Chapter 5:
The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers
Building on the examination of women’s representation in the ADF workforce pipeline, this Chapter turns to the barriers and opportunities that women encounter as they progress through it. In particular, it examines the way in which women are largely concentrated in particular roles within the Services, and the effect that this and other factors, such as the promotions process, have on women’s opportunities to reach positions of leadership. It also examines the effect that the removal of gender restrictions on combat roles may have on increasing opportunities for women, as well as how access to support, through mentoring, networks, and sponsorship can make a significant difference to women’s ADF career.

5.1 Occupational Segregation

In summary

- Women in the ADF are heavily concentrated in non-technical and support roles, including administrative, clerical, logistical and health service roles. Conversely, women are under-represented in technical and war-fighting/combat roles.
- There are many factors contributing to occupational segregation including: the impact of social norms relating to ‘appropriate’ employment for men and women, opportunities offered to women, women’s reluctance to enter and previous exclusion from categories dominated by men, and women choosing occupations that afford greater flexibility and locational stability.
- Occupational segregation has a significant impact on women’s career progression and their ability to reach leadership positions in the ADF. Traditionally, senior leadership is drawn from categories that have no women or where there are very small numbers of women, particularly in Army and Air Force.
- Several complementary measures are needed to attract and retain women in a greater diversity of roles and increase women’s representation in leadership positions. This includes creating greater workplace flexibility and locational stability; re-evaluating the skills and experience needed for leadership roles; and simultaneously strengthening efforts to increase the representation of women in a diversity of categories.
- The ‘civilianisation’ and centralisation of many military support roles will have a disproportionate impact on women.

As explored in the previous Chapter, women make up 13.8% of the total ADF Permanent workforce: 9.9% of Army, 17.1% of Air Force and 18.5% of Navy. These figures mask the uneven distribution of women across the different occupations within the ADF. The actual occupations women pursue within the three Services are starkly segregated, with most women serving in support roles, particularly administrative, clerical, logistical or health service roles. In fact, women significantly outnumber men in some of these categories. As one female member told the Review:

I’m a clerk, so I haven’t worked with very many males.

Concurrently, women are under-represented in many categories across the three Services, particularly in war-fighting/combat roles and technical roles.

This delineation of roles may reflect similar patterns of women’s employment in the civilian workforce, but in the ADF context it poses a significant impediment to the number of women in leadership positions. Particularly in Army and Air Force, the categories that have no women or very small numbers of women are the categories that progress to senior leadership. Re-evaluating the skills and experience needed for leadership roles while simultaneously strengthening efforts to increase the representation of women in a diversity of categories is critical to addressing the under-representation of women in ADF leadership. Additionally, as the ADF continues...
to civilianise non war-fighting roles in attempts to increase efficiency, the overall representation of women in the ADF will decrease unless renewed efforts are made to attract and retain women in male-dominated occupations (i.e. ‘non-traditional’ occupations for women).

(a) Statistical overview

Until recently, not all roles in each of the Services have been open to women. While these restrictions have now been lifted and each Service is seeking to integrate women into these roles over the next five years, the current impact of the restrictions remain with 2.2% of roles in Navy, 14.6% of roles in Army, and 2.4% of roles in Air Force currently in transition (see section 5.3).

Even when these restrictions are accounted for, women are not represented in all of the roles currently available to them within each Service:

- In Navy, of the 145 roles open to both men and women that are currently occupied by personnel, women are currently employed in only 118 (81.3%) of roles.
- In Army, of the 132 roles open to both men and women that are currently occupied by personnel, women are currently employed in only 119 (90%) of roles.
- In Air Force, of the 117 roles open to both men and women that are currently occupied by personnel, women are currently employed in 100 (85.4%) of roles.

Across all three Services, as Figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 show, women are concentrated in officer and non-technical trades and under-represented in technical trades.

There are many likely factors accounting for women’s absence from several roles. These include:

- the impact of social norms relating to ‘appropriate’ employment for men and women
- opportunities offered to women
- women’s reluctance to enter and previous exclusion from categories dominated by men
- women’s choice around occupations that offer more locational stability and flexibility.

Figure 5.1: Percentage of Men and Women in Navy by Officer, Technical (OR) and Non-Technical (OR)
Figure 5.2: Percentage of Men and Women in Army by Officer, Technical (OR) and Non-Technical (OR)¹³

Figure 5.3: Percentage of Men and Women in Air Force by Officer, Technical (OR) and Non-Technical (OR)¹⁴

The low representation of women in technical trades is particularly significant in Navy and Air Force, where personnel in technical roles make up around a third of the personnel in the Service.¹⁵

The following graphs show the percentage of women in each category by Service, and illustrate the disproportionate representation of men and women in each category:
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Figure 5.4: Percentage of women and men in Navy categories

Figure 5.5: Percentage of women and men in Army categories
Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 show marked segregation of women into particular categories as well as similarity in the kinds of categories in which women are concentrated. For example women’s representation in each of the categories below is above 30% of all personnel in that category:

- In Navy, Administration, Management Executive, Health Services, Instructor, Legal, Supply, Training Systems and Communications.¹⁹
- In Army, Nursing, Dental, Psychology, Education, Pay and Medical Corps.²⁰
- In Air Force, Dental, Clerical, Health Services, Medical, Support Operations and Supply.²¹

The graphs also demonstrate that, particularly in Navy and Air Force, women significantly outnumber men in some of these categories.

In Army and Air Force the proportion of women in each category has been fairly static over the last six years (see Appendix J.2 for graphs illustrating these trends).²² In Navy, there has been far more fluctuation in the proportion of women in some categories.²³ This is particularly prominent in the categories with smaller numbers of personnel (see Appendix J.2). There have also been changes in the establishment and discontinuation of categories in Navy. The most significant among these is the creation of a ‘Management Executive’ category. Since its creation in 2010, this category has been dominated by women and appears to be attractive for the additional career progression it offers women in many support roles (such as human resource roles) and the locational stability it affords.²⁴

Within some categories, there is even further segregation of women’s roles. For example:

- In Army, women represent 22.3% of the Ordnance Corps – the category with the largest number of women, at 836 women out of 3752. Of the 22.3% of women, they are over-represented in administrative roles (50.6%), Supply roles (35.4% in total) and Officer roles (11.4%).²⁵
- In Air Force, 64% of women in Engineering and Logistics are ‘Logistics Officers’ (rather than Aeronautical Engineer, Airfield Engineer or Armament Engineer, Electronics Engineer) despite ‘Logistics Officers’ representing only 27% of personnel in this category overall. Furthermore, in the Airmen Aircrew category, of the 69 women in this category (representing 17.3%), 54 (78%) are in the Crew Attendant specialisation.²⁶
• By contrast, within the categories in Navy in which women are employed, they appear to be more evenly spread across the range of specialisations. The exception to this is Maritime Warfare Officers. This is a large category with 157 women out of a total of 967 personnel, yet women are heavily concentrated in just 15 of the 36 specialisations currently filled by permanent members in this category.27

The categories in which women are well represented tend to be the ‘smaller categories’ in each of the Services (see Appendix J.1). For example:28

• In Navy, there are 22 women in Legal but there are only 50 people in Legal in the whole Service.

• In Army, there are 66 women in Psychology but there are only 119 people in Psychology in the whole Service.

• In Air Force, there are 32 women in Dental but there are only 36 people in Dental in the whole Service.

This has implications for career progression and leadership opportunities which will be discussed in section 5.2.

The Review recommends a specific program to recruit and build a critical mass of women in areas that currently have a low representation of women. Importantly, women entering these roles need to be supported and their retention and career progression monitored, to enable the ADF to respond more effectively to their needs.

(b) Causes of Occupational Segregation

(i) Reflecting broader social norms

To some extent, the segregation of women in ‘traditional’ occupations is symptomatic of broader social norms regarding ‘appropriate’ work for men and women. The gender-based division of labour in the ADF and the wider Australian community reflects, in part, stereotypes and norms regarding women’s and men’s perceived varying competencies, and ‘appropriate’ gender-roles and behaviour.29

In the ADF context, as in many other workplaces, these norms have been institutionalised through formal and informal restrictions on women’s employment options (such as the exclusion, until recently, of women from combat roles), selection criteria that prioritise skills typically held by men (such as the prioritisation of war-fighting and operational experience in the appointment of the Chiefs of Services), and, as discussed in previous Chapters, conscious and unconscious bias of those that recruit men and women. Reinforcing this segregation is the fact that, through the process of socialisation, women will often choose categories that conform to these norms.30

Many men and women with whom the Review spoke explained the concentration of women in traditionally female roles as merely reflecting the occupational segregation that occurs in the broader community. For instance:

By virtue of cultural differences between males and females in Australia, nursing [in the ADF] will probably always have, no matter what they do, more females than males.31

It’s a particular character for a female to want to become a mechanic or an engineer. I don’t think every girl grows up and thinks her dream job is going to be covered in grease and oil.32

While the representation of women in ‘non-traditional’ roles in the ADF is generally higher than in the civilian workforce,33 as will be explored in section 5.2, this does not alter the fact that Defence career progression models accord greater prestige to those roles that men dominate, rather than the support roles in which women have traditionally been represented. This preserves gendered assumptions about the division of labour and perpetuates the under-valuing of traditional female occupations, as well as of women’s contribution to the ADF.34 Occupational segregation also impacts on women’s ability to shape the culture of the ADF. The lack of
senior appointments from traditionally female-dominated occupations means that women are unable to attain positions through which they can shape the culture of the ADF.

It is critical that the ADF renew efforts to diversify the categories in which women are employed, and conversely, encourage more men into currently feminised job categories.

(ii) Recruitment

The importance of the recruitment process in attracting or discouraging women from certain occupations within the ADF was highlighted in many focus groups and examined in section 4.2. Given that there are sometimes difficulties in transferring categories once personnel are in the ADF, the recruitment process (including ADF advertising, information sessions, interviews with recruitment staff and aptitudes assessments) largely determines the occupation an individual will undertake for the duration of their career in the ADF.

The ADF has made concerted efforts to attract women to non-traditional occupations, including through targeted advertising campaigns (see Appendix J.4), in part because of an imperative to fill critical and under-capacity categories. While the reportedly higher representation of women in non-traditional occupations in the ADF compared to similar civilian workforces/industries points to the relative success of these initiatives, the consistently low representation of women in many male-dominated categories (particularly for a workforce that is dominated by these roles) indicates the need for renewed and strengthened initiatives.

Certainly, some female focus group participants, particularly in Air Force, recounted experiences of being steered away from non-traditional categories and into more conventional categories for women during the recruitment process:

I walked into recruiting and I said I wanted to be a metal machinist, this is going back five years ago, they went no, we’re not going to let you do that because it’s a male dominated environment.

I went in and my first mustering was fire fighter, but they said they weren’t recruiting for another two years. They put me into another one, yet on my recruit [course] there were about six male fire fighters.

Two females have been told by recruiting that women can’t be fast jet pilots because of the G-forces.

As discussed in section 4.2, the current recruitment model of filling quotas for jobs with the first eligible candidate that meets requirements will not address the under-representation of women in non-traditional employment. Recruitment initiatives need to target and encourage women and girls to look beyond stereotypical jobs towards technical and combat roles. Initiatives such as those outlined in section 4.2 show that targeted recruitment of women into non-traditional roles is essential and may require targets as well as initiatives such as a ‘recruit to trade’ model and removal of the ‘Initial Minimum Period of Service’ for key categories.

Studies suggest that ‘women act more distinctively once their numbers reach a certain threshold’. While the percentage which women must obtain in order to function as a critical mass differs in relevant literature, studies show that when representation rises above a token number, women are able to have an impact on the environment in which they work. It is important to ensure that women are not isolated where they choose to work in categories newly opened to women or that have very small numbers of women. Furthermore, effective leadership and support mechanisms (such as mentoring) must be in place.

(iii) Re-categorising into traditional occupations

Focus group participants stated that it was common for women to enter a category and then move across to an administrative role for a range of reasons. These include because they were ‘broken’ by the training or the pressures of working in a male dominated environment, or because they were seeking more flexible work and locational stability:

A lot of us get broken from early on in training and then we come across [to pay corps]. It’s very common.

Once [members] get kids… they want the ground jobs.
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[It’s been said in jest to me a couple of times… that the common expansion of MX, which is ‘Management Executive’ is ‘males excluded’ because there is a big perception out there that it’s being offered to people like me ….who want to get back in but don’t want to go back to sea because they’re mums now.44

As discussed in section 4.3 and Chapter 6, the Review also heard that many women discharge when they establish a family. They may re-enter the Services later in life into a category that offers them greater workplace flexibility and locational stability. Offering women in non-traditional occupations further opportunities for flexible work and locational stability is critical to retain women in non-traditional roles.

(iv) Choosing occupations with more flexibility and stability

Some women in focus groups stated that they chose occupations that provide greater flexibility and stability such as less sea-going time or fewer deployments and operations. The categories that provide the greatest flexibility and stability are in the non-technical support roles, such as administration, human resources and legal – all roles dominated by women. Both women and men in focus groups also stated that they recommend these occupations to other women because of the flexibility and stability they afford, presumably on the assumption that women may need to juggle family responsibilities in the future:

I recommend a lot of ladies to be in the Supply Branch who want to be officers because there’s a good balance between sea-time and shore-time.45

At this point in time there is no female who has kids and is flying in this mustering. There’s a couple of men that have children that manage to be crew attendants still because their wives must be obviously doing the role of caregiver most of the time but at this point in time there’s no female that can have kids and go on a flight because you just can’t. You can go away for a trip but it ends up being three weeks.46

We’ve got another member that comes in only four days a week…But again it’s a clerk trade not a technical trade, so it’s a lot for harder for a technical trade where they’ve got certain jobs they’ve got to achieve every day with limited capability.47

The concentration of women who access flexible work in particular categories may have further consequences, with some categories becoming increasingly accustomed to implementing these arrangements while others have no experience. This means that both men and women seeking flexibility in technical and war-fighting roles, for example, may face perpetual resistance. Further, as one member stated in relation to job sharing:

It works when there are multiple females in the squadron…I’m the only female. Who am I going to job share with?48

The perception of many women is that it is more difficult to balance a career and family commitments in non-traditional occupations. This results in some women choosing traditional roles that assure them of greater stability.

(v) Women’s reluctance to enter categories/trades dominated by men

Some women in focus groups expressed reluctance to enter categories and trades that were dominated by men because of the culture within these categories rather than the job function. As outlined in Chapter 3, women face significant challenges entering and working in a male-dominated environment and culture. This is exacerbated for women in non-traditional occupations, where women’s experience as a small minority is compounded by their inability to influence the culture even within their own unit or section. The Review found that this leads some women to choose occupations that have a larger number of women:

She said she wanted to be a pilot, and I said “why don’t you try?” She goes, “well you’re allowed to be, but it’s a boy’s club you need to get through.”49
I even know pilots that find it difficult to cope with the boy’s club thing. So I can only imagine what the female would have to deal with in that sort of environment, purely because [she is] female.

I do have one girl in my workplace now and I love working with her. She’s the first one that I’ve worked directly with, and she’s disgusted with all the stuff that I’ve been through…Today she heard the stuff about apparently the two troops I slept with, and she squashed it straight away, told them to shut up. So that’s been really great.

From my environment, because it’s logistics and females can do pretty much anything in logistics, we’re treated just the same as everyone else.

Usually, the majority of the bad [supervisors] I’ve come across [are from] engineers and stuff like that that are a male dominated. Whereas ones that work in admin I’ve found have been fine.

Attracting and retaining women in non-traditional occupations will require concerted efforts to shift the culture of male dominated categories.

(c) Challenges faced by women in roles dominated by men

As the ADF makes efforts to attract and recruit women to non-traditional occupations, there is a significant burden on women who are ‘trail-blazers’ and enter non-traditional occupations within the Services. Women in this situation must contend with discriminatory gender stereotypes about their capacity to fulfil the role, as well as their ‘rightful’ place within the ADF, ‘proving themselves’ as worthy. This is most visible in fierce resistance by some personnel to opening combat roles to women in Army (see section 5.3). Members from other categories also told the Review of the challenges faced by women working in categories dominated by men:

There’s only 18 female pilots out of about 700. The spotlight is going to be on you no matter what you do, whether you’re good or bad or whatever and you need to probably step up and act in a more mature way. They’ll learn in their own way but it was learning on your feet unfortunately.

I’m in a corps that’s just introduced women in the past couple of years and if you want my perspective, I don’t think the majority of those women have done our corps any favours and I think what they do is looked at very very critically …Whereas similar behaviour by a male isn’t looked at as anywhere near as significant by a female. Now, that’s fundamentally unfair.

If you had a pilots course, which had half guys, half girls, the girls would perform better than if there was just one girl on the course. That’s just I think normal.

Measures must be put in place to support women entering these roles and imbue a culture that will facilitate the integration of women. As detailed in the recommendations, this must include ensuring adequate numbers of women in categories (critical mass), positive leadership, mentoring and support.

(d) The impact of workforce reforms on women

The Strategic Reform Program has mandated the civilianisation and centralisation of military support roles (such as human resources, administration, finance, and health). This will see the transfer of many non-technical support roles to the Australian Public Service. This will have a disproportionate impact on women who dominate these positions and will likely result in a significant decline in women’s representation within the Services. To date, the ADF has been unable to provide the Review with a clear indication of which and how many positions will be affected. However, given the previous analysis of women’s concentration in many of the support roles targeted for civilianisation, the impact seems clear.

Members reflected an awareness of these reforms, and an appreciation of the specific impact they will have on women:

I’m in a very small corps. There’s not a lot of positions anyway and we’re currently privatising it anyway, we’re going to civilians… So it’s getting harder and harder for us to move around.
Certainly we’re trying to save our jobs by proving that you can’t live without us so we’ve got probably about a year to go and step up and make sure that we’ve got roles to either fulfil or make sure that it gets given away properly.60

Some participants also expressed frustration at the way in which the reforms were being implemented:

I’ve seen my career manager to try and get out of that job. He told me I can’t leave ‘til 2014. I said to him why is this? He said honestly, it’s the Navy’s way of trying to make 31 junior sailor writers61 as unhappy as possible to get them out because they need to lose 31 people out of our branch by 2015.62 Their way of not offering redundancy is trying to keep people as unhappy as they can so that they just get out.63

Swift action is necessary to diversify the categories which women occupy within the three Services to ensure that women’s overall representation in the ADF does not decrease significantly as a result of these reforms. As stated by a member of the ADF:

The only way we will see real increase in [women’s] participation rate is to find creative ways of attracting women into those … fields that … remain unattractive to women.64

(e) Defence Force Initiatives to Address Occupational Segregation

The ADF has made efforts to attract and recruit women into non-traditional. These initiatives are outlined in Appendix J.4 and include marketing strategies, profiling women role models and offering increased support. As outlined above, the ability of the ADF to attract more women into non-traditional occupations when compared with similar civilian workplaces demonstrates the relative success of some of these initiatives. Given the large number of non-traditional occupations in the ADF and the importance of occupational segregation as a structural barrier to women’s representation in leadership positions, efforts must continue if the ADF is to have a sustainable workforce in the future.

(f) Conclusion

Women in the ADF are heavily concentrated in non-technical and support roles, including administrative, clerical, logistical and health service roles. Concurrently, women are under-represented in war-fighting/combat roles and technical roles. This division has a significant impact on women’s career progression and ability to reach leadership positions in the ADF, as it is the categories that have no or very small numbers of women that progress to senior leadership positions, particularly in Army and Air Force (discussed further below in section 5.2). Current reforms aimed at civilianising support roles will only decrease the overall representation of women in the ADF. On a broader level, occupational segregation inhibits women’s ability to influence the culture in the ADF and perpetuates gender stereotypes about women’s roles and capacity.

Several complementary measures are needed to attract and retain women in a greater diversity of roles and to increase women’s representation in leadership positions. This includes renewed efforts to recruit women to non-traditional occupations (including through offering greater workplace flexibility and locational stability), supporting women who do enter these occupations, opening avenues for transfer across occupations, and creating pathways for women to progress to leadership positions.

Re-evaluating the skills and experience needed for leadership roles while simultaneously strengthening efforts to increase the representation of women in a diversity of categories (including those categories that obtain the highest positions), will be critical to addressing the under-representation of women in the ADF generally, and in leadership positions particularly. The next section examines these issues in depth.
5.2 The Under-representation of Women in Leadership

In summary

- Leadership sets the culture and direction of an organisation.
- Where operational leadership is deficient, there is a greater possibility of unacceptable behaviour occurring.
- Leadership training should include material on the link between diversity and capability in order to embed cultural change throughout the ADF.
- Currently, the ADF’s senior leaders are overwhelmingly male with most drawn from male dominated categories. This applies also to developmental opportunities such as unit command and deployment.
- Work and family balance issues and the rigid career continuum also contribute to the under-representation of women in leadership roles.

Leadership shapes organisations. It sets the tone, embeds the culture and establishes the direction of any organisation. Currently, the ADF’s senior leaders are overwhelmingly male, and drawn from a narrow band of categories. This means that few women have the opportunity to shape the culture of the ADF.

Several issues contribute to the under-representation of women in leadership roles, including occupational segregation, work and family balance issues, and a rigid career continuum. In the context of an increasingly complex, ever-changing and fast-paced workplace, harnessing a more diverse mix of backgrounds and skills in leadership will help the ADF make the most of its existing talent.

This section begins with an examination of organisational culture and how it intersects with concepts of strategic leadership and operational leadership. It then discusses the benefits of diversity in leadership, before examining the under-representation of women in leadership positions in the ADF.

(a) Leadership and culture

Strong leadership, and the values, principles and behaviours that inform and flow from it, are an essential part of any large organisation, particularly one with the unique mission of the ADF. Leaders give explicit and implicit cues to individual members about the conduct and values expected of them.

Leadership and organisational culture are closely related. The ADF’s leadership doctrine notes that ‘an organisation’s culture will determine who will lead and what leadership styles and behaviours are acceptable,’ but also that strategic leadership shapes ADF culture. For this reason, a brief examination of the cultural norms associated with ADF leadership is required.

The ADF’s values and beliefs draw on Australian civic ideas, like ‘a fair go’ and ‘understanding, tolerance and inclusion’. These values are complemented by a broad concept of military culture, a ‘largely rules-based, conservative and traditional’ system that relies on discipline and structure. The ADF leadership doctrine notes that military culture can encourage cohesiveness and organisational commitment, but it can also stifle initiative and lead to exclusion. This can create challenges for those leading an organisation undergoing dynamic cultural change.
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The recent Review of Personal Conduct undertaken by MAJGEN Craig Orme found that:

[b] the root cause of some of the failures in personal conduct has been a failure of a predominantly male culture to respond appropriately to women in the work environment...Where leaders do not condemn or eradicate this behaviour it is taken to be acceptable conduct. Women are positioned as the 'Other'.

Implicit in this observation is the need for the culture of the ADF to evolve to become more inclusive of women.

As discussed in Chapter 1, maintaining a relevant and ready force in an increasingly complex and fast-paced workplace will require the ADF to draw upon all of the diversity of talent and skill present in the Australian community. The challenge for the ADF's leaders will be to create a culture in which this talent is widely valued, and can contribute to performance and capability.

(b) Operational leadership

While strategic leadership sets organisational direction and culture, operational leadership embeds this culture in everyday practice. This in turn shapes the experience of individual members of the ADF and the public with whom they interact. If there is dissonance between strategic and organisational leadership, this can result in less than optimum performance from both individuals and the organisation.

The Review had the opportunity to observe some of the very best of operational leadership in the ADF. Where good leadership was evident, units functioned well, workplace culture was healthy, and the experience of personnel was positive. Many environments the Review visited exemplified all the best elements of professionalism, loyalty, integrity, courage, innovation and teamwork. This was particularly so in the deployed environment where the sense of pride, shared endeavour and mission focus demonstrated a high functioning, respectful and harmonious culture.

The Review is also aware of less than optimal and deficient leadership. Where this was evident morale was impacted, workplace conditions were compromised, and there was an increased danger of unacceptable behaviour occurring. In fact, where the Review encountered incidents, or was told of unacceptable behaviour occurring, poor leadership was almost always a factor. Submissions also described examples of leadership that was inconsistent, hostile or aggressive, not consultative, or unable or unwilling to deal with unacceptable behaviour.

The ADF seeks to avoid inconsistencies in leadership practice by providing a broad range of leadership education and training materials to personnel throughout their careers. This could be enhanced by incorporating some of the compelling arguments made by the organisation's most senior leaders about the links between diversity and improved organisational performance. An increased focus on the benefits of diversity in the ADF would help align operational leadership with the organisation's strategic objectives.

(c) The strategic corporal

The Review encountered many examples in the ADF where junior leaders held roles of great influence over organisational outcomes and culture. This is in line with the U.S. General Charles Krulak's influential work about the importance of low-level leaders – or 'strategic corporals' – within contemporary military forces.

In these instances junior officers and NCOs play a critical role in shaping the attitudes and thinking of their subordinates, and transmitting ‘ADF culture’ to the next generation of personnel. This was particularly so in recruit and training environments where the desire of recruits/trainees to ‘fit in’ and model success was most evident. In fact, it is difficult to overestimate the impact of personnel at this level of the organisation in shaping acceptable attitudes and modelling behaviour. Senior leaders at every training environment visited by the Review understood the importance of having the best people in these positions, because of their role as ‘cultural ambassadors'.
Given the influential positions held by junior leaders, greater engagement and dialogue up and down the chain of command has the potential to increase collaboration and offer leaders the information they need to lead cohesive and high functioning teams. The Review encountered a number of instances where leadership had been grappling for some time with the integration of women into combat roles in a training environment, but had not consulted with subordinates on these matters, many of whom believed that they had useful suggestions to contribute, or were thinking in different ways. Though the ADF’s command environment relies on a rank structure and hierarchy which does not always naturally lead to dialogue between leaders and followers, such dialogue can provide more information and viewpoints to leaders, be a forum to stress-test ideas and positions, and improve leadership outcomes.

In a workforce where lower-level leaders hold positions of strategic significance, greater interaction between senior and junior leaders will help to better align strategic and organisational leadership goals, and improve organisational performance.

(d) Leadership and diversity

The ADF has the opportunity to lead Australia and its military peers in creating more inclusive environments, and improved leadership outcomes.

The Review examined the volumes of leadership training material provided across the ADF. This material is detailed and well-structured, but is silent on developing, monitoring and evaluating the specific skills of managing diversity and flexibility. There should be a broad organisational understanding of diversity as a core defence value and an operational imperative, linked to capability and effectiveness.

The ADF’s leadership doctrine addresses the issue of diversity as a ‘contemporary issue for leaders’. The doctrine also acknowledges that women are under-represented in leadership positions and suggests the ADF ‘still has some way to go in terms of valuing the perspective offered by females’. However, it is only at the most senior ranks that there is a requirement to ‘communicate the value of harnessing diversity for the organisation’, a message that is not necessarily being heard across all ranks of the organisation. A special focus is required to build the particular skills, knowledge and attitudes required to lead a diverse and flexible workforce.

(e) The Impact of Occupational Segregation on Women in Leadership Positions

In civilian environments, occupational segregation can result in more women attaining the highest positions within their occupations as a larger number of women competing for appointments leads to a greater likelihood that they will be promoted. This does not necessarily operate in the same way in the ADF, resulting from several factors. First, appointments to senior officer positions – generalist executive positions for which personnel can be drawn from any category – appear to favour skills and experience obtained by working in male dominated categories. Second, there are limited opportunities in many of these categories for appointment to career advancing jobs, command positions, deployment and operational experience, all of which have an impact on women’s competitiveness for promotions.

Below is an analysis of the Review’s key findings in relation to the impact of occupational segregation on women’s ability to attain leadership positions.

(i) Underrepresentation of women in leadership positions

An analysis of appointments to the most senior officer roles in the ADF over the past ten years confirms that these positions are being sourced from male dominated categories. For example:

- The CDF has either been from Infantry (a category from which women have been precluded) or a Pilot (2.5% of whom are women).
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- The position of Chief of Navy has been filled by a Maritime Warfare Officer. Women make up 16% of this category, but remain vastly under-represented in senior officer appointments drawn from it.
- The position of Chief of Army has been filled from Infantry, or Engineering (3% of whom are women).
- The position of Chief of Air Force has been filled by a Pilot since 1921.

The impact of occupational segregation on women in leadership is further evidenced by an analysis of the categories from which generalist star ranked officers are appointed. Not all officers are General Service Officers (GSO). There are also Specialist Service Officers (SSO), who are professionally qualified personnel appointed as officers in order to practice their specialisations in the Services. SSOs are a minority among the entire officer corps, are not subject to the same general ab initio training, and follow different career paths to GSOs. For these reasons, GSOs and SSOs are examined separately below.

In Army, 40% of generalist star ranked officers are drawn from the Infantry Corps and Armoured Corps from which women are currently precluded. There are no generalist star ranked officers from many of the categories in which women are concentrated such as Nursing, Dental, Psychology, Education, Pay, Medical, Public Relations and Band.

In Air Force, 58% of the generalist star ranked officers are currently drawn from personnel in the Aircrew category, yet women represent only 5.2% of the permanent forces in this category. A further 34.6% of generalist star ranked officers are currently drawn from personnel in Engineering and Logistics yet women represent only 15% of this category. There are no generalist star ranked officers from some of the categories in which women are concentrated, such as Intelligence.

In Navy, there are no generalist star ranked officers originating from categories in which women are highly represented, such as Administration, Instructor, Health Services, Training Systems and Intelligence.

Unsurprisingly, these facts lead to a vast under-representation of women across all the star ranks. Currently:

- Navy has 52 generalist star ranked officers, and only one (1.9%) is a woman. Additionally, out of three specialist star ranked officers, there are currently two women from the Health Services category.
- Army has 71 generalist star ranked officers, and four (5.6%) are women. Additionally, out of the three specialist star ranked officers there is currently one woman from the Legal category.
- Air Force has 53 generalist star ranked officers, and one (1.9%) is a women. Additionally, out of the two specialist star ranked officers, there is currently one woman from the Health Services category.

Even among this senior group, women tend to be more lowly ranked senior officers. In Navy, one woman is a rear admiral and the other two are at the commodore rank. In Army, the five women are all brigadiers. In Air Force, one woman is an air vice-marshal and the other is an air commodore.

The impact of occupational segregation on women in leadership is not only an issue in the officer ranks. Within the trained forces in other ranks, women are not represented in warrant officer positions at a number proportionate to their percentage in other ranks. For example, in Navy, women make up 18% of other ranks, but only 6.4% of warrant officers. In Army, women make up 8.7% of other ranks and 8.4% of warrant officer class 1. In Air Force, women make up 16% of other ranks but only 8% of warrant officers. Likely factors contributing to this under-representation include the small size of many of the categories that women dominate, resulting in fewer warrant officer positions, the legacy of formal exclusions and the time it takes to climb the ranks.

The fact that personnel occupying the most senior ranks in each Service are often drawn from male dominated roles, particularly war-fighting roles, has resulted in very few women in leadership positions.
(ii) Occupational segregation and command

One of the key career gateways for progression to a ‘senior officer’ position is assuming command of a unit. Women are currently under-represented in command positions, and this has implications for addressing the under-representation of women among senior officers in the near future. An analysis of the categories from which those in command roles are drawn bears similarities to the senior officer breakdown. In Army, 29.6% of command positions are in categories from which women have been precluded, and in Air Force 22% of command positions are in the Aircrew category that has a representation of only 5.2% women:

- In Navy, out of a total of 91 command positions currently occupied, women occupy only six (6.6%). Four women currently occupy shore command positions, and they are from Marine Engineering, Administration and Supply. Two women hold minor sea command positions, both of whom are Maritime Warfare Officers.
- In Army, out of a total of 81 command positions, women currently occupy four (4.9%). The positions currently occupied by women are within the Signals Corps, Education Corps, Medical Corps and Psychology Corps.
- In Air Force, of the 127 command positions, women currently occupy 16 of (12.5%). This figure is slightly lower than the percentage of women in eligible ranks (squadron leaders, wing commanders and group captains) – 14.9%. The categories of the 16 women currently serving in command positions are Support Operations, Aircrew, Engineering and Logistics, Electronics Engineer, Operations, and Health Services.

A gender breakdown of key leadership positions throughout the workforce pipeline indicates that women remain under-represented in developmental roles that currently act as gateways to senior leadership. The skills and experiences that women bring to the ADF are not being fully exploited within the current workforce model. The ADF should create pathways through non-warfighting categories in order to increase diversity in leadership. With an increasingly complex workplace requiring an agile and diverse leadership, the ADF should better exploit the leadership talent of both men and women.

(iii) Deployment and operational experience

Deployment and operational experience are also important gateways for career advancement in many categories and promotion gateways. In relation to promotional prospects, one member told the Review that:

If you don’t have operational service compared to someone who does and everything else was the same the one with the operational service would get it.

Another member similarly noted that:

[Deployment] obviously makes me more competitive.

Women are deployed in slightly lower numbers than their representation in each Service. Women represent 14.4% of deployed Navy personnel, 8% of the deployed Army personnel and 15% of deployed Air Force personnel, the proportion of women from each category deployed being fairly equal to their representation in that category. Yet, the Review heard from personnel during focus groups, particularly in Army, that many of the categories with higher proportions of women are infrequently deployed:

I’ve never been deployed [and] the only time I’ve been offered was last year. So nearly 14 years I’ve never been given the opportunity.

You’ve got young nurses and medics here who are not getting those opportunities and they should be.

A clear picture was not available regarding the categories that are more or less likely to deploy and the resulting impact on women. The type of deployment will largely determine the skills and qualifications, and thus categories that are required to deploy. The frequency with which women may need to deploy in Navy is also affected by the number of bunks on vessels that are designated for women. In some cases this leads to women being deployed more frequently than they wish and, in other cases, missing opportunities to deploy:
It all comes down to bunk allocation at sea and so sometimes they need four women versus six blokes and you can’t just post another guy because then your cabin is not right or your space is not right, so I think as a female you’re sort of disadvantaged.117

Some women are in categories that are less likely to be deployed and sent on operations, which can leave them at a disadvantage in terms of the critical skills currently valued among senior leadership positions.

Addressing the impacts of occupational segregation on women’s career progression will require reviewing the custom and practice of selecting the most senior strategic leadership positions in the ADF from combat corps codes. The promotions process should be redesigned with the object of selecting leadership positions from a broader group of meritorious candidates, particularly women.

It will also require establishing targets for personnel from non war-fighting corps for key promotional gateways such as Australian Command and Staff College (ACSC), the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies (CDSS) and other equivalent gateways. A senior officer has suggested that certain strategic roles that do not require combat and/or operational experience should be quarantined for personnel from other categories.118 This would facilitate bringing a diversity of skills and experience into the ADF’s senior leadership, while expanding the promotional pathways for personnel in a range of categories. The Review suggests the ADF examines this further, including how it could be implemented in a way to ensure it does not create further delineation and hierarchy between war-fighting and other roles.

(iv) Rank ceilings and other structural barriers

Officer and other rank focus group participants also revealed a perception that there are ‘rank ceilings’ in many of the categories dominated by women that precludes them from advancing their careers:

> We’re pretty much sealed at Corporal, because once you go above that you don’t have the skill sets required for it, especially in my trade. I can’t be a troop sergeant. I don’t do what these guys do so I can’t tell a bunch of guys who can do more than I can how to do it! So you know why would I want to go and grab a bunch of chicks in my corps and go this is a really cool place, come over here, and be rank sealed.119

Most of our women are employed in fields like training, nursing, administration and health support – and in these non-operational fields, neither men or women in the Air Force can rise above the rank of Group Captain.120

The Review was informed that where rank ceilings exist, there are pathways for personnel to re-skill and change specialisations/categories to enable them to progress further in their careers.121 This may require some time and also depend on the availability of positions within those categories. The Review considers that there would be benefit in examining the impact that any rank ceilings may have on its workforce, and its ability to draw on a diverse range of skills and talents for senior leadership positions.

In Army, two further structural barriers appear to impede the ability of women to progress to senior leadership positions. First, given women are disproportionately represented in categories with a very small number of personnel, there are fewer positions in higher ranks into which women can move. For example, while the percentage of positions at lieutenant rank in Nursing is much higher than in Engineers, there are far fewer posts in higher ranks in Nursing. In fact, there are generally only one or two colonel/warrant office class 1 posts in the majority of the categories that women dominate.122 Within the Dental Corps (the category with the highest representation of women), there are only two lieutenant colonel positions (currently filled by women) and no colonel positions.123 By contrast, Engineers have 16 colonel and 67 lieutenant colonel positions (of which women presently only occupy one colonel post).124

While women’s progression to the higher ranks within these categories is more assured given their large numbers, their concentration in small categories negatively impacts the number of women in leadership positions overall. This means that the proportion of women in leadership positions in the Army will remain low while women are entering categories that have limited opportunities for progression. Appendix J.3 illustrates the distribution of ranks in each category.125
The second structural barrier to women’s progression in Army appears to lie in the practice of ‘corps coding’ jobs – designating which categories can work in particular jobs based on a determination of which categories foster the skills necessary. The impact of corps coding is that many of the categories dominated by men (such as Infantry, Armoured and Artillery) are identified for particular roles, many of which are strategic jobs for career advancement (such as staff officer positions). This precludes talented personnel from other categories – both men and women – from competing for these positions. As one member stated:

Jobs are ‘Corps coded’ as a way of identifying and managing the required skillset, but this can be unduly limiting and is a blunt form of management. With modern databases, matching specific skillsets with personnel could be achieved with greater precision and less traditional forms of identification and discrimination.

The ADF should review the current prioritisation of male-dominated skills for key jobs, and examine the possibility of quarantining strategic jobs for personnel from non-war-fighting/operational categories to provide pathways to higher ranks for these personnel.

(v) Gender Pay Gap

The gender pay gap is the difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings. Given the analysis above, it is likely that occupational segregation contributes to a gender pay gap in the ADF.

Since the ADF has a regulated salary scheme, women are not vulnerable to inequitable pay scales for doing the same job as men. However, as illustrated in section 4.1 women’s representation gradually reduces as rank increases. As discussed above, women are also concentrated in occupations that have fewer opportunities for promotion and are under-represented in senior ranks. This may correlate with a lower average pay for women than men in the ADF. It may be useful for the ADF to examine the potential existence of a gender pay gap, as well as its implications for women in the ADF.

(f) Conclusion

Leadership is central to the ADF. The concept of leadership is more than command and control, and setting rules. Rather, it sets the tone of the organisation, impacts on the experiences of personnel, and shapes the Australian public’s perceptions.

The ADF is served by skilful and committed senior leadership which reflects the monocultural nature of the ADF’s past, rather than the more diverse future that it faces. Given that greater representation of women in leadership has been shown to correlate with better performance in a range of industries, a greater representation of women in leadership positions will help the ADF’s evolution to a more inclusive and gender equal culture and assist the ADF in engaging the workforce that it needs, an imperative that the ADF acknowledges.

Many members of the ADF told the Review that, in general, men and women are treated identically, and that promotion is based on merit, not gender. Many also said that, as more women entered the ADF there would be a ‘trickle up’ effect over time as an increased number of women move through the pipeline into leadership positions. The Review does not agree. This Chapter and Chapter 4 have highlighted the occupational segregation that currently exists and the opportunities that flow from certain jobs; the work and family issues that impact differentially on women (as also discussed in Chapter 6); the career management structures that are predicated on full-time unbroken service; and the patchy mentoring and support services (discussed below). For these reasons, increased numbers of women and time will not, by themselves, lead to more women in leadership.

Instead, structural impediments require interventions – namely, targets – which must be directed specifically to women, despite inevitable organisational resistance.
Chapter 5: The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers

Given the barriers identified and the lack of success to date, targets are required to drive the cultural change that will benefit women, men, and the ADF as an organisation – a message which must be carried by the ADF’s leaders. Demonstrated commitment to retaining and promoting the best talent, regardless of gender, will maintain ADF leadership in this area.

5.3 Women in Combat: Removal of Gender Restrictions

In summary

- The removal of gender restrictions from combat roles is an important step in providing women in the ADF equal opportunity in their work and career progression. Women will be able to compete for all positions on the basis of merit and ability, rather than being excluded from some because of their gender.
- There is opposition towards the policy shift in some areas of the ADF and strong criticism from ADF members of the messaging and communication so far.
- The ADF has developed an implementation plan and communication strategy to explain the removal of gender restrictions and each Service is developing its own plan to align with this.
- The emphasis to date has been on the Physical Employment Standards Review. Implementation should also address the significant cultural and attitudinal barriers which exist to women taking up these roles, particularly in Army, which has the largest proportion of jobs from which women have previously been excluded.
- The responsibility for a successful transition to mixed gender teams must lay with the leadership of the team and all team members, not just the women entering these roles.
- The implementation plan must ensure that leaders and teams are engaged and educated about how they can contribute to effective performance in mixed gender environments.
- Given the small numbers of women likely to consider corps transfer in the initial transition phase, a minimum cohort of women in each mixed gender team is needed to ensure a safe and supportive environment for women choosing these roles.
- There is learning to be shared by Navy and Air Force who have had women in ‘combat’ roles for some time.

In 2011, the Minister for Defence, the Hon Stephen Smith, and Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, the Hon Warren Snowdon, announced the Government had formally agreed ‘to the removal of gender restrictions from ADF combat roles’.  

Until this announcement, women were precluded from employment in certain roles involving ‘direct combat duties’. At the time of the announcement, these restricted roles made up around 2.2% of roles in Navy, 2.4% of roles in Air Force, and 14.6% of roles in Army. The current impact of the restrictions on women is outlined in Appendix K.2.

However, women have long been involved in combat operations in the ADF, across the Navy, the Army and the Air Force. Since the 1990s, a considerable number of combat positions have become open to women. It is important to note that the significance of allowing women into formerly restricted categories will be
greater for Army than in Navy or Air Force. In Navy, for example, the Clearance Diver category – the only remaining category from which women have been excluded – comprises a very small proportion of the Navy workforce. In Army, on the other hand, Infantry, Artillery and Armoured Corps make up almost a third of the Regular Army. The existing policy on the ‘Direct Combat exclusion’ is outlined in Appendix K.1. This Defence Instruction will be reviewed in light of the 2011 announcement. Although this measure alone will not significantly increase the representation and leadership of women in the ADF in the short term, this policy change is a welcome step in providing women with equal opportunity to men in their work and career progression. Women who aspire to work in a combat position that was previously excluded will now be able to compete for those positions on the basis of merit and ability. The announcement also paves the way for Australia to remove a reservation against full ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and an existing exemption for Defence under the Sex Discrimination Act which allows discrimination against women in relation to combat duties. It is important to note that in opening up units which have been exclusively male-dominated the onus for women to succeed in formerly restricted roles should not rest solely on the shoulders of the women who choose them. The responsibility for a successful transition to mixed gender teams is shared by their male counterparts and by leadership. The ADF must articulate and address the cultural and attitudinal barriers which exist to women taking up these roles.

As noted above, it must be recognised that, despite the formal lifting of combat restrictions on women being a recent development, women have already been serving ‘on the frontline’. For example, in Navy, women have served on ships and submarines in combat roles on operational (active) service at sea since the Gulf War, in ‘frontline’ roles, and have been pilots in deployed environments in Air Force. In Army, women are also serving in operational land environments, and can operate unmanned aerial vehicles in artillery, surface-to-air missiles and ground-based air defence systems.

Traditional ideas of the ‘frontline’ and delineation of the combat zone have been blurred in recent operational deployments, such as Afghanistan. The changing nature of combat means that the risks may be equal to both men and women in any roles. As one writer notes:

The myth that soldiers in combat roles face more danger than those…far removed from the theatre of operations must be dispelled because new advances in military technology…have made all areas of duty equally dangerous. In low-intensity conflict there is no ‘front’ in the conventional sense, or rather the front is everywhere and all soldiers are equally at risk.

In recognition of the changing nature of combat and the fact that women are frequently serving in roles on the ‘frontline’ (though not currently in those roles which are designated ‘direct combat’ roles), for the purposes of this Report, this policy shift will be referred to as the ‘Removal of Gender Restrictions’, rather than ‘women in combat’. Given that the biggest potential impact of the most recent policy announcement will be on Army, this was most often the focus of discussion in consultations for this Review. The following discussion in the Report reflects this focus.

(a) Implementation plan

The removal of gender restrictions was announced with a staged implementation over five years. A key component of the implementation plan is a review of the physical standards required for employment in ADF roles. This is discussed further below.

The ADF has advised that the initial focus of implementation will be on the in-service transfer of currently serving ADF members into those restricted categories from January 2013. Direct civilian recruitment into these roles is unlikely to commence until 2016.

The ADF’s intention is that this initial focus on in-Service transfers will help to address the challenges associated with transitioning to mixed gender teams. The aim is to build a critical mass of experienced women who can provide a strong mentoring framework over the three years for ab initio recruits entering into those roles. The Review agrees with this approach.
Chapter 5: The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers

As well as allowing time to establish women in these categories, this transition phase will allow the Services to consider other aspects of implementation such as:

- changes to training and equipment (for example, whether changes need to be made to body armour)
- whether suitable infrastructure and facilities are available for women in training establishments, squadrons, headquarters and accommodation in areas where only men were traditionally serving
- ensuring that a consistent message is communicated across the whole implementation period both within Defence and in the community
- ensuring that the recruiting model brings in people with adequate physical standards at the outset so their training continuum is not broken up ‘sitting in holding platoons’ while they achieve required physical standards
- drawing on knowledge and experience from other countries such as Canada and New Zealand
- dealing with cultural change, education and social and psychological impacts of the change in policy.

Each of the Services is developing its own implementation plan to align with this.140

(b) Physical Employment Standards Review (PES Review)

A key component of the implementation plan for the Removal of Gender Restrictions is the Physical Employment Standards (PES) Review Project currently being conducted by the Defence, Science and Technology Organisation (DSTO) in partnership with the University of Wollongong.141

The PES Review is an ongoing project within Defence looking at identifying occupationally-specific physical standards (ie the physical capacity required to perform a particular occupation). Its aim is to establish benchmarks for aerobic and anaerobic performance, muscle endurance and strength, based on essential tasks of particular trades and to develop occupationally relevant physical fitness tests.142

This research project was originally endorsed in November 2001 and has been an active work in progress since 2006. Although its original focus was on reduction of injury and rehabilitation in particular Army trades, it became apparent that the research could support the identification of objective criteria for physical standards across every trade.

Momentum developed to advance this work in relation to combat trade categories, to support a change in policy to remove gender restrictions and allow for the enlistment of individuals with appropriate physical capacity to perform essential tasks of that category safely and effectively, irrespective of gender. Funding was accordingly allocated in the 2009 Defence White Paper.143

The PES review may also have potential benefits in:

- helping to guide recruits to occupations for which they are most physically suited
- facilitating access to occupations traditionally closed to particular groups on the basis of physical readiness for tasks
- contributing to significant savings for Defence as a result of lower healthcare and compensation costs by reducing trade related injuries.144

The ADF has advised that the assessment of standards will be ‘based on core baseline standards (for combat arms and combat support) and specific standards to each trade (trade specific)’.145 In the meantime, the Basic Fitness Assessment (which accommodates different standards for men and women) will remain the basic entry benchmark:
We might know for example if you want to be a combat diver in Navy that this is exactly the physical requirements you need but we don’t yet know if you want to join off the street to be a Navy diver what the physical entry standards should be here when you’ve got an 18 month training regime. So what sort of physical continuum can be accommodated.\textsuperscript{146}

DSTO released an interim report in September 2011 on the outcomes of research and consultation with training and trade staff and ‘employment category sponsors’ to identify the most physically demanding trades and tasks. A second report released in December 2011 outlined recommendations for physical standards and relevant assessments for review by the ADF. DSTO noted that before a ‘fitness-for-duty’ regime could be formally implemented across the ADF:

Any potential adverse impacts associated with the adoption of PES to assess employment suitability would need to be evaluated. This work is critical if sex based restrictions are to be removed and physical standards and assessments are used as the basis to determine entry into ADF employment categories.\textsuperscript{147}

Defence has also advised that there has been preliminary testing of the new physical standards in some locations. This is discussed further below.

The PES Review does not focus on non-physical attributes which may be required for particular roles, such as psychological fitness or intelligence testing. To assess a person’s suitability for a role in relation to these non-physical factors, the ADF is relying on mechanisms that it already has in place, such as initial entry psychometric testing and ongoing performance reporting.\textsuperscript{148}

Although these methods of testing are ‘tinkered with routinely’,\textsuperscript{149} it is unclear whether these existing measures will sufficiently address issues for women entering into those restricted roles for the first time. It is critical that the impact of the policy change be evaluated in relation to non-physical aspects, such as resilience and psychological suitability.

The PES Review is also looking at developing a model to change the current physical training and conditioning regime so that it better aligns with the new physical standards.\textsuperscript{150} This will allow people time to condition their physical ability to the new standards and plan for transfer of trade if they are unable to meet the standards.\textsuperscript{151} Again, it is important to consider non-physical standards as part of the implementation plan.

(i) Views on the review of physical standards

Senior leaders responsible for implementation of the removal of gender restrictions have advised that the primary message communicated to ADF personnel frames the removal of gender restrictions/PES review in terms of ‘capability’, rather than as a gender equality or diversity issue:

It's not about an extension of our equity & diversity campaign, you know, this is purely about generating capability. And if we’re going to sustain the numbers and the quality of individuals that we need to staff our Defence Force into the future, then we have to be doing this. That’s the business case.\textsuperscript{152}

It was noted that ‘to a certain degree’ this message was ‘either accepted or not’.\textsuperscript{153}

The second message communicated is that only physical and overall ability to do a particular job should restrict opportunities and that the PES review provides the ‘framework that enables us to make those objective assessments’.\textsuperscript{154} Some views in focus groups accepted the validity of the policy change in those terms:

The vast majority of men in our Defence Force, like all of us, are just looking for critical parts of the team, and you bring a critical skill to my team that I need. I think [physical employment standards are] more about an evolution about Defence Force acknowledging that our soldiers have to be physically competent. It will be a far reaching change for everyone, not just for females. Will we have women driving tanks and women on the frontline with infantry? Well absolutely, if they choose to do it.\textsuperscript{155}
Army has conducted some trials (including with women) of the new physical standards. These have been viewed positively with ‘encouraging’ results:

There was a big test that was done to validate during a mission rehearsal exercise up in Townsville. Everybody who was going over to the Middle East area of operation was run through, the new testing regime. It was interesting, I think there was about a 70% pass rate.\textsuperscript{156}

Overall, the ADF reports that feedback on the introduction of new PES from personnel is positive and members accept that the new PES will be more relevant to specific job requirements.

In consultations, however, members expressed mixed views about the changes. In one focus group, it was noted that an improvement in fitness standards would be welcomed and that ‘there are a lot of men who aren’t going to be able to pass that as well as women’:\textsuperscript{157}

There’s currently a lot of people in infantry that are real slugs and aren’t really achieving the mark but because they’re there, they’re going to stay there.\textsuperscript{158}

Some noted that the standards may be too high for women to achieve, risking injuries:

I think from literature that I’ve read, women are more likely to experience injuries during the course of training due to perhaps their [Body Mass Index], due to their height, due to their pelvis shape. We’re going to be putting those women at high risk of injury right from the start. My concern is that the bar is being set so high with the PES standards that we’re automatically going to be excluding women from achieving that.\textsuperscript{159}

Others agreed that because the ADF had a ‘duty of care to not injure people’ and that women were coming in with a greater risk of injury, implementation of PES needed to be monitored.\textsuperscript{160}

In several focus groups, participants commented on the disconnect between awareness and expectations about the requirements of recruit training, and actual experiences, particularly for Army. The Review also heard that this led to injuries and recruits getting ‘broken’. Some participants noted that PES could be useful if incorporated into a functional screening process at the recruitment stage, appropriate to the duties a person will undertake:

I’ve had one guy who had just recently come to us with six months of shin pain prior to enlistment, was in rehab for eight weeks …He’s short and overweight and they pushed him through to the challenge… he doesn’t want to be in Infantry, and it creates an administrative nightmare for us… So, if someone like that is identified at recruitment that’s a lot of cost saving benefits to Defence ….\textsuperscript{161}

In many focus groups, there were concerns expressed that standards would be lowered. For example, one participant was critical of a ‘watering down’ of standards in infantry:

With the infantry corp, we’ve watered down things for people that are overweight, we’ve watered down things for people that are having mental issues. We’ve watered down everything for males right now and if there’s another watering down on top of that because there are females, it’s just untenable for people to think that’s acceptable.\textsuperscript{162}

With the process, I don’t think they should change it for females and males. So say you’ve got to do 100 push-ups, you’ve got to do 100 push-ups; you can’t say alright, you’ve got to do 100, you can do 50. They’ve got to keep it the same scale throughout the whole thing.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsection{c) International experiences of gender restrictions on combat roles}

\textsection{i) The impact of gender restrictions on participation rates}

In Chapter 9, this Report examines the situation of women in international defence forces with cultural and historical similarities to Australia. Canada, the Netherlands, Norway and New Zealand have all officially removed restrictions on women’s participation in combat roles, albeit with some initial qualifications.\textsuperscript{164}
Formally removing restrictions on women does not automatically lead to women occupying these roles or to other cultural barriers being removed. A brief examination of comparable countries shows that, despite the vast majority formally opening combat roles to women, the levels of participation in the forces overall plays a role in the lower representation of women in senior positions.

For example, the table below shows comparative participation of women in some overseas defence forces in 2008-09 (i.e. prior to the removal of gender restrictions in the ADF):

**Table 5.1: Comparative Participation of Women in Overseas Defence Forces**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Women in Permanent Force</th>
<th>Combat duties restriction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia (as at August 2009)</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand (as at June 2009)</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States (as at 2007)</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France (as at June 2008)</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada (as at March 2009)</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom (as at June 2008)</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (as at September 2009)</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

International research appears to show that the greater the presence of women as Defence personnel – both in terms of the breadth of the roles they occupy, as well as their presence in leadership positions – the more likely their acceptance by their male colleagues. This research strongly indicates that the prohibition on women serving in combat roles is a major barrier to their successful integration across all aspects of the services, whether combat related or not; as well as to their access to leadership positions.166

The Review met with a Canadian Forces delegation that included women who had served in combat roles to discuss their experiences. Canada removed almost all restrictions on employment of women following a Canadian Human Rights Tribunal decision in 1989.167 The Tribunal’s decision allowed a phased implementation process, with the goal of completely integrating women into all roles by 1999.

Participation rates of women following the decision changed little for most of the 1990s, because of a downsizing of the Regular Force in early 1990, with the highest rates of women continuing to remain in traditionally feminised occupations.168

(ii) The importance of strong leadership

The Canadian delegation told the Review that, during its first ten years, Canada’s integration of women into combat roles faced serious problems relating to leadership:

> When we did the research the leaders at the unit level, where effectiveness is very important, that’s where it happens, they felt that they couldn’t lead effectively. They didn’t think they had the right skills to motivate and train women and they weren’t convinced that women were there for the right reasons.169
For the Canadian Army, the transition to mixed gender combat arms units was a leadership challenge and a breakdown in unit cohesion occurred where there was:

- inequitable leadership and discipline
- favouritism or harassment of distinct groups
- fraternisation (especially within the chain of command)
- isolation and segregation of distinct groups.\(^{170}\)

The Canadian delegation reported that having a minimum cohort of women did not necessarily guarantee that a mixed gender team would be successful. Where minimum cohorts of women were kept together for support through training, in initial trials, if unit leaders were not ‘on board’ the result was a unit culture which was unsupportive of women:

> We had other cases where one or two were in an environment where the leadership was on board – not a problem. So for us it wasn’t the issue of numbers and critical amounts, it was leadership and culture.\(^{171}\)

The Canadian experience showed that knowledgeable, proactive and effective leadership, particularly at the levels where integration was occurring, was fundamental to success of the initiative.\(^{172}\) A key component of this was the building of confidence within leadership to deal with the complexity of issues in the transition to mixed gender teams. To this end, a mixed gender leadership education package was rolled out through each Service, the effectiveness of which varied based on the commitment of leadership in delivering it.\(^{173}\)

Alongside strong leadership, support from the chain of command and peers and strong messaging, was seen as critical for women to be ‘working as a team’.

Since the late 1990s, the participation rate of women in the Canadian Forces has increased:

- in 2001 – 1.9% of women were employed in combat arms occupations
- in 2006 – there were 13% women in the regular force, with 3.8% of combat arms posts occupied by women
- in 2009 – 15.1% of Canadian Forces members were women. Despite these efforts towards full integration of women, the percentage of women in combat arms roles only increased from 0.3% in 1989 to 3.8% in 2006.

The introduction of mixed gender teams in the Canadian Forces, despite some resistance, appears to have provided the opportunity for women to contribute to the evolution of culture across the organization and to operational effectiveness.\(^{174}\)

(iii) Other international experiences

The Netherlands and Scandinavian forces have also integrated women in combat teams.\(^{175}\) In 2009, the Netherlands deployed the first all-female foot patrol in Afghanistan and have actively sought to deploy more women to crisis-response operations and focus more attention on gender aspects and their effects before, during and after the operations.\(^{176}\)

The US currently continues to exclude women from serving in combat roles, defined as ‘assignments to units and positions below the brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct combat on the ground.’\(^{177}\)

The Pentagon recently announced its decision to open support roles to women permanently assigned to combat units, with a promise to ‘continue to open as many positions as possible to women’. It is estimated that this will open over 14,000 active-duty and reserve jobs previously off-limits, including combat medic, artillery mechanic, communications expert and other critical warfare posts.\(^{178}\) It is reported that the Marine Corps Infantry Officers Course has also been recently opened to women, with ‘new functional fitness tests’ being developed to establish ‘gender-neutral standards’.\(^{179}\)
In practice, despite formal restrictions, the demand for troops during the decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan has meant that women already serve in many of these roles as temporary ‘attachments’ to combat units and ground battalions – often receiving the same combat training and being exposed to the same risks as men.\(^{180}\)

As some commentators have observed, even though women are serving in these ‘frontline’ roles, the full extent of their contribution and capabilities is not recognised by formal policy, meaning that ‘their service and suffering remain ignored by or invisible to the Pentagon and the public’.\(^{181}\)

Following the recent decision, formal restrictions continue to operate on women serving in the infantry, in combat tank units and in Special Operations commando units, subject to further review as implementation of the changes progresses.\(^{182}\)

A 2011 US Report made a number of recommendations in relation to opening up roles to women that included, appropriate physical standards and training, visible support of leaders, a phased in approach to integration of mixed gender teams and recruitment polices. Further discussion on these recommendations is contained in Chapter 9.\(^{183}\)

### (d) Attitudes to lifting gender restrictions in the ADF

#### (i) Opposition and misperceptions

It is clear that there continues to be significant opposition towards the ADF’s policy shift in some areas. One survey respondent made the following comment:

> No women should be in combat roles within the army. This is a joke and a disgrace to previous men who have served this country.\(^{184}\)

Members in focus groups expressed similar opinions:

- A woman may be able to physically do the job; she may be mentally tough to do the job; she may be able to continue and do all that stuff, but a female in a platoon of 30 guys is not going to work.\(^{185}\)
- My fear is that the women who are actually physically capable enough to do this job, it’s going to be 5% so out of a hundred blokes if you’ve got 5 women there, you have to change completely you know the way the blokes do things just for this small portion of women where it’s easy just to not have them.\(^{186}\)
- There’s going to be women out there that can achieve what needs to be achieved, but my issue is for how long, women's bodies do break down.\(^{187}\)
- At the end of the day Army’s not the place for equality. If you want equality maybe you should look elsewhere. Maybe not the right attitude, but I think I’ve been around long enough to be able to have a very valid opinion of what I think women should be in and what women shouldn’t do.\(^{188}\)
- I think it’s equality verses practicality. I think you’d struggle to find a person who genuinely believes a female would be as competent in those roles. I think that’s a given. Their anatomy, they’re not as strong.\(^{189}\)
- This is not about equality, it’s about equity. I will always send a strong man in to fight a fire before a woman. He will have more endurance. I will use a woman to examine an outgoing mission report. She will pay more attention to detail.\(^{190}\)

This opposition within the ADF speaks to a lack of communication within the ADF about the implementation of the Removal of Gender Restrictions. It was noted that some of the hostility was a way of expressing frustration at not having input into ‘this huge policy change’.\(^{191}\) In an Army focus group, one person observed:

> NCO’s down to even corporals…are massively insulted by this decision that they’re being used as a political experiment. It’s going to have ramifications…every corporal I’ve spoken to is 100% against the idea.\(^{192}\)
Strong criticism emerged in focus groups that ADF members had not been consulted sufficiently prior to the policy change and that communication around the new policy was poor. Many focus group participants were ill or misinformed about the changes. For example, one participant observed:

We had a forum with all the staff and our boss could not answer the questions about lowering standards because they hadn’t finalised the PES review. How can you inform people when we don’t have all of the supporting policy to back up the fact that 1) we’re not going to lower the standards, 2) it’s going to be voluntary? We don’t have any of those mechanisms in place yet we’re briefing the whole Army, in fact the whole Defence Force that this is going ahead but wait, we’ll tell you later about the details.\(^{193}\)

For some participants, the Review’s focus groups were the first time the issue had been discussed in an open forum.

Most significantly, there was little understanding in focus groups of the importance of the future capability of the ADF as a rationale for the change in policy. One person questioned whether there had been enough consideration of the impact on capability at all:

I don’t agree with women being in infantry. They have a job to do and they have a group dynamic at the lowest level that works to achieve that job. If you put a female into that group, any group, it changes that group dynamic. This isn’t about equity in the workplace. They have a tactical job to do and if adding women does not have a negative impact on achieving that mission, then great let’s make it work but if it does and it’s not a good effect, then I don’t think you can justify it.\(^{194}\)

(ii) Facilitating cultural acceptance of mixed gender teams in the ADF

Reasons commonly given for women’s exclusion from the military tend to focus on:

- women’s fitness to serve, physiological difference and physical weakness
- women’s specific health and ‘hygiene’ issues
- the likelihood of female casualties and beliefs that the Australian community will not tolerate women dying
- the detrimental effect of women on male bonding and team cohesion
- other cultural beliefs and attitudes, such as the emotive argument that women will be raped and that it is the role of government and men to protect women.\(^{195}\)

Studies have shown that it is when women seek to enter non-traditional, ‘war-fighting’ positions that these types of arguments are frequently raised, while there is much greater acceptance of women being employed in more traditional support roles under operational conditions.\(^{196}\)

These same concerns were frequently raised in consultations. One focus group participant said:

I don’t think it’s just about a death though. I’m a strong girl and I’m fit but I’m still not at the level of the lowest man, so is the Australian public ready for all these women who are going to get injured because it’s not about passing a course, it’s about maintaining that level and they’re going to be hurt and it’s going to be in big numbers.\(^{197}\)

Others also noted the perception that women were seen as needing protection and the risk that this could be a distraction in battle situations:

In a way men have in their minds they’re the protector of other people. They’d worry about themselves first and they’d put their mates second but if there’s a woman there, it’s more ‘is she okay?’ It’s just natural instinct to look after women.\(^{198}\)
Another focus group participant did not consider this ‘protective’ attitude as being gender specific:

I’ve also noticed that we have some members who may be slightly weaker than me, they’ll actually help them first so it’s not so much about protecting the female, it is protecting somebody or assisting someone who is physically weaker than you.\textsuperscript{199}

In other focus groups, participants thought women may have problems coping with the psychological requirements of combat:

I think it will have an impact mentally. You get in a gun battle and then you get in a gun fight and it’s either kill or be killed. Then you’ve got to do a clearance of that battlefield and then you’re going [to find] blokes with their head missing and you’ve got to physically search their body for intelligence. A lot of females out there, that probably wouldn’t worry them, but I think it would play on a large part of their mind.\textsuperscript{200}

Some male soldiers felt that a woman’s capability was not the main issue in relation to women in combat roles but rather their ability to fit in socially with the men, resulting in social exclusion or isolation. For example:

I’ve trained women in shooting and most of the time they shoot better than the blokes because they listen. That’s not the point. The point is that fitting in socially within that testosterone environment is not going to work.\textsuperscript{201}

When the guys go out and they start to play up…and there’s a little bit of that camaraderie that goes with that, it seems to me that some of the women find that difficult to maintain…It’s just guys being guys and that’s all it is and the girls seem to have this issue where they either try too hard and it makes them unpopular and they don’t fit in.\textsuperscript{202}

Some members considered that their wives would not like them working so closely with women. One soldier told the Review:

My wife hates it. She hates the thought of me coming here and the person that’s going to be watching my back is a female. Her group of friends feel exactly the same.\textsuperscript{203}

These attitudes highlight the limitations of framing the messaging around the physical standards review – although women may be ‘accepted’ within units where they meet the physical standards, this does not necessarily extend to acceptance in the social sphere.

A report by Christine McLoughlin, referred to in earlier Chapters, considered the Navy experience of integrating women into submarines in order to understand requirements for facilitating cultural acceptance of mixed gender teams in the Clearance Diver category.\textsuperscript{204} The report concluded that the following factors would impact on cultural acceptance:

\begin{itemize}
  \item achieving a critical mass of women (at least 10\% of that category)
  \item addressing the capability requirements and the implications for women (the physical capability aspect of this will be set by the PES standards for the category, however, it is unclear whether non-physical attributes will need further consideration when women enter into these categories)
  \item behavioural factors to be addressed (eg considerations of health, safety, privacy, team cohesion and educating men in those categories).\textsuperscript{205}
\end{itemize}

Drawing on the submarine integration experience, the report argued that critical consideration must be given to ensuring strength of leadership, maturity and objectivity in management, the quality of instructors at entry level in creating a level playing field, encouraging an environment of inclusion, and dealing with resentment towards differential treatment.\textsuperscript{206}
(iii) Transitioning from male-dominated units to mixed gender teams

As noted earlier, Army has the largest proportion of jobs from which women have previously been excluded. In considering cultural and attitudinal barriers, the significance of allowing women into formerly restricted categories will inevitably be greater for Army than the other Services. In focus groups, the Review spoke to people in Army who had simply never had the experience of working with women before, and were unaware of what sort of challenges or issues might arise. One survey response observed:

Many men in the [Army] have little real world interaction with women in the work place or in their personal lives and therefore find it difficult to relate to them on a personal or professional level. In another focus group, one of the participants, referring to their experience in Armoured Corps, observed ‘they don’t like having girls in their regiment either’. In one focus group, members noted that these sorts of issues would inevitably arise where women were introduced into units for the first time:

You’ve gotta look at a male’s natural reaction. They’re either gonna flirt with the chick or they’re gonna try and protect her, or both. Infantry work in a nine men section that has great cohesion, great teamwork, mateship, all of that, and they work together so well. Put a female in that mix, it ain’t gonna be brilliant.

I don’t think that women should go into infantry. I think genetically they lack the aggression and physical strength to perform the role. And also it’s a massive, massive distraction for the males.

Some women expressed views that it would create unnecessary problems to introduce women into the close ‘group dynamic’ of the male dominated infantry units, in particular:

Eight blokes going out to go on patrol get dirty and grubby and messy [and] they don’t want to have to consider female cycles, female showering. We’ve got all these other entitlements that come with being a female, which are quite embarrassing if you ever want to try and enforce them. We “don’t carry as much”, all these other things. “You smell us before you see us”, all sorts of stuff. Why should the guys have to deal with that? When it ain’t broke, don’t fix it.

In other focus groups, members were concerned about the potential for issues to arise relating to sexual harassment or fraternisation:

I think that one or two women in a platoon full of infantry blokes is only bound to cause trouble when it comes to things like sexual harassment.

I think fraternisation is just inevitable.

Units transitioning to mixed gender teams for the first time may not understand the potential issues or problems which might arise and, as a consequence, lack strategies in how to deal with them. As one focus group participant observed:

My biggest suggestion is we need to educate the males. They don’t mean harm, they’re just not used to it, they have to adapt, they have to learn how to adapt into working in an environment where there are females. You know, a few years ago they didn’t even have females at the unit. You weren’t allowed to go there. It’s just a culture that they have had, and that’s just something that maybe we need to put something in place to help them adapt as well.

Many women considered that the introduction of women into these roles should ‘just happen’ and that the transition would be smoother than anticipated. A female Canadian artillery officer with whom the Review spoke in Afghanistan commented:

Whether it’s about capability or hygiene issues or other issues that concern people, [those selected for combat] will be the right women who will be able to deal with all of that.
Others were also optimistic about women being accepted in these roles over time:

I worked with soldiers who had corps transferred from infantry straight in and a lot of the times I was the first female they’d ever worked with, let alone their first female boss, and after an initial period of adjustment they all said, it's fine. It's no different to, anything I've experienced before. Some of them admitted they were initially hesitant, but you prove that you’re capable and professional.216

You will find in five years’ time, the people that have a problem with female in combat roles, will be well and truly in the minority because we've all gone through Kapooka and Duntroon and we’ve lived and worked with females in our units.217

(iv) Experiences of deployed personnel

The Review observed significant differences between the attitudes of ADF members posted throughout Australia, and those of deployed personnel in relation to removal of gender restrictions. Having experienced mixed gender teams in a combat environment, many deployed members saw the issue as essentially one of leadership:

It goes against all logic that we don’t allow females in combat roles. Take yourself as a field gunner. Why would you let a medic move forward with an infantry combat team in combat but not allow her to sit 20km back and load bombs? We’ve had females in our units, our combat units, for nearly a decade with zero problems really associated with it. So, there are females in Afghanistan now rolling out with combat teams every day. So to suggest they’re not in combat roles just because they are the medic, they are still, effectively, combat soldiers now because the modern battlefront doesn’t distinguish.218

In other focus groups, reflecting on experiences of women on overseas deployments, there was recognition of the valuable contributions which women could bring to the capability of a group:

We can’t discount the value of women in Defence. I think there is a huge potential for women to bring something very different, whatever that might be, it might be intuition, it might be a different way of looking at a combat situation, it could be the way that she is integrated into a platoon, I think there is value.219

Others found that where women were in specialist roles which did not directly compete with men, there was more acceptance:

You’re accepted if you’ve got a specialist skill. You can go out on a patrol as a female with those same infantry that say we don’t want females in our infantry and yet you go out on a patrol with them. There’s no issue because you are that specialist so you’re not actually threatening their trade and they’re happy and you know you’re doing exactly the same thing going on the same patrol with them.220

These specialist skills were particularly highlighted in the role of the ‘Female Engagement Teams’ (FETs). These are usually deployed teams of three female personnel (a team leader, a scribe and preferably a female interpreter) who conduct engagements with the local female population in a ‘culturally respectful manner’.221

One focus group participant observed in relation to FET teams in Afghanistan:

The guys were really impressed. They didn’t expect them to be able to do it so well and things like that. So I mean just that little act there, even though it was only a handful of guys, it’s a start.222

The Review heard overwhelmingly that ADF women wanted more opportunities to ‘go outside the wire’ (i.e. on patrol), including opportunities to be involved in FETs. Nevertheless, many felt this was being denied to them, unless accompanied by a man to ‘protect’ them, in part because of paternalistic attitudes of commanding officers and a reluctance to be the first to have a woman in their unit killed on patrol.223
Most deployed women with whom the Review spoke reported positive experiences of working in mixed
gender teams:

I haven’t really had any issues being in all of those combat situations, I’ve been out field with the
boys[and] if you conduct yourself in a professional manner and you demand respect and you don’t
expect to be treated any differently then it is, all really great.224

Each of the deployments have been good. Working with lots of different people, sharing living
accommodation with the guys and girls in a very close environment and being fortunate we haven’t
had any incidents, just professional people doing their job properly.225

Every single deployment and every single job I’ve had has been excellent. I’ve had such good jobs.
I’ve had so many command positions and in the area I work in I’m nearly always one of very, very few
females.226

I was the only female, but these guys, infantry in the New Zealand Army, actually have females already,
so they already had that built into their culture. So they actually built me a toilet, they built me a hessian
shower. So they were willing to do that stuff for me because they’d already been introduced to it.227

Other women said that although there was a generally supportive environment on deployment, it was
sometimes a challenge to deal with gender-specific issues (for example, poorly fitting uniforms228 or a lack of
facilities):

I really only had one issue with that patrol base and that was the lack of a female sanitary bin. You find
other ways of disposing of things but it’s quite awkward and it’s not really something that you can kind
of talk to anyone about because there’s nobody there to help you so yeah. The guys were great, like
you just work with them you know and there’s really no issue.229

In some cases, members also drew on their overseas experiences working with women on operational
deployments to show that issues could be reasonably accommodated. One participant noted that
‘management of time and space’ (for example, by allocating a time for men and women to shower),
commenting that ‘it’s not a big hassle, and I think most people have that approach to it’.230

(v) Attitudes of unit leaders

Despite this, during the course of the Review, comments from focus groups and discussions with leadership
at local unit levels or training schools – some of whom have had little if any experience working with women –
show that there appears to be a lack of sensitivity to the possible gender issues which might arise.

Instead, there is a tendency to focus only on the physical aspects of the transition, such as the structure of
accommodation arrangements, or a rigid, rule bound focus on conduct requirements, such as minimum dress
requirements or fraternisation.

The message from senior leadership is that existing mechanisms (such as equity and diversity policies and
complaints processes, codes of conduct, existing leadership and chain of command, female role models,
coaching and mentoring), as well as the new physical employment standards, will be sufficient to ensure the
transition for women into newly opened up roles is successful.231

A prevailing attitude appears to be that training courses will largely remain the same, with the concern being
how women would be able to fit into this structure, and that little would need to change except for facilities or
accommodation. In one meeting with senior leadership, for example, the Review was told that the ‘key risk’
in relation to integrating women was the ‘physical nature of the job’ and that special treatment for women
and separate living arrangements risked their not being accepted by the ‘team’ and may potentially lead to
‘isolation’:

Basic privacy, basic security is almost the mantra that we are focusing on because they are the big
issues. Making sure that our physical training, our accommodation etc, doesn’t start from an isolated
point because as we move through the training course here where the stress, the hard training kicks in,
it will exacerbate any isolation significantly.232
Despite these concerns, during some visits the Review observed that even newly constructed buildings had not taken into account use of facilities by women.\(^\text{233}\)

(e) Ensuring effective performance of mixed gender teams

Views from focus groups appear to place the onus on women as bearing the responsibility for ‘fitting in’ and for making mixed gender teams work. Yet this responsibility should be shared by leadership and their male counterparts, a lesson from the success of the Canadian experience is that integration must be about the ‘team’:

\[
\text{Integration is not about women, it's about the team. So I think we may have philosophically, and again with all good intentions, we may have put the emphasis too much on the women and not looked at the team.} \quad \text{234}
\]

To this end, it is worrying that women reported experiences of working in male-dominated units which ranged from extreme exclusion to bullying and sexual harassment. One woman reported that as the only woman in a training course:

\[
\text{There was a competition in my course about who could go the longest without speaking to [me]. Even a guy who was my friend said he couldn’t talk to me because of what the other guys in the course would do to him.} \quad \text{235}
\]

Another told the Review:

\[
\text{I thought I could change the crusty old warrant officers but in the end they broke me. There were so many rumours about me – I was supposed to have slept with everyone. Soldiers would do what they could to sleep with me. I was constantly pulled into the boss’ office to answer the false rumours. I was constantly subjected to harassment, bullying and intimidation. People would talk behind my back.} \quad \text{236}
\]

It is clear that it must not be left to individual units to ‘make it work’, but that leadership at the local unit level must be supported in creating the conditions for effective mixed gender teams.

In successfully implementing the removal of gender restrictions for combat roles, the focus should be on ensuring that leaders and teams as a whole are engaged and educated about how they can contribute to effective performance in mixed gender environments. The Review recommends a structured transition program which creates a supportive environment and which is monitored, reviewed and evaluated.

(i) The need for a critical mass of women in mixed gender teams

As noted earlier, the implementation plan for the Removal of Gender Restrictions has as its initial focus in-service corps transfers of women into newly mixed gender teams. In some of the Review’s focus groups, participants commented on the benefits of having experienced women established in leadership roles for young women joining these categories:

\[
\text{Females in command positions would help stabilise things [rather than] just having female diggers. Female section commanders, female platoon, even female company commanders… would help even things out.} \quad \text{237}
\]

There was some support in focus groups for the idea that it would be beneficial to have a number of women entering a group together from the early training stage:

\[
\text{I think maybe not five, but there’s two or three women to start with, and maybe give them some training together so they have a bit of a support network among themselves, and then going in it would be preferable to put them in with a group of people who were just coming in, rather than putting them into a unit that had a lot of experience and trying to break in.} \quad \text{238}
\]
Chapter 5: The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers

However, the need for careful monitoring of these women was also emphasised:

Women are always going to be the minority in those roles, so you’re going to have maybe one female in a platoon of 40 males. You’ll have to monitor that situation to make sure that the females needs are catered for, emotionally that they’re okay.239

It is unclear how the implementation plan will address a number of issues. Particular challenges may arise from the focus on in-service corps transfer of women into formerly restricted categories, rather than ab initio recruiting of women into those roles. In Canada, serving women were offered transfers into formerly restricted roles at the same time they were opened to women being recruited ‘off the street’. The Canadian experience was that there was no large uptake of internal transfers within Defence into those roles and that ‘most of the first women came off the street’.240

In part, this was because women coming into roles through corps transfer would lose their rank as a result, or have to go through basic training (for example in infantry) and ‘start from the bottom’. It was emphasised that this progression from the bottom up would be necessary for the credibility of those women in leadership roles:

There’s no point trying to force it another way, because it’ll present problems anyway. So you’ve got to have credibility in this extremely tough environment, otherwise you’re setting them up for failure anyway. There’s a lot of guys out there that are worried that women are going to get a free pass and get into these leadership positions without earning their spot.241

In the course of the Review’s consultations, only a very small number of women indicated interest in corps transfers into formerly restricted roles. This may mean that relying on corps transfers alone to increase women’s representation in combat roles will take a long time. As one focus group participant noted, particularly in the context of infantry:

There’s nothing to say that a woman wouldn’t be able to perform those roles but not in the numbers that men are. I think the desire of women to perform those roles would be lacking compared to men. They don’t glorify those positions in their minds.242

Another female Army focus group participant remarked that:

[given there were] 200 other trades I can do, why do I want to go dig a hole?243

Another person made the following observation from an Army Women’s Networking Forum:

I think out of that whole room of about 80 or 100 females, there was only about two that said that they would have liked to have joined at day one being infantry but they would no longer consider that as a career path now.244

For this reason, the Review emphasises the importance of putting clear principles in place in relation to corps transfers of women into combat units, which appropriately recognise prior competencies and non-reduction of rank and pay.

Another major concern, identified by Clare Burton in her report, Women in the ADF, in relation to women pilots, is the pressure on women entering formerly restricted categories, because of their visibility and status as ‘trailblazers’ or ‘gender pioneers’.245 In the Canadian experience it was found that otherwise well qualified women might be reluctant to pursue those roles because of the pressure or stigma of being the first female officer in their regiment.246

The particular pressure on individual women to succeed may be a reason women choose not to enter, or subsequently not continue, with careers in these categories. Burton recommended that strategies need to be developed so that a ‘collective spirit of support and collegiality is generated’ among both men and women. Burton also suggested, as well as establishing a collective of experienced women mentors, a ‘low-key but structured program of mentoring support from senior men to each woman’.247 The Review supports this approach.
Research also indicates that greater success of mixed gender workgroups will be achieved if leaders are also women, with clustering of women within their command. The Review supports consideration of the approach recommended by the Committee for Women in NATO Forces (CWINF), as outlined in Chapter 9, that junior female personnel have senior women in command.

As discussed in section 5.1, studies show that when representation rises above a token number, women are able to have an impact on the environment in which they work. There is also research showing that, where there is a minority of 15% or less within a group, differences between the ‘token’ or minority members and the dominant members are often exaggerated, with the minority group often excluded or stereotyped, rather than valued for their contribution to group functioning and success. The key task lies in recruiting sufficient women into these roles to achieve such numbers.

The Canadian experience was that there was no research evidence to support the view that success is dependent on a minimum cohort of women in such roles/units. In light of what the Review has heard in its consultations, however, there remain major concerns about the inherent risks of women becoming isolated and unsupported on entering these roles.

Given the small numbers of women who are likely to consider corps transfer in the initial stages of the transition, the Review recommends that the ADF focus on one combat unit/work section/platoon/company in each Service, in which specifically selected leaders and teams are appropriately skilled and fully engaged in creating the conditions for mixed gender teams to perform effectively, to build leadership and preparedness.

In the first instance, the Review recommends that the ADF ensure that in mixed gender work sections of ten or less ADF personnel there should be no less than two women. Importantly, women entering roles should be clustered within that category to achieve as close to a critical mass as possible. The ADF should ensure that vital lessons are communicated and shared between the Services, particularly lessons learned from high-performing mixed gender teams and their leaders.

(f) Conclusion

The removal of gender restrictions from combat roles is a significant reform towards providing women equal opportunity in their work and career progression, though there is opposition towards the policy shift in some areas. The ADF must ensure that leaders and teams are engaged and educated about how they can contribute to effective performance in mixed gender environments as part of their implementation plan.

To successfully implement this change in policy, there are certain obstacles to overcome. Given the small numbers of women who are likely to consider corps transfer in the initial transition phase, there should be a focus on one combat unit/work section/platoon/company in each Service, to ensure a supportive environment for women choosing these roles, and unnecessary barriers should be removed by recognising non-reduction in pay and rank. In mixed gender work sections of ten or less ADF personnel, there should be no less than two women, and within categories, women should be clustered to achieve as close to a critical mass as possible.
In summary

- Mentoring, networking and sponsorship can be beneficial for women and men, as well as to organisations as a whole, and important for women’s progression in non-traditional workplaces.
- In the ADF, in common with other organisations where men traditionally dominate, women are mentored less frequently than men.
- Current initiatives implemented across the Services show that there is recognition within the ADF of the value of mentoring, networking and sponsorship. However, these programs have different aims and objectives, are inconsistent in their implementation and many are difficult to access.
- Mentoring should be a strategic priority for developing leaders in the ADF. The ADF should take steps to redress the gap between men and women’s access to quality mentoring and sponsorship opportunities and continue to build and support women’s networks.

(a) What is mentoring, networking and sponsorship?

A wide body of research shows that mentoring, networking and sponsorship can be beneficial for women and men, as well as their wider organisations. Despite this, in male-dominated environments, women tend to receive less mentorship and they are often left out of critical networks that help build their counterparts careers.

Mentoring in a work context is the relationship that develops when a senior, more experienced person takes a substantial personal and professional interest in a junior person’s career, stimulating and supporting their personal and professional development. A mentor can provide a ‘safe and constructive environment for the mentee to develop and to act as a positive leadership role model’. Networks, meanwhile, provide a means to navigate career paths in an organisation and to improve career prospects. In a male-dominated organisation such as the ADF, women should be encouraged to network and improve their access to information and advice.

Sponsoring relationships go beyond ordinary mentoring relationships, where sponsors look for and create opportunities because they want their protégées to succeed. Effective sponsorship can accelerate a woman’s career through ensuring she is visible and considered for more senior roles.

Sponsorship is often considered the most effective form of supporting women through their professional development. It is observed that:

> A mentor might tell you generic advice [but] a sponsor will advocate on your behalf to help secure work projects that will be more likely to help you advance... Crucially the sponsor is someone who wields power in your firm.

Research suggests that men and women are equally effective sponsors:

> If the people holding power are men, women would be not doing themselves justice if they were to choose just women as sponsors.
(b) Benefits of mentoring, networking and sponsorship

Mentoring, networking, and sponsorship provide useful strategies to create an inclusive workplace in which women can develop their full potential.

Several of the CDF Action Plan’s key initiatives relate to the development of a range of ‘mentoring, networking, coaching and shadowing’ frameworks, in order to improve opportunities for women to reach higher ranks and provide role models for others. Overseas militaries have also developed mentoring initiatives to various degrees.

Those who receive quality mentorship may develop greater confidence and resilience, as well as integrating more quickly into the organisational culture, improving skills and knowledge, and developing greater insights into career opportunities and pathways.

Equally, mentors and sponsors can benefit from exposure to new perspectives as well as increasing their own interpersonal and leadership skills, and their value to the organisation. Those who understand the value of a mentoring relationship are also more likely to encourage this in others.

Similarly, organisations benefit from greater engagement of junior and senior employees and improved teamwork, fostering an environment to which employees are more likely to remain committed. Long-term mentoring programs can encourage effective organisational change, and break down barriers faced by women in the workplace.

(c) Moving from mentoring to sponsorship

There is growing recognition that traditional approaches to mentoring are not enough. Rather than providing only general guidance to women, the idea of sponsorship emphasises the provision of support that helps women get promoted. This much more ‘pro-active’ and targeted approach may be beneficial in light of the low representation of women at higher ranks within Defence.

In the report ‘Our experiences in elevating the representation of women in leadership’ (the ‘Male Champions of Change Report’) business leaders observe that sponsorship is ‘particularly important in the first 3-5 years of a woman’s career, not just when they are close to achieving a senior role’. The report refers to McKinsey & Company interviews with female leaders globally which found that:

For many female leaders there was a key individual who believed in them. This sponsor shaped their professional destiny by pushing them hard, opening the right doors, and giving them honest feedback when they were veering off track.

One 2009 study found that high-performing women faced barriers in reaching the top because they were not receiving the sponsorship and male advocacy needed. The study found that women tended to underestimate the role that sponsorship played in career advancement, or did not cultivate it because of a reluctance to rely on ‘connections’ rather than ‘hard work’. It observed that many leading companies were fostering sponsorship by promoting ‘safe and transparent’ relationships between sponsors and protégés.

The Male Champions of Change Report provides a case study of a formal sponsorship program rolled out by Goldman Sachs (see Appendix L). The program was developed in the context of acknowledgement by leaders that promotion rates of senior women were lagging behind their male counterparts, partly due to the perception that they had a lower profile and fewer advocates from outside their business.

The program helped ‘close the gap’ in terms of the contribution of these women and their broader recognition and visibility within the organisation. The Male Champions of Change Report also found that sponsorship programs were beneficial in providing leaders with exposure to employees that they might not have otherwise met, as well as building their own leadership skills.
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(d) Women’s access to mentoring, networking and sponsorship in the ADF

Appendix L details the range of mentoring and networking programs that are available across the ADF.

In common with other organisations where men traditionally dominate, women in the ADF are mentored less frequently than men. In roundtable meetings with ADF and Defence APS women in 2008, participants commented on the lack of access women felt that they had to support networks and mentoring opportunities, in contrast to the informal mentoring relationships and networks that flourished for men in male dominated workplaces. For example, men socialise and play sport together, building networks that extend throughout their careers and allowing them to better navigate the ‘unstated rules’ of the organisation.

Participants also commented on perceptions that men who utilised their own networks and resources were socially skilled and ‘career-savvy’. For women this type of ‘self-care’ was perceived as selfish or self-serving and a ‘weakness’. The roundtable participants observed that, although some formal mentoring schemes did exist in the ADF, these were often focused on Officers, with the assumption that the chain of command or Divisional system would look after junior ranks.

Other barriers to mentoring include time and workload pressures, unclear expectations, lack of or unclear goals for the mentoring, and deference or lack of confidence to ask for mentoring. There was also a view that many women felt that they needed to act more like their male counterparts to succeed.

In fact, while the Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey indicated that over 80% of all respondents agreed they had ‘sufficient access to learning and development opportunities’, smaller numbers believed that ‘mentoring and networking opportunities are available to provide role models, information and advice for women progressing through their careers’ (50% of female respondents, 60% of male respondents). Further, women were much more likely than men to believe that mentoring and networking opportunities are not available to women.

The responses indicate that a sizeable minority of women would be receptive to increased mentoring and networking opportunities, and another large minority is uncertain about the resources that exist in this area. The Review’s consultations also showed inconsistent awareness of and access to mentoring and networking opportunities. For example, one member noted:

I don’t know if there are mentoring programs. I’ve not been made aware of any.

This indicates that the messaging and promotion of such opportunities could be improved, and information about existing initiatives may be helpful to the large numbers of women (and men) who were uncertain about the existing opportunities.

(e) Experiences of ADF members

Focus groups revealed many positive responses to ADF initiatives in this area. One Army member, for example, observed that opportunities for women to be mentored had increased significantly over a short time:

I’ve only been [in] the ADF for four years but I’ve actually seen in my short time where women actually have had that opportunity. You’re always going to see the more dominant percentage being male because they’re the higher percentage, that’s not to say that women don’t get the opportunity, I think women do get the opportunity and that’s probably more prevalent now than ever.

Navy focus group participants considered the introduction of Navy leadership and mentoring programs had been a good development:

It’s something that our category in particular has improved upon definitely because we have a mentoring program now for our Training System officers. But back when I joined they [asked if you considered getting a mentor, but apart from that, it was left at that.
However, availability and promotion of Navy mentoring programs were inconsistent. For example, in some categories (such as the training unit, referred to in the quote above) ‘mandatory mentoring’ (characterising a formal mentoring program) was working successfully. In other categories, no formal arrangements appeared to be in place. One participant noted that support and advice are available, but that this requires a person to know what they want and seek it out for themselves:

Say you wanted to become a dentist on board the ship, well you would probably start by speaking to your Divisional Officer. You might come to the ship’s office and ask how do I do that? And they might point you in the direction of going to do that or civilian schooling … So there are people on board the ship who can help you achieve your goals but obviously it’s up to you to recognise what you want to do.  

Formalised arrangements were seen as having benefits such as allowing a prescribed time for junior officers to speak to mentors. One member noted that ‘because it’s sanctioned you [can] be released to actually go talk to a mentor’.  

In some cases, a ‘mandatory system’ resulted in some unwilling/badly matched participants. It is clear that selection of both mentors and mentees in a mentoring program is of critical importance. As one person commented:

You’ve got to really respect the person that’s going to talk to you.  

(i) Resistance to formal mentoring and sponsorship  
The Review heard some resistance to the idea that formal mentoring programs were needed at all. Focus groups revealed a strong perception that the chain of command is the first stop for junior ranks seeking a ‘mentor’. As one member observed:

Our structure is that the people above us, the rank above us, they are always in our command chain and our mentors and sponsors, and they are the people we seek advice from … We have the divisional system which is there to support most of the junior guys. So we already have that system very much in place.  

In one focus group, participants agreed that it was easy to ‘just figure it out’. Many saw mentoring as being expected as part of leadership development, rather than a formalised arrangement:

Mentoring is a very personal thing and you’ve got to want to be a mentor and on the flipside, you’ve got to want to be a mentee as well. I think in the ADF there’s such a focus on leadership that as you go up the ranks you should be mentoring more people, you should be looking to do that as well and I think it’s made up on an informal basis, that’s my point of view.  

In the Air Force, for example, the Squadron Leader Leadership Module includes components on coaching and mentoring with reference to the Air Force Mentoring Handbook. As one member noted:

I’m meant to be mentoring these people and teaching them the correct rights and wrongs. Like a parent you teach them the way of the Air Force.  

There are limitations to mentoring within these established arrangements. Some participants commented on the difficulty of maintaining these connections in light of posting cycles. Meanwhile, one member reflected on the different relationships involved in their experience of formal mentoring as a career manager and in a more informal mentoring relationship:

It was informal, and I wouldn’t ever give that advice in my role as senior career adviser [about] family planning. I think you just inform people [about] what Army requires of you [such as] if your professional milestone in five years is to be a lieutenant colonel well here are some key things that need to occur in roughly these 12-month windows.
Another group of new recruits expressed dissatisfaction with senior/junior divisional mentoring arrangements:

I know with the division just gone we absolutely hated each other. And the notion that they could be
our mentors [is the] entire opposite. We avoided them like the plague.285

There was also some resistance to the idea of ‘sponsorship’ as a more developed form of mentoring. For
example, one senior leader expressed concern about the possibility of close mentoring relationships being
seen as showing favouritism:

You’ve got to be very careful about perceptions of bias or jealousy or favouritism so you’d have to
structure a programme in such a way as well. I’m a CO, I have 300 people who work for me. I can’t be
seen to favour particular people but I could work with a group, say all the lieutenants in my regiment
and do some group activities with them.286

Others noted that it was those more meaningful and developed mentoring relationships, closer to sponsorship
than more traditional mentoring, which contributed to success:

When you look at males who climb the ladder the common theme is that generally you’ve got to have
somebody in your corner batting for you, so you have a mentor, somebody who knows you and then
when there’s a promotion board sitting, that person happens to be sitting on the board and he happens
to know you. Because he knows you, he can talk about your strengths and weaknesses. And that
relationship is built up over time serving under that officer and often a number of times.287

A formal mentoring/sponsorship program which is ‘sanctioned’ can be useful in overcoming these barriers.

There is research which shows that within organisations, human resources can play an important role not only
in shaping the conditions for informal mentoring to occur, but in structuring formal programs effectively.288

The focus of this research has been on how human resource departments can use strategies to help ‘formal
programs produce the same quality of mentoring present in naturally emerging relationships’.289 This would
overcome the problem of inconsistency in the ability and capacity of people to seek support on their own:

The proactive people go forward and get somebody or identify someone, but the people that perhaps
need the support the most are a little bit shy or don’t know where to go, and you often don’t when you
come straight from initial training. Then they’re not supported in finding that person.290

Ideally, as some experts argue, formal mentoring programs should provide a platform for informal mentoring to
develop.291

(ii) Gender-specific programs

Providing access to gender-specific networks or mentorship can allow participants to understand gender-
specific challenges as well as provide examples of responses to these challenges. Some members expressed
resistance to the idea of women-specific mentoring programs. For example, one member said:

It wouldn’t matter to me if I was the only female in the Defence Force because you’re there to learn
your trade. I don’t need a female to give me advice, I’d go to the person that has the most experience
and the most knowledge and will benefit me the most, not just ‘cause she’s the same sex.292

There was acceptance of the value of gender-specific mentorship for women which may not be possible
through the chain of command, given that representation of women in leadership positions is still limited:

You can’t be what you can’t see. So if women aren’t seeing other women succeeding at senior levels
and being supported by them, it’s very hard to think that you can aspire to that as well.293

Some senior women reflected on the value of mentorship to the success of their careers:

I’ve worked with very highly professional, motivated, very knowledgeable people who’ve continually
mentored me the whole way through my career and so I feel very supported by my community, and
respected as well which is important.294
Another participant commented that a ‘good mentoring programme is lacking especially for the young girls in dealing with the squadron environment’:295

I was the only female at my unit, so I don’t have the sergeants or anything like that. They are meant to be my mentors, but they don’t want to provide the support up here.296

It may be more difficult for women on deployment who, in even more diminished numbers, risk becoming isolated, especially if not involved in male social activities. For some women, surviving isolation on operational deployment may present a greater challenge than dealing with the military duties of the deployment. Women may need to provide support to each other in the field, while there were suggestions that women returning from operations would make good mentors for those preparing for deployment.297

Certainly, in terms of career progression, research suggests that career support through mentoring, sponsoring and coaching was of more use to women than psychosocial support (such as emotional support or counselling).298 In a male dominated organisation, the lack of women in leadership to provide quality mentorship is significant:

It’s more common for a male to have a mate or a mentor who’s a male and so, until you start to get women into those leadership roles, they won’t necessarily mentor or because of the... less population of women in the workforce means there is less opportunity to form those mentoring roles.299

Although gender-specific arrangements must be made available there is a need to recognise that this should be part of a range of supports and strategies to ensure the development and progression of women. Quality mentoring and sponsorship is a key role of senior male leaders who should emphasise its importance for women.

(f) Limitations of established initiatives

Certainly, initiatives implemented across the Services show that there is recognition within the ADF of the value of mentoring, though these initiatives are inconsistent in implementation and how they are accessed. When speaking to personnel deployed overseas, for example, the Review heard the following observations from junior members:

They put those things out there but to apply for it and be able to go are two different things, because we’ve got local mentors but then there’s also mentors that may be based in Canberra or [there] might be travel required. I’ve only seen officers usually take advantages of those opportunities.300

In another focus group, it was noted that, while some personnel had been assigned mentors, those selected as mentors did not receive training.301 In other cases, participants had only very limited and fixed views about the role of a mentor, without seeing it as a two-way relationship:

I think we pass on the information and give them guidance. That’s all I see mentoring as.302

As the RAAF experience of adding to the ‘My Mentor program’ with their ‘Women’s Integrated Networking Groups’ (‘WINGs’) trial shows (see Appendix L), the organisation is learning from previous attempts at establishing mentoring programs. The Services are starting to tailor programs to better meet individuals’ needs. Over time these programs will improve and deliver results, but these lessons are not yet being shared across the Services. The result is that currently, an incoherent mix of initiatives exists, with different aims and objectives and taking different forms, under the broad umbrella of ‘mentoring programs’.

The ADF should redress the gap between men and women’s access to quality mentorship and sponsorship opportunities, integrating the suite of available programs and rationalising them based on best practice principles.

The ADF should specify the goals and objectives of different types of programs, taking into consideration the program’s intent and the audience being targeted.
Gaps in availability should be explored, so that members at any stages of their career have access to an appropriate mentor or sponsor. Mentors and sponsors might be men or women, from within the Service, another Service or outside the ADF. The purpose, objectives and duration of mentoring/sponsorship relationship should be determined by the member and the mentor or sponsor.

A particular focus should be on making the shift from providing general guidance for women, as with traditional approaches to mentorship, to sponsorship and providing support that helps them get promoted. This includes building an expectation that sponsorship is a key role of senior leaders and emphasising its importance for women. For example, currently, sponsorship and coaching is limited to one executive level program in Navy. Nothing comparable is available for other ranks.

Availability of these supports should be communicated at all levels, and feedback should be incorporated into monitoring of the programs to build an evidence base and ensure they continue to meet the needs of people through different stages of life and their careers.

(g) Conclusion

Research shows that mentoring, networking and sponsorship are important features to improving women’s progression in non-traditional workplaces. There exists an imbalance between men and women in access to such opportunities. The current ADF initiatives which have been implemented have good intent but operate with different aims and objectives, take different forms and are inconsistently implemented and accessed.

Mentoring and sponsorship should be strategic priorities for developing leaders in the ADF. The ADF should implement measures to improve the availability of mentoring, sponsorship and networking appropriate to the needs of members, both men and women, at any stage of her/his career. The solution is not a ‘one-size fits all’ program. It will take time to build an environment which sustains and supports quality mentoring and sponsorship.

Having examined the systemic and structural processes at play in the ADF workforce pipeline, the next Chapter of this Report turns to an examination of the way in which women (and men) in the ADF combine these responsibilities with their career – many of them feeling that one must come at the expense of the other.
A note on terminology: Each of the three Services use slightly different language to describe the different occupations within its Service. All three Services cluster occupations under broad groupings (e.g. Corps in Army). These clusters are referred to in the Report as ‘categories’. The actual occupations/specialisations personnel fill within these categories are referred to as ‘roles’.


Focus group 16D.

These are Clearance Diver roles within the Maritime Warfare Officer category and Seaman NS category: ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 1 February 2012.

These roles are within the Armoured Corps, Artillery Regiment and Infantry Corp, as well as Explosive Ordnance Disposal Engineers: ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, above.

These roles are Airfield Defence Guard and Ground Defence Officer: ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, above.

Personnel in technical trades represent 32% of personnel in Navy, and 33% in Air Force, but only 12.6% in Army. ‘RFI 417 Headcount by Tech Non-tech etc’, above.

This figure includes permanent non-training personnel only. ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 30 January 2012. Note, ‘Administration’ is a closed category accounting for the low number of personnel in this category: CMDR A Westwood, email to the Review, 14 March 2012.

This figure includes permanent non-training personnel only: ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, above.

This figure includes permanent non-training personnel only: ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, above.

Several other categories fall just below the 30% mark, including the Legal Corps, Public Relations Corps, Band Corps and Ordnance Corps.

Several other categories fall just below the 30% including Intelligence and Communications and Information Systems.

‘ADF Specialisation RFI 155.xls’ provided to the Review by CMDR A Westwood, 24 January 2012.

‘ADF Specialisation RFI 155.xls’, above.

‘Broderick Review – MXPQ Summary_22Mar 12.doc’ provided to the Review by CMDR A Westwood, 23 March 2012; Focus group 26A.

‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, note 5. At the time of publication, Army provided the Review with updated figures for financial year 2011/2012 – women represent 22.8% of the Ordnance Corps – the category with the largest number of women at 842 women out of 3,685. However, of the 22.8% of women, women are over-represented in administrative roles (50.7%), Supply roles (35.6% in total) and Officer roles (11.2%). Advice received from the ADF, 16 July 2012


‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16. At the time of publication, Army provided the Review with updated figures for financial year 2011/2012 in which there are 7- women in Psychology out of a totally of 120 people in Psychology in the whole Service. Advice received from the ADF, 16 July 2012


See for example, Ridgeway and Correll, above, pp 510-531.

Focus group 6A.

Focus group 17D.

‘111101 DG Perez-AF Presentation – Broderick’ provided to the Review by CMDR A Westwood, 2 November 2011; ‘Information Paper 30_2008 Female participation rates in ADF.DOC’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 7 February 2012.

See for example, Ridgeway and Correll, note 29.

The challenges involved in transferring categories are explored in section 4.2. (‘Recruitment’).


Focus group 10A.

Focus group 10A. ‘Mustering’ refers to occupational categories in Air Force.

‘G-Forces’ refers to the gravitational pull felt during acceleration; Focus group 31C.

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42 Focus group 11A.
43 Focus group 31B.
44 Focus group 26A.
45 Focus group 3A.
46 Focus group 31C.
47 Focus group 16D.
48 Focus group 31C.
49 Focus group 16D.
50 Focus group 16D.
51 Focus group 16B.
52 Focus group 29A.
53 Focus group 7A.
54 Focus group 31C.
55 Focus group 28B.
56 Focus group 31D.


58 SQNLDR F James, email to the Review, 11 January 2012; SQNLDR F James, email to the Review, 16 March 2012.

59 Focus group 11A.
60 Focus group 11A.
61 ‘Writer’ is an occupational in Navy within the Supply NS category.
62 Focus group 4A.
63 Focus group 4A.
64 Confidential submission 25.


66 Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, above, 3.12, 1.19.

67 Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, above, 2.38.

68 Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, note 65, 1.18, ADF values, 3-4 to 3-6.
69 Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, note 65, 1.18, Chapter 6, Annex B for a description of the ADF continuum of leadership courses. Select courses and materials provided to the Review include: ‘Leading Seaman Promotion Course (LSPC) – 208450’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012; ‘ Petty Officer Promotion Course (POPC) – 208456’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012; ‘Chief Petty Officers Promotion Course (CPOPC) – 208889’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012; ‘Warrant Officers Promotion Course (WOPC) – 208890’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012; ‘Junior Officers Leadership Course (JOLC) – 101574’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012; ‘Lieutenant Commanders Promotion Course (LCPC) – 101574’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012; ‘JLC – ARA Leadership TMP’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 28 March 2012; ‘S1SA – ARA Leadership’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 28 March 2012; ‘S1WA Lead’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 28 March 2012; ‘ARA GSO FAC CLO 3.1 Define the Army Leadership Model (Level 3)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 28 March 2012; ‘ARA All Corps CAPT Cse 2-1 Lead a Command Support Team’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 28 March 2012; ‘ARA All Corps MAJ Cse 1-2 Carry out the Leadership Responsibilities of an All Corps MAJ (Level 4)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 28 March 2012; ‘Internal Evaluation Requirements and Post-Course Reporting for AFTG Units (AFTG si admin_2-4)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘Training Evaluation (PERS 33-03_Training_Evaluation)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘AF Professional Military Education and Training (PMET_09) AC-SQNLDR (PMET-2009 DRAFT DI – with Info Mngt comments cleared DDPMET 03 Feb 2012)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘Air Force Professional Military Education and Training (PMET Brief for GBK 01 Feb 12)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘Principles for PMET 2009 Delivery Model AC – SQNLDR (Principles Overview PMET 2009 Delivery Model AC-SQNLDR Nov 09)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘FLTLT Distance Course 2012 Leadership Module Study Guide- Officer Education Flight – Distance (FLDC Leadership Module Study Guide – 2012)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘WOFF Distance Course 2011 Leadership Module Study Guide – Officer Distance Learning Flight (WOFF Distance Course Leadership Module Study Guide – 2011)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 17 February 2012; ‘SQNLDR Distance Course 2011 – Leadership Module Study Guide – Officer Distance
For example, Chief of Army, LTGEN David Morrison said that ‘harnessing the full potential of our workforce is a capability issue rather than a diversity issue … and I want to remove any artificial impediments to the best use of all our people’: LTGEN D Morrison, Address (Speech delivered at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Canberra, 11 April 2012). At http://www.army.gov.au/Our-work/Speeches-and-transcripts/Australian-Strategic-Policy-Institute (viewed 5 July 2012).


For example, Focus groups 34G, 34C.

Meeting with Simon Longstaff.

Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, note 65, 5.22, pp 5-9.

Centre for Defence Leadership Studies, note 65, pp 5-9 to 5-11.


Each Service has a senior leadership group comprised of senior officers. These generalist senior officers are appointed into positions within the senior officers pool once they reach the rank of Captain (Navy), Colonel (Army), Group Captain (Air Force). Upon entering the general officer senior officer pool, these officers take on general management/executive/leadership positions rather than category specific roles. While some categories enable officers to advance to high ranks within their category, these officers retain their specialisation and manage only within their specialisation. They are therefore distinct from the leadership pool referred to as senior officers.

SQNLDR F James, email to the Review, 30 May 2012. The percentage of women in each category was calculated based on ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, note 5.

From 31 March 1921 until March 1975 the Chief of Air Force (CAF) was always a pilot. In March 1975 Sir James Rowlands AC KBE DFC AFC, took over from Sir James Rowlands AC KBE DFC AFC, took over from Air Marshal Charles Read, becoming the first engineering officer to lead the RAAF. However he was required to be a member of the Air Force’s aircrew stream so, although already a qualified pilot (he flew Lancasters in WWII), he had to transfer from the Technical Branch (Engineering) to the General Duties Branch (Aircrew). Soon afterwards, the stipulation for the CAF to be a member of the General Duties Branch was removed. That said, every CAF since then has been a pilot: SQNLDR F James, email to the Review, 30 May 2012.

General officer senior officers (general service officers) are appointed from any category and take on general management/executive/leadership positions rather than category specific roles. They are distinct from Specialist Service officers who follow a different career path within their area of specialisation. Note, the below figures are calculated based on Star Ranked Officers (07 – 10) that are listed as being a General Service Officers (entry via General Service Officer). Senior Officers with a specialisation are included separately. ‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James 26 March 2012; ‘ARA SENOFF entry method’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 13 June 2012.

‘ARA SENOFF entry method’, above.

‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.

‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.

Current senior officers originate from the following categories: Maritime Warfare Officer (32) = 61.5% (this includes Seaman NO that was replaced by Maritime Warfare Officer); Engineer (9) = 17.3%; Supply NO (5) = 9.6%; Aviation NO (4) = 7.69%; Legal (2) = 3.8%. WO of Navy is also man. The one woman generalist star ranked officer is from the Legal category. ‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.

‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.

The number of star ranked officers excludes officers who joined through the specialist service officers. The Review was unable to ascertain the entry path of two of the star ranked officers serving within Special Forces and high level intelligence positions – they have been included in the number of star ranked officers in the general service officer pool. Of the 71 star ranked officers who entered via general service officer, they originate from the following categories: Infantry (21) = 29.5%; Ordnance (5) = 7%; Armoured Corp (8) = 11.2%; Artillery (10) = 14%; Engineers (7) = 9.8%; Signals (5) = 7%; Intelligence (5) = 7%; Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (2) = 2.8%; Transport (5) = 7%; Aviation (2) = 2.8%. Note, the category of one of the Senior Officers is not provided. RSM is also a man. The four women generalist star ranked officer is from the Ordnance category and Signals category. Figures from ‘ARA SENOFF entry method’, note 86.

The categories from which the Senior Officers originated from are: Aircrew (32) = 60.3%; Engineering and Logistics (18) = 33.9%; Support Operations (2) = 3.7%; Operations (1) = 1.8%. Exec WOFF is also man. The one woman generalist star ranked officer in Navy is at commodore rank and is from the Legal category. ‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.

There are four senior officer ranks in Navy: commodore, rear admiral, vice admiral and admiral (in order of lowest to highest rank). The one woman generalist star ranked officer in Navy is at commodore rank and is from the Legal category. ‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.
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97 There are four Senior Officer ranks: brigadier, major general, lieutenant general and general (in order of lowest to highest rank). The four women generalist star ranked officers in Army are at the brigadier rank and from the Ordnance and Signals Corps: ‘ARA SENOFF entry method’, note 86.

98 There are four Star Ranks: air commodore, air vice-marshal, air marshal, air chief marshal (in order of lowest to highest rank). The one woman generalist star ranked officer in Air Force is at air vice-marshal rank and is from Engineering and Logistics: ‘Broderick Review Phase 2 Tasks 259 and 371 – Senior Officer categories’, note 86.

99 ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.

100 ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.

101 ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.

102 For example, even in categories dominated by women, with few exceptions, women are not occupying warrant officer positions at a number proportionate to their percentage in the category. ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.


104 ‘Army Commanding Officer Positions’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 23 April 2012.

105 ‘BRT RFI 232 – Command List data’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 14 March 2012. Note, the definition of ‘Command’ within Air Force appears to be slightly different from that used in Army and Navy as it extends beyond Command of bases and fighting forces to include positions within DMO.

106 As of March 2012: ‘Command and Minor Command Positions 19JUL12’ provided to the Review by CMDR A Westwood, 19 July 2012. Note that these figures are accurate as of March 2012.

107 As of March 2012: ‘Command and Minor Command Positions 19JUL12’ provided to the Review by CMDR A Westwood, 19 July 2012. Note that these figures are accurate as of March 2012.

108 As of April 2012: ‘Army Commanding Officer Positions’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 23 April 2012.

109 As of March 2012: ‘BRT RFI 232 – Command List data’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 14 March 2012. Note, the definition of ‘Command’ within Air Force appears to be slightly different from that used in Army and Navy as it extends beyond Command of bases and fighting forces to include positions within DMO.

110 ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.


112 Focus group 35F.

113 Focus group 9B.

114 Small differences are likely a result of the very small numbers in the sample. ‘120101_Broderick Review_MasterFile’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 10 February 2012. Note, this includes permanent and Reserve Forces on CFTS.

115 Focus group 35F.

116 Focus group 35F.

117 Focus group 26A.

118 Confidential submission 25.

119 Focus group 20B.

120 Confidential submission 25.

121 ‘DGCMA BRT RFI RESPONSE’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 2 April 2012; ‘RFI 250’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 16 March 2012. Advice received from the ADF, 16 July 2012.

122 This is likely a result of the small number of personnel in many of the categories that women dominate and thus less senior positions are needed.

123 Both these positions are currently occupied by women. ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.

124 ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.

125 As a result of the small number of personnel at each rank in categories with a high representation of women, there are dramatic peaks and troughs in women’s progression through the ranks in these categories. Conversely in categories with a low representation of women, there is less variance in women’s career trajectory. Given there are only a small number of positions at higher ranks, the presence or absence of one or two women will have a marked difference on the percentages. For example there are generally only 1 or 2 Colonel positions in the majority of the categories that women dominate. Within the Officer Ranks, the categories characterised by large peaks and troughs are those categories where there is a higher proportion of women typically in categories with a relatively small number of personnel – the Pay Corps, Psychology Corps, Dental Corps, Nursing Corps, Public Relations Corps, Catering Corps. A similar picture is found in Other Ranks, with the greatest variance found in the categories with a small number of personnel and a high representation of women. ‘ADO High Level v.1.xls’, note 16.

126 The importance of Staff Officer positions, particularly for promotion of Lieutenant Colonel and above ranks, is highlighted in the Career Management Guide for Officer: DIA PERS 47-1, note 103, para 101. See also, ‘GOPS courtroom – Revised Army Taxonomy Submission (part of ADF #15)’ provided to the Review by SQNLDR F James, 8 June 2012.

127 Public submission 1 Sorial.

128 Confidential submission 25.


These positions are Clearance Diver roles within various categories: ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, note 5. A note on terminology: Each of the three Services use slightly different language to describe the different occupations within its Service. All three Services cluster occupations under broad groupings (e.g. Corps in Army). These clusters are referred to in the Report as ‘categories’. The actual occupations/specialisations personnel fill within these categories are referred to as ‘roles’.

These positions are Airfield Defence Guards and Ground Defence roles: ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, note 5.

These positions are within the Armoured Corps, Artillery Regiment, Infantry Corp and Explosive Ordnance Disposal Engineers: ‘RFI 202 – Categories.xls’, note 5.

See section 5.1.

See Appendix K.

Meeting with HPC.

Information provided to the Review by AIRCDRE H Ehlers, email to the Review, 20 June 2012.


Meeting with HPC.


Meeting with HPC.

Information provided by DSTO: CMDR A Westwood, email to the Review, 7 December 2011.


Meeting with HPC.

Focus group 11B.

Focus group 15B.

Focus group 33A.

Focus group 41C.

Focus group 41C.

Meeting with HPC.

Focus group 41D.

Focus group 20B.

Meeting with HPC.

See Chapter 9: Norway was the first NATO state to open all combat positions to women, including submarine service, in 1985. Canada removed combat restrictions in 1989, while keeping the restriction on women serving in submarines until 2001. New Zealand has removed all restrictions. The Netherlands retains restrictions on submarine and Marine Corps duty, citing ‘practical considerations’: R Moelker and J Bosch, Hidden Women: Women in the Netherlands Armed Forces, Publications of the Faculty of Military Science, No. 2008/01, Netherlands Defence Academy (2008), p 24. At hbo-kennisbank.uvt.nl/cgi/nda/show.cgi?fid=1721 (viewed 15 July 2011).

Chapter 5: The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers

166 See Chapter 9.

167 The only exception remained in submarine service until 2001, with the purchase of submarines allowing for more privacy in accommodation: Cawkill, et al, note 165, p 18.

168 Minister for Veterans Affairs, ‘Background Information Paper – When will the ADF have 10,000 Women?’, 5 September 2011, para 6, provided to the Review.

169 Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.

170 For example, one report noted: ‘women still tended to join or migrate to traditional employment areas and that in the combat arms problems remained in selection, training, physical standards, sexual harassment and fraternisation. Physical standards were seen as a mask for much more complex issues, and were applied erratically. The majority of women who had attempted to enter the combat arms reported mainly negative experiences, and those reporting positive experiences were still more likely to have left the CF or transferred to another Arm’: Employment of Women in the Armed Forces Steering Group, Women in the Armed Forces (2002), pp 12-13. At http://www.mod.uk/NR/rdonlyres/A9925990-82C2-420F-AB04-7003768CEC02/0/womenaf_fullreport.pdf (viewed 21 June 2012); Cawkill, et al, note 165, p 18.

171 Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.


173 Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.


180 For example, in 2003, the US Army established all-female ‘Lioness’ teams to accompany all-male Marine combat units into areas populated by insurgents in Iraq. Designed as a ‘calming’ presence and to search Iraqi women for weapons or explosives, they routinely engaged in combat. Female Engagement Teams (FETs) were originally used by US Marine Corps in Iraq to engage the total population, with an emphasis on female search. In 2009-10, this was extended to Afghanistan. In 2010, women officers began to be integrated to assignment on guide-missile attack and ballistic-missile submarines: DACOWITS, Annual Report (2010), note 177, p 12; Service Women’s Action Network, note 177, pp 3-4.


182 L Shane, note 178.


184 Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.

185 Focus group 38B.

186 Focus group 11C.

187 Focus group 20C.

188 Focus group 20C.

189 Focus group 35A.

190 Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.

191 Focus group 40A.

192 Focus group 41D.

193 Focus group 40A.

194 Focus group 33A.


196 A Summers, above.

197 Focus group 36B.

198 Focus group 33A.

199 Focus group 33A.
Focus group 35D.
Focus group 38B.
Focus group 38B.
Focus group 38C.

C McLoughlin, Women's Participation in the Navy; Report of the Participation of Women in New Generation Navy Review, 10 October 2009, provided to the Review. The CDF appointed McLoughlin to conduct a review into the participation of women in the Royal Australian Navy in response to a request by Senator the Hon J Faulkner, Minister for Defence.

McLoughlin, above, p 13.

Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.

Focus group 11E.
Focus group 11E.
Focus group 34F.
Focus group 20B.
Focus group 41B.
Focus group 41B.
Focus group 11E.
Focus group 40A.
Focus group 39E.
Focus group 34G.
Focus group 34G.
Focus group 41C.
Focus group 3A.

Department of Defence, 'Minute – Female Engagement Teams (FET)', March 2012, provided to the Review by MAJ ML Dare, 27 April 2012.

Focus group 11E.
Confidential meeting 65.
Focus group 39E.
Focus group 38B.
Focus group 39D.
Focus group 39D.

For example, Focus group 34E in which women trainees complained about clothing size and equipment.

Focus group 33A.
Focus group 20C.
Confidential meeting.
Meeting with Senior Leadership Group, Singleton.
Confidential meeting.
Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.
Confidential meeting.
Confidential meeting.
Focus group 41B.
Focus group 39D.
Focus group 39D.
Focus group 35A.

Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.
Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.
Focus group 35A.
Focus group 20B.
Focus group 33A.

C Burton, note 245, p 147.


Meeting with Canadian Commanders delegation.


Department of Defence, 'Implementing Cultural Change to Improve Retention of Servicewomen' (2008), p 18, provided to the Review.

Chapter 5: The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers


255 Klotz, above.

256 See Chapter 2 and Appendix L.


265 Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, note 258.

266 Department of Defence, ‘Implementing Cultural Change to Improve Retention of Servicewomen’ (2008), p 18, provided to the Review.

267 Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, note 258.

268 Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, note 258.


270 Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey. All figures quoted are from the electronic sample.

271 Focus group 10A.

272 Focus group 13B.

273 Focus group 3B.

274 Focus group 17A.

275 Focus group 3B.

276 Focus group 3B.

277 Focus group 18D.

278 Focus group 3A.

279 Focus group 15B.

280 Focus group 37B.


282 Focus group 10A.

283 Focus group 37A.

284 Meeting with career management representatives.

285 Focus group 15A.

286 Focus group 37A.

287 Focus group 13B.


289 Chandler, above, p 25.

290 Focus group 3B.


292 Focus group 14D.

293 Focus group 13B.

294 Focus group 2A.

295 Focus group 16B.

296 Focus group 10A.

297 Minister for Defence Science and Personnel, note 258, p 17.


299 Focus group 13B.

300 Focus group 37Q.

301 Focus group 37A.

302 Focus group 37A.

303 See Appendix L.
Chapter 5: The ADF Workforce Structure: Opportunities, Pathways and Barriers
“My friends in the civilian industry are amazed by the flexibility offered by my organisation, the excellent benefits, my ability to attend school swimming carnivals and undertake occasional school drop offs, our maternity benefits and option to work part time, and wish their employers were as magnanimous and trusting.”

ADF member
(Confidential Submission)