_ILS:86720/ada](https://cfcc.ent.sirsiidynix.net/client/en_GB/cfc/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ILS$002f0$002fSD_ILS:86720/ada); Chantal Fraser, “Diversity Recruiting: It’s Time to Tip the Balance,” *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 27, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>; Hans Jung, “Can the Canadian Forces Reflect Canadian Society?” *Canadian Military Journal (Ottawa)* 8, no. 3 (2007), 30.

⁷⁹ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 23, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 1, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

percent of the Canadian population that is female. The very democratic nature of our society means that all Canadians need to have the same opportunities to serve and to lead as everyone else. Canadian women have already served “with distinction in a wide range of domestic and international military operations, from humanitarian relief to peacekeeping to war-fighting”,⁸² but with only 15 percent participation and even fewer women on operations, the CAF is missing out a great deal of human potential. The CAF’s tasks and mission are becoming more diverse and complex therefore, innovative ideas, way of thinking and diverse experiences and perspectives are required for the organization to adapt, remain relevant and thrive.

The next chapter will examine the real and perceived barriers that women face as members of the CAF, looking at factors affecting attraction, recruitment and retention. In Chapter 4, the CAF’s plans and external recommendations will be explored and discussed with regards to these barriers, to determine any gaps not being adequately addressed, with the aim identifying recommendations that will lower the barriers inhibiting the inclusion of women within the institution.

CHAPTER 3: BARRIERS

The CAF has been subject to the EEA since 2002 and thus has been required to “remove and prevent systemic barriers to equality for Indigenous people, women and visible minorities” and to create and retain a membership that reflects Canada.⁸³

⁸² Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 93.

⁸³ Carol Agócs, “Canadian Dilemma: Is There a Path from Systemic Racism Toward Employment Equity for Indigenous People in the Canadian Forces?” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 273, <https://jmss.org/article/view/62832>.

Unfortunately the CAF's record on this to date is less than stellar. It has generally failed to attract and maintain a representative labour force. Although much has been signalled about change to policy and practice within its diversity strategy, there is little evidence available that it has succeeded in "identifying and removing barriers in its policies, practices and culture".⁸⁴ On the contrary the latest recruiting and retention statistics illustrate that the CAF has been making little progress.⁸⁵

Like many government institutions, the CAF was built upon the "failed notion of assimilation" rather than integration and evolution,⁸⁶ which means surface adjustments are unlikely to produce meaningful or culture deep changes. Carol Agócs, noted that "[t]he relationship between the workplace and the employee should be one of mutual benefit, accommodation and respect" and that the purpose of the Act is not to assimilate but rather to "identify and remove the discriminatory barriers in the way of their success, career progression and full participation".⁸⁷

This Chapter will examine the barriers that affect the attraction, recruitment and retention of women. Specifically, it will examine the history of gender integration the public's perception of the CAF, specific barriers within the recruitment system, and the lack of female role models. It will also explore how the existence of a sexualized culture

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁸⁵ Canada, 2018-2019 *Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

⁸⁶ Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 21, (Ottawa: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015), <http://www.caids.ca/TRCFinExeSum2015.pdf>.

⁸⁷ Carol Agócs, "Canadian Dilemma: Is There a Path from Systemic Racism Toward Employment Equity for Indigenous People in the Canadian Forces?" *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19, no. 2 (2018): 279, <https://jmss.org/article/view/62832>.

and the negative attitudes towards social change and diversity on women in the military. Finally, this chapter will look at challenges and barriers associated with family support, quality of life and uniforms and equipment.

The History of Her-story

Since 1990, all military trades have been made accessible to women and the CAF has been “recognized as a global leader in gender integration”.⁸⁸ However, the CAF still struggles to recruit and retain women,⁸⁹ and has had a troubled history with servicewomen who, despite enormous pushback from the institution, were determined to serve their country.⁹⁰

“The history of servicewomen in the CF has been one of employment discrimination”.⁹¹ Even though women have served in the CAF since well before the First World War, their contributions were segregated to support roles such as driving trucks and nursing.⁹² It is interesting to note that “[a] man who carried ammunition, nursed soldiers and cooked for an army in the First or Second World War was still considered a

⁸⁸ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 351, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

⁸⁹ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

⁹⁰ Canada, *Women in the Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, last modified 10 December 2010), <https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/12/women-canadian-forces-cf-.html>.

⁹¹ Lenora-Mae Karmas, *Trial Employment of Canadian Forces Servicewomen in a Combat Service Support Unit* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1979), 182, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0096352>.

⁹² Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 351, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

soldier, in a way that a woman who once did so never was".⁹³ Women were considered "second-class members of the military",⁹⁴ made a fifth to a third less in pay than their male counterparts, were considered junior to male members of the same rank and were not entitled to allowances, benefits, and in a lot of cases a place in the history books.⁹⁵ Military service and participation in war is exalted in Canadian society, however where women have participated their contributions have been largely ignored.⁹⁶

Women were brought into the ranks out of a dire need to supplement the vast support requirements of war. This began with nursing, and not as most might expect, well behind the lines and out of danger. A great deal of this work took place on ships targeted by adversary forces and in combat zones with field ambulance units.⁹⁷ In 1941 the Canadian Government enrolled 45,000 women in trades other than nursing, establishing women's divisions in all services to fill roles as clerks, cooks, drivers, telephone

⁹³ Andrea Lane, "Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal (Toronto)* 72, no. 4 (2017): 473, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

⁹⁴ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 353, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

⁹⁵ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 352, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

⁹⁶ Andrea Ellner, "The Ethics of Inclusion: Gender Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Sexual Assault in the Australian, British, Canadian and U.S. Armed Forces," in *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, edited by Lucas, George, 309 (Routledge, 2015), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cfvlibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=2057960>; Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 353, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

⁹⁷ Canada, *Women in the Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, last modified 10 December 2010), <https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/12/women-canadian-forces-cf-.html>.

operators, mechanics, parachute riggers and heavy mobile equipment drivers.⁹⁸ After the Second World War, this number dramatically decreased in order to make room for the men returning from war, but needed to surge anew in 1950 to support the Korean War.⁹⁹ By 1966 the Canadian government decided to make women a permanent part of the CAF rather than continuing the cycle of hiring and firing them. However, their numbers were drastically capped at 1.5 percent across all the services, pensions and pay were not equal and married women were precluded from joining.¹⁰⁰ These restriction were put in place to reserve employment opportunities for men, and because women were seen as lower status service people.¹⁰¹

In 1970 the Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended equal opportunity within the CAF by standardizing enrolment, equalizing benefits, allowing women to attend military colleges and join all trades and officer classification as well as terminating the requirement to release women upon marriage or the birth of a child. However none of these recommendation were even considered until after the 1977 Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) took effect which stated that “all Canadians have the right to equality, equal opportunity, fair treatment, and an environment free of discrimination on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, marital status and family status”.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Canada, *Women in the Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, last modified 10 December 2010), <https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/12/women-canadian-forces-cf-.html>.

¹⁰¹ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 353, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁰² Canada, *Canadian Human Rights Act* (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 2021), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/H-6/>.

To determine if it could comply with the CHRA the CAF launched the Servicewomen in Non-Traditional Environments and Roles (SWINTER) trials, five, four-year trials taking place between 1979 and 1985.¹⁰³ The Aim of the SWINTER trials were “to assess the impact of employing servicewomen on the operational capability of near-combat or remote, isolated units”.¹⁰⁴ Volunteers were keen to participate because they believed if they could prove themselves capable “that they would be accepted into the units as legitimate members – as equals”.¹⁰⁵ Although the service women did demonstrate “that they were fully capable as unit members” proving themselves did not result in integration or legitimacy from their colleagues.¹⁰⁶

The arguments that were leveled against the full integration of women were rarely about the ability of women to do the required work, but rather the impact their presence would have on the men. Government officials, military advisors and senior members argued that women would distract men from their tasks on the battlefield, make them take excessive risk to protect the women and would not be able to mentally cope should a woman be injured or killed.¹⁰⁷ Soldier are, contradictory to their training, widely considered to be “uncontrollable, animalistic, [and] un-disciplined”,¹⁰⁸ such that women’s

¹⁰³ Lenora-Mae Karmas, *Trial Employment of Canadian Forces Servicewomen in a Combat Service Support Unit* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1979), ii, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0096352>.

¹⁰⁴ Lenora-Mae Karmas, *Trial Employment of Canadian Forces Servicewomen in a Combat Service Support Unit* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1979), ii, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0096352>.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Andrea Ellner, "The Ethics of Inclusion: Gender Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Sexual Assault in the Australian, British, Canadian and U.S. Armed Forces," in *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, edited by Lucas, George, 306 (Routledge, 2015), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cfvlibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=2057960>.

¹⁰⁸ Andrea Lane, "Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal (Toronto)* 72, no. 4 (2017): 479, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

bodies were considered threatening, “as hindering their male colleagues on the battlefield, and as tempting them sexually everywhere else”.¹⁰⁹ These arguments highlight a gender discrimination against the male ability to control himself and maintain discipline, an expectation, or lack thereof, that may have contributed to the current climate of harmful and inappropriate sexual behaviour, legitimized and integrated into the culture by the leadership of the time.

Regardless of the SWINTER trial results, military leaders still did not accept that women were employable in operational units and continued to argue against implementing the CHRA.¹¹⁰ The 1982 establishment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms finally moved the initiative forward, declaring that:

[e]very individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.¹¹¹

However this was not enough for the CAF to stop discriminating against women. Instead the CAF proposed another study, the Combat Related Employment of Women (CREW) trial, to again study the impact of employing women with men in combat units, specifically in army units and aboard naval vessels. It should be noted that the RCAF, at the same time, announced that further trials were not required and that all trades, including fighter pilot, were open to women.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ A.N. Comisso, *Deliberate Measures: Harnessing the Narrative on Diversity in the Canadian Armed Forces*, 6-7, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2019), <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/308/286/comisso.pdf>.

¹¹¹ Canada, *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, section 15, (Ottawa: Minister of Justice, 1981) <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/csj-sjc/rfc-dlc/ccrf-ccdl/pdf/charter-poster.pdf>.

¹¹² Canada, *Women in the Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, last modified 10 December 2010), <https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/12/women-canadian-forces-cf-.html>.

In 1988 the CREW trials were cut short after a landmark ruling from the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal. Three women had filed a discrimination complaint in regards to the CAF's insistence that women were not fit to participate in combat units, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, as well as the legal requirement to do so set out in the CHRA and the Charter.¹¹³ Subsequently the CAF was ordered to fully integrate women into both the regular and reserve forces, and remove all gender employment restrictions.

Although this did facilitate the first female infantry soldier, the first female commodore and the first female fighter pilot in 1989, it did not create a climate of acceptance. The resigned and grudging attitude of CAF leaders can be accurately summed up in the words of the CDS of the time, General de Chastelain:

[a]lthough I have expressed concern over the legality and substance of the tribunal direction to terminate the [CREW] trials, it has been concluded that an appeal act not be undertaken. As a consequence, we must now accept that there no longer exists a bona fide occupational requirement for discrimination against women through employment limitations.¹¹⁴

This ninety year struggle set the stage for a great deal of animosity and resentment on both sides. Women have a well-documented record detailing how fervently the CAF did not want them. While, the integration of women into the CAF was seen as forced rather than culturally accepted.¹¹⁵ Many still believed the myths that the feminine characteristics and generally smaller physique of women made them less effective,

¹¹³ Canada, *Women in the Canadian Forces* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, last modified 10 December 2010), <https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/12/women-canadian-forces-cf-.html>.

¹¹⁴ Canada, *CANFORGEN CLS 014, Canadian Human Rights Tribunal Decision: Women in Combat*. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 1989).

¹¹⁵ Anne Reiffenstein, "Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment," in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 1, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

overlooking other human capabilities such as interpersonal skills and intelligence and the fact that different tasks required different physical attributes, so diversity in size can also be an asset.

This negative attitude towards inclusivity continues today in resistance to diversity, change initiatives, and training. After all, women have only been permitted to apply to all CAF trades for the last thirty years and it takes about the same time to become a senior CAF leader. Bias, attitudes and perspectives have been shared and impressed upon new members through the training and indoctrination system so that these same attitudes are still evident today. This resistance manifests itself in the mocking of diversity awareness and education, and the use of language that is derogatory to women, to indicate weakness in others, specifically in the training system.¹¹⁶

Public Perception of the CAF

History is just one of many barriers that add to the negative perceptions Canadian women have about the military. The most poignant is that the CAF “is an unsafe environment for women”,¹¹⁷ such that women are subject to harassment and assault.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 51, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 125 (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009); Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 5, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

¹¹⁷ Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, 6, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ Chantal Fraser, “Diversity Recruiting: It’s Time to Tip the Balance,” *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 30, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>. Many of the resources describe the perception of an unsafe working environment for women as a myth but it should be

Moreover, the CAF is seen as not doing enough, or moving fast enough to deal with the situation and to correct HISB.¹¹⁹ This poor organisational culture is exemplified by numerous reports including one completed by former Supreme Court Justice Marie Deschamps.¹²⁰

Other frequent perceptions of the CAF that deter women from joining include the idea that they would have to suppress their femininity or would not be able to have a family.¹²¹ Many believe the CAF does not treat its people well, lacks the flexibility necessary to establish a healthy family or work-life balance,¹²² and that soldiers are frequently overworked.¹²³ Although these are listed as perspectives, they are rooted in reality and will be explored in subsequent sections.

Compounding the perception that the CAF is not for women, is the concept of the ideal soldier, one that is frequently seen in movies, TV shows and CAF recruiting material. This ideal soldier is tough, muscular, extremely fit, very masculine, and usually white.¹²⁴ The CAF routinely targets adventure seekers through action packed videos that

noted that most of these articles were written before the startling number of testimonials from serving and retired members that have come to light over the last few years.

¹¹⁹ David Akin, "Canada's Armed Forces, struggling to hit diversity goals, turns to new digital recruiting tools," *Global News*, last modified 14 September 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4450927/canada-armed-forces-diversity-goals-digital-recruiting/>.

¹²⁰ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ix, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

¹²¹ Chantal Fraser, "Diversity Recruiting: It's Time to Tip the Balance," *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 30, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>.

¹²² Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), 4-6, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

¹²³ Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

do not actually reflect the day-to-day life in the military and excludes most trades.¹²⁵

Although more women and visible minorities have started to appear in recruiting material, they are still male dominated.¹²⁶

Popular culture does highlight some positive examples of female soldiers but their success is usually measured by how well they emulate their male counterparts or fit in as ‘one of the boys’.¹²⁷ This perspective has worked its way into basic military training where the impression is to toughen up recruits, indoctrinate them into military culture and to make men out of them, even if they are women.¹²⁸ Moreover, this indoctrination into military culture does not just include basic military skills but also typically masculine activities such as “drinking, swearing, making sexual innuendos, and watching pornographic movies” where women are expected to participate if they want to become part of the team.¹²⁹

The idea that a ‘soldier is a soldier’ regardless of sex, gender, race or other personal characteristics, minimizes the different capabilities each member brings to the challenge. Women should be free to be soldiers without having to relinquish being female. However, the enduring perspective is that these two aspects are mutually

¹²⁵ Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 361, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRI#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>

¹²⁸ Andrea Lane, "Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal (Toronto)* 72, no. 4 (2017): 471, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 473.

exclusive. Therefore, if a woman cannot envision herself emulating a male warrior, then she cannot envision herself in the CAF.

Role Models

Should a perspective female candidate contemplate the history of women in the CAF, apparent sexualized culture and the concept of the ideal soldier and still be interested in the military, she might be dismayed that she is relatively isolated and alone.¹³⁰ Currently only 5 out of 37 general officers, 8% of Chief Warrant Officers, and 9% of Colonels are women.¹³¹ Due to the fact that women have only been allowed to participate fully in the military for the last thirty years, and that those serving have had to overcome a stigma of female leadership, as well as the bias of those who make her career decisions for her, there are relatively few role models for women. Even less so, for non-white women. Those few that there are, routinely find themselves exhausted by continuously having to prove themselves, to be the example of female success while defending the CAF's reputation from a seemingly continuous onslaught of accusations of discrimination and harassment, and being saddled with cleaning up the toxic culture that was created by the institutions' flagrant reluctance to welcome women into their ranks in the first place.

¹³⁰ Anne Reiffenstein, "Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment," in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 3, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

¹³¹ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

This was recently demonstrated with Lieutenant-General Allen's appointment as Vice CDS, following the removal of Admiral McDonald from his role as CDS in light of HISB accusations. Lieutenant-General Allen had just begun a prestigious posting abroad as the Military Representative of Canada to the NATO Military Committee in Brussels, Belgium in July 2020 before being recalled to address the current CAF institutional crisis.¹³² Although she is likely, and justifiably, proud to have been named to the position which she earned through a career of hard and ceiling breaking work, her focus will necessarily be on cleaning up the cultural mess left in the wake of the un-ceremonial departure of several high-ranking male colleagues.

This idea was reinforced by the Minister of National Defence (MND) when he testified to the Standing Committee on National Defence in March of 2021. He declared the creation of "a pipeline where more women can come to the senior levels".¹³³ He goes on to state that "by having them at the table we can create that culture change directly".¹³⁴ Although it is laudable that the Minister has acknowledge that women have been artificially kept from senior leadership positions and that action is needed to facilitate a change, the strategic messaging used by the Minister is in itself a barrier for women wanting to join the CAF.

¹³² NATO, "Lieutenant-General Frances J. Allen. Military Represented – Canada 2020," *Who's Who?* North Atlantic Treaty Organization, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/who_is_who_177960.htm; The Canadian Press, "Lt.-Gen. Frances Allen becomes First Women Appointed as Canadian Military's Vice-Chief of Defence Staff," *National Post*, 9 March 2021, <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-military-gets-first-female-vice-chief-of-defence-staff>.

¹³³ Canada, *Meeting No. 20 Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 12 March 2021), <https://parlvu.parl.gc.ca/Harmony/en/PowerBrowser/PowerBrowserV2/20210427/-/1/34957>

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

There are two things troubling about the analogy the Minister uses. Firstly the word ‘pipeline’ insinuates that women need a fast-track or short cut to be able to reach the top levels, by-passing something such as merit. There is already a prevalent myth that women and visible minorities are given lower standards than the rest. This is not the case, promotion criteria, merit and experience requirements are identical for both men and women, and have been for sometime. What the Minister’s initiative aims to do is to remove the artificial barriers that are erected in of front women and non-traditional men, such as conscious and unconscious bias towards non-traditional leaders in general and feminine leadership styles in particular.¹³⁵

Secondly the Minister’s messages implies that change can only happen once women are at the table. That they alone will become responsible to clean up the mess and fix the mistakes of those that stood in their way in the first place and made the institution what it is today. This idea was floated previously, just after the 2015 Deschamps Report, when a recruiting campaign was launched to “recruit sufficient women so as to change the CAF’s violent, sexist and sexualized culture” which caused a great amount of ambivalence among serving members.¹³⁶ That could be seen as a very daunting task to be placed on the shoulders of a minority within the CAF.

¹³⁵ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 51, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 22-23, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

¹³⁶ Andrea Lane, "Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal (Toronto)* 72, no. 4 (2017): 472, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

In her research, Dr. Andrea Lane describes three shared similarities in the experiences of female officers in the CAF, the feeling of “tokenness”, the implied individual responsibility to prove oneself as capable to demonstrate that women should be allowed to serve and thirdly a “reluctance to be identified as a woman”.¹³⁷ The effects of ‘tokenness’ were identified within the SWINTER trials, which determined that “when one social category holds token status ... integration remains handicapped”.¹³⁸ This assertion implies that the integration of women in the CAF will remain incomplete until such time as a meaningful percentage of women exist in uniform to provide the mentoring and role modeling needed to empower, inspire and mold female leaders.¹³⁹ Currently serving women are forced to balance their efforts between being the role models they never had, and with suppressing their femininity to fit in with the established culture.

Recruiting

Although some argue that there are no barriers to entry into the CAF other than aptitude, physical and medical fitness and prior conduct,¹⁴⁰ deeper analysis shows that nuanced, systemic barriers such as community acceptance, education requirements,

¹³⁷ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 359-360, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹³⁸ Lenora-Mae Karmas, *Trial Employment of Canadian Forces Servicewomen in a Combat Service Support Unit* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1979), iv, <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0096352>.

¹³⁹ Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 2, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

¹⁴⁰ Carl Gravel, *Organizational Diversity and the Canadian Armed Forces* (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2019), 6, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/308/192/gravel.pdf>.

access to a recruiting centre, information availability, treatment by recruiting staff and institutional perceptions of organizational culture all affect recruitment.¹⁴¹ Amongst the Canadian female population there is a relatively low level of knowledge about the CAF,¹⁴² and specifically about the wide range of trades and educational opportunities that are available. Given that the CAF's traditional recruiting pool has been centered on young white men, living in rural, eastern Canada who have family and friends in the military,¹⁴³ the impetus to get accurate information into society has been limited and has created a barrier for new, potentially interested populations.

Although the CAF's websites do provide the basic facts about military trades and the recruiting processes they require a candidate to already have enough of an interest to go looking for information. Making a life altering decision like joining the CAF may spur people to want a more thorough informative experience. In fact, in-person interactions tend to be preferred by women.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, recruiting centers, when they are available in the community, present barriers of their own.

¹⁴¹ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

¹⁴² Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), 4, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

¹⁴³ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 24, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Hans Jung, "Can the Canadian Forces Reflect Canadian Society?" *Canadian Military Journal* (Ottawa) 8, no. 3 (2007), 98; Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

¹⁴⁴ Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), 4, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

The 2016 recruitment and retention audit noted several wide ranging deficiencies in the recruiting system. It identified issues with recruiting centre staff training, the tools that are used to assess applicants and massive delays and challenges processing files and completing paperwork in a timely manner.¹⁴⁵ These issues cause massive wait times for candidates and frequently result in people revoking their applications.¹⁴⁶ Although these process deficiencies affect all applicants the recruiters themselves can be more of a barrier to EEGs.

The report noted that recruiters did not have a good working knowledge, or access to information or subject matter experts for most trades and did not keep track of trade requirements so they were not able to answer many of the questions posed to them.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, recruiters were not posted to a specific centre long enough to understand the needs of the community, the region and all the military trade knowledge needed to become effective.¹⁴⁸

Good communications and problem solving skills are key to be able to work with different people, with different aspirations, levels of understanding and from different

¹⁴⁵ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

¹⁴⁶ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 26-27, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

¹⁴⁷ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

¹⁴⁸ Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), 4, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

backgrounds to understand how they can become a valued member of the CAF.¹⁴⁹

Cultural and emotional intelligence is a useful skill for recruiters but there is no mechanism to screen or test for them, and there is no evident selection criteria available to determine how recruiters are chosen, or indeed, if any deliberate thought on choosing the right candidates is part of that process.

A lack of female representation affects this aspect of the CAF as well.¹⁵⁰ When a woman wants to understand a female perspective of CAF life, but all the recruiters they have access to, are men, they may be less likely to ask those questions or to get accurate answers. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available on the proportion of male recruiters to female recruiters to understand the extent of this problem.

Another point noted by the report was that the CAF's recruiting targets were based on its ability to recruit rather than on what the force actually needed.¹⁵¹ This last concern points to either an inability to adapt to changing demographics, a lack of will to diversify or lack of funding. In reality there are signs of all three.¹⁵² Even after the publication of both the diversity strategy and the defence policy, the CAF still had not

¹⁴⁹ Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), 3, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

¹⁵² Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#; Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

developed or implemented a comprehensive recruiting plan to attract more women.¹⁵³

Without this comprehensive plan, the goals set out in the diversity strategy are unrealistic. Underachieving those goals carries with it the risk of solidifying the perception that the CAF is inflexible, unwilling to modernize and unwelcoming of women.¹⁵⁴

When asked by the Standing Committee on National Defence what he would say to a woman considering a career in the CAF, Defence Minister, Harjit Sajjan stated that his message to them would be “that, you and every other Canadian citizen have a right to serve in the Canadian Armed Forces, a right to wear that uniform but to come in and be treated with dignity and respect and that is exactly what we are doing”.¹⁵⁵ This type of messaging is concerning in 2021 because the right to serve has been legislated since 1990 and the need “respect the dignity of all persons” is one of the main principles in the Statement of Defence Ethics,¹⁵⁶ and should not have to be a consideration, especially in a institution whose primary role is to serve Canada. Rather than telling women that they have a right to serve, the CAF could focus its strategic message on the value women bring to the CAF such as their unique their skills, perspectives, capabilities and

¹⁵³ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

¹⁵⁴ Hans Jung, "Can the Canadian Forces Reflect Canadian Society?" *Canadian Military Journal* (Ottawa) 8, no. 3 (2007), 27.

¹⁵⁵ Canada, *Meeting No. 20 Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 12 March 2021), <https://parlvu.parl.gc.ca/Harmony/en/PowerBrowser/PowerBrowserV2/20210427/-1/34957>

¹⁵⁶ Canada, *A-PA-005-000/AP-001, Duty with Honour: The Profession of Arms in Canada* (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy – Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, 2009), 31, <http://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/duty-with-honour-2009.html>.

innovation, to enhance its operational effectiveness in a globalized and interconnected security environment.

Harmful and Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour

The systemic nature of the CAF's harmful and sexualized culture has been denied for decades. Specific cases were frequently shrugged off as 'bad apples'. Former CDS General Lawson stated "I do not accept from any quarter, the notion that sexual misconduct is simply part of our military culture".¹⁵⁷ This behaviour continued until media coverage rose to a mass critical enough for the public to demand an independent inquiry.¹⁵⁸ The 2015 investigation and report by former Supreme Court Justice Marie Deschamps identified "an underlying sexualized culture in the CAF that is hostile to women and LGBTQ members".¹⁵⁹ The culture is "characterised by the frequent use of swear words and highly degrading expressions that reference women's bodies, sexual jokes, innuendos, discriminatory comments with respect to the abilities of women, and unwelcome sexual touching".¹⁶⁰ Deschamps warned that this culture not only created an

¹⁵⁷ Andrea Ellner, "The Ethics of Inclusion: Gender Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Sexual Assault in the Australian, British, Canadian and U.S. Armed Forces," in *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, edited by Lucas, George, 302, (Routledge, 2015), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cfvlibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=2057960>.

¹⁵⁸ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 355-356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhtvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZTlzaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁵⁹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, i, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ii.

environment that is toxic to women but also one that is permissive to sexual harassment and assault including using sex to exert power over or punish individuals.¹⁶¹

A 2016 Statistics Canada survey, found that 27% of currently serving women had been victims of sexual assault at work, half of which were assaulted by superiors.¹⁶² A second survey, conducted in 2018, found little change in their results and that nearly 900 regular force members and 600 reservists had been sexually assaulted in the last 12 months.¹⁶³ Overall “7 in 10 members reported that they had witnessed or experienced sexualized or discriminatory behaviour in the past 12 months”.¹⁶⁴

Such an environment is in direct contrast with the CAF professional ethics and values. It had established policies explicitly against inappropriate sexual behaviour with little measurable effective.¹⁶⁵ In fact there is evidence that members, both men and

¹⁶¹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

¹⁶² Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 19-20, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 357-358, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWVhc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁶³ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 37, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

¹⁶⁴ Canada, *Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces Regular Force* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, last modified 22 May 2019), 13, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-603-x/85-603-x2019002-eng.htm>.

¹⁶⁵ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>; Andrea Ellner, "The Ethics of Inclusion: Gender Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Sexual Assault in the Australian, British, Canadian and U.S. Armed Forces," in *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, edited by Lucas, George, 300 (Routledge, 2015), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cfvlibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=2057960>.

women, become inured to this culture over time and become desensitised to it, urging peers to just ignore it and move on.¹⁶⁶ Senior members were known to ignore it and victims were afraid to report, for fear of being punished for being ‘difficult’.¹⁶⁷ This indifference was seen by many victims and abusers as condoning this type of behaviour and has been attributed to emboldening abusers to “move from crass talk to groping, forced kissing and rape”.¹⁶⁸

There exists in the CAF, a general perception that objectifying women, making sexual jokes, publicizing sexual exploits and generally degrading women in the workplace is acceptable and that reporting such behaviour will result in punishment, for victim and bystander alike.¹⁶⁹ Numerous CAF members have come forward stating “that they fear negative repercussions for career progression, including being removed from the unit, ... concern about not being believed, being stigmatized as weak, labeled as a trouble-maker, subjected to retaliation by peers and supervisors, or diagnosed as unfit for

¹⁶⁶ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁶⁷ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii-iii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

¹⁶⁸ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁶⁹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii-iii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

work”.¹⁷⁰ Others feared being singled out as “unsuitable for military life” or “not one of the guys”.¹⁷¹

Following a series of accusations against the former CDS, Vance, who led the creation of the diversity strategy and of Operation Honour, the mission of which was to eliminate HISB within the CAF,¹⁷² and against his successor, Admiral McDonald, the new Acting CDS, General Eyre, closed out Operation Honour as having run its course stating that:

The CAF is at an inflection point with regards to our culture. Recent sexual misconduct revelations and allegations are very disturbing, have shaken us, and made clear how much farther we need to go to be the CAF that our people deserve, and Canadians expect. ... We need to view the current crisis as an opportunity and come out of it as a better organisation. We will re-establish trust in an environment characterized by a sense of mutual respect, dignity, safety and truly belonging.¹⁷³

There is a clear link between the existence of a sexualized culture that fosters a tolerance of HISB towards women and the difficulty of both recruiting and retaining

¹⁷⁰ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, iii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>; Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 357, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁷¹ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 357, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZW9vc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁷² Canada, *CDS Operation Order – Operation Honour* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/operation-honour/orders-policies-directives/cds-operation-order.html>.

¹⁷³ W.D. Eyre, *Letter from the Acting Chief of the Defence Staff* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 3 March 2021), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/maple-leaf/defence/2021/03/march-24-acting-cds-letter.html?fbclid=IwAR0lz5TganrhecVdLGgPZDiaBtrJgZDcWzOq2n5cWEbUkiuKJGX8f0Ns51g>.

women in the CAF.¹⁷⁴ The fact that those highest ranking members of the organization are being investigated for the very behaviour they sought to stamp out, is indicative of the scope of the problem. Although it is easy to state that the CAF will regain the public's trust it will be far more difficult to actually accomplish that feat, especially in the face of institutional reluctance to change.

Attitudes towards Change, Diversity and Training

“Military culture comprises the attitudes, values, goals, beliefs, and behaviors characteristic of the institution that are rooted in traditions, customs, and practices and influenced by leadership”.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately many of the traditions, customs and practices of the CAF developed in the absence of women and in a time when women were not even considered full citizens in Canada, let alone full members of the CAF.¹⁷⁶ Therefore the ingrained attitudes, values and beliefs of soldiers tend to be antagonistic towards change, diversity and women in the military, in the absence of deliberate leadership towards a more professional. Military organisations tend to be classified as conservative and slow to change. The heavy emphasis on tradition and history within the CAF

¹⁷⁴ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, vii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>; Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 355-356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZY29wZT1zaXRI#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Siegl, "Military Culture and Transformation," *Joint Force Quarterly* 29 (Spring 2008): 103, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a518278.pdf>.

¹⁷⁶ Jennifer Stoddart, "Women and the Law," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified 26 August 2014, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/women-and-the-law>.

suggests an emotional attachment to symbols and tradition which would make it naturally antithetical to change.¹⁷⁷

Change is disruptive and the way women gained full entry into the CAF, through human rights legislation and court challenges, has been framed as a disruption to the preconceived notion of what an armed forces should look like. The government “imposed from without on the organization, rather than adopted from within” and this has been expressed by some CAF members as politically correct meddling, that has weakened the force.¹⁷⁸ Dr. Andrea Lane noted that those whose identity is tied closely with the ideal soldier image may feel that a diversification is a threat to that identity, while those that see being a soldier as a role, with many different aspects and capabilities are less likely to see change to demographics as a threat.¹⁷⁹

Uniformity and conformity are long standing tenants of effective soldiers. However, the need to leverage Canada’s entire population to fill the ranks and the increased demand for different skillsets, means that the CAF has had to diversify its membership. This creates a tension between the flexibility needed to effectively manage

¹⁷⁷ Donna Winslow and Jason Dunn, “Women in the Canadian Forces: Between Legal and Social Integration,” *Current Sociology* 50, no. 5 (September 2002): 641. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392102050005003>.

¹⁷⁸ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 355, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

a diverse work force and the constraints of conformity needed to respond quickly and predictably in an emergency or battlefield situation.¹⁸⁰

Most CAF women have been exposed to an environment where they are unwanted.¹⁸¹ Since the full integration of women in the CAF was mandated, there have been many allegations that social engineering, political correctness and the integration of visible minorities, members of the LGBTQ2 community and women have diluted the “warrior ethos”.¹⁸² This “feminized weakening or fracturing within civil society” has been blamed for the dissolution of what are considered traditional values and that feminine values of cooperation and compassion were to blame for the CAF transitioning from traditional operations to peacekeeping in the nineties.¹⁸³ This myopic view of change completely ignores globalization, evolving security threats and societal changes within Canada. It implies that the CAF should stay the same while the rest of the world changes around it, a recipe for irrelevancy.

Before 2015, senior CAF leaders were aware of the harmful sexualize culture within the institution and developed and implemented a harassment training campaign composed of a mix of on-line media and group discussions led by unit leaders. However, due to the operational tempo of these units, a lack of buy-in for the program from unit

¹⁸⁰ A.N. Comisso, *Deliberate Measures: Harnessing the Narrative on Diversity in the Canadian Armed Forces*, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2019), 60, <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/308/286/comisso.pdf>.

¹⁸¹ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZhc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRI#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁸² Andrea Lane, "Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal* (Toronto) 72, no. 4 (2017): 467, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

leaders and a lack of interest from unit members, these exercises devolved into a routine, “box-ticking” exercise and were openly mocked as useless and a waste of time.¹⁸⁴

Following the Deschamps report it became evident that more needed to be done to address the problem, so former CDS General Vance launched Operation Honour to “eliminate harmful and inappropriate sexual behaviour in the military”. The lack of buy-in for this operation was immediately apparent when members started to refer to the operation by the homophone “Hop on Her”.¹⁸⁵

The second immediate affect was a “backlash against women”.¹⁸⁶ This backlash came from all sides. While saying all the right things in public, behind closed doors leaders expressed frustration with implementing the requirements for the operation. The responsibility for fixing this systemic problem was put on their shoulders along with the implied threat that failure meant the end of their careers. More mandatory training caused frustration across the ranks, as leaders at every level were required to run these new courses, which in a lot of cases, they were not equipped, nor happy to do. Women were increasingly treated as suspicious, and out to cause trouble in the organisation.¹⁸⁷

Testifying to the Standing Committee on National Defence, Ms St-Pierre noted that

¹⁸⁴ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 358

¹⁸⁶ Canada, 2018-2019 *Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

change is being blocked by “deeply ingrained attitudes and biases against women and other diverse groups”.¹⁸⁸

Although reporting of incidence and investigation did increase, the government of Canada and the CAF both ignored the recommendation in the Deschamps report that highlighted the importance of an external reporting mechanism.¹⁸⁹ Since victims still had to report through the chain of command, there was no confidence in the confidentiality of the system and no safety from reprisals.¹⁹⁰

Service before Self but not before Family

It is widely understood that joining the CAF means a requirement to be posted around the country and deployed, sometimes with little notice. It is a requirement accepted by all members when they sign up. However, since most CAF bases are in remote, rural communities, this separation from extended family and community support makes satisfying both family and service commitments a challenge.¹⁹¹ While Service before self is an agreed upon tenant in the military, service before family is a harder pill to swallow. Routine moves make it difficult to establish stable spousal employment,

¹⁸⁸ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 51, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

¹⁸⁹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, i, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

¹⁹⁰ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

¹⁹¹ Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

schooling for children, help with special needs, elder care, and health care for families.¹⁹²

In Canada, women are still much more likely to be responsible for family care and household work than men and this makes balancing a military care, with these responsibilities, extremely challenging.¹⁹³

There are two main barriers causing retention issues with EEGs, a lack of family support and limited career progression.¹⁹⁴ Having to balance the demands of both family obligations and military career demands, without local support, negatively affects women's career advancement in the CAF, relative to their male counterparts and support services have not been developed to address this problem.¹⁹⁵

The challenge of balancing family care and a career is not unique to the military. However, most other fields allow a choice on where to live and more options in childcare arrangements, community supports, flexible work arrangements and stability. Although paternity leave is standardized, there is very little flexibility to phase in and out of full time employment before and after the birth of a child or in medical situations where members are needed to care for a family member.¹⁹⁶ Child care options in small rural communities are limited, if available at all, and postings to more urban areas create financial constraints that junior, less paid members cannot overcome. Some trades are also more operationally demanding than others and changing trades to facilitate a more family

¹⁹² Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

¹⁹³ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 31, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

friendly arrangement is difficult and often not possible at all. All of these concerns are barriers to all members of the CAF but affect women more proportionally and do not even take into consideration additional challenges for single parents. All members need to have a family care plan, just in case they are recalled to duty, are required to attend in-person training or are needed to deploy.¹⁹⁷

Not being able to deploy, for any reason, directly affects career progression and family obligations, if too pressing, mean this is a severe limiting factor for many women.¹⁹⁸ The Women Peace and Security Group noted that the CAF is still framed around the idea that all military members are men with stay-at-home female spouses and has not adjusted its support networks to reality.¹⁹⁹ This is currently affecting women more than men but this dynamic, if not addressed, will affect all members as responsibility for elder and child care equalizes across genders.

Lack of family support is just one aspect of military life that causes barriers to women's full participation in the CAF. The do more with less culture, or 'optimize without compromise' attitude of the military, in the face of failed recruiting programs and widening personnel gaps, has placed a lot of pressure on remaining members. The CAF promotes a workaholic culture that affects caregivers more acutely than others, but also increased mental health distress, reduces community involvement, limits socialization,

¹⁹⁷ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

¹⁹⁸ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 31, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

and therefore dating pools, to the work place and burns out people at a faster rate, contributing to increasing attrition rates.²⁰⁰

Uniforms and Equipment

The CAF has made a lot of advances in updating uniform policies, permitting different head coverings, religious and cultural articles and hair arrangements that took into consideration a more diverse force.²⁰¹ However, these additions, with the exception of the ability for men to wear beards, were openly mocked by long-serving members. It took years, but women were finally allowed to have belt loops added to their pants after trying to get decision makers to understand that not all women have curvy hips.²⁰² However, there are still issues, focused mostly around operational equipment such as ruck sacs and combat gear that is limited in size availability and shape. Most of this gear can not be scaled down to some women's smaller frame or is not designed for people with breasts.²⁰³ A specific change, moved the combat uniform rank insignia from the shoulder to the middle of the chest, and although there is no functional or modesty concern for women, given the style of uniform, it causes endless awkwardness during promotion ceremonies where men can be promoted (have their rank removed and replaced with the new one by their commanding officer) without issue, but women are

²⁰⁰ Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

²⁰¹ Chantal Fraser, "Diversity Recruiting: It's Time to Tip the Balance," *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 25, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>.

²⁰² Canada, *Dress Instructions: Chapter 5 Orders of Dress, Section 1 General*. (Ottawa, Department of National Defence, last modified 13 November 2019), <https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/caf/military-identity-system/dress-manual/chapter-5.html>

²⁰³ Kristen Everson, "Canada's Top General is asked about Getting Equipment Fitted Especially for Women," *CBC News*, last modified 17 February 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/vance-conference-question-sanfacon-1.3989588>.

just handed the new rank and told to promote themselves. These are just a few micro-aggressions women face from gender-blind decision making.

Themes and Interactions of Barriers

Each of the barriers and barrier sub-components identified in this chapter can be categorized by how they affect the attraction, recruitment and retention of women in the CAF. However it is important to note that many of them overlap with one or more categories. For instance, lack of diversity in recruiting centres is a barrier to both attraction and recruitment while the concept of being separated from family and community may be a barrier to attraction and retention. Figure 3.1 illustrates these relationships based on the information presented in this paper. The four non-blue bubbles towards the centre of the figure highlight those aspects that appeared most frequently in the reports and seemed to have the greatest impact on all three categories; attraction, recruitment and retention. Those include the public's perception of the CAF, the existence of a sexualized culture, discrimination and harassment, poor strategic messaging dealing with these issues, and the overall organisational culture of the CAF.

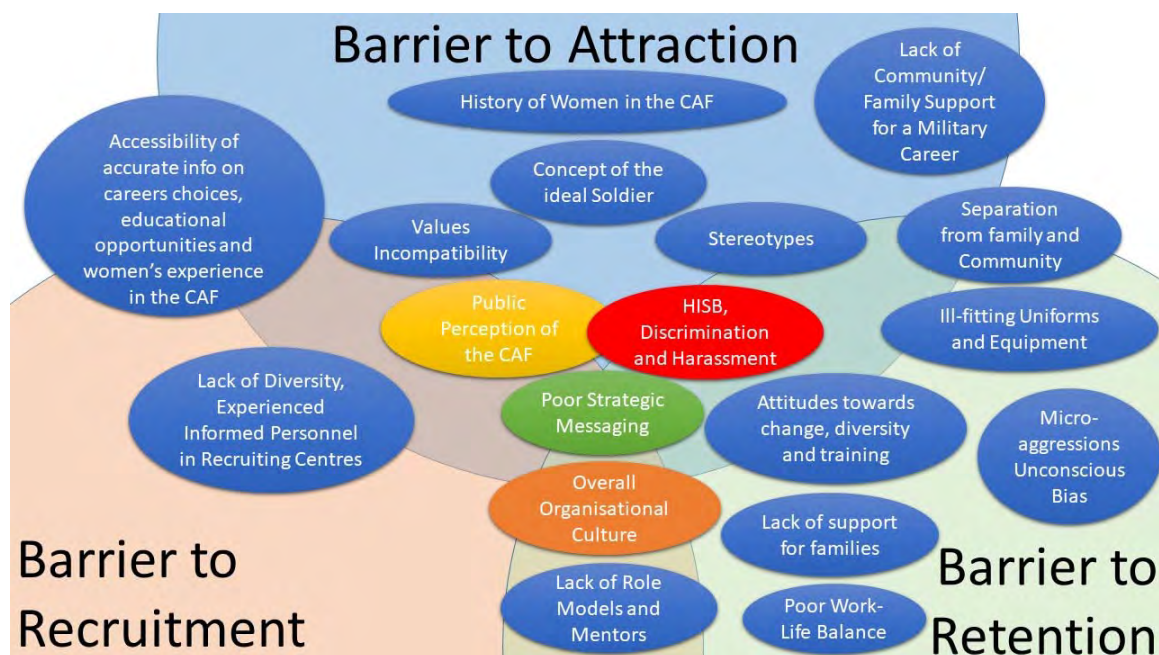


Figure 3.1 – Barrier Themes

Figure 3.2 illustrates the relationship of each barrier and sub-barrier component and how each compounds or reinforce the others. For instance the public's perception of the CAF, highlighted in yellow is at the centre of the figure, is being feed from a multitude of other factors and barriers. The arrows pointing to it intend to demonstrate which of the other barriers contribute to the overall public impression of the CAF and in turn whether or not it is considered and EOC for women.

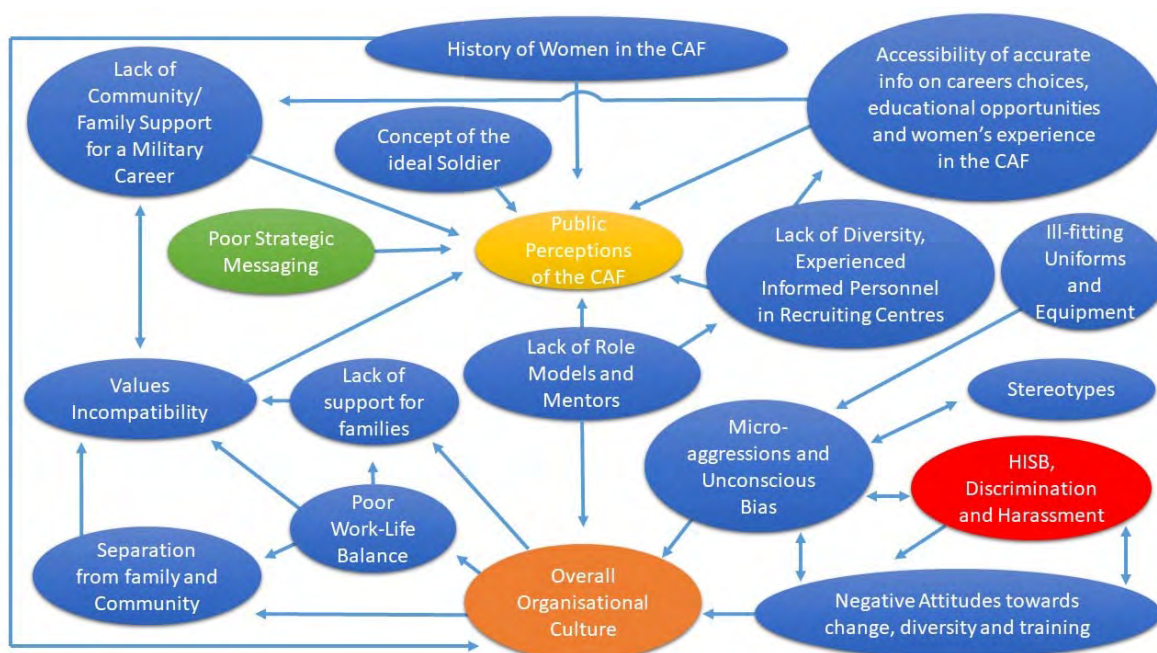


Figure 3.2 – Interaction of Barriers

Conclusion

This chapter explored the barriers that are presented to women, stemming from a troubled history, and into the public's perception of the CAF. It discussed systemic problems in the recruiting system and delved into recent revelations of HISB that permeates the institution. Finally it examined quality of life barriers such as family support, work-life balance, and deficiencies in equipment and uniforms.

It is clear from this analysis that the history and circumstances of the integration of women have contributed to enduring negative attitudes towards women as well as the unsafe and harmful environment that many CAF women find themselves in. The perspectives of the CAF by the Canadian public are rooted in fact and are actively dissuading women from joining the ranks at the same time as the CAF is doing very little

to correct these problems, increase the recruitment of women and to find ways to improve the culture and attitudes that are toxic to the entire institution and threaten its operational effectiveness and legitimacy.

The next chapter will further explore the barriers identified in this chapter and their relationships to each other. It will also contrast these barriers to available reports, audits and recommendations with the aim of identify any gaps between what needs to be done to lower identified barriers and the current CAF plans.

CHAPTER 4: GAP ANALYSIS

The barriers identified in the previous chapter can be broken down into three categories. Table 4.1 lists the barriers to attraction to the CAF as a career choice, barriers encountered in the recruiting process and barriers to retention that focus on quality of life, family support and organisational culture.

Barriers to Attraction	History of Gender Integration
	Public Perception of the CAF
Barriers to Recruiting	Targets
	Recruiters
	Access to Information
	Strategic Messaging
Barriers to Retention	Harmful and Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour
	Attitudes towards Change, Diversity and Training
	Lack of Role Models
	Support for Families
	Quality of Life
	Uniforms and Equipment

Table 4.1 – Barriers by Category

Each of these barriers have been identified in one way or another over the last six years in the form of reports, audits and action plans, internal and external to the CAF. This

chapter will explore each in turn to understand the CAF's plan, or lack thereof, to address them, what has already been recommended, what the CAF has done so far and what gaps exist that either have been noted but not actioned or have yet to be formally identified. This analysis will form the basis of the recommended next steps that will be laid out in Chapter 5.

Barriers to Attraction

History

The resistance to the full integration of women into the CAF set the conditions for several systemic barriers for potential female candidates and the toxic conditions in which women are serving. The voraciousness of the opposition and the foot-dragging by leaders, insisting on multiple repeated trials, created the clear impression that women were not wanted in the military and engrained several myths into the psyche of Canadians. These include arguments against the leadership abilities of women and how women are to blame for the current sexualized culture within the CAF today.

Arguments articulated against the full integration of women, such as that women cannot lead in a military context, or that they decrease the operational effectiveness of their unit, have been disproven, but those myths and perceptions endure and have contributed to the lack of women promoted into senior leadership roles.²⁰⁴ The misconception that feminine leadership is both markedly different than that of masculine

²⁰⁴ Karen D. Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), vii-viii; Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 93-94 (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

leadership and also ineffective in a military environment has been linked to barriers to the promotion of women to senior levels of the CAF.²⁰⁵ There exists both conscious and unconscious biases that have affected the selection of senior officers and non-commissioned members over the last thirty years, despite evidence of the effectiveness of women as military leaders and only small identifiable differences between the leadership styles of men and women in general.²⁰⁶ In fact, 76 separate military leadership studies concluded that gender stereotypes played a larger role for determining who was a more effective leader, men or women, than actual performance.²⁰⁷ Women leaders were consistently penalized by raters, regardless if they used generalized feminine or masculine styles, completely independent of the leadership outcome,²⁰⁸ demonstrating that bias was the key determination of the rating.

Secondly, the arguments that a woman's presence within an operational unit or on the battlefield, would disrupt the operational effectiveness of a unit or become an unavoidable sexual temptation, established an accepted narrative that male soldiers cannot control themselves despite their training.²⁰⁹ This resulted in a culture of victim blaming and the normalization of sexualized culture that centered on the notion that women forced their way into the military, despite this warning, so they should not be

²⁰⁵ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 93, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 93-95.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Andrea Ellner, "The Ethics of Inclusion: Gender Equality, Equal Opportunity, and Sexual Assault in the Australian, British, Canadian and U.S. Armed Forces," in *Routledge Handbook of Military Ethics*, edited by Lucas, George, 306 (Routledge, 2015), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cfvlibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=2057960>; Andrea Lane, "Special Men: The Gendered Militarization of the Canadian Armed Forces," *International Journal (Toronto)* 72, no. 4 (2017): 479, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/docview/1988369004?pq-origsite=summon>.

surprised by a culture of misogyny, and sexual assault. This implication does a great disservice to the hardworking, disciplined and service oriented men in the CAF. It is important to note that most servicemen do not participate in this behaviour but the underlying indifference to the existence to this concept allows those men who want to take advantage of it, to get away with horrific behaviour with relative impunity with little recourse for victims.²¹⁰

These two main misconceptions, created by the historic context of female integration in the military have endured for decades, without being acknowledged. Further still, it was only in 2015, in the wake of the Deschamps report that the CAF acknowledged that HISB in the military is systemic and needs to be addressed, despite years of media reporting.²¹¹ Today, CAF leaders have acknowledged that there is a problem that needs to be fixed but there has been no concerted effort made to dispel the myths that feminine leadership is less effective, that women decrease the operational effectiveness of a unit or that male military members know what appropriate behaviour is and can control themselves. Instead the CAF has committed to only fighting the symptoms caused by these misconceptions: lack of women in leadership and a culture of HISB.

²¹⁰ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>; Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 114, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

²¹¹ Canada, *CDS Operation Order – Operation Honour* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/operation-honour/orders-policies-directives/cds-operation-order.html>.

Public Perceptions of the CAF

The second set of barriers to attraction in the CAF, identified in Chapter 3, revolve around the perception that the military is not an EOC for women. These perceptions include the idea that the military does not provide a safe working environment for women, free from harassment and sexual assault, that it does not adequately support families, or have sufficient flexibility for members, but especially women, to establish a healthy family or work-life balance.²¹² However, these identified perspectives turned out to be more than misconceptions, and were identified as barriers to retention, thus these barriers will be examined, as such, in later sections. The remaining perception that needs to be addressed by the CAF to lower the barrier to attraction for women is the concept of the ideal soldier, built up by popular culture, CAF traditional recruiting targets and advertising and by a lack of female representation.

Although there is really nothing the CAF can do to affect how television and movies portray soldiers, it needs to focus on convincing Canadian women that the CAF is for them. The 2016 Recruiting and Retention Audit noted that, while the CAF did put in some additional effort into recruiting women than in the past, it had no coherent plan to

²¹² David Akin, "Canada's Armed Forces, struggling to hit diversity goals, turns to new digital recruiting tools," *Global News*, last modified 14 September 2018, <https://globalnews.ca/news/4450927/canada-armed-forces-diversity-goals-digital-recruiting/>; Chantal Fraser, "Diversity Recruiting: It's Time to Tip the Balance," *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 26-30, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>; Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>; Rhonda Stevens, *Leveraging Diversity: Gender-Based Recruitment and Retention in the Canadian Armed Forces*, 4-6, (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2018), <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/192/stevens.pdf>.

reach its employment equity target of 25 percent by 2026.²¹³ The CAF responded to this report by noting that it was in the process of “re-energising its attraction and marketing campaigns” in which it assigned a specific line of effort to recruiting women.²¹⁴ To do this, it planned to stand up a task force that would be dedicated to “developing, planning and executing activities aimed at increasing diversity” within the CAF.²¹⁵ This task force was intended to work with an advisory board of prominent Canadians to “influence potential recruits and other stakeholders to make the CAF and EOC.”²¹⁶ Finally it promised to design and launch an experiential learning program to “inform and educate women about the benefits” of a career in the CAF.²¹⁷

In 2017 the CAF released an annex to its Diversity Strategy in the form of an action plan. In this plan, the CAF identified specific activities with regards to improving the recruitment and retention of designated groups, including women. Under Goal 2: Inculcate a Culture of Diversity,²¹⁸ it lists specific tasks to modernize the CAF identity,²¹⁹ and Conduct Strategic Communication.²²⁰ Modernizing the CAF identity included ensuring that diversity messaging appeared in all CAF advertisements, and a requirement to communicate these same messages via social media.²²¹ Under Conduct Strategic Communication it directs the local diversity officers to establish relationships with local

²¹³ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-5, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, B-6.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, B-7.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, B-6.

communities and organisations, in order to share information on what the CAF is doing to foster inclusiveness within its ranks. Furthermore, it directs CAF members to participate in commemorative events associated with each EEG, so that these activities can be included in annual employment equity reports.²²²

Goal 4 of the Diversity Action Plan focused in on improving recruitment and retention with respect to improving the impression Canadians have of the CAF. Action items include community and cultural event involvement, building relationships with external networks, recognizing the contributions of diverse CAF members' accomplishments publicly, sponsoring participation of CAF members in local events and connecting on social media.²²³

The 2018-2019 Departmental Progress Report on Women, Peace and Security highlighted a few noteworthy programs that had been developed by these efforts such as the "Recruiter for a Day" program that got more trades and diverse representatives in contact with the public for specific events, several "I love My Job" videos added to the recruiting websites as well as a "Women in the CAF" webpage.²²⁴ The most significant initiative was the launch of the "Women in Force" program, in 2017, which allowed 120 women to experience CAF life, before committing to join. It received excellent feedback and helped increase the enrollment of women.²²⁵

²²² Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-7-8, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

²²³ *Ibid.*, B-12-B13.

²²⁴ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²²⁵ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa:

Although these programs and initiatives did increase communication between the CAF and the Canadian population, they failed to increase recruitment to the needed levels to stay on track with recruitment goals.²²⁶ Although there were more advertisements that included images and videos of women, and the celebration of prominent women on the CAF's social media pages, these activities failed to meaningfully change the perception of the ideal soldier. Many currently serving women are still experiencing the pressure of feeling like they need to "be one of the boys" in order to be accepted as part of the team.²²⁷ This perception needs to change so that more women can see themselves as members of the CAF.

The CAF may need to take a broader look at this image problem to help Canadian women see themselves as being able to contribute meaningfully to the CAF, without having to transform themselves into a stereotypical masculine soldier. Through shared testimonials of currently serving members, and by demonstrating more examples of the many trades the CAF has to offer, it could show how women make a difference in military operations globally. Their differences as women are needed because diversity makes the CAF more effective, thus the CAF needs to transform its strategic messaging from 'you have a right to be here' to 'we need you to join our team so we can make a difference together'. This type of strategic messaging may better help women see how their contributions are needed and would be valued as the people they are, and lift the

Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 110-111, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

idea, that they need to become an artificial masculine version of themselves to fit into and be effective within the organisation.

Barriers to Recruiting

The second theme of barriers revolved around the recruiting systems as a whole. The 2016 Recruiting and Retention Audit noted systemic issues around the application process, wait times, recruiting targets, the quality and demographics of recruiters, access to recruiting centres, access to accurate information, and once enrolled, the time it took to start the training process. All of these issues affected recruiting holistically for all candidates.²²⁸ According to follow-on reporting, a lot of progress has been made with respect to streamlining the application process, reviving closed files and closing the gap between enrolment and basic training.²²⁹ However, several issues still remain such as a lack of recruiting targets, quality control of recruiters, access to accurate information and strategic messaging which continue to affect the recruitment of women and other EEGs in particular.²³⁰

Targets

The 2016 Recruiting and Retention Audit noted that “although the Regular Force had mechanisms in place to define its recruiting needs, those needs were not reflected in

²²⁸ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

²²⁹ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

recruiting plans and targets”.²³¹ The overall recruiting plan was based solely on the CAF’s ability to process applications and training system capacity and it was deemed to expensive to make changes to the training system.²³² Moreover, in order to reach these artificial targets, it was found to over-enrol in some trades, leaving others below required levels.²³³ Although specific targets were established for EEGs in 2016, there was no actual plan to reach them, and the need of specific occupations, with respect to EEGs, was completely ignored. A follow up on progress in recruiting reforms in 2019 showed little progress in these areas. The CAF to date has failed to construct a comprehensive plan to increase the number of women in the CAF to 25 percent by 2026, it has yet to apply specific targets to individual occupations.²³⁴

Recruiters

A lack of women and representatives from other EEGs in recruiting centres was noted as a significant barrier to recruitment in 2016.²³⁵ Although diversifying individual recruiting centres has remained a challenge for the CAF, the implementation of the “Recruiter for a Day” program has been successful in connecting potential candidates with serving members who look like them.²³⁶ However, no comprehensive program to

²³¹ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²³⁵ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

²³⁶ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa:

improve the quality of the selection of recruiters could be located. This is most likely due to the fact that each trade is managed separately, and each recruiting position is filled by individual career managers with little coordination. Standards across all these trades for recruiting positions would need to be established to ensure recruiters are especially adept at communicating, advocating, and empathizing with people from diverse backgrounds, needs and expectations. This will continue to be a barrier to recruiting until it is addressed.

Access to Information

There have been several new initiatives related to improving the access to information about the CAF, specifically in relation to women and other EEGs. Specifically the CAF launched a new webpage entitled *Women in the Forces*. This new provides a lot of good information about this history of women in the CAF, benefits, educational opportunities as well as vignettes about currently serving women in several trades.²³⁷ However, it needs to be noted that it also makes claims that cannot be substantiated within the current cultural crisis, such as a supportive, safe work environment, family support and work-life balance. This may be seen as false advertising in contrast to media reporting and contribute to retention issues when women find out that these claims are not necessarily backed up in reality.²³⁸ A second communication initiative was the “Ask Me Anything” event that was conducted online to answer 20

Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²³⁷ Canada, *Women in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last accessed 1 May 2021), <https://forces.ca/en/women-in-the-caf/>.

²³⁸ Canada, *Women in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last accessed 1 May 2021), <https://forces.ca/en/women-in-the-caf/>.

frequently asked question about life in the CAF.²³⁹ This was a marked change from the CAF's regular social media habits of feeding information one way, in a monologue fashion, without actually interacting with the public.²⁴⁰ There is a lot more potential that social media could provide the CAF if it was interested in answering questions, or linking up potential candidates with people in their demographic groups, or the occupations they might be interested in. For example, there is an opportunity to communicate to Canadians and potential recruits, the revolutionary work that the CAF intends to do by implementing its total health and wellness plans as described within the defence policy,²⁴¹ or how it works with the Military Family Resource Centres to support the families of serving members.²⁴²

In response to the 2016 audit, the CAF noted that a cultural shift with respect to recruiting was underway and that it was prioritizing the enrolment of women through both regular recruiting efforts and through its officer training programs.²⁴³ Women who had released within the last five years were also offered re-enrolment opportunities.²⁴⁴ However, no explanation was provided on how it was convincing women that the CAF

²³⁹ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²⁴⁰ Savard, Jean-Francois and Mathieu Landriault, "Transforming the relationship between the Canadian military and Indigenous People: Evidence from the Traditional and Social Media," *Canadian Political Science Association*, (2019), 25, <https://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/documents/conference/2019/105.Savard-Landriault.pdf>.

²⁴¹ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 25, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 28

²⁴³ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

was an EOC, especially following the release of the 2015 Deschamps report that highlighted a sexualized culture that was toxic to women.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, it did not explain how it was to convince women, who had released, to re-enrol as there was no comprehensive exit survey data available to understand the reasons for their departure in the first place.²⁴⁶

Strategic Messaging

Most of the activities identified in the CAF Diversity Strategy Action Plan towards recruiting were aimed at improving the image of the CAF in the eyes of Canadians. This included forging relationships with community groups and highlighting the accomplishments of CAF women and other EEOs on social media. These are some very important first steps, facilitating opportunities to communicate with the public and getting more, accurate information to Canadians. However, there seems to be an enduring deficiency with regards to strategic messaging. More focus needs to be made on highlighting the numerous career opportunities within the CAF, which would benefit from Canadian women as well as educational opportunities and other incentives that can make the CAF an EOC. The fact that the CAF has over 100 different trades, many of which do not have a civilian equivalent, is relatively unknown as are the many different

²⁴⁵ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

²⁴⁶ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

education opportunities from trade schools to university educations, paid for by the CAF.²⁴⁷

Overall it seems that the CAF has good intentions to attract women and other EEGs but it is missing the opportunity to ease concern about specific perceptions of CAF life for women, such as quality life improvements. Moreover, there is a lack of strategic messaging about why the CAF is seeking more women. These intentions are made clear, in the defence policy which notes that the CAF needs the “unique talents and skill-sets of Canada’s diverse population” and plans to reach 25 percent women by 2026.²⁴⁸ Furthermore it articulates that the CAF needs to “reflect the diversity of the country we defend” and are “committed to attracting, recruiting and retaining more women in the Canadian Armed Forces across all ranks and promoting women into senior leadership positions.” It pledges to create an environment of “gender equality and providing a work environment where women are welcomed, supported and respected”.²⁴⁹ Improving the number of women in the CAF is expected to “contribute to positive Canadian Armed Forces culture change, but will also increase overall operational effectiveness”.²⁵⁰

Expressing these messages, sentiments and intentions to potential candidates may be successful in conveying that the CAF is an employer that needs and will value their

²⁴⁷ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²⁴⁸ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 12, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²⁵⁰ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 23, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

contributions. However this is not a publication that potential recruits would necessarily come across. These messages need to be incorporated into recruiting products and distributed to potential recruits so they can understand the opportunities the CAF can offer that make it an EOC.

Since 2016 the CAF has made some incremental steps forward in clarifying that women indeed have a place in the CAF, and should see themselves as potential soldiers. Programs like ‘Women in Force’ that have shown themselves to be successful should be expanded. However, more emphasis needs to be placed on the strategic message that the CAF needs women to be relevant, to maintain its legitimacy as a defender of a democracy and to be operationally effective throughout the world. The CAF also needs women to help facilitate a much needed culture change and women need to know that their contributions will be valued. Moreover, the organisational cultural problems cannot be hidden from potential candidates. The CAF must be transparent with these challenges so they can be openly discussed while communicating how they are being addressed, alongside the opportunities that are unique to the CAF that make it an EOC.

Barriers to Retention

Harmful and Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour

The most significant barrier to the attraction, recruitment and retention of female CAF members is the existence of a toxic, prevalent, sexualize culture that has cultivated and insulated the existence of HISB that affects all members, but more proportionally

women and members of the LGBTQ2 community.²⁵¹ In 2015 the Deschamps report resulted in 10 recommendations.²⁵² These recommendations have never been fully implemented despite being mandated in the 2017 Defence Policy,²⁵³ and repeated in four separate subsequent plans and reports.²⁵⁴

In accordance with recommendation 1, the CAF has acknowledged that HISB is a serious problem when it launched Operation Honour.²⁵⁵ Operation Honour also attempted to satisfy the second recommendation, “establish a strategy to effect cultural change to eliminate the sexualized environment”.²⁵⁶ However, with the culmination of Operation Honour in the wake of multiple HISB allegation against the CDS that enacted it, as well as recent revelations of 581 reports of sexual assault and an additional 221 incidents of

²⁵¹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ii, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>

²⁵² *Ibid.*, ix-x.

²⁵³ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 28, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

²⁵⁴ Canada, *2018 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2018, 35-37 https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201811_05_e_43203.html; Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng; Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Canada, *Plans at a Glance*. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 10 March 2020), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/departamental-plans/departamental-plan-2020-21-index/plans-at-glance.html>.

²⁵⁵ Canada, *CDS Operation Order – Operation Honour* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/operation-honour/orders-policies-directives/cds-operation-order.html>.

²⁵⁶ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ix, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>.

sexual harassment in the CAF, over the last five years,²⁵⁷ shows this culture change has not taken place.

Recommendations 3 centered on the creation of “independent center for accountability for sexual assault and harassment outside of the CAF”.²⁵⁸ Instead, CAF leaders decided that an organization outside the chain of command of the units, but that reported to the CDS, was sufficiently ‘independent’ and therefore created the Sexual Misconduct Response Centre (SMRC). The SMRC was assigned responsibility for developing training, satisfying recommendation 10, tracking reports and providing victim support, satisfying recommendation 9. The SMRC was not permitted to act as a mechanism to report harassment and assault, ignoring recommendation 4 completely and forcing affected members to either report to their chains of command and hope for fair treatment or not report at all.

Recommendation 5 was based on the fact that a clear definition of sexual assault and harassment was not available at the time of the report and that there was clear confusion in the minds of many CAF members. Thus, it directed the development of a detailed definition of inappropriate sexual behaviour.²⁵⁹ The definition that was developed is as follows:

²⁵⁷ Murray Brewster, “Military recorded more than 500 Sexual Assault Reports during Five-Year Effort to Stamp out Misconduct,” *CBC News*, last modified 29 April 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canadian-forces-sexual-assault-misconduct-operation-honour-1.6006290>.

²⁵⁸ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ix, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>.

²⁵⁹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, ix, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>.

...actions that perpetuate stereotypes and modes of thinking that devalue members on the basis of their sex, sexuality, or sexual orientation; unacceptable language or jokes; accessing, distributing, or publishing in the workplace material of a sexual nature; offensive sexual remarks; exploitation of power relationships for the purposes of sexual activity; unwelcome requests of a sexual nature or verbal abuse of a sexual nature; publication of an intimate image of a person without their consent; voyeurism, indecent acts, sexual interference, sexual exploitation, and sexual assault.²⁶⁰

Recommendation 6 directed a “unified policy” to address HISB. However with the restrictions on the SMRC, and its lack of independence, a straightforward, clear approach to addressing HISB is not possible. Victim services, training and tracking is separated from reporting which remains with the chain of command, where victims need to rely on those in power to address the situation through separate channels depending on the specific details of the report. Harassment, assault and inappropriate behaviour are covered under different policies, and reporting to the SMRC does not start any of them. It is unclear which cases are addressed through informal or formal dispute resolution, are investigated by military police, the national investigative service or handed over to civilian authorities as those decisions are based on jurisdiction, circumstance and those involved, and none of those decisions are independent of the military chain of command. Recommendation 8 asks for a clear policy, allowing victims to request that their reports are transferred to civilian authorities through the SMRC but since the SMRC cannot accept reports, it is unclear, if or how, victims can request this transfer.

Finally, Recommendation 7 focuses on harassment specifically, suggesting that the use of alternate dispute resolution, which requires victims to confront those they

²⁶⁰ Canada, *2018 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2018, 38, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201811_05_e_43203.html.

accuse in a closed environment, should be reduced and that commanding officers (CO) should be handed complaints directly to act as adjudicators however,²⁶¹ current harassment policy hands over the case to a unit appointed member to investigate the situation on behalf of the CO first, to provide recommendations, potentially violating confidentially on a very sensitive subject.

In order for the CAF to effectively investigate reports of HISB internally it has committed to creating “Military Police Sexual Offence Response Teams” that receive specialized training to properly investigate these types of crimes, meet the needs of victims, properly collect and handle evidence and sensitive information.²⁶²

Three years following the initial Deschamps report, the Auditor General released *Report 5 into Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*, noting several shortfalls and deficiencies and making several recommendations.²⁶³ The report noted that HISB reporting procedures and processes were not clear and that roles and responsibilities needed to be communicated across the entire force to clarify them.²⁶⁴ Despite the existence of the SMRC for this purpose the report noted that there was no consistent level of service for victims and that a “national approach to victim support”

²⁶¹ Canada, *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces*, x, (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 27 March 2015), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/sexual-misbehaviour/external-review-2015.html>.

²⁶² Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 27, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

²⁶³ Canada, *2018 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2018, 35, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201811_05_e_43203.html.

²⁶⁴ Canada, *2018 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2018, 35, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201811_05_e_43203.html.

needed to be established.²⁶⁵ Moreover, it noted that training was not being developed and delivered in a timely manner.²⁶⁶ In the realm of oversight of response to HISB, the Auditor General's report made two recommendations; developing and implementing a performance measurement framework and to use external subject matter experts to provide and "independent assessment of its response" to HISB.²⁶⁷

In 2021, the program continues to fall short. The SMRC still has not finished the 'National Victim Support Strategy and Implementation Plan' and its 'Response and Support Coordination Program' has not reached "full operating capacity".²⁶⁸ Following a series of senior members stepping aside or retiring due to accusations for HISB, and a continuous stream of negative media reports, and reports from former and currently serving members, the Acting CDS closed out Operation Honour,²⁶⁹ and the Government of Canada recently announced a second external review of sexual misconduct in the CAF.²⁷⁰

It is unclear why the CAF and the Government of Canada is opposed to a truly external reporting organization. It seems that would be the clearest way to separate out

²⁶⁵ Canada, *2018 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour – Canadian Armed Forces*: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2018, 36, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201811_05_e_43203.html.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

²⁶⁸ Canada, *Plans at a Glance*. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 10 March 2020), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/departmental-plans/departmental-plan-2020-21-index/plans-at-glance.html>.

²⁶⁹ W.D. Eyre, *Letter from the Acting Chief of the Defence Staff* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 3 March 2021), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/maple-leaf/defence/2021/03/march-24-acting-cds-letter.html?fbclid=IwAR0lz5TganrhecVdLGgPZDiaBtrJgZDcWzOq2n5cWEbUkiuKJGX8f0Ns51g>.

²⁷⁰ Murray Brewster, "Ottawa launches another External Review into Sexual Misconduct in the Military," *CBC News*, last modified 30 April 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/sajjan-military-sexual-misconduct-arbour-1.6007263>.

the lack of training and ability demonstrated by military leaders to effectively deal with these reports, to separate out the conflicts of interest and power-over effects of the victims needing to deal with the chain of command, as well as to clarify and unify the report process. One thing that is clear is the number of accusations and reports concerning senior members, and the vast breadth and volume of reports shows the systemic nature of the problem, stemming back to the integration of women in the CAF. The institution's compulsion to continuously re-review and re-examine the situation before making any substantive changes is reminiscent of the pattern of resistance demonstrated by the CAF during initial efforts to integrate women into the organisation, through multiple repeated trials. If the same resistance to change is reoccurring today, there is little hope of a smooth resolution to these current set of challenges.

Attitudes to Change, Diversity and Training

Closely linked to the prevalence of HISB in the CAF is the negative attitude towards change, diversity and diversity training expressed by some members of the CAF, including those tasked with conducting the training or leading the changes. The integration of women, and other EEGs, in conjunction with the diversity and harassment related training designed to ease this transition, has been widely labeled as a waste of time and has garnered little buy-in from CAF members.²⁷¹ Women are being blamed for the imposition of required training on harassment and gender issues.²⁷² The “deeply

²⁷¹ Andrea Lane, "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, 356, (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRI#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

²⁷² Canada, 2018-2019 *Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa:

ingrained attitudes and biases against women and other diverse groups” are blocking change initiatives,²⁷³ and are actually increasing the institutions resistance to change.

The CAF began dealing with the harassment that accompanied the resistance to change as soon as women were integrated into the organisation. It was first addressed with an administrative order, and then by launching the Standard for Harassment and Racism Prevention (SHARP) education and awareness program once it was made public that early efforts to stanch unacceptable behaviour, were unsuccessful.²⁷⁴

SHARP training was widely unpopular in the CAF, from the prospective of regular members and by the groups it was designed to protect. It was understood as a requirement designed to show that the organisation was doing something to counter the growing media narrative that the CAF cultivated a toxic environment for women, visible minorities and Indigenous people.²⁷⁵ It was described as being “[u]niversally loathed by almost all personnel”,²⁷⁶ “not terribly constructive”,²⁷⁷ “a complete waste of time”,²⁷⁸ and that it “caused more jokes afterward than it did before”.²⁷⁹ Some believed that the

Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

²⁷³ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 51, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

²⁷⁴ Canada, *The Operation HONOUR Manual* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 18 November 2020), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/operation-honour/orders-policies-directives/operation-honour-manual.html>.

²⁷⁵ Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 6.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 123.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

program was “good in theory” but ended up being “divisive”.²⁸⁰ The pervasive view of such program was that they “come across as being stereotypical and divisive”.²⁸¹

SHARP was phased out in 2000, and replaced by a series of administrative orders that “provided updated direction to CAF members”.²⁸² That was the extent of the program until mounting public and media pressure spurred the CAF to launch the external review by former Supreme Court Justice Marie Deschamps in 2015.²⁸³ The debate on the usefulness of such programs is skewed towards ineffectiveness. Some believe that if conducted appropriately they can effect the behaviour of members and that training and policies are instrumental in ensuring members, including senior leaders, know how to behave and that there are clear expectations and an awareness of the sensitivity of such issues.²⁸⁴ However, others believe that “Gender integration will not be achieved through special programs but will be achieved through the passage of time”.²⁸⁵ Backing up this perspective, there are women who have endured and want to celebrate their endurance, and ensure that the newer generations of women understand that progress has been made and that it used to be a lot worse in the beginning.²⁸⁶ But given

²⁸⁰ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 125.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² Canada, *The Operation HONOUR Manual* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, last modified 18 November 2020), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/operation-honour/orders-policies-directives/operation-honour-manual.html>.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 126.

²⁸⁵ Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 7.

²⁸⁶ Margaret F. Kavanagh, “Embracing Challenge and Opportunity: 30 Years of Progress,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 11.

the slowness of this progress, and the systemic issues still prevalent in the CAF, something still needs to be done to facilitate a culture change. As Commodore Margaret F. Kavangah noted when discussing her career, women “have to be twice as good to get half the credit”.²⁸⁷ Perhaps it is time to look at diversity training and education under a different light.

Dr. Angela R. Febbraro, while conducting a leadership study, interviewed a series of female CAF leaders to understand their perspectives on diversity training. One main theme suggested that it should be taught as leadership and team building and not identified as a gender issue at all.²⁸⁸ In fact gender issues are quite frequently conflated with women’s issues.²⁸⁹ However, since gender is a socially constructed stereotype, it affects everyone, but especially people who choose roles that are incongruent with those socially expected gender stereotypes.²⁹⁰

Leaders of diverse groups require different skills than those of purely homogenous ones. There are actual differences and perceived differences between people regardless of gender, ethnic background or the colour of their skin.²⁹¹ Leaders need to understand the different strengths, weaknesses and needs of their people to best support

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁸⁸ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 125.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

²⁹⁰ Andrea Lane, “Women in the Canadian Armed Forces,” in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 351-352, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/cfc.idm.oclc.org/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=b9cef3fb-0c2a-4401-9310-15592b0db1aa%40sessionmgr101&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZSZzY29wZT1zaXRl#AN=2546540&db=nlebk>.

²⁹¹ Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 3.

and employ them. Major Anne Reiffenstein says it's "about accepting soldiers for who and what they are" and getting on with it.²⁹² She also points out that current diversity policies teach people what they are not allowed to say anymore but does not give them the tools and skills to replace those old crutches.²⁹³

Dr. Febbraro's research compiled a list of attributes and qualities needed to facilitate gender integration as well as other diversity initiatives in the CAF. This involved using inclusive language,²⁹⁴ "having a positive attitude towards women in combat roles, setting an example and not singling women out".²⁹⁵ It also pointed out that the use of sexist humour or language undermined leadership credibility.²⁹⁶ Basic leadership competences will also go a long way to facilitating gender integration, such as being able to figure out how different people learn, helping subordinates deal with family issues, addressing gender related logistical issues, and "treating everyone with uniformity and fairness."²⁹⁷

The one leadership behaviour that was most emphasised was not singling women out by their sex. Like all soldiers, women want to be recognized for their hard work and abilities, not for their gender.²⁹⁸ One leader in the study noted that "men are not all cookie

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁹⁴ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 119.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

²⁹⁷ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 123-124.

²⁹⁸ Anne Reiffenstein, "Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment," in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 4.

cutter, they're not the same. Some are strong and some are weak and some are articulate and some are not and some are emotional and some are not" so each person should be developed to "their own individual potential".²⁹⁹

The CAF contains a cross-section of society, and is working towards further diversifying its membership. It is actively working to include people from different backgrounds, ethnicities, experiences, religions, genders, sexual orientation, and education. This means that CAF leaders need to be more situational and culturally aware, more open and flexible to difference and be effective communicators and listeners to be real leaders and be able to adapt to the needs of their subordinates.³⁰⁰ The CAF needs to provide these skills to their leaders, and incorporate these capabilities and soft skills into the criteria for promotion, because if they cannot take into consideration the members needs at lower levels, how will they be able to take care of the organisation at the institutional level?

For this type of training to be successful it must overcome the conscious and unconscious bias of leaders and to stop the transfer of negative viewpoints on diversity and gender integration to new recruits and junior officers navigating the training system. This could be accomplished through diversity education and the strategic messaging discussed earlier in the recruiting section. However this type of education needs to be done by experts rather than the current trend of online, one-way, PowerPoint style training. Education and personal growth can only happen with meaningful dialogue

²⁹⁹ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 120.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

about the challenges, necessities and nuances involved in culture change. This form of training was recommended by the Standing Committee on National Defence.³⁰¹

Moreover, the CAF needs to convince its current leaders that diversity is necessary to remain a legitimate government entity, to remain relevant and operationally capable to achieve its mission. If the CAF cannot convince its own leaders of the importance of diversity and treating its members with dignity and respect, it is unlikely it will be able to achieve integration or convince women that the CAF is an EOC for them.

Role Models

The lack of women in leadership positions, thirty years after full integration into the CAF is a major barrier to convincing Canadian women that they will be valued and supported in the institution, let alone have career progression opportunities. However, not everyone thinks it is a problem, and some believe, since each occupation is open to women, and women have served in the combat arms and aboard ships, that integration has been successfully completed.³⁰² Although the CAF has reached a little over 15 percent women within its ranks, those levels vary considerably by trade and by unit, especially in the combat arms. Having two women in a unit of over 100 does not make for successful integration.³⁰³ Women are still achieving firsts, and those firsts come with a lot of responsibility on junior members and officers alike. Women feel that their gender

³⁰¹ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 3, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

³⁰² Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 2.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

is a barrier to being accepted in a team, and it sets them up with a stigma that is difficult to overcome.³⁰⁴

In addition to the gender stereotypes with regard to leadership style and operational effectiveness discussed at the top of this chapter women have reported significant “social and psychological barriers which affected their ability to perform and which had a significant impact on whether or not they were deemed suitable for the combat arms or leadership roles”.³⁰⁵ One of these barriers is the feeling of isolation, especially in operational environments where they may be the only, or one of two women in the unit. Women have found themselves facing the same challenge of fitting into a unit and proving themselves over and over again in a way that their male counterparts do not face. Men are typically given the benefit of the doubt with regard to their capabilities based on experience and training. However, regardless of how many bona fides a woman brings to these environments, she needs to prove herself both capable and as one of the boys, in order to find a place in the unit.³⁰⁶

Token females also find themselves having to be the example. In the case where a male soldier fails, he is usually looked at as an anomaly, but if a woman fails, that failure is used as confirmation that women are not capable of performing in that specific

³⁰⁴ Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 7.

³⁰⁵ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 95.

³⁰⁶ Karen D. Davis, *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), ix-x.

environment.³⁰⁷ This is also why many women in the military, sense judgement from their fellow servicewomen. The pressure to succeed is very high because the failure of one woman reflects on the rest. Women council their peers not to appear too feminine, to watch how they dress at social events, generally act like one of the boys and not to complain,³⁰⁸ as not to draw attention to their gender. Finally women often find themselves assigned to certain roles, purely based on their sex like being the unit Gender Advisor, or conducting administrative work, or appearing in promotional material, whether they are interested in doing that work or not.³⁰⁹

For its part, the CAF has committed to “attracting, recruiting and retaining more women in the Canadian Armed Forces across all ranks and promoting women into senior leadership positions,³¹⁰ but this is a slow process since attrition rates for women are considerably higher at the 20-year mark in their career then for their male counterparts.³¹¹ Without accurate exit survey’s there is no consensus on what the CAF can do to retain women so they can proceed to the higher ranks.³¹²

³⁰⁷ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 111

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 113 (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009); Anne Reiffenstein, “Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment,” in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 4, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

³¹⁰ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 20-21, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

³¹¹ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

³¹² Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada’s Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa:

The *Diversity Strategy Action Plan* directs the CAF to develop a comprehensive retention plan for all EEGs but that is not yet available for review.³¹³ It also directed the CAF to implement a mentoring framework,³¹⁴ as did the *2018-2019 Departmental progress report of Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security*,³¹⁵ and the *2019 Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence*.³¹⁶ In Dr. Febbraro's study, several female leaders remarked on the absence of a mentoring program, either formal or informal.³¹⁷ While the women interviewed were in support of a mentoring program they cautioned that it would be detrimental to women or other EEGs if it was not available to everyone in the forces. If it were just available to women it would be seen as a privilege, elevating them above other members, even if it was just intended to level the playing field.³¹⁸ Some also noted that it should not be rigidly control by group identity, i.e, female with female, as they felt they could learn a lot from male mentors as well.³¹⁹

Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng; Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence*, 4, (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

³¹³ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-10, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, B-16.

³¹⁵ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

³¹⁶ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

³¹⁷ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 124 (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009); Anne Reiffenstein, "Gender Integration – An Asymmetric Environment," in *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 3, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

³¹⁸ Angela R. Febbraro, "Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders," In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009), 124.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

To its credit the *Diversity Strategy Action Plan* describes the intent to create a mentoring program that is available to all members of the force, with the option of matching EEG members, if requested. However, this line of effort was established in 2016 and in 2021 has still not been rolled out.³²⁰

Support for Families

Support for families and the quality of life for member of the CAF are two very interrelated issues affecting retention, specifically of women. As discussed in chapter three, frequent moves, separation from extended family, bases in rural communities, and long deployments, combine with a lack for support and result in limited career progress and the high rate of voluntary releases of women from service.³²¹

In its defence policy the CAF pledges to support military families which it describes as the “strength behind the uniform”.³²² It acknowledges the sacrifices military families have to make to support CAF members, including “finding new family health care providers, re-establishing childcare, moving children between schools and education systems, professional licensing, and dealing with inconveniences such as changing driver licences and vehicle registrations when moving between provinces”,³²³ as well as dealing

³²⁰ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-16, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

³²¹ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 30, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Paxton Mayer, “What’s in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces,” *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

³²² Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 28, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

³²³ *Ibid.*

with “the financial instability resulting from frequent moves, whether it be the loss of employment, different tax systems or changes to post-living differentials”.³²⁴ The defence policy makes a clear link between the military’s operational effectiveness and the support provided by the families of its members.³²⁵ To address these ongoing challenges the CAF announced its intention to create and implement a “Comprehensive Military Family Plan”.³²⁶ This plan consists of a pledge of six million dollars a year to “modernize Military Family Support Programs” including the Military Family Resource Centres, establishing relocation expertise and working with other levels of government and the private sector to better coordinate services across provincial borders.³²⁷ Although welcome, the Comprehensive Military Family Plan does not provide specifics for any of its lines of effort such as an increase to the number of child care spots available at each base, for example.

The Diversity Strategy Action Plan provides a bit more fidelity, directing career managers to “[c]onsider family circumstances when posting CAF members, including if possible, geographic proximity to family for cultural reasons, when requested”³²⁸ and a review of all “CAF leave policies, including Leave Without Pay (e.g. maternity and parental leave, leave to accommodate personal reasons), Sick Leave (e.g. pregnancy) and Short Leave (e.g. family related) to ensure they are barrier-free to the greatest extent

³²⁴ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 28, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 29, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

³²⁸ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-10, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

possible for all CAF members”.³²⁹ Furthermore, the Standing Committee on National Defence recommended providing “greater flexibility in scheduling and career paths for all families in the Canadian Armed Forces”,³³⁰ the implementation of “solutions” for CAF parents “in the areas of child care and occupation transfers to ensure compatibility of service with family life”,³³¹ and to provide “members with more flexibility in completing training and qualifications, such as through distance education when practical”.³³² The Canadian Army requested flexible work arrangements such as these back in 2014 but they have yet to materialize formally.³³³

Quality of Life of CAF Members

To improve the quality of life for all members of the CAF the Diversity Strategy outlines several initiatives including the improvement of healthcare, spiritual and family support. It expects to do this by working with representatives from various EEGs and by promoting a “duty to accommodate” policy.³³⁴ The CAF has the duty to accommodate its members to the point of maintaining operational effectiveness, however the implementation of this requirement is highly personality dependent as unit commanding

³²⁹ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-12, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

³³⁰ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 1, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³³² Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 5, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>.

³³³ Canada, *2016 Fall Report of the Auditor General of Canada: Report 5 – Canadian Armed Forces Recruitment and Retention*. Ottawa: Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2016, https://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_201611_05_e_41834.html#.

³³⁴ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-10-B-11, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

officers make those judgements independently without any standardization across the CAF.

Additional efforts include dedicating a space in all work spaces where CAF members may practice their religion, and to increase awareness of mental health issues, and support services available,³³⁵ In its defence policy the government pledges to be “less risk averse in providing care and much more transparent and open in its communication” with regards to personnel support initiatives, endeavoring to “shed one-size fits all solutions in favour of more people-centred, compassionate, dependable and comprehensive services”.³³⁶ This new approach is being marketed as a “Total Health and Wellness” program that seeks to support physical, mental, spiritual and family health. Again this plan lack specifics and few tangible improvements have been rolled out since the defence policy was released in 2017.³³⁷

Uniforms and Equipment

The final barrier in this analysis is that posed by uniforms and equipment. The higher rate of medical releases of women, when compared to men, is thought to be linked to poorly fitting equipment, especially in the combat arms trades, however, no research exists to support this claim.³³⁸ CAF women have come forward noting that the CAF

³³⁵ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-1, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>.

³³⁶ Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 25, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ Canada, *2018-2019 Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Departmental Progress Report for Canada's Nation Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2020), https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/publications/cnap-pnac/progress_reportsrapports_etapes-2018-2019-dnd.aspx?lang=eng.

could help to facilitate gender integration just by making small changes to equipment so they can properly do their jobs like “a ruck-sack that fits the back of a woman, webbing that doesn’t get caught on your breasts, boots that fit a feminine foot, clothing that just works.”³³⁹ Both the CAF Diversity Strategy Action Plan and the Defence Policy address concerns, asserting that it will use Gender-Based Analysis to ensure that uniforms, protective equipment, and gear meets the needs of all members.³⁴⁰

Conclusion

This chapter examined each of the barriers identified in chapter three. Each fell into one of three categories; barriers to attraction, barriers to recruitment and barriers to retention and how they specifically impact women. Each have been analysed to identify the gaps between what was recommended, what the CAF has pledged to do about them and what is left to do. This analysis will form the basis for the recommendation to be laid out in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: NEXT STEPS FOR CULTURE CHANGE

The previous chapter examined the barriers to interest, recruitment and retention for women in relation to the CAF in order to determine the gaps between those barriers, planned changed initiatives and recommendations. This chapter will examine those gaps

³³⁹ Angela R. Febbraro, “Gender and Leadership in the Canadian Forces Combat Arms: Perspectives of Women Leaders,” In *Women and Leadership in the Canadian Forces: Perspectives & Experiences*, 127 (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2009).

³⁴⁰ Canada, *Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), B-7, <https://mars.cfc.forces.gc.ca/CFCLearn/mod/resource/view.php?id=4044>; Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), 23, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>.

and described the recommended next steps to remove those barriers and to assist the CAF in becoming an EOC for women.

The Gaps

The gaps identified in Chapter 4 can be broken down into two categories, based on the type of change required, policy or cultural. The policy gaps, are simply gaps in current policy that can be corrected through administrative action should the will and resources exist. Although, straightforward they are by no means easy to correct. They will require a holistic review of how the CAF approaches complex initiatives such as recruiting, human resource services, training and communications. Most of the suggested policy changes will require significant resources but addressing them should contribute greatly to lowering the barriers for women and increasing interest in the CAF for all Canadians including those from the EEGs.

The policy changes listed in Table 5.1 are recommended to increase interest in the CAF, facilitate recruiting and reduce attrition rates of currently serving members:

Recruiting	Actively advertise the wide range of military occupations available, focusing on the number opportunities and skill sets available through the CAF;
	Actively advertise the educational opportunities available, for both officers and non-commissioned members;
	Establish clear employment equity targets for each occupation;
	Create, publish and implement a clear action plan to reach employment equity goals with annual progress reviews;
	Select the right people to become recruiters, based on communication skills, cultural intelligence and attitude;
	Increase the number of recruiters who belong to EEGs; and

	Increase the availability of experiential learning programs.
Harmful and Inappropriate Sexual Behaviour	Create an independent review and reporting organisation for HISB external to the CAF;
	Clarify and streamline reporting processes; and
	Focus on victim/survivor support.
Communication	Leverage social media to create a two-way conversation with the Canadian public and potential recruits;
	Be more transparent with culture change challenges and what is taking place to improve the life of serving members; and
	Revise strategic messaging to highlight the operational requirement to have a diverse military.
Senior leader cultivation and selection	Integrate gender and diversity consideration into all levels of leadership and teambuilding training;
	Bring in diversity integration experts to training leaders on what is required to lead and manage diverse team effectively and fairly;
	Add cultural intelligence, emotional intelligence, and compassion as criteria for the selection of senior leaders; and
	Create a CAF wide, voluntary mentoring framework, with the option of matching up people in EEGs.
Quality of Life	Gather feedback on equipment and uniforms from all members and have them adjusted to maximize their effectiveness;
	Adopt more flexible work policies to support families;
	Provide child care service for CAF members at all bases/wings;
	Allow and promote working from home where possible;
	Implement CAF wide standards for flexible work hours, while balancing operational requirements.
	Create a back to work program that lets parents phase back into full time service after the birth of a child.
	Work with other levels of government to ease the administrative burden when moving from province to province, such as a national policy on driver's licences, insurance and vehicle registration.
	Work with other levels of government to ease the administrative burden when moving from province to province, such as a national policy on driver's licences, insurance and vehicle registration.
	Create a leave program or flexible work arrangement for members responsible for elder care. Provide family health services in rural communities or assist with locating family doctors upon posting.

	Provide affordable housing, specifically for junior members with families posted to expensive cities.
	Reopen the living differential allowance debate and base compensation on the actual cost of living.

Table 5.1 – Policy Gaps

None of these recommendations are new. They have been recommended in various reports over the last five years or have existed in some form in the CAF before. Although policy change is time consuming and resource intensive, the gap analysis shows the need for such changes. However, for even a policy to change, there needs to be a will for change. The will requires a cultural shift in the military, from purely service before self, to the more complex idea that if members and their families are supported, members will take care of the mission, more effectively and efficiently. Higher levels of support should also reduce attrition rates, which in turn will lower turnover and therefore, training costs and organisational knowledge loss. This “people first, mission always” mentality,³⁴¹ is only one of the culture shifts needed to lower the barriers to increasing the diversity of CAF members, specifically for women.

Table 5.2 lists those changes that are required to close the gaps are the overall organisational culture to make it more attractive to women:

Inculcate a culture that values diversity;	Prioritize competencies such as emotional and cultural intelligence;
	Educate members on diversity and actively dispel the following stereotypes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • that feminine leadership is less effective; • that women decrease the operational effectiveness of a unit; and

³⁴¹ Canada, *Chief of the Defence Staff Announces Canadian Armed Forces General and Flag Officer Senior Appointments, Promotions, and Retirements* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 31 January 2017), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/news/2017/01/chief-defence-staff-announces-canadian-armed-forces-general-flag-officer-senior-appointments-promotions-retirements.html>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> that male military members cannot control themselves around women.
Warrior Culture	Revolutionize the concept of the ideal soldier by highlighting and advertising all occupations and trades how each is valued, interconnected and essential to operational effectiveness; Delink gender from specific military roles;
Communication:	Communicate how women and people from other EEGs are contributing to and enabling operations; Communicate that the CAF requires a diverse workforce to have legitimacy and to remain relevant; and Change the strategic message focused on women from 'you have a right to be here' to 'we need you on the team to be successful'.
Sexualized Culture	Eliminate sexual misconduct in the CAF, the culture that supports it, and tolerates it while supporting victims and survivors. This is critical to re-establish trust with Canadian society as well as currently serving and former members; and Communicate that sexual misconduct is every member's problem to fix.
Leadership Culture	Inculcate personal and leadership responsibility in all members for creating a safe and respectful environment for all members; Be transparent with cultural challenges so the CAF can be an example and a leader in cultural change; and Demonstrate the necessity of diversity through the application of cultural knowledge, different approaches to communication, language skills, compassion, cooperation and empathy.

Table 5.2 – Cultural Gaps

The tone of Canada's defence policy and messages from the Acting CDS show that these foundational changes in culture have already begun.³⁴² However, it is important to remember that they did not arise from a sudden realisation of the value of women. Demographic shifts in the available recruiting pool and external social pressure started

³⁴² Canada, *Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2017), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/canada-defence-policy.html>; W.D. Eyre, *Letter from the Acting Chief of the Defence Staff* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 3 March 2021), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/maple-leaf/defence/2021/03/march-24-acting-cds-letter.html?fbclid=IwAR0lz5TganrhecVdLGgPZDiaBtrJgZDcWzOq2n5cWEbUkiuKJGX8f0Ns51g>.

them, but now that support has started to materialize, a grass-roots movement is enabling this change to gain traction. Culture change is not easy, nor quick, and this is very true for large, traditional conservative organisation like the CAF.³⁴³ It is important to be clear that in the thirty years since women have been allowed to serve in all trades in the military, the organisation has come a long way. A lot of hardworking, diverse member and allies have endured, fought and advocated for change but it is now time to address the resistance to change within the ranks and the systemic problems, engrained in the organisation from its own history of resistance.

The Reality of Resistance

The manner in which women were integrated into the CAF created a culture of animosity towards change that amplified the natural resistance to change that occurs in human systems. Jack Brehm's theory of psychological reactance describes the tendency of humans to react negatively towards a change that limits a previously allowed behaviour. The intensity of the negative reaction is directly proportionally to the importance placed on the specific activity and the amount of behaviours limited.³⁴⁴ The harassment policies put in place as women were integrated in the CAF in the 1990s limited the 'allowable' behaviour of male soldiers, causing such a psychological reactance.

The resistance to culture change is manifested by two competing perspectives of change. Those that are pushing for change, trying to persuade the organisation that

³⁴³ Robert Chin and Kenneth D. Benne, "General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems (1967)," in *Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader*, 89 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009).

³⁴⁴ Warner Burke, "Leading Organizational Change (2008)," in *Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 389.

change is needed and those that prefer the status quo, and see change as a threat. The more people on the persuading side, the easier the change, hence the need to prepare an organisation for a difficult change.³⁴⁵ Understanding the strength of these opposing forces within the organisation is very important as Goodwin Watson noted: “Enthusiastic supporters of a new idea have frequently underestimated the strength of their opponents. Those who see a favored change as good and needed find it hard to believe the lengths to which opponents will go to squelch that innovation.” It could be fair to say that Operation Honour suffered from this result.

The Organisational Change Process

W.W. Burke argues that successful organisational change takes place in four phases. These phases include prelaunch, launch, post launch and sustainment of the change.³⁴⁶ The prelaunch phase consists of establishing the need for change by gathering the relevant information and establishing a vision. This did not occur in 1990, however over the last five years, since the release of the Deschamps report, the need for change has certainly been established. Operation Honour provided a vision, but that vision suffered in the launch phase due to a lack of readiness for change within the organisation. This was demonstrated through the open mocking of the program and the lack of enthusiasm of those tasked with rolling out the program. The next attempt must be pre-empted with what is referred to as organizational unfreezing, or creating a readiness for

³⁴⁵ Goodwin Watson, “Resistance to Change (1967),” in *Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 364.

³⁴⁶ Warner Burke, “Leading Organizational Change (2008),” In *Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 759.

change.³⁴⁷ This process consists of convincing the members of the organisation that a change is needed. This convincing needs to be effective in changing the “members’ beliefs, attitudes and intentions regarding the extent to which changes are needed and the organisation’s capacity to successfully make those changes”,³⁴⁸ basically addressing resistance to change before the change even begins. The second part of this unfreezing process will be particularly challenging for the CAF. It needs to re-establish trust with its members and with the public and convince them that it is actually capable of making a meaningful change to its culture.

A key challenge in facilitating complex cultural change in human systems is being able to create that clear vision. Humans are not very good at reaching a goal that cannot be visualized. For this purpose Lee Bolman and Terrence Deal created a method for “reframing organizations”.³⁴⁹ They postulate that all aspects of an organisation can be categorized into one of four areas: structural, human resources, political and symbolic. The structural frame includes an organisation’s policies, mission statements, mandates, procedures, information systems, technology and its physical environment.³⁵⁰ The human resources frame consists of the need of employees, their skills and interpersonal relationships.³⁵¹ The political frame contains the power structures, political agenda,

³⁴⁷ Achilles A. Armenakis, Stanley G. Harris, and Kevin W. Mossholder, “Creating Readiness for Change (1993),” *In Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 569.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ Lee G Bolman and Terrance E. Deal, *Reframing Organizations 5th Edition* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2013), 10.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

competition and conflict, while the symbolic frame encompasses the organisation's culture, its meaning, its rituals, ceremonies, stories, traditions and symbols.³⁵²

Cultural change cannot be successful unless all four frames are included. The structure of the organisation needs to be attuned to the required tasks, technology and environment. These structure need to align with the human needs. The Organisation's agenda needs to be congruent with its power base, which for the CAF, translates into a need to find legitimacy with political and strategic goals as well as with Canadian society; the military's agenda cannot be divergent from Canadian interests and remain relevant. Finally, those aspects that make up the organisation's symbolic frame, not only need to align with the needs of its members, they need to create "faith, beauty and meaning" for all members, not just a select few.³⁵³

There is an evident complexity involved in a change initiative that aligns all four frames that highlights why many changes directed from the top often fail, while employee driven changes have a greater change of success.³⁵⁴ Understanding how each frame and their components interact and effect each other requires knowledge of all aspect of the organisation, the needs of all the people involved, and understanding of political constraints and a systems thinking approach. This complexity also highlights how a change within one frame can affect many other aspect of an organisation. Bolman and Deal note that:

Change alters power relationships and undermines existing agreements and pacts. Even more profoundly, it intrudes on deeply rooted symbolic

³⁵² Lee G Bolman and Terrance E. Deal, *Reframing Organizations 5th Edition* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2013), 10.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 99.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 376-377.

forms, traditional ways, icons and rituals. Below the surface, an organisation's cultural tapestry begins to unravel, threatening time-honored traditions, prevailing cultural values and way, and shared meaning.³⁵⁵

Changes in the human resource frame can create anxiety and uncertainty but these emotions can be mitigated by allowing members to participate in the change process, and by providing training and psychological support to facilitate a cultural transition.³⁵⁶

Significant change to the structural frame can result in a loss of clarity or direction causing confusion that needs to be countered with effective and consistence communication of change initiatives and of new policies and procedures.³⁵⁷ Changes to the political frame can be very complex, adjusting the agenda of CAF, like shift towards peacekeeping from conventional warfare or vice versa sets up people who are accustomed to one way of thinking to feel somewhat disempowered and unprepared to radically shift their reason for being. Communication in this case may not be enough. A change such of this requires rebranding, new training, an eased transition from one way of thinking or approaching problems to another new way of thinking.³⁵⁸ Finally, the loss of a tradition or symbol translates frequently unto a loss of meaning and purpose. It is important to understand that although traditions are important, they did not always exist and need to adapt to the needs of the organisation and not anchor them into irrelevancy. To address resistance to change in this frame organisation need to take the time to mourn the past, create transition ritual and celebrate the future. Once all of these factors have been examined as an interrelated system, the need for change has been established,

³⁵⁵ Lee G Bolman and Terrance E. Deal, *Reframing Organizations 5th Edition* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2013), 377.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

communicated to the organisation and a vision for the future is formed, only then is a human system ready for cultural change.

Once all the ground work has been set the CAF can move on to the second phase of organisation change, the launch phase. For this phase the CAF will need to focus on communication, focused both on the need for change and on key activities needed to achieve change, all while still addressing the resistance that will continue which a comprehensive culture change.³⁵⁹ During this second stage resistance will ramp up, as change initiatives have begun, increasing intra-organisational tension between those who advocate for and against change.³⁶⁰ It will be impossible to completely eliminate resistance. There will continue to be people who will not believe change is required, that there is a problem, or that they are part of that problem. The CAF will need a clear and defined way to address this remaining resistance. One way to mitigate resistance to change in this phase is to encourage participation in the change process, communicate the need for change in face-to-face group meetings, address concerns and discuss the need and consequences of the change openly.³⁶¹

The Post launch Phase consists of remaining consistent with strategic messaging, pushing through barriers and resistance to change, acknowledging things that did not work with transparency and established review processes, adjusting the plan and

³⁵⁹ Warner Burke, "Leading Organizational Change (2008)," *In Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 759

³⁶⁰ Goodwin Watson, "Resistance to Change (1967)," *in Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 364.

³⁶¹ Lester Coch and John R.P. French Jr., "Overcoming Resistance to Change (1965)," *in Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 362.

remaining persistent.³⁶² The final phase, sustainment, is a slight misnomer. Cultural change is never complete. When an organisations culture becomes stagnant, it risks irrelevancy, similar to where the CAF finds itself presently. However this phase is intended to deal with the unanticipated consequence to change. There are always second and third order effects to change, and not all of them can be anticipated, so sustaining the change speaks to addressing those aspect of change that were unanticipated, sustaining momentum for continued improvement, and preparing to launch new initiatives to start the cycle anew.³⁶³ Even at this stage resistance is still present, though it is categorizes as a “stubborn, hidebound, cantankerous nuisance” though there is still and danger that a failed initiative could set off a “counterswing of the pendulum” so leader of change need to stay on message, be consistent with consequences and vigilant.

Conclusion

Culture change within an organisation as large and as complex as the CAF requires deliberate planning and execution. Perspectives and participation from all levels are required, not just for the launch phase, but in the planning stages as well. Understanding how each aspect of the organisation interacts with the others can improve preparation, unfreeze the organisation, minimize unintended consequences, increase buy-in and in turn reduce the tensions that cause resistance to the change.

It is very important to understand that simple changes to policies and procedures will not result in culture change and that the will to overcome the challenges of changing

³⁶² Warner Burke, “Leading Organizational Change (2008),” *In Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 759.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 752.

policy will only stem from meaningful culture change. The CAF needs to want change and for that to happen it needs a shared vision of the future that encompasses all four frames of the organisation that satisfy the needs of its members.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The CAF has been confronted by the need to adapt to the changing demographics of Canada, but also to evolving Canadian expectations. Although it has acknowledged the need to expand its recruiting pools and the benefits of employing a more diverse workforce it is still failing to meet its own employment equity goals, convince those in the institution of the need for change and to convince Canadians that it is an EOC. This lack of evolution threatens the legitimacy of the CAF and its relevance on the world stage.

The aim of this paper was to argue that the CAF needs to fundamentally change its culture and the attitude of its members towards social change in order to attract, retain and support a diverse workforces that serves Canadian interests. Although all aspects of Canadian diversity, including gender, language, ethnic background, sexual orientation and religion need to be examined for a holistic understanding of the scope of culture change needed, this paper focused on women as a starting point.

This investigation began by defining what being an EOC means, and what it required. A baseline of the CAF's intentions was established by examining its current diversity strategy. Comparing this baseline to the feedback available through various government and external reports and audits, literature on the subject and member testimonials, worked to identify a set of barriers to the attraction, recruitment and

retention of women. Delving into the CAFs immediate response to these reports, its own action plans, policies, stated goals and current media coverage, a number of gaps were determined and categorized as either policy based or cultural.

Looking forward, the challenge of leading change in human systems was examined. It was noted that even the changes needed to close the policy gaps required a cultural shift to create the will needed to overcome resistance and resource gaps. Finally, the challenge of creating meaningful change within a human system, to create that cultural change was incorporated into a list of recommended next steps. These steps included creating a readiness for change within the institution through open communication and member participation, and establishing a clear vision of a desired culture that values and supports a diverse workforce. These steps will assist in facilitating change needed to both transform the CAF into an EOC and to remain relevant in a complex, globalized security environment.

Becoming an EOC

Throughout all four phases of culture change, and when examining all four frames within an organisation, it will be important for the CAF to maintain its vision of becoming an EOC. The benefits of such a title were laid out as a foundation in Chapter Two, including being able to attract, recruit and retain high quality members for the long

term,³⁶⁴ increased job satisfaction and improved effectiveness and morale, higher referral rates and lower absenteeism.³⁶⁵

The barriers in Chapter Three can be lowered, or reduced by filling in the identified Gaps exposed in Chapter Four. These actions, broken down between policy and culture change will establish the criteria needed to transform the CAF into an EOC for women. A cultural shift is needed within the organisation to create the will to change policy, and to address the negative attitudes of members and leaders in the CAF that still resist diversity and social change. This cultural shift will be instrumental in realigning CAF work content and work culture in such a way as to convince potential recruits that they have a place in the military, where they will be valued and supported.

Improvement to work content involves lowering barriers and closing the gaps that interfere with a positive employee experience.³⁶⁶ By creating a positive value proposition through meaningful work and a safe, supportive work environment that provides an opportunity for training, personal growth, family support and a decent quality of life,

³⁶⁴ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 614, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>.

³⁶⁵ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 614, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Linn Viktoria Rampl, "How to Become an Employer of Choice: Transforming Employer Brand Associations into Employer First-Choice Brands," *Journal of Marketing Management* 30: no. 13-14 (2014): 1486, <https://www.tandfonline-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1080/0267257X.2014.934903>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 799, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

³⁶⁶ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 615, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 800, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

members will be more willing to go above and beyond for the organisation when required and will be more likely to make a life-long career within the CAF.³⁶⁷

Aligning CAF values more closely with wider Canadian society, with a focus on diversity and inclusion, could improve work culture and the perceived person-organisation fit for potential recruits, specifically within targeted EEOs.³⁶⁸ Welcoming diversity, aligning values and creating an inclusive environment for differing beliefs, experiences, and backgrounds has the added effect of bonding an organisation's members to its mission, enhancing loyalty and commitment, even to the most challenging problems and environments.³⁶⁹

Promising meaningful change and advertising positive work culture and content is only the first step in becoming an EEO. In order to improve retention with the CAF it needs to follow through on its promises. Its advertisements and recruiting material can be realigned but if the lived experience of its members does not improve, it will have broken its "psychological contract" with them.³⁷⁰ Unfortunately this is the currently lived reality

³⁶⁷ Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 809, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

³⁶⁸ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 624-628, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 709, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

³⁶⁹ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 624-628, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>; Karnica Tanwar and Amresh Kumar, "Employer Brand, Person-Organisation Fit and Employer of Choice," *Personnel Review* 48, no. 3 (2019): 809-816, <https://www-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/scholarly-journals/employer-brand-person-organisation-fit-choice/docview/2194006320/se-2?accountid=9867>.

³⁷⁰ Victoria Bellou, Irini Rigopoulou, and John Kehagias, "Employer of Choice: Does Gender Matter?" *Gender in Management* 30, no. 8 (2015): 615, <http://dx.doi.org.cfc.idm.oclc.org/10.1108/GM-01-2015-0004>

within the CAF. Several change initiatives, to create a safer and more supportive environment for women, have already been launched and have culminated over the last decade, without creating meaningful change. This is not to say no progress has been made, but not enough was done, so that currently serving women were able to, in good conscience, recommend a career in the CAF to other women. Another failure in this regard will make the challenge of attracting, recruiting and retaining women near impossible for the CAF.

To avoid further set backs, the CAF needs to be transparent in its struggles, and authentic in its pledge for change. It will need to invest the resources and will necessary to create a readiness for change through active communication, education and open discussion. Change cannot be directed from the top-down, but rather it needs to be participatory. Concerns from those who resist need to be considered and addressed, but if found wanting, attitudes and behaviour needs to be corrected. Finally, for the CAF to be successful in its endeavor to become an EOC, all the gaps within policy and culture identified in this study need to be addressed, with the intention of re-examining the organisation regularly to ensure it continues to evolve with Canadians.

Wider Application and Recommendations for Future Research

Although this paper focuses on the barriers that affect the attraction, recruitment and retention of women, many of the same barriers and associated gaps in policy and culture affect other EEOGs. For example, there is an indication that some of the barriers identified in this paper also affect visible minorities and Indigenous people. These

include the CAF troubled history with visible minorities and Indigenous people,³⁷¹ a lack of role models,³⁷² the concept of the ideal soldier,³⁷³ a lack of available information,³⁷⁴ and separation from community and extended family.³⁷⁵ Moreover, while there are other barriers that are unique to each demographic group, the complexity of intersectionality can also compound barriers, making them insurmountable for many people belonging to overlapping groups.

³⁷¹ W.B. Brown, "Multiculturalism and Diversity in the Canadian Forces: The tip of the iceberg," (Toronto: Canadian Forces College, 2012), 70-71, [https://cfcc.ent.sirsidynix.net/client/en_GB/cfc/search/detailnonmodal/ent:\\$002f\\$002fSD_ILS\\$002f0\\$002fSD_ILS:86720/ada](https://cfcc.ent.sirsidynix.net/client/en_GB/cfc/search/detailnonmodal/ent:$002f$002fSD_ILS$002f0$002fSD_ILS:86720/ada); Chantal Fraser, "Diversity Recruiting: It's Time to Tip the Balance," *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>; Caroline Fyvie and Melissa Kadey, "Why many visible minorities aren't joining the Canadian Armed Forces," *Calgary Journal*, last modified 8 March 2016, 25, <https://calgaryjournal.ca/2016/03/08/why-many-visible-minorities-aren-t-joining-the-canadian-armed-forces/>.

³⁷² Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 30, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Chantal Fraser, "Diversity Recruiting: It's Time to Tip the Balance," *Canadian Forces Journal* 13 No. 4 (Autumn 2013), 27-31, <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no4/PDF/CMJ134Ep25.pdf>.

³⁷³ Tammy George, "Be all You can be Or Longing to be: Racialized Soldiers, the Canadian Military Experience and the Im/Possibility of Belonging to the Nation," (Toronto: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2016), 162, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/dissertations-theses/be-all-you-can-longing-racialized-soldiers/docview/1884610539/se-2?accountid=9867>; Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

³⁷⁴ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 25, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Barbara Waruszynski, "The Diversity Recruitment Challenge: Factors Shaping Visible Minorities' and Aboriginal People's Perceptions of the Canadian Military," *Res Militaris* 4 (July 2017), p.6, http://resmilitaris.net/ressources/10259/09/res_militaris_article_waruszynski_the_diversity_recruitment_challenge.pdf

³⁷⁵ Canada, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces: Report of the Standing Committee on National Defence* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2019), 30, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/NDDN/report-17>; Paxton Mayer, "What's in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces," *CE Think Tank Newswire*, 6 Oct 2020, <https://search-proquest-com.cfc.idm.oclc.org/wire-feeds/what-s-soldier-how-rebrand-canadian-armed-forces/docview/2469082679/se-2?accountid=9867>.

Other barriers needing further research include racism within ranks, the higher emphasis on the importance of education in certain cultures, educational barriers to Indigenous people, the perception that the military is not a preferred profession and is for the less educated, the effects of cultural enclaves, the urbanisation of Canadian society and the marginalisation of military support occupations. All of these areas contain barriers that are and will continue to keep the CAF from becoming an EOC for EEOGs.

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