

Socio-Cultural Change in Gender and Military Contexts: Measuring Values

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ABSTRACT

Women have been pursuing careers within the combat arms in the Canadian military since 1989, and today comprise 4.8 percent of combat arms officers and 4.1 percent of combat non-commissioned soldiers. In the wake of widespread assumptions regarding the achievement of gender integration by 1999, along with the demonstrated contributions of women to Canada's operations in Afghanistan, limited research has been conducted to determine the extent to which espoused socio-cultural change has been achieved, and in particular within the combat arms. However, in response to a recent external review on sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, coupled with calls for increasing the participation of women in international operations, the Chief of the Defence Staff has placed high priority on socio-cultural change. Canada's most recent Defence Policy, Strong Secure Engaged, reinforces this priority, including the imperative of mitigating harmful and inappropriate behaviours, integrating gender-based analysis into defence policy and planning, and integrating gender perspectives into military operations. While numerous institutional initiatives have been established to achieve these objectives, the measurement and monitoring of culture and culture change is a persistent challenge. This paper provides an overview of culture change initiatives within the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces, followed by discussion of measures and methodologies for measuring, monitoring and assessing socio-cultural change objectives, including support for shifting cultural narratives and inclusions, such as the integration of gender perspectives into operations, increasing the representation of women, or the introduction of women into previously all-male roles. Finally, the paper presents the results of a values study recently conducted in the Canadian Army, thus highlighting important considerations for understanding culture change, including readiness of personnel to adapt to social change. The discussion concludes with observations regarding the relevance and importance of the measurement and monitoring of values as a key dimension of assessing readiness for, and progress toward, socio-cultural change in military context, including the participation of women in combat roles.

1.0 BACKGROUND

Women have served continuously in the Canadian military since 1951,ⁱ and today represent over 15 percent of military personnel serving in virtually all roles in both the Regular and Reserve Forces. This includes 4.8 percent of combat arms officers, and 4.1 percent of combat arms non-commissioned soldiers.ⁱⁱ In response to several key milestones, including the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (RCSWC) in 1970, the proclamation of the *Canadian Human Rights Act* in 1978, a 1989 Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) ruling directing the full integration of women into all military environments and roles, and most recently the federal *Employment Equity Act*, the representation of women has increased in the midst of military negotiation of human rights and equality agendas, appropriate roles for women, and recruitment challenges. Prior to the direction of the CHRT in 1999, resistance to the full participation of women in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), and in combat occupations in particular, was driven by cultural beliefs and assumptions that the participation of women would undermine the values of the masculine heterosexual warrior identity, a vocational orientation to military service, and operational effectiveness.ⁱⁱⁱ Even as military leadership recognized that the military needed the contribution of women in

support roles, they sought scientific evidence related to the culture and cohesion of all-male heterosexual combat teams to resist legislation that would force the inclusion of women in combat occupations.^{iv} Immediately following the 1989 Tribunal decision, CAF leadership adopted a gender neutral posture that sought to satisfy the minimum requirements, thereby limiting the impact of the ruling on CAF culture. Gender differences were minimized, though gender-related challenges prevailed.^v By 2000, change was visible in terms of gender neutral policy development, but limited evidence was brought to bear on claims of full integration and culture change. Institutional strategy to employ women was largely subsumed within broader diversity objectives,^{vi} and assumptions regarding the gender neutral character of the Canadian military.^{vii} Canada's commitment to Afghanistan followed, and from 2004 to 2011, Canadian military women contributed in virtually all roles, including combat.

In 2010, Canada launched its initial National Action Plan (CNAP) on Women, Peace, and Security. This provided a framework for a whole-of-government approach to support Canadian and UN efforts to implement UNSCR Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security^{viii} and reinforcing the significance of the contributions of women to defence and security. A second and expanded version of the CNAP was published in 2016 to include implementation and monitoring plans for partner defence and security organizations in Canada.^{ix} As these related initiatives developed, the Canadian military also engaged in several key activities to address the employment of women including: Operation (Op) HONOUR in a bid to eliminate sexual misconduct;^x recruitment and retention initiatives to increase the representation of women to 25 percent by 2026;^{xi} and the publication of the CAF diversity strategy to address gender and diversity. In 2016, the Chief of the Defence Staff (CDS) also issued direction for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (and subsequent women, peace and security SCRs), and Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+) into planning and operations.^{xii} Canada's 2017 Defence Policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged* further reinforced the priority of these objectives,^{xiii} along with a call for culture change to promote a culture of leadership, respect and honour, in support of these and related priorities identified in the policy.

This paper provides an overview of social science strategies and indicators that have been used to inform socio-cultural change in CAF context along with a summary of the challenges associated with monitoring culture change. Noting particular gaps in tracking the least visible influences on culture – assumptions expressed by attitudes, and values – the paper presents results of a recent measure of attitudes in the Canadian Army. Further, this discussion claims that the integration of a gender-based perspective in the development of a socio-cultural measurement and assessment strategy is critical to ensuring the effective integration of women, from human rights and operational effectiveness perspectives, and across military roles, including combat.

2.0 INTRODUCTION: CULTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

Culture and culture change is a persistent challenge for military leaders and, as such, has been addressed in various ways in recent decades. Important socio-cultural challenges experienced by the Canadian military throughout the 1990s included those related to sexual harassment, diversity, gender integration, and in particular the integration of women into combat arms occupations.^{xiv} Experience with these and other challenges contributed to the development and widespread inculcation of leadership doctrine to establish understanding of the relationship between military leadership and culture.^{xv} Largely based on Edgar Schein's framework of leadership and culture,^{xvi} Quinn's competing values framework^{xvii} and values-based leadership, this leadership doctrine provides a model for understanding military culture, as well as guidance for leading change. Notwithstanding the significant contribution of these documents to the training, development, and socialization of military members and leaders, the social challenges facing the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) today demand further understanding of cultural dynamics, including successful approaches to culture change. Past research has well established the importance of measuring and monitoring of change initiatives^{xviii}; however, there is little evidence-based research that includes, for example, measures or assessment of successful culture change initiatives, the sustainment of culture change objectives over time,

or the identification and assessment of key enablers (and barriers to) of culture change, including attitudes and values.

2.1 Military Culture and Culture Change

Canadian military personnel research includes monitoring and assessing cultural dimensions, and in particular the experiences of women, members of visible minority status, and Indigenous members. Recently, in response to the external review on sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, a comprehensive research plan was implemented with three objectives related to better understanding culture: determine the scope of sexual misconduct in the CAF; identify key risks and barriers to a healthy and inclusive CAF culture; and identify key cultural dynamics and behaviours that enable positive cultural change, including effective response to inappropriate sex- and gender-based behaviours in the CAF.^{xx} The objectives of this research reflect the assumptions that military cultures and subcultures are socially constructed to meet the challenges of national defence and security;^{xx} culture is inherently linked to a foundation of values, beliefs, attitudes, and leadership practices that highly influence member and organizational behaviours;^{xxi} and that the intersections of gender with authority, power, race/ethnicity, sexuality, and religion are essential considerations when conducting organizational analysis.^{xxii} The research proposal also considers different, frequently contradictory, analyses of military culture, with a view toward better understanding the role of gender in shaping military member behaviours and experiences.^{xxiii}

The theoretical frameworks that address military culture often rely upon interpretations of the military as a “total institution”; that is, “a world with its own unique set of norms of behaviour and dress, its own judicial system, and its own rights and responsibilities”,^{xxiv} and in which the military regulates almost every aspect of a member’s life.^{xxv} From gender-based perspectives, analysts have further claimed that military culture is dominated by military masculinity that draws heavily on traditional conceptions of male warriors, and is reinforced through enduring cultural processes. In her gender analysis of UN peacekeepers, for example, Sandra Whitworth highlights the role of military myths in defining what is natural, normal, and legitimate within a framework of military masculinity – courage and endurance; physical and psychological strength; rationality; toughness; obedience; discipline; and patriotism.^{xxvi} Historically, military leadership has been strongly committed to assumptions regarding operational effectiveness that were dependent upon all-male heterosexual teams, and in combat domains in particular. Researchers have conceptualized this dichotomy as the combat masculine warrior paradigm^{xxvii} or warrior paradigm,^{xxviii} emphasizing key assumptions about the essential differences between women and men in society.

Importantly, conceptions and assumptions related to a masculine warrior paradigm have been linked to behaviours in the military. In their study of bullying in the Austrian military, for example, Koeszegi, Zedlacher and Hudribusch confirmed that women were significantly more vulnerable to bullying, and further linked such workplace aggression to hypermasculinity manifested by high power orientation and adherence to traditional (masculine) military norms which are often expressed in socialization processes in training centers and combat units.^{xxix} Clare Duncanson seeks understanding of such dominant conceptions of hypermasculinity, using the concept of hegemonic masculinity. She claims that hegemonic masculinity reinforces a gender dichotomy through dominant conceptions of masculinity. Citing several theorists of masculinity,^{xxx} she emphasizes that hegemonic masculinities dominate through consent, not force, of groups of individuals, typically heterosexual men, whether explicit or implied, to maintain status quo membership and power.^{xxxi} She further challenges conceptions of the persistence of masculine power through dominant masculinities, instead positing that hegemonic masculinity holds an important key for social change in military context.^{xxxii} Importantly, Duncanson posits that movement away from hegemonic masculinity happens when the dominant power of the group is diminished by lack of consent, to the extent that there is no longer a dominant masculine perspective.^{xxxiii} Instead, social space is created for alternative and diverse expressions of masculinity and femininity.

In contrast, defence analysts emphasize the significant change that military institutions have realized in

recent decades, relying on the representation of women in greater proportions and expanding roles as evidence of social change. Since the end of the Cold War, military scholars have also assumed a shift from masculine military culture and ethos to military cultures that reflect androgynous/gender neutral ethos and structure with greater permeability with civilian society. For example, military sociologist Charles Moskos includes movement from partial to full gender integration as an important component of the military shift from a late modern (1945-1990) to a post-modern (post-1990/ColdWar) institution.^{xxxiv} From a Canadian perspective, military sociologist Franklin Pinch claims that the CAF has become “more democratized, liberalized, civilianized, and individualized”.^{xxxv} Furthermore, according to Pinch, “the presence of women is affecting, and will continue to affect, the units’ masculine cultural norms”.^{xxxvi} However, in spite of the removal of restrictions in 1992, on the military service of homosexuals, in 2000 Pinch noted, for example, that “culture-based homophobia persists below the surface, especially among males within some segments of the combat arms”.^{xxxvii} This is just one example of the persistent gap between formal policy and physical presence of difference, and culture in practice even as social change takes place within the military.

2.2 Gender, Culture and Change in the Canadian Military Context

Throughout the periods of socio-cultural shifts discussed above, the CAF has developed and implemented numerous measures to support related institutional challenges. Since at least the early 1990s, for example, social science research has been conducted to measure the effectiveness of harassment policies, with a particular focus on measuring experience of harassment in the CAF through voluntary, anonymous surveys. Administered to random stratified samples of military members, these surveys asked participants to respond based on their experiences in the 12 months immediately preceding the survey. In 2012, 1.5 percent of all CAF members overall (women and men) reported experience of sexual harassment.^{xxxviii} The analysis of surveys, administered in 1992, 1998, and 2012, indicate that the proportion of women who report such experiences has declined at each measurement point (26, 14^{xxxix} and nine percent,^{xl} respectively); however, military women remain much more likely than military men to report experience of sexual harassment.^{xli} To better understand the role of gender on the experiences of military members and military culture, recent efforts have also been made to monitor experiences beyond the traditional sex and gender binaries. The survey of sexual misconduct in the CAF administered in 2016, for example, revealed that LGBT (lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender) Regular Force members were more likely than non-LGBT members to report experience of sexual assault (5.6% compared with 1.6%). Furthermore, LGBT men were three times more likely to report experience of sexual assault than non-LGBT men (3.5% versus 1.1%), and LGBT women were almost twice as likely as LGBT women to report experience of sexual assault (8.8% compared with 4.5%).^{xlii}

Canadian military policy has shifted to reflect social values and legislation, yet integrated analysis of the values, attitudes, perceptions, experiences and behaviours of military members to support claims of socio-cultural change is limited. Figure 1 below provides a gender-based conceptualization of the changes that have been claimed by the CAF in recent decades in moving from a male heterosexual warrior paradigm characterizing military values until 1989, to the various gender-based imperatives that the CAF is facing today. The concepts presented in Figure 1 and discussed below represent different phases or dimensions of culture and, in particular, military culture from a gender-based perspective, over recent decades as efforts waxed and waned in meeting socio-cultural objectives demanded by Canadian society. The extent to which the phases and concept discussed below influence gender dynamics within military culture today, however, is not well understood. Essentialism, gender neutral, gender integration, and the integration of gender perspectives are each discussed below, and in particular as they have been represented within Canadian military culture.

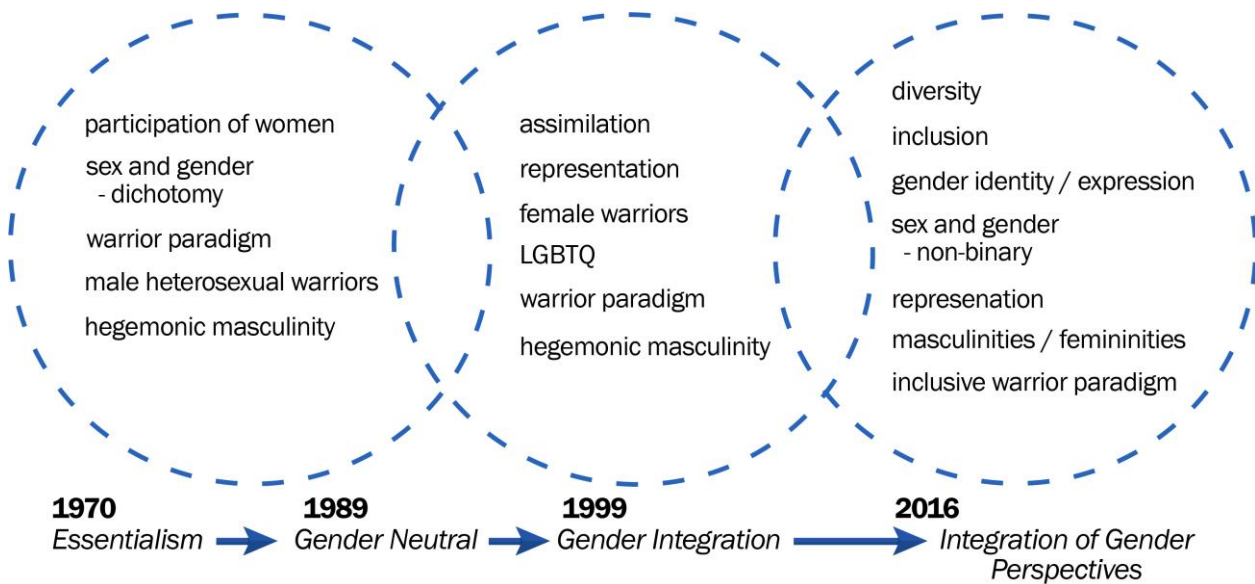


Figure 1: Negotiating sex and gender dichotomies to inclusion

2.2.1 Essentialism

Within sex- and gender-based context, essentialism represents the fixed and permanent quality of distinctions based on sex (male and female). According to gender historian Joan Scott, gender was introduced into research as a way to challenge essentialism as a male/female dichotomy and to “insist on the fundamentally social quality of distinctions based on sex.”^{xliii} Use of the term gender also places focus on how conceptions of gender develop within socio-cultural contexts that formally and informally perpetuate assumptions, expectations and understandings of men and women, in relation to one another.^{xliv}

In a military context, this translates into assumptions that have guided institutional decision-making regarding appropriate roles for women, and associated conceptions of the physical, psychological, and cognitive attributes of women as a homogenous female category, unique from a homogenous male category. Notably, this dichotomy assumes that males, as a homogenous category, are aggressive, embody physical prowess and are capable of expressing a “will to kill”. Women, on the other hand, are natural nurturers and embody physical and psychological weakness. By extension, Judith Hicks Stiehm dubbed this as a dichotomous and limiting construction of men as Protectors and women as Protected.^{xlv}

2.2.2 Gender neutral

Gender neutral is an adjective which indicates suitability for, or applicability to, both women and men, and, therefore, cannot be attributed to one or the other. Gender neutral language, for example, includes terms such as flight attendant to replace steward and stewardess. Gender neutral policy and processes are intended to result in equitable impacts and opportunities for women and men, yet differential and unintended impacts can become evident once the policy is applied to different women and men. In the case of traditionally male-dominated domains in particular, claims to gender neutrality are critiqued as camouflage for policies and practices made by and for the participation of dominant male members while claiming equitable relevance and opportunity for all women and men.^{xlvi}

The 1989 CHRT directed the CAF to “fully integrate” women into all environments and roles in the following 10-year timeframe,^{xlvii} thus marking an important turning point to on the employment of women in the Canadian military. The military was forced to formally abandon dichotomous assumptions regarding the

unique suitability of women and men for particular roles. The CHRT stated that operational effectiveness was a gender neutral concept. In response, the CAF acted quickly to adopt policies to formally establish the military as a gender neutral organization, including the removal of all formal restrictions to the employment of women (with the exception of submarine service as supported by the CHRT), and to declare that women shared unlimited liability and equal opportunity with men in the military; that is, women became eligible and immediately liable for operational deployments and roles from which they were previously restricted, yet the impacts of such policies had significantly different impacts on women and men.^{xlviii}

2.2.3 Gender integration

As noted above, the immediate response to the CHRT was the adoption of gender neutral policy in claiming equal opportunity for women in the CAF. As the CAF struggled to both understand and meet the expectations of the CHRT throughout the 1990s, the language also shifted, from the integration of women to gender integration. In the lead up to the 1999 decision of the CHRT, this language shift was intended to reflect the inclusion of women and men in the integration process with a focus on mixed-gender cohesion and the equality of women and men rather than differences.^{xlix} By the late 1990s, the CAF settled on gender integration “as the process of facilitating the full participation of women in the CF [Canadian Forces]”,¹ a definition which embedded gender as language referring to the equality of women in the CAF rather than a gender inclusive concept. The term gender also became useful in organizational contexts as it sounds more neutral and objective than women and thus dissociated itself from what has been broadly understood as the strident politics of feminism.^{li} Importantly, the shifts in policy and language also generated faulty assumptions within the CAF that gender integration was equivalent to gender neutral. Furthermore, the institutional position of gender neutral and gender integration, adopted by the CAF in the lead up to the 1999 10-year deadline imposed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission for achieving the full integration of women in the CAF, has been criticized as a process reflecting assimilation rather than integration. In 1999, the CHRT determined that the CAF had not achieved full gender integration as directed; however, also expressed confidence that CAF leadership was committed to continued effort toward the objective of full gender integration.^{lii}

Assimilation reflects a process which places disproportionate focus on representation and numbers; that is, including different bodies, without facilitating inclusion or integration of differences. Indeed, the “body-counting” approach has been challenged as it does not account for the social construction of gender, masculinity, and femininity^{liii} across multiple intersections of difference. As an alternative to that proposed by the CAF in 1999, gender integration can be understood as “the absence of workplace barriers that differentially impact individuals based on sex or gender, as well as the inclusion of thoughts, ideas, and concerns from all individuals in the workplace, regardless of identity characteristics”.^{liv} In other words, gender integration acknowledges and facilitates inclusion of differences among women and men, with predominant focus on achieving human rights and equality objectives.

2.2.4 Integrating gender perspectives

In recent years, research regarding gender and diversity in organizations has shifted from a discussion of integration to one of inclusion. Reinforcing the limitations of body-counting, the objective, according to organizational analyst and diversity trainer Stephen Robbins, is to move from diversity as an exercise of counting; that is, an exercised focused on representation without inclusion, to objectives focused on inclusion to make diversity count.^{lv} From this perspective, inclusion places predominant focus on human rights and equality outcomes. In an analysis of the integration of gender perspectives in military organizations and operations, Robert Egnell, Petter Hojem and Hannes Berts^{lvi} describe the integration of gender perspectives as the assessment of gender-based differences of women and men reflected in their social roles and interactions, in the distribution of power and the access to resources, and further note that implementing a gender perspective is done by adapting action following a gender analysis.^{lvii} Finally, this perspective places emphasis on the implementation of gender perspectives as an issue of operational effectiveness,

distinguishing it from internal issues of gender equality and women's rights within organizations.^{lviii} This paper further argues that the integration of gender perspectives can be enhanced through focused training and development of women and men, but also claims that gender integration is an important foundation, but not sufficient condition, for the development of individual and organizational capacity to integrate gender perspectives. Finally, analysis of socio-cultural dynamics and influences in military culture is an important step in understanding the broader relationship between gender diversity, equality, inclusion, and integration of gender perspectives, as well as identifying strategies for mitigating barriers to equality such as harassment and sexual misconduct.

3.0 MONITORING AND MEASURING SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE

Culture can be understood through analysis of different layers and the relationships among them. For the purpose of analysis, Schein identifies three levels of culture: artifacts, including visible structures, processes and behaviours; espoused beliefs and values, including ideologies and rationalizations (both congruent and contradictory to other artifacts and behaviours); and basic underlying assumptions, including taken-for-granted values and beliefs that influence thought patterns and behaviours.^{lix} Culture can be defined and understood through observation and analysis of different cultural dynamics including: observed behaviours, rituals and celebrations, espoused values, group norms, rules of the game, shared meanings, cultural narratives, etc. However, as noted by Schein, even the most visible are difficult to analyze and connect to related cultural dynamics and influences. In the CAF context, those assumptions, values and beliefs that are the least visible, yet potentially important influences on behaviour, are the least likely to be subject to analysis. Rather, and as discussed below, behaviours, opinions, and experiences of CAF members, such as reported experiences of harassment, are the most likely to undergo analysis.

As noted above, there is considerable divergence between those analyses of military culture that assume gender neutral approaches and outcomes, and those that posit significant influence of culture dominated by masculine values. While the culture change literature predominantly assumes the former, socio-cultural change related to sex- and gender-based behaviours and inclusion is a key area of focus for many military organizations. Although increasing gender diversity has played a key role within military culture for several decades, and currently represents an important imperative in operational context, little evidence is available to determine the extent to which gender integration has been achieved and what is actually required to facilitate identified objectives such as the mitigation of sexual misconduct and the integration of gender perspectives in operations. Analysis of all layers and dimensions of culture is an important strategy for revealing the scope and distribution of behaviours across units and sub-cultures of the military, as well as the underlying influences on those behaviours. Such knowledge can provide important input to culture change strategy.

When coupled with changing concepts of gender, as illustrated in Figure 1 above, it is plausible to claim that these measures of behaviour align with changing cultural conceptions regarding the roles and values of the contributions of gender diversity in the military, including women in the military. However, further analysis is required to determine the extent to which such indicators align with other dimensions of culture, and how this knowledge can contribute to current culture change objectives. Military personnel research is conducted in Canada to provide expert advice and assistance to policy and strategy related to a broad range of issues related to military personnel. The discussion below provides an overview of various dimensions of analyses that have been conducted or are currently ongoing, with a view toward identification and coordination of various conceptual layers of cultural analysis. For the purpose of this exercise, particular focus is placed on research related to sexual harassment, sexual misconduct and the relationship of these behaviours and experiences to culture.

3.1 Strategic Objectives and Institutional Activity

In keeping with Schein's layers of culture, outputs include those artifacts that are the most visible and accessible within military culture. Espoused beliefs and values, for example, can be readily accessed through doctrinal publications and senior leadership communication. Personnel research supports socio-cultural objectives through the development and implementation of Performance Measurement Frameworks (PMFs).^{lx} The PMF is an important mechanism for reporting on performance alignment with DND/CAF strategic objectives such as those identified through the *Employment Equity Act*, Op HONOUR, SSE, and ultimately reported to Government of Canada through the Departmental Results Framework. PMFs include strategic objectives supported by real time measures of outputs (e.g. number of female recruits), efficiencies (e.g. resource usage such as person years), and outcomes (e.g. measure of desired effect).^{lxi} Military personnel surveys, such as the Your Say Survey and the Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the CAF, also contribute to performance measures through the collection of real-time outcomes and measures such as self-reported perceptions, opinions, and experiences. However, the extent to which the espoused beliefs and values that support strategic objectives are congruent with observed behaviour and fundamental beliefs of leaders and members of the organization is more difficult to determine.

3.2 Institutional Objectives and Behaviour

Data and analysis regarding quantitative indicators derived from numerous surveys in the CAF provide valuable measures of CAF outputs, several of which contribute to PMF measures, through self-reported perceptions, opinions, and experiences. These outputs, along with other performance indicators included within a PMF, when re-administered over time, provide measures of organizational response to policy and leadership direction. Within the context of sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, for example, the CAF Your Say Survey provides real time measures of the impact of Op HONOUR initiatives on members' understanding of sexual harassment and sexual misconduct, awareness/experience with Sexual Misconduct Response Centres,^{lxii} and opinions regarding the climate established by leadership in supporting Op HONOUR objectives.^{lxiii}

Importantly, survey administration is routinely employed to capture a range of experiences and behaviours related to sexual harassment and sexual misconduct. The Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the CAF (SSMCAF) includes behaviours and responses related to sexual assault, sexual harassment, and discrimination based on sex, sexual orientation and gender identity. The CAF Workplace Harassment Survey captures experiences of personal harassment, sexual harassment, abuse of authority and hazing.^{lxiv} The Defence Workplace Well-Being Survey assesses psychosocial workplace factors, including psychological safety and civility/respect, and their impact on health and engagement among military and civilian personnel. Finally, qualitative analysis is also frequently conducted to access and understand the experiences of individuals and groups of individuals within the CAF. Qualitative research related to sexual harassment and sexual misconduct is being conducted to better understand the impact of the socialization process on member perceptions and behaviours, as well as to gain greater insight into the experiences, perceptions, beliefs and preparedness of leaders in mitigating and responding to sexual harassment and sexual misconduct in the CAF.

3.3 Attitudes and Values

As noted by culture researchers as well as social psychologists who study the relationship between attitudes and behaviours, values and attitudes represent important taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs which influence behavior. Attitudes and values in practice are difficult to access and assess; however, given the importance of attitudinal influence on behavior, it is important to consider what attitudes are, how they function, and why they might be resistant to change.

3.3.1 Understanding Attitudes

Attitudes are “exhibited in our beliefs, feelings or expressions of our intended behavior,” thus fitting well within a tripartite model of attitudes comprised of a cognitive component, an affective or emotional component, and a behavioural component.^{lxv} Well known attitude theorist and researcher Daniel Katz described attitudes as functional, and further notes that Katz and others have built upon this initial claim to identify several functions served by attitudes:

- a knowledge function (indicating an individual’s need to categorize the world in a meaningful and consistent fashion);
- an instrumental function (reflecting an attempt to maximize rewards and minimize punishments, as expressed in behaviouristic learning theory approaches);
- an ego-defensive function (for coping with anxieties generated by intrapsychic conflict, or providing protection against acknowledging basic truths about oneself);
- a value-expressive function (indicating an expression of values which are important to one’s self-concept, or attitudes which are appropriate to one’s personal values); and
- a social adjustment function (used to mediate one’s interpersonal relations).^{lxvi}

As researchers have tried to understand why some attitudes are considered more resistant to change than others, several explanations have been considered:

- important attitudes are associated with other attitudes, beliefs and values, thus exerting a stabilizing force;
- attitudes are normally accompanied by large stores of relevant knowledge which can be used to counter-argue discrepant information;
- people tend to associate with others who share similar attitudes, thus attitudes are reinforced through social norms; and
- individuals are more likely to commit themselves in public to attitudes they consider important, which increases their resistance to changing the attitude^{lxvii}

Given the gender neutral assumptions that inform military culture today, initiatives related to gender are often resisted, as are suggestions that cultural practices reflect gender-based dynamics. While the roots of social resistance can vary, it is likely that resistance to moving from gender neutral to gender integrated perspectives can be explained, at least in part, by attitudes. In their analysis of resistance to gender mainstreaming and gender training Lombardo and Mergaert^{lxviii} suggest, for example, that learning about gender: can make individuals feel exposed to criticism and suggestions that there is a need to change their own personal identity; can evoke beliefs that an agenda of gender transformation is a feminist agenda based on ideological and emotional arguments, rather than those that are rational, scientific, or legal; or generate negative reactions based on learner belief that the teacher/gender instructor is trying to manipulate them in some way.^{lxix} In her study of gender, folklore and military culture, Carol Burke notes that that above all, “basic training demands a suppression of individual difference and exacts conformity in all outward actions and dress,”^{lxx} and that recruits undergo a process of “deindividuation”, suspension of the self, and an uncritical investment in group identity.^{lxxi} Claims to gender-based differences further challenge traditional military strategy to socialize new members. These observations underscore the need to better understand why certain attitudes are resistant to new perspectives, including how they align with institutional effort to inculcate values which promote the inclusion of gender-based diversity and the integration of gender perspectives, as well as initiatives to mitigate sexual harassment and sexual misconduct in the military.

Notwithstanding the relative paucity of values and attitudes-based research, there are some exceptions,

including surveys administered within the CAF to better understand attitudes and opinions regarding gender integration and diversity. In 1997, a Mixed Gender Opinion Questionnaire (MGOQ) was developed and administered across the Canadian military to assess member attitudes and perceptions toward the integration of women,^{lxxii} and was re-administered along with a Diversity Climate Scale in 2005.^{lxxiii} While top-line results of the MGOQ indicate, for example, that in 1997, 47 percent of CAF members agreed that women should be employed in all military occupations, comparative analysis has not been conducted to determine how related perceptions and attitudes toward the employment of women in the military, from 1998 to 2005, have shifted.^{lxxiv} More recently, a 15-item survey was administered in 2017 to determine CAF member attitudes toward sexual orientation and gender identity. The results overall were positive, yet provided information for strategy to increase acceptance. For example, 86 percent of respondents indicated that they would be comfortable with a gay or lesbian boss, but fewer (75 percent) would be comfortable with a transgender boss.^{lxxv} Research has not been conducted on values across the CAF, however, the discussion below provides a summary of values research that has been conducted in the Canadian Army.

3.3.2 Measuring Values: Canadian Army Climate, Culture and Socio-Cultural Survey, 2004

In 2004, socio-cultural research was conducted across the Regular and Reserve components of the Canadian Army (CA) in partnership with Environics Canada. The study found that many members of the CA have a strong emotional attachment, a feeling of identification to the values, goals and achievements of the organization; overall, the analysis concludes that the CA has a strong culture.^{lxxvi} Overall, the analysis further confirmed that the values and attitudes of members of the CA, compare favourably with those represented within Canadian society;^{lxxvii} however, in comparison to Canadian society, soldiers also tended to be more likely to represent conservative values and attitudes with regard to gender and minorities.^{lxxviii} Although more adaptable to the complexities of life, soldiers were generally more comfortable with structure than the average Canadian.^{lxxix} Not surprisingly, those in combat units expressed the most negative attitudes toward women in combat roles, and soldiers at the lower rank levels were the most negative regarding several issues, including the integration of women.^{lxxx} Overall, and similar to an assessment of ethical values in DND in 2000, this study highlighted some serious gaps between espoused ethos and values, and soldier responses regarding organizational rules, organizational fairness, and self-interested behaviour.^{lxxxi}

3.3.3 Measuring Values: Canadian Army Values Profile Study, 2015

The Canadian Army Values study was originally intended to replicate the 2004 socio-cultural survey described above; however, direct comparative analysis was not possible due to the proprietary nature of the data collected by the industry partner, Environics Canada.^{lxxxii} Notwithstanding this limitation, the study offers a baseline for future research within the context of the CA. The CA values study is based on Schwartz's Theory of Values (TOV),^{lxxxiii} a widely adopted model of personal values. This model defines values as guiding principles in people's lives.^{lxxxiv} According to Bardi and Schwartz, values convey motivations, which may or may not translate into actual behaviours depending on their importance and also depending on situational, including normative, pressures.^{lxxxv} Schwartz's taxonomy depicts personal values in a two-dimensional space through 10 interrelated values types and their associated motivational goals,^{lxxxvi} and it can be used to distinguish between several broad groupings:^{lxxxvii} self-transcendence (or compassionate)^{lxxxviii} values and self-enhancement (or selfish) values; and between openness to change (openness) and conservation values. According to Blackmore, Sanderson and Hawkins,^{lxxxix} these groupings contribute to understanding the influential role of values on individuals' concerns, such as diversity and equality, as well as on civic, political, and social behaviours.^{xc}

The analysis of data collected across the Regular and Reserve components of the CA^{xc} resulted in three personal values profiles, labelled based on their scores on the ten values types represented in the survey:

- The largest group of CA members (42 percent of the sample), the Protection group, showed average-to-high levels of Selfish and Conservations values and low-to-average levels of

Compassionate and Openness values;

- The Others-Oriented group (32 percent of the sample), had the highest levels of Conservation and Compassionate values and the lowest levels of Selfish and Openness values; and
- The smallest group (26 percent of the sample), the Self-Oriented group, generally showed the highest levels of Selfish and Openness values and, for the most part, the lowest levels of Conservation and Compassionate values.^{xcii}

Given its high levels of Compassionate values and its low levels of Selfish values, the Others-Oriented group appears to be the most aligned with the core Canadian values of inclusion, compassion, and respect for diversity and human rights, as well as with the Canadian ideals of diversity, respect, and inclusion, all reinforced with Canada's 2017 Defence Policy.^{xciii} The analysis also indicated that several demographic characteristics increased the odds of belonging to the Others-Oriented group:^{xciv}

- Being a female;
- Being 35 and older;
- Being a senior non-commissioned member or a junior officer; and
- Having a military occupation other than combat arms.

Further, the data indicated greater/lesser likelihood of belonging to the Others-Oriented group, depending upon the CA Division to which the respondent reported;^{xcv} that is, there seemed to be evidence of different values expressions and priorities across CA sub-organizations. The data did not reveal any differences between the Regular and Reserve respondents to the survey.

Overall, when the personal values of young CA members were compared to young Canadians of a similar age, the data suggests more similarities than differences. This finding is congruent with the findings of the 2004 socio-cultural study;^{xcvi} however, the 2004 study also indicated that relative to young Canadians, young CA members had higher levels of Conservation values reflecting compliance, interpersonal conformity, and social security. Importantly, the 2015 values study confirms particular challenges regarding the extent to which soldiers in the combat arms are open to difference, including gender diversity. Given the lower levels of propensity toward change among young soldiers, junior non-commissioned soldiers, and combat arms soldiers, this values study provides an example of values-based insights that can provide important information to guide institutional strategy in meeting defence objectives.

4.0 SUMMARY

Although the experiences of women and men in the Canadian military, including the combat arms, reflect positive change since CHRT decision in 1989, there is a paucity of data and analysis to support leaders in better understanding how to focus culture change efforts in ways that are most effective for new members, as well as the overall effectiveness of mixed gender combat arms teams and units. It is clear that there are both similarities and differences between young civilians and young CA members, which have been attributed to both self-selection into the military and particular military roles,^{xcvii} as well as socialization within the military.^{xcviii} What accounts for differences among sub-organizations in the military is not clear, but that knowledge is an important piece of strategy as the CAF moves forward. CAF objectives to increase the representation of women cannot be realized without significant increase in the proportions of women who participate in male dominated occupations and roles, including the combat arms.

In tracing claims to socio-cultural change in the Canadian military, this paper suggests that conceptions and expressions of masculinity and femininity coupled with gender balance and unit climate driven by leadership are important influences on the extent to which sub-cultures across the military are open and supportive of gender diversity and human rights. This discussion further suggests that the socio-cultural change efforts identified in Canada's Defence Policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged* can be strengthened through consistent measurement and assessment of multiple dimensions of culture, including short and medium term indicators of change such as representation, rates of incidence of harmful behaviours such as harassment and assault, and longer term monitoring of gender-based values and attitudes which can influence member behaviours and experiences, and ultimately operational effectiveness. Values-based research, such as the 2004 and 2015 CA studies presented in this paper, is an important piece of such a research strategy.

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