

The Lived Experience of Women Veterans of the Canadian Forces

by

Sarah Louise Buydens
B.A., University of Victoria, 2002

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in the Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies

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Abstract

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Abstract

Research was conducted using hermeneutic-phenomenology and semi-structure interviews to explore and understand the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. Women recently entered Canadian military combat positions, taking on a profession historically exclusively occupied by men. Due to the lack of research on women veterans of the Canadian Forces, knowledge was drawn from research about women in nontraditional work, American paramilitary and military occupations, as well as an historical review of women's involvement in the Canadian Forces, to provide context to the research themes. Participants comprised of 6 women veterans who described 11 essential and 4 significant themes. Unique contributions to literature include essential themes such as, *Slut or a lesbian, take your pick*, *Proving I'm good enough*, *Trying to be treated better*, *Got some support*, *Visible and singled out*, *Perpetual outsider*, *Given gender based tasks or opportunities*, and *Women demeaned*. Suggestions for future studies and implications for counselling practice are discussed.

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Chapter I: Widespread Experiences Women Veterans Had While in the Canadian Forces

Introduction

Recently women in the Canadian Forces have entered integrated positions including combat positions in the military. There is a lack of research and knowledge governing and supporting women in these roles. The existing research discusses harassment, sub-group cohesion, improving gender integration, and leadership development of women. Women in the military are looking to professionals to provide support and resources. Without appropriate research, services may not target the actual needs of women. What is the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces? What are the common experiences they face? In order to optimise support available to these women, research is required to examine their experiences in the military.

Research on women in nontraditional occupations, paramilitary work, and the American military highlight women face discrimination, sexual assault and harassment, multiple barriers, and gender related stress in these roles (J. M. Brown, 1998; J. Brown, Campbell, & Fife-Schaw, 1995; Lafontaine & Tredeau, 1986; Rosell, Miller, & Barber, 1995). Historically women have struggled to achieve pay and status equity and integration within the Canadian Forces (Dundas, 2000). Their triumphs have been echoed by multiple setbacks and barriers, culminating in the Canadian government forcing gender integration upon the military (Dundas). Entering these roles, women continued to face stereotypes, sexist attitudes, and lack of infrastructure to support them.

I conducted research that builds an understanding of the current lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces to provide a foundation into understanding and developing knowledge to assist women in the Canadian Forces. Through

phenomenological research I assisted women in speaking for themselves, highlighting what they have been trying to say for over a century – what it is like to be a woman in the Canadian Forces.

The Research Problem

There is a lack of research, insight, and knowledge about women in the Canadian Forces. The majority of recent research and literature reviews have focused on harassment, sub-group cohesion, bettering integration, and leadership development (Ahronson & Cameron, 2007; Korabik, 2002; Loughlin & Arnold, 2003; Stinson, Day, Cameron, & Catano, 2002). These studies have examined sub-group concerns in programs, barriers to women, training women for leadership positions (Loughlin & Arnold, 2003), diversity issues on leadership effectiveness, successful group cohesion with diverse sub-groups (Stinson et al., 2002), sub-group issues with occupational segregation, prejudice, and discrimination, organizational cultures and cultural adaptation, enhanced diversity integration (Korabik, 2002), and how group cohesion relates to job performance, job satisfaction, and psychological distress (Ahronson & Cameron). These studies have been funded by the Canadian Forces. To my knowledge, no independent research regarding women in the Canadian Forces exists. Women have been involved in the Canadian Forces since 1885, having integrated into combat positions since 1989. Although limited research exists, no research addresses the current needs, issues, desires, and experiences of women in the Canadian Forces, or qualitatively explores the experience of being a woman veteran of the Canadian Forces.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the essence of the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces using a hermeneutic-phenomenological design. Interviews were conducted with women veterans who served in the regular Canadian Forces since 1989 to generate emerging data and themes until data saturation was achieved. The research question is what is the core essence of being a woman in the Canadian Forces?

The study of women in the Canadian Forces is timely and significant today with increased use of women in combat positions and increased number of women entering the military. Women in the military are looking to professionals to provide support, understanding, and beneficial resources to assist them in these roles. A goal of this research is to develop knowledge to inform theory and recommendations regarding enhanced professional support for these women.

Background to the Study

I was a civilian employee in the Canadian Forces. My position was to assist military members and families to cope with challenges due to the military lifestyle, such as multiple family moves and adjustment problems, stress due to long-term deployments, and familial occupation-related stress. The typical family I encountered had the characteristics of the man being the husband and military member, the women being a wife, mother, civilian with part-time employment, and having two, or more children. The husband was out of town equal to the time he was in town.

In my work I occasionally encountered women who did not adhere to the above described typical family constellation. There was a lack of knowledge and support

systems to assist these people. For example, I met a single mother serving in the navy. She struggled with providing care for her child when she was on training exercises. I witnessed women military members navigate job-related stress and frequent gender based obstacles. My encounters with military woman stimulated great curiosity. There was a lack of supports for these women compared with military men, yet they persisted in their work. I wondered how women coped in the military. What kept them motivated when they faced obstacles? What was the internal impact of the work on women compared with men? How did women navigate their work when they faced gender-based discrimination when their job focuses so much on teamwork? How were women's experiences different from those of their male counterparts? And of these differences, what were resiliencies to her and what were obstacles? In fact I wondered, what is the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces? This thesis research represents an opportunity to explore that question in more depth utilizing women veterans to reflect upon their experience while in the military.

Chapter II: Historical Context of Women of the Canadian Military

Women in Canadian Forces: A Brief Historical Perspective

Historical information regarding Canadian women in the military is limited. The majority of information originates from Dundas (2000), and Gossage (1991), as a result this historical section is limited. Dundas provides a balanced account of the history of women in the military, utilizing dates, statistics, and personnel quotes to detail the narrative and timeline of women's involvement. Regardless, the limited resources highlight the deficit of research and material about women in the Canadian Forces.

Recruiting women and expanding their employment opportunities had changed traditional military institutional norms, values, beliefs, and procedures. Change started in the North West Rebellion of 1885, continued through the next century, until present day. Throughout these changes one constant remained: women have participated in the military in ways available to them. During emergencies, strife, and war dated to French and British colonial eras, women fought alongside men, defending their homes and families. Women continue to do this currently, but with the addition of pay and acknowledgment.

Laura Secord made history in the War of 1812 when she walked through enemy held territory to deliver information about a planned American raid in Niagara (Dundas, 2000), becoming the first woman recorded in history to help in a military effort on the land that would become Canada. (Confederation was in 1867.) Half a century later women assisted military pursuits as nursing sisters in the North West Rebellion of 1885, Yukon Field Force of 1898, and South African Boer War of 1899 to 1902. The addition

of nursing sisters started a process of involving women in military activities which changed the Canadian Forces over the next century.

Women's military involvement early in Canadian history was poorly organised. The minister of militia and defence in 1885, Adolphe Caron, ordered medical support to accompany soldiers in the North-West Rebellion without an organised corps. Thus, the government invited women to form Red Cross Societies to organise themselves as volunteer nursing sisters to provide medical and dietary supplies, and medical treatment. This initiated the first organised and recognised participation of Canadian women in military activities. The infrastructure for support was available, with 12 nurses ready to assist, but an infrastructure of medical education was not. As a result of confrontation with Métis forces on April 24, 1885, the nurses performed their first medical duties, attending to 50 casualties (Dundas, 2000). The nurses found it difficult with no training and limited resources to aid the wounded men (Dundas). In order to organise and educate the nurses, Loretta Miller, head nurse at Winnipeg General Hospital, was called upon to serve. She taught the women and they were kept busy providing recreation, making bandages, and distributing blankets, clothing, and other supplies in addition to providing medical treatment (Dundas). Despite a disorganised start, the nursing sisters provided valued work, being awarded campaign medals (Dundas).

Women saw service again in the Yukon Field Force of 1898, which resulted from the swell of prospectors trekking into the Klondike bringing with them crime. A contingent of 200 soldiers was sent to assist the mounted police in bringing about law and order in the goldfields (Dundas, 2000). No medical support was planned for but four members of the Victorian Order of Nurses were already bound for the area to provide

nursing care for isolated people (Dundas). During the journey they provided medical care to soldiers and civilians they encountered (Dundas).

In the South African Boer War of 1899 to 1902, the military provided better organisation to nursing sisters. A recruitment campaign invited women to apply to serve, with four women selected (Dundas, 2000). A principal medical officer was placed as the authority to which the women answered, and they were issued official military related nursing uniforms (Dundas). In 1899 a second military contingent, including an additional four nursing sisters, was sent to South Africa (Dundas). One of these nurses, Georgina Pope, received the Royal Red Cross for service in the field during the South African War (Dundas). She was the first Canadian to be honoured with this award.

In the time between 1812 and 1899 the military learned to provide better organisation and infrastructure to nursing sisters. The benefit of their assistance was acknowledged through awards and repeated use. Women wanted more and in the turn of the century began to ask for it.

The first step into the Canadian military. While women were serving in the South African Boer War the government of Canada was defining their place within the military. The government created the Canadian Militia Army Medical Services on May 20, 1899, as the organisational body responsible for nursing sisters (Dundas, 2000). January 25, 1900, Militia Order No. 20, recognised nursing sisters to be accredited as lieutenants and receive the pay and allowance of this rank, however, they were to be called “nursing sister” and not “lieutenant”, and did not have military command or authority (Dundas). On August 1, 1901, a permanent Canadian Nursing Service was created and women were recognised as being part of the army’s medical services (Dundas). Ten nurses enrolled,

eight of which already served in the South African Boer War (Dundas). After three years the government provided organisation and pay to nursing sisters, yet full acknowledgment of their skills was withheld as they were not given authority or title acknowledgement. It took most of the next century for women to be recognised as equal and given the authority and titles equivalent to men.

Under the new structure and pay, in 1902 seven nurses plus a third contingent of soldiers, were sent to South Africa (Dundas, 2000). The structure of the Canadian Nursing Service did not last long. In 1904, the Nursing Service reorganized army medical services into a regular component, designated the Permanent Active Militia Army Medical Corps, and a larger reserve component, called the Militia Army Medical Corps (Dundas). The nursing sisters of the permanent Active Militia Army Medical Corps ran the military hospitals, providing medical care (Dundas). Uniforms were used to signify belonging to military groups, thus, in 1907, when nursing sisters' uniforms were drastically altered to include a white collar and cuffs along with a white cap, similar to nuns' habits, they felt settled in their military positions as part of the group (Dundas). In 1910 an Army Nursing Reserve was established to compile and manage a roster of reserve women aged 23 to 45, who would volunteer for a five year period if the military needed their services (Dundas). This was evidence the military valued and sought out services of nursing sisters. The military learned from past mistakes and inserted the criteria women must have medical training to be on the roster (Dundas). After rocky first steps things were improving for nursing sisters.

Women and the modern Canadian military. The reference to the modern Canadian military captures the time period involving World Wars I and II, the Korean

War and Post-Korean War era, the Manpower Study of 1965 and Human Rights Act of 1989, and the time leading up to the present day. During that span of time women's roles in the Canadian military vastly changed. This time period is addressed in detail to build understanding of the milieu and context within which these women worked.

World War I. Women's participation in the military has been cyclical. In the absence of active military duty, women's involvement in the military waned. With activation of war, women's representation dramatically surged. This pattern repeats for decades and was the result of military politics, decisions, and women's changing interest in military service. The involvement of women in military efforts, outside of volunteering and medical support, depended on the availability of men for the task. When men were not available women were allowed to fill the role, but as men became available again women were forced out of these roles. It was not until later in the century women were valued for their skills, as opposed to being valued solely to alleviate men's tasks so they could work elsewhere.

The cyclic wax and wane of women's participation was evident in World War I (WWI). In the summer of 1914, before WWI started, there were five women in the Permanent Active Militia Army Medical Corps and 57 nursing sisters in the Militia Army Medical Corps (Dundas, 2000). With the start of WWI, thousands of women in both Canada and the United States wrote to the Canadian Nursing Service to volunteer, with the number of nursing sisters rising to 3,141 serving in Canada and overseas as officers in the Canadian Medical Corps (Gossage, 1991). Women were restricted to the role of nursing sisters or volunteer workers in various organizations at home and overseas (Gossage). Of these, 43 nursing sisters lost their lives during the war.

As the war progressed and civilian men were in short supply, women found civilian military jobs available to them (Dundas, 2000) starting the cycle of being used in order to allow the men's esteemed skills to be used elsewhere. The Canadian government employed women in civilian jobs with the armed forces in Great Britain, France, and Canada. They worked as clerks, drivers with the army motor transport companies, and stenographers (Dundas). At the commencement of the war, 750 women worked as mechanics for the Royal Air Force (RAF) and 1,200 in total were in technical positions (Dundas).

In May 1918 a subcommittee of the Militia Council in Ottawa formed to consider establishing the Canadian Women's Corps due to the unprecedented contribution of Canadian women during WWI (Dundas, 2000). The preliminary establishment of the corps included women holding positions such as clerks, typists, cooks, waitresses, maids, messengers, drivers, accountants, unskilled labourers, and librarians (Dundas). While investigating a women's corps, a survey was conducted by the Militia Council to determine how many men could be freed to work in higher valued jobs by being replaced by women (Dundas). The survey showed 107 men were performing duties thought of as suitable for women, freeing 107 men to serve as soldiers (Dundas). It also showed 1,325 civilian women were employed as clerks and typists (Dundas). The Militia Council in September 18, 1918, approved the formation of the Canadian Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in principle, however, due to the ending of the war, the committee was dismantled and no corps was formed.

In October 1938, shortly after royal assent was granted for enlisted women in Britain to take on active positions in the British Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), a

small group formed in Victoria, British Columbia, to establish inclusion of women in military positions. Calling themselves the British Columbia Women's Service Corps (BCWSC), they initially patterned it after the British ATS but it quickly, "disbanded and its members formed part of the Red Cross Volunteer Corps, which was also organized into diverse units similar to those of the B.C. [sic] Women's Service Corps." (Gossage, 1991, p. 23). Women wanted to be a part of the military, organising themselves to acquire this role.

World War II. When Canada declared war in September 1939 the BCWSC sent Joan Kennedy, later Lieutenant Colonel Joan B. Kennedy, to Ottawa to lobby for official recognition as part of the army auxiliary (Gossage, 1991). In response, the minister of defence stated it was not a national necessity at the present to include women in the war, and declined to officially recognise the group (Gossage). By February 1940 Major-General Browne recommended the minister of defence establish a Canadian Women's Service (Gossage). Women formed themselves into groups, the Women's Transport Service and Canadian Auxiliary Territorial Service (CATS), national organisations, and provincial groups in Quebec, Nova Scotia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan (Gossage). These volunteer groups petitioned the Canadian government for military positions outside of the sanctioned roles of nursing sister or civilian support (Gossage). Some members of parliament, including Thomas L. Church and John Diefenbaker, supported the idea of women having a more active role in the war (Gossage). It was not until part way through WWII that women were allowed to enlist in the armed forces. The Department of National Defence Public Relations Office, on June 27, 1941, administered a letter declaring the establishment of a Women's Auxiliary Corps for the Army, called the

Canadian Women's Army Corps, allowing women to enlist as active members of the military (Gossage). The letter stated women were able to be drivers of light mechanical transport vehicles, cooks in hospitals and messes, clerks, typists and stenographers at camps and training centres, telephone operators and messengers, canteen helpers, and storewomen (Gossage). The letter stated:

Women joining the C.W.A.C. will be required to enrol under approximately the same conditions as for soldiers. They will be medically examined, documented and clothed. They will be paid at rates somewhat lower than those authorized for soldier and comparable with Civil Service rates. Women will be eligible for promotion up to the equivalent of Commissioned rank. (as per Gossage, 1991, p. 32).

Women petitioned for years to gain these positions, yet when granted them, they were not valued as equal to men, demonstrated by the decreased pay. In July 1941 the Order-in-Council was passed, forming the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force (CWAAF) (Gossage). On September 20, 1941 the Royal Canadian Air Force issued a press release stating:

There are nine trades from which a prospective C.W.A.A.F. recruit may select the one for which she feels most suited. These are: administrative; clerks, general and stenographic; cook; transport drivers; equipment assistant; fabric workers; hospital assistants; telephone operators; and standards duties which included general duty and mess women. (as per Gossage, 1991, p. 33).

The navy was the last to enlist women starting on July 31, 1942, with the formation of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, known as the Wrens (Gossage). After three years of lobbying, women were granted admittance into the military.

Women were called to serve in limited occupations which fit socially acceptable gender roles, for the purpose of freeing men to be soldiers. The containment of women to gender related roles was evident in the military's advertisements. The army and air force called for, "Canadian women who have felt the desire to slap down Hitler with a skillet" to join up as military cooks (Dundas, 2000, p. 64). Enrolment advertisements acknowledged women were not valued for their own skills but in order to replace men who were the valued personnel. The armed forces advertised for *women to serve so that men may fight*, while the air force advertised for *women to serve that men might fly* (Dundas). It is doubtful women would have been allowed to serve if they were not used to replace men, demonstrating the devaluing of women's contributions as less than equal. Women struggled for equality for decades, combating a system that valued men.

Men and women were not treated the same in the military. Women had limited military job opportunities, while men did not. The sexes also had different eligibility criteria. For an airwoman to enlist in the RCAF, the criteria in 1942 was:

To be eligible for enlistment an applicant must: 1. Have attained her 18th birthday and not have attained her 41st birthday. 2. Have a medical category A4B or higher (equivalent to Army Standard A). 3. Be five feet or over in height and conform to the required weight standard. 4. Have a minimum education standard of High School Entrance. 5. Be able to pass the appropriate trade test. 6. Be of good character with no record of conviction for an indictable offence. Applicants will

not be considered for enlistment: 1. If they hold permanent Civil Service appointments. 2. If they are married women who have children depended [*sic*] on them for care and upbringing (i.e. sons under 16 and daughters under 18). (as per Gossage, 1991, p. 39).

Although this paper focuses on detailing the history of women's roles in the military, it is important to recognize institutionalized racism prevented some women from serving at all. Racism impacted recruitment during WWII. For example, CWAC officers questioned whether a female of "Indian Nationality" should be allowed into the Corps (Gossage, 1991) demonstrating racial discrimination. In Moosehorn, Manitoba, recruitment efforts encountered difficulties and labelled this as a result of peoples of "different nationalities", referring to people of German descent (Gossage). A poor response in recruitment in Fannysteele, Ontario, was blamed on the mixture of French, Ukrainian, and Polish descendents who were thought of as difficult to recruit (Gossage). A dance was held to attract recruits in a northern town. The dance was noted as being well attended by "white people", *despite* the presence of "Indians" who were thought to have "slowed the dance up" (Gossage). The enlistment of women in Quebec posed a problem as no resources were allotted for French speaking volunteers (Gossage). These examples illustrate the climate of racism facing potential recruits. Women dealt with sexual discrimination in the military; and some endured the addition of racism. A fuller examination of institutional racism within recruitment and military service is beyond the scope of this paper, but warrants further exploration in other studies.

Societal perceptions of women's roles in Canadian military. In 1943, the Canadian military conducted three surveys to understand why there were few women

recruits (Gossage, 1991). The CWAC, air force, and Advertising Agencies of Canada and the Joint Committee on Combined Recruiting Promotion each conducted a survey (Gossage). The latter was a public opinion survey titled, "An Enquiry into the Attitude of the Canadian Civilian Public towards the Women's Armed Forces" (Gossage). The survey results indicated negative social opinions about women recruits was impacting the number of women joining the military, along with low pay (Gossage). The public opinion survey indicated:

The attitude of family and friends was heavily weighted with disapproval towards female enlistment. Roughly 50 percent were not in favour - between 20 percent and 30 percent were indifferent. Those in the forces were 48 percent in favour; in civilian life, only 28 percent. Of the fathers surveyed, 27 percent approved; of the mothers, 21 percent. Of the boyfriends, those in the forces were only 25 percent in favour. (Gossage, 1991, p. 47).

The message was clear, there was significant public disapproval of women in the forces, and women wanted higher pay. These surveys were the first demonstration the military valued women's participation.

To encourage women to join the military and change public opinion about women enlisting, two films were made by the National Film Board called, "Proudly She Marches" and "Wings on Her Shoulders" (Gossage, 1991). The films depicted service as being fun and emphasized women within the forces were in no physical danger. In an attempt to further entice women to join, in June 1943 there was a change in women's pay scale (Gossage). The pay, originally set at two-thirds a man's pay, moved up to four-fifths a man's pay (Gossage). To change the pay, the Air Minister, Charles G. Power, on

June 1943 explained to the House of Commons the original reason for women's lower pay was due to information from the British military that stipulated three women would be required to replace every two men in uniform, however, to entice women to join, the pay rate would need to be increased (Gossage). The daily rates of pay for enlisted women ranged at the bottom of the pay scale from 90 cents daily for an airwoman second class, to \$3.30 for the highest-ranking non-commissioned officer; officers' pay began at \$2.85, while a wing officer, at the top end of the scale, received \$6.70 daily (Gossage). It is unclear how the rate of four-fifths a man's pay was chosen. Based on the justification for the original pay, the change in pay indicated women were still not valued as equal to men.

The pay increase and alterations to societal perceptions of women in the military worked. Women joined the military in large numbers, shifting the Canadian military's demographics.

During the Second World War more than over 45,000 Canadian women volunteered for military service in the name of King and Country. Close to 22,000 of them enlisted in the CWAC (Canadian Women's Army Corps), 17,000 in the RCAF (Royal Canadian Air Force) Women's Division (WD), and 6,781 in the "Wrens" (Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service). (Gossage, 1991, p. 17).

Of the 45,000 women who served, 71 gave their lives during WWII. The volume of work done by women could no longer be ignored. Earlier in the century women had petitioned for three years to be included in the military. Through volume, rather than persistence, women in WWII established themselves as valuable military members.

After WWII, although the wartime contribution of servicewomen was seen as valuable, the government was eager to demobilize as many people as possible and encouraged women to seek civilian employment (Dundas, 2000, p. 93). A list of navy and army women who wished to be in the supplementary reserve and air force was made. Other than this list and employment of nursing sisters, all women were released from service (Dundas). The end of the war did not impact nursing sisters as there were many injured servicemen in need of care. The available roles came full circle, with women being eligible to only be nursing sisters again.

Three years later, in February, 1948, a catalyst occurred, with a communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Berlin blockade a month later, that created a need to enlist women again (Dundas, 2000). Canada needed to increase the size of its military and it looked to women for assistance. In the literature there is no indication women were called upon to release men to do more important work at this point in history. Possibly women were being valued for the work they had done, having proven themselves over half a century, or perhaps societal values shifted to be less sexist. Despite the reasons, the change was evident, and women were an integrated part of the military.

Korean war era. Woman's roles continued to expand with the beginning of the Korean War in the late 1950s. The military recruited women into the regular forces to supplement servicemen and empty civilian positions (Dundas, 2000). "The government's intention was to use women's military organisations not to replace female civil servants but to supplement their strength" (Dundas, 2000, p. 95). The military, however, set maximum numbers of women allowed in each service, and declared there would be no special units for women (Dundas). In addition, unlike in WWII, no servicewomen were to

be employed at the Ottawa service headquarters or replace male civilian workers (Dundas). The military was giving contradictory messages. Women's pay had increased, along with job variety. However, the growing restrictions demonstrated reluctance to include women in service areas of power and in significant numbers. Women's services were used but shared power withheld.

Women were welcomed to join air force regular and reserve units but only the reserve units of the army and navy. The air force recruited women for roles including clerks, switchboard operators, and stenographers (Dundas, 2000). The army opened positions to replace men in trades such as radar and switchboard operators, clerks, stenographers, dispatch riders, and supply personnel (Dundas). Women were replacement to free up men to serve as soldiers (Dundas) echoing the previous pattern of valuing men's work over women's. The navy recruited the fewest women, allowing them to hold only technical and non-technical tasks (Dundas). Some of the advances women gained in WWII were lost in the Korean War, demonstrating the military's lack of consistency.

Conditions were established that lessened some previous inequalities, while others lingered. For instance, women's pay increased to equal men's, however, only single and widowed women were allowed to join, not married women (Dundas, 2000). The initial military engagement for military men was a five year term, limited for women to a three year term (Dundas).

Women were active in positions available to them, and throughout the Korean War more positions became available. In 1951, limited numbers of women could enlist in the regular air force radar units, which expanded two years later to include a wider range of occupations (Dundas, 2000). In 1951, Women's Reserve Canadian Navy Service

(WRCNS) was created as an aspect of the Royal Canadian Navy Reserve for women (Dundas). In 1955 women were allowed to enter directly into the regular navy in a limited capacity but were not allowed to serve at sea (Dundas). In the army, on January 1, 1954, women were permitted to enter the regular army as clerical assistance. “The first women to serve in the regular army were all officers; the other ranks formed a ‘mobilization reserve’ that could be called out on full service if required.” (Dundas, 2000, p. 97). The navy, air force, and army expanded positions available to women at different rates. Despite changes, all areas of the military maintained strict restrictions of women’s involvement.

Since the beginning of women’s involvement in the military, they have remained active in medical units. Nursing sisters were sent abroad, a role other military women often did not receive (Dundas, 2000). Nursing sisters served in surgical theatres in the Pacific, serving six months in Japan and six in Korea (Dundas). In 1951, eight nurses helped staff a 400 bed British Commonwealth hospital (Dundas). In 1952, two Canadian nursing sisters served in Seoul in a 100 bed hospital (Dundas). In the Korean War areas available to nursing sisters expanded. Nursing sisters were now allowed in field stations, providing medical assistance in the all male No. 25 Canadian Field Dressing Station (Dundas). Shortly following the armistice, more than a thousand Commonwealth soldiers previously held as prisoners of war filled the 112 hospital beds (Dundas). All received services such as a shower, new uniforms, medical examinations, inoculations, and hearty meals from No. 25 Canadian Field Dressing Station nursing sisters (Dundas) who demonstrated their value in their new position. From 1951 to 1953 nursing sisters branched into Europe in the 1 Canadian Air Division, serving in France at Grostenquin

and Marveill and in West Germany at Zweibrucken and Baden-Soellingen. In 1953 the Canadian Infantry Brigade Group constructed four camps near the city of Soest, Germany, which marked the first permanent Canadian Army presence in Europe (Dundas). The main hospital, in Iserlohn, was staffed jointly by Canadian and British personnel (Dundas). Eventually clinics were established at each of the camps staffed by up to three nursing sisters, increasing the number of women serving (Dundas) and areas in which they served.

In the Korean War training available to nursing sisters expanded. In 1950 women were permitted to take the air evacuation course which included training in meteorology, communications, ditching and survival, and aeromedical work emphasising the ability to swim and survive a crash at sea (Dundas, 2000). In 1951, five RCAF nursing sisters entered this course to train for pararescue, a role newly opened to women (Dundas). Six weeks of physical training and classroom instruction prepared women for the basics of jumping, and training at Henry House Field in Jasper, British Columbia giving them practical experience in parachute jumps, navigating timbered and mountainous country, and glacier climbing (Dundas). The women learned survival techniques, shelter building, first aid, and evacuation of injured persons (Dundas). Four women qualified for the pararescue badge, while one did not graduate due to an injury (Dundas). The women returned to their regular duties at their station hospital with the training to be called upon to provide special paramedical and air evacuation skills (Dundas). This was the first time the military trained women in skills previously taught only to soldiers, demonstrating a shift in roles for women in the military.

Post-Korea. After the Korean War the military made changes in the treatment and valuing of women personnel and in general structural organization. This time period marks great changes and growth for the Canadian military. In 1959 the military expanded training and job opportunities for women. This was the first time women had been valued for their skills and not used as replacement to free up men to fill higher valued positions. The military recruited women with degrees in home economics and household science and trained them to be dieticians to off-set an acute low supply of dieticians in the army (Dundas, 2000). To unify medical services, on January 1, 1959, the three armed forces integrated into Canadian Forces Medical Service (Dundas). With this unity, recruits could join the service of their choice and wear uniform associated with that service: army, navy, or air force (Dundas). Women in the services declined from 4,000 to 2,500 from 1955 to 1965, which clouded their future in the services (Dundas). The military cited the decline was due to a smaller number of women who met the recruitment criteria (Dundas), however, other information shows sexism and gender inequality played a key role. The RCAF noted an increase in challenges with military women, which resulted in a desire to have fewer women in the air force (Dundas). Training for technical positions was increasing in duration (Dundas). Women in the RCAF on average had shorter service than airmen (Dundas) making it less cost-effective to recruit and train woman than men. As such, airwomen were stopped from entering trades that required more than 16 weeks training (Dundas), perhaps a factor that impacted the number of women interested in joining the air force. A secondary challenge that may have decreased the number of women in the air force was the sexist perception women had many physical limitations (Dundas). Other aspects that might have led to high attrition rates include posting women

to stations that were neither prepared to accommodate or employ women in their trade, and the low morale of the airwomen due to the quality and limited availability of items of uniform (Dundas). In 1962 alterations were made to use computers in the air force (Dundas). Women were not recruited for two years as this resulted in a decreased need for personnel (Dundas). All of these factors led to a reduced number of air servicewomen. In the army, similar attrition was happening. In 1955 women were recruited for the CWAC to serve as nursing assistants, a non-medical corps trade (Dundas). By 1963 the need for this trade had greatly diminished and recruitment ceased (Dundas). By 1965 there were only nine CWAC officers and 29 nursing assistants serving in the regular army (Dundas). The navy historically had fewer servicewomen, with only 55 female members in 1955 (Dundas). In contrast to the army and air force, by 1961 the number of women serving in the navy was up to 140 (Dundas). The navy accepted a proposal in 1962 to recruit female officers in specialized capacities (Dundas). Wrens were to continue in communications, supply, medical, and operational fields, however, women were to cease to serve in the Pacific Command (Dundas). The service conditions for the Royal Canadian Navy were made parallel to those of men (Dundas). Additional recommendations to the WRCNS were implemented in 1964, indicating naval women should be used for positions where men were deemed not suitably or effectively employed, where skilled civilians were not available, or in trades with shortages (Dundas). Women were allowed only temporary employment until civilian or military men were able to resume the position (Dundas). Women were still viewed as less desirable than men. There were many aspects that dampened women's willingness and ability to join the services, resulting in decreased numbers. The future of women in the

armed forces was uncertain. Where thousands of women had previously stood, in 1964 only 566 women served in the RCAF, 288 in RCN, and 38 in CWAC (Dundas).

Manpower study – a new era for women in the Canadian military. Incorrect assumptions and sexism still surrounded service women. In 1965 the ministry of defence conducted the Manpower Study to examine the current role of women in armed forces and debate the permanent inclusion of women in principle (Dundas, 2000). The report synthesised concerns about employing women in the military and discussed the factual benefits and challenges to employing women. The report uncovered the number of women in the civilian workforce was increasing, based on economic and social trends in Canada and concluded women should likewise serve in armed forces and no longer be excluded based on gender (Dundas). The report debunked long held objections to servicewomen. It reported the perception it cost more to employ women was non-factual (Dundas). The study mended resistance to employing women based on a shortage of female uniforms by suggesting more uniforms be made (Dundas). It reviewed the argument women in the forces cost more to house, verifying this perception was incorrect (Dundas). “The only criticism considered valid was the cost of illegitimate pregnancies, as the armed forces had to provide additional medical care and a cash allowance when pregnant women left the service, but the incidence of pregnancy was low enough to be regarded as a minor concern” (Dundas, 2000, p. 106).

Significant advantages to recruiting women were also addressed. The Manpower Study found women were available and ready to be recruited faster than men could be recruited to fill roles in trades and required less training (Dundas, 2000). Women responded quickly to new postings as the majority were single, unlike men who tended to

be married with children and needed longer time periods to transfer and move an entire family (Dundas). Thus, utilizing women meant moving fewer people, which cost less, took less notice time, and had the advantage of still filling vacant roles (Dundas).

Recommendations from the Manpower Study included permanently integrating women in the Canadian military and not subjecting women to further review in principle (Dundas). Recruitment of women began immediately filling positions deemed essential, preferred, or equally suitable in the navy, army and air force (Dundas). The report did make two limiting recommendations: Women were not permitted to serve in isolated stations or in high risk combat units (Dundas). Despite a few imposed limitations the Manpower Study radically altered the acceptance and use of women in the military.

Within the decade women were better integrated into the Canadian Forces. The Royal Canadian Navy, Canadian Army and Royal Canadian Air Force, on February 1, 1968, were unified to form the Canadian Forces. With this unification, the designation of special women's groups, such as the Canadian Women's Air Corps, were abolished (Dundas, 2000). Women were considered a part of the unified Canadian Forces, not divided into their own corps. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1971 recommended 167 alterations to military policies and procedures pertaining to women (Dundas).

Six alterations directly impacted the way women were viewed and integrated within the Canadian Forces. The six highly influential recommendations included enlistment criteria and pension benefits be standardized to both genders, married women be allowed to enlist, pregnancy did not necessitate termination of service, women be given the opportunity to attend military colleges, and all trades and classifications be

open to women (Dundas, 2000). Only one of these recommendations, opening all trades and classifications to women, was not adopted by the Defence Council (Dundas). In July 1971 this final recommendation came into place when a new employment policy was established stating no limitations were held against women's employment opportunities, except when a woman does not have the capacity to perform the role, or the position is needed for rotational purpose or career development for male members, for whom a significant proportion of the posting is combat support, in a remote unit, or at sea (Dundas). Despite the Royal Commission requiring military colleges be open to all genders, women could not join until 1980 when dual-gendered facilities became available (Dundas). The first four women entered the Royal Roads Military College in Victoria, British Columbia in 1984 (Dundas). The 167 implemented recommendations made by the commission improved the conditions for women in the Canadian Forces, however, inequalities were still present and more changes were needed to create equality.

The military still had inconsistencies in the treatment of women. In December 1972 the Department of National Defence (DND) made changes to include women in competition for positions in 13 officer classifications and 30 trades (Dundas, 2000). The implementation of these changes created new career opportunities, increasing the number of women in the Canadian Forces (Dundas). Despite seemingly opening up opportunities, the military was also withholding opportunities. For example, despite previously announcing military colleges would be open to women, they were not able to attend due to a lack of dual-gender facilities for nine additional years. Also, women were excluded from primary combat roles, seagoing duty, and service in isolated areas (Dundas) which impacted women's ability to advance and develop their careers. By mid-1970s officer

classifications for women had increased to 18 and women were in more than 60 trades (Dundas). Employment qualifications and opportunities in training were the same for men and women. To balance a sea-to-shore ratio and to allow for career progression of men, of the navy, army, and air force 39,521 positions were available to men, and 29,847 positions were available to the most qualified personnel regardless of gender (Dundas). More important than the rising number of trades and classifications open to women was the increasing representation of women in nontraditional roles. In 1976 women held roles in 16 of the 18 officer classifications available and 52 of the 64 eligible trades (Dundas). Despite this, the concentration of servicewomen remained in administration, finance, logistics, and medicine. Along with role changes, attitude changes towards women were taking place within the military. The director of the Women's Personnel Service wrote the following briefing note in 1971, spelling out the change in opinions and attitudes towards women.

We believe the concept of women freeing men for combat duty is outdated. A service-woman's mission is to make available to the Canadian Forces the special skills and abilities she possesses. The CF is a team of professionally dedicated men and women, all of whom perform a necessary function. For the women in the Canadian Forces equal opportunity means equal commitment. (as per Dundas, 2000, p. 112).

Integration was occurring, but inequality was still present. The message was clear; women wanted complete equality and opportunities.

Similar to the influence the Manpower Study of 1965 had on women in the Canadian Forces, the Canadian Human Rights Act on March 1, 1978, had equal

influence. The Canadian Human Rights Act (1976-77) legally prohibited discrimination, including discrimination based on gender. There was a loophole within the act allowing employers to withhold specific roles if it could be proven the role required a person to be a certain way to do the job (Dundas, 2000). In light of this loophole, the Canadian Forces established an evaluation program, the Service Women in Non-Traditional Environments and Roles (SWINTER), to determine whether there was a need to exclude women based upon gender from any role (Dundas). The objective of the five year investigation was to determine the viability of employing women in near-combat units of all three services, navy, army, and air force, especially as pilots, at sea, with land force field units, and on isolated postings. SWINTER in 1979 began testing women's roles specifically to determine women's suitability for these positions (Dundas). By 1981, three servicewomen received pilot's wings, and consequently were subjected to repeated media questions and attention (Dundas). One of these women, Captain Deanna Brasseur, stated the three felt isolated from their male counterparts due to the media attention the women received (Dundas). Within the SWINTER trials 40 women pilots were trained and integrated into near-combat aviation roles (Dundas). A near-combat unit's primary role is not combat but may become directly involved in combat. At the end of the aircrew trial general acceptance and support for expanded employment of women was evident, but despite this, and despite a clear demonstration of ability, Air Command discontinued use of women because of the restrictions on their ability to fly in combat areas (Dundas). The commander of Air Command urged a decision to employ female pilots without any restrictions (Dundas). Women proved they were capable, yet restrictions still disabled them for utilizing their skills.

Land force SWINTER was also conducting trials to determine women's suitability in the army. Women were providing frontline treatment and evacuation of casualties with the 4 Field Ambulance of 4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group in Germany, and providing support, transportation, and maintenance support for the 4 Service Battalion (Dundas, 2000). There is not a lot of information about women in the land force SWINTER trial, however, when it ended in 1984 it was, "concluded that properly selected and trained women could do the required work but that their employment impaired operational effectiveness." (Dundas, 2000, p. 116). Being withheld from combat and remote areas was restricting women's usefulness and ability to remain in a trade that involved going into combat or remote areas.

Coordinated at the same time, SWINTER was carrying out sea trials of women in the navy on Her Majesty's Canadian Ship (HMCS) Cormorant, a non-combatant ship (Dundas, 2000). A dozen women served the four year period the navy trial lasted, in support occupations for which they were already qualified (Dundas). The trial demonstrated non-combatant vessels could hold mixed gender crews and female crew members could effectively carry out their duties (Dundas). Despite positive affirmations, complete integration of the ship's company did not occur as women were not allowed into combat roles (Dundas). The navy concluded women were suitable to serve on minor war vessels only.

The SWINTER trials sent women to the Canadian Forces Station Alert in the high Arctic to determine their suitability in remote areas (Dundas, 2000). Positions at Station Alert were of particular hardship and were very isolated, but for six month durations 20 women filled these positions during the three year trial (Dundas). Position opportunities

included only support trades such as clerks, supply technicians, and cooks (Dundas). In 1983, at the end of this section of trial, servicewomen were invited to be employed on the same basis as their male counterparts in isolated regions due to the exceeding success (Dundas). Throughout all trials this was the one area women were fully accepted and not restricted due to proximity to combatant positions.

Women who participated in these trials were thought of as breaking traditional roles, which was resisted and accepted in varying degrees. Lieutenant-Colonel Carl Fitzpatrick stated, “Eyebrows were raised when the first batch of tradition-breaking women arrived on the doorstep of No. 3 Canadian Forces Flying Training School... to begin – gulp – pilot training.” (Dundas, 2000, p. 117), demonstrating the reluctance some military personnel had against integrating women. A survey conducted by the military in 1978 to ascertain the attitudes of military members of both sexes and the civilian public, highlighted predominance of perceived drawbacks to increasing female participation (Dundas). Survey participants thought women’s physical and emotional capabilities, and potential marital conflict would affect a woman’s operational capabilities (Dundas). Some people embraced integration of women in the Canadian Forces. Lieutenant-Commander Gil Morrison, captain of the HMCS Cormorant, acknowledged men currently serving under him were likely to have difficulty accepting women doing jobs that had been traditionally done by men, however, men would get over feeling their toes had been stepped on, and, with time, people would get back to regular work and forget seeing inclusion of women as a change (Dundas). Women’s struggle to obtain positions in the military had little to do with their physical and mental abilities, as women proved repeatedly they were capable of the work, but rather revolved around social and cultural

barriers and gender based stereotypes. Men were characterised by a warrior framework, while women were seen as the life givers, unsuitable for war. To change these frameworks was (and still is) difficult, encountering many trials of women and opposing views.

The annual DND report in 1985 included information from SWINTER trials and summarized progress women made in service from the North-West Rebellion to the current day, marking 100 years of service (Dundas, 2000). The report acknowledged the small number of women in senior positions and offered encouragement that, given time, women would gain advancement and promotions to have more senior representation (Dundas) and better equality.

Human Rights Act – equality in the eyes of the law. The Canadian military had made changes to integrate women but it was the actions of the government that forced gender equality and further integration. The government created the Equality Rights section in April 1985 in the Canadian Human Rights Act (1985), granting all Canadians equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination. Thus, the Canadian Forces was forced to open all trades and occupations to women. In order to test how increased equality might affect the Canadian Forces, the military commissioned trials under the Combat-Related Employment of Women (CREW), commencing February 5, 1987 (Dundas, 2000). The trials focussed on evaluating the impact of mixed gender units on operations' effectiveness and learning how to integrate women in roles such as air force tactical helicopter and fighter squadrons, army infantry, artillery, armour, field engineer, field signals and field intelligence units, and naval service in the destroyer fleet (Dundas). CREW considered women for submarine service. However, due to limited

accommodation and hygiene facilities on submarines, no trials were run and women were not allowed to serve in submarines (Dundas). Lack of facility accommodation in the past restricted women from entering military colleges and was a barrier to opportunities. In theory women were allowed certain opportunities but, in practice, access was denied.

Areas of the Canadian Forces had resistance to integration despite the success of CREW trials, causing further intervention from the government. The air force announced in June 1987 it was pleased with integration of women and was disbanding CREW trials, removing all limitations on servicewomen and opening all trades and classifications to all genders (Dundas, 2000). Women had again proved themselves capable. As a result of this announcement, in 1988 two female pilots began fighter aircraft training (Dundas). The army and navy implemented a more conservative approach, phasing women in to combat roles starting in 1987 (Dundas). The army and navy CREW trials lasted until 1989 when they were forced to change focus by the Canadian Human Rights Commission Tribunal. They could no longer consider whether women were suitable for the work but had to work towards integration (Dundas).

Women started to enter nontraditional areas, causing integration challenges to surface. Servicewomen faced gaining acceptance of their male peers and proving equal to the rigours of their assigned tasks (Dundas, 2000). The military and public were becoming aware of atrocities committed against servicewomen taken as prisoners of war. The establishment of an integrated role caused implementation concerns.

Instead of transitioning smoothly into the new opportunities, servicewomen continued to struggle. In 1989, four servicewomen and one serviceman complained about the environment of employment in the Canadian Forces to the Canadian Human Rights

Commission Tribunal (Dundas, 2000). The four women alleged they were denied employment based on gender and the man claimed reverse discrimination in his work as he was required to fly in combat while women were not (Dundas). The tribunal visited units, consulted with experts, gathered information from other countries, and held hearings in an attempt to determine whether the occupations denied to the women held bona fide occupational requirements not able to be met by the female body (Dundas). The tribunal ruled all occupations were to lift restrictions for servicewomen, except in two cases, involving service in submarines and in the Roman Catholic chaplaincy (Dundas). The tribunal ruled the CREW trials were to permanently change focus from evaluating the impact of mixed gender units on effectiveness of operations, to smoothly integrating women into all units and occupations previously closed to them, including creating policy to meet the needs of mixed gender personnel (Dundas). General Paul D. Manson, the Chief of Defence Staff, captured the change in the Canadian Forces by saying, “full integration is now the law of the land and we must obey the law.... It is up to all of us to make it work, in a true spirit of equality” (Dundas, 2000, p. 128).

The Canadian Human Rights Commission Tribunal determined reserve forces and active forces were to implement full integration of women, including removal of all restrictions from both operational and personnel consideration. The basic male requirements were to be phased out and new standards implemented (Dundas, 2000). The Canadian Forces in conjunction with the Canadian Human Rights Commission Tribunal created a plan to fully integrate women and encourage a steady, regular, and consistent complete integration of women and increase in their numbers over the next ten years (Dundas). Previously there had been policies that governed employment of

servicewomen and servicemen separately (Dundas). These were rewritten to provide one set of policies for both genders, resulting in the Directorate of Women Personnel being disbanded (Dundas).

Full integration of women into the Canadian Forces was not a smooth transition. Some servicewomen joined the Canadian Forces when historically they were stationed at static units and bases not required to participate in field units (Dundas, 2000). This change was not always a welcome reality as the first report of the Minister's Advisory Board on Women in the Canadian Forces noted senior naval servicewomen represented a "liability to serve at sea" (Dundas). The report stated women traditionally posted with static units may not have the requirements to function in a field unit (Dundas) causing difficulties with training and job requirements. Due to career limitations in the past, women had been denied access to opportunities for training they would now need to integrate into field units.

New roles for women in the Canadian Forces. Nontraditional roles opened for women in the Canadian Forces, however, women did not rapidly fill these roles and of the women who did, not all of them were suitable for the work. Integrating women into new roles had multiple challenges. From 1989 to 1991, 20 women joined the combat arms officers, infantry, artillery, and armoury (Dundas, 2000). Eleven continued their training and nine withdrew or failed, lacking the requisite physical strength and endurance required (Dundas). Servicewomen and servicemen complained about some women's inability, particularly those in support roles, to complete efficiently occupation specific field tasks (Dundas).

Multiple aspects shaped women's lack of suitability for nontraditional roles, acting as catalysts for high drop-out. In Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, women being recruited were tested at a lower fitness standard than the training work demanded (Dundas, 2000). Women recruited under these standards were not physically able to do the work and failed the training (Dundas). There was a time lapse between women's initial training and training at battle school (Dundas). The time lapse caused women to be separated from their training group (Dundas), severing group memberships and relationships. Military groups bond intensely in order to work as a unit (Black, Westwood, & Sorsdahl, 2007). When women were taken out of their group and put into a different one for battle training, group cohesion may have worked against the women. This could have caused them to be seen as outsiders and not accepted by the group, or to experience difficulty in forming relationships. In contrast, men did not have this difficulty and stayed with their colleagues throughout training (Dundas). Peer harassment was another issue impacting women staying in nontraditional roles (Dundas). Senior non-commissioned officers and senior officers at the Canadian Forces Base Petawawa did little to ensure the success of integration, though they did not openly resist it (Dundas). At 1 Canadian Brigade Group in Calgary, some units experienced hostility between servicemen and servicewomen and toward the military system for imposing gender integration (Dundas). Women in combat-arms training and other nontraditional roles in 1 Canadian Brigade reported fear of aggression from male peers, extreme social isolation, disproportionate day-to-day workload, and a lack of peer assistance with cleaning duties (Dundas). The women also acknowledged some male colleagues provided support but, overall, thought their

experience would have been less horrendous if they had company of other women (Dundas).

The commander of 1 Canadian Brigade compiled a list of concerns regarding integration of women. It is unknown how this list was developed and who else may have been involved in developing it. The list stated women lacked physical abilities to carry out duties, thereby, relying upon men to work harder and were not aggressive enough which compromised the Canadian Forces safety and effectiveness (Dundas, 2000). The commander wrote in the list of concerns that servicewomen were not motivated, their pregnancies caused complications such as staffing changes needed to cover pregnancy and maternity leaves, and servicemen became protective over pregnant colleagues (Dundas). Another issue involved inequality of experience and promotions. When transferring women's officer classifications to the gender integrated system, women who had qualified in traditional non-combat and non-sea-going roles were given equivalent years of training for service given in newly opened roles (Dundas). This resulted in women's lack of experience in current positions. The culmination of gender integration difficulties resulted in few women entering nontraditional roles and a high percentage not passing training or leaving their position.

The recent past – a new era of war and special duty areas. During the Persian Gulf War, women served in the Gulf region from August 1990 to April 1991 as integrated components in Canadian Operations Air – SCIMITAR, naval – FRICTION, headquarters – ACCORD, and medical – SCALPEL with few gender integration difficulties (Dundas, 2000). Of the 3,500 regular and reserve force personnel deployed to the Gulf, 240 were women (Dundas). Aboard HMCS Protecteur, 150 naval women

served with the in-theatre headquarters (Dundas). Women reported during the Gulf War small controversies between servicemen and servicewomen disappeared; personnel became more task-oriented and formed cohesive groups more readily as a result of active duty (Dundas). The extraordinary circumstances of orders for servicewomen to respect Arab gender role customs, which included wearing dresses extending from neck to ankles, being escorted by men, and not driving cars if they left the base were handled with no noted difficulties (Dundas). Servicewomen demonstrated their ability to serve in active combat positions, integrated alongside servicemen.

The Canadian Forces conducted a survey on harassment in 1992 which resulted in changes to harassment policies and practices (Dundas, 2000). An anti-harassment office was established which created a mandatory training program for all personnel called the Standard for Harassment and Racism Prevention (SHARP) (Dundas). Maternity benefits were brought into effect and parental leave for either parent was initiated (Dundas). Family responsibilities and conditions of service were considered a personnel policy, not a women's issue (Dundas). Some changes brought about by the survey had negative effects. The Minister's Advisory Board reported in 1994 some male members referred to SHARP harassment prevention course as "The Threat" or "The Lethal Briefing" (Dundas). Some servicewomen perceived they were avoided by apprehensive men after finishing the harassment prevention course (Dundas). The Canadian Forces improved conditions of harassment by implementing this survey, however, difficulties with cohesion of the genders was still evident.

In 1994 the Canadian Forces implemented changes to further address gender integration challenges by establishing MINERVA. This nine-point plan implemented to

increase the participation of women in the Canadian Forces was adopted (Dundas, 2000). Named after the Roman goddess of war and wisdom, its principles were to create gender awareness training, reaffirm senior leaders' commitment to equality, and conduct analysis of trends concerning women such as systematic barriers and enrolment challenges (Dundas). It, also, was established to provide greater geographical stability for women, facilitate discharge of family obligations, modify recruiting methods, ensure key positions were available for women, encourage monitoring at all levels, and target civilian women to hold honorary appointments (Dundas). The creation of MINERVA addressed a wide range of challenges obstructing women's participation in the Canadian Forces, sending a message the military was continuing to address gender integration concerns and inequality.

The number of personnel in the Canadian Forces was changing due to multiple factors, resulting in improvements in gender ratio. The number of personnel in the regular forces was lower in 1996 than in 1989 due to budget cuts which caused a decline in re-enlistment offers at the end of service contracts (Dundas, 2000). During this time, proportionally a greater number of men left the Canadian Forces than women, improving the gender ratio (Dundas). Of the first-year cadets at the Royal Military College in 1999, 28 percent were women (Dundas). Regardless of these improvements, the increase of women from 1989 to 1998 was less than one percent, with a larger increase establishing 11 percent of the Canadian Forces as women in 1999 (Dundas). Women were increasing in number, yet inequality was still prevalent. In 1999 women, 11 percent of the Canadian Forces, lodged 60 per cent of all harassment complaints (Dundas). To increase the number of women and address the number of harassment complaints the navy, army, and

air force established recruiting goals for women. The air force established the Partnerships for the Future initiative to address and eliminate barriers to the selection and success of women and to ensure women have satisfying and successful careers in all occupations of the air force (Dundas). The air force set a recruitment goal of 29 percent and the army set a goal of 25 percent (Dundas). The navy has set the most aggressive goal of 40 percent recruitment by the year 2010 (Dundas). The navy established a plan called VISION 2010 - the Integrated Navy (Dundas) to meet its recruitment needs. This plan, still in effect today, reviews integration in the navy, using research to identify systemic barriers and address gender integration issues (Dundas).

Chapter III– Literature Review

Introduction to Review of Relevant Literature

This chapter reviews the literature on the relationship between gender roles of women and occupations, illustrating how women's experiences differ from those of men. Consideration is given to the uniqueness of the military job environment and work environment of the Canadian Forces. An exploration of the Canadian military roles women have held is discussed, and a distinction made between occupations in the Canadian Forces and combat positions. The history of women within these distinct roles is examined in order to understand the context of modern day women in the Canadian military. The span of women's history within the Canadian military follows this structure: World War I, World War II, research into the societal perception of women in the Canadian military, Korean War era, Post-Korea, Manpower Study, and Human Rights Act. This historical overview gives a perspective into the background of the roles women occupy currently in the Canadian Forces. It also provides a perspective into the importance of research into this specialised field. Following this background, research related to women in the Canadian military is examined and reviewed.

Occupational Gender Segregation and Stereotyping Defined

The concepts of gender and sex, and occupational gender segregation and occupational gender-role stereotyping are intertwined, though fundamentally different. Sex is the main division into which living things are placed on the basis of their reproductive functions. Gender is a person's sex expressed by social and cultural distinctions (Soanes & Hawker, 2006). Occupational gender role stereotypes are social beliefs concerning which gender should perform specific tasks (Miller & Hayward,

2006). Occupational gender segregation is the extent an occupation is performed largely by women or men (Miller & Hayward). Occupational gender segregation, the tendency for women and men to work in different occupations, is a feature of all societies, particularly wealthy and industrialized societies (Blackburn, Browne, Brooks, & Jarman, 2002). Occupational gender segregation is a strong influence on individuals' career preferences (Fricko & Beehr, 1992). Once an occupation is gender segregated, individuals prefer gender-appropriate careers, perpetuating segregation (Haynes, 1981). Thus, occupational gender segregation perpetuates occupational gender role stereotypes, and vice versa. Several researchers and writers claim gender segregation of roles leads to the creation of stereotypes. For instance, Eagly (1983) argues gender-role stereotypes are the result of the segregation of women and men into different occupations and social roles. From this perspective, gender role stereotypes are examples of role bias, the tendency to attribute to particular role-players the characteristics associated with the social role they occupy (Ross, Amabile, & Steinmetz, 1977). It is difficult to alter biases, making it challenging for men and women to enter nontraditional occupations. Women perceive jobs as being more gender segregated than men, while men stereotype jobs more (Blackburn et al.). Both men and women prefer jobs that are stereotypically gender appropriate and dominated by their own gender (Blackburn et al.). Understanding the differences between gender, sex, occupational gender segregation, and occupational gender role stereotyping builds a foundation for comprehending men's and women's career experiences.

Preconceived occupational views have implications. Individual perceptions of the workplace and occupations are fundamental to career decisions (Miller & Hayward,

2006). The extent occupations are seen as gender stereotyped is one of the most influential factors affecting individuals' occupational choices (Miller & Hayward). From the 1970s onwards, studies have reported men and women prefer, and aspire to, occupations they perceive as being gender appropriate (Alpert & Breen, 1989; Helwig, 1998; Hewitt, 1975; Miller & Budd, 1999; O'Connor & Goodwin, 2004; Stockard & McGee, 1990) with few seeking jobs traditionally performed by the opposite gender (B. Francis, 2002). Women express a preference for gender role stereotyped occupations such as secretary, hairdresser, and nursery school teacher and have an aversion to male gender role stereotyped occupations such as police officer, scientist, and air traffic controller (Miller & Budd). Men express the converse set of preferences (Miller & Budd). Despite shifts in occupational preferences, gender rather than ability, still remains the prime determinant for career choice (B. Francis).

Occupations are segregated into gender roles driven by societal views on acceptable tasks for men and women. Many men and women abide by these norms, yet some do not. For the purposes of this paper, the focus is on the experience of women, leading to the question, what are the consequences of a woman challenging stereotypes and partaking in nontraditional gender roles?

Gender Roles and Work Consequences

Women face the same job stressors as men such as job uncertainty, high demands placed upon them, and low levels of external control but also deal with balancing the multiple roles and demands of work and home (J. N. P. Francis, 1996). Women encounter gender related stressors such as sexual harassment, discrimination, and limited job opportunities, often associated with entering male dominated occupations (Gruber &

Bjorn, 1982; Nelson & Hitt, 1992). These aspects use up organizational and societal resources, which has a significant impact.

Sexual harassment has significant consequences for victims and organizations. Costs for victims are both personal and professional. Sexual harassment and gender based discrimination are serious job stressors (Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994; K. T. Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997). Victims may develop psychological and somatic symptoms that mirror those of victims of crime, sexual assault, and natural disasters (Kilpatrick, 1994). Recipients of sexual harassment and gender based discriminatory behaviours report a range of psychological and physical symptoms, including anxiety, depression, fearfulness, insomnia, headaches, nausea, gastrointestinal disorders, irritability, anger, weight loss, uncontrolled crying, fatigue, and dental problems (Dansky & Kilpatrick, 1997; K. T. Schneider et al.). The majority of women who encounter sexual harassment suffer loss of self confidence, particularly in relation to work, which can lead to monetary and psychological damage (Gonzalez, 2007). Victims report decreased job satisfaction (K. T. Schneider et al.), decreased job performance through distraction, reduced productivity, increased absenteeism (Crull, 1982; Gutek & Koss, 1993; K. T. Schneider et al.; Thacker, 1996), and disruptions in their careers and relationships with coworkers (Gutek & Koss, 1993). Victims have decreased commitment to the company, lower morale (K. T. Schneider et al.), high probability they will leave their jobs, and possibility of incurring the costs of lawsuits (Dansky & Kilpatrick). Earning potential is adversely affected by sexual harassment occurring during schooling as the person may forfeit their education (Dansky & Kilpatrick).

Women are sexually harassed in various occupations, although some women are more vulnerable than others. Women in nontraditional occupations endure more sexual harassment than women in traditional occupations (Carothers, Crull, Sacks, & Remy, 1984). Gruber and Bjorn (1982) found unattached and younger women experience more sexual harassment in nontraditional jobs. Issues such as sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination are identified as major concerns for working in nontraditional occupations such as the navy (Newell, Rosenfeld, & Culbertson, 1995), engineering and science (Lafontaine & Tredeau, 1986), firefighting (Rosell et al., 1995), and police work (J. Brown et al., 1995). Gender based discrimination and sexual harassment are common in medical practice and academic faculty, where women are two and a half times more likely than men to experience gender based discrimination (Carr et al., 2000). Female medical students are likely to experience gender discrimination and sexual harassment during residency, which in turn influences some students' choices of specialty (Stratton, McLaughlin, Witte, Fosson, & Nora, 2005). A majority of women graduate students report experiencing one sexual harassment behaviour exhibited by a male faculty member during their graduate school education (M. Schneider, Baker, & Stermac, 2002). A disproportionately small percentage of United States and Canadian women are in a specialised medical field due to women's unique lifestyle concerns (including pregnancy, and motherhood demands), limited female mentorship, outdated career programs that do not meet the needs of women, and deep-seated societal beliefs men are better in a line of work than women (Woodrow, Gilmer-Hill, & Rutka, 2006). Half of working women in the United Kingdom are victims of workplace sexual harassment, resulting in complex

harm to the woman (Bimrose, 2004) and exemplifying the widespread nature of sexual harassment, despite the nature of work or characteristics of the woman.

Women are isolated and encounter co-worker challenges as they enter nontraditional occupations, face discrimination, and limited advancement opportunities. Dominant groups treat minority groups as outsiders, stereotyping the outsider as a symbol rather than a person, which assists the dominant group to treat the outsiders poorly (Kanter, 1977). Gender ratio in the workplace has an integral influence on how female employees are treated (Amick & Celentano, 1991). If the gender ratio is radically unbalanced, the dominant group focuses on a woman who is unsupported by a sub-group. If gender ratio is balanced, a new dominant group is formed based on other commonalities and the culture of the workplace shifts (Amick & Celentano). Women entering nontraditional occupations report dealing with insufficient instruction, hostility, interpersonal silence, hyper supervision, lack of support, stereotyping, and strained, as well as supportive relationships, with coworkers (Yoder & Berendsen, 2001). Women lack social support from coworkers, and particularly supervisors (Amick & Celentano), and overcompensate to prove themselves, causing additional job stress (Goldenhar & Sweeney, 1996). Supervisor support is shown to be particularly important during the first year of work for women in nontraditional occupations, without which they suffer greatly (McIlwee, 1981). It is a challenge for employers to decide whether to support the woman or belong to the dominant group. As “more and more women are breaking down barriers and entering traditionally male dominated professions... [it is forcing]... employers to confront a number of complicated new issues, from the growing incidence of sexual harassment to the need for adequate childcare” (Peart, 1993, p. 8). Relationships are

strained as women transition into nontraditional occupations, resulting in great discomfort and challenges.

Organizations incur significant consequences as a result of sexual harassment. For instance, researchers show sexual harassment compromises the quality of the education in academic settings (Hotelling, 1991). Organizations' productivity may suffer due to the conduct of employees, with time, money, and good employees being lost as a result of the sexual harassment. Organizations lose productive hours investigating sexual harassment claims (Baker, Terpstra, & Cutler, 1990; Terpstra & Baker, 1988). Companies pay the indirect costs of low productivity and morale, higher absenteeism, increased medical and psychological health claims, and job turnover (O'Hare & O'Donohue, 1998). The economic losses are significant with an estimated cost due to sexual harassment for each Fortune 500 company, excluding legal fees, averages 6.7 million dollars a year (O'Hare & O'Donohue, 1998). Beyond these costs is loss of potential, which is difficult to evaluate and to study. Students who are harassed lose academic potential, likewise organisations lose creative and work potential of employees. Workers considering a career in an industry may avoid it because of a poor reputation related to sexual harassment and high job turnover as a result of sexual harassment. Wasted expertise results in lost opportunities for individuals and organizations, with far-reaching implications. Sexual harassment impacts organizations, employees, and society, through losses of potential and draining of resources.

The risk of developing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or major depression is significantly higher for female victims of sexual harassment than for women who report having never been harassed (Dansky & Kilpatrick, 1997). They

additionally find that the effect of the sexual harassment on the mental status of victims is long lasting. One tenth of sexual harassment victims in their study had PTSD, and one in five had depression at the time of the study, though the average elapsed time reported since their harassment incidents was 11 years. Sexual harassment impacts victims in nearly every area of their lives over an extended period of time.

Perceived task related cohesion is a predictor of job satisfaction, whereas a disconnection from the group results in psychological distress (Dion, 2000). Cohesion is considered by military psychologists to be one of the most important small group properties (Dion). The Canadian Forces is based on the team rather than the individual, and team cohesion is critical to operational effectiveness (Ahronson & Cameron, 2007). Group membership is vital to social and psychological functions, enhancing affect and psychological well-being (Cameron, 1999; Wright & Staw, 1999). Harassment and discrimination prevent women from engaging as cohesive group members, and impacts their personal lives and the well-being of operations.

Research on Women in North American Paramilitary Careers

Paramilitary occupations use hierarchical systems of ranking similar to military ranking systems. In this paper, paramilitary refers to fire fighters, paramedics, and law enforcement officers. The research on women in North American paramilitary careers involves themes of discrimination, sexual harassment, acculturation into masculine values, and ways of dealing with stress.

Women in paramilitary careers are faced with a wide breadth of discrimination. In fire fighting women face pervasive discrimination such as persistent patterns of subordination, insufficient instruction, coworker hostility, being treated with silence,

hyper supervision, a lack of work support, and gender stereotyping (Yoder & Aniakudo, 1997; Yoder & Berendsen, 2001). Few women in fire fighting report positive or supportive work relations (Yoder & Aniakudo, 1995). Women fire fighters reported more job stress, sexual stereotyping, and workplace acts of violence than do women in traditional careers (Rosell et al., 1995). Women in police work are also treated with discrimination. Men in the police force do not accept women as equally capable (Remmington, 1983) despite there being few differences in the way men or women treat their work, clientele, or departments (Worden, 1993).

Harassment is rampant in paramilitary careers. In fire fighting 58.2% of women reported harassment to their department (Rosell et al., 1995). In 66% of these cases departments took no actions to resolve the harassment (Rosell et al.). Harassment has significant and devastating results. For fire fighters, harassment has been shown to undermine feelings of acceptance, organisational self-esteem, and diminish career satisfaction and commitment (Yoder & Aniakudo, 1996).

After working in law enforcement women become acculturated into characteristic masculine behaviours and attitudes engaging in more cynicism, distrust, and an unsympathetic demeanour (Remmington, 1983). In part this may be due to the cultural climate towards gender in police academy training. Training encourages hegemonic masculinity among recruits, teaching masculinity is an essential part of police practice and engraining the notion women characteristics do not belong in police work (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). The attitude of trainers and the training environment excludes women, exaggerates favourable differences of men and unfavourable difference of women, and denigrates women in general (Prokos & Padavic).

Men and women in paramilitary occupations deal differently with stress. In law enforcement 12% of men and 15% of women reported moderate to severe symptoms of stress (Richmond, Wodak, Kehoe, & Heather, 1998). Alcohol consumption in law enforcement is used by 48% of men and 40% of women, while cigarette smoking is used by 27% of men and 32% of women to combat stress (Richmond et al.).

Research on Women in North American Military Careers

Although limited research exists about women's experiences in the Canadian Forces, research on women in the North American military indicates that women in the military share some parallel experiences to women in paramilitary careers. A meta-analysis of 182 studies on women veterans in the United States showed several research themes: military life is more stressful for women due to gender integration issues, occurrence of sexual harassment is high, incidence of sexual assault is high, there is high risk and treatment of post traumatic stress disorder, women veterans use veteran affairs services less than men, and most research on military women's health is descriptive in nature (Goldzweig, Balekian, Rolón, Yano, & Shekelle, 2006). The available research lacks knowledge of what these experiences, from the perspective of the women themselves, is like and how it impacts them.

For women in the United States military there is a relationship between stress and substance abuse (heavy drinking, illicit drug use, cigarette smoking). Women labelled work, family life, personal life, and being a woman in the military as causes for stress (Bray, Fairbank, & Marsden, 1999). Women associated work with a higher stress level when they worked in the military (Bray et al.). Stress associated with being a woman in the military was predictive of illicit drug and cigarette use (Bray et al.). Women used

similar rates of illicit drugs and cigarette smoking to cope with stress as men, albeit to cope with different stress, whereas men used more alcohol than women (Bray et al.).

The United States military is a male dominated occupation where there is a high prevalence of sexual harassment and sexual assault against military women (Goldzweig et al., 2006; Skinner et al., 2000). Predominantly women entering the United States military are young, from an ethnic minority, and are vulnerable to sexual harassment and sexual abuse (Hopkins-Chadwick, 2006). Between 55%-79% of women experience sexual harassment in the United States military (Goldzweig et al.; Skinner et al.). Of women military personnel 76-77% experienced at least one instance of unwanted sex related behaviour within the last 12 months (Williams, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1999). In contrast, 36-37% of men military personnel report such behaviour happening in all their years of service. Sexual abuse for women in the air force is twice as high as the civilian national average with nearly half of the military sample being victims of rape, molestation, or attempted sexual assault (Bostock & Daley, 2007). There is a predominance of civilian sexual assault prior to women entering the military (75% of initial rapes and 56% of most recent rapes) and a lesser but still substantial amount of sexual assaults occurring to women military personnel from other military personnel (14% of initial rapes, 26.7% of rapes after initial rape) (Bostock & Daley) adding to the unique work experiences women in the military encounter. Repeated exposure to sexual assault and harassment is common for military women (Sadler, Booth, Nielson, & Doebbeling, 2000). Women who have been repeatedly assaulted have poorer health, mentally and physically (Sadler et al.). In respect to sexual harassment, 31.8% of military women are harassed by military supervisors and 26.7% are harassed by military

coworkers (Bostock & Daley). Women report they commonly experience sexual harassment in the form of offensive speech from male coworkers (Moradi, 2006). Attitudes towards women in the military predicted tolerance of sexual harassment within the military (Vogt, Bruce, Street, & Stafford, 2007). Hazing is a pervasive experience during men's and women's initial year in military training (Pershing, 2006) highlighting men and women are both abused in the military.

Stereotypes and other barriers impact women's work in the United States military. Research done on military training exposed the belief men possess sought after skills, such as motivation and leadership qualities, whereas women were believed to possess feminine attributes that impaired effective military performance (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001). Men and women did not differ in the performance or measurement outcomes from training in skills or characteristics, yet beliefs about men and women being different were still prevalent (Boldry et al.). There are inconsistencies within the United States military that make it difficult for women to be integrated. Some units are closed to women despite the occupations housed within the unit being open to women ("Gender Issues", 1999). Also, enlistment tests are biased in favour of exposure to and knowledge of work related material, such as automotive components and tools, women often have little prior exposure to, thus stunting their ability to enter the work ("Gender Issues", 1999).

Women in the United States military face multiple work hazards including high risk of sexual harassment, sexual assault, pervasive discrimination, and multiple barriers to specific occupations.

The Military as a Unique Job Environment

A career in the military involves training in a specific job and membership within the military group. Military personnel attend basic training as a means to become a soldier and part of the military group (Black et al., 2007). The military strips people of their individual identity, taxing their physical, mental, and emotional limits while using behavioural conditioning to rebuild an obedient group member (Black et al.). The members of the group are not seen as unique individuals but part of a whole who are praised for their sameness (Black et al.). In military tactics it is important to not stand out, a skill associated with survival. Each member has a clearly defined role with a purpose based in the group mission (Black et al.). The group works as a unit and intense bonding occurs (Black et al.). In basic training soldiers are taught they are different from civilians in order to reinforce the structure of the military group (Black et al.). From this solidified position, behavioural reinforcement is used to overcome the natural human aversion to killing (Grossman, 1996, 2001). In the military authority is absolute. Members are taught to entrust superiors with their lives and superiors are taught to be responsible for their troops' lives and actions (Black et al.). Every aspect of the occupation is structured and prescribed by the military. The military teaches its members how to interact in combat, follow instructions precisely, and how to act, live, socialise, and trust (Black et al.). Unlike other occupations, military members are taught to sacrifice their lives in support of their comrades and country (Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, 2003).

The Canadian Military as a Unique Job Environment

The Canadian military, also known as the Canadian Forces, is a unique environment within military cultures. The Canadian government employs the Canadian

military, providing funding and determining the missions in which they participate. To enter the Canadian Forces recruits need to have aptitude in their trade, pass an individual medical examination, and do well in a general test (Master Warrant Officer P. Stringfellow, personal communication, June 22, 2008). These high standards are not common throughout the world, leaving Canada with a comparatively well-educated, physically fit, and skilled military (Master Warrant Officer P. Stringfellow, personal communication, June 22, 2008). Orders are passed through hierarchical means but as all Canadian Forces members are trained in leadership, soldiers early on in their careers have to think and create orders to direct troops underneath them (Master Warrant Officer P. Stringfellow, personal communication, June 22, 2008). Authority carries a great amount of weight and the entire social order is predicated upon authority relationships and separation of ranks (i.e., officer or enlisted) (Black et al., 2007). It is a misconception that the Canadian Forces are only peace-keepers. Canada has been involved in a number of armed conflicts, including recent armed conflict in Afghanistan, with sniper support to the American military (Master Warrant Officer P. Stringfellow, personal communication, June 22, 2008).

Women in the Military and Women in Combat Roles: A Distinction

Queen Tomyr, Joan of Arc, Amazonian women, Countess Jane of Montfort, Ma Ying Taphan of Siam, the Visigoth Queen Brunehaut, the Rani of Jhansi, and Queen Bat Zabbai of Syria, have all been women warriors. To fit within the confines of this paper, historical relevance is limited to Canadian women's involvement from 1885 onwards. This is done with the acknowledgment the aforementioned women, and countless others, have previously been warriors, military personnel, and revolutionaries.

Women throughout Canadian history assisted in war efforts, supported men's preparations, provided post-medical attention, and altered domestic responsibilities to compensate for members of the family being gone. Further involvement of women's assistance in the military is documented beginning with the War of 1812, increasing from unpaid support positions to paid civilian and military personnel roles. This expansion of roles altered the training women received. In informal support roles it is unknown whether women received training. As the military employed civilians, or military members, job specific training was provided. Since women entered combat ready positions, their training has been expanded to include hand-to-hand, armoured vehicle, tactical ship, and air force combat skills, survival skills, and other fighting skills. In combat-ready positions, training is provided for a person's main position (as an engineer, or pilot, and so forth) in addition to combat training.

Gender Roles and Women's Transition in the Military

Gender, and the stereotypes attributed to this, influence socially sanctioned roles men and women hold. In western societies, women have been stereotyped as life givers and men as life takers as part of a typology that boundaries genders into roles.

We in the West are the heirs of a tradition that assumes an affinity between women and peace, between men and war, a tradition that consists of culturally constructed and transmitted myths and memories.... Man construed as violent, whether eagerly and inevitably or reluctantly and tragically; women as non-violent, offering succour and compassion: these tropes on the social identities of men and women, past and present, do not denote what men and women really are

in time of war, but function instead to re-create and secure women's location as non-combatants and men's as warriors. (Elshtain, 1995, p. 4).

These roles are based upon sexist beliefs and are limiting to men and women. To understand the historical involvement of women in the military, it is important to recognise the social views of male and female genders and why they are categorised into specific gender appropriate roles. Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1868 wrote about the appropriate qualities of women and men for the time period.

The male element is destructive force, stern, selfish, aggrandizing, loving war, violence, conquest, acquisition, breeding in the material and moral world alike discord, disease and death. See what a record of blood and cruelty the pages of history reveal!... The male element has held high carnival thus far, it has fairly run riot from the beginning, overpowering the feminine element everywhere, crushing out the diviner qualities in human nature.... The need of this hour is not territory, gold mines, railroads or special payments, but a new evangelic of womanhood, to exalt purity, virtue, morality, true religion, to lift man up into higher realms of thought and action. (Stanton, Anthony, Gage, & Harper, 1985, p. 58).

These qualities underlie the belief women are life givers and men life takers. Based upon these roles, women involved in war in the west have historically been in-extremis, or passive participants, swept up in the war, rather than proactively fighting. Women were encouraged to take on a life giving role, and strongly discouraged to take on alternative roles.

In the matter of women and war we are invited to turn away. War is men's: men are the historic authors of organized violence. Yes, women have been drawn in – and that have been required to observe, suffer, cope, mourn, honor, adore, witness, work. But the men have done the describing and defining of war, and the women are “affected” by it: they “mostly react”. A benediction is effected rather than a valediction renounced: It have always been thus, we are invited to remember. It will continue to be thus- unless we (women) stop it. (Elshtain et al., 1987, p.164).

The containment of gender roles is dismissive to the abilities and aptitudes of men and women. It leaves little room for creativity, inter-gender cohesion, and independence for women. The implications of the cultural tradition of viewing men as exclusively holding the warrior role, leaves women detached from the foundation of state citizenship and viewed as minimally self-sufficient, being a part of male warriors' responsibility to look after and protect (Elshtain et al., 1987). When women are not seen as warriors, the warrior prerequisite of control, choice, and power become suspect as unwomanly. This makes it difficult for women with these qualities to be valued. For example, Joan of Arc, despite her being able to resist the life giving gender role and go to war, it took a six centuries post-mortem for her to be honoured as a saint. It was her warrior actions that earned her sainthood, but the final decision regarding her worthiness was placed upon her virginity and martyrdom. Joan of Arc had to succumb to socially mandatory womanly virtues, such as virginity, before she could be valued and honoured as saint. Joan of Arc may have donned male garb but she was a woman whose violence and leadership was sanctified officially once it was satisfied she remained true and appropriate to her gender

role and upheld her virginity (Elshtain et al.). Women who do not adhere to traditional gender roles and who exemplify the qualities of a warrior are often viewed as sexually suspect and neurotic (Jones, 2000).

Upon this historical basis, women for centuries have been narrowed into pre-prescribed gender roles, negating talents and abilities inherent in the creativity of humans. Canadian women resisted this position, advocating and proving they do not need to be protected by warrior men, but are independent and capable of being their own warriors.

Canadian Women in Combat Roles – Research to Date

Over the past century, women's positions within the Canadian Forces changed dramatically as women transitioned from role of nursing sisters into integrated combat positions. The limited historical research during this transition solely came from the Canadian Forces. There has been no research, to my knowledge, on the current role of women in combat positions. Nothing is known about the experiences, changes, struggles, or successes of women in their current positions.

Literature Reviews, Qualitative and Quantitative Research on Women in the Canadian Forces

The Canadian Forces historically used research, periodically, to guide women's integration. The Canadian Forces conducted three surveys in 1943 to determine the social opinion of women joining the military (Gossage, 1991). The Department of National Defence published *Manpower* in 1965, a quantitative study, which examined the role of women in the armed forces and debated the permanent inclusion of women in principle (Dundas, 2000). In 1978 the Canadian Forces established SWINTER, which over five years conducted surveys and trials to determine whether there was a need to exclude

women based upon gender (Dundas). In 1992 the Standard for Harassment and Racism Prevention (SHARP) surveyed gender and racial based harassment within the Canadian Forces (Dundas).

The Canadian Forces Leadership Institute funds and conducts research on various topics in the forces. The following research and literature reviews, funded by the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute, relate to the topic of women in the forces within recent years. Loughlin and Arnold (2003) reviewed the literature on moving women into leadership positions and provided a number of recommendations. Topics covered include sub-group differences for Canadian Forces' leader development programs, concepts and principles to be considered when formulating programs, a review of the operating environment within the Canadian Forces, how leadership should be defined within the Canadian Forces, barriers to women in leadership positions, and recommendations on how the Canadian Forces can best select, promote, and train women for leadership positions. Stinson, Day, Cameron and Cantano (2002) reviewed research on inter-group relations and diversity issues on leadership effectiveness, and leaders' influence on groups and diversity initiatives to provide recommendations on creating successful group functioning and cohesion with diverse sub-groups. Korabik (2002) reviewed literature on sub-group issues in leadership in the Canadian Forces. Topics include an explanation of current Canadian employment equity legislation, a model of token dynamics is used to review research on sub-group issues in leadership such as tokenism, jobholder schemas, occupational segregation, prejudice and discrimination, organizational cultures and cultural adaptation, in-group and out-group dynamics, and recommendations for

interventions to alleviate present problems and enhance integrating diversity into the military.

Ahronson and Cameron (2007) conducted a study to explore the dimensionality of the work-adapted version of the Group Environment Questionnaire in a military setting and to investigate how group cohesion relates to job performance, job satisfaction, and psychological distress. They had 447 Canadian military employees complete the Group Environment Questionnaire, along with measures of job performance, job satisfaction, and psychological distress. Factor analysis indicated the hypothesized 4-factor model of the Group Environment Questionnaire provided a better fit to the data obtained than alternative models. Path analysis indicated perceptions of task-related cohesion were predictive of job satisfaction, whereas dimensions of cohesion reflecting attraction to the group were inversely associated with psychological distress. The relevance of social identity with respect to psychological dimensions and correlates of group cohesion is discussed.

Phenomenological Studies of Women in the Canadian Forces

Despite an emerging body of research about women and women's roles in the military, to my knowledge no studies have explored the lived experiences of women in these military roles.

Purpose Statement and Research Question

I did a phenomenological inquiry into women veterans of the Canadian Forces. The purpose of this research was to explore the core essence of the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. This study fills a gap in research and provides essential themes on the core essence of the lived experience of women in the Canadian

Forces. The research question guiding this study is: (1) what is the lived experience of woman veterans of the Canadian Forces?

Chapter IV – Research Methodology

Qualitative Research

There are multiple reasons to choose a qualitative paradigm, some guided by the research and some by the researcher. A research paradigm helps to understand phenomena by encompassing theories, assumptions about the social world, methods, views about how science should be conducted, as well as assumptions about what constitutes legitimate problems, solutions, and criteria of proof. In order for the research to fit with qualitative inquiry, it must be profoundly reflective into human meaning, probing and drawing from various sources to understand the experience or meaning of phenomena (Creswell, 1994). Also, the researcher's assumptions about the phenomenon, worldview, training, psychological attributes, and understanding of research must fit with a qualitative research design.

There are many philosophical and methodological perspectives about qualitative research (Berg, 2007; Giorgi, 1985; Kvale, 1996; Osborne, 1994; Shapiro, 1986; van Manen, 1990, 2002). Human science acknowledges people are inextricably attached to the world, and knowledge and truth are created in human experience and life. It is impossible to detach a person from their world, experience, and life. This makes reality subjective. Reality lies within human consciousness, having temporal and historical contexts (Ricoeur & Thompson, 1981). Truth or reality is not static and unchanging. Rather, it exists within the context of a particular time and place in the stream of history. Each research theory or personal experience is a nested series of truths that each is true when highlighting its own context, but false when it tries to deny reality or to give no significance to other existing contexts (Wilber, 1996). The choice of methodology for this

study was based on what is appropriate for obtaining information about lived experiences. The research is specific to this moment in time and the joined reality of these exact participants. It is also representational of the present reality of the researcher.

I used a qualitative research paradigm to explore the research question: *What is the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces?* The nature of the research question fits with the exploratory nature of qualitative research where the variable is unknown, the context of the phenomena is important, and there is a lack of theory base for the study (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative research is appropriate for this research question because it, “implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meaning that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency.” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 13). As an interpretive philosophy, qualitative research is a means of looking at and understanding a particular social action and grasping the meanings that constitute that action (Denzin & Lincoln). In other words, qualitative research is a holistic approach to understanding and exploring social phenomena and human issues.

There are five qualitative paradigm assumptions important to conducting research: ontological, epistemological, axiological, methodological, and rhetorical (Creswell, 1994). In order to engage with qualitative study, a researcher needs to understand and be comfortable with these assumptions. The ontological assumption looks at what is real. In qualitative research reality is subjective and multiple as seen by the participants in a study (Creswell). The qualitative paradigm also exemplifies that the research interacts with that being researched (Creswell), resulting in a co-construction of realities and knowledge between the researcher and research participants. Social reality is

co-constructed through language, which involves an interpretive process in order to understand. The relationship of the research to that being researched, or how we come to know and understand this reality, is known as the epistemological assumption. Dialogue and dual understanding of reality through language result in a shared comprehension of the reality being expressed. The axiological assumption speaks to the role of values in the study. Studies are value-laden and participant biased in qualitative research (Creswell). The entire process of a study is known as the methodological assumption. In a qualitative paradigm the process is inductive; it has mutual simultaneous shaping factors, emerging designs with categories being identified during the research process, is context bound, has patterns and develops theories for understanding, and is accurate and reliable through verification (Creswell). The final assumption is rhetorical, which is the language of the research. In qualitative research the rhetoric is informal, has an evolving design, a personal voice, and uses words such as explore, understand, and discover (Creswell).

In addition to the researcher's worldview fitting with the assumptions of qualitative design, the researcher also needs to have specific training and psychological attributes. In order to conduct a qualitative study the researcher must have training and experience with literary writing skills, computer text analysis, and library skills (Creswell, 1994). The researcher needs to be comfortable with a lack of specific rules and procedures for conducting research, along with having a high tolerance for ambiguity and time for a lengthy study (Creswell).

This research question fit with the distinguishing factors of a qualitative study. The researcher also has the necessary worldview, training, and psychological attributes to

conduct this study. The combination of these factors leads to a good fit with a qualitative paradigm.

Research Design Hermeneutic–Phenomenology

The purpose of this research was to explore the core essence of the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. It is important to resist using hypotheses driven quantitative research designs when focusing on descriptive aspects of research (Giorgi, 1985). Phenomenological methodology is more appropriate and sensitive to the nature of studying phenomenon (Giorgi). Phenomenology looks to explicate the meaning of human phenomena and to understand the meanings of everyday experience (van Manen, 1990). Phenomenology is concerned with the essence and core of the lived experience for an individual, which goes beyond a surface understanding of the how, where, what, when, or why something happened (van Manen). This research was about examining meanings and experiences of a phenomenon, which required phenomenological inquiry to obtain this type of information.

Knowledge of the world is gained from experience of it. Meanings are interpretive of experience. Truths are nested in the historical stream of lived experience (Wilber, 1996). My interest is in seeking deep meaning of the phenomenon of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. The primary source of understanding is the life world of the individual (Giorgi, 1985). The best a researcher can do is interpret the experience of a phenomenon because they can not exactly experience it (Bruner, 1986). Since meanings are an interpretation of something when researching the experience of something, the methodology of hermeneutics and phenomenology are appropriate together. Phenomenology is pure description of lived experience and hermeneutics is an

interpretation of experience through text (van Manen, 1990). Hermeneutics guides the interpretive process and the understanding there are many interpretations to a text. Phenomenology is descriptive in the sense it names something and is interpretive as it mediates between interpreted meanings and the thing toward which the interpretation points (van Manen). When employing both methodological concepts of hermeneutic and phenomenology, the concept is called hermeneutic-phenomenology.

In phenomenology, meaning in experience exists as a deep structure of inter-subjective reality (van Manen, 1990). It is themes of the experience a researcher seeks. A theme is a phrase or statement that captures a meaning in the flow of experience (van Manen). I sought to describe in words the underlying meanings of being a woman veteran of the Canadian Forces. Textuality becomes a fruitful device for analysing meaning as it speaks to multiple interpretations of text (van Manen). Life may be like a text but it is not identical to text. The interpretive character of experience thus lies at the heart of hermeneutic research. Through research we may come to know and understand the experience of being a woman veteran of the Canadian Forces but in the end it is always a human puzzle (van Manen) and we will not know exactly what it is like.

Phenomenological methodology encourages rapport between the research, researcher, and participants, encouraging comfort for participants to feel safe and at ease. It is vital to women sharing personal stories to have good rapport and empathy when investigating issues in which the participant has a personal stake (Measor & Woods, 1984). Achieving rapport is imperative when the research involves a stigmatized individual (Tewksbury & Gagne, 1997). The importance of a strong, positive rapport is

intensified when the research endeavour involves a sensitive topic or a stigmatized population.

Among those of discredited character... there commonly exists a trepidation concerning the approach of outsiders... the key to successful research with stigmatized groups is their willingness to embark on a risky course of action... this decision is based on trust and the rapport that precedes it. If and when the stigmatized feels accepted and respected, and perceive some degree of similarity with their explorers, a relationship can proceed, and the qualitative researcher can pursue investigation of inhabitants' identities, identify components, and experiences. (Tewksbury & Gagne, 1997, p. 128).

A research design such as phenomenology highlights rapport (Measor & Woods) and is, therefore, appropriate for this study.

A phenomenological interview focuses on acquiring knowledge of the essence of everyday lived experience rather than the process of experiencing (Munhall & Oiler, 1986; van Manen, 1990) through using *reductio*, *vocatio* (van Manen, 2002), open-ended questions, and experiences of participations unfamiliar and pure to research theory or biases (Giorgi, 1985). The focus is on experiencing the world and understanding it through deep connection with the essence of it, rather than conceptualising, categorizing, and theorizing about it (van Manen, 1990). This open format offers a platform of inquiry to ascertain valuable information about a participant's experience.

Phenomenology employs the use of *vocatio* and *reductio*. *Vocatio* means to let things speak or be heard by bringing them into nearness through the vocative power of language (van Manen, 2002). While engaging in phenomenological interviews, I listened

to participant's descriptions of experiences in a respectful and open manner. This allowed the phenomena to speak for itself, without biases and preconceptions impeding or altering descriptions. The meanings and descriptions of the phenomena can be cemented in text through the methods of concreteness, intensification, tone, epiphany, and normativity.

In order to approach the data in an open manner, researchers use *reductio* to bracket their assumptions about a phenomenon. This assists with setting aside all presuppositions about the phenomenon in order to be fully open to the experience of the research (Creswell, 2002). *Reductio* involves suspending pre-judgements, bracketing assumptions, deconstructing claims, and restoring openness to the phenomenon (van Manen, 2002).

Limitations to Methodology

Research involving humans is an evolving dynamic process created by explanations and understanding in a specific moment in time. The quality of research analysis is partly dependent on the quality of data given. It is not correct to assume participants are able to give accurate and truthful information (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). Participants may not hear the question through the same *meaning-frame* as was used to derive the question, or be invested in sharing discourses that reveal vulnerable aspects of themselves. Participants may not know why they feel a certain way, and may be motivated, consciously or unconsciously, to disguise the meaning of some or all of their behaviours and feelings. If a participant engages in one or all of the above elements when providing data, the outcome of the research may be skewed by the information given. Information is entangled with current cultural values, personal reflection, and understanding of material, and shared through the fallible complex communication of

language. Participants can not share themes and understanding unconscious to themselves. Each participant has limitations in their ability to communicate clearly their message. The researcher can not comprehend information unexplained, misrepresented, or incomprehensible based on the researcher's reality. The essences of the lived experience described by participants is understood through an interpretive process involving translation from the participant's verbal words to the researcher's auditory understanding and into written analysis of the essences. The underlying limitation of hermeneutic-phenomenology is that it is based on a human being's current understanding of their experience, trying to communicate this experience to another human who is trying to understand it based on their past experiences. Prior experiences shape the researcher's conceptualisation of themes and organisation of data. Variance between different researchers' interpretation of data is unavoidable. Similarly personal reflections shift participant's understandings of their experience and, thus, what is shared in the interview, and the researcher's understanding of the data shared. Further experience brings different perceptions to past events. The process of deriving deeper understanding is based on an imperfect system. Despite taking steps to overcome these limitations, such as member checking, peer debriefing, and self reflection, perfection is not guaranteed. It can be argued these are limitations to all qualitative research studies.

Entering Assumptions

In keeping with the phenomenological approach, before engaging in research I contemplated and listed my own beliefs about the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. This process, called bracketing, phenomenological reduction, or epoch, refers to the researcher bringing into consciousness pre-existing assumptions

about the phenomena, allowing these to be addressed and set aside from the research, leaving the researcher to be open to new experiences and perceptions of the phenomena.

In order to gather new information I might not have otherwise considered, I talked with peers about perceptions of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. I took notes on my peers' thoughts and assumptions which arose during the conversation. I did this because while bracketing assumptions, the researcher should listen openly to others' views, thoughts, and assumptions on the phenomenon in question (Giorgi, 1985). I did this to be more aware of my assumptions about the phenomenon and, therefore, less likely to impose my thoughts and beliefs on research participants. In the process of bracketing I identified the following assumptions and beliefs about the particular phenomenon:

- 1) Members of the military are more likely to engage in, or be exposed to, traumatic events and material.
- 2) Women in nontraditional occupations are more likely to be harassed in the workplace.
- 3) Women in the military are in nontraditional occupations.
- 4) Women periodically encounter gender stereotyping throughout their daily lives and the workplace.
- 5) Harassment, gender stereotyping, and exposure to traumatic events and material cause stress within a person, which can negatively impact psychological health and general happiness.
- 6) The use of coping strategies such as exercise, forming alliances, avoiding situations directly related to stressful encounters, and substances (illegal and

- legal) may be used by women while in the Canadian Forces in an effort to cope with stressors.
- 7) The researcher will be treated better and trusted more after telling the participants she worked with the military.
 - 8) The participants will be honest with responses.
 - 9) Participants will accurately carry out instructions provided by the researcher.

Researcher's Role

In this research I co-constructed understanding with participants. This used both an emic and etic perspective. I engaged with an emic perspective as I am using the experiences from participants inside the role of women veteran of the Canadian Forces. I am not able to be inside the experience of being a woman veteran of the Canadian Forces myself, thus I am also engaged in an etic perspective, analysing the interviews and material objectively. In order to co-construct data I needed to bracket my biases, be open to the experience of the participant, and engage in the interview using questions and prompts to bring out the salient material.

The researcher shapes data by interacting with participants. It is vital to understand what constitutes good interviewing to gather meaningful information and have appropriate interactions. Dilley (2000) proposes four aspects to good interview practice: background information, interview analysis, protocol creation and revision, and self-reflective interviewing.

Background information. It is essential to be informed about the topic and subjects potentially covered in the interview. When conducting interviews it is important to understand contextual factors that might impact the experiences and lives of

participants. This provides familiarity and comfort for the researcher and participants, aids in developing sound research questions, and assists with building rapport.

Analysing interviews. Researchers would benefit from exposure to interviews conducted by senior journalists. Observing and understanding the personal styles, strengths, and weaknesses can help to build a model to strive for. Questions to ponder are (a) what is the interview structure? (b) how does the interviewer ask questions and listen? (c) how could I as the researcher approach this topic differently?

Creating and revising protocols. The interview questions shape the interaction between participant and researcher, and create a journey for the participant to take. The interviewer needs to sculpt the order of questions in order to foster rapport at the beginning of the interview, structure the flow of questions to lead to more profound interview questions later in the study, and consider the interview as a conversation that leads toward a core research question. Along the way rapport and interaction needs to be attended to in order to reach this point which involves finesse and focus from the researcher.

Practicing self-reflexive interviewing. Good interviewing takes skill and practice. A researcher needs to practice the complexity of listening, critically analysing responses, awareness of time, use of prompts, and thinking ahead in the interview process. Fundamentally, the interview is an interaction between two human beings. Any conversation will go flat if attention is not paid to the other's eye contact, body language, emotions, verbal language, and unspoken language of what is verbally left out. Listening skills and tuning into the participant are key to detecting these subtleties.

Interviews are not cold, objective sequences of questions. They are flexible interactions that have a conversational beat and life of their own. It is important to think about how the other person thinks the interview is going. Is the participant at ease? How is the interview impacting them? Do they feel rapport with the researcher? Are they getting enough time to say everything they want? It is helpful to maintain an approximate balance of speaking 20 percent and listening 80 percent of the time to encourage an adequate amount of time for the participant to share.

Participant Selection, Demographics, and Sampling Strategy

Qualitative inquiry requires a small number of participants who can provide information needed to answer the research questions (Patton, 2002). Purposeful sampling was used to select participants who are information rich (Patton). Two types of purposeful sampling were used, snowball and convenience sampling. Snowball sampling is an emergent strategy which involves asking participants to recommend others suitable for the study (Creswell, 2002; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2005). Convenience sampling is using participants simply because they are available (Gall et al.) within the time and location limitations of the study. Using convenience and snowball sampling were the best strategies for locating participants for this study due to the study's financial limitations.

I displayed a recruitment poster (see Appendix F) in various businesses close to the Esquimalt military base as well as posting an advertisement on Used Victoria and Craigslist on the internet. I emailed all members of the legislative assembly, members of parliament, and municipal council members on Lower Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland with recruitment posters and asked them to forward them to others who may be

interested. I emailed the recruitment poster to colleagues, friends, and Veterans Affairs with the same invitation to forward it on to those who may be interested.

When a participant contacted me, the following criteria were used to determine the suitability of participants for this study:

- 1) Self-identify as female.
- 2) Veteran of the Canadian Forces, not a retired civilian employee.
- 3) Employed as a Canadian Forces member for more than six months after 1989.

This criterion ensures the participants had an opportunity to have a wider array of experiences within the Canadian Forces after women were integrated into combat positions in 1989 to draw upon during the research interview.

- 4) Veteran of any rank, in any position, in the navy, army, or air force, having seen active duty or not, with any amount of experience over six months.
- 5) Speak conversational English to be able to participate fully in the research.
- 6) Available between December 1, 2008 and June 15, 2009 for interviewing.
- 7) Function as an informant, offering detailed descriptions of the experiences being investigated.

Particular effort was made to include participants across ranks, with varying durations of service above six months, and experience in a variety of areas within the Canadian military. The study was open to women with experience in all types of assignments regardless of deployment experience. This study openly included women of all sexual orientations, religions, ethnic and marital backgrounds, mothers, and women without children.

An Excel spread sheet was used to keep track of the number of potential participants contacted as well as the total number of actual participants in the study. Fifteen potential participants contacted me. I selected six participants based on their diversity of experience and the order in which they contacted me. After I finished interviewing the maximum number of participants I was interested in I respectfully turned down other potential participants who contacted me as the required positions were filled. Of the six participants I interviewed one was a commissioned officer, one was a warrant officer, and four were non-commissioned members. For further information about the Canadian military rank structure see Appendix A. Three women were in the army and three were in the navy. Their careers spanned the following number of years: 5, 12, 13, 16, 17, and 23. Participants' ranks at the end of their careers included master corporal, special appointments chief warrant officer, corporal, petty officer first class, master seaman, and lieutenant/captain. The following pseudonyms have been used to denote different participants: Susan, Andrea, Katherine, Stephanie, Theresa, and Nadine. The Canadian military is a tight-knit community and there are relatively few women who have served. Further demographic details regarding the age, sexual orientation, cultural backgrounds, and specific areas of work have consciously been omitted from this paper in order to protect the participants' identities.

Interview Questions

In qualitative interviewing the researcher asks general, open-ended questions to stimulate the participant to provide research data (Creswell, 2008). Open-ended questions create opportunities for participants to voice their experiences unconstrained and provide detailed personal information. From using open-ended questions the researcher can ask

specific questions to elicit sought after information, thereby having control over the type of information received. Interviews have disadvantages as participants may respond with information they think the researcher wants to hear, and participants may not be articulate, perceptive, or clear (Creswell).

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with four of the six participants. Two interviews were conducted over the telephone. Interviews were audiotaped. The interviews were conducted via telephone at the women's residences or in person at the University of Victoria (See Appendix B) to allow for a quiet, confidential, and professional setting.

Twelve questions were prepared to provide a flexible outline for the semi-structured interview (See Appendix C). During the interview, I was flexible to allow the conversation to flow, taking into consideration appropriateness of the order of the open-ended questions. To stimulate conversational flow and obtain additional information I prepared some additional ways I could ask each question and prompt participants to describe their experiences more fully without directing those experiences. (See Appendix C). The probes used varied, dependent on the information I wished to elicit and the topic at hand. I utilized appropriate elaborating or clarifying probes such as, "Can you elaborate on X?" or, "What do you mean by X?" (Creswell, 2008).

Ethical Considerations

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state four ethical codes for conducting research. Firstly, informed consent needs to be obtained. "Subjects must agree voluntarily to participate - that is, without physical or psychological coercion. In addition, their agreement must be based on full and open information." (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.

217). (See Appendix D for informed consent form.) Secondly, deception is opposed and deliberate misrepresentation is forbidden. In the informed consent form, I provided detailed, transparent information about the study to ensure accurate representation of the study to participants. By verifying the themes with participants, I ensured no misrepresentation of the data. Thirdly, safeguards such as confidentiality were used to protect participants' identities and personal data. The data was secured, concealed, and made available to others through research only with a shield of anonymity. The final fourth code is accuracy. Data was accurately taken, written, and represented. Fabrications, fraudulent materials, omissions, and contrivances are all unethical and were thoroughly avoided. Data were internally and externally validated.

Avoidance of harm is an additional ethical consideration when conducting research (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). This elicits a fundamental question: Can participants speak about distressing events, which may cause them discomfort or pain, while adhering to an avoidance of harm? Psychoanalysts challenge the belief it is best to avoid distress and confirm a level of stress is needed to bring forward the cause of the distress into the conscious (Hollway & Jefferson). Therefore, "...it is not necessarily harmful if research raises painful and distressing experiences..." (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000, p. 98). Hollway and Jefferson (2000) did not stipulate how to gather information without distressing participants. Humanistic counselling skills such as attending to the person, empathy, and active listening provided an environment that I believe decreased distress and harm to participants. This increased use of ethical interview practices was an additional ethical consideration (Creswell, 1994). In addition, each participant was given

a list of support services (See Appendix D) in case of distress, which supports good ethical research interactions where the well being of the person is paramount.

The ethical concern of reciprocity, providing participants with something in return for their time and participation (Creswell, 1994) was managed in this study through financial compensation. To compensate participants for their time, each received \$30.00 for participating in the research: \$15.00 after the first interview and \$15.00 after the second interview. One participant asked that the money be donated on her behalf to a charitable organisation instead of receiving it herself. This money was donated to the local Women's Transition House.

Quality of Phenomenological Research

In qualitative studies it is essential to demonstrate credibility, authenticity, criticality, and integrity (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001). In quantitative research the parallel concepts are validity and rigour. Due to the different theoretical foundations of qualitative and quantitative research there are different ways to conceptualise and measure elements of research quality (Mason, 1996).

Credibility. Credibility in a study is determined by the truthful representation of data. The results of the research need to reflect the experiences of participants or the context in a believable way (Whittemore et al., 2001). There are various means of ensuring credibility. Developing strong rapport and relationships with participants, focused attention to the context, and multiple data collections strategies all assist with credibility. It is important to portray the participant's experiences using her words through multiple examples. This allows transparency with the data and engages the words

of the participants to tell their stories. Themes are supported by evidence from data. Alternate interpretations of the data are considered and transparently written about.

Authenticity. Authenticity is the representation of the perspective of subtle differences in the voices of all participants (Whittemore et al., 2001). It is important to openly represent all participants and not limit, influence, or over emphasis a participant's voice over another. This is similar to the concept of dependability (Creswell, 2008). The ever-changing context of the participants and the research is accounted for and described with transparency.

Criticality. Criticality, also called confirmability, refers to the research showing it was critically appraised (Whittemore et al., 2001). Critical analysis means verifying data and themes with participants, the researcher having a critical lens and re-examining the data and themes, and sharing the research with others to discuss alternative explanations and discuss concerns or issues.

Integrity. Integrity refers to the researcher reflecting repetitive checks of validity and honest presentation of findings (Whittemore et al., 2001). This includes making transparent the strengths and weaknesses of the study, and the thoroughness of the researcher.

Self Monitoring

The personal nature of hermeneutic-phenomenology and the necessary deep involvement of the researcher in the interviews brought about personal feelings and thoughts towards the participants and content of the interviews. The nature of hermeneutic research asserts the researcher interacts in the research, impacting the questions asked and themes derived based upon the researcher's own personal reality. It

is impossible to separate self from the researched. Creswell (2008), thereby, encourages an embracing of the researcher's reality through being reflective about the research and research process to deepen understanding of the research itself and biases of the researcher. I monitored my reflections throughout the research process through journaling. At times when the research content was particularly arousing I contacted my supervisor to debrief the research interview and discuss my reactions. By doing so I attempted to remain transparent in my cognitions and feelings, which translated to being transparent and open to the research and participants.

Approach to Data Analysis

In data analysis, I used the method outlined in Creswell (2008). The analysis process involved seven steps: (1) organise data, (2) generate themes, categories, and patterns, (3) code data, (4) test emergent understandings, (5) search for alternate explanations, (6) validate data, and (7) write report.

Organise data. I audio-recorded the sessions and transcribed them word for word. I used pseudonyms to identify participants and code data. I kept a copy of the pseudonyms and codes for each participant in a locked drawer. Transcribing includes verbal and non-verbal language such as tone, pauses, and emotional expression for the participants interviewed in person. For participants interviewed by telephone only verbal alterations were noted as physical gestures were unknown. During the interviews I took notes of ideas and themes that arose during the interviews. When generating the themes I reflected on my interview notes to ensure thoroughness.

Generate themes. I analysed data on the computer, marking it and dividing it into thematic clusters. I used the computer function "comments" to make notes and

preliminary themes beside the text. I read the transcripts initially to get a general sense of the data. Then I divided the text into segments of information, labelled the segments with codes, refined the codes, eliminated redundancy, and collapsed codes into themes.

Code data. I assigned each unit, word, phrase, or paragraph of data a colour corresponding to the appropriate code. After coding the transcripts I placed relevant data for each code together as a potential theme in an Excel spread sheet. I went through each data cluster to ensure it fit with the specific theme. I cross analysed each theme with the research question to ensure a fit. When a misfit was located, I double checked with the code and re-read the transcripts to verify an appropriate fit and recategorised or discarded the quote.

Test emergent understandings. When I engaged with the data I noted down emerging questions about the data, looking for patterns that surfaced about the research questions. I brought these questions and preliminary themes to my supervisor to discuss. Together we reflected on the themes and quotes, engaging in a dynamic conversation regarding the strength and specificity of themes to deepen my understanding of the phenomena.

Search for alternate explanations. When looking at data for themes I curiously moved data around to see if the theme still echoed the same truth with and without various pieces of data. My motive was to interact with the data, critically challenging ideas and themes while searching for other possibilities and explanations for surfacing patterns. I again brought this data to my supervisor for analysis for different ways to explain and explore the data. I brought the data back to the participants for validation.

Validate data. It is important in research to check the accuracy of themes and patterns with participants in a second interview. Member checking provides an opportunity for clarification of the data, further exploration of themes, and validation of accuracy of research findings. At this time the participants had the opportunity to correct any thematic mistakes. When validating the themes, one theme for one participant did not fit completely. I worked with her to alter the wording of the theme slightly to create a fit that she felt was more accurate, and one she could validate.

Write report. This stage in the analysis involved writing the patterns and themes from the data in a respectful appropriate manner to the phenomena.

Research Site

The research site for the in person interviews was a room in the MacLaurin Building at the University of Victoria. This room was chosen for its accessibility (location, access to bus routes, and parking) and professional and comfortable atmosphere. This location also supported anonymity of participants to this research as it is located on a busy campus, away from a high concentration of military personnel who may recognise participants and its suitability for a variety of excuses available to participants if they were identified and questioned as to their reasons for being at the location. The University of Victoria is a community campus with a large variety of conferences, meetings, and community events being held on it. Any of these reasons could be given by participants to others for being at that location.

CHAPTER V: Results

Results

The results section comprises 11 *essential themes* described and validated by all participants that capture the essence of what it is to be a women veteran of the Canadian Forces. Of these 10 have supportive quotes from all six participants. One of the essential themes does not have a supporting quote from the participant with the pseudonym “Nadine”. While validating the themes and quotes with Nadine, she validated the theme “Treated sexually inappropriately” as part of her experience as a woman in the Canadian Forces. A quote to support this theme did not arise in the initial interview, though she provided multiple examples in the second interview – sexualized comments and innuendos – of how this theme was part of her experience. Due to the technicality that no quote was generated in the initial interview, none is represented in the respective result section.

Four *significant themes* are listed that were described and validated by five of the six participants. A descriptive paragraph outlining each theme is supported by a single quote that captures the essence of the associated theme for each participant who experienced this theme.

*Essential Themes***1. Slut or lesbian, take your pick**

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be sexualized in terms of being a slut or a whore, or a lesbian or a dyke.

Participants conveyed that categorisation into these terms was established through pre-

conceived reputations and assumptions. A sense was conveyed that categorisation was difficult to avoid.

- Stephanie: “Therefore our trade had a reputation [that] ... everybody that was in that trade either had to be gay or be a slut.... That was how they looked at women in my trade was either most of them they thought, “Oh well she's an Ocean Op so she must be gay. If she's not gay, she's got to be loose”. There was no way to be thought of as just a normal person.”
- Susan: “I really think that women could have benefited from some education when entering the forces. Like taking us aside and just giving us the goods [such as], look, this is how you're going to be treated, this is how people will talk to you, refer to you. Don't just talk about the male soldier experience, but take women aside [and say], look, you know what, they're going to call, they're going to think of you as a slut. They really will. I'm not saying that it's a good thing, but that's the way that they're going to look at you. If you sleep with just one guy, you're a slut, and if you sleep with no guys, you're going to be a lesbian. There's no way of winning that one, you might as well give it up.”
- Andrea: “They ... think that women, if they join the military are basically whores, or lesbians.... But being a female [in the military], there is something just a little extra people are thinking. I just really think that, like I said, [people think] those two things: lesbian or whore.”
- Katherine: “I think that there is just always that, I think for people who came in new... I think if you are a young female corporal in a regiment and a new sergeant comes in he will think, *okay well first of all I don't know anything about her*. And it'll go back to the sexual bit and he will wonder if she got here because she slept with somebody or did she get here ... because she can do her job?”
- Theresa: “If I went in there and did the whole feminine thing, I would be called a whore. ‘You're a whore!’ As a woman in the military, one of two things was going to happen: one, you're going to sleep with everybody and you're a whore. A girl can sleep with 10 guys and she's a whore. And a guy can sleep with 10 girls and he's a great guy. He's a stud muffin. He's not a whore master. Or, you're a lesbian. Pick one. If you're not sleeping with everything with 2 feet, you're a dyke.”
- Nadine: “Women in the military are seen as either sluts or dykes. A woman who, say, was very assertive and very competent and very dominant, you know, almost played a man's role in her career, she was seen as a bitch. She wasn't just an assertive officer.... No, she was seen as a bitch. And perhaps a dyke-bitch. Whereas, if a woman was a woman and that was it, and she didn't care if anyone knew it, and she didn't try to change herself, she was called a slut.”

2. Seen as less capable than men

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants conveyed a sense that part of the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is being seen as less capable than men. The women spoke of being compared unfavourably in terms of not being as good at their job or as capable as men. This ranged from having their capability of being in an operational trade questioned, to being undervalued and extra criticized compared with men for their work.

- Stephanie: “Men looked at us and thought, well you're a woman so you can't be operational. You have to be a support trade. [Author note: Being operational versus a support trade is analogous to being a pilot and an airline stewardess.] We probably did more of that than the guys on the ships did. Because we did it 24 x 7. Whereas they only did it when the ship was at sea. And you had to fight; you had to continually fight to be recognized as an operational trade. An example of that would be when they went ... from the tri-services cap badge that everybody wore to ... distinguish army, navy and air force cap badges. Our trade was the only woman's trade to wear the naval cap badge [Author note: This is an operational badge]. I was stopped in the street [on the naval base] by people to say I wasn't allowed to wear that cap badge because people just assume that because I was a woman that I must be in a support role. And it was [a] continual battle for all the time I was it to be recognized as a woman and as in operations.”
- Susan: “The fact that I'd always be thinking, you know, I've got to be better than the next guy. You know, I've gotta work harder. Even, as we affectionately termed him, Dog Nuts, over there, he's better than me because he's a guy, you know. And he's useless. And the best guy there, you could be better than him and it doesn't matter. Because there's always questions surrounding... whether or not you deserved praise or whether or not you can do that job. It's just constant, constant, constant, and I never anticipated that.”
- Andrea: “I wrote a paper actually when I took a course in the Royal Military College in Kingston, and I wrote that unless there is critical mass for women, especially in combat arms, it's never going to work. Because we're always going to be up against stuff like that, women being questioned and treated like they are less capable.”
- Katherine: “I remember being down in the parade square for rifle drills and you know [our drill sergeant was] ... just hounding on me over and over and over and over and over and over again, you know, trying to get the drills right. And I was just thinking in my mind that, *the buddy next to me here wasn't doing any better*

and you're not all over him like you are on me. What is this about? And in my mind I know that it's because I'm a woman and he's trying to break me down and is trying to prove that I don't belong by getting under my skin and scrutinizing me. And that happens because they think women aren't as good at the job as men."

- Theresa: "My work wasn't valued for what it was. It was seen as less value to that of a guys."
- Nadine: "Because when a woman succeeded and did well some people said, 'Good for her.' And some people said, 'Mmm, who is she?'... And then when a woman failed it was dismissal as being, 'Fhh! She's a woman.' You know, right away if a woman failed it was because she was a woman. It is about putting women's work down for their gender. Unfortunately. Like I said the women are given every opportunity: Go for it. Try it. But if you fail, look out as we'll get you. And they are given every opportunity but at every single stage of their career a woman is judged based on her gender and compared as being less than men."

3. Proving I'm good enough

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants expressed that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to have to prove you are good enough and have a right to be there. The women acknowledged a range of experiences of having to prove themselves, including working twice as hard to receive half the recognition men got or having to prove and re-prove their worth.

- Stephanie: "After eight years ... I was [still] always finding I had to try to prove that I was as good an ocean op as the men were."
- Susan: "Like you have to work twice as hard to be seen as half as good."
- Andrea: "So you have to be twice as good. It was always my thought that being standard, or being like everyone else, wasn't good enough. You had to be better and you could never be off. You always had to be on-guard. You always had to have perfect uniform. You had to not lose your control. As soon as you raise your voice, even using our voices, everything impacts on how men look at us.... If a guy's stressed-out and whatever, and kicks something. If I did that, it would be huge. Everyone would be talking about it and de-valuing me because of it. You can never let down your guard. I always felt that. I always had to be perfect or whatever, I had to be better than my peers to get ahead.... You have to work very hard. It's a lot of work, a lot of hard work."

- Katherine: “But after getting through proving I was good enough.... You know I always had a difficult time if somebody new came in and you didn't know them and it was a new sergeant or a new warrant or whatever. There's always that just proving again that (sigh) okay, so now I have to prove to this person that I belong and I fit and I'm not just here as a girl because they needed to fill a quota.”
- Theresa: “I mean, yes, you pretty much were treated like your work was worth nothing. Like the guy that said to us that we were only good for three things [breeding, fucking and cleaning]. And that's exactly how they saw us. We had to work hard, and I mean hard, to prove ourselves worthy of anything else in their minds.”
- Nadine: “And every time, even though, like I had served on several different ships, and you know I would serve on one ship and I did extremely well. I never failed at anything. As soon as I went to another ship though, I had to be proved myself because I was a woman. Every step of the way I had to prove my worth and prove my right to be there. Whereas, I didn't see the men having those challenges. The men were accepted as being qualified and skilled and they weren't challenged the same way. And I often sat back and watched it to see if I was wrong. You know am I just being sensitive because I'm a woman? But, no, the men weren't challenged in the same way that the women were. We are scrutinized every step of the way.”

4. Trying to be treated better

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to strategically do things to change the way they were treated and seen, in the hope that they would be treated better. In order to do this, women used tactics such as becoming more gender-neutral or masculine in characteristics or appearances, or emphasising feminine characteristics that garner favourable treatment by men, or directly opposing the poor treatment.

- Stephanie: “I always asked to be never referred to as a Wren because that to me would be too referring to me as a woman sailor. I just wanted to be referred to as a sailor. Yes, it became a strategic ploy the higher the rank I got. It didn't start out that way, but the longer I was in the military the more it came to my mind that it was something I wanted to build, to be gender-neutral.... I looked at myself as always tried to be just ... a sailor. I never wanted to be given a thing or have anything taken away because I was a woman. I wanted to be recognized as an equal.”

- Susan: “I had a shaved head then... ‘cause I wanted to be a soldier.... You know, why differentiate myself, you know? I mean, we [the male soldiers and I] used to make fun of the women that differentiated themselves. I was eliminating my identification as a female ... and creating my identification as a soldier. You know, I was kind of severing my connection to womanhood, if you will, in some ways. Because as part of the military experiences the last thing you want to do is be singled out, the very last thing you want. There’s a reason why they have men shave their head. Well, we know that a big part of why they want men to have short hair is so they’ll all be unified and look the same, right, create that team identity, right?... That was the biggest reason [I shaved my head], yeah to not be singled out.”

- Andrea: “Yeah, my female characteristics were sometimes impacted. With make-up, or whatever, I would make choices about make-up based on ... who I was working with at the time.... Even working out, working out attire, wearing really baggy clothes. You tried to do what you could to not stand out if you wanted to try to fit in. ‘Cause you would hear, like you know, if a girl went to a gym and she was wearing like a tight shirt or shorts, guys would comment on it all the time ‘cause there was not many women. So if you just wore like sloppy, bulky sweatpants, or whatever, you know, big t-shirt, then you’re okay.”

- Katherine: “Yeah, and going back for me personally maybe that's one reason why I tried so hard to make sure that people didn't think of me in that way. I wasn't going to have a relationship with anybody in the military because I didn't want them to talk about me and say I was a slut. And I was always, always a girly-girl because I didn't want them to think that I was a lesbian. But now that you've put it into the context for me, that those are probably my reasoning ... for ... doing that ... because those are the stories that you hear about: so and so when she went with Straps. They call her the ground sheet because she slept with everybody everywhere and would screw anybody and everybody. When really you talk to that woman, she had a relationship with one of the guys and it went sour and now according to rumours she’s slept with everybody. The guys are just looking after their brothers.”

- Theresa: “I was one of the first co-ed platoons.... The building that we were housed in is called an H-block.... So, in the middle where the H connects, where the two parallel lines connect, there's two bathrooms in there.... So we had ... the doors closed between our bathroom and their bathroom.... Now there is a gap between the two doors that close that was about an inch and a half, and all the guys would line-up in that gap in the evening and watch us shower. So about three nights into this, I'm beyond fed up with this; I can't take it anymore. So I go down and I talked to our training sergeant, who is female. And she said, ‘What I can do is I will come up with masking tape, like a wide masking tape, and run a strip down that door. I'll put the latch and I will post a lock on it for you.’ And so that night... she came up and did that. Everything is locked down and we’re good to go. And then we were in the room and we’re showering, and the next thing you

know, you hear this... banging ... and screaming at us to, 'Open the fucking door!'.... So I walk over to the door and I say, 'By order of our training sergeant, stand down. Don't touch the door again. We are not opening it.' I was trying to get us to be treated with some respect and seen as adults."

- Nadine: "... I did adopt more masculine characteristics. Yup.... I didn't like to even let them know that I had relationships with men. I didn't initially, I didn't socialize with them outside of work. Because I didn't want them to see me with my hair down, or with makeup on, or with feminine clothing. So initially, yeah, I attempted to subdue all of my feminine characteristics to fit in better so I was treated better."

5. Treated like dirt

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be treated with ill will and malevolence. The participants' experiences of feeling ill will and malevolence towards them ranged from situations where men turned on them with hostility, to being physically assaulted, intentionally hurt, unprotected in a hostile environment, and treated like dirt.

- Stephanie: "We were taking a group of new trainees going to sea for the day. One of the ordinary seaman that was given a group of them to take on tour of the ship said something in French not thinking that anybody else would understand him about, 'Well, I won't have anything to do with these lesbians.' Well, I just almost exploded as I understood what he said. And it caused a bit of a kafuffle. It did get handled at the level of the chief though it never made it to the coxswain. But I was very conscious all the time of what was going on and what people were saying."
- Susan: "There was a story I heard that that guy who had been on top of me when I was sleeping, that he stayed in and finally ended up raping a girl. Yeah, that affected me. That really affected me. It let me know that... there was no real point in making a complaint about sexual harassment or rape. That we weren't going to be protected.... I mean we weren't even going to be protected within the realm of law. You know, the law wasn't even going to protect us. The environment was hostile to us."
- Andrea: "Like I said, the only time I really noticed how horrible it was, was in the army brigade. And that was going from a warrant officer ... to become a master warrant officer. Then, I found that the guys just turned on me totally.... It's supposed to be a secret how you do on your assessment. But, as soon as they found out where I was in the rankings of all of the male warrant officers, then it became just horrible. I was treated really poorly, even hostile."

- Katherine: “Oh, you know I can think of lots of times where [gender played a role in my experience], you know, it was pointed out by people that I was a woman, and that was uncomfortable.... We were at a competition ... and we were waiting in line at breakfast in the morning. And one of the guys from another regiment – and at that time, like I was literally one of the very first women to be in combat arms and to be competing in competitions and you know involved in exercises and things – he, you know, just started mouthing off and saying some stuff that was inappropriate and calling me a ‘slut’, and a ‘tramp’, and ‘blah blah blah’, and ‘What was I doing there? I didn’t belong.’ You know, I just kept ignoring, ignoring, like water off a ducks back. And his words weren’t getting to me. And this is happening in front of a group of, a group of guys. And his words weren’t getting to me, so he pushed me and started smacking me in my face. And again I stood there just kind of stoically and just let it go, let it go. I wasn’t going to get involved and engage with him. And that was the first I felt like, okay, why, why, why would I put up with this? Why would I put myself in this position? Why would I try and try to fit in with this group? Why would I try to make this okay when obviously he’s pointing out to me that it is never going to work, it’s just never going to work.... It was huge. He was abusive. He was physically abusive. First he was verbally abusive and then you know by the end, physically abusive. And that was demoralizing and frustrating.”
- Theresa: “Like I had a guy ... [and] he told anybody that knew him, and they told me after that he just, because I was lesbian, that he didn't like me. And he was, ‘Going to put the fucking dyke in her place’. And I didn't know that when he first came to the ship. And I tried to approach him like a harassment advisor. So I said to him one day, I said, ‘I would like to talk to you like an adult. Because I can’t work with you the way that you treat me, like I’m dirt. I’m just not going to put up with that.’ And he just looked me right in the face and he said, ‘So do fucking something about it.’ And I was like, ‘(sigh) You don't want to talk to me about it? You won't have a conversation?’. ‘I don't want to fucking talk to you at all! You're just going to shut the fuck up and do what I tell you to do.’ So, I wrote a complaint.... I gave it to my harassment officer. And when he told my chief about it. He said we need to go and tell the other chiefs to make sure he knows. And ...he went right to the guy and said, ‘What the fuck did you do to piss her off? She put in a fucking complaint against you.’ Then, the guy that I put the complaint in against got me cornered in the Ops room. Just me, him, and this other female P2. And she stood and watched to make sure that nobody was coming so that nobody heard what he said to me. And he told me, ‘I swear to God that I'm so angry with you I could fucking punch your head out.’ I was like, ‘Just do it. Just go ahead. Get your anxiety out. Do it. Your career will end. You certainly can't say I hit you back because I'm going to be on the ground. Do it. Have at her.’ And he wouldn't. He just stood there nose to nose. He’s screaming at me and fucking-off.”
- Nadine: “The second time I was physically assaulted just because of my gender was because there was a young man ...and he was singing all the time.... And ... I

think we're on one of the final exercises or something like that but we had to be quiet because we're out on patrol there're people out there who are trying to find our section. And he couldn't be quiet. He was humming away. And we are telling him to be quiet and the section leader would tell him to shut up. And ... then finally the section leader comes over and I was right beside him. And I looked up, and I don't know why, but he got hit in the head and then I got hit in the head too.... I got what we call "butt stroked". It's where you get smacked with the end of a rifle. I got butt stroked too. And I don't know why. Because I wasn't him and I wasn't making noise. And he could see my face; he knew it was me. So he actually hit him first and then he hit me. So there was a couple times where physically I was assaulted. That was an assault for sure."

6. Got some support

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to experience some supportive relationships. In these relationships participants expressed a range of feeling encouraged, accepted, included, supported, rooted on, and had a sense that people were looking past her gender.

- Stephanie: "And he was one of the ones to initially come up with the... CREW program, Combat Related Employment of Women. So he was one of the people in Ottawa ... who started that program, or was working on a program for the first few years that it was being developed. He was also my career manager for number of years. Yes, definitely. Definitely I felt encouraged by his acceptance of women. Definitely, yeah."
- Susan: "There were some key guys that would always just say she's a *soldier*. And you have no idea how much we appreciated that as *female soldiers*. There I go again! You have no idea how much I appreciated that. Some of them would say 'I don't give a shit who you are, you are *soldiers*.' You know. And then we would feel like we were being held in that special place, that esteem as a soldier."
- Andrea: "Generally I have had really, really good luck. Most of the times I've had really, really good, really excellent commanding officers that looked past my gender. Most of the time with peers, it was good."
- Katherine: "You know what, again maybe this is just my regiment, but I was fortunate to have really good relationships. You know I was slated to go ... [on tour] when I found out I was pregnant. And that was a hard time for me not just personally, but also for the guys in my troop. My CO at the time I remember sitting in his office and just looking at me because he was also my CO when I did my basic training and so I had had a good relationship with him.... And I remember him saying to me, 'Oh, I'm so disappointed. We had such big plans for

you.’ You know, that hit me at that time. Like I was important to them. Like they were disappointed for me.... Like you know, I felt important to them because he was as disappointed.... You know, I always felt supported by him. You know, I remember coming home and I felt good about that.... But this feeling that he was supportive of me and that they were there.... But he was always, always very supportive of me. In a really, really positive way. From a CO’s perspective, I always felt supported.”

- Theresa: “Yeah, and I, like I had to say that there was a couple of really outstanding, both male and female officers on the ship that I had. I had a woman in particular that I totally respected and felt supported by.”
- Nadine: “And there were other people that were kind of rooting for me too.... At the end of the course there is a big exercise and again it's physically brutal and ... we're generally miserable and felt like we were dying. And I did have the platoon 2IC who ... jump[ed] in my trench.... And he said, ‘You're doing a good job. One more day. Just hang in there.’... That was pretty impressive that I actually had someone who was initially quite against me being there because I was a woman and now coming out and telling me to hang in there that I was doing something good. And I think that that got me through the last little bit of that exercise. But it was, while there were some things that were unfair or just not cool generally, it was empowering.”

7. Visible and singled out

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be singled out. The military is based upon group formation and survival relies upon blending in with the group cohesion. Being singled out and separated from the core can be a threatening position. All of the women interviewed described feeling ostracized, singled out, that they had a spotlight on them, or that they stood-out from the group of men.

- Stephanie: “I am sure the commanding officer would know who I was before he may know the other petty officers. Because I was the only woman in that trade, or in that office. So I would be more singled out. And more, he would know who Petty Officer XXXX [participant’s last name] was and not know who Petty Officer Joe-Blow is. Because there is 50 of them and only one female. So I did tend to stand out more as a woman, then the other males.”
- Susan: “I think that you get so singled out as a woman by everybody. You’re so visible, you know.”

- Andrea: “Unless you are in a trade where there is critical mass, you’ll have a spotlight on you being a woman. You’ll be singled out.”
- Katherine: “I felt like that a lot when we were out and away on exercises and exposed to groups of people who weren’t my group.... I felt singled out more.”
- Theresa: “So I wrote a letter to my training sergeant, she was actually a petty officer second class, and I told her what had happened. And she proceeded to take it a step further, and took it to the base commander. And then they began to press charges. Well, when the people that I was working with found out that I wrote that letter, oh my God! I was absolutely ostracized and singled out...”
- Nadine: “I knew I was being scrutinized, singled out, and that I would be judged. So I just very, I was always aware of my gender and that I was a woman.”

8. Perpetual outsider

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be an outsider and be separate from the group. The women described a sense of isolation, being alone, or being on the outside. The experience was either a negative or a positive thing.

- Stephanie: “Well definitely, the problem with the trade as a whole [was it] being recognized as lesbians. It ... made it harder to socialise. It made it awkward at times when you're in social situations, especially when you're in the mess with another base or people came down visiting. It was awful awkward to know that people were sitting there thinking [that], here is all of these queers up from Shelburne or down from Argentia. And it tended to make you a little more protective of people too. You were, like I said, a little more, like I said, defensive of people criticizing you for all of these gossip rumours that were going around. Absolutely it made me feel isolated.”
- Susan: “You’re always on the outside. You always are as a woman. There were key members that you could feel true camaraderie with, but as a whole, I think, you’re always kind of on the outside...”
- Andrea: “When you only work with men, it is very hard to have a close relationship with your peers because you can't get too close or you have bad rumours and other people commenting on you. So I never felt the whole time that I was in the unit.... There was some people that I really liked. But I knew that I could never be really close to them or be friends. I was very isolated. So I couldn't

form any really close friendships. Or it would be to their detriment as well. It was very, very lonely.”

- Katherine: “I think generally ... just me being the only one on exercise or being the only woman in the room that I felt always on the outside just based on the fact that I was a woman.... But for me, because I was always the only one, that separated me.”
- Theresa: “At the beginning, yes, I felt isolated when I worked with guys.”
- Nadine: “I avoided attention in a big way and that really helped me to cope. Sometimes the..., not being overly social with my colleagues outside of work was another way of coping. Number one, just to separate myself for a while so I could be a woman and not have to be guarded. That was a coping mechanism quite often. I would get away from the men, I would go be a girl, take care of myself and just let my guard down. And that was a coping mechanism for me.... So I didn't get overly social with them and sometimes just so I can have my *me* time. My girl time. Where it could be unguarded and do some physical fitness and go to the spa. I became a spa junkie.”

9. Given gender based tasks or opportunities

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be selected for opportunities or tasks based on their gender. Some of the opportunities were interesting special appointments the women felt they benefited from, while others were burdensome and menial such as babysitting and doing highly repetitive tasks.

- Stephanie: “They brought men into the trade and up until then we had always been told, ‘We can't have men in the trade because for two reasons 1) we need the men to go to sea, and 2) women are better at what you do....’ Because it was a job where you have to concentrate for long periods of time and it could be very repetitive they thought women were better at that. But I think, again looking at it, it was a prejudice on their part because I don't think anybody ever proved that women were better or not better or... I think it was just assumed that this is the way it was, ‘Well you're all women so you must be good at.’”
- Susan: “Yeah, certain doors were opened. For example, women were preferred to be the officers’ driver. And ... the officers’ driver, their job is a lot different from the jobs of everybody else in the troop. You do different things; you drive them around to a lot of different meetings and stuff. And frankly, it’s an easier job, you know, and more interesting in a lot of respects. Because you get a better overview

of what the operation is, you know? You get more of a top down view, which is great. It's good to understand what's going on. I do remember, however, being put in ... as the officers' driver so much that one time I actually went to the troop officer and I said, 'Look, I've been here. I've been the driver for, you know, the past six exercises. I can't do this anymore, you know. I need more. I need more experience.' Yeah, yeah. It was a very good role...in terms of... [being] interesting.... [But] you didn't get to do as much of the soldiering... as the officer's driver you're kind of, you're almost like a personal assistant too, so I always have to wonder if gender played into that too. You know, like a field secretary, if you will, you know. Like you had to make coffee for him in the mornings and stuff like that, whatever. I did have an amazing job, though, as an officer's driver one summer that was just so fabulous in terms of learning. And I think, yeah, I think, yeah, he chose a woman for the job. I think, that's what he wanted, so.... But it was great. It was a fantastic opportunity and I... it's a shame that guys wouldn't have as much of an opportunity for that position, I think."

- Andrea: "So, opportunities, yeah, I was given some because of my gender."
- Katherine: "I was approached many times for special opportunities just because I was a woman. You know for me ... it was never a negative thing and I never felt like that..."
- Theresa: "One of the things that happened in boot camp was that there was a young lady there that, she was 17.... And, umm, she was very young, very immature.... And the instructor walked in and told me that because I was the eldest female in the platoon that it was my job to baby sit her. And I was to make sure that she didn't spend all night having cigarettes. I was to make sure she hadn't spent all night 'fucking the dog' are the words he used. And I was shocked. I remember saying to him, 'Like I didn't join to be a babysitter. That's not what I want to do.' Just because I was a woman."
- Nadine: "Yes. I was given things to do just because I am a woman. Like there was women who were being charged, or women who are going through disciplinary procedures from time to time. And they asked me as a woman to be the investigating officer sometimes, or whatever. It was just because they felt it was more appropriate in that situation.... So those were ... tasks I was given where they were thinking, 'maybe a woman would be better for this task.'"

10. Women demeaned

Descriptive Paragraph: Participants described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to experience the female gender being demeaned. Many of the participants directly encountered being put down and called derogatory or demeaning names. Others

noted times when women in general were spoken about as lesser, complained about, and called derogatory or demeaning names.

- Stephanie: “But I had discussions with people who would be complaining about the women on the ships, or saying that women don't belong here. [It was] very frustrating, very demeaning.”
- Susan: “You'd hear male soldiers referring to women by very derogatory terms; ‘bitches’...”
- Andrea: “And the men too would do that and come up with strategies to say, ‘Oh yeah she's a bitch or that’. And I would get put down. So I have a lot of rumours start about me on purpose to their wives and spouses or girlfriends so that they wouldn't have flak. So and then of course, when they're social and they start talking to other people, ‘Oh yeah, she's like that’, rumours would start, false rumours, demeaning stuff...”
- Katherine: “You, you'd hear those things, that women were lesser and not as good as a man.”
- Theresa: “And, I mean, you go in there [in the forces] and the comments, there are tons of derogatory remarks towards women. It just becomes like water on a duck's back. You have to learn to acquire thick skin just to ignore it. Because if you didn't, you'd never make it. You would never make it.”
- Nadine: “The women were called all sorts of demeaning and terrible names.”

11. Treated sexually inappropriately

Descriptive Paragraph: Five out of the six participants described that for them part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be treated sexually inappropriately. For example, some women were subjected to sexualized comments made about them or an environment where sexual innuendos were common place. Other women spoke of uncomfortable sexualized work environments where pornographic videos were openly watched. Some women spoke of being sexually assaulted and raped.

- Stephanie: “And a couple of days before we got back into Esquimalt, so we had been at sea for quite a while, they started to play porn movies. Almost 24 hours a day over these video cable systems. And it became really uncomfortable for myself and the other woman on the ship to think that we were sailing with 100

and something... men that had only one thing on their mind. And I was really uncomfortable. She was really uncomfortable. I went to the boatswain who, I said, 'This has to stop. This is not acceptable.' Um... they didn't."

- Susan: "And I can remember seeing a guy that I'd seen around, you know, the base. I'm like, 'Hey, how's it going?'. You know, just like a passing, 'Hey, how you doing?' And he kind of looked at me strange. And I thought, and there was a party going on and I thought, oh, he was probably hammered, right? Went to bed, lay down, went to sleep. At some point in time, ... it was night time, I woke up and he was on top of me in bed."
- Andrea: "Yes, especially in my earlier years I was sexually assaulted. Not at the end of the rank that I was. But certainly in my younger years. Absolutely. [Where I worked] ... my sergeant at the time, ... he would follow me into this big safe where I kept the library, you know, and he would pin me against the wall and do stuff like that. And I felt very, I felt threatened, my livelihood, because I was primary reserve at the time and I knew that he was the one who could renew my contract... But, I have had a lot of experiences like that. But, no rapes... But I have been in physical situations where I could have been. And I think it happens probably at all levels up to a certain rank. But, [when I got to a higher rank] no one was going to assault me or, I was too high ranking for them to play around with me like that anymore."
- Katherine: "You know there is always kidding, and joking around, and ribbing, all of that. But that goes hand-in-hand with being in a guys' environment. You know, I would say that there is probably things at times that were inappropriate, like you know a comment or a joke ... about me and the size of my breasts.... And I think if you're going to hang with guys and work with guys that you have to be able to take that. Because that is a huge part of it, the camaraderie, the joking, the sexual innuendo."
- Theresa: "Um, I saw ... women raped, and I've been raped. I've seen women demoralized."
- Nadine: There was no quote from the first interview. Nadine verified this theme fit with her experience and was able to provide multiple examples of how it fit for her in the second interview.

*Significant Themes***1. Barriers around every corner**

Descriptive Paragraph: Five of the six participants described that part of their experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to experience barriers and limitations to opportunities. Some women mentioned how they were excluded from going to sea, going on a military tour, or told they would not pass a course due to their gender. Another discussed the uniqueness of the female gender in respect to bearing children and how this created a barrier to the work she was allowed to do, which had ramifications on her future opportunities.

- Stephanie: “One thing I always wanted to do as a woman was go to sea... I have looked into that even back as far back as ... the late 70s. And I was always told, ‘No, you can't do that because you're a woman’. And this sort of goes back to the other point... even when I became, even when I was eligible [due to gender integration] to go to sea, I think the standard for women at that time was a double standard. I was told I couldn't go to sea because I was heavy. I was too heavy to go to sea. But... not from what I can see of those large guys walking around the ship they weren't told the same thing. They tried more to see why a woman couldn't go to sea. But for a man you were there and you're there until you're told off. It was an excuse used to exclude women from going to sea.”
- Susan: “When the ... first rotation to Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslavia, [came up] ... I had my name in there, like that (snapped fingers). And I put my name in and I could remember being called out of one of my classes to my troop officer's office.... They're like, ‘So, you applied for the rotation?’. And I was like, ‘Yup!’. ‘You know they're primarily a Muslim culture over there, right?’ And I go, ‘Yeah, yeah.’ They told me, ... ‘What would it take to have you withdraw your name from there? We don't want you as a woman going over there.’ ... Shocking. You know. Really shocking. And but I took it out. I said, ‘Give me my combat leader's course this year and ... I'll withdraw my name’. And I wish to God that I hadn't done that. I wish I hadn't done that. I think I would have had more opportunities had I gone on the tour than just getting the course.”
- Andrea: “There are places we can't go as females in the Canadian Forces. You can be the right person, but in other countries, if you are in a peace-keeping mission and you are female, you can't go. You can't do your job 'cause you are female. So, in the world, there are places in the world where they won't accept you. There are things you can do if you are in Afghanistan, you know, or

wherever, that being a female does not help. You have to be male [to do them]. And just even world standards, soldiering in other countries, a lot of women aren't even in a lot of other militaries and they are not accepted."

- Katherine: "Uh, I can tell you I was slated to go ... [on tour] and got myself pregnant and they decided that wasn't going to be a good place for me. That was a big thing. That's part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces that sets you apart from the men in a big way.... And they didn't know what to do with me again. There was lots of conversation about... wanting to make sure they weren't infringing upon my rights by saying you can't go on this work-up training now, you can't be part of this mission and you can't be included because of being pregnant. Which is totally legitimate. But I don't get the opportunities on tour now. I [also] physically have to go away and have the baby. Which means I don't go away on course, which means I don't get promoted."
- Theresa: There was no quote for this theme from Theresa as this theme did not fit with her experience.
- Nadine: "And the two officers in charge, the captain was the OC of the company and his 2IC were fairly gung ho, kind of uber-soldier guys. And they take all the women aside on the first day, I can't remember how many women initially on the first day that there were, but they quietly took us all off to the side and said, "None of you women will pass this course. Period. You won't. No woman will pass my course. So don't fool yourselves into thinking that you will." And then that was it; and they let us walk away. After a couple of days we were down to three women. And after a couple days it was just me. The only thing that got me through was stubbornness. I swear."

2. Scrutinized

Descriptive Paragraph: Five out of six participants described that for them part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be scrutinized. There was a general feeling of being examined in detail with critical attention and having all eyes watching you. Some women noted this was because there were so few women that they stood-out more, making it easier to draw critical attention as opposed to men who could blend into the group better.

- Stephanie: "I was definitely more scrutinized..."
- Susan: "Every new woman that joined the regiment, all of the eyes of the regiment were on her. Even women. Even other women. And we expected more of them. Because we felt like it reflected on all of us, on all of the women. So we expected more because we were being so scrutinized."

- Andrea: “Because what happens when you're just one or two [women in a group of men], everybody looks at you and scrutinizes you.”
- Katherine: “So, I'm running and competing against a group, or were shooting and competing, or you're doing something where you're competing on an individual level. That's when I felt I was being scrutinized.”
- Theresa: There was no quote for this theme from Theresa as this theme did not fit with her experience.
- Nadine: “And I often sat back and watched it to see if I was wrong. You know, am I just being sensitive because I'm a woman? But, no, the men weren't challenged in the same way that the women were. We are scrutinized every step of the way.”

3. That's enough! I quit!

Descriptive Paragraph: Five out of six participants described how part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to leave your career partially based on the mistreatment and gender discrimination encountered. Some women described an isolated incident, such as being in an overly sexually charged atmosphere, or being in an inappropriately and discriminatorily charged environment, as the tipping point where they decided they had had enough and wanted to retire. Others described a gradual process where they realized they would never be accepted and were tired of fighting for equality and instead decided to leave.

- Stephanie: “We couldn't go into the mess because of the charged sexual atmosphere. We couldn't go sit there and have dinner. Because the TV with pornography was playing in the corner. ‘What kind of petty officer was I if I couldn't take charge of myself and just suck it up?’ I was asked. So that was, I must admit, that that was probably the only isolated incident ... that stands out... that, um, had a big impact on why I decided to retire.”
- Susan: “I had a change in viewpoint.... I rejected a lot about being a woman, about being a female when I first joined the military. I rejected it so much. And if I could have gotten away from my own gender, I would have. You know. So I could be a soldier. My love for my regiment surpassed anything that I would have for a love for another human being. And, but as it kind of became more and more

- apparent to me [that] people were never going to just see me as a soldier, never. I was never going to escape my gender. And, so I might as well start embracing it, you know. And so it was a gradual process. And I think part of me getting out of the military was an embracing of a lot of different aspects of myself, you know, and kind of coming to the realization that I was never going to be accepted just as a soldier. Maybe some day that'll happen in the military, but ... probably not in my time in the military was that going to happen.”
- Andrea: “I left... [when] I still had a promising career. I could've had 18 years left. I was promoted faster than anyone else in the occupation. I had set records. And I knew, at a certain level, that I'd never become the top chief warrant officer because they are not ready for women.... So as a female NCO, there was no way I was going to advance. You just get knives stabbed in the back the whole time. They are not ready for females in any top place within the CF. In any capacity. And I've heard this from female officers as well. So that's why I got out. I didn't want to waste 18 years, you know, not moving ahead.”
 - Katherine: There was no quote for this theme from Katherine as this theme did not fit with her experience.
 - Theresa: “I had a car accident.... I had to go and have a procedure done ... [and] it was excruciatingly bad and painful. And I was not under the impression that it was going to be that bad. So when my boss said, ‘How long are you going to be gone?’, I said, ‘As far as I know a day or two.’ It turned out to be a week.... When I walked in, my boss [my PO] was so angry with me.... My boss [my PO] comes in and he goes, ‘Chief wants to talk to you.’ ... So, the chief told me that he said that they felt that I was malingering that they were going to, that they had grounds to charge me for being adrift for the rest of the week that I was off. Now I had a sick leave pass [for the entire week]. I had an actual medical leave pass.... So I left and I called my doctor.... And she said, ‘XXXX [first name], what did you do?.... Your boss has been here five times today trying to get me to tell him that you are malingering.... Now I told him ... you're not malingering.’ ... So I went back over to the office, and as I'm going over [another] PO stops me and he says, ‘How did it go with the chief?’ And I said, ‘It didn't go very well.... They are going to charge me...’ So he goes, ‘XXXX [first name], do you understand what happened?... When you told XXXX [my PO] when you are going to be gone for two days, he booked a week on the golf course. He couldn't get his money back when you didn't show up.’ ... I walked into my chief's office and ... I said to him, ‘How dare you call my fucking integrity into question because XXXX [my PO] couldn't go fucking play golf. How dare you!’ I was so angry and so frustrated and pissed off.... So I just said to him, ‘You know what? I quit. I can't take it anymore. I quit. I'm so done with this it's not even funny. I'm leaving.’ I never heard of a guy being treated like this. I've never heard of it. It's because I'm a woman.... I never went back.... I think for me it was the straw that broke the camels back. I couldn't take anyone more bull shit. And I quit. I walked out.”

- Nadine: “Umm, it was a combination of things that led me to leave the forces.... And I had been involved in the military since I was 17 and I was getting a bit tired of it I guess. I wasn't competitive enough to fight it out with people any longer.... I was a bit uninspired by the double standards and gender discrimination, and just by some of the general bureaucracy in general.... Being tired of ... the gender issues, the double standards.... Yeah. Eventually you get tired of fighting the good fight. Even though sometimes you know the discrimination isn't overt and it isn't direct or whatever, it's always just a low-lying hum that is subtle and just follows you every day. And it's always there and you're always having to consider the way you're doing everything. And it wears on you after a while.”

4. Encouraged to be mini men

Descriptive Paragraph: Five out of six women described that part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be encouraged to be more like a man. Experiences were described where women encountered passive and subtle ways to encourage them to act in a more masculine manner, such as receiving praise or more acceptance when they were more masculine, or being told statements like “be a man”. One woman described having it beaten into her to be like a masculine soldier while another described that you have to be a mini man to survive the military.

- Stephanie: “I was on a four month course ... I had one particular U.S. navy chief who, and again every other word was f-ing this and f-ing that. I did ask him to stop and he didn't stop. And I did go to the person in charge of the class and was basically told, ‘Shut up. Who the hell do you think you are?’ ... He basically said to me, ‘You are in the navy, so suck it up’. There is also a general attitude that they had about I am a man in a man's navy, so be a man. And if you don't like it get out and go home.”
- Susan: “... certainly for the first few years, that's who I was. I was a masculine soldier. That's what had been beaten into us.”
- Andrea: “Umm, they tried to make women into men by just encouraging them when they are like them. If I could use an example of some of the really hard army occupations, the women that join those units and those occupations, and they swear, they spit, they do whatever. They almost become a man. And the men encourage that. ‘Oh yeah, she's cool, she's like us.’ But if you go in and you don't act like that, you're not as accepted as much ... if you don't quite act like the others are acting.”

- Katherine: There was no quote for this theme from Katherine as this theme did not fit with her experience.
- Theresa: “But, yeah, you do have to adapt to the verbiage. And if you don't, I mean, it's just not a very pleasant experience. So yeah, the whole macho attitude thing, I still have it.... You have to be a mini man to survive the military.”
- Nadine: “It's just apparent to women, it's just always there, sometimes subtle sometimes not, that their gender is an issue and that they should be more like men.”

Chapter VI: Discussion

Discussion

Upon writing this document awareness mounted of the significance of researching the lived experience of women veterans of the Canadian Forces. The number of women in the Canadian Forces is increasing yet women are entering into a world built around the needs of men, deeply enculturated with the attitudes and beliefs of men. This is stunting to the talents, skills, and dedication women offer. Research is needed to facilitate changes to the Canadian Forces, not in terms of tearing it down but in terms of building upon strengths and improving upon weaknesses. This research provides a foundational understanding of the essence of being a woman veteran of the Canadian Forces. With a foundational understanding of the core themes further research, understanding, and development to improve the environment for women can be pursued.

Discrimination, poor treatment based on a person belonging to a group rather than based on their actions, is the overarching theme for 14 of the 15 essential and significant themes that describe the core essence of being a woman in the Canadian Forces. Some of the current research themes have been echoed in previous research on women in nontraditional occupations, whereas other themes have not been documented to my knowledge.

The current study's essential theme of *Seen as less capable than men* is echoed in multiple other studies. Participants clearly described being compared unfavourably to men in terms of being thought of as less capable due to their gender, regardless of their competence and successful work performance. Other studies have revealed similar findings. Remington (1983) described women in nontraditional roles as being seen as

less capable than men regardless of their productivity and work success. Woodrow (2006) described underpinning social beliefs and attitudes men are better in specific occupations than women, underscoring the perceived limitation of women's work based on gender, not facts. Women are treated predominantly as subordinates by men (Yoder & Berendsen, 2001) as a tactic for the male dominant culture to remain in power and control (Rosell et al., 1995). Boldry (2001) states feminine attributes are seen as undesirable while masculine attributes (seen as motivation and leadership) are highly desirable. This finding supports the societal prejudice men are seen as good, capable, and possessing desirable attributes, and women are seen as less capable and possessing undesirable qualities.

The essential theme from the current study of being *Treated like dirt* is indirectly mentioned in other research about women in nontraditional occupations. In the current study women described being treated with ill will and malevolence ranging from hostility and physical assaults to institutional lack of protection. Kanter (1977) describes how dominant groups stereotype minority groups as symbols and outsiders in order to allow them to validate treating the outsiders poorly. By seeing the individual as a symbol, not a person, poor treatment is easier to execute. To see the individual as a human being would require belonging to a common group with the person which would make it more difficult to treat the person poorly. Military basic training severs individual identities and trains the members to act as a group, seeing themselves as one and as being the same (Black et al., 2007). This is done to assist humans to go against the natural aversion to killing (Grossman, 1996, 2001). The dominant group in the military is comprised of men. Perhaps the military tactic to form a cohesive group is so narrow women are rejected

from the definition of *sameness* due to their gender, despite other similarities. Thus, when women are excluded from the group and seen as outsiders it becomes easier to treat them with ill will and malevolence by seeing them as a symbol, not a real person. Rosell (1995) describes how women in nontraditional roles encounter high levels of violence. Yoder (2001) similarly reports women in nontraditional occupations are treated with great hostility. Many intertwining factors are at play that enables men to treat women in such a venomous manner.

The current study's essential theme involving women in the Canadian Forces being *Treated sexually inappropriately* has been widely written about in the context of women in nontraditional occupations. In the current study of the lived experience of women in the Canadian Forces participants described working in a sexualised environment and having sexualised comments made about them. Some women spoke of sexual assaults, rapes, and the prevalence of displaying and watching pornographic material in communal areas. There is a common theme that women in male dominated occupations describe sexual harassment as commonplace (Goldzweig et al., 2006; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Moradi, 2006; Skinner et al., 2000). Gonzalez (2007) emphasizes the hardship sexual harassment causes and its impact on loss of confidence in relation to work. Similarly Scheider et al. (1997) describes the sharp decrease in job satisfaction as a result of sexual harassment in the workplace. The pain and negative impact sexual harassment causes is highlighted by Dansky and Kilpatrick (1997) who warns of the increased risk of women in the United States military developing post traumatic stress disorder due to workplace sexual harassment. The occurrence of being treated sexually

inappropriately is a widely acknowledged experience for women in nontraditional occupations including the Canadian Forces.

Participants of the current study articulated the significant theme of *Scrutinized*, describing being examined in detail with critical attention. There were different beliefs expressed by participants about why women are scrutinized. Some participants thought they were scrutinized so others could identify any mistakes they made and use this against them. Others spoke about how they felt they were scrutinized due to the low numbers of women and the resulting obviousness with which they stood-out which made it easier to draw critical attention. Five participants described an ever-present perception they were being watched. Yoder (2001) describes that women in nontraditional occupations are hyper-supervised, having their work constantly looked over and being continually monitored. The various research studies have similar results to the current study and speak about a wider experience of women, not just in the Canadian Forces but in other nontraditional occupations, experiencing similar scrutinizing treatment.

Scrutinized is a significant theme and not an essential theme as one participant, Theresa, felt she was not overly scrutinized as a woman in the Canadian Forces. The majority of her career in the military was in a small specialised area where predominantly only women worked. She describes her experience in this occupation:

I had a great trade.... And my trade was filled with women. And all that male dominating, all that bull shit, wasn't there.... I had some really good upper chain of command that was all-female.... [T]here was none of that demoralizing, sexualizing, none of that. Not until I got back to the ship. [Author note: Women

are a minority on the ships.] I had a great, great environment. It was all about learning and exploring and understanding. It was just, it was like day and night. In the last few years of Theresa's career she worked on a naval ship, a male dominated work environment. By this point in her career she had been promoted in rank, which she felt cushioned her from the scrutiny she would have encountered as a woman in a male dominated environment if she was lower ranked. Theresa's story demonstrates the military environment itself does not develop scrutinization of women, but it is the men in this environment in combination with women in lower rank status that creates a dynamic where women are scrutinized. This provides hope, with women rising in rank and more women entering the military, that the theme of scrutinized may cease to exist in the future.

Participants felt part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces involved being encouraged to be more like a man, thus producing a significant theme titled *Encouraged to be mini men*. Women described being praised when they acted in a more masculine manner. As well, women stated they were repeatedly told statements like, "be a man" or, "get some balls". Some participants described subtle ways in which they were encouraged to be more like men, while others spoke of more severe and direct ways masculinity was encouraged. Of the participants in this study only one, Katherine, did not validate this theme as part of her experience. Katherine felt this theme would fit for most women in the Canadian Forces but not for her. The unit she was in responded better to her when she emphasised her femininity as opposed to masculinity. In connection with the theme *Trying to be treated better* she strategically emphasised her femininity to be more accepted by her group. Katherine described how other women in her unit who tried

to be more masculine, particularly if they were thought of as being homosexual, were treated worse than she was by the men. Katherine's strategy to garner better treatment was to emphasize her femininity. She mentioned if she had been in any other unit she probably would have been encouraged to be more masculine.

The phenomenological theme of women in the Canadian Forces being *Encouraged to be mini men* is unique; however, Prokos and Padavic (2002) state a similar finding for women in the police force where hegemonic masculinity was encouraged. The police recruits were taught masculine characteristics and styles of leadership were superior. Characteristics seen as feminine were relegated and emphasised as being undesirable and not appropriate in the police force. Boldry et al. (2001) describe an underpinning belief in military training that men possess good skills, such as motivation and good leadership qualities, whereas, conversely, women possessed attributes that invalidated effective military performance. The prevalence of this belief remains despite measured outcomes that show men and women do not deviate in the equality of their performance (Boldry et al.). In an environment where male attributes are seen as superior it makes sense women are encouraged to adopt more masculine traits.

Unique Contributions to Literature

The lived experience of women in the Canadian Forces has previously never been explored. This means all the current study's research themes are, therefore, unique and contribute to the literature. However, some of the themes are similar to research about women in nontraditional occupations or supported by research about gender discrimination. As such these echoed themes are not as informative. Yet they do contribute to the literature by specifying what occurs in nontraditional occupations is also

happening in the Canadian military. Some research themes from the current study are unique contributions to the literature as they are not paralleled or supported by prior research. The more unique themes are discussed in this section and are highlighted for their unprecedented contribution to research.

In the current study's essential theme of *Slut or a lesbian, take your pick*, participants describe part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be sexualized and categorized as either a slut or whore, or a lesbian or dyke. No literature or research describes this experience of women being categorised in these terms. Rosell et al. (1995) provide a possible explanation for this finding, stating women in minority numbers in nontraditional occupations are seen as *women* first and *role occupants* second. Male coworkers view female coworkers as women first and foremost, highlighting their sex over their work performance. Sex is the main division into which living things are placed on the basis of their reproductive functions (Soanes & Hawker, 2006). The female sex is made up of other differences (i.e., mother, not mother) more fitting with categorisation based on sex and reproduction. Perhaps it is not the emphasis on reproduction men are highlighting by categorising women as a slut or lesbian, but the description is used to denote sexual availability – lesbian and unavailable for sexual contact with men, or a slut and being highly available for sexual contact. The emphasis men use to describe women in these terms describes their lens of seeing women in the military in terms of potential for sexual availability for male sexual gratification. Further research would be needed to better understand reasoning behind denoting women in terms such as a slut or whore, or lesbian or dyke.

Unique to the research field is the current study's explicit essential theme of *Proving I'm good enough*. To my knowledge no other study describes this theme. Despite a lack of research in this area, it is not uncommon to hear women comment about 'needing to work twice as hard to be seen as half as good', which is *part* of this theme. The theme *Proving I'm good enough* summarises more than just working hard; it focuses on women working hard to *prove* themselves as *good enough*, and that they have a *right* to be there. This theme encompasses the *active* pursuit women engage in to demonstrate and show they are capable and have worth. Due to the automatic disqualification of women's value based upon discriminatory gender beliefs, women are trapped in a cycle of proving and re-proving their worth. J. N. P. Francis (1996) describes men and women as facing considerable job stressors. The additional energy used to overcompensate and continuously prove oneself causes additional job stress (Goldenhar & Sweeney, 1996). Women already face significant psychological and physical symptoms due to gender based discrimination including anxiety, depression, fearfulness, insomnia, headaches, nausea and gastrointestinal disorders, irritability, anger, weight loss, uncontrolled crying, fatigue, and dental problems (Dansky & Kilpatrick, 1997; K. T. Schneider et al., 1997). Knowing women in the Canadian Forces have further compounded stress develops a deeper understanding of the need to assist women in dealing with the multitude of layers of detrimental stress.

Prior to the current study, the essential theme of *Trying to be treated better* had not been documented. Participants describe *strategically* altering behaviours, appearances, and combating poor treatment in the attempt to be treated better and reduce the negative behaviours they were enduring. Wade (1997) speaks of a similar concept,

derived through personal observation and utilized for the purpose of therapeutic interventions, whereby people who are treated badly resist poor treatment through minor acts of resistance. Both the current research theme and Wade's work speaks to the proactive nature of humans' resistance to poor treatment and thereby seeking out better treatment. Resisting poor treatment and seeking better can be seen as a resiliency factor, one that speaks of determination and hopefulness. Remington (1983) describes women in nontraditional roles taking on masculine traits, though the research does not specify why or how this occurs. In the light of the theme of *Trying to be treated better* and the description of women taking on gender-neutral, more masculine, or specific feminine characteristics to garner better treatment, it is probable there is a link between Remington's findings and women in the current study trying to be treated better. The results of the current study can add to Remington's research, providing understanding into the experience (wanting to be treated better) rather than simply describing the external observation (women changed to look more masculine). Transcending the boundaries of observational description builds a sense of *why* and *how* women changed and their experience and reasons for altering. Part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to seek out better treatment through various means, working to create better dynamics, and reduce poor treatment.

Research and editorials on women in nontraditional occupations centres on discussions of discrimination and the various ways this surfaces and impacts women. The uniqueness of the current study's essential theme *Got some support*, thus, stands out in juxtaposition to other writings on the topic. This theme is a positive aspect of the lived experience of women in the Canadian Forces. For women in nontraditional occupations

receiving support from a supervisor is seen as crucial in the first year of work for women, without which they suffer more significantly (McIlwee, 1981). Amick and Celentano (1991) highlight women in nontraditional occupations are typically radically unsupported by their coworkers and supervisors. The participants in the current study unanimously spoke about receiving support and encouragement from some male and female coworkers and supervisors. The women spoke about the impact of this as being heartfelt and steadfast. Stephanie noted, "I felt encouraged by his acceptance of women." Susan mentioned when a man called her a soldier (not a *female* soldier), she would feel "like we were being held in that special place, that esteem as a soldier." Theresa describes a lasting impact saying, "One master corporal ... did care. I'll never forget him. He was a gentleman." The support was disseminated at different times by peers and supervisors providing encouragement in an environment rife with discrimination. The positive nature of this theme provides some balance in an environment dauntingly ripe with gender discrimination. The theme *Got some support* also highlights there are men who are supportive towards women being in the Canadian military. Not all men are discriminatory towards women in the military; some are supportive and encouraging.

The current study's essential themes *Visible and singled out* and *Perpetual outsider* are related though fundamentally different. They are related in the sense both are connected to the position women have in relation to the group of military men. The themes are distinctly different, for example the theme *Visible and singled out* describes how women experience others singling them out, emphasizing their gender difference from the majority of the group, and putting heightened attention on them. The emphasis of this theme is the experience women have of the actions of others in attempting to

separate women from the group. This is different from the theme *Perpetual outsider* where women described their experience as a result of not being accepted by the group, feeling alone, isolated, and being on the outside. This theme describes women's internal experiences of being outside and separated from the group. No other research directly reports either theme. There is supportive research addressing the importance of group cohesion and the detrimental impact of being outside of the military group, which adds to an understanding of the impact of the current study's themes. Kanter (1977) describes how the act of characterising and seeing someone as an outsider assists others in treating the person deemed an outsider poorly. Group membership is vital to good social and psychological functions (Cameron, 1999), as well, group cohesion is critical to operational effectiveness (Ahronson & Cameron, 2007). In other words, when women are singled out and made to feel as a perpetual outsider of the group they are at risk for social and psychological damage. Weakening members by singling them out and making them feel like a perpetual outsider damages the effectiveness of the group and, thereby, damages those inadvertently that ostracize the women. The act of singling out women is a tool used to assist in keeping the support and power offered by membership in the group closed to women. In military operations the survival skills of not standing out are emphasised. To stand out is a threatening position to be in. Military group functioning is based on working as a unit or team (Ahronson & Cameron), and being part of a whole that is praised for their sameness (Black et al., 2007). Group cohesion is a crucial small group property (Dion, 2000) resulting in team cohesion as being paramount for operational effectiveness (Ahronson & Cameron). Cohesion with the group is a predictor of job satisfaction (Dion), which leaves one to wonder if the converse is true. Group

membership is vital to social and psychological functions, enhancing affect and psychological well-being (Cameron; Wright & Staw, 1999). Singling out women and having them feel like a perpetual outsider from the group jeopardizes the functionality and unification of the unit in addition to women's well being. In an occupation where there is often no room for error or opportunity for second chances, operating at less than peak performance can have drastic and fatal results. The benefit of the research themes *Perpetual outsider* and *Visible and singled out* is they provide a clear statement of risk to military effectiveness, and, thus, provide a precise indication and opportunity for improvement.

Another unique contribution to research is the current study's essential theme *Given gender based tasks or opportunities*. Participants described part of being a woman in the Canadian Forces is to be selected for opportunities or tasks based on their gender. To my knowledge there is no other research that states women in the military or in nontraditional occupations *receive* tasks or opportunities based on gender discrimination. This theme is a more palatable form of discrimination, though it subscribes to the same tactic of giving treatment based on prejudice not on merit. Some of the tasks participants spoke about being given were menial and insulting; others were beneficial opportunities. The contribution of this theme is to emphasize the thoroughness of gender discrimination in the Canadian Forces, disguised in a more seemingly agreeable form.

The current study offers a specific theme not previously explicitly stated in other studies. Participants described the essential theme titled *Women demeaned* as part of their lived experience. This theme represents the experience of having the female gender in general being spoken about in demeaning and derogatory terms. Men in the military not

only discriminated against military women, but spoke in derogatory terms about *all* women. Yoder (2001) describes women being treated as subordinates, and Boldry et al. (2001) discuss how female attributes are seen as not desirable in male dominated occupations. Remington (1983) states women are seen as not as capable as men, and Woodrow et al. (2006) describes social discriminatory beliefs that men are better suited and more capable in specific occupations. All of these studies support an underpinning belief women are seen and treated as lesser than men. The support of these studies adds understanding to the specific experience of women in the Canadian military experiencing women in general being demeaned by men. The theme *Women demeaned* recognises a larger societal prejudice against women. Though knowledge about societal discrimination against women is not novel, the acknowledgement of it as a core essence in the lived experience of women in the Canadian Forces is unique.

The current study unearthed a significant theme called *Barriers around every corner* with women describing part of their experience of being in the Canadian Forces is to have limitations imposed on their opportunities and to encounter barriers. The participants spoke of being denied access to go to sea, participate in a tour, attend a specific training, or be given a promotion. Women encountering glass ceilings and barriers are not new concepts. It has been well documented women in nontraditional roles encounter limitations to career opportunities and advancement (Good news, 1999; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Nelson & Hitt, 1992; Yoder & Berendsen, 2001). An unique aspect to the theme of *Barriers around every corner* is the neutralising of women's career advancement due to pregnancies. To be a soldier or active on a naval ship requires physically demanding tasks potentially harmful to an unborn child. The Canadian

military, thus, removes pregnant women from dangerous occupational environments and gives them work in safer environments. Advancement in the military is based on points received for courses taken and roles performed in one's primary occupation and on tours. Being in active operations and tours, personnel have exposure to opportunities to gain points and expedite career advancement. If a woman is pregnant and put in a less harmful environment to protect her unborn child she is also removed from the ability to earn points necessary for advancement. This is the result of a system of career advancement that operates on point accumulation. For example in the case of a male and a female soldier who start their career in the military at the same time, work equally as hard, and are equally as good at their jobs, if the female becomes pregnant she will advance at a slower rate due to limitations imposed on her ability to earn points and advance while pregnant. Other occupations have different systems for advancement that do not penalise women for being pregnant. This theme of *Barriers around every corner* highlights the pervasive hindrance to women moving into higher positions and earning more money in the Canadian Forces due to pregnancy. Two participants in the current study, Nadine and Katharine, suggested a remedial action to correct this disproportionate impediment to women's career: When a woman returns from maternity leave, for the first year afterwards, offer her additional opportunities to take courses thereby assisting her to catch-up with points lost. The structure of advancement in the military creates barriers for women who become pregnant, adding to other limitations women encounter in their careers.

An additional unique contribution from the current study is the significant theme *That's enough! I quit!*. Participants spoke about the cumulative impact of the gender

discrimination they endured and how this was a factor in their decision to leave the Canadian Forces. Common for the participants who expressed this theme was a sense of being worn-down by the unrelenting maltreatment and discrimination. For some participants a heightened incident of discrimination was seen as a “last straw” and evoked a decision to retire; while others upon reflection realised they would never be accepted and would always face discrimination, and instead decided to leave. One participant, Katherine, felt this theme did not fit with her experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces. She retired due to stagnation of her career as a result of having children and her frustration at her lack of career advancement due to missed opportunities while pregnant. It is questionable whether the limitation to advancement due to pregnancy is a form of gender discrimination. It certainly is a barrier to women’s career advancement. Katherine did not articulate she felt it was discriminatory, so it can not be presumed this was her experience. Katherine’s experience in the military was juxtaposed to the other participants. She worked in a unit with men highly receptive to her emphasising feminine qualities. She faced the least amount of discrimination compared to the other participants in the study. Katherine states:

My experience as a woman in the forces is totally unique and different than any other woman I met or heard about. I think it is just because of the group of guys I was with and how receptive they were to me being a girly-girl. I didn’t have to deal with a lot of the harsher things other women had to deal with.

Early on in her career she understood the uniqueness of the support and acceptance she received from her unit and altered career paths in order to stay with her group instead of risking further discrimination elsewhere. By using strategies Katherine was successful in

being treated better and reduce the level of discrimination she faced. Unlike the other participants in the study who were worn down by the accumulation of discrimination resulting in retirement, Katherine did not retire for this reason. This theme is highly significant to the current research as it highlights the detrimental outcome of discrimination. In order to retain women in their positions based on participants' experiences and the theme *That's enough! I quit!* gender discrimination needs to be reduced. Participants that retired due to discrimination acknowledged if the discrimination was lessened they would have stayed in their careers longer.

Strength of Study

Understanding something previously unknown is to shape an emergent understanding based on material and experiences arising from interacting with it. The essence or core of the phenomena of being a woman in the Canadian Forces has, prior to this study, not been researched. This means any interaction in trying to understand or assist the women in the Canadian Forces has been done so blindly, unaware of the factors that shape and create its essence. The primary strength of this study is it describes and deepens an understanding of being a woman in the Canadian Forces, directly discussing what the core underpinnings are. This creates a foundation of knowledge previously unknown from which further understanding can develop.

In addition another strength of this study is the use of hermeneutic-phenomenology, a dependable research method that unearths an understanding of phenomena and, thus, is an appropriate tool for obtaining information about lived experiences. Engagement with this methodology requires a deeply reflective and exploratory process that suspends previous beliefs and understandings of the world so the

phenomena can be understood unclouded by preconceived ideas (Creswell, 1994). This methodology captures meaning unexplainable through quantitative measurement (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), instead focussing on a holistic emergent approach necessary for depth of understanding. Through use of phenomenological vocatio, allowing the phenomenon to speak for itself through the use of quotes, the study is strengthened through detail, voice, and tone.

A fortitude of this study is the use of participants to verify it as credible, authentic, give it criticality, and through supporting the researcher to provide integrity. The themes and respective participants' quotes were discussed with each participant, using criticality, to gain correction or validation of the findings. Through validation the participants confirmed the themes represented their experience and the quote was accurate and represented the respective theme, thereby verifying this research is credible. The study is also authentic as it represents the differences between the participants, discussing the range of experience instead of emphasising one experience over another. Integrity was upheld by the research in this study by repetitively and thoroughly checking the data and themes, and making transparent the strengths and limitations of the study. Reductio and self reflection were used in this process to support transparency of the findings and of the researcher.

Limitations of the Research

This study has a number of research limitations. The first set of limitations involved the participants. The data is based on self-reports, which can be inaccurate due to omissions or purposefully changed details (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). The information collected comes from women veterans of the Canadian Forces currently

residing in the Pacific Northwest. It is possible alternative themes may have arisen with participants in different areas of Canada. This study was conducted in English, due to the language abilities of the researcher, thereby limiting participation of francophone women. Canada is a bilingual country and women who predominantly speak French may have unique or different core experiences to those who are bilingual or primarily English speaking. Though some of the participants in this study were bilingual, it is worthy to note lack of inclusion of francophone participants is a limitation to the research. Also, the study due to its size will not be representative of all women veterans of the Canadian Forces. In addition, the study was limited to participation from women available for interviews during the period of December 1, 2008 to June 15, 2009. Ultimately the results are limited to being relevant for this specific time period from these participants in these circumstances, as culture, experiences, and realities change over time.

A second limitation to the study is the unseasoned experience of the researcher and the impact it may have had on the collection and analysis of material. Interview and analysis skills develop and improve over time. Due to the basis of hermeneutic-phenomenology and the close relationship of the participants and researcher through a dynamic interview dialogue, it is reasonable to assume a researcher with bountiful experience may be more skilled in extracting information in the interview. In the interview my role as researcher was to provide a comfortable atmosphere, ask specific questions while fostering a discussion of the answers utilizing probing, paraphrasing, and clarifying statements. Developing these skills takes time and practice and yet they are crucial for depth and accuracy of understanding. Though my primary training is as a counsellor, which includes learning skills with paraphrasing and asking clarifying and

probing questions, I recognise I am a novice to the field of research. Similarly my familiarity and practice with research analysis is limited.

To assist with my newly developing skills I utilized the more seasoned research skills of my supervisor in preparing for the challenges of language-based research (see limitations on methodology section for more information) and in understanding and focussing my understanding of the essences of the participants' lived experiences. I spent considerable time engaged in self reflection and deep contemplation about how to conduct an interview and interact with participants. I practiced my skills with my supervisor and conducted an entire interview with a mock-participant. I tested each of the interview questions asking multiple people their opinion on the clarity of the questions and the flow of the interview as a whole. I took significant time in preparing for the interview to assist with feeling comfortable so I could utilize my skills to the best of my abilities. I reanalysed material and deeply contemplated meanings from the interviews when engaging in a systematic process of extracting themes to off-set my novice analysis skills. I used member checks to further scrutinize my work. This provided the participants opportunity to correct any errors in interpretation and provide confirmation the themes were true. This is the highest level of validation which off-sets researcher experience, linguistic, and interpretive limitations.

Implication for Future Research

I find significant hope in the disconcerting theme of being *Treated like dirt*. If women in the military and nontraditional roles are treated with malevolence based on the notion they are outsiders to a group of men, considerable improvements can be made by shifting the group culture to emphasis the sameness of the genders and to ensure women

are seen as an integral part of the group. It is a challenging and monumental task to shift institutional and cultural attitudes and I do not presume to be any authority on how to create this change. An excellent research study would be to speak with military personnel who altered their attitudes and beliefs against women to inquire about what assisted them to change. Nadine, one of the participants, spoke about seeing one of the men alter his treatment of her, stating, “That [it] was pretty impressive that I actually had someone who was initially quite against me being there because I was a woman and now coming out and telling me to hang in there that I was doing something good.” Conducting research into what has helped create a sense of inclusion, valuing, and acceptance of women would provide a platform on which strategies to improve can be made.

A theme in the current research was *Got some support*, where women described as part of their experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces was to receive encouragement, acknowledgement, and support at different times from various people. McIlwee (1981) states it is crucial for women to receive support from a supervisor in their first year of work as a predictor for better treatment than women who do not receive such support. In consideration of this I am curious if the participants in the current research received support within their first year from a supervisor. To pursue McIlwee’s findings I suggest conducting research into whether receiving support from a supervisor or peer influences the longevity of a woman’s career in the Canadian military. How much support is needed to be significant? Do women perceive support as a resiliency factor?

Contrary to Bray’s et al. (1999) research which states women in the United States military use drugs and alcohol to cope with the stress associated with being a woman in the military, Canadian women did not report drug or alcohol use for coping with stress. In

the current study participants spoke of large amounts of alcohol being consumed in general by personnel (including themselves) in the Canadian military. When asked specifically if they used drugs or alcohol to assist them in coping, all participants denied this as a coping strategy. The response by participants to the question was one of surprise, which in combination with their answers, leads me to believe other factors must explain the use of drugs and alcohol by women in the United States military and not by women in the Canada military. An interesting future research study would be to understand what factors shaped these differences of why women in the United States military used drugs and alcohol as coping mechanisms and women in the Canadian military did not. Are the factors cultural? Are they as a result of the institutional military structure? Are there resources that assist women in the Canadian military to not use drugs and alcohol to cope?

In the current study women from the army and navy were interviewed. No women from the air force were interviewed. Bostock et al. (2007) describe in the United States military the prevalence of sexual abuse of women in the air force is twice the national average and makes up half of all military sexual assault complaints. The strong prevalence of sexual abuse in this area of the military inspires me to question if similar results would be noticed in the Canadian air force. How are the experiences different or the same for women in the air force, army, and navy? What contributes to the high prevalence of sexual abuse in the United States military and are those factors widespread in Canada? What alterations do military women think could be made to protect them from sexual abuse in the military?

Implications for Counselling Practice

Through knowledge there is the potential to develop deeper and richer insight and understanding. Qualitative research expresses knowledge steeped in details and depth, though lacking generalization to ease transferability of findings. This research provides enrichment of understanding of the lived experience of being a woman veteran of the Canadian Forces to provide a platform for discussion and exploration. This can assist professionals such as counsellors and psychologists by guiding them to possible areas for therapeutic exploration with clients who are female veterans. Having a loose framework of understanding of the current study's themes can assist therapists to detect and focus on indirect, vague, or subtle statements echoing themes from this study so they can be brought forward for further exploration. Without this framework of understanding statements made may be lost and left unexplored.

Key aspects of this study are beneficial for military and civilian counsellors to know when working with women in the military or women veterans. Professionals need to understand the monumental discrimination women endured from men and the lack of support they got from the military institution. Through their experiences with discrimination, women may have developed distrust of men and of organisations or large institutions, making it difficult for male professionals to build rapport and safety with their clients or making it difficult for clients to go to social services for assistance. Being informed of the background dynamics women experienced can enable male therapists to address feelings of distrust for men and institutions, anticipation of mistreatment by both, or potential fear or anger towards them. Professionals need to understand the complexity of stress women face in the military. It is beneficial to be able to screen for symptoms of

stress and teach skills for coping with stress. It is also important professionals understand *some* women had predominantly good experiences in the military. To assume all women faced discrimination is incorrect. Some women were able to reduce the amount of discrimination they endured through careful and planned use of various strategies. Being strategic is most likely a personal resource for many women in the military, which professionals may see presented in healthy and pathological ways. To try to be treated better women use strategies to guard themselves against mistreatment, reflecting, analysing, and debating best possible solutions to enhancing their circumstances and reduce their mistreatment. Therapists can approach the topic of strategising as a strength and resource to build upon. It is also worth noting being strategic can also be a tool used in manipulation. The theme of *Perpetual outsider* indicates women have spent considerable time being isolated, alone, and separate from others. Therefore, they may find engaging in counselling difficult, overly potent, and stimulating. Counselling is a process of building relationship and forming trust while exploring and developing deeper understandings and creating change. Being deprived of depth of connections may have hindered clients' abilities to know *how* to build relationship and trust. Pacing the sessions and understanding what appears as resistance to developing a relationship may be an inability to know how to connect with others (and a great opportunity for re-teaching how to build trusting relationships). A final key aspect to take out of this study that has therapeutic implications is the lack of mention women gave to post traumatic stress disorder. Only one participant mentioned this disorder briefly. The resounding focus was on gender discrimination not post traumatic stress disorder, which may be counter to assumptions about what symptoms military members may present with. A counsellor

would be incorrectly focussed to presume post traumatic stress disorder was a large part of the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces.

Personal Researcher Experience

Research is personal. I spent considerable time thinking about and crafting this study, meeting with participants, transcribing, analysing, and writing about the information shared with me. As with any experience that takes this volume of time and attention, it leaves behind imprints and subtle alterations.

The research process has led me through multiple highs and lows. I carefully wrote in my research journal about each of these experiences, seeking consultation with my supervisor and confidantes when necessary. After time erased most of the ups and downs from seeming importance, I am still left with some experiences that have resonated with me, leaving a lasting impact. It is here I will pay respect to the impact of these.

Hearing stories of women eager and proud to serve their country, filled with strength to endure challenging conditions, and an unwavering dedication to values of fairness, hard work, and respect, has left me with a feeling of veneration for the women. I am encouraged by their stories of perseverance. I feel respect for their accomplishments. I feel strengthened and enriched for knowing them and having their voices imprinted in my memory. I feel inspired by their journeys. This inspiration has left me feeling stronger and encouraged to resist gender discrimination on a broader community level.

Equal to my positive feelings towards the women are my negative feelings about the discrimination and abuse they endured. Hearing horror story after horror story left me wondering if it was possible for a woman in the Canadian Forces to have a good

experience. This led me to question discrimination in my own life and the layers of discrimination in my community. Not an uncommon task for me, this time it was fuelled with additional outrage after hearing these women's stories. The use of debriefing with my supervisor and writing about my thoughts and feelings has shifted my outrage to compassion for the men who do such acts. I have also developed an understanding of how the military institutional system, interlaced with the historical resistance to including women, and a societal devaluing of women has contributed to the men's behaviours towards women. This insight has captivated my interest in shaping attitudes about women and gender equality on a foundational community level. My initial dismay at the horror stories has transformed revitalized energy to combat discrimination.

Reflections on Alterations to this Study

Upon final thought regarding this research the inevitable question arises: If I could do the study over again what might I do differently? After much reflection I would improve the instructions given to participants when conducting the interviews in addition to improving the sound quality of the interviews.

I provided simple instructions for how to be a good participant in the interview. This included thinking about the question before answering it, asking for clarification about the question being asked, and taking as much time as necessary to answer the question. In addition I also asked participants to focus on answering the questions without the use of long stories or explanations. I encouraged participants to articulate their experience in explicit terms and not be drawn into telling stories. I believe if the instructions were more thorough further clarity would have been gained. This in turn would assist in the transcription of the interview and more explicit quotes to choose from.

If I could go back again, I would explain to participants that audiotapes do not pick-up nonverbal messages and that they need to express everything verbally. I would also practice what this looks like to ensure the participants had a solid understanding. A practice question could have been utilised to assist participants in honing their skills at communicating in this different manner. From the interviews I conducted there was material unsuitable for quoting, though it fit with the noted essential or significant themes because participants did not explicitly state what they were articulating. Instead they relied upon facial expressions, hand gestures, and other movements to convey meaning and messages. Though this heightens my understanding it is not usable in hermeneutic research.

Transcribing is an arduous task made more complicated by rushed speech or poor audiotape machine quality. Though I explained to participants at the beginning of the interviews to speak slowly, a well timed reminder part way through the interview would have assisted with slowing speech. If I could do the interviews over again I would use microphones pinned to the participant's lapels for increased verbal clarity and sound balance. Some participants were soft spoken, whereas I am not. This resulted in an imbalance of volume level that was particularly challenging to listen to when transcribing. Utilising better sound technology would have assisted with this and made the transcription process easier.

Appendix A: Canadian Military Rank Structure

There are two main categories under which military personnel fall: officers, non-commissioned members (NCM) also known as non-commissioned officers (NCO).

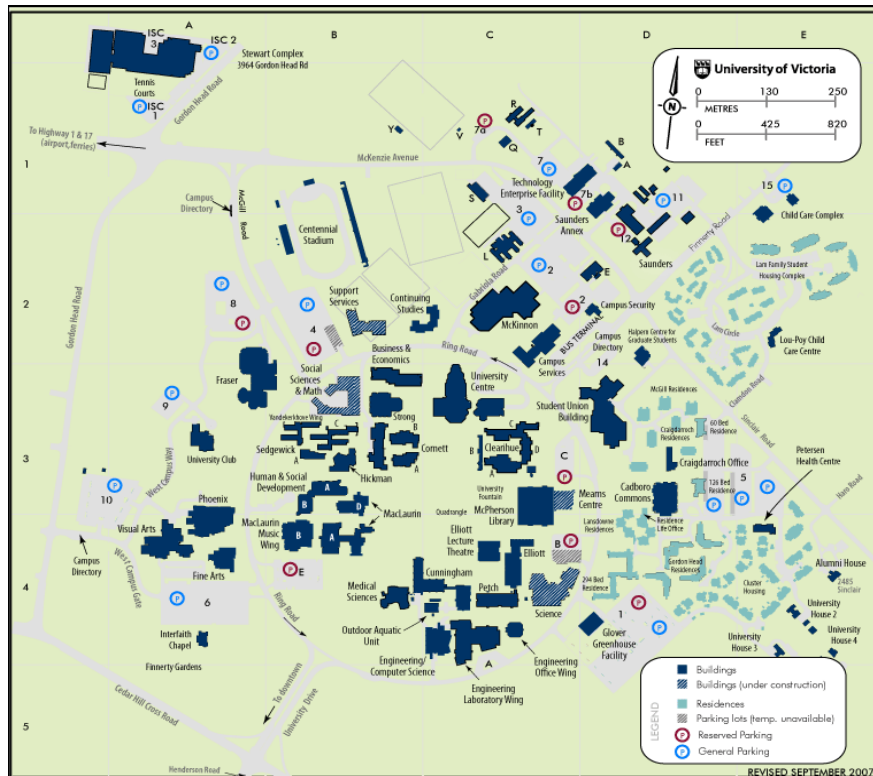
Commissioned officers are trained as leaders and hold command positions. Officers are separated into four distinct levels in the Canadian Forces: general or flag, field or senior officers, junior officers and subordinate officers. General officers command units and are expected to function independently for long periods of time. These ranks include general, lieutenant general, major general, and brigadier general. Flag officers include the admiral, vice admiral and rear admiral. Field or senior officers command units and are expected to operate independently for short periods of time and are usually found in infantry battalions, artillery regiments, and warships. These ranks include brigadier, colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major. Naval senior officer ranks include commodore, captain and lieutenant-commander. Junior officers generally do not command units (i.e. a signal or field station) independently. These ranks include captain and different grades of lieutenant (i.e. 2nd lieutenant and sub lieutenant). Subordinate officers are officers in training. Typically they have no authority over commissioned personnel, warrants, or officers, only having authority over lower subordinates. Warrant officers (i.e., chief warrant officer, master warrant officer and warrant officer) fit into their own category, held almost between commissioned and non-commissioned officers though they technically fit into the non-commissioned officer rank. Generally, they are senior non-commissioned officers who hold specialist appointments (i.e., physicians assistant) or hold operational command positions as the highest non-commissioned rank in the unit. Non-commissioned members make up the majority of people in the Canadian military,

and serve below commissioned ranks. Non-commissioned officers hold authority to supervise other members or have significant administrative duties. They take direct care over junior military members and work in smaller field units. The highest ranking non-commissioned officer is still subordinate to the most junior commissioned officer or warrant officer. Non-commissioned officer ranks include corporal, master corporal, sergeant, warrant officer, master warrant officer, and chief warrant officer. Petty officer first class, petty chief officer second class, and chief petty officer first class and chief petty officer second class are the naval equivalents. Personnel of the rank private and seaman hold no command authority.

Appendix B: Interview Location Information Given to Participants for University of
Victoria

Parking. Day and hourly parking permits are available from dispensers at a rate of \$1/hour to a maximum of \$6/day. Dispensers for day permits are located in all numbered lots outside Ring Road. Dispensers accept quarters, \$1 coins, \$2 coins, VISA and MasterCard. Day permit holders can park in any General Parking stall indicated by the blue signs. Parking meters are available in most lots. They accept \$1 and \$2 coins and quarters.

Map of the University of Victoria. Interviews will be conducted in the MacLaurin Building, A wing. The room number is 524. Go to the elevators near the Tim Horton’s café on the ground level, and go to floor 5.



Appendix C: Interview Form

Participant Code Name or Number:

Interviewer:

Interview Location:

Date of Interview:

Introduction (to be read to the participant)

Hello. My name is Sarah Buydens. I am conducting interviews with women veterans of the Canadian Forces to gather research data for my thesis. I am asking participants about their lived experience as women while in the Canadian Forces. I want to learn as much as possible about core experiences and common themes for you as a woman while in the Canadian Forces. This will give me information about the essence of being a woman in the Canadian Forces. The questions I will be asking do not have a right or wrong answer.

I have a tape recorder with me and would like to tape record the session. Everything you say will be kept confidential. I will not include your name on the tape and only I will be listening to the tape. No one will be named in any report that will be written. Do you have any objections to me tape recording our interview? *Remind the participant that they can request that you turn off the tape recorder at any point, or they can ask you to delete something they said from the transcript.*

(Unless the participant has any objection, tape record the interview).

Give participant the two consent forms. Ask the person to read them over and sign them.

Give the participant one copy of the consent form to keep for themselves and keep the other one.

Are there any questions you would like to ask me about the research before we begin?

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Question	Alternate Question	Prompt
1) What is it like to be a woman in the Canadian Forces?	Can you tell me about your experiences of being a woman within the Canadian Forces?	What else do I need to know to be able to understand what it is like to be a woman in the Canadian Forces?
2) How has being a woman played a role in your experiences in the Canadian Forces?	Can you tell me about situations where your gender played a role in your experiences in the Canadian Forces?	Can you elaborate on X?
3) Are there things you have heard about that have altered or shaped your behaviour as a woman in the Canadian Forces?	Can you tell me about the impact of things you heard about in your work as a woman in the Canadian Forces?	Tell me more about X.
4) How do you think being a woman in the Canadian Forces is different from being a man in the Canadian Forces?	Can you tell me about how your experiences as a woman in the CF were different from those your male colleagues?	Can you elaborate on X?
5) Can you tell me about ways in which your female characteristics have been impacted by being in the Canadian Forces?	How have your female characteristics been impacted by being in the Canadian Forces?	Tell me more about X.
6) How did your experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces fit with your thoughts of how your experience would be like when you entered?	How have your pre-conceived ideas of what your experience would be like, as a woman in the Canadian Forces, come true or not?	What was that like for you?
7) Can you tell me about your relationships and/or experiences as a woman with commanding officers, peers or co-workers?	What were your relationships and/or experiences with colleagues (commanding officers, peers, co-workers) like as a woman in the Canadian Forces.	Tell me more about X.
8) Describe your experiences with opportunities and barriers as a woman in the CF.	How did any encounters with gender discrimination in the Canadian Forces impacted you?	What was the impact of this on you? Tell me more about X.

<p>9) Tell me about your experiences as a woman working as a team member in the CF.</p>	<p>Tell me about your experiences as a woman working with male team members in the CF.</p> <p>Tell me about your experiences as a woman working with female team members in the CF.</p>	<p>How did this impact you? Tell me more about X.</p>
<p>10) What helped you to cope with your experiences as a woman in the CF?</p>	<p>Tell me about any positive or negative experiences of “coping” as a woman in the CF?</p>	<p>Tell me more about X.</p>
<p>11) What else do I need to know about to understand the experience of being a women in the CF?</p>	<p>Is there anything you wish people knew about the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces?</p>	<p>Tell me more about X.</p>
<p>12) Are there any questions I have not asked that I should be asking?</p>		<p>Tell me more about X.</p>

Additional Information

That was all I wanted to ask you. Is there anything else you would like to add to what you have said? Is there anything you would like to ask me about the research?

Snowball Sampling

Is there anyone you would recommend to participant in this research?

Thank you very much for your help with this research.

Appendix D: Consent Form

My name is Sarah Buydens (sbuydens@uvic.ca), and I am a Master of Arts student at the University of Victoria, in the department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies. I have worked as a civilian for the Esquimalt Military Family Resource Centre. I am presently working on my thesis, a program requirement to complete my degree. The topic of my research is *The Lived Experience of Women Veterans of the Canadian Forces*. I am working under the supervision of Dr. Tim Black (tblack@uvic.ca). He has worked in the Veterans Transition program and conducted multiple research studies related to the Canadian Forces.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore the experience of women in the Canadian Forces. Participants will be asked to talk about their experience of being a woman within the Canadian Forces.

Importance of this Research

There is a lack of research, insight, and knowledge about women in the Canadian Forces. The majority of recent research and literature reviews have focused on harassment, sub-group cohesion, improving integration, and leadership development. These studies have been funded by the Canadian Forces. To my knowledge no independent research exists. Women have been involved in the Canadian Forces since 1885, having integrated into combat positions since 1989. Although limited research exists, no research addresses the current needs, issues, desires, and experiences of women in the Canadian Forces, or qualitatively explores the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces.

The study of women veterans of the Canadian Forces is timely and significant today with increased use of women in combat positions and increased number of women entering the military. Women in the military are looking to professionals to provide support, understanding, and beneficial resources to assist them in these roles. Through research new knowledge can inform theory, which will assist professional support systems in improving enhanced support.

Participant Selection

I am looking for women who were military members in the navy, air force and army, and have been in the Canadian Forces for more than six months after 1989. Participants must be willing to talk about what it was like to be a woman in the Canadian Forces.

What is Involved?

Participants will be asked to discuss the core experiences of being a woman in the Canadian Forces. You will be asked to participate in two interviews that will be audiotaped. Your participation will begin with a discussion about the experience of being a woman in the Canadian Forces. Once your data has been collected and analyzed, a second interview will take place. At the second interview you will be invited to review the interpretations, verify them, and add or change any material in the analysis. I

anticipate the combined time to complete the two interviews will be between two to six hours, dependent on how much information and talking participants do.

The interviews will be conducted individually and will commence at mutually agreeable times between the dates of December 1, 2008 and June 15, 2009. The interviews will be conducted at the University of Victoria in Victoria, British Columbia. Maps of the University of Victoria or University of British Columbia, directions to the rooms, and parking details are available upon request. Information from this study will be used in writing my thesis, in scholarly publications, and at conference presentations. Copies of individual data results and/or all participants' data results are available upon request.

Inconvenience

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience such as travel to and from the interview and the time for the interview.

Benefits

There are potential benefits for participating in this research. Participants will have the opportunity to share their experience and have it impact research. Participants will have the opportunity to reflect on their experiences, perhaps gaining a new perspective or self-reflection from the process. Participants will gain insight on their experiences and see the commonality of their experiences with other women in the Canadian Forces.

This research has potential benefits to society. Knowledge and information emerging from this study can inform knowledge, theory, and practice in respect to women in the Canadian Forces. This can assist in improving programs, services, and support systems for women in the Canadian Forces, thereby strengthening the Canadian Forces.

To compensate participants for their time, each will receive \$30.00 for participating in the research, \$15.00 after the first interview and \$15.00 after the second interview.

Risks

There are potential risks to participants by participating in this research. These include possible emotional stress or discomfort from talking about stressful experiences. To prevent or deal with this risk, I have compiled the following list of agencies for participants to contact for support should they encounter emotional discomfort from the interviews:

Victoria Resources

Esquimalt Military Family Resource Centre 24 Hour Information Line	250-363-2640
NEED Crisis and Information Line	250-386-6323
Emergency Mental Health Services – accessed through NEED Crisis and Information Line	
Mental Health and Addiction	250-727-3544
Alcohol and Drug Counselling Program	1-800-663-1441
Urgent Short Term and Treatment (USTAT)	250-213-4400
Sooke Family Resource Society – Counselling Centre	250-642-5152
Victoria Family Violence Prevention Society	250-380-1955
Women’s Sexual Assault Centre	250-383- 3232
Capital Mental Illness Information	250-389-1211
Mental Health Info Line	1-800-661-2121
Narcotics Anonymous	250-383-3553
Single Parent Resource Centre	250-385-1114
Women’s Transition House, Victoria	250-385-6611

Should participants experience distress at any time during the interviews, they can take a break, terminate the interview and resume the interview another time, or withdraw from the study. Any of this may be done without any risk or consequence.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this research must be voluntary. Participants may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without repercussion. Participants have the right to refuse to discuss any aspect of their experience as a woman in the Canadian Forces they do not wish to mention. If a participant decides to leave during the study, the audiotapes of this interview will be erased and any notes be shredded, unless the participant gives consent to use the material already obtained.

Compensation

As a way to compensate you for any inconvenience related to your participation, you will be given a total of \$30 cash, \$15 after the first interview and \$15 after the second interview. If you agree to participate in this study, this form of compensation to you must not be coercive. It is unethical to provide undue compensation or inducements to research participants. If you would not participate if the compensation was not offered, then you should decline.

Anonymity

Individual interviews will be audiotaped. The audiotapes will be erased upon completion of the project by January 2010. The written text of the interviews will be kept for future conferences and papers. A pseudonym will be used in place of a participant’s real name. Only the researcher, Sarah Buydens, will know the participant’s real identity.

All information obtained will be kept confidential and interview results will be kept in a locked file cabinet.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality will be maintained throughout. Due to British Columbia law, there are a few situations where the researcher is lawfully bound to break confidentiality. These include hearing about a child or vulnerable person at risk for abuse, a participant at risk for suicide, or person at risk for harm or death (other than related to military duty). Should the need arise the researcher will protect participant identities as much as possible.

Participant confidentiality and the data will be protected by securing audiotapes, transcribed data, and consent forms in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher's home. Any data stored on computer will be password protected. This data will be destroyed after 10 years. Audiotapes will be destroyed 1 year after full transcriptions are made.

On-going Consent

To confirm your consent to participate in this research, I will ask participants to sign a consent form at the beginning of the first interview. I will remind you and ask for verbal consent at the beginning of the second interview and resign the original consent form.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: directly to participants, published articles, thesis, presentations at conferences or to the public, and scholarly meetings.

Disposal of Data

Tape recorded data from this study will be disposed of by January 2010. Paper copies of transcripts will be kept in a locked file at the researcher's home for future reference.

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include the researcher, Sarah Buydens, at sbuydens@uvic.ca 250-884-6439 and research supervisor, Dr. Tim Black at tblack@uvic.ca or 250-721-7820. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria at 250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca.

I, the undersigned, give my permission to take part in the study described above, interview #1.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Participant's Name (please print): _____

Participants Signature: _____ Date: _____

I, the undersigned, give my permission to take part in the study described above for, interview #2.

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Participant's Name (please print): _____

Participants Signature: _____ Date: _____

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix E: Participant Recruitment Poster

Looking for Women Veterans to Participate in Research

WHO

Women veterans who served in the Canadian Forces for more than six months since 1989. Participants must be willing to talk about what it is like to be a woman in the Canadian Forces.

WHAT is Involved?

Participants will be asked to discuss the core experiences of being a woman in the Canadian Forces. There are two interviews, which will be tape recorded.

WHEN

The interviews will be done individually and will commence at mutually agreeable times between the dates of December 1, 2008 and June 15, 2009.

\$15 will be given after each interview, to compensate for your time

PURPOSE

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore the experience of women in the Canadian Forces. Participants will be asked to talk about their experience of being a woman within the Canadian Forces.

IMPORTANCE of this Research

There is a lack of research, insight and knowledge about women in the Canadian Forces. No research addresses the needs, issues, desires, and experiences of women in the Canadian Forces.

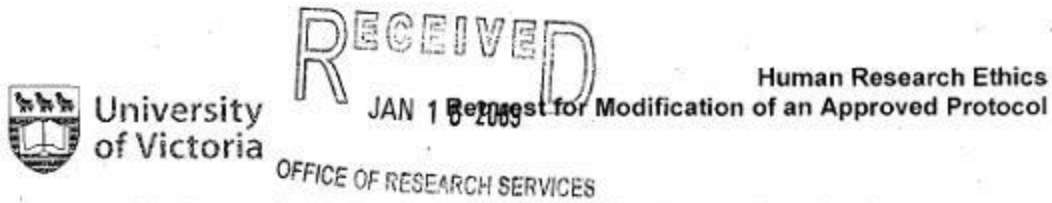
For more information, or to participate, contact:

Sarah Buydens at sbuydens@uvic.ca

Sarah Buydens is a Master of Arts student at the University of Victoria, in the department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies. She has worked as a civilian for the Esquimalt Military Family Resource Centre. She is working under the supervision of Dr. Tim Black (tblack@uvic.ca). He has worked in the Veterans Transition program, and conducted multiple research studies related to the Canadian Forces.

Participants' information is kept confidential and private.

Appendix F: Application for Ethics Approval for Human Participant Research



The Request for Modification form is an institutional protocol based on the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans

Instructions:

1. Download this Request for Modification and complete it on your computer. Hand written applications will not be accepted.
2. **Submit one (1) original and one (1) copy** of this completed, signed application with all attachments to: Human Research Ethics, Technology Enterprise Facility (TEF), Room 218, University of Victoria, PO Box 1700 STN CSC, Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada. The review period for Modifications is approximately two weeks.
3. If you need assistance, contact the Human Research Ethics Assistant at (250) 472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca
4. **NOTE: all forms are screened and will be returned to the applicant if incomplete (e.g. missing required attachments, signatures, documents).** Forms may be secured with one staple or clip. **Please do not staple or clip appendices into individual documents**

A. Principal Investigator

If there is more than one Principal Investigator, provide their name(s) and contact information below in Section B, Other Investigator(s) & Research Team.

Last Name: **Buydens**

First Name: **Sarah**

Has there been a change in the Principal Investigator? If yes, provide the name of the previous PI:

No

Department/Faculty: **EPLS, Counselling Psychology** Email:

Phone: Fax: **N/A**

Mailing Address including postal code: **734 Cowper Street, Victoria BC, V9A 2E9**
(if left blank, the Certificate will be sent to your department)

Title/Position:

- Faculty Undergraduate Ph.D. Student
 Staff Master's Student Post-Doctoral

Students: Provide your Supervisor's:

Name: **Dr. Tim Black**

Email: **tblack@uvic.ca**

Department/Faculty: **EPLS, Counseling Psychology** Phone: **250-721-7820**

Graduate Students: Provide your Graduate Secretary's email address: **eplsgrad@uvic.ca**

B. Project Information

Original or most recent Protocol Number: **08-265**

Original Project Title: **The Lived Experience of Women Veterans of the Canadian Forces**

Project title if modified: **N/A**

Date Recruitment or Data Collection began: **Dec1, 08** Anticipated End Date of Data Collection: **Jan 30, 09**

FOR THE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS OFFICE USE ONLY		Current Protocol No.
Board Chair Approval Signature:		Approval Date:
Original Start Date:	Approval Expiry Date:	Renewal Due:

Is this project connected/associated/linked to one that has been recently submitted? Yes No

If yes, provide further information:

All Current Investigator(s) and Research Team: **N/A**

(Include all current and new co-investigators, students, employees, volunteers, community organizations.)

Contact Name	Role in Research Project	Institutional Affiliation	Email or Phone
--------------	--------------------------	---------------------------	----------------

For Faculty Only: Any Graduate Student Research Assistants who will use the data to fulfill UVic thesis/ dissertation/ academic requirements: Include all current Graduate Student Research Assistants. **N/A**

Student/Research Assistant	Email or Phone
----------------------------	----------------

C. Agreement and Signatures

Principal Investigator and Student Supervisor affirm that:

- I have read this modification and it is complete and accurate.
- The research will be conducted in accordance with the University of Victoria regulations, policies and procedures governing the ethical conduct of research involving human participants.
- The conduct of the modified protocol will not commence until ethics approval has been granted.
- The researcher(s) will seek further HREB review if the research protocol is further modified.
- Adequate supervision will be provided for students and/or staff.

Principal Investigator

Student's Supervisor

--	--

Date

Date

Departmental Chair, Director or Dean

I affirm that adequate research infrastructure is available for the conduct and completion of this research.

--

Date

D. New Project Funding

Have you applied for new funding for this project? Yes No Year

Has notice of award been received since previous ethics approval? Yes No Year

Please complete the following:

Source(s) of Project Funding	Project Title used in Funding Application(s)
------------------------------	--

Will this project receive funding from US Funders (e.g. NIH)? Yes No

If yes, provide further information:

Synopsis of Study Progress

1. Progress

Please provide a brief description of the progress to date:

I have over 10 participants for this study, one of which has been interviewed. The other local participants will be interviewed this week. The remaining participants live throughout Canada. I am applying for modification to my ethics application to be able to interview the remaining participants over the phone.

2. Adverse Events

a. Have there been any adverse events experienced with this research? An adverse event is any adverse change in well-being or "side-effect" that occurred in a person or community group who participated in the research project.

Yes Possibly No

b. If Yes or Possibly, identify and explain how it was addressed:

c. Did you complete and submit an Adverse Event Report to the Human Research Ethics office?

Yes No

3. Modifications

Please outline the details and rationale for the changes along with a brief synopsis of the progress to date. Attach copies of any modified forms, advertisements or questionnaires.

All previously approved appendices must be submitted with modifications underlined.

Modification to Recruitment	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No Rationale: Attach copies of revised recruitment scripts, letters, advertisements, invitations etc.
Modification to Participants E.g. pool, group, numbers of, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No Rationale: Attach copies of recruitment tools, consent forms, advertisements etc
Modification to Data Collection Method	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Rationale: The majority of people interested in participating in the study live too far away to conduct face-to-face interviews. Not enough people in my surrounding area have

	<p>volunteered to participate. In order to meet my recruitment requirements, I need to interview participants who live at substantial distance from Victoria. It would be beneficial to completing this study in a timely manner if I can conduct telephone interviews.</p> <p>Attach copies of revised instruments, surveys, interview or focus group questions</p>
<p>Modification to Consent</p>	<p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/>Yes <input type="checkbox"/>No</p> <p>Rationale: Slight changes to the wording of the consent form (sections: "Risks" and "On-Going Consent") are necessary to reflect the different location of participants and their possible need for additional resources.</p> <p>Attach copies of the revised consent forms, scripts, or letter of information for implied consent.</p>
<p>Other Modification(s)</p>	<p>Specify changes with rationale:</p> <p>Attach all applicable details.</p>

4. Other Information

Please provide any other pertinent information here, or attach the details to this form:

Appendix G: Human Research Ethics Board Certificate of Approval

Human Research Ethics Board
Office of Research Services
University of Victoria
Administrative Services Building - 2nd Floor
Tel (250) 472-4545 Fax (250) 721-8960
Email ethics@uvic.ca Web www.research.uvic.ca

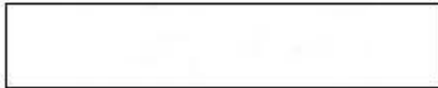
**Human Research Ethics Board
Modification of an Approved Protocol**

<u>Principal Investigator</u> Sarah Buydens Master's Student	<u>Department/School</u> EPLS	<u>Supervisor</u> Dr. Tim Black
<u>Co-Investigator(s):</u>		
<u>Project Title:</u> The Lived Experience of Women in the Canadian Forces		
<u>Protocol No.</u> 08-265b		
<i>For modifications to an Approved Protocol, your protocol approval period remains the same as your original certificate of approval.</i>		

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol. Extensions and/or amendments may be approved with the submission of a "Request for Annual Renewal or Modification" form.



Dr. Richard Keeler
Associate Vice-President, Research

08-265b Buydens, Sarah

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