TRIAL EMPLOYMENT OF CANADIAN FORCES SERVICEWOMEN
IN A COMBAT SERVICE SUPPORT UNIT

By
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We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

In response to the promulgation of the Canadian Human Rights Act, 1 March 1978, the Canadian Forces initiated five, four-year studies of the employment of servicewomen in previously all-male units. The overall aim of the SWINTER (Servicewomen in Non-traditional Environments and Roles) trials, which commenced in 1980, was to assess the impact of employing servicewomen on the operational capability of near-combat or remote, isolated units. Based on the results of these trials, servicewomen either will be placed permanently into similar units across Canada or they will revert to their traditional, pre-trial roles. Because these decisions must be made with the concurrence of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the results of the trials must provide sound evidence of a bona fide occupational requirement for continuing the historical employment discrimination against servicewomen.

The focus of this thesis was the land element (or "army") trial being conducted in Canadian Forces Europe (CFE), Germany, and, specifically, 4 Service Battalion (4 Svc Bn), a combat service support (logistics) unit. Thirty-nine servicewomen had been posted into the unit in September, 1980; three years later, the number had been increased to 54 or approximately 12% of the Battalion's strength. In September, 1983, intensive one-and-a-half to two hour interviews were held with a selected sample of 30 of the servicewomen at CFE, to confirm data gathered during
the first three years of the trial by an onsite Social and Behavioural Science Advisor and a participant-observer in May, 1982.

Records of interviews conducted prior to their posting to 4 Svc Bn indicated that the servicewomen were highly motivated and self-confident trial participants with good work histories. They believed that by proving their abilities, they would be accepted into the previously all-male military unit as legitimate members and would influence a successful trial conclusion which would generate a policy to permanently employ servicewomen in all combat service support units. In other words, performance would facilitate their acceptance by the servicemen and integration into the Battalion. It was found that although performance and demonstrated ability were high, the servicewomen's expectations were not met. Over time, they had become discouraged and disillusioned about serving in the near-combat unit.

In conjunction with recent sex-role literature, status characteristics and expectation states theory was used to explain the socio-psychological process whereby expectations based on performance are formed. Kanter's structural/numerical proportions model was then reviewed for its appropriateness in describing the unmet expectations of the servicewomen. The concept of token status and six ensuing interaction patterns resulting from the perceptual phenomena of visibility (overobservation, extension of consequences, attention to token's
discrepant status, fear of retaliation) and polarization (exaggeration of the dominant's culture, loyalty tests) were then applied. It was determined that, while performance or demonstrated ability are necessary to establish some credibility, when one social category holds token status as the servicewomen did in the Land Trial, integration remains handicapped. Expectations for acceptance cannot be met and very marginal group membership is perpetuated.

The implications of the findings for the Canadian Forces were discussed. The results of this study were related specifically to the Land Trial and generally to the potential impact on military small group cohesion should servicewomen be permanently employed in the combat service support units.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

SCOPE OF STUDY

As a direct response to the promulgation of the Canadian Human Rights Act, 1 March 1978, the Canadian Forces (CF) has been reviewing the scope of employment available to women to avoid potential charges of discrimination. Central to this review is a set of five studies, termed the SWINTER (Servicewomen in Non-traditional Environments and Roles) trials, being conducted in previously all-male units. The overall aim of the trials which commenced in 1980, is to assess the effect of the employment of servicewomen on the operational capability of near-combat or remote, isolated units. Five related sub-objectives include comparisons of the work performances of individuals, single-sex and mixed-sex groups; assessment of the behavioural and sociological impact on the trial units; analysis of Canadian public and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) opinion on the employment of servicewomen in non-traditional roles; and, determination of resource implications of the expanded participation of women in the CF. After the final trial is completed in October, 1985, decisions will be made as to whether women will be placed permanently into similar units across Canada or whether they will revert to their pre-trial roles. Because these decisions must be made with the concurrence of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the results of the trials must provide adequate evidence of a bona fide occupational requirement justifying any restrictions on the employment of servicewomen.
Two units, 4 Service Battalion (4 Svc Bn) and 4 Field Ambulance (4 Fd Amb), comprise the land element (or "army") trial being conducted in Germany. 4 Svc Bn, the focus of this thesis, is a logistical support unit responsible for providing maintenance, transportation, and supplies to the forward fighting troops. The Battalion is, therefore, considered to be a near-combat unit for, while it may become involved in the zone of direct combat, its primary function is to provide support to the combative units. The work is physically demanding (for example, changing the tires of a five-ton truck, digging field latrines and protective body trenches during an exercise) and involves numerous "exercises" during which sustenance and tactical field tasks, and trade-related skills are practised and tested.

Since mid-1980, 4 Svc Bn has employed between 39 and 54 servicewomen who have comprised approximately 12% of the unit's strength. All but two of the servicewomen have been non-commissioned officers. The majority of the servicewomen have been corporals employed in the following trades: Mobile Support Equipment Operator (driver), Vehicle Technician, and Supply Technician.

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1In September, 1980, there were 39 servicewomen in the Battalion. Three years later, this total had increased to 54 servicewomen.
A Social and Behavioural Science Advisor (SBSA) attached to Canadian Forces Europe Headquarters at Lahr, Germany for the duration of the trial, is responsible for monitoring the socio-psychological aspects of the integration process. Various methodologies have been employed to gather information including semi-annual questionnaire administration, annual structured interviews, participant-observation, performance measurement, and informal "information osmosis" such as casual conversation with the Battalion members. The SBSA reports are combined with operational assessments prepared by commanding officers to provide semi-annual progress reports.

The summer of 1983 marked the completion of the third year of the four-year trial. The following represents some of the findings to date noted in the SBSA reports (Resch, 1980, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983a, 1983b). According to unit personnel in senior supervisory positions, having between 12% and 15% servicewomen in the unit has made no impact on operational effectiveness. Senior unit personnel have also observed that servicemen posted into the units since 1980 appear to be more accepting of mixed-gender units than their male colleagues who were in the units prior to the arrival of the servicewomen. In addition, servicewomen posted into the units during the third year of the trial do not appear to be having the same adjustment problems as the initial group of servicewomen. The female voluntary release rate has been higher than the
male attrition rate: by the summer of 1983, 43% of the original 4 Svc Bn servicewomen and 70% of the original 4 Fd Amb servicewomen remained compared with approximately 95% of the servicemen who arrived in 1980. The most common reason given by the servicewomen for requesting their release was dislike of field life. (It is important to note that a particular release policy applied to the SWINTER participant. As will be explained in Chapter III, the servicewoman, unlike the serviceman, could not request a compassionate posting to a non-trial unit or back to Canada but, instead, had to request her release from the CF.) Although less than half of the original group of 4 Svc Bn servicewomen remain, half of this group have been promoted in rank, demonstrating competence and an ability to adapt to field life. Between 40% and 45% of the servicemen believe that there has been a decrease in operational effectiveness, morale, and confidence in the unit's ability to succeed in its operational mission since the introduction of the servicewomen. This negativism has been relatively constant over the three surveyed years. While tolerant of the presence of servicewomen during peacetime, just over two-thirds of the servicewomen also said that they would prefer not to work in mixed-gender units during a crisis. Finally, 12% of the servicewomen sought professional help for stress-related problems during 1982. Although the servicewomen have demonstrated higher levels of stress than the servicemen since the beginning of the trial, the level of stress appears to be declining somewhat. "The apparent reduction in
levels of stress can be attributed to the increased experience of the women, their greater numbers, and the adaptation of the men to the fact of women serving in the field with them" (Resch, 1983b:10).

In addition to the questionnaire and interview data, task performance was extensively observed, tested, and recorded between 1980 and 1982 (Foresstell, 1982). It was found that there were no statistical differences in the performance ratings of all-male and all-female groups on "common" (sustenance, tactical, and common trade) and "unique trade" tasks. Varying the percentage of female content from 10% to 50% had negligible impact on performance in the above four task categories. A difference was found when the individual mean performance ratings were compared: individual men were rated significantly higher than individual women on the three categories of the "common" tasks and equivalent to individual women on the unique trade tasks.

There is ample evidence that the differences in strength, endurance, experience and training between the men and women result in lower levels of performance on field and strength related tasks by the women. The team oriented approach to such tasks and discriminating leadership, however, act to balance out these differences. Supervisors continually report that although completion time may be extended, mixed gender or all female groups always finish the job.

(Resch, 1983b:7)
In addition, it has been noted that, as could be expected, the physical capabilities of the servicewomen have increased with length of time served in the field unit. Tasks that were problematic for the newcomers to complete offer no difficulties to the servicewomen that have been with the unit for at least two years.

The fourth technique, participant-observation, was employed to obtain information in May, 1981 and May, 1982. I was assigned to a transport platoon within Supply and Transport Company, 4 Svc Bn, which participated in an eight-day field exercise in May, 1982. My assigned objective was to confirm and supplement data gathered previously by other means in the following areas: general climate (dominant concerns, prevailing attitudes toward women being in the field), sociometric/interaction patterns, sources of stress, commitment to the combat situation and to completion of the four-year posting to the unit, leadership styles, tactical ability, and personality traits as a factor of adaptation. The following prevalent and unexpected findings from the participant-observation related to performance expectations provided the impetus for this study (Karmas, 1982).

Performance (defined as ability plus effort) was highly salient and differentially significant to the servicewomen and servicemen. On a macro-level, the servicewomen believed that their good performance would
lead to a "successful" decision being rendered at the conclusion of the Land Trial and the consequent opening of combat service support roles to women. On a personal level, the servicewomen believed that good performance would override any negative connotations associated with their being female. The servicemen, therefore, would realize that the servicewomen were legitimate unit members and would view female newcomers positively because of the efforts of the Battalion's more tenured servicewomen. Conversely, the servicewomen were also sensitive to the potency of generalizations made from the poor performers to all of the servicewomen.

It became apparent during the participation-observation that the servicemen were not making the generalizations that the servicewomen had hoped for or expected. First, while the servicewomen assumed that their performance was the criterion for expanding or restricting the role of women in the military, several servicemen spoke disparagingly about the decision-making process saying that, "It [the final decision] is all political." They thought that the trial outcome was "fixed" as the decision to open the field units to women had already been made regardless of the actual trial results.

Second, although the servicemen acknowledged performance by constantly identifying the good female workers, they did not generalize
beyond these favourable individual assessments. Instead, they seemed to think of the good female workers as exceptions. In addition, even though good performance was informally recognized, the formal organizational reward of the servicewomen's performance by promotion was not acceptable to the servicemen. When servicewomen were promoted (or a promotion was anticipated), the servicemen denied their ability as it was incompatible with their sex. The servicewomen could not be seen as being better than the servicemen.

Third, there was a suggestion that the second aspect of the servicewomen's two-part expectation (good performance acknowledged and femaleness overlooked) was not occurring. With the realization that (some) servicewomen could function credibly in the field came a depreciation of performance in favour of other reasons for excluding servicewomen from the unit such as emotionalism, interfering boyfriends, menstruation and hygiene complications, and sexual liaisons.

A final observation concerns what has come to be known in all of the trials as the "goldfish bowl" phenomenon. The servicewomen were few in number and highly visible. At the beginning of the trial, they were filmed and photographed by the media; later, they were scrutinized constantly by peers, supervisors, and researchers. Both the servicemen and the servicewomen complained that the trial conditions placed undue and unfair pressure on the servicewomen but that did not stop the
servicemen from focusing critically on their female peers.

To summarize, the participant-observation findings suggest that two different criteria, performance and sex, were being used during informal evaluation. The servicewomen believed that ability and effort would demonstrate to the CF that women could function effectively in a non-traditional role and that to their male peers, it was performance that mattered, not the fact that they were females. If they could do the job, being a female should be insignificant. They also believed that their good performance would contribute to an environment that was free from any hostility generated by a negative sex bias. This was important for future female newcomers. As for the servicemen, they praised the work of individual servicewomen, did not generalize the positive evaluations to all servicewomen, and did not want the organization to reward their performance with promotions. Further, depreciation of the importance of the servicewomen's performance had occurred. After two years of observation and testing, it has been determined that most of the servicewomen can do most of the jobs as well as the servicemen. (Generally, any problems have been attributed to physiological makeup or to a lack of prior field training, not to a lack of motivation or desire to work.) Now that the ability to perform the requisite tasks has been established, the servicemen seem to have shifted their focus from performance to the negative stereotypes associated with being a female.
They stated that women do not belong in a field unit, not because they are incapable, but because they are, for example, too emotional, afraid of the dark, or morally loose. The servicewomen were experiencing stress and frustration which were related, perhaps, to the consequences of different evaluative criteria being used. Regardless of how well the servicewomen performed, they were starting to believe that the servicemen really preferred that they not be in the unit.

The foregoing participant-observation findings demonstrated blatant contradictions between the expectations held by the servicewomen for their acceptance as legitimate unit members and their actual acceptance by their male peers. Our society values the idea that competence or ability should be rewarded and that achievement should dominate ascriptive status. In the case of the trial objective, the guiding assumption is that if the servicewomen perform to a standard acceptable to the organization, they cannot be barred from full and varied near-combat employment opportunities. The trial scenario, therefore, demands high performance. The participant-observation suggested that, for the servicewomen, the definition of a successful trial would be their acceptance by the servicemen as equally capable unit members and the permanent expansion of their employment into non-traditional areas. Good performance should result in these successes.
Even though performance is highly valued in a structured meritocracy such as the military bureaucracy, the participant-observation has suggested that the variable of sex impacts upon the formation of the performance expectations. The female sex is devalued in society as a whole and even more so in the military where being a soldier is the antithesis of being female. From the participant-observation it was learned that the serviceman's expectations for the performance of the servicewomen in the near-combat role was influenced by the characteristics or stereotypes associated with the female sex. This was both unexpected and contrary to the servicewomen's expectations for their acceptance which was based on hard work, diligence, effort, and enthusiasm. The servicewomen had omitted any negative values associated with the female sex from their performance - acceptance model.

It was also concluded from the participant-observation that the characteristics of the trial had a major impact on the unmet expectations of the servicewomen. The servicewomen were "double deviants" because they were low in number and status inconsistent (female soldier). They were inexperienced with the combat service support role when they arrived at 4 Svc Bn, a previously all-male unit which carries out male sex-typed tasks such as trucking, vehicle repairing and soldiering. Finally, the servicewomen are status tenuous until the trial terminates in 1984 and a final report is submitted to the Chief of Defence Staff in 1985. The
purpose of this study, then, is to link two bodies of literature: the socio-psychological dynamics of employing women in a predominantly male work environment best described by the status characteristics and expectation states literature and the structural/numerical proportions model developed by Kanter (1977a, 1977b). It will be demonstrated that the expectations for acceptance and trial "success" held by the servicewomen were based on their performances but that these expectations were unrealistic because of the contradiction between the value placed on the female sex and the value placed on performance in a military organization. It also will be shown that structural/numerical trial factors beyond the control of the servicewomen hindered the servicewomen's expectation fulfillment.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

Chapters II and III provide the historical and environmental contexts, respectively, for the analysis of the integration and acceptance of the SWINTER participants within the Land Trial. Chapter II documents the evolving role of servicewomen since 1885 highlighting the impact of external pressure on the Department of National Defence's decisions to remove some of the employment barriers and discriminatory policies affecting servicewomen. Emphasis is placed on the Canadian Human Rights Act as it directly influenced the creation of the SWINTER trials. Details on the Land Trial are provided in Chapter III. They
include the trial objectives, the structure and responsibilities of 4 Svc Bn, and an explanation of the selection and processing of the SWINTER participants.

Three groups of social and behavioural science literature will form the fourth chapter on theoretical rationale. The relevant sex-role literature on male-female interaction in task-oriented work situations will first be reviewed, then the research on status characteristics and expectation states will be discussed. Informal evaluation processes in a mixed-sex work setting can be described in terms of status characteristics and expectation states theory which is based on Georg Simmel's ideas on forms of social interaction. Generally, human interaction can be traced to stereotypical classifications of individuals based on certain status categories. These status conceptions are said to organize interaction because fairly stable and consistent behavioural consequences arise. Therefore, when we know what a person is (that is, the ascribed or achieved status s/he occupies), we know who the individual is, and we know how s/he will likely behave.

The original expectation states theory (Berger, 1974) has been methodically tested and refined and has generated many variations on its basic theme. In essence, the "core" theory states that when members of a group are presented with a collective task-solving situation in which a
positive outcome is highly valued, each member will develop a set of expectations concerning the relative task-solving abilities of each person in the group. In the absence of information on task ability, group members form expectations about the other's potential contribution by generalizing from the societal value placed on certain external characteristics (unless the external characteristic and the task have been explicitly dissociated from each other). The "observable power and prestige order" (that is, performance opportunities and outputs, evaluations and influence) which results, reflects the generalized characteristic(s). So, those with highly valued external characteristics will be offered more opportunities to participate and will be more influential in having their own ideas accepted as the group's solution to the task than those with devalued characteristics.

Secondly, the concept of tokenism embedded in the structural/numerical proportions model will be presented as it provides a complementary rationale for the unmet expectations of the servicewomen. As with expectation states theory, this model is based on Georg Simmel's work which posits that structure determines process and dynamics and that numbers influence interaction possibilities. Kanter provides a framework for understanding "how group structures shape interaction contexts and influence particular patterns of male-female interaction" (Kanter, 1977b:967). Kanter describes the interaction dynamics which result
when women occupy token status and are alone or nearly alone in a peer
group of men. Tokens have specific characteristics: they constitute
approximately 15% of the total personnel; they are often new to the
occupational role; structurally, they are dispersed throughout the
organization and are, therefore, isolated lacking a social support base;
they are viewed as representatives or symbols, not as individuals; and,
they are identified by their ascribed status. In addition, there is a
history of the dominant group acting towards them in a manner different
from the current situation. The structural/numerical characteristics of
the trial closely match Kanter's description of token status.

Finally, the military literature on informal primary groups and
cohesion will be examined. A rich body of literature on small groups and
cohesion grew out of sociological studies (Stouffer et al., 1949) conduc-
ted on American combat units during World War II. It was learned that it
was not ideology and political values but cohesive primary group rela-
tions that were crucial to morale, stress alleviation, and the
performance of combat duties. Since then, cohesion within the informal
small group has been accepted as integral to operational effectiveness
and mission accomplishment, and, in Canada is encouraged and facilitated
as much as possible during peacetime (for example, unit rather than
individual rotations to the United Nations peacekeeping function in
Cyprus). Understanding the relationship of performance to cohesion is
critical to assessing the implications of placing servicewomen into the high-stress, physically demanding near-combat roles.

Chapter V concerns methodology. This study will use three research techniques to provide information from five data sources: content analyses of existing documents, participant-observation, and interviews. First, the salience of performance to the Land Trial will be ascertained by a content analysis of CF memoranda and reports related generally to the review of non-traditional employment for servicewomen and specifically to the development of the trials. Second, a socio-demographic profile of the volunteer female trial participants as well as their perceptions of the trial and their expectations of 4 Svc Bn will be obtained from the recorded interviews conducted by Base Personnel Selection Officers. These interviews, held with all of the servicewomen selected for potential participation in the trial, were comprised of a variety of questions on personal, academic, and employment backgrounds, sports, and knowledge of the trials. Questions that will be answered in such a review include the following. Prior to their posting to Germany, did the servicewomen identify ability/performance as a variable of testable importance to the CF? Why did they think that the trial was being conducted? Why did they think they were selected to participate? Why did they want to participate? Did they anticipate any difficulties?
Although circumscribed by the telegraphic style of many of the reports, enough information is available to provide a picture of the women's attitudes, opinions, and expectations prior to their posting to Germany. Third, relevant information from the participant-observation will be presented in conjunction with the results of in-depth interviews held in September 1983 with 30 of the 48 non-commissioned officer 4 Svc Bn Land Trial SWINTER participants.

The data will be analysed in Chapter VI in relation to the three components of the chapter on theoretical rationale: status characteristics and expectation states, the structural/numerical proportions model, and primary groups and cohesion in the military. In the final chapter, summary and conclusions, the implications of this study will be related specifically to the Land Trial and generally to military women serving in a minority status capacity in non-traditional environments and roles. The trial results could yield a decision to restrict the employment of women from combat service support units. If this occurs, given the nature, scope, and objectives of the trial, the purported bona fide occupational requirements may actually be based on the results of placing minority status holders or tokens with a majority group, and not on women performing in a combat service support unit. A different, non-trial scenario in which equal numbers of similarly trained and experienced servicewomen and servicemen who are evenly distributed
throughout the unit would likely generate processes and results unlike those that appear to be developing under the current conditions.
CHAPTER II
WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN FORCES

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A review of the history of Canadian servicewomen demonstrates a pattern of numerically limited, and gender-related, traditional employment which has reflected the availability of male servicemembers. The only exception has been the nursing role which has always been allocated to women independent of other personnel factors. As will be demonstrated, in addition to the practice of employing women in select occupational roles, the personnel policies governing their employment have been created or modified because of pressure external to the Department of National Defence (DND).

Women were first employed in Canada's military forces as nurses during the suppression of the Northwest Rebellion, 1885. Fourteen years later, the Canadian Army Nursing Service, a subdivision of the Army Medical Corps, was formed. Within this formal military organization, the Nursing Sisters served with the Canadian contingent during the Boer War in South Africa, 1899-1902.
The participation of Canadian women in World War I was again limited to the role of nursing. In 1914, due to post-Boer War demobilization, only five Nursing Sisters were employed by the Service. By the end of World War I, 1,928 Nursing Sisters had served overseas receiving 328 awards and honours, and 169 Mentioned-in-Dispatches. Fifty-three died in service. The Nursing Sisters were almost totally demobilized after the war. During peacetime, their numbers shrank to 11 plus a small reserve force. Again, with the mobilization effort of World War II, the Nursing Service increased and, by the end of that war, 4,455 had served in Canada and overseas.

With World War II came an increase in the number of women recruited into military service and a diversification of their role compared with the previous two wars. This was partly due to the demands of Canadian women to become actively involved in the impending war effort. "In the late 1930's and early 1940's, Canada had thousands of women eager to serve in the armed forces. A host of unofficial women's paramilitary corps sprang up across Canada....According to a rough estimate made at National Defence Headquarters, some 6,700 women were believed to be enrolled in such unofficial corps by early 1941" (Pierson, 1978:3). Pressure from these paramilitary groups for official recognition and mounting concern at National Defence Headquarters regarding standardization of training and dress, led to the decision to
permit women volunteers to enter full-time service in government sanctioned corps. By mid-1942, Canadian women were serving in, not as auxiliary adjuncts to, the three branches of the Armed Services - Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division (RCAF-WD), Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC), and the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS).

More important than the government requirement to respond to the aforementioned enthusiasm for military service, was the increasing need to put women in uniform to release men for combat duties (Davies, 1966: 3; Simpson, 1978:4). The purpose of women in the Army Corps was stated in the introductory chapter of *Women in Khaki*, a wartime brochure describing the role and function of the CWAC's: "Category 'A' men are needed for the war front...each recruit for the Canadian Women's Army Corps releases a top-grade soldier for more active service either overseas or in Canada" (Canada. Department of National War Services, 1941?:3). Since 1939, Air Force Headquarters (A.F.H.Q.) was inundated with requests from Canadian women to serve and finally responded two years later:

In answer to direct inquiries A.F.H.Q. admitted grudgingly that it was indeed feasible that many men's duties could be performed by women, even if one man's job might require two women to do it satisfactorily. The shortage of manpower was becoming very acute....Finally, in June, 1941, the Government announced its decision to enlist women in the armed services in order to release more men for combatant duty.

(Ziegler, 1973:6)
As such, women were trained to do a variety of jobs such as barber, cook, clerk (accountant, pay, postal, typist), driver and driver mechanic, laboratory technician, radio operator, spray painter, tailoress, telegraphist, and night vision tester. The replacement employment rationale remained dominant throughout the war, although the scope of their occupational role was continually expanded to include work of a technical nature that was characteristic of traditionally male occupations (for example, women eventually served in Anti-aircraft Units, Coast Artillery Regiments and Signals Units).

Female military enrolment reached its all-time peak during the latter period of the war. Approximate strengths in 1944 were 6,000 in the WRCNS, 12,000 in the CWAC, and 15,000 in the RCAF-WD (Thomas, 1978:4). In May of that year, due to an increasing shortage of manpower, CWAC women began serving in the rear areas of the European theatre at 1st Echelon, Allied Armies in Italy and at 1st and 2nd Echelons, 21st Army Group, in North West Europe.

At the end of the war, the regular forces were considerably reduced in size and, as had occurred previously, the three women's corps were completely demobilized. By 1946, only the Nursing Sisters and a few messing officers also associated with the Medical Branch remained.
With Canada's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, and the outbreak of the war in Korea, the issue of the role of women in the military was again raised. Given their excellent performance during World War II\(^1\), it was decided to re-admit women into the military. On March 21, 1951, the federal government authorized the enrolment of women into the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) (Regular). In June, 1954, women were allowed into the Canadian Army (CA) (Regular) and in January, 1955, into the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN).

Unlike the experience of World War II, which saw the evolution of the role of servicewomen based on changing need, the federal cabinet created special conditions of employment prior to the new recruiting drive. There were to be no special women's units. Women in uniform could not be employed as clerks in any of the headquarters. The total number of women had to be included within the total regular service strength, not in addition to it. Finally, women could only be employed in the trades and classifications, "...which could obviously be done quite satisfactorily by women, and would not replace civilian employees" (Belanger, 1979:4). Ceilings or quotas were imposed on the number of

\(^1\)A total of 133 honours and awards were presented to the servicewomen (Davis, 1966:4): Eight - Order of the British Empire; 26 - Member of the British Empire; 56 - British Empire Medals; Four - Commendations for Brave Conduct; 19 - Mentioned-in-Dispatches.
women allowed into each service: RCAF - 5,000; CA - 900; and RCN - 400. The relatively large number of servicewomen recruited into the RCAF were primarily required for the staffing of radar units. Due to changing defence policy and the development and utilization of the Semi-automatic Ground Environment (SAGE) system, the initial ceiling was halved in 1953, then gradually allowed to dwindle through non-recruiting until, in 1966, approximately 420 women remained in the Air Force (Ziegler, 1973:163).

In June, 1966, the Minister of National Defence, Paul Hellyer, approved a recommendation, based on a year-long study, that women would be retained in the regular forces then and in the future. This policy was to stand for five years without further examination. It was also decided that a ceiling of 1,500 women would be established and held until 1971 (Charleton, 1974:36). At that time, the CF totalled 107,000 so women would comprise 1.4%. With the integration of the Army, Navy, and Air Force in 1968, women came to be employed in seven officer classifications including personnel support, logistics, medical (nurse and medical associate), along with 16 of the non-commissioned officer support trades (for example, cook, postal clerk, supply technician).

The publication of The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada in 1970, prompted DND to reconsider its employment policies for servicewomen. From its mandate to ensure for
women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society, six recommendations specific to DND were made:

Recommendation 55 - all trades in the CF be open to women;

Recommendation 56 - the prohibition on the enlistment of married women in the CF be eliminated;

Recommendation 57 - the length of the initial engagement for which personnel are required to enlist in the CF be the same for men and women;

Recommendation 58 - the release of a woman from the CF because she has a child be prohibited;

Recommendation 59 - the amendment of the CF Superannuation Act so that its provisions will be the same for male and female contributors; and,

Recommendation 60 - that women be allowed into military colleges.

All but recommendation 55 have been carried out since publication of the report. In July 1971, at the meeting of the Canadian Forces
Defence Council, the Minister of National Defence approved the decision that there was to be no set limitation on the employment of women in the Canadian Forces other than within the primary combat roles, employment at remote locations, and sea-going service. Three years later, a review was conducted of all positions that, because of these limitations, could only be filled by men. The study established the trade and classification "people" quotas - that is, the percentage of people in each military occupational classification (MOC) that could be filled by the best applicant regardless of sex. As a result, opportunities for women were expanded to include 18 of the 27 classifications and 64 of the 94 trades (Belanger, 1979:7). In addition, the recruiting quota was increased to ten percent of the total force (or a target of 8,000 out of 82,000 by the end of the 1980s).

During the ensuing four years, 81 of the 127 MOCs were opened to women and by 1978, women comprised 5.9% of the total CF strength (Simpson, et al., 1978:7). Women were still excluded from such officer classifications as chaplain, armoured, artillery, infantry, maritime surface and subsurface, military and maritime engineering, pilot and navigator. They were not allowed into the following trades: flight engineer, crewman, artilleryman, infantryman, field engineer, map reproduction technician, topographical surveyor, and all other trades requiring sea duty (for example, radar plotter and boatswain).
SUMMARY

This very brief historical overview of role of the women in the Canadian military has demonstrated that the federal government has been reactive, not proactive, in its employment practices of servicewomen. Women have been employed in varying numbers and, when available manpower supplies have been threatened, they have literally and figuratively constituted a "reserve army of labour" (Connelly, 1976:26, Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978:19).

Second, DND has revised policy decisions on the scope of female military employment because of pressures external to the Department. During the early part of World War II, it responded to the random and uncontrolled creation of local paramilitary units comprised of women who wanted to become actively and directly involved in the war effort. Three decades later, the Status of Women report stimulated policy revision to introduce some structural equality between the sexes and to broaden recruitment and internal occupational migration opportunities. As will be discussed in detail, the proclamation of the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) in 1978, elicited action on the part of the CF to internally scrutinize employment practices for possible indefensible discrimination.

Because of the CHRA, the CF must provide official
justification for the exclusion of women from certain roles. Until this point in time, there had been no accountability for the existing policies. Simpson, et al, (1978:6), reporting on the results from a study authorized by DND, state that, "... limitations were imposed in 1971 because of the prevailing views and mores of Canadian society in relation to the employment of women. These reflected, in general, the views and practices of the majority of other nations." The authors did not cite surveys substantiating DND interpretation of Canadian social attitudes; indeed, there is no reason to believe that anything but tradition had guided decisions on what women could and could not do in the military. In a memorandum outlining the impending legislation it was stated, "...I believe that my reservations are shared by many members of the Canadian Forces. Such reservations are admittedly based primarily on conjecture and emotion..." (Canada. Department of National Defence. Director Personnel Development Studies, 1978a: 2). The Human Rights legislation, then, required a re-evaluation of female employment roles and, for the first time in Canadian military history, substantiation of that re-evaluation through studies yielding defensible data.
IMPACT OF THE CANADIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACT

With the proclamation of the Canadian Human Rights Act, 1 March 1978, the CF again was placed in a position of assessing the employment roles of its female members. This piece of legislation is critical to the employment situation of servicewomen because, for the first time, the CF is required to elucidate and to substantiate, to the satisfaction of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the reasons behind the policies governing its employment practices. Military tradition and custom no longer suffice as explanations for the historical exclusion of women from certain environments and roles.

Two sections of the CHRA are pertinent. Section 2 states:

For all purposes of this Act, race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, conviction for which a pardon has been granted and, in matters related to employment, physical handicap are prohibited grounds of discrimination.

The CHRA, through Section 14a does provide an exception to the above prohibition:

It is not a discriminatory practice if

(a) any refusal, exclusion, expulsion, suspension, limitation, specification or preference in relation to any employment is based on a bona fide occupational requirement.
The phrase, "bona fide occupational requirement" is not defined in the Act. The Human Rights Tribunal of the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) therefore has the authority to determine, on a case-by-case basis, acceptable grounds for employment discrimination.

A review of internal CF documents indicates two very important outcomes of the promulgation of this legislation, and, in particular, of the aforementioned lack of definition. First, the CF became concerned that unless it acted quickly, it would not be able to pre-empt potentially immutable and extensive decisions by the CHRC on the constitution of a bona fide occupational requirement. One month prior to the legislation coming into effect, the Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel) expressed concern that,

...we will immediately be faced with charges of discrimination....It is very clear that we will be called upon, probably in Federal court, to prove that our policy of excluding women from the operational (combat) branches is justified on the basis of bona fide occupational requirements. (Canada. Department of National Defence. Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel), 1978a:1)

Further in the letter it is stated, "I think it is correct to say that our present policy is based on our judgement that Canadian society is not prepared to see women in combat roles" (Canada. Department of National
Defence. Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel), 1978a:1). That perception, however, would not be equivalent to a bona fide occupational requirement for limiting the role of servicewomen. Without defensible input from the CF, an "unfavourable court decision" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Chief Personnel Careers and Senior Appointments, 1978:1) or "the worst case" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Director Personnel Development Services, 1978b:2) could result. That would be the removal from DND of, "...the authority for the continuation of current employment restrictions to women in the Canadian Forces" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Director Personnel Development Studies 1978b:2). By way of summary, in the study which was to be the basis for the formulation of a set of trial employment scenarios for servicewomen commencing in 1980, the following concern was expressed:

...as the Human Rights Act now stands, the Canadian Forces may be vulnerable to the actions through the Human Rights Commission which would compel the utilization of women in roles in which the presence of women could have serious impact on the Forces and the nation.  

The second important outcome of the proclamation of the CHRA was the decision to evaluate servicewomen placed, for study purposes only, into previously all-male units. This process of evaluation would, by its
very objectives, determine the definition of "bona fide occupational requirement". Initially, the SWINTER trials were conceived as being comprised of two phases as stated in the following summation of a meeting held to discuss the proposed contents of a covering memorandum and discussion paper to be presented to Cabinet:

In regards to moving as fast and as far as possible (in lifting the employment restrictions to servicewomen), it was understood that, at present, this meant conducting trials in "near-combat" units. To contemplate conducting trials in true or primary combat units without first obtaining data and experience of employing women in the near-combat units presently closed to females, would be an unnecessary risk. Trials of combat units should only be contemplated after women, properly selected, have proven capable of performing in near-combat units. (Canada. Department of National Defence. Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel), 1978c:1)

It must be noted that the idea of studying women in combat units after assessment in near-combat units was not formally expressed in future documentation. No reference to additional evaluations of women in combat units is found in the introductory portion of the National Defence Headquarters' directive governing the aim, scope, and methodology of the SWINTER trials. The directive is concerned only with near-combat units.

2Combat and near-combat are not legally nor legislatively defined terms. Combat is understood to mean offensive, direct contact and battle with the enemy; near combat is understood to mean activities (for example, logistics) in support of the combatant, front-line troop manoeuvres. Near-combat units may become directly involved in combat but their primary role is other than combat.
Those in the Deputy Minister (Personnel) Group involved with the development of the trials appeared to have been guided by the assumption that the CHRC would not press the issue of combat employment for servicewomen. It would be sufficient, therefore, for the CF to provide bona fide occupational reasons for restricting women merely from combat support roles.

Aside from the combat/near-combat dichotomy, the foregoing quote also highlights the integrality of the concept of performance to the formulation of the SWINTER trials. The identification and correlation of performance with bona fide occupational requirements was made some time before the commencement of the trials. In a letter dated 28 February 1978 from the Minister of National Defence, Barney Danson, to Marc Lalonde, Minister of State for Federal-Provincial Relations and Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, the words, "performing", "operational performance", and "operational capabilities" appear repeatedly. The argument, although inconsistent, was made that while, "Those restrictions which continue to apply to employment of women in the Forces in no way derive from any belief that they are incapable of performing many of the duties involved", an assessment was required of their impact on unit operational effectiveness. Accordingly, Mr. Danson
directed, that every effort shall be made to increase the of employment in the Forces which is open to women. The criteria which will be applied in assessing the validity of existing restrictions on the employment of women will be the potential direct, or indirect, effect on operational capabilities. Where restrictions cannot be fully justified in terms of this criteria they will be eliminated. However, where the implications for operational effectiveness of the removal of restrictions are judged to be unacceptable, these will be taken to constitute "bona fide occupational requirements" which in accordance with Section 14(a) of the Human Rights Act, are not discriminatory practices.

(Canada. Department of National Defence. Minister of National Defence, 1978:2)

Two months later, the Directorate Personnel Development Studies (DPDS) team tasked with recommending policy for submission to Cabinet, made the pre-study assumption that, "...bona fide occupational requirements are restricted to physiological and physical factors. All other reasons, although important to the continued maintenance of operational effectiveness, can only be considered as collateral reasons" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Director Personnel Development Studies, 1978b:2).

The CF operationalization of "bona fide occupational requirement" as performance impacting upon unit operational effectiveness was
influenced by a concurrent broadening of employment policies and research endeavours in the United States. In response to the end of the draft in 1973 and the consequent rise of the all-volunteer force, the House of Representatives' Committee on Armed Services' Special Subcommittee on the Utilization of Manpower in the Military, explored future manpower strategies and concluded,

We are convinced that in the atmosphere of a zero draft or an all-volunteer force, women could and should play an important role. We strongly urge the Secretary to develop a program which will permit women to take their rightful places in serving in our Armed Forces.

(United States. Department of Defense, 1981:12)

At approximately the same time as the commencement of this manpower utilization study in 1972, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) cleared Congress without a proposed amendment excluding women from combatant ships, aircraft and ground units, and from military draft. Rather than wait for the finality of the state ratification process, the Department of Defense interpreted Congress' overwhelming rejection of the proposed amendments as support for an expanded role for servicewomen. As well, in the mid-1970's, unpleasant and unwanted publicity ensued when a number of
servicewomen instigated legal challenges to perceived discriminatory personnel policies (Binkin and Bach, 1977:14, 42-46).

The combined impact of an anticipated male manpower shortage, the ERA, and litigation caused the Department of Defense to embark on a recruiting drive to admit more women into the four services, to allow them to attend military academies, and to increase the number of military occupational specialties in which they could be trained and employed. In conjunction with this new employment effort, three performance-oriented studies were conducted by the Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences: Project Athena (an assessment of the impact of women upon West Point and West Point's impact upon the women), Maximum Women Army Content (MAX WAC - an analysis of the effects of varying the percentages of female soldiers on unit performance in a seventy-two hour field exercise) and Reforger Women Army Content (REF WAC - a comparative study of the performance of all-female and all-male units during ten day war games in Germany, 1977. The women soldiers and their male counterparts were matched on demographic and personal characteristics and observed for ability, fatigue, and stress.)

The reports of the latter two projects, the only research of its type conducted within the NATO, formed the source material for the personnel responsible for the formulation of the SWINTER trials. Indeed,
the information was incorporated into the development of the rationale and objectives of the Canadian research efforts. Two of the proposed objectives, as stated in a memorandum from the Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel) to the Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, made direct reference to the studies. The first and primary suggested objective was to determine the effect of mixed male-female composition on the operational effectiveness of near-combat and isolated units. "Studies carried out by United States forces, such as MAX WAC and REF WAC, although not considered ideal models, could be used as points of departure" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel), 1979:3). The second objective, to compare the individual effectiveness of females versus males in the trial units for representative samples of work, was generated from the MAX WAC study: "Results of American studies have shown that although the average of the performance ratings for women as individuals was not different from that of men, the same supervisors rated women's performance as a group as being lower than that of men as a group" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel), 1979:3). Triangulation was recommended to ensure that a variety of work situations and performance assessment methods were employed to determine if the Canadian experience would replicate the American findings.
SUMMARY

The promulgation of the CHRA has generated the most recent pressure on the CF causing it to reconsider its policies governing the employment of servicewomen. The requirement to provide bona fide occupational reasons for excluding women from some occupations, coupled with the influence of the then current American research into the role of servicewomen, resulted in the development of five employment trials designed essentially to assess the performance capability of women in hitherto all-male environments and roles.
CHAPTER III
THE SWINTER TRIALS

OVERVIEW

This chapter provides general information on the SWINTER trials followed by information pertinent to the Land Trial. With regard to the latter, the trial purpose and evaluation procedures are outlined followed by a description of the structure and function of 4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group (4 CMBG) and, specifically, of 4 Svc Bn, the trial unit upon which this study is focused. Finally, the selection and processing of the SWINTER participants will be discussed.

The National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) Instruction, Deputy Chief of Defence Staff (DCDS) 13/79, "The Trial Employment of Servicewomen, Non-traditional Roles and Environments" (hereafter, the trial directive) became effective 21 December 1979. It outlines to those responsible for conducting the trials, the raison d'être and scope of all of the trials and provides particular guidelines (for example, the number and type of designated female positions, the reporting periods, etc.) for each of the five trials. The trial directive preamble describes the CHRA prohibition of occupational discrimination without bona fide reason(s) and the "coincidentally" diminishing pool of recruitable young males as
the impetuses for the trials. While it is acknowledged that future demographic pressures alone warrant "some eventual adjustment in the employment of women in traditionally male service roles," the impact of the CHRA is recognized as the critical factor stimulating DND action, albeit with caution: "The pressure of many uncertainties relating to universal or near universal employment of women throughout the CF argues against an unreasoned or precipitous implementation of the literal requirements of the CHRA" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:1). The summary statement of rationale for the creation of the trials demonstrates this DND caution and the assumption that the presence of servicewomen will have a negative effect on the units:

To ensure that operational capability is not imperilled, while at the same time moving in the direction of providing an opportunity for men and women to serve in the CF on an equal basis, it has been decided to proceed with the trial employment of women in hitherto all-male roles at selected near-combat units and at one isolated station.
(Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:1)

The aim of the SWINTER Trials is, "to assess the effect on operational capability by the employment of women in near-combat or hitherto all-male isolated units" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:2).
Accordingly, gender-integrated evaluations are being conducted in the following units: HMCS CORMORANT (sea element); transport, and search and rescue squadrons (air element); 4 Svc Bn and 4 Fd Amb in Germany (land element); and Canadian Forces Station Alert (isolated unit).

In addition to the primary aim, five collateral or sub-objectives were defined:

a. comparison of the individual effectiveness of servicewomen and servicemen on unit representative taskings;

b. comparison of groups of servicewomen, groups of servicemen, and integrated groups on unit representative taskings;

c. assessment of the behavioural and sociological impact of servicewomen on the trial units and on the immediate families of personnel at trial units;

d. assessment of the Canadian public and allied forces' opinions of an acceptance of the employment of servicewomen in non-traditional roles and environments; and

e. determination of the resource implications should the role of servicewomen be expanded.

The trial directive states that the design, implementation and reporting of each trial must be comprehensive, objective, and accurate not because doing otherwise would be unethical but because the CHRA could act unilaterally regardless of the CF position. It warns,
Should it subsequently be determined that the trials were in any way incomplete, prejudicial or lacking in adequate documentation, it is conceivable that a Human Rights Tribunal might disregard the recommendations of the CF, and without further regard to the possibly deleterious effects on operational capabilities, might require that heretofore male-only areas of employment be opened to women. (Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:5)

The assessment and documentation of the impact of servicewomen on operational effectiveness is comprised of an operational, and a social and behavioural science (SBS) component. The operational assessment is carried out by unit personnel who are to determine if and why operational effectiveness changes when women are introduced to the units. They are to accurately identify which, if any, changes are related to the trial and which are due to non-trial factors.

The complementary SBS component is comprised of advising, information disseminating, and data gathering and analysing. Senior Personnel Selection Officers have been designated as SBSAs in each command to provide consultative services on the design, implementation, evaluation, and preparation of SBS reports in each of the trials. Base Personnel Selection Officers fill one of two data gathering functions
during the selection process. They administer a biographical and attitudinal questionnaire to servicewomen who have been identified by career managers as potential SWINTER participants. A structured interview is conducted to obtain information on service background, personal background (health and marital status, sports interests), academic background, previous knowledge of the SWINTER Trials and views on participating in the trials. The interview responses are summarized on a Canadian Forces (CF) 285 form, an example of which is attached at Appendix A, for later content analysis. The servicewomen are then briefed on the SWINTER Trials and on various aspects of the trial unit (role, responsibilities, etc.) and are given the appropriate fact sheets which expand upon the information provided during the briefing. Further data gathering occurs in the trial units. Survey administration, interviews, participant-observations and subsequent data analysis are conducted by the SBSA's and by Personnel Selection Officers serving at the Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit in Toronto.

THE LAND TRIAL

Purpose and Scope

Although there are numerous combat service support units in Canada, it was decided to situate the Land Trial within 4 CMBG
located at Canadian Forces Europe, Lahr, Germany. Two reasons for this decision were presented in the Land Trial directive. First, the combat service support units of 4 CMBG are more operational or battle-oriented and prepared than their Canada-based counter-parts. That is, these units participate in year-round exercises and training schemes in preparation for quick mobilization. This peacetime state of alert most closely approximates the near-combat role to be adopted during wartime. Second, it was believed that holding the trial in Germany would create "fewer domestic distortions" than if it was held in Canada (Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:E-1). Although this phrase was not explained, it is assumed that Lahr's location would minimize potential publicity and interference from National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ), thereby allowing the trial to proceed with as few interruptions as possible.

The aim of the Land Trial reflects that stated in the general trial directive, namely, "...to determine the impact on operational effectiveness that results from the deployment of servicewomen in combat service support units of 4 CMBG" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:E1). Principles for conducting the evaluation are outlined in the directive. The evaluation emphasis is on the assessment of the day-to-day garrison and field activities which contribute to the general functioning of the unit. By
focusing on unit tasks and not on individuals, the trial would avoid dissolving, "...into contests to judge whether servicemen or servicewomen are the most capable in any one role" (Canada. Department of National Defence. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff, 1979:E-2). Other aspects of the evaluation process include:

a. allocation of unit/sub-unit duties and personnel responsibilities on a non-gender basis;

b. identification and analysis of any factors contributing negatively to the altering of operational efficiency; and

c. full documentation and substantiation of all recommendations and conclusions.

Finally, as with the other trials, reports are to be prepared semi-annually and are to record only the exceptional or unusual items and events.

The Land Trial is to be conducted between 1 September 1980 and 1 September 1984 in 4 Svc Bn, 4 Fd Amb, and any other units designated by the Commander of 4 CMBG and the Chief of Land Doctrine and Operations, the sponsoring agency at NDHQ. (A description of the roles and responsibilities of the units follows in the section entitled "Setting", page 49.)
The servicewomen (also referred to as SWINTER participants) were to comprise between 10% and 15% of total unit strength. There are approximately 500 personnel in 4 Svc Bn and 99 in 4 Fd Amb; servicewomen now number 54 and 14 respectively. Although, as mentioned earlier, the CF knew of the American MAX WAC study which determined that an army unit could employ up to 35 percent servicewomen without operational effectiveness declining, a small percentage of servicewomen were placed into the two Land Trial units. Several factors contributed to the low female unit content. First, the servicewomen posted to Lahr had to replace servicemen completing their normal four-year tour of duty and returning or repatriating to Canada in the summer of 1980. (Approximately one-fifth to one-quarter of the Canadian Forces Europe (CFE) personnel rotate each summer.) Second, since these servicewomen were being employed on an experimental, not a permanent basis in a near combat role, they would be removed from 4 CMBG in the event of an operational emergency, replaced by servicemen who had been holding base positions, and employed for the duration of the emergency as the Commander CFE saw fit. It was argued, therefore, that this replacement policy permitted only the minimum number of servicewomen being employed at 4 CMBG. Third, each designated female position (as with every position) requires a specific rank level and training standard within a particular military occupational classification. The pool of servicewomen who had the necessary qualifications was further reduced
because of minimum height and weight criteria and the requirement to volunteer for participation in the trial. Given these constraints, 10% to 15% servicewomen in each unit was workable from operational and personnel management viewpoints. Table 1 shows the distribution of, and numerical and rank requirements for, the designated female positions.
TABLE 1

FEMALE REPRESENTATION IN THE LAND TRIAL

By Military Occupational Classification (MOC) and Rank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOC</th>
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<td>Capt</td>
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<td>Capt</td>
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<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>Teletype Operator</td>
<td>MCpl/Cpl</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Mobile Support Equipment Operator</td>
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TOTAL: 65

Capt = Captain
Lt = Lieutenant
WO = Warrant Officer
Sgt = Sergeant
MCpl = Master Corporal
Cpl = Corporal
Pte = Private
Setting

The role of CFE is to provide combat ready land and air formations to the NATO military alliance in central Europe. 4 CMBG and 1 Central Air Group (1 CAG), headquartered in Lahr, Germany since 1970, are specifically tasked with fulfilling this role. Figure 1 presents the operational chain of command which would come into effect during wartime. Notwithstanding the NATO envelopment of the two Canadian units, the Commander CFE would remain the official channel of communication between NDHQ, 4 CMBG and 1 CAG, and NATO authorities. During peacetime, he exercises command over all CF personnel stationed in Europe.

FIGURE 1: ORGANIZATION OF CANADIAN FORCES EUROPE SUPPORT TO NATO
4 CMBG has a peacetime strength of approximately 3,000 personnel and embodies nine sub-units (Figure 2). In order to execute its potential wartime tasks of counter penetration, counter attack, block and delay, flank protection, and counter airborne/heliborne operations, 4 CMBG regularly exercises with American and German troops. All members of the Brigade participate in a training cycle based on the calendar year. In January, annual refresher training (emphasizing personal and anti-tank weapons, pyrotechnics, and nuclear, biological and chemical warfare) is conducted followed progressively by platoon, company, and battalion training in the spring and summer. The climax consists of a brigade-level concentration (FALLEX) and NATO exercises in the fall. Post-FALLEX, garrison activities resume and the training year ends with administrative and operational inspections in late November and December. In a typical year, the Brigade will spend about 100 days away from garrison.
Within 4 CMBG, the roles of 4 Svc Bn's approximate 500 personnel of all ranks are to provide group support resources and services to the brigade commander. As demonstrated in Figure 3 below, this support includes transportation, supply of combat and non-combat stores and equipment, technical maintenance and repair, recovery and backloading salvage, bath and laundry facilities, and comptroller and finance.
FIGURE 3: ORGANIZATION OF 4 SERVICE BATTALION

- PI^1 = Platoon
- Sect^2 = Section
- HQ^3 = Headquarters
Because 4 Svc Bn provides second line support resources and services, it usually deploys 40 to 60 road kilometres behind the forward fighting troops. The majority of the 4 Svc Bn units are based in the Brigade Administrative Area (BAA), a very general location situated where it is protected as far as possible from enemy infiltration so that work such as lengthy equipment repairs and replenishment of supplies from the theatre base can proceed with a minimum of alarms. Delivery points are established in areas forward of the BAA for the nightly issue of combat supplies such as ammunition, petrol, oil and lubricants, rations, water, clothing, repair parts and replacement/repaired vehicles. First line support troops from within the fighting echelon drop back to receive these goods. In addition, 4 Svc Bn details small mobile teams consisting of either two or four people to go beyond the delivery points into the fighting territory. These forward logistics groups and forward repair groups provide critically needed supplies and repairs to priority operational equipment at the break down sites. (Complex repair jobs requiring a long period of time are performed within the BAA.) Figure 4 offers a simplified example of unit deployment during a war/exercise.
FIGURE 4: EXAMPLE OF OPERATIONAL DEPLOYMENT OF 4 SERVICE BATTALION (4 SVC BN)

The BAA does not move or relocate en masse but its units will frequently change location within some semblance of a definable area. Thus, 4 SVC Bn demands that its personnel be a combination of skilled tradesmen and soldiers since the unit must link up with the first line support troops at the delivery points and must be able to defend itself both on the move and in location. The work is demanding, dirty, and stressful involving long hours, numerous moves, repetitive camouflaging and decamouflaging, the digging of latrines and trenches, doing guard
duty at specific defensive sites within the unit's immediate location, and constantly being on the alert for enemy infiltration and attacks.

**Participant Selection and Processing**

On average, a CF servicemember changes his/her place of employment once every three or four years. The decision to post or to move the individual from one locale to another is made by the servicemember's career manager in consultation with the branch advisor to the servicemember's MOC. Several variables are considered when determining which person is to move into what available position such as type and level of training, rank, years of service, previous work experience, and career development requirements. Once these variables are weighed, some consideration is also given to the servicemember's stated personal preference.

The posting process begins with the individual being identified and sent a posting warning order. At this point, the servicemember, through his commanding officer, has the opportunity to bring forward concerns or information that may not have been known at the time the original decision was made. The result of this action could be a final posting order to the originally selected unit or a different unit. The third alternative is a compassionate deferral of posting for a limited,
specified period of time. Refusal to obey a posting order will result in release.

Postings to CFE are usually four years in duration for other ranks and three years for officers. Since CFE's support systems and resources are limited, and premature or unscheduled postings back to Canada are financially prohibitive, a rigorous screening process is followed. Factors that are considered include a history of repeated misconduct, and medical (obesity, drug/alcohol dependence), emotional, marital and financial problems. Consideration is also given to the medical and emotional stability and schooling requirements of the servicemember's dependents. A "Screening for Posting Outside Canada" form is completed by the social work (or Chaplain), education, medical, dental and base/station security officers in addition to the member's troop/section/platoon commander and commanding officer.

The servicewomen who were posted to CFE for participation in the Land Trial were screened according to the above standard process after their initial selection in a manner different from the normal posting process. Further, a 1980 requirement that all of the SWINTER participants be volunteers was waived in 1982 and the criterion of enrolment date applied. As will be explained, the result, in 1983, was a sample of volunteers and non-volunteers the latter of which experienced a
posting process most closely resembling that of their male colleagues. Regardless of the participants' voluntary or non-voluntary status, they went through a SWINTER-specific process during which they were given special packages of information on the trial and the role of 4 CMBG, completed two questionnaires, and were interviewed.

Unlike the normal posting process, all of the potential participants were not sent initial warning messages because the volume of paperwork would have been too great. Instead, an informal process of identification of possible volunteers through phone calls and interviews conducted during career manager visits to bases, was used to screen out the servicewomen who were categorically unwilling to consider accepting such a posting. Only those women who gave some indication that they would consider an offer of a CFE posting were sent the initial screening for posting message. In the message, the servicewoman was informed that she had been tentatively selected to participate in the trials and she was referred to the Base Personnel Selection Officer for information dissemination and data gathering purposes. Subsequently, she was interviewed by her Commanding Officer who ensured that height/weight
specifications were met and approved the posting. Once the servicewoman had committed herself to participating in the trial, she could not opt out. This condition became very important in the Land Trial, for once in Germany, a SWINTER participant who no longer wished to be part of the trial had to request a voluntary release from the CF. She was not entitled to be repatriated to another unit in Canada. The final step in the posting process was the completion of the "Screening for Posting Outside Canada" form.

From fall 1979 to June 1982, a completely volunteer process was in place for the SWINTER participants. Until 19 June 1979, women who enrolled in the CF were not expected to serve in non-traditional roles in near-combat environments. Therefore, the Chief of Defence Staff directed that no servicewoman would be required to participate in any of the trials against her will. Three years later, this decision was reversed. Women who enrolled in the CF after 19 June 1979 had been advised at the

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1 At present, the CF does not have physical standards for trades or environments, therefore, height and weight specifications have served as indicators of the ability to do demanding tasks. At a February 1980 meeting of advisors to the SWINTER trials, it was decided to establish interim "standards" of 58 kg and 158 cm, "to ensure that they would at least have a lean muscle mass equivalent to that of the smallest male that we accept". (Canada. Department of National Defence. Surgeon General, 1980:4). Because many of the volunteers lacked the requisite minimum weight, the Director Medical Treatment Services decided to allow servicewomen who were suitable in all other respects to enter the trial if they were within 5 kg and 3 cm of the interim "standards".
recruiting offices that their conditions of service could include employment in a near-combat environment, at sea or at a remote, isolated post. In other words, the conditions of employment for servicewomen and servicemen would be similar. It was decided in June 1982 that those servicewomen who enrolled after 19 June 1979 would be sent an initial posting warning order without the informal, pre-message interview as had been done during the past three years. If the non-volunteer refused the SWINTER posting, she risked career review action exactly as would a serviceman who declined a posting order.

Throughout the period of the trials and regardless of enrolment or posting dates, the Base Personnel Selection Officer processed all the servicewomen who had been identified by a warning message by:

a. administering two questionnaires prior to an interview session:

(1) Women's Trials Biographical Questionnaire. This questionnaire solicited biographic/demographic data and the servicewoman's attitude toward military life in general and toward her MOC in particular.

(2) Women's Trials Attitudinal Questionnaire. This questionnaire was comprised of two sections: aspects of the work environment; and, a self-report measure of the individual's characteristics on the masculinity and femininity dimensions.
b. providing, for the servicewoman's retention, a fact sheet on the reasons for the trial and a description of the work environment, and a handout entitled, "Background on Attitudes and Expectations". The latter was a summary of the traditional beliefs about the appropriate division of labour between the sexes, recent changes in the roles of the sexes, introduction of small numbers of women into non-traditional work roles, synopsis of Canadian public opinion and military attitudes toward the roles of servicewomen, and highlights of the experiences of employing women in the non-traditional roles in the American military forces;

c. discussing the scope and purpose of the trials and the nature and conditions of the specific working environment for which the servicewoman had been tentatively selected or posted; and

d. conducting a standardized interview during which questions were asked on the woman's service, personal, and academic background; marital status/personal relationships; sports/hobbies; previous knowledge of SWINTER; and, decision to participate/views on the posting. (An example of the resulting form containing this information is attached at Appendix A).

Once this phase of the processing was completed, the servicewoman was cleared for posting to CFE in the standard fashion.

SUMMARY

In response to the CHRA, the CF created five trials commencing in 1980 and ending in 1984 to evaluate the impact of employing servicewomen in near-combat or hitherto all-male isolated units. During this period, both operational, and sociological and behavioural assessments were to be conducted on performance and interaction dynamics within the mixed-sex units. Two combat service support units, 4 Svc Bn and 4 Fd Amb within
CFE's 4 CMBG were chosen for the land (or "army") near-combat trial because of their operational or battle orientation and because they are physically located far from Canadian media publicity and interference from NDHQ. For the first time in Canadian military history, the servicewomen employed in 4 Svc Bn would be deploying during operations, 40 to 60 road kilometres behind the forward fighting troops to provide maintenance, transport, and supply support.

This chapter presented two aspects of the trials significant to this paper: the number of SWINTER trial participants and the selection process of those participants. While the number of servicewomen in 4 Svc Bn has varied from a low of 39 in September 1980 to a high of 54 in September 1983, they have constituted no more than 15% of the total battalion personnel. Although advisors to the trials were aware of an American army study which found that up to 35% of a unit could be comprised of women without deterioration of operational effectiveness, the number of servicewomen participating in the trial was purposely kept low. Three administrative or personnel management reasons for this action have been identified. First, there were a limited number of available positions since the servicewomen could only replace servicemen repatriating to Canada during the normal posting season. Second, since the servicewomen were going to be employed in 4 CMBG on an experimental basis, they would be removed from 4 CMBG in the event of a crisis. Too
many servicewomen, therefore, could handicap 4 CMBG during a war scenario. Third, the servicewomen had to meet specific rank, trade and height/weight criteria. Notwithstanding the aforementioned structural factors, Park (1983) suggests that the percentage of SWINTER participants was purposefully kept low so that operational effectiveness could not be hampered. "Concern was expressed that the operational capability of the CF could be jeopardized if sudden and large-scale change took place. As a result, the trials were limited in the number of units selected for the trial employment (eight), and in the number of servicewomen assigned to the trial units (fewer than 150 women across all units at any one time)" (Park, 1983:6).

The identification of potential participants changed over time, and their selection and conditions of employment varied from that of non-SWINTER personnel posted to CFE. During the first three years of the Land Trial, only volunteers were posted to the two trial units in 4 CMBG. In an effort to make the trial more realistic, non-volunteers who had enrolled in the CF after 19 June 1979 were posted to the units in the summer of 1983. Finally, two aspects of the selection and employment of the SWINTER participants were different from their male colleagues. All of the servicewomen had been interviewed and given questionnaires and special information prior to their posting to CFE. Such data gathering and information dissemination did not occur with the servicemen. Also,
once in the trial units, the servicewomen could not get a posting back to Canada until their four years of Land Trial participation were completed. While repatriation prior to the usual four-year posting period is rare because of cost, it does occur; however, for the SWINTER participants, the only way out of the trial was to take a voluntary release from the CF. This rule was put into place because it was feared that participants from an already small sample would request repatriation should the conditions of employment become too demanding or unpleasant.
CHAPTER IV
THEORETICAL RATIONALE

The analysis of the participation of women in a work group requires a three-pronged approach: the social and structural context of the workplace must be considered as well as the characteristics of the work. Three bodies of literature will be brought together to provide the theoretical rationale for understanding the nature of the servicewomen's expectations for acceptance and trial success: status characteristics and expectation states, organizational tokenism embedded in a structural/numerical proportions model, and the socio-psychological dynamics within military small groups.

GENDER INTEGRATED WORK GROUPS

The phrase, "reserve army of labour" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; Connelly, 1974), is both literally and figuratively applicable to women serving in the CF. It not only implies a continually fluctuating role but also a nebulous image. Because of historical employment tenuity, role fluctuation, low rank clustering, and occupational sex segregation, it is difficult to imagine who the female soldier is and of what she is capable.
The ease of female integration into an all-male military environment is dependent on the patterns of interaction between the servicewomen and the servicemen. The nature of these interactions will be shaped to varying degrees by the sex-role stereotypes that the servicewomen and servicemen hold of their own sex and of the other. N.T. Feather (1975:536) has observed that, "people acquire sets of beliefs...about what jobs are more appropriate for males than for females (and vice versa)". Feather further suggests that these stereotypes, or individualized subjective perceptions of other's(s') personality traits, encompass not only beliefs about the characteristics of different occupations but also the normative expectations regarding appropriate male and female behaviour. Research conducted by Broverman et al., (1972) has supported the commonly held belief that our society accepts and maintains clearly defined sex-role stereotypes for men and women:

Women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective and less logical; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth and expressiveness in comparison to women. Moreover, stereotypically masculine traits are more often perceived to be desirable than are stereotypically female characteristics. (Broverman et al., 1972:75)

Broverman and colleagues found that certain male-valued qualities reflected what can be termed a "competency" cluster. These attributes included being independent, objective, active, competitive, logical, self-confident, able to make decisions easily, ambitious, and acting as a leader.

On the other hand, a relative absence of these traits characterized the
perceptions of women. Relative to men, they were seen as less logical, more indecisive, more passive, etc.

Relative status is determined by the possession of characteristics which have societal value. In many societies, these valued characteristics include seniority, maleness, nobility, education, income, and positions of formal authority (Brown, 1965). Higher status is then associated with greater influence, control, and power. According to Brown (1965:161-2), even though North American society is oriented toward achieved status, not ascribed status, "there remains a difference of rank between male and female. It is a little better to be male than female".

An important dimension of the perception/evaluation literature concerns sex-role congruence. It has been found that behaviour which contradicts sex-role expectations, tends to be negatively regarded. This handicaps women attempting to enter male sex-typed occupations. "Because success at most demanding situations or occupations is generally expected of males and not of females...females are not rewarded for success in the same way that males are. Success, therefore, is viewed more positively if it is consistent with sex-role expectations than if it is inconsistent" (Nieva and Gutek, 1980:273). Other research on sex roles in a work setting (reported in Lockheed and Hall, 1976; Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neill, 1977; Nieva and Gutek, 1980) has demonstrated that men are more
active, influential, dominating, task-oriented, and less conforming than women. Sex bias in evaluation has been explored in experiments in which evaluation judgements and personnel decisions are made on hypothetical persons who are identical except for sex. In selection and promotion situations, male candidates are usually rated more favourably than their female counterparts along the dimensions of acceptability, service potential, longevity, and intelligence. Regardless of the circumstance, women are ranked lower.

More recent studies (for example, Frank and Drucker, 1977; Hall and Hall, 1977) have found no differences in the ratings of men and women on sensitivity, organizational planning ability, motivation, and overall task performance. These contrasting findings have led Nieva and Gutek (1980) to conclude that bias and stereotyping are stronger when little is known about the women. When information is added, stereotyping decreases (Terborg and Ilgen, 1975). Specific and concrete information about an individual's merits or abilities relevant to the particular work/task situation should encourage inferences being made from that information, not from what is generally known about the group to which the individual belongs. Thus, ascriptive status inference should be minimized.

After a review of articles published between 1976 and 1982 on sex composition within experimental task groups, actual work groups,
experimental discussion groups, and growth/therapy groups, Martin and Shanahan (1983:19) concluded, "The literature on gender, gender composition of groups, and small group structure and process leaves little doubt that the 'sex composition' of small groups entails dramatic implications for group functioning and outcomes". Unfortunately, much of this gender relations literature, while descriptively sound has, until the late 1970's, lacked a theoretical basis. As well, there has been a tendency to account for role differentiation and role values through personal attribution based on socialization patterns or a functional division of the sexes.

**Status Characteristics and Expectation States Theory**

Two groups of literature pertinent to this study of the dynamics of gender relations in the workplace have been theoretically rooted in Georg Simmel's ideas on society as the product of social interaction and structural variables. The nucleus of Simmel's contribution to sociology was his belief that, "Society merely is the name for a number of individuals, connected by interaction" (Wolff, 1950:10). He observed that individuals associated or interacted with one another in patterned, routinized, and uniform ways and abstracted from these concrete, individual experiences or events to create forms or constructs of social interaction. On a macro-level, Simmel stated that, "... the interactions
we have in mind when we talk of 'society' are crystallized as defensible, consistent structures such as the state and the family, the guild and the church, social classes and organizations based on common interests" (Wolff, 1950:9). To complement these social forms, Simmel constructed a schema of micro-level social types. Each social type (for example, the poor, the stranger, the adventurer) was defined through his relationships with others who assigned him a particular social position, attributed certain characteristics to him, and formed expectations for his behaviour. Thus, social actions were not totally self-driven but carried out in relation to the beliefs and actions of others, and to the processes and structures associated with the interaction settings. These "fundamental reciprocal orientations...account for stable patterns of interaction and for the regulations of overt behaviour" (Tenbruck, 1959:69). Putting Simmel's ideas into current terminology, the status associated with each social type leads to stereotyped classifications of individuals. Interaction becomes organized about these classifications as fairly stable and consistent behavioural consequences arise. As stated in the introductory chapter to this study, when a person is identified by his/her ascribed or achieved status, we know who that person is and we know how s/he will likely behave in a group setting.

Simmel's work laid the foundation for contemporary sociological concepts such as status, role, norms, and expectations, and provided the
basis for the development, in the late 1960's and 1970's, of status characteristics and expectation states theory (Berger, 1974; Berger, Conner and Fisek, 1974). The original statement of the theory has generated a comprehensive research program stimulating the refinement, modification and extension of the subsequent iterations according to the particular variables or conditions under scrutiny. The theory defines status as the value attributed to the states of the salient characteristic(s) differentiating group members, and expectations as the beliefs about how group members with a certain state of a given characteristic will behave in a specific setting. The theory is grounded in a laboratory setting in which specific conditions or criteria are operative, namely, group members are presented with a collective task-solving situation in which a positive (that is, correct) outcome is valued and in which some level of competence (not luck) is assumed to be instrumental to the successful completion of the task. In the absence of information on task ability, a group member will impute from a given external characteristic about the other's potential contribution or competence at successful task completion. In other words, status generalization is said to organize interaction within small groups by, "...the process of inferring or assigning specific task ability from external status characteristics" (Driskell, 1982:229). The resulting distribution of power and prestige within the group will be ordered according to the statuses held by the members. In status equal groups,
initial evaluations of ability or performance will lead to expectations
and opportunities for a corresponding, appropriate contribution to the
task-solving situation. In cases with status unequal group members,
those with high status will be expected to be more competent at the task
than those with low status. Consequently, the former will be given more
opportunities to contribute to task completion, their decisions will be
acquiesced to, and their influence will be extended to other task
completion decisions. Thus, "...prior status differentiation among group
members leads to patterns of influence which clearly parallel the status
structure, even when such differentiation has no apparent relevance to
the task confronting the group" (Moore, 1968:48). Because status
characteristics are "...culturally evaluated and carry performance
connotations" (Driskell, 1982:230), they are powerful cognitive
organizing tools for, in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary,
they offer clues or cues from which expectations are formed. Driskell
(1982) has identified five theoretical assumptions, three of which are
presented here because of their relationship to the structural/numerical
proportions model to be discussed later. The first assumption, usually
termed the saliency assumption or salience completion model states that
all status characteristics known to be relevant to the task and all
characteristics that discriminate between members will become salient.
Complementing this is the second, burden of proof, assumption which
states that even though the status characteristics are not connected to
the task, they will become activated or utilized as performance expectation discriminators as long as they are not specifically dissociated from the task. That is, when contrary information is lacking and task relevance is uncertain, generalizations will be from the status characteristic to task competence. The third assumption concerns a transfer effect such that a power and prestige order or structure developed through the saliency or burden of proof assumptions will be transferred to new members. In the first experimental test of the transfer effect assumption, Pugh and Wahrman (1983:760) concluded that, "...evidence of female superiority did transfer to new partners. This suggests that a successful intervention strategy not only has benefits for those of lower status who are immediately involved but also carries a dividend in terms of the likelihood that new partners will be treated on an equal basis".

Finally, the theory allows for status characteristics to be either specific (for example, an occupational skill) or diffuse (for example, age, race). Sex is considered a diffuse status characteristic (Lockheed and Hall, 1976; Meeker and Weitzell-O'Neill, 1977; Driskell, 1982; Pugh and Wahrman, 1983) because it meets three definitional criteria:

a. two or more states of the characteristic are differentially evaluated (male, female);

b. specific qualities, skills and expectations are associated with each state of the characteristic (for example, male implies logic, aggression, decisiveness; female implies
c. there are general expectations about the overall worth and competence of the holders of the differing states of the characteristic. (With reference to the literature reviewed at the beginning of this chapter, in this society the male state of the diffuse status characteristic of sex is valued as better and as more proficient than the female state of the characteristic).

"The application of status characteristics and expectation states theory to gender relations begin in the mid-seventies. Martin and Shanahan (1983), and Meeker and Weitzell-O'Neill (1977) offer literature reviews and theoretical, rather than empirical, applications of the theory to the study of mixed-sex groups in the workplace. The latter theorize that because women have lower status than men, they must prove that they are competent, well-intentioned, and deserving of a higher status: "...before task contributions from a woman are expected or accepted, there must be evidence either that she is cooperatively motivated or that it is legitimate for her to enhance her status" (Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neill, 1977:96). The authors carry the above idea one step further and hypothesize that in certain situations the diffuse status characteristics of sex will not discriminate. "If the external status characteristic of sex can be made to appear irrelevant to the task, or if the particular woman involved can be made to appear competent, performance expectations will not be affected by sex" (Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neill, 1977:97)."
Lockheed and Hall (1976) conducted the first study of status characteristics and expectation states in which the experimental conditions of mixed-sex and single-sex groups were created. They challenged sex-role socialization as an explanation for the non-emergence of women as leaders in mixed-sex groups and concluded that status characteristics and expectation states theory was more accurately predictive of women's participation levels. They stated that the advantage of describing male-female interaction in terms of status instead of role is that the latter emphasizes complementary aspects of role specialization (that is, the sexes are different but equal) whereas status focuses on the power and prestige order or the actual structural relationships within settings. "Attention is directed to the dysfunctions of status-ordered behaviour when it becomes apparent both that low-status persons make fewer contributions to the group and that the contributions they do make are less likely to be accepted" (Lockheed and Hall, 1976:117).

Through a replication of the experimental design commonly used to test hypotheses derived from the theory, Pugh and Wahrman (1983) affirmed Lockheed and Hall's (1976) findings that in mixed-sex groups, women exert less influence than men because of their lower status. While Lockheed and Hall only recommended intervention techniques for changing expectations, Pugh and Wahrman introduced them into the experimental
setting to determine if a woman must demonstrate that she is superior to a man to achieve equality of influence. If so, competence at the task would overpower the low status of the female sex. They created four experimental conditions: each group member was aware of the partner's sex; each group member was told that previous studies had shown no relationship between sex and skill; through manipulation, the men and women appeared to demonstrate equal task competence; finally, women appeared to be better than their male partners on the task. The results were the same for the first three interventions: sex was used as a cue for evaluating relative competence. In the fourth condition (female superiority) there was some increased influence although not to a statistically significant level where the researchers could unequivocally state that task/skill superiority overcomes sex stereotyping. They concluded that the only way to eliminate the effects of a status characteristic on expectation states was for group members to demonstrate superiority - not equality - on a task.

As mentioned earlier, Pugh and Wahrman tested a carry over or transfer effect assumption. They were concerned that even though a woman may be shown to be more competent than a man in a task situation, after a change in partners she may still believe that most men are more competent than she. A man may come to believe that his female partner is competent but may not extend this to new female partners. They found that
"superwomen" could pave the way for new female group members as there would be a greater likelihood for the latter to be treated with more equality than would be the case if they had not been preceded by a woman demonstrating skill/ability superior to her male partner. Pugh and Wahrman were cautious when discussing the transfer effect results. They recommended that future research designs account for variables such as new partners and new tasks, length of group membership time, and groups rather than dyads. With regard to the latter variable, they suggest that the impact of social norms may be minimized in dyads, "The format of experimental settings such as ours excludes others of the same sex who might 'remind' group members of traditional role expectations" (Pugh and Wahrman, 1983:761).

Using a survey technique, Wiley and Eskilson (1983) combined attribution theory with expectation states theory to link the reasons for promotion to the formation of performance expectations. When ability was assumed to be the basis for promotion, performance expectations (measured as effectiveness, control over others, and competence) for men and women did not differ; however, sex effects prevailed when external pressure (for example, affirmative action) was the reason for promotion. In this case, men's promotions were still attributed to ability; women's promotions were attributed to task-irrelevant causes. They also found that regardless of whether or not the promotion was based on task ability,
women were not expected to advance in their managerial careers because, compared with men, they were perceived as being less likely to be promoted in the future, less likely to have actual control over others, less likely to receive cooperation from their subordinates, and to be less-liked by peers and supervisors.

**Structural/Numerical Proportions Model - Tokenism**

Simmel's study of the structural determinants of social action through the identification of abstract forms and social types was epitomized by his analysis of numbers. In "Quantitative Aspects of the Group" (Wolff, 1950:87-177), he described processes and structural arrangements generated by the number of group participants. (For example, by merely adding a third person to a dyad, new forms of sociation develop which transcend the personalities of the individuals involved. Small groups can be differentiated from larger groups because face-to-face, personal interaction becomes replaced by imposed formal arrangements or "organs". These structures mediate interaction thereby distancing members from each other and lessening their contributions to and participation in the group.)

Kanter (1977a, 1977b) has extended Simmel's model of absolute numbers determining structure and process by demonstrating that relative
numbers or proportions are determinants of form and process. She builds on the idea that structures shape interaction contexts and influence particular patterns of male-female interaction by providing a framework outlining the effects of proportional representation on groups (Kanter 1977b:966). She is interested in the dynamics of (female) tokenism in (male) dominant groups and seeks to understand what happens to women who occupy token status and are alone or nearly alone in a peer group of men.

Kanter offered a schema of four group types based on various proportional representations or "typological ratios" of kinds of people: uniform groups (100:0), skewed groups (85:15), tilted groups (65:35), and balanced groups (50:50). It is the skewed groups, comprised of dominants who control and define the "culture" of the group and, in particular, the tokens that are of interest. Tokens constitute approximately 15% of the group and have special characteristics. They are identified primarily by their ascribed status such as race, religion, and sex rather than their achieved status. As such, they are usually treated as representatives or symbols of their social category, not as individuals. Thirdly, the dominants have a history of interacting with members of the token's category in ways that are different from the demands of task accomplishment being made on the currently constituted skewed group. Tokens are often new to the occupational role or setting of the dominants and they are usually dispersed throughout the organization. This structural
dispersal can further reduce the token to a "solo" or "isolate" within the work group thereby militating against the formation of a social support base. Along with social isolation, tokens become organizationally isolated from informal learning opportunities which are crucial to successful integration.

Kanter conducted her research (interviews and participant-observation) on 16 saleswomen and 40 salesmen and managers who comprised a divisional sales force in a large, American industrial corporation. From this field study, she identified three perceptual phenomena and the resulting patterns of interaction that occur with regard to tokens: visibility, polarization, and assimilation. Since the integration dynamics noted in the preliminary participant-observation findings of this Land Trial study reflect most of Kanter's interaction patterns, the latter are summarized here.

As minority status holders, a larger share of group awareness is captured than the few numbers should warrant. This visibility creates, in turn, a set of performance pressures that are applicable to tokens alone:

a. public performance - Because of over-observation, all actions are known and mistakes are heightened. There is little privacy.
b. extension of consequences - The consequences of performance become symbolic as each woman's performance could affect the prospects of potential female recruits. Tokens, therefore, carry the burden of representing their category. Informally, they are twice assessed according to their ascribed status and their occupational role. For the SWINTER Land Trial participants this would mean an assessment of how, as women, they performed the combat service support role and, conversely, how, as combat service support soldiers they embodied or lived up to the imagery of womanhood/femininity.

c. attention to token's discrepant status - Since stereotypical beliefs about the characteristics of the tokens' social category are dominant, tokens must work extremely hard (that is, be super performers) to prove their competence in order that their discrepant characteristics be rendered negligible.

d. fear of retaliation - While tokens will work very hard so that achievements will take priority over recognition of their discrepant characteristics, they are cautious of not performing to an outstanding level, thereby reflecting poorly on the dominants. Because of the token's visibility, her successes would be well known and could humiliate the dominants.

Kanter observed that tokens usually respond to performance pressures in two ways: by overachieving or by attempting to become invisible in the organization. Both strategies can lead to negative consequences. Overachievement can be criticized for aspiring too high, too fast and can incur retaliatory tactics such as "cutting her down to size". Secondly, by keeping a low profile and by being as unobtrusive as possible, pressure may be deflected but so also will be recognition for work well done.
The second perceptual phenomenon is polarization or exaggeration of status differences. Because the external or ascriptive characteristics are easily distinguished, similarities with and differences from the tokens are readily apparent leading to polarization or exaggeration of the differences. Since there are so few tokens it is easier for the dominants to define themselves in contrast to the tokens than would be the case in a balanced ratio work setting. The result is that when an "outsider" is introduced, the common bond of the dominants is heightened thereby erecting a barrier to what may be perceived as a threat. Polarization leads to four types of interaction:

a. exaggeration of the dominant's culture - The presence of the token provides the reason and the audience for the dominants to highlight and dramatize the status differences. Men will demonstrate their machismo and aggressiveness through sexual testing and the telling of "war stories". In all cases, the female tokens are tested for their response to the male culture.

b. interruptions or reminders of differences - Dominants will preface acts or discussions with questions to the tokens on the appropriateness of doing so and then invariably will carry on as originally intended.

c. overt inhibition: informal isolation - Since tokens are outsiders they cannot be trusted with information potentially embarrassing or damaging to the dominants. Certain topics of conversation (for example, ways of getting around formal rules) will not be raised before tokens but instead at informal get togethers from which tokens will have been excluded.

d. loyalty tests - While kept at the periphery by the above means, tokens must prove their loyalty to the dominants often by either making prejudicial statements about other tokens or by colluding with the dominants by allowing themselves to be a source of humour for the group.
Tokens respond to polarization or boundary heightening in two ways. Since there are too few tokens to form a countercultural or a social support base, they can accept the isolation or they can try to become insiders by proving their loyalty and minimizing their differences through turning against their own social category.

The third perceptual phenomenon is assimilation. In balanced or tilted groups, there are enough minority status holders to encourage the development of non-stereotypical perceptions; however, in skewed groups the presence of tokens allows generalizations or characteristic distortions to prevail. Role entrapment results from:

a. status levelling - This is a cognitive process whereby the perceptions of the token or judgements about the token's professional role are made to fit the commonly held stereotype about the token's social category (that is, the "situational status" is brought in line with the "master status").

b. stereotyped role induction - Dominants may accept tokens within the work setting but only if they fulfill the stereotypical roles associated with their social category. This preserves the traditional or familiar interaction patterns that usually occur between people of the social categories represented by the tokens and dominants, creating a non-threatening environment for the latter. Kanter observed four role traps into which the saleswomen were inducted: mother, seductress, pet, and iron maiden.
Responses to role entrapment include acceptance, self-distortion and feigning of attributes such as frivolity and submissiveness as called for by the assigned role.

Token status induces personal stress. Performance pressures demand that tokens not make errors in their work for fear of providing evidence to the dominants that they are interlopers or for fear of making integration difficult for other tokens or future employees who are members of the token's social category. Tokens often must expend an inordinant amount of energy maintaining a merely satisfactory relationship in the workplace and must learn to balance contradictory expectations that arise from status inconsistency (Kanter, 1977b:988).

Kanter's structural/numerical proportions model is an attractive device for studying the nature of interaction between men and women in the workplace because it considers factors external to the individual but inherent in the organizational setting (for example, the proportion of women to men; the location of the women within the hierarchy). Gender relations researchers have begun to directly test her hypotheses or to incorporate her observations and conclusions into their analyses of women in the workplace (for example, Martin and Shanahan, 1983; Wiley and Eskilson, 1983). An interesting precursor to Kanter's work was a study conducted by Wolman and Frank (1975) of solo or lone women in three
six-member T-groups and three six-member work groups. They found that, "The lone woman entering a small group of male professionals usually does not realize that she is trespassing, or resents and rejects this notion. She wishes to be accepted with full membership, with the right to express herself freely, and compete actively for status according to her professional merits" (Wolman and Frank, 1975:169). Full, equal group membership was not accorded any of the women: four women were rejected as role deviants; one became an isolate; and the sixth woman became a low status member. The authors concluded that:

...the women in four of the six groups...were stereotyped and pushed into a deviant role that they disliked and resisted. Their gender served as the salient cue determining their deviant role. Usually, the men found a way to minimize their impact and ignore their efforts to become a regular member so that they could almost have an all-male group.

(Wolman and Frank, 1975:169)

Observations similar to those made later by Kanter were also noted in this article; however, Wolman and Frank tried to apply exchange theory to their study with totally inadequate results.

As with the status characteristics and expectation states research program, Kanter's framework is beginning to generate embellishments and refinements. Spangler, Gordon and Pipkin (1978)
conducted the first empirical test of three facets of Kanter's theory: academic performance, social isolation and role entrapment by administering questionnaires in two law schools with tilted and skewed female underrepresentation. They found support for the three perceptual phenomena of visibility, polarization, and assimilation but could not account for the variability in over- and underachievement strategies. Their work can be criticized, though, for comparing an elite with a non-elite school, using only two group types and analysing performance measures based on self-report (therefore, introducing sex effects of social desirability).

Alexander and Thoits (1983) also used an elite, private university setting to determine if tokens will underachieve relative to dominants. In a very comprehensive research design, they analysed grade point averages of male and female senior college students in all four group types (departments). Three confounding factors were controlled for: token's high/low status relative to that of the dominants, the newness of the tokens, and absolute numbers. Their results were mixed. Kanter's hypothesis was not supported when women's and men's achievements were compared within group types; however, the hypothesis was supported when relative performance was compared across group types. With regard to the first of the three confounding factors, Alexander and Thoits (1983) found that:
...proportional representation effects are conditional upon the relative social status of the interactants in skewed (but not in tilted) groups. In particular, proportional representation effects occur only when tokens are of low status relative to dominants. This finding suggests that negative performance expectations for members of devalued social categories are salient when their visibility is high.

(Alexander and Thoits, 1983:35)

They also observed that newness to a setting interacts with minimal proportional representation: when introduced into a tilted or skewed setting, a low-status token first overachieved because of the high token visibility. This overachievement declined over time as visibility due to newness wore off. Finally, there was no consistent relationship between underachievement and overachievement to the absolute number of tokens present in either male- or female-dominated university departments. This finding suggested to Alexander and Thoits that intra-minority social support systems may not be crucial to performance outcomes. They concluded by calling for the specification of conditions under which tokenism will hamper performance.

Izraeli (1983) interviewed 259 part-time local union officers from Israeli food, textile, and electronics firms. Her objective was to analyse the dynamics of boundary heightening, role entrapment and power differences in skewed and balanced union committees. She found
considerable support for Kanter's general argument that the sex ratio of a group's membership affects its culture as attitudes reflecting boundary heightening, role entrapment and asymmetrical power relationships were more evident in skewed than in balanced committees. One unexpected finding was that group sex ratio had a stronger effect on women's attitudes compared with men's attitudes toward the relative abilities of the sexes and the role of the women on the committee. She had expected, in accordance with Kanter's theory, that the men would exaggerate the differences between themselves and the token women by demonstrating extreme pro-male stereotypical attitudes. She concluded that, "... rather than threaten male communality, the presence of women in fact buttresses it. Aware of their visibility, the token women seem to have adapted by calling on traditional female scripts to put themselves and their partners at ease" (Izraeli, 1983:162).

Fairhurst and Snavely (1983a, 1983b) conducted two studies based on Kanter's work: the first, a theoretical application of existing literature on power to token status and the second, a test of the social isolation of male tokens. Fairhurst and Snavely recognized the inverse relationship between status characteristic deviancy and power, that is, the greater the deviancy or status discrepancy, the greater the corresponding loss of power (and, consequently, the more intense the token dynamics). As Kanter stated, tokens, by their presence, remind
dominants that they are now expected to share power and privileges with previously excluded social category representatives. Fairhurst and Snavely asked to what extent tokens can acquire and exercise power in the absence of a numerical shift based on the assumption that, "The attainment of power causes tokens to be perceived more complexly by majority members, and it shifts the attention away from their uniqueness to their ability to mobilize needed resources for the achievement of their own goals or those of the majority members" (Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983a:293). In concert with Izraeli's observation on the buttressing of the dominant male role by female tokens, Fairhurst and Snavely suggest that tokenism is contingent upon the token's compliance with the dominants' role expectations:

The problem with tokenism is that a token's perceived power in relation to a majority member's is seen to be low by both the token and the majority member. Consequently, when tokens are treated on the basis of class membership, they tend to accept this definition of the situation much more frequently than they reject it and offer a competing one of their own based on relevant abilities.

(Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983a:294)

Fairhurst and Snavely (1983a) concur with Alexander and Thoits (1983) that scarcity is necessary but not sufficient to produce tokenism and that newness is also a necessary condition. With the passage of time
the token should be able to step out of the token-related dynamics by fostering power producing dependencies or by actually acquiring power. Power producing dependencies can be achieved through: longevity (networks can be extended over time); attractiveness (helps gain access to important people); and location (token may be placed in a position of high visibility because of an affirmative action requirement for symbols and, therefore, have access to important people). The five skills or qualities necessary for the acquisition of actual power are: the ability to recognize power opportunities and powerful personalities; possessing risk-taking propensity; self-confidence; ability to advance one's cause verbally; and the desire to gain access to power and the powerful. Thus, through personal initiative the token should be able to change her disadvantaged situation in the face of structurally imposed proportional representation.

Fairhurst and Snavely's (1983b) second article presents questionnaire data based on the sociometric technique to test the social isolation of male tokens in a nursing school. They found no support for the hypothesis that male tokens would be more socially isolated than their numerically dominant female colleagues and, secondly, that status levelling rarely occurred. (It should be noted that Kanter's work is not refuted as she allows for the situation where the token's master status or social category is higher than that of the situational dominants
MILITARY SMALL GROUPS

The study of battle is therefore always a study of fear and usually of courage; always of leadership, usually of obedience; always of compulsion, sometimes of insubordination; always of anxiety, sometimes of elation or catharsis; always of uncertainty and doubt, misinformation and misapprehension, usually also of faith and sometimes of vision; always of violence, sometimes also of cruelty, self-sacrifice, compassion; above all, it is always a study of solidarity and usually also of disintegration - for it is towards the disintegration of human groups that battle is directed.

(Keegan, 1976:297-298)

If the objective of battle is to destroy the solidarity of the opposing fighting troops, then the fostering of unit cohesion is critical to success on the battlefield. The following review of the socio-psychological military literature reveals the centrality of primary group cohesion to combat service and the instrumental and socio-emotive foundations to its development and maintenance.

The value of compatibility in fighting troops was recognized as early as the first century A.D. when the Greek General Onasander wrote
that the commander should station, "brother in rank by brother; friends beside friends, and lovers beside their favourites" (quoted in Kellett, 1982:42). During the ensuing two thousand years, the importance of the fellow fighting soldier, the comrade in arms, was often noted. As combat historian Brigadier-General Marshall observed:

I hold it to be one of the simplist truths of war. That the thing which enables an infantry soldier to keep going with his weapons is the near presence or presumed presence of a comrade....He must have at least some feeling of spiritual unity with him....He is sustained by his fellows primarily and by his weapons secondarily. (Marshall, 1964:42-43)

These observations which, through the years, had become common knowledge to students of all participants in battle, were confirmed through the publication of The American Soldier studies. In a massive World War II research endeavour, American sociologists were recruited to work in the Research Branch of the United States War Department's Information and Education Division. The objective of this special services unit was to conduct action research to provide input to policy formulation. To this end, 80 surveys were administered to and interviews held with over 300,000 soldiers in all theatres of war on topics ranging from combat motivation to rotation policy to preferred recreational equipment. One of the many findings reported in the multi-volume set that was also unexpected, was that soldiers were not motivated in combat
by abstract ideological or political beliefs about the moral rightness of the larger cause for which the country was at war. Rather, it was cohesive primary group\(^1\) relations that were crucial to morale and the willingness to carry out combat duties. Stouffer et al. (1949:130) concluded that combat motivation was enhanced by the primary or informal group because it set and emphasized group standards of behaviour, and it supported and sustained the individual throughout stressful periods without which the individual would not have been able to cope. There was a very practical aspect to primary group relations as well, for the soldier had to be certain that, should he get into a predicament or be wounded, he would be taken care of by his fellow soldiers. "The soldier himself felt strong ties of pride and loyalty to his buddies, and by the same token he could depend on them to act according to similar ties" (Stouffer et al., 1949:143).

\(^{1}\)The American Soldier authors, as with all military sociologists since World War II, have used Cooley's definition of primary groups: "By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face associations and cooperation. They are primary in several senses but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of individuals. The result of intimate association, psychologi-cally, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group" (Cooley, 1962:23). A definition of cohesion is offered by Kellett (1982:42): "Cohesion denotes the feelings of belonging and solidarity that occur mostly at the primary group level and result from sustained interactions, both formal and informal, among group members on the basis of common experiences, interdependencies, and shared goals and values."
Speier's (1950:116) observation that the American soldier in World War II had neither any strong beliefs about national war aims nor a highly developed sense of personal commitment to the war effort and yet was motivated to serve in combat, has been reiterated in studies of other nationalities and wars. (See Kellett, 1982:99-101 for a review.) In particular, the German Army, which had often been used as a prime example of the motivating force of ideology, was reliant upon the primary group as the impetus for morale and fighting effectiveness.

He [German soldier] was likely to go on fighting, provided he had the necessary weapons, as long as the group possessed leadership with which he could identify himself, and as long as he gave affection to and received affection from the other members of his squad and platoon. In other words, as long as he felt himself to be a member of his primary group and therefore bound by the expectations and demands of its other members, his soldierly achievement was likely to be good. (Shils and Janowitz, 1975:181)

A cohesive small group facilitates stress management for it helps to alleviate anxiety and battlefield deprivation as it provides the major source of motivational support. While there has been concurrence on the role of the primary group, military sociologists have disagreed on the factors contributing to cohesion. Lang (1972:75) stated that the basis for cohesion is simply the proficiency with which each performs his
assigned task. Janowitz's analysis was more expansive. He recognized that social background and personality are important but that, "...it is not necessary to assume that cohesion in primary groups can only be the result of uniformity in personality or like-mindedness among its members" (Janowitz, 1974:96). He then identified four "organizational realities" contributing to the social cohesion of primary groups: technical aspects of weapons (individual or team fired), organization of the unit and its replacement system, nature of the military threat, and leadership.

During World War II, the reference point for the primary group was focussed at the platoon or squad level; however, by the end of the War, the primary group was made synonymous with the section (Chodoff, 1983:585). Little (1964), who conducted a participant-observation study during the Korean War, further reduced the primary group to a series of two-person relationships termed "buddies". Little allowed that the concept of "buddies" could also refer generally to all unit members who shared combat risks and hardships. "The primary basis for solidarity in the platoon and company was the recognition of mutual risk. A set of norms so regulated their behaviour as to minimize that risk. On this basis, buddy relationships were established and maintained" (Little, 1964:218). Little's emphasis of the instrumental nature of the small groups/buddies was reaffirmed by Moskos (1968) whose research on American
troops in Vietnam challenged the earlier hypothesis, "...that primary group ties are based on deep identifications and solidarity with fellow squad and platoon members, and the related hypothesis that, as a result, individuals value the maintenance of the group and the group ties independently of selfish interests in physical survival" (George, 1971:299). Moskos' data on the American soldiers in Vietnam demonstrated that the primary group relationships were indeed instrumental, pragmatic, and self-serving to reduce personal risks:

...the intense primary-group ties so often reported in combat groups are best viewed as necessities arising from immediate life-and-death exigencies....One can view primary-group processes in the combat situation as a kind of rudimentary social contract which is entered into because of advantages to individual self-interest. Rather than viewing soldier's primary groups as some kind of semi-mystical bond of comradeship, they can be better understood as pragmatic and situational responses. This is not to deny the existence of strong interpersonal ties within combat squads, but rather to interpret them as derivative from the very private war each individual was fighting for his own survival.

(Moskos, 1975:36-37)

George (1971:313) warned that research into the primary group concept is hindered by difficulties. It is far easier to make the individual the unit of analysis rather than the small group and to obtain information on the individual servicemember's attitudes than on the behaviour of the small group to which s/he belongs. These difficulties are accentuated when, as is usually the case, data are obtained via
interviews with personnel from various naturally formed small units. George recommended that participant-observation (with supporting sociometric analysis) be used primarily and that all techniques be employed on a longitudinal basis.

The above literature has been based on research into the male military experience during wartime. With the expansion of the role of U.S. servicewomen and the increase of their absolute numbers beginning in the mid-1970's, has come a corresponding increase in the number of articles and books published on women in the military. Four observations can be made about the scope of this literature. First, articles recognizing the anomaly of women in this male-dominated occupation go on to outline historically the evolving role of servicewomen. Second, in apparent reaction to the "issue" of women potentially entering operational roles, much of the research has focussed on the reaction of male personnel to the utilization of their female counterparts. Reports summarizing survey data on attitudes and opinion dominate the literature. The third group of studies, motivated by the concern for organizational efficiency and effectiveness coupled by the requirement for military forces to concretely justify the exclusion of women from all roles, describe the psychological and physiological capabilities of women. Finally, the fourth type of literature reports on the socio-psychological dimensions of female employment in the military.
Included here are discussions of commitment to a military career, reasons for occupational selection, and different perceptions of organizational climate held by servicewomen and servicemen.

The process of integration revealed through the analysis of primary group dynamics is still in its infancy. It would appear that, as George (1971) cautioned, it is far easier to administer attitudinal surveys than to indulge in intensive participant-observations. Only two such reports by Boyce (1981) and Devilbiss (1983) are known of, in addition to the one that formed the basis for this study (Karmas, 1982). There is still much to be learned about what actually occurs when servicewomen are introduced into traditional, previously all-male work groups during peacetime, let alone wartime.

**SUMMARY**

The foregoing literature review has provided the analytical vehicles for describing the impact of the social and structural contexts on the integration of women into a previously all-male work environment. Status characteristics and expectation states theory and the structural/numerical proportions model are complementary and together offer a framework for understanding SWINTER participant expectation formation.
Expectation states theory demonstrates a high correlation between contributions to task solving, positive or negative evaluations of those contributions, and acceptance or rejection of each member's influence. In status equal situations, assessments of ability will organize the ensuing power and prestige order; however, in status unequal situations, information about status will be used to guide the framework of expectations. The gender relations literature described the societal attribution of low status to women. They are perceived as being, for example, less capable, less authoritative, less decisive, less logical, and less reliable than men. When the diffuse status characteristic of sex is activated in a group task-solving situation, the generally held societal perceptions are extended into the particular situation and low expectations for the female participant are formed. According to one study (Pugh and Wahrman, 1983), the only way to counter the negative effects of the low status of the female sex was for women to demonstrate task superiority. An added benefit of so doing was that there was a greater likelihood new females initially would be considered equals by the male group members if they had been preceded by extremely capable women than by women demonstrating task competence equal to their male partners. Thus, given certain conditions such as new group members and new tasks, the low female status characteristic could be suppressed.

Given the introductory comments based on the participant-
observation of one of the Land Trial companies on exercise, it would appear that the SWINTER participants initially assumed that a demonstration of competence would lead to their acceptance as legitimate unit members and to a successful conclusion to the trial (that is, the permanent employment of servicewomen in combat service support units). It would also appear that their male colleagues were using the ascribed status of sex as an indicator of the servicewomen's level of ability regardless of actual performance evidence to the contrary. A contradictory and highly stressful situation for the servicewomen had evolved as the group/unit members were beginning from two different sets of assumptions based on different emphases.

From participant-observation and intensive interviews, Kanter learned that organizational tokens and dominants will interact in certain patterns. She defined tokens as constituting 15% of the work group, usually being new to the organization and to the work role, and being structurally dispersed throughout the work setting. As with expectation states theory, it is their ascribed status, not their achieved status, which provides information cues to the dominants. The integration dynamics consist of three perceptual phenomena, each stimulating clearly defined sub-processes: visibility causing performance pressures, polarization or isolation, and assimilation or role entrapment which locks the token into a stereotypical mold.
The model is beginning to receive attention from sociologists just as expectation states theory did when it was first published; however, replications of the latter have followed a strict experimental format whereas Kanter's work has been tested by questionnaires (with one instance of interviews). Survey methodology is not very sensitive to the subtleties of group dynamics, interpersonal relationships, or shifts in face-to-face interactions. The essence of the group's functioning, personality, and cohesion, therefore, remains outside of the researcher's purview. The tentative support that has been accorded Kanter's model to date may be due to unsuitable research techniques.

Along with the identification of interaction patterns, the structural/numerical proportions model offers two important ideas. First, the model is a system construct as opposed to an individual construct. The power acquisition strategy advocated by Fairhurst and Snavely (1983a) to improve the token's status cannot be applied to the SWINTER participants because it assumes free choice. These servicewomen, as with all military personnel, do not have the freedom to act for their own benefit as suggested by the two authors. Rank and role structure behaviour (although admittedly to a lesser degree for senior officers and non-commissioned officers compared with their junior counterparts) to such an extent that power acquisition through individual initiative is virtually impossible. The second aspect of a structurally imposed
numerical imbalance is that the underrepresentation of a social category can be changed by organizational decision-makers. Stress and the sense of powerlessness experienced by tokens in skewed groups can be alleviated if tilted or balanced groups are created.

The second important idea is that high master (social category) status will be carried over regardless of the situational status (for example, Fairhurst and Snavely's (1983b) male nurse) whereas low master status will be hampered by the situational status. Further, when a low master status is combined with token situational status, "double deviancy" (Laws, 1975) results. In this study, the servicewomen are double deviants because they are numerically low and status inconsistent in an almost all-male environment where most of the tasks are male sex-typed.

Expectation states theory and the structural/numerical proportions model are linked as both claim that ascribed status, is the chief identifier (saliency). From this, status identification, stereotypical expectations for future performance or specified behavioural consequences arise, and, newness to a task-solving group or work environment encourages the application of the stereotypes associated with the status in the absence of or regardless of other information. The onus is on the low status holder or token to demonstrate status irrelevance. To sum,
status characteristics and expectation states theory explains the mechanism whereby status is applied to the formation of expectations and the differentiation between the power and prestige of group members. The concept of tokenism implies certain interaction dynamics that reinforce the consequences of status generalization.

The third body of literature on military small groups revealed that the functioning of primary groups is crucial not only to the attainment of organizational goals but to the well-being of the individual soldiers. Men were motivated to perform in combat not by the internalization of ideological values or national political beliefs but by mutual reliance on their fellow group members. Cohesion is vitally important in military small groups. Although the military literature is based on data gathered on men during wartime, unit cohesion during peacetime is viewed as a necessity not only for day-to-day functioning but also in anticipation of mobilization during a crisis. While the influence of various factors on the development and maintenance of cohesion is debatable, the instrumental (ability to carry out the task; willingness to share risks) and socio-emotive (psychological compatibility) foundations to cohesion are recognized.
Both the instrumental and socio-emotive aspects of cohesion have implications for servicewomen entering combat service support units and for the resulting small group dynamics. Status characteristics and expectation states theory suggests that the diffuse characteristic of sex will influence the exclusion of the servicewomen from full group membership because their contributions to risk reduction will not be recognized. As well, the consequences of tokenism (performance pressures, polarization/isolation, and assimilation/role entrapment) negate primary group member bonding. From this literature, it would appear that the development of cohesion, which is highly valued, will become problematic and combat or operational effectiveness will be decreased with the introduction of servicewomen.
CHAPTER V
METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The participant-observation findings summarized in the introduction highlighted the contradiction between the servicewomen's two-fold expectation that their performance would "earn" them unit membership and would lead to trial "success", and their perceived lack of acceptance by their male peers. Stated in terms of the material presented in the previous chapter, this contradiction was between achieved status based on performance/ability leading to group membership legitimacy and token negation, and the ascribed status of sex which would deny group acceptance and heighten tokenism. The methodology has been structured, therefore, to permit the clarification and expansion of the participant-observation findings by employing aspects of expectation states theory and then the structural/numerical proportions model as general guidelines.

The following research questions will be investigated.

(1) Prior to their arrival in CFE, did the SWINTER participants associate performance/ability with the purpose of the trial?

(a) What did they know about the trial prior to receiving information from the Base Personnel Selection Officers?

(b) Why did they think the trial was being conducted?

(c) Why did they think they were selected to participate?

(d) Why did they want to participate?

(e) Did they anticipate any difficulties?

(f) What general assessments did the Base Personnel Selection Officers make of them?

(2) What opinions did the SWINTER participants hold of the ability of servicewomen? Had their expectations regarding the abilities of servicewomen changed over time?

(3) Were the servicemen and servicewomen cognizant of external pressure on DND to review its policy on the employment of servicewomen?

(4) Did the SWINTER participants feel that they belonged or were accepted in the unit? Did these feelings change over time? What influenced the change, if any?

b. Structural/Numerical Proportions Model.

(1) What structural aspects of the skewed group existed in 4 Svc Bn?

(2) Over-observation. Did the SWINTER participants identify visibility as a difficulty within the Land Trial?

(3) Extension of consequences. Were the SWINTER participants sensitive to the consequences of their performances for servicewomen posted to the unit after them? Did they note any contradictions between being "soldiers" and being "women"?
(4) Attention to token's discrepant status. To what extent were the SWINTER participants motivated to work hard to render their female sex negligible?

(5) Fear of retaliation. Was success in the field environment problematic for the acceptance of the SWINTER participants by their male peers?

(6) Exaggeration of dominant's culture. Were elements of the male soldiering culture made significant to the SWINTER participants? Did they respond by attempting to emulate or withdrawing from their male peers?

(7) Loyalty tests. Did the SWINTER participants support one another or did they deny the ability and group membership status of their female peers?

(8) Was newness to the unit a variable in the SWINTER participants' perceptions of acceptance and feelings of belonging?

(9) Was stress acknowledged by the SWINTER participants? What factors were attributed to the formation of stress?

The sources of information that will be used to answer the above questions are described in the following section.

**DATA SOURCES**

The participant-observation provided a rich body of information on the integration of servicewomen into a previously all-male unit and also raised the above research questions that could be answered, in part, by a review of data obtained earlier in the trial and, in part, by an analysis of data gathered some time after the participant-observation.
Thus, the methodology has incorporated data collected at three points in time: prior to the posting of the trial unit; mid-trial point (May 1982); and, beginning of the final year of the trial (September 1983). Three techniques have been employed. First, a content analysis has been conducted of the internal DND documents pertaining to the creation of the SWINTER trials, the trial directive, the literature given to the potential SWINTER participants, and the summaries of the pre-trial interviews held between Base Personnel Selection Officers and 30 SWINTER Land Trial participants. (An example of the latter, termed a CF 285 because of the type of form on which it is written, is attached as Appendix A.) The participant-observation and the interviews constitute the second and third methodologies. As described in the introduction, the participant-observation was conducted with a Supply and Transport Company during an eight-day Battalion-level exercise in May 1982. The interviews were held at CFE Lahr, 20 through 22 September 1983, as part of the annual post-FALLEX\(^1\) intensive SBSA data gathering activity. During those days, 85 one to one-and-a-half hour interviews were held. Appendix B contains the complete interview schedule; Appendix C contains the subset of interview questions relevant to this study.

\(^{1}\)FALLEX is the abbreviated term for fall exercise which occurs every August through mid-September in CFE. It is the major annual exercise as it brings together all brigade units for approximately three weeks of training followed by three weeks of manoeuvres.
There are difficulties with the CF 285 and post-FALLEX interview data that must be noted. First, because the CF 285s were completed by different Base Personnel Selection Officers across Canada, they vary in comprehensiveness although, in the main, they are telegraphic in style. Second, of the 15 servicewomen who were posted to 4 Svc Bn in August 1983, CF 285s were not prepared on seven of them. It is not known why these initial interviews were not held. One possible explanation could be that these seven women enrolled post-19 June 1979 and, therefore, were processed for the CFE posting in exactly the same manner as a serviceman. If so, even though an interview with the Base Personnel Selection Officer was required, it may not have been held because it was not part of the normal pre-CFE posting screening regardless of their SWINTER participant status. Since the seven CF 285s could not be linked to post-FALLEX interviews, these very recent arrivals were excluded from the study.

With regard to the post-FALLEX interviews, difficulties were encountered in the preparation of the schedule and the sample representativeness. The interview schedule was tailored to meet the research objectives of the SBSA, therefore, all questions important to this study could not be asked and probing was limited. Also, many of the questions were not directed at the servicewoman, but rather, asked for
her opinion of how her female peers felt or thought about certain issues. While attempts were made to randomly sample by MOC, rank, and sex, the four interviewers were dependent upon senior Battalion personnel to release the selected individuals from their other duties to attend the interviews. Regardless of who was asked to attend the interviews, only those available were dispatched. Consequently, by the end of the three days, the interviewees vaguely resembled the original, desired sample. The participant-observation report contains comments on and conversations with servicemen and servicewomen; however, the post-FALLEX data has been limited to the servicewomen because of the biased sample. Therefore, data analysis must rely on the servicewomen's opinions of the servicemen's attitudes and opinions. Finally, measuring attitudinal change over time is problematic since the three groups of data are not all matched according to original collection purpose and sample. The CF 285s and post-FALLEX interviews are matched; however, the participant-observation discusses the attitudes and activities of servicemen and only some of the servicewomen who later took part in the 1983 interviews. Notwithstanding the foregoing methodological flaws which were beyond the control of this study, it is believed that the available data can be applied successfully to the research questions.
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Eight characteristics of the 30 servicewomen under study will be discussed: rank; trade; years of military service; age; educational level; marital status; came-on-strength (or COS) date (that is, date of arrival in CFE); and organizational dispersal.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the sample servicewomen by rank and trade. Four of the seven non-commissioned officer ranks and all of the ranks held by the Land Trial SWINTER participants were represented proportionally in the sample: warrant officer - two; sergeant - two; master corporal - four; and corporal - 22. The ranks that were not represented were chief warrant officer, master warrant officer, and private. It is consistent with the CF strength figures that no chief or master warrant officers would be in the sample since there are no female chief warrant officers in the CF and only nine female master warrant officers out of 5,500 female non-commissioned officers. Very few privates are posted to 4 CMBG because they lack requisite course training and general military work experience necessary to contributing to the Brigade's role.
For a woman, military service can be considered non-traditional regardless of the work that is actually done. Of the 68 trades currently open to servicewomen, 16 or 23% are defined as traditional as they reflect civilian occupations that have been filled routinely by women. Of the 16 traditional trades, ten are medical or dental in nature, and three are clerical (administrative, financial, and postal). The remaining three are photographic technician, supply technician, and cook. Nine trades were represented in the sample. Due to the nature of the work in 4 Svc Bn, six of the trades would be considered non-traditional to servicewomen. This is most readily apparent in the Weapons Technician (Land) and Firecontrol Technician (Electronics) trades which are comprised, Forces-wide, of 13 and six servicewomen respectively. There were two servicewomen in each of these trades in 4 Svc Bn and one of each in the sample.
The years of service attained by the servicewomen in September 1983 ranged from 15 down to two years (although the two servicewomen who enrolled into the regular force in 1981 had served eight and five years with the Militia). As can be seen in Table 3, 17 or 57% of the servicewomen clustered in the five through seven years of service range.
This is compatible with the number of servicewomen who held the corporal rank. Also to be noted is that for the servicewomen with two through seven years of service (21 or 70% of the total sample), 4 Svc Bn would have been their second posting. Therefore, they had only one other military working environment to compare with what they experienced in 4 Svc Bn.

**TABLE 3**

**DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SERVICEWOMEN**

*By Years Of Military Service*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR OF ENROLMENT</th>
<th>YEARS OF SERVICE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 30
Briefly, the ages of the sample servicewomen ranged from 23 through 36 years with the median being 30 years and the mean, 28 years. The highest educational level attained was grade 12 by 23 of the servicewomen. Four had completed grade 11 and three, grade ten. Of those who had received their high school diploma, four had undertaken additional studies including a two-year diploma in drafting, one year of journalism at a technical college, a three-month community college bank teller course, and a university sociology course. Twenty-two or 73% of the servicewomen were single, never married. Four were married, two were divorced, one was separated, and one had been divorced and remarried. The spouses of three of the servicewomen were also serving in CFE; one spouse was a retired serviceman employed by DND as a civilian in CFE. None of the servicewomen had children although one who was separated had had a child and had given it up for adoption prior to her marriage.

The sample was selected according to COS date and organizational dispersal since these two variables are important to the structural/numerical proportions model. Thus, responses of the newest arrivals could be compared with those that had, at the time of the interviews, served in 4 Svc Bn for three years to ascertain any attitudinal correlations with period of service in the Battalion. The sample was almost evenly distributed with a COS date of August 1980 for eight servicewomen, August 1981 for seven servicewomen, August 1982 for eight servicewomen, and August 1983 for seven servicewomen.
Figure 5 demonstrates the structural dispersal of the sample servicewomen in 4 Svc Bn: 14 were employed in Supply and Transport Company, nine in Maintenance Company, and seven in Administration Company. In September 1983, the servicewomen comprised 54 of approximately 500 personnel in 4 Svc Bn or 10.8%. Within each platoon (30 to 45 people), the servicewomen were unevenly distributed such that they constituted between 15% and 20% in "A" and "B" Platoons of Supply and Transport Company and less than 4% in Signal Troop of Administration Company. The average total female complement of each platoon was less than 10%.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, 13 research questions borne out of a participant-observation conducted in May, 1982, were presented. The data sources and methodology were explained and eight characteristics of the 30 servicewomen forming the sample were described. The sample servicewomen clustered at the corporal rank, thereby reflecting the CF distribution of servicewomen, and in non-traditional trades such as vehicle technician and mobile support equipment operator. Almost two-thirds of the sample had served between five and seven years accounting for the large number of corporals. This range of service also implies that most of the servicewomen had been at one, possibly two,
FIGURE 5: STRUCTURAL DISPERSAL OF SAMPLE SERVICEWOMEN IN 4 SERVICE BATTALION
other bases prior to their CFE posting. The average age was 28 years. Their educational and marital status reflected the CF statistics for all female non-commissioned officers as 70% held high school diplomas and 70% were single, never married. Of the eight characteristics discussed, the two most important to the structural/numerical proportions model were date of arrival in CFE (or, conversely, length of service in CFE) and organizational dispersal. The sample contained an even distribution of servicewomen who had arrived each summer, from 1980 through to 1983. Finally, the 30 sample servicewomen were scattered throughout 4 Svc Bn, averaging less than 10% of each platoon's complement.
CHAPTER VI
ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter, data obtained during the post-FALLEX interviews will be combined with conclusions drawn from the participant-observation to answer the 13 research questions posed in the previous chapter. Information pertaining to status characteristics and expectation states theory will first be presented, followed by the data relevant to the structural/numerical proportions model. The summary will review and integrate the findings.

STATUS CHARACTERISTICS AND EXPECTATION STATES THEORY

The most significant finding from the participant-observation was that the servicewomen had focussed on their ability to perform trade and soldiering skills to render a successful trial conclusion and, prior to that, acceptance by their male peers as legitimate members in the previously all-male unit. Chapters II and III outlined the importance of task ability to the establishment of a bona fide occupational requirement, as deemed necessary by the CHRC, to justify discriminatory occupational practices and, also, the importance of task ability or performance to the development of the trial directive. From an organizational viewpoint, the performance of the servicewomen in the non-traditional environments and roles was critical to future employment policies.
In determining the salience of performance to the SWINTER participants in the Land Trial, it is necessary to ascertain what level of knowledge they held about the trial and what their predisposition was to the Land Trial. If performance was salient, that is, if the sample servicewomen associated performance/ability with the purpose of the trial, it would surface in response to six questions posed to guide a content analysis of the CF 285s. Prior to their visit to the Base Personnel Selection Officers (BPSOs), the first SWINTER participants may have acquired some general information on all of the trials through the media and from attending a briefing that was given at some bases by the Director of Women Personnel. Later, they possibly would have obtained more information from friends and colleagues participating in one of the trials or they may have served in a six-month tour of Alert, site of the remote, isolated posting trial. The most comprehensive information, though, would have come from the BPSO who, near the end of the interview, discussed the trials in general and the working conditions in 4 CMBG in detail. This information was also provided in written form for the servicewoman's retention. The servicewoman had the option of stating whether she would accept the posting at that time or returning in a few days with her decision.

The CF 285s were reviewed to determine what information the servicewomen brought with them into the interview session. Eleven (36%) said they had good to excellent knowledge based on a combination of sources such as service at Alert; reading the fact sheets that colleagues
had; communication with friends at CFE; actively seeking out and talking with people about service in 4 Svc Bn; and discussing the trial with career managers. Twelve (40%) said they had some general information, but no details. In other words, they knew that the trials existed or they were familiar with one of the trials but not the Land Trial. Seven servicewomen (23%) expressed surprise at being called in for an interview since they had not known of the existence of the trials. What is significant is that with only one-third of the servicewomen well-informed, and with the option of taking the fact sheet and returning later with a final decision, all of the servicewomen gave their decision to participate in the trial by the end of the interview.

As described in Chapter III, two official reasons were identified for the creation of the trials. The primary reason was the response to anticipated action based on the CHRA. The second, and much less important reason, was the decline in the pool of recruitable males by the 1990s. A total of 32 responses were given to the following question posed by the BPSOs: Why do you think these trials are being conducted? The testing of the servicewomen's ability received the largest number of responses (11 or 34%). Two of the servicewomen said it was because they were capable that they were now being put through an experiment and one added, "to allow females to prove to themselves that they can carry out any job." The other nine cited employment flexibility as the motivation for the CF to find out what servicewomen were capable of doing. It is generally perceived in the CF that servicewomen take up base or static
postings, thereby limiting servicemen to the more arduous field postings that take them away from home several times a year on exercises. Even though servicewomen constitute only 8.3% of the CF and, therefore, do not monopolize base postings, both servicewomen and servicemen believe that they do. For the latter it appears to be a bitter issue. Should servicewomen demonstrate field ability, they will not be limited to base postings and more equity between the sexes will be built into the posting system. Nine (28%) responses concerned equal rights for servicewomen. In six instances, external pressure was cited: changing social values and civilian employment patterns; women's liberation; the "Women's Rights Act"; and the requirement to follow the American military lead. The third most frequent response (8 or 25%) to the question of why the trials were being conducted was because of a shortage of servicemen due to either not enough men in the Canadian population or a recent influx of women to the recruiting centres. Therefore, the CF had no choice but to find out what servicewomen could do because there were not enough servicemen to place in the traditionally all-male jobs. Of the remaining four responses (12%), two claimed that internal pressure was being brought to bear by servicewomen who were demanding equal rights; one said that the CF wanted to grant equal rights to servicewomen but had to do so with caution; and, finally, one said she did not know the reason for the trials but she was sure the servicewomen would be successful.
A wide variety of responses were given to the question on why the servicewomen thought they had been selected to participate in the trials. There were 35 responses in total. (Seven servicewomen were not asked this question and three gave multiple reasons for their selection.) The two most frequent responses (6 or 17%) were "unsure" or "no idea" and "requested Germany on my last PER" (6 or 17%). (The PER, or Performance Evaluation Review, is an annual assessment that, among many other things, asks the servicemember to state three preferred posting locations.) Appropriate work experience; level of trade qualification; stated willingness to participate in any trial; and a previous, successful tour in a non-traditional work environment such as Alert or Egypt with the Canadian Contingent to the United Nations' peacekeeping forces, accounted for 17 (49%) of the responses. Two (6%) servicewomen said they were selected because they were single and, therefore, more mobile than their married peers. The four (12%) remaining single responses were good personal characteristics such as the right personality, appropriate physical ability, motivation; being in location; and "the only eligible woman in my trade, therefore, it is logical and my duty to accept the posting."

All of the servicewomen gave at least one answer to the question on why they were willing to participate in the Land Trial; some gave up to three answers thereby accounting for a total of 51 responses. The largest category (18 or 35%) of responses related to the nature of the work in 4 Svc Bn. For eight of these servicewomen, the opportunity to
learn all aspects of their trade (and, therefore, advance their careers), was the primary reason for volunteering. Five were looking forward to a change from the type of work they were currently doing to the variety of work done in a field unit. The remaining five were attracted to the outdoor aspect of the employment and to the strictness of the "army" element. The most frequently given single reason (15 or 29%) for volunteering to participate was the perceived challenge. The work was envisaged as not merely being different from what the servicewomen were used to doing, but also physically and emotionally demanding. For some, the trial or experimental nature of the experience added to the rigorous novelty of the posting. Nine (18%) servicewomen provided a reason totally unrelated to the work or the trial. They wanted the posting either because their husband or boyfriend was going to CFE or because of the opportunity to travel in Europe. The remaining nine (18%) responses were quite varied: a field tour is the normal thing to do (three); opportunity to prove oneself (two); honour to be selected; being part of the trial team will build character; duty to volunteer since she is the only eligible servicewoman in her trade; and wants to be in a unit with other servicewomen instead of being the only female in the unit as is currently the case.

Near the end of the BPSO interview, after the conditions of the trial and the nature of the employment in 4 Svc Bn were discussed, the BPSO took note of any concerns the servicewomen may have expressed, especially in response to the following question: What do you expect it
to be like to be a member of a trial unit, assuming for the moment that you decided to accept the posting? Thirty-four responses were recorded. It is not easy to decipher what was actually a concern since some servicewomen said they had minor concerns, did not elaborate, then dismissed the concerns by stating something positive such as strong personal attributes and anticipated open-mindedness of the servicemen. Others said they had no concerns but then mentioned a factor such as difficulty in adjustment to the land environment which could be interpreted as the anticipation of a perceived problem. To simplify the analysis, it was decided to take the responses at face value, regardless of a qualifier tacked onto a stated minor concern or no concern.

Of the 34 responses, 16 (47%) were presented as "some" or "minor" concerns and 18 (53%) were "no" concerns. Three servicewomen gave double responses and two non-responses were recorded. Of those who said they had "some" or "minor" concerns, seven can be grouped under the nature of the work: four cited difficult, unpleasant field conditions and two were concerned about their lack of familiarity with the "army" or Brigade way of doing things. One servicewoman anticipated being underutilized in her trade by being assigned "kitchen work" or easy, non-trade duties because she was a female. Three concerns were about negative male attitudes: "strong, negative male peer pressure"; "adverse reaction from some men"; and "males holding very traditional opinions." The structure of the trial was mentioned three times: distribution of the servicewomen throughout the trial platoons (once); and constantly being assessed
either by peers (once) or researchers (once). One minor concern had nothing to do with the non-traditional work environment or the trial. This concern was about being uprooted and having to make new friends - an adjustment necessary after any posting. Finally, as mentioned earlier, two servicewomen said they had minor concerns (unspecified) but then apparently dismissed them because their follow up comments were that the servicemen would be open-minded and treat them as any tradespeople.

In considering the 18 "no concerns" responses, 11 were followed by a justification for the stated lack of concerns. The most frequently given reason (three) for not having a concern about the posting was that servicewomen have proven their ability to perform non-traditional work. The remaining, singular responses included a love of the outdoors; confidence in handling any situation; good physical stamina; has always worked with or been on course with servicemen and has not experienced conflict; and has been employed on "army" bases such as Calgary and Gagetown and, therefore, has some exposure to the work environment.

The most easily analysable responses were the summary comments made by the BPSOs about the potential SWINTER participants. Unfortunately, six such comments were not offered. Of the 24 that were, only one was a slightly negative assessment of a private with three years of service at the time of the interview: "Private ______ was somewhat outspoken and appeared to be overconfident in terms of her ability to function in her trade in the 4 Svc Bn environment." The remaining
comments were exceptionally positive leaving the impression that these servicewomen were hand-picked for trial participation. The adjective "confident" appeared 11 times, followed by "mature" (six times), and "highly motivated" (three times). Other descriptives included: healthy, positive attitude (to CFE, to the trial, to life); very stable, excellent physical condition (robust, sturdy); composed; thoughtful; intelligent; hard working; outgoing; well-adjusted; and realistic. Five BPSOs added that the servicewomen being interviewed would be an asset to any unit or a successful candidate for the trial.

The picture of the servicewomen that emerges from the responses to the six research questions on knowledge level, reason for the trials, reason for the selection, motivation to participate, anticipation of difficulties, and BPSO assessments, is one of a generally uninformed group of servicewomen who offered a variety of possible reasons for their selection and who demonstrated keen interest in participating in the trial primarily because of the nature of the work environment. The work would be new to them and they wanted the opportunity to learn in order to expand their trade and military knowledge, to be challenged, and to work outdoors. They were not without some concerns. The factors motivating participation for some servicewomen were also the factors identified by others as being of concern (for example, field conditions, and lack of familiarity with the "army" role and its equipment). Those servicewomen who had no concerns said they had proven themselves in the military, they were in good physical condition, and they had some previous exposure
to an operational setting. The most telling descriptives of the servicewomen were found in the general comments provided by the BPSOs. They gave the servicewomen very positive assessments describing them as confident, mature, emotionally stable, physically capable and quite able of serving in a previously all-male unit.

The best indicator of a prior association of performance/ability with the purpose of the trial was the response to the question on why the servicewoman thought the trial was being conducted. Thirty-eight percent identified the testing of ability with the objective of improving employment flexibility by placing servicewomen in a greater number of roles. As one servicewoman said, "... the trial is a way of obtaining statistics and evaluations on attitudes, problem areas, and performance." Of another, the BPSO said, "She believes that if she cannot perform any task required of male counterparts in her trade, then she should not be in the 411 [vehicle technician] trade."

A second, and much less direct, indicator of the salience of performance/ability to the servicewomen was the sensitivity of having to prove oneself in the trial scenario. This was apparent in the stated concerns of the servicewomen. Of the servicewomen that said they were not concerned about the posting, three said that they would have no problems once they proved themselves. Two others added that they felt they were capable of handling any situation. Given the information contained in the CF 285s, it can be concluded that for about half of the
servicewomen there was a link between performance/ability and the purpose of the trial.

The Land Trial fact sheet prepared in September, 1979, and given to the SWINTER participants for their retention at the end of the pre-posting interview, stated that the trials were being held because of the proclamation of the CHRA; the shortage of male recruits in the 1990's; and the trend in Canadian society for women to seek new types of employment. The CF, therefore, wanted to gather information on how mixed-sex groups functioned in order to decide the extent of expanding the roles of servicewomen. It is interesting to note that at the end of the fact sheet, it is stated:

There will be no career implications for you if you decide not to participate in this trial. The CF recognizes that when you joined you were not informed that one of the conditions of service for women would be in land units in the field.... However, should you choose to go, you will be among the first women who enter other areas which previously have been open only to men. With this comes an extra challenge, a challenge which will be worthwhile, considering the experience you will gain by serving in such a unique, and for women, novel environment. (Canada. Department of National Defence. Director Personnel Selection, Research and Second Careers, 1979:6-6)

If the servicewomen were not aware of the importance of performance prior to the interview, a reading of the fact sheet would likely have made them so; however, the impact of the fact sheet cannot be measured.
The foregoing focused on the individual servicewoman's cognitive and emotive predisposition to the Land Trial, self-assessments, and BPSO assessments of their character and abilities. Attention is next turned to the servicewomen's opinions of the abilities of their female peers. The CF 285s were studied to learn what opinions the SWINTER participants may have held prior to their CFE posting. Again, the content analysis was limited not only by what may not have been said but also by what may not have been recorded during the BPSO interview. In addition, six questions were asked during the post-FALLEX interviews (Appendix C), the first three of which were directly related to the research question and the remaining three indirectly related.

A review of the CF 285s revealed only two comments about the ability of the servicewomen. (This is not surprising as the servicewomen had not been asked a question on ability.) The two comments were offered in relation to a question on what they expected life to be like in the trial unit. One servicewoman gave a qualified endorsement of the ability of servicewomen: "She feels that women employed in non-traditional roles have proven themselves to be as effective as males in some instances."

The second servicewoman was much more positive:

She has a high opinion of the women involved in the Land Trial. She believes that, because of the personal situation (male attitudes), most of the women within the trial hate it. Nevertheless, she is convinced that they can do the job and she herself is willing to give it a try.
The post-FALLEX interviews provided the richest data on the expectations for and assessments of the performances or abilities of the servicewomen held by other servicewomen. The servicewomen were asked what they felt about women being in combat service support units. Six (20%) said that they were against such employment because of negative male attitudes; loss of femininity ("they turn into animals - tough and mean"); the requirement for too much assistance; difficulty in adjusting to the operational environment; and too much discrimination. The remaining 24 (80%) interviewees supported the field employment of servicewomen. They all stated that servicewomen were capable of doing the jobs required in a unit such as 4 Svc Bn. They recognized that the work was physically demanding, the lifestyle was crude, and that often a servicewoman would prefer a clean, comfortable, routinized work environment but that the ability to do the work and equal salaries almost necessitated field employment. Three servicewomen also stipulated that such employment should not be mandatory for all servicewomen but only if that was what was wanted since the right attitude was important.

The servicewomen said that they had held high expectations regarding the abilities of their female peers prior to their posting into 4 Svc Bn and that these expectations had been met. Of the 27 servicewomen that provided responses, 21 (78%) said that they had thought that the servicewomen could do the job and they have demonstrated that they can. One commented, "I had high expectations; I never doubted their abilities. My expectations have been more than met. They have surpassed
what I thought they could do." Another said, "I had high expectations and they have been met. When a woman hasn't been able to do something, it has been because she did not know how - not because she was a woman." One (4%) servicewoman said she had low expectations and they were confirmed, "I had low expectations regarding women in general employed in this capacity. I was right. The field is not the proper place for women." Two (7%) other servicewomen were disappointed in the performances of their female peers: "I felt that I would be the one unable to do the work but I can. I expected more from the other women than what I saw"; "I expected their abilities would be higher but they just moan and complain. My expectations have not been met. They do not perform as well as the men." Finally, three (11%) servicewomen said that they had held no expectations at all.

As explained in Chapter III, units within an operational brigade such as 4 CMBG require its personnel to be competent in trade and soldiering skills. For the servicewomen in the trial unit, their ability to perform near-combat tasks was at least as important as their ability to carry out trade-related duties. This was the real non-traditional work at which a precedent was being set; therefore, during the post-FALLEX interviews, the servicewomen were asked how men and women compared in tactical situations. Although the vast majority had said that women should serve in combat service support units because they were capable of doing the work, far fewer (12 or 41%) believed them to be as competent as servicemen in tactical situations. Of the 15 (52%) who
said that servicewomen did not compare favourably with the servicemen, five pointed out that it was lack of field experience, not sex, that accounted for the differences. Other comments were that servicewomen were afraid of the dark; afraid to fire their weapons; lacked strength to prepare defensive positions; and were less enthusiastic and serious about tactical manoeuvres. One summed up the apparent lack of requisite personal attributes by saying, "Women are more nervous and jumpy. Some guys are as well but the girls get more scared. They don't think playing soldier is rewarding. Women want to do trade duties, not play soldier but field life is soldiering." Finally, one servicewoman claimed that servicewomen outperformed servicemen in tactical situations, "Men are slack. They are wimps. We are better off having all females out there."

In order to further specify the abilities of servicewomen vis-à-vis servicemen, the post-FALLEX interviewees were asked to assess male and female physical abilities in field tasks and to state the importance of physical strength in the field. There were a total of 29 responses to the first two questions. To the question, "Can the men physically do all of the tasks?" 20 (69%) of the servicewomen responded affirmatively and 9 (31%) responded negatively. In comparison, 14 (48%) believed that women could physically do all of the field tasks and 15 (52%) that they could not. Considering the "no" responses to the question on the servicemen, six comments were added suggesting that it was impossible to carry out the tasks alone. Teamwork with a buddy or partner was required for strength and safety reasons. One servicewoman observed, "They make
excuses for the men when they can't do the job but when it's a woman who
can't do the job it's because she's a woman." Either a qualifier was
offered if the interviewee said that a servicewoman could do the tasks or
a reason was given if it was asserted that they could not do the tasks.
The qualifier was usually that it took servicewomen longer to do the
tasks or that they had more difficulties. One said, "Sure, women can do
all of the tasks. Where they lack strength, they use their heads. It's
'Brain' versus 'Brawn'." Lack of strength was cited as the reason for
poor ability.

To ascertain if, after stating that servicewomen were not
physically capable of carrying out field tasks, the servicewomen would
dismiss physical strength as unimportant, the interviewees were asked to
describe the importance of physical strength in the field. Of the 28
responses, 9 (32%) were "very important", 13 (46%) were "important", and
6 (21%) were "not important". Those in the latter group accounted for
their responses by focussing on their trade-related duties such as
cooking and administration in the field and, therefore, did not think
that physical strength was a necessity. The majority of the servicewomen
readily acknowledged the importance of physical strength even though they
did not believe that servicewomen were physically capable of carrying out
the requisite field tasks.

The responses to two further questions pertaining to the future
employment policy for servicewomen, asked during the post-FALLEX
interviews, gave an indication of the servicewomen's opinions of the performance/ability of their female peers. Twenty-nine responses were given to the question, "If you were the Minister of National Defence responsible for making the policy on the employment of women in all combat service support units, what would you decide?" Twenty-three (79%) said they would employ servicewomen in combat service support units, five (17%) would not, and one (3%) did not know what she would do. Two servicewomen were very enthusiastic: "From what I've observed, we are doing great"; "Let's go for it. We can do it." All others added at least one qualifier such as voluntary, not mandatory service, and proper selection, to the employment of servicewomen in field settings. The screening would be for physical strength and positive attitude toward field service although one servicewoman, totally frustrated by the "army mentality" said, "The women are too capable and too smart for the men. They [the men] are like neanderthal apes here. The women would have to be properly selected - strong and stupid like the men." Others would only post servicewomen to combat service support units after Basic Training and before they became used to the "soft" military life; only during peacetime; or for a short rotation of less than one year. The responses of two servicewomen demonstrated what could be considered punitive equality: "I would make them go. Females get away with too much. Same pay should result in same work"; "I believe women should be there. Lots of men don't like it either but it should be a fair policy." Two reasons were provided for excluding servicewomen from combat service support employment: "The women would take their releases
because of field life; the other half would get out because their husbands don't want them here"; "It's too demanding for the women and the men just can't accept them. It might be different in wartime because then you have no other choice."

After asking the servicewomen what employment policy they would set as Minister of National Defence, they were asked what the decision actually would be. Twenty-seven of the 30 (90%) sample servicewomen said that servicewomen would continue to be employed in combat service support units, with the remaining three (10%) stating that they would be removed. Thus, regardless of the servicewoman's personal assessment of her female peers or of her own wishes for their future permanent employment, almost all believed that, due to the precedent being set in the trial units, all servicewomen would be liable for service in 4 Svc Bn and similar units.

In summary, the servicewomen held very positive opinions of the performance/ability of their female peers. They felt that they were quite capable of serving in combat service support units but because of inexperience and lack of physical strength, they were not as skilled in tactical situations and field craft tasks as the servicemen. They thought that servicewomen should continue to be employed in the field because they were capable but they stipulated the necessity of careful screening and voluntary status. Finally, they were certain that servicewomen would continue to be employed in units such as 4 Svc Bn, once the Land Trial was over.
Wiley and Eskilson (1983) have suggested that pressure external to an organization (for example, affirmative action programs) erode the legitimacy of the woman's placement in the organization. Chapter II outlined the impact of the CHRA on the creation of the SWINTER trials. There is some indication that the unit members were cognizant of external pressure on DND to review its policy on the employment of servicewomen. As described earlier, six of the 29 servicewomen cited external pressure in the form of women's liberation, changing civilian and American military employment patterns, and the "Women's Rights Act" as the reason for conducting the trials.

Perhaps more important than external pressure to DND, is the concept of external pressure to CFE. It became apparent during the participant-observation and was reaffirmed during the post-FALLEX interviews that there was a sense of helplessness or lack of control in the unit because the trial was being directed by NDHQ. This was manifested by both servicewomen and servicemen stating during the participant-observation that the result of the trial was a "foregone conclusion." When asked to define this, they said that if the servicewomen did the work well, the decision would be to keep them in the field once the trial was over - regardless of the wishes of the 4 Svc Bn senior officers. This attitude was reflected in the servicewomen's responses to the question on what they thought the final decision would be on the employment of servicewomen in combat service support units. Of the 27 that said that servicewomen would be permanently employed in combat
service support units, one-third added that the decision was not going to be based on their performances. Rather, the interviewees said that "they" [NDHQ] had already decided to keep the servicewomen in the unit when they first put them in; that it was "all political"; and that the decision was a "fait accompli." Two stated bitterly: "We are just going through the motions of a predetermined decision"; "Women will be here. That's been the decision all along so why are we doing this?"

Status characteristics and expectation states theorists have demonstrated that when information on task ability is lacking, information associated with an external characteristic will be used. Status generalization leads to the distribution of power and prestige within the group based on the ordering of the statuses. Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neill (1977) observed that because women have lower status than men, they must prove that they are competent, well-intentioned and deserving of high status and, therefore, of group membership. While it is impossible to ascertain the nature of an observable power and prestige order within the platoons without doing a repeat participant-observation, self-described group membership can help indicate the degree to which and the methods by which the servicewomen have earned a place in 4 Svc Bn. Accordingly, five questions, numbered six through 11 in Appendix C, were asked on the treatment of servicewomen, belonging, and acceptance during the post-FALLEX interviews.
There were 29 responses to the question on the treatment of the servicewomen by the servicemen. Twenty-one (70%) of the servicewomen said that the servicemen treated them favourably while the remaining eight (27%) offered negative comments. There was one (3%) non-response. The favourable responses ranged from "O.K." to "fine" and "good". Other comments were "like sisters", "as equals", and "with respect". The negative treatment was described as "with no respect", "like dirt", and "very critical and judgmental". While three servicewomen had said, "pretty good - like one of the guys", another servicewoman took an opposite view, "They treat us poorly like they treat themselves - with a lack of compassion and caring." Some of the servicewomen made three distinctions in their responses, namely, according to rank, work section or platoon, and group versus individual treatment. For example, two servicewomen stated that the junior ranks treated them as equals but the senior non-commissioned officers (NCOs) either ignored them or treated them in a negative fashion. Four servicewomen said they were treated "pretty good" by the servicemen in their section because they relied on each other as team members and had to work together. Interestingly, one servicewoman said, "They treat us like dirt if we work with them and O.K. if we don't." The third distinction was made between group and individual treatment. In this case, the interviewee responded that as an individual, she was treated as an equal or with respect but that generally the servicewomen were not treated as such. A final observation concerns newness to the unit. All of the servicewomen who arrived during the summer of 1983 were positive about the treatment of the servicewomen. Most of the servicewomen who had arrived in 1980 provided negative assessments.
All 30 servicewomen commented on the sense of belonging felt by their female peers; however, only 14 described a change over time. The servicewomen were almost evenly split in their responses: 15 (50%) said that the servicewomen did not feel that they belonged while 12 (40%) said that they did. Two (7%) servicewomen said that they personally felt that they belonged but they could not comment for the other servicewomen and one (3%) said, "It varies. Many servicewomen don't want to be here so it doesn't really matter whether or not they feel they belong." Those responding in the negative gave a variety of reasons. One servicewoman said, "We feel like outcasts. We have been discriminated against since we arrived and we feel the pressure to perform. That leads to low morale." Only one supporting comment was provided by those that believed that the servicewomen belonged. This was from a servicewoman who said, "I feel that I belong but I don't know about the other women. At first, I felt left out. But after a time, I proved that I was reliable and the men came to trust me. So, I feel that I belong."

Ten (71%) servicewomen said that there had been a positive change over time while three (21%) said that the sense of belonging had decreased. The fourteenth (7%) servicewoman said that there had been no change over time. The lack of a sense of belonging had been constant. Factors contributing to an increase in the sense of belonging were given as length of service in 4 Svc Bn; novelty has worn off (no more jokes about the servicewomen); and positive attitudes of senior personnel. In addition, one servicewoman said, "It's improving all the time and when
the trial is over we will really feel that we belong, like the men do."

Two explanations were given for the decrease in the sense of belonging: "Everything is getting worse. People are complaining about everything"; "The majority do not feel that they should be here but they have to support themselves. They'll do anything for a paycheck except get out and look for another challenge".

Related to the questions on belonging were questions on the acceptance of the servicewomen as unit members. Although half of the interviewees said that the servicewomen felt that they belonged, slightly more (18 or 60%) said that the servicewomen had been accepted in the unit and eight (27%) said that they had not. Two (7%) said that the servicewomen were accepted only on the basis that they would free up static base positions but that they really were not wanted in the field. Two (7%) said that they could not comment on acceptance since they had arrived in the unit in August, 1983. In answering the question, five of the servicewomen qualified the term by saying that they were really tolerated more than accepted since the servicemen had no choice but to work with them as a team.

Of the 14 responses on factors contributing to acceptance, job performance was mentioned six times; "acting like one of the guys" was mentioned three times; experience, twice; positive attitude, twice; and the small number of females, once. ("There are only four of us. If we made up 50% they wouldn't like it at all whereas women are used to
working with lots of men." Barriers to acceptance were: entrenched negative male attitudes; not being assigned certain jobs because of being female; swearing too much; and inexperience. Two interviewees blamed the servicewomen saying that if they were not accepted, it was because they did not try, could not do the job, or had poor attitudes.

In the opinion of 16 of the 30 (53%) servicewomen, acceptance had changed over time while eight (27%) said there had been no change. Of the latter, the belief was that they had never been accepted nor would they ever be accepted. At the most, they had been tolerated by service-men resigned to their presence. As one said, "The hostility has been controlled on the surface. It is just as difficult for a woman to come in now as it was three years ago." Four (13%) servicewomen said they were unable to comment on any changes as they were new to the unit and two (7%) said that acceptance varied according to the personnel:

Everybody does four years and then they leave so you have to start all over proving yourself to new bosses and new co-workers. You are constantly trying to be accepted. It is hard to be accepted.

Fifteen of the 16 (93%) servicewomen noting a change in acceptance said that it had increased and one (7%) said that it had decreased but did not provide a reason for this opinion. Eleven servicewomen attributed the positive change to the ability of the servicewomen to do the work. As one said, "The men have realized that we
can perform. They had to see us in action in the field since on base all we do is clean trucks and sweep the floor." The others said that acceptance had increased when extremely negative people were posted out of the unit. One servicewoman commented that a new group of younger servicemen, mostly with "air force" backgrounds, had been posted into the unit and they were used to working with servicewomen.

During the participant-observation, it quickly became apparent that both those in command and their subordinates were very sensitive to the issue of leadership styles. While no differences in leadership styles used between male and female subordinates was actually observed, a great deal of concern was expressed that both sexes had to be treated equally. The servicemen were watchful of signs of favouritism in the treatment of the servicewomen and the servicewomen were aware that favouritism would cause added hostility to be directed toward them. On the other hand, undue harshness would only accentuate difficulties in the integration of the servicewomen. It was acknowledged during the participant-observation that the officers and senior NCOs set the tone for compatible working relationships by demonstrating fairness in leadership.

As a follow-up to the above observation, the post-FALLEX interviewees were asked to describe how the attitudes of the supervisors affected the acceptance of the servicewomen. Twenty-five (83%) of the 30 servicewomen said that the attitudes of the supervisors directly affected the acceptance of the servicewomen as their attitudes filtered down to
the lower ranks. The senior NCOs especially were seen as being very influential as they could either help the servicewomen to shine or "break them". In one example, respect for a servicewoman's promotion based on her sound judgement and leadership abilities was cited as a positive influence in the acceptance of her promotion by her subordinates. If the senior NCO was respected or liked, the corporals adopted his attitude. "If a senior NCO doesn't like women, the lower ranks will follow. If the senior NCO is fair and open-minded, there will be no problem." Another servicewoman bluntly stated, "It starts from higher up when you have a senior NCO calling us 'fucking bitches'. It is bound to have an effect on the junior NCOs." A more general comment was that if leadership was good, morale would be good, and the servicewomen would more likely be accepted. Two (7%) servicewomen did not think that supervisors influenced acceptance as people formed their own opinions. Two (7%) said that they could offer no opinion as they had arrived in August, 1983 and one (3%) servicewomen did not respond to the question.

Of the group of questions pertaining to belonging and acceptance, the one direct question on the relationship between the servicewomen's performance and their acceptance was the most poorly addressed as there were eight non-responses and two could not offer an opinion. Of the remaining 20, 17 (85%) stated that performance impacted directly on the servicemen's acceptance of the servicewomen such that performance facilitated acceptance; however, two cautionary comments were given. One servicewoman said, "The women always have to perform to a high level to
be accepted but they must be careful not to outdo the men or jealousy will result." Another commented:

If the woman performs well, she should be accepted but it can work two ways. If she works too hard, she shows up the men. If she gets a break, it's not because she did well but because she's a 'split' [derogatory slang applied to the 4 Svc Bn servicewomen]. They have the women coming and going.

Three (15%) servicewomen said there was no relationship between performance and acceptance. One had stated earlier that the servicewomen were definitely accepted but then said, "Performance is still lacking on the women's part, so it's not a positive factor in regards to the acceptance of women." The remaining two interviewees projected their experiences onto all of the servicewomen:

I work my ass off and still they don't accept me. If they don't like you, they don't like you. We give them all the chances in the world and they don't give us any.

There's no real impact on acceptance. They either like you or they don't. Also, I'm a Francophone and a woman to boot. It doesn't help matters. I am doubly discriminated against.

In summarizing this section on the treatment of the servicewomen, belonging, and acceptance, a contradiction in the responses is noted. While over two-thirds of the interviewees said that they had been treated
favourably - like equals or sisters - only half said that the servicewomen felt that they belonged and slightly over half said that the servicewomen had been accepted in 4 Svc Bn. The servicewomen thought that co-workers and servicemen of the same rank treated them better than senior personnel or servicemen employed in different work sections or platoons. The servicewomen were especially sensitive to their treatment by senior NCOs because their attitudes filtered down to the lower ranks. Thus, if the senior NCOs did not support servicewomen being in the unit, their male subordinates, peers of the servicewomen, would likely form negative attitudes about the servicewomen. Although half of the interviewees said that the servicewomen did not feel that they belonged, most observed that a positive change had occurred in their sense of belonging. This was based on the servicewomen's length of time in the unit; the departure of some senior personnel who had negative attitudes; and the diminution of the novelty of servicewomen being in the unit. It was cynically suggested by several servicewomen that the term, acceptance, was a misnomer. Rather than being accepted, they were merely tolerated by the servicemen since the latter had no choice but to work with them. Most said that job performance, primarily, and, to a much lesser degree, "acting like one of the guys," influenced acceptance while negative male attitudes were the greatest barrier to acceptance. Generally, they thought that acceptance had increased with time in consonance with a demonstrated ability to do the work.
Kanter (1977a, 1977b) described three perceptual phenomena which together generated ten interaction patterns. To apply her model in total to this study would have been too massive an undertaking; therefore, aspects of her model were selected to provide a framework for understanding the integration dynamics in 4 Svc Bn. This study focusses first on the perceptual phenomenon of visibility and the resulting public performance pressures causing over-observation, extension of consequences, attention to the token's discrepant status, and fear of retaliation. Second, the perceptual phenomenon of polarization or exaggeration of status differences leading to the exaggeration of the dominant's culture and loyalty tests will be considered followed by a discussion of newness to the organization and stress.

Prior to presenting the participant-observation and post-FALLEX interview data, it is necessary to review the applicability of the concept of tokenism to the SWINTER participants in 4 Svc Bn. Kanter (1977b:966-969) defined tokens as constituting approximately 15% of a group; being differentially described according to an ascribed status; having a different previous history of interacting with the dominants; being new to the occupational and/or organizational setting; and being dispersed throughout the work place. From the information presented so far, it can be seen that the SWINTER participants constituted no more than 12% of 4 Svc Bn's strength. Further, they purposely were not allowed to account for more than that proportion due to organizational
constraints such as the availability of servicewomen with the requisite rank and trade experience, establishment vacancies, and potential manning depletion during a crisis in Europe. The sample characteristics discussed in Chapter V showed that the servicewomen clustered in the low ranks and, therefore, were relatively inexperienced as CFE would have been their second or third posting. At no time in their military service would they have been employed in an operational setting. Most of the servicewomen were trained in non-traditional trades, many of which had fewer than a dozen females. When in CFE, as at many bases in Canada, they were often the only females in their trades and, consequently, the only females in their work sections. It is quite likely that the SWINTER participants were among the first, if not the first, females that many of the servicemen in 4 Svc Bn had worked with. Finally, the servicewomen were dispersed throughout the Battalion. The largest concentration of servicewomen was the mobile support equipment operators located in Supply and Transport Company, A and B Platoons, who made up 17% of the personnel. The remaining servicewomen ranged in proportion from 4% to 12% in their platoons. Given the above, it would appear that the structural characteristics of tokenism have been met by the SWINTER participants in 4 Svc Bn. Attention is now turned to the socio-psychological descriptives of the interaction dynamics.

Tokens are highly visible because they are few in number and easily identifiable by ascribed, external characteristics. This visibility encourages over-observation and a sense of being perpetually
on trial. During the participant-observation, it became obvious that this condition of over-observation was problematic. The servicewomen spoke about constantly being evaluated — by NDHQ, by their supervisors, and by their male peers. They felt that they could never relax as they always had to put on a performance. Any error, no matter how insignificant, would support the arguments of those who did not want them in the field. The comments of the servicewomen were echoed in a response to a question (albeit leading) put to a male master corporal, "Do the men still jump on every silly little thing a woman may do and use it as an example of why women shouldn't be in the field?" "Yes, always, still, constantly."

The use of the term, trial, angered both the servicewomen and the officers for it reinforced the stressful condition of constantly being observed and acted as an institutional reminder that CF servicewomen had never been an operational part of the military. The barriers to the servicewomen were both attitudinal and institutional. One servicewoman said that even though everyone tried not to use the word, trial, anymore, everyone believed it was only the servicewomen who were being studied. "They are always watching the women, but why not watch the men, too? Sure, the guys fill out the questionnaires too, but they're still watching the women." Servicemembers in the company under study resented "visitors" from NDHQ and they were annoyed at having to "constantly" fill out the questionnaires and at being interviewed. The women felt as if they were in a "goldfish bowl" since everyone was watching their every
move. (This perceived focus on the servicewomen rather than the unit and the unit personnel, was contrary to the original intention of the trial—see pages 40-45.) Senior staff were very sensitive to this situation. One platoon commander said that the evaluation should not have been named the "Women's Trials". Even though the Commanding Officer of 4 Svc Bn had recently stated that this terminology was not to be used any longer, the phrase and the emphasis of the evaluation were firmly entrenched in everyone's mind. It was the servicewomen who were being studied and it was they who had to measure up to the norms established by their platoon co-workers rather than the emphasis being on everyone working together to achieve a goal or upon rationale, unbiased leadership.

It is interesting to note that there was concern about this issue prior to being posted to CFE. As stated in the CF 285s, two anticipated difficulties were suggested by the statements: "She does, however, feel that there would be a feeling of constantly being assessed in her job performance more so than on a static base"; "Also anticipates that females will originally be under close scrutiny for research purposes."

Slightly over one year later, the impact of over-observation continued to be felt but it was not as dramatic as the 1982 participant-observation suggested. During the week preceding the 1983 post-FALLEX interviews, CFE and NDHQ staffs (of which I was a member), held numerous discussions on the design and scope of a three-week Cold Weather Trial scheduled for February, 1985. The Cold Weather Trial was to incorporate
a Battalion-level exercise and trade and soldiering tasks to determine how servicemen and servicewomen worked individually and together under climatically stressful conditions. The Commanding Officers of 4 Svc Bn and 4 Fd Amb advocated the cancellation of the Cold Weather Trial, the final opportunity for a comprehensive data pickup on task performance and interaction processes, because of the perceived disruption to their units. They thought that, with the fourth year of the Land Trial underway, the working atmosphere had stabilized. The servicewomen's feelings of being on display had abated somewhat and a fragile harmony between the sexes had been achieved. The Cold Weather Trial would be an intrusion that would again highlight the temporary, trial nature of the servicewomen's presence and place them under scrutiny. Primarily due to the Commanding Officers' concern, the Cold Weather Trial was cancelled.

During the post-FALLEX interviews, reference was made to stress-induced over-observation. Three servicewomen said: "The women are always being watched and assessed. Because you are female, you are a guinea pig. At every turn you have to prove yourself"; "We have to prove something. They are always watching us, waiting for us to hurt ourselves"; "Women have to prove themselves constantly. They are small in number and visible. They are always being watched." As described earlier in this chapter, two servicewomen linked belonging and acceptance to the visibility of being "on trial" by stating that, with the completion of the Land Trial, a sense of normalcy would be introduced into the unit.
The servicewomen's token status led to their over-observation in the Land Trial, although sensitivity on their part to this problem appeared to have decreased between 1982 and 1983. The passage of time may have helped to ameliorate the situation such that this consequence of the trial's structure had become passé. Equally possible is the suggestion that the method of data gathering in 1983, namely the one-and-a-half hour interview, may not have been able to identify the intensity of the problem as well as the eight-day participant-observation (Karmas, 1982).

The second result of visibility, extension of consequences, is the carry over effect or generalization from women currently in the workplace to potential female recruits. These assessments are made according to stereotypes associated with ascribed status and performance in the occupational role. The concept of extension of consequences is related to status characteristics and expectation states theory which describes the transfer of a power and prestige order arising from the saliency or burden of proof assumptions to new members. Further, from an experiment conducted by Pugh and Wahrman (1983), the conclusion was made that female superiority in a task situation transferred to new partners such that the likelihood of equal treatment was increased. In other words, there was a greater probability that a female newcomer would be treated with equality if she had been preceded by a woman demonstrating ability superior to her male partner, than if she had been preceded by a woman demonstrating equal or less than equal ability compared with her male partner. Two
research questions were formulated on the extension of consequences: Were the SWINTER participants sensitive to the consequences of their performances for servicewomen posted to the unit after them? Did they note any contradictions between being "soldiers" and being "women"?

During the participant-observation, stress was felt by the servicewomen because they believed that the future employment of women in near-combat roles and environments rested solely upon how well each one of them did while posted to a field unit. As one servicewoman commented about her female peers, "Some are not good tradesmen and won't try. That makes it bad for all of us." One of the best examples of the extension of consequences to newcomers was reflected in the attitude of a cook who had been attached to Supply and Transport Company for the duration of the exercise. She felt that she had fought an uphill credibility battle during the previous two years. Her supervisor had told her upon her arrival in the unit that he did not want women in the field and that he was going to try to have her sent back to Canada. In the time that she had been in CFE, she had put a lot of effort into her work in order to influence a change in his negative opinion of women's abilities. She said that, "... he's now come around. He doesn't object to me going to the field." Two more female cooks were expected to arrive at the Battalion in the upcoming month and she said that she had been, "... working real hard for them. They better not let me down."
It was not surprising that the servicewomen were sensitive to the consequences of their efforts. Whether or not the servicemen believed that the servicewomen should be employed in a field platoon, all of them publicly named the good and poor female workers. The servicemen would not generalize from the favourable assessments to all servicewomen who could potentially serve in near-combat. The few acceptable servicewomen were seen as exceptions.

By the fall of 1983, the concern had changed from a potential transfer effect to newcomers to a transfer effect to other servicewomen in the unit. It is suggested that this was likely the case because by September, 1983, no new servicewomen were expected in 4 Svc Bn. Those who had worked very hard to prove their ability and, therefore, their legitimate membership in the unit, did not want the erosion of any positive attitudes held by the servicemen. Negative assessments and opinions of their female peers would be applied to them and negate their efforts. In responding to a question on stress, one servicewoman said, "Because one or two women can't cope, the rest of us have to compensate. That is highly stressful." Three other servicewomen described the consequences of the offensive behaviour of their female peers. "Some females bring our names down. I know a few females who are out for sex. They are not discreet. Their behaviour reflects back on me." "Sometimes the women act like the guys. When they do, they are not doing us any favours." "A few women can be very crude. It's O.K. to swear when you're angry or when you get hurt but not when it's every second word. I
don't like it when the women act like the men because then the men will think that all the women are like that and will be even cruder.

A female soldier is an anomaly in the CF as, until the SWINTER trials were created, all servicewomen filled support roles in non-operational settings. It is, therefore, to be expected that for many servicemembers the stereotypes associated with "soldiers" and "women" are incompatible. Data obtained during the participant-observation and the post-FALLEX interviews indicated prevalent contradictions in these concepts.

If "soldier" and "women" were synonymous terms, there would be no negative stereotyping associated with the latter. This was not the case, as one servicewoman pointed out in absolute frustration. During the exercise, she had often stated that if the servicewomen worked really hard and performed well, they would be accepted in the field setting. Presumably, they would be recognized as being good soldiers. During a post-exercise party, this servicewoman, who was extremely well regarded by her male peers, said in tears that when the servicewomen arrived in 1980, "First they called us 'butch', then the called us 'whores'. What's a person to do? You try and try and work real hard and still they call you something." Conscientious effort was not eradicating negative connotations with being female.
Those servicemen that felt that servicewomen should not be in near-combat units gave as their reasons for this opinion: lack of strength; improper employment for a woman ("I wouldn't want my wife here"); menstruation and hygiene problems; and sexual promiscuity. After acknowledging the ability of the servicewomen in his platoon, one serviceman rather bluntly summed up the problem of employing servicewomen in the field:

If there were 45 men and 15 women in the field, 15 men would be getting it and 30 men wouldn't. That would cause all sorts of jealousy problems. Most women can do the job but it's the potential relationships that will cause the problems.

He then gave an example of one servicewoman who had slept with half of the platoon. He was adamant that this story was true and not a rumour. Thus, regardless of field competence, the negative sexual imagery associated with being female, still had to be overcome.

In the post-FALLEX interviews, the contradiction between "soldiers" and "women" surfaced during the discussions on acceptance and offensive peer behaviour. The ultimate insult one serviceman could give another serviceman was to refer to him as a woman. "If the guys can't do something, they are called 'women'." It was important to many of the servicewomen to retain their femininity and to have that femininity recognized by others. Many had identified emulation of their male peers as a means of being accepted; however, attempts to be soldier-like (or
"one of the guys") by drinking, swearing, swaggering, and not bothering to be clean, if carried to excess, would render them unfeminine and also would reflect poorly on their female colleagues. Several servicewomen were bothered by the difficulty in balancing soldier-like behaviour while attempting to retain their femininity. While behaviour had to be synchronous, to some degree, with male norms, recognition of their femininity by outsiders was appreciated. "Guys who don't have women working with them are more polite. The RCHA [Royal Canadian Horse Artillery] consider females as females and treat us with respect. Our guys swear in front of us."

To sum this section, the servicewomen were quite conscious of a transfer effect from assessments of their abilities and reactions to their behaviour, to female unit newcomers and to other servicewomen currently in the unit. In addition, the differentiation of the stereotypes associated with "soldiers" and "women" had been continually reinforced throughout the trial and they were well aware of the contradictions brought about by behaving like the servicemen while trying to retain their femininity and avoiding criticism from other servicewomen.

The final two effects of visibility, attention to token's discrepant status and fear of retaliation, are complementary. The first describes the necessity for tokens to work extremely hard to render their discrepant status negligible. In other words, they attempt to redirect
the dominant's attention from their ascribed status to their achieved status. This second effect cautions that if the above effects are not within performance norms, the dominants will be embarrassed or humiliated by the tokens' successes. Unpleasant retaliatory tactics can result to the detriment of the tokens' integration efforts.

The sex-role literature reviewed in Chapter IV, outlined the characteristics assigned to men and women in this society. Much effort must be expended to overcome the stereotypes associated with being female before a woman can be defined by the competency cluster of qualities attributed to men. While individual effort can break through stereotypes, a militating factor is the negative sanction given to sex-role incongruent behaviour (Nieva and Gutek, 1980). Women are not expected to be successful in a domain traditionally dominated by men.

The CF 285, participant-observation, and post-FALLEX interview data are replete with examples of the servicewomen's motivation to prove their ability. The first part of this chapter provided information on the servicewomen's pre-posting belief that once they had proven their ability, there would be no problems and they would be integrated into the operational unit as legitimate members. They were highly motivated, confident and eager to take on the challenges of an operational environment. In the participant-observation, much of the conversation about the Land Trial centered about the servicewomen's performance and their desire to prove their ability. That this was such an issue was evidenced by the
example of the tearful servicewoman, an excellent worker, who could not accept that her hard work took less precedence than sexual stereotypes. All ranks commented on the importance of the servicewomen proving themselves. It was acknowledged by one senior NCO that, of course, any newcomer had to demonstrate that they could "pull their weight" but the pressure was really on the servicewomen. "They have to do a damn good job while in the field."

The motivation to work hard was still evident by the responses to the post-FALLEX interview questions over a year later but, by then, some bitterness was also discernible. For the servicewomen who had been in 4 Svc Bn for two to three years, proving oneself had been transformed from spirited self-direction to an imposed necessity. This was especially evident in the responses to the question on comparative stress levels between the sexes. Of the 23 servicewomen who said that the servicewomen experienced more stress than the servicemen, 40% identified proving oneself as stress-inducing. The following two comments were typical. "Some people expect us to do more. We have to prove ourselves. There is no end to proving ourselves. Even when we are close to perfect, they find mistakes." "Some men discriminate against the women and we have to try three times as hard to get half the credit."

Aggressive determination to succeed (informal acknowledgement as a good performer; formal acknowledgement through promotion) was not appreciated by the male peers of the SWINTER participants. This could
have been the case because success at all-male tasks in a previously all-male environment was counter to the servicewomen's expectations or it could have been because hard work violated the informally established male work norms. The latter was alluded to during a participant-observation conversation with a platoon senior NCO. He said that tremendous peer pressure "sucked down" anyone with ambition and the desire to learn. It was sad to watch the transformation of a keen, new person into being just one of the guys.

Seven servicewomen had been promoted during their tenure at 4 Svc Bn. Promotions of the servicewomen bothered the servicemen as reflected in the following comment:

There'll be hell to pay when the next female is promoted. The first female promotion to master corporal went to R_____. She deserved it but she's out now. Another will be coming up soon - probably D_______, P_______, or D_____. The men will be really upset when this happens.

This type of attitude was maintained in spite of the fact that these three servicewomen were uniformly named as the top three female workers.

As with balancing being "one of the guys" with femininity, the servicewomen had to balance working hard in order to prove themselves with refraining from outperforming the servicemen. This was likely made
even more difficult because of the initially high motivation to participate in the Land Trial to learn new military skills and to broaden their careers. Three of the seven promoted servicewomen, at different points in the post-FALLEX interviews, offered unsolicited comments on the negative reactions to their promotion. One newly promoted master corporal had spent much of FALLEX with a senior NCO learning the skills required of her new rank. She said that they were accused of fraternization.

The men are jealous that women can do the job so they accuse us of fraternization and 'bag licking'. They resent you because you try. Trying hard doesn't get you anywhere.

The second servicewoman recently promoted to master corporal said, "I've been hassled. The men said I got promoted because I volunteered to participate in the trials and because I'm a suckhole." Finally, the third servicewoman, a sergeant, who had been promoted twice in her three years in the Battalion commented:

People said behind my back that I didn't deserve it [most recent promotion] but no one said anything negative to my face. But at the corporal level, there's lots of jealously and bitching by older male corporals when a female corporal gets promoted.

The data demonstrated that attention to discrepant status and fear of retaliation were complementary interaction patterns that placed
the servicewomen in a quandary. Through hard work they expected to learn new skills and to do well in the operational setting; however, they risked censure if they expended too much effort and, indeed, were repudiated if promoted.

The second perceptual phenomenon described by Kanter (1977a, 1977b) is polarization or exaggeration of differences. Two types of interaction patterns, which are complementary in nature, have been selected for application to the experiences of the servicewomen in the Land Trial. The exaggeration of the dominant's culture is the process by which barriers are erected to the integration of the tokens through overemphasis of the dominant's collective characteristics and behaviour. The presence of the tokens provides both the stimulus and the audience for the dominants and they are continually tested for their reactions. By loyalty tests, Kanter meant the degree to which tokens aligned themselves with the dominants by rejecting their female peers. While constantly reminded of their differences from the dominants, on the one hand, on the other hand they are pressured, however subconsciously, into turning against their own social category.

Although it is not possible to determine purposive action to exaggerate the male soldier culture as servicemen did not form part of the post-FALLEX sample used for this thesis, the results of their behaviour can be described. This section reports on the elements of the dominant's culture which were made significant to the SWINTER participants and their reaction (emulation or withdrawal) to the presentation of the soldiering lifestyle.
During the post-FALLEX interviews, the servicewomen were asked first if they had ever been offended by the behaviour of the servicemen in the Battalion, and second by the behaviour of the servicewomen. By asking the second question it was possible to determine the extent of emulation or repugnance. Twenty-nine servicewomen responded to both questions. Twenty-one (72%) said that they were offended by the behaviour of the servicemen and 8 (28%) said that they were not. Twenty-three responses on types of offensive behaviour were given, the most frequent (ten) being verbal: crude jokes, verbal harassment, comments with heavy sexual connotations, and swearing or coarse language. Obnoxious or "gross" behaviour such as refusing to shower, vomiting and urinating in public, and exposing themselves was mentioned seven times. Two typical comments were: "Away from their families, they act like animals"; "They are really, really crude - a bunch of pigs." Other offensive behaviour included excessive drinking (three times), being lazy (once), and "brown nosing" (once). Fifteen of the 29 servicewomen (52%) said they were offended by other servicewomen and 14 (48%) said they were not. There was some similarity in the opinions of what constituted offensive behaviour by each sex. Of the 18 responses on types of offensive behaviour, swearing was mentioned seven times, followed by drinking (twice), "acting like a man" (twice) and being obnoxious (twice). Four responses unique to the servicewomen concerned sexually related behaviour. Sexual promiscuity was mentioned twice as were feminine ploys. Two comments pertaining to the latter were given: "I am offended when a girl uses her feminine attributes for favouritism"; "Some
women flatter up to the males to get them to do things." Again, "brown nosing" by the servicewomen offended one interviewee.

Not only does the soldier culture have certain characteristics so also do specific units such as, for example, 4 Svc Bn's Forward Repair Group (FRG). FRG is comprised of two or four member mobile teams who travel into the forward fighting areas to do repairs (pages 53 and 54 refer). FRG members believe themselves to be the best vehicle technicians in the Battalion because, with a minimum of time and equipment, they must apply their mechanical skills and ingenuity to doing repairs. FRG was notorious within and without the Battalion for its image of "work hard, play hard, drink hard." In August, 1983, for the first time in its history, four servicewomen were placed in FRG. Three were part of this study's sample. All commented that they had more difficulty dealing with the crude behaviour of the FRG servicemen than they did with the demanding work. As one said:

I thought I would like FRG because the work was new and challenging. But the guys are pigs. They are so crude. In FRG if you don't act like a pig and drink with the guys, you're a wimp. You have to play their game but I won't.

She concluded by saying that she felt lonely and isolated, and that she did not belong in FRG.
Earlier in this chapter, "acting like one of the guys" was cited as a factor facilitating acceptance. Behaving in this manner to be accepted by the servicemen was also described as offensive to four of the interviewees responding to the question on the servicewomen's behaviour. Emulation to gain favour with the servicemen alienated the servicewomen from some of their female peers.

Two incidents related to emulation occurred during the participant-observation and bear repeating. Lighthearted bantering of a sexual nature frequently took place between the servicemen and some servicewomen. Two of the platoon's six servicewomen comfortably engaged in discussions of this nature and enjoyed trying to get the better of their male colleagues. As an example, during a dinner period in a meadow by a German village, while one of the servicewomen was participating in a conversation about sexual prowess with several servicemen, a good-looking German man walked past the group. The servicewoman panted and said how great it would be to "have him". She did exactly what the servicemen had usually done when they had seen an attractive German woman; however, the servicemen appeared to be uncomfortable with this part of the conversation. No one responded to her comment and the topic of conversation immediately changed. In this instance, emulation did not appear to be appreciated.

In the second incident, the ability to participate in sexual bantering earned the servicewoman some credibility points. An attack
force created on the last day of the exercise was comprised of personnel from various platoons who were picked up enroute to the staging location. As one serviceman got into the back of the five-ton truck, he turned the safety belt above the end panel from a vertical to a horizontal position and said, "So the girls won't get excited when they climb over." Another serviceman climbed into the truck followed by a servicewoman who said, "Hold down the belt. My legs don't spread that far." The two servicemen laughed, and exchanged a look of approval for this witticism.

The data demonstrated that a well-defined, dominant culture existed. They were very aware of the necessity of emulation to be accepted or to fit into the soldiering world even though they found much of the servicemen's behaviour unattractive. Most of the servicewomen would not copy what they considered to be unflattering behaviour and they did not appreciate their female colleagues doing so.

The servicewomen were not attracted to the dominant's culture and yet there was no evidence to suggest that they formed their own cohesive subgroup. Kanter's phrase, "loyalty tests" refers to the process of tokens making prejudicial statements about other tokens or by colluding with the dominants against other tokens. Minority status can support group formation in order to alleviate stress, share knowledge or offer emotional support during times of personal crisis. While the potential is always there, minority group solidarity rarely develops. Minority group status is usually perpetuated and internal fragmentation sustained
because members will not bond together. Instead, they seek acceptance from the dominant group and tend to depreciate their association with the minority group.

The dynamics described in the foregoing paragraph became apparent during the participant-observation, perhaps the best method of ascertaining group bonding. There were no formal or informal female support groups in the company. In the platoon under observation, there was one mentor-student relationship between a very capable servicewoman and a very timid, withdrawn servicewoman, and a friendship between one servicewoman and another who was often attached to the platoon for exercises. That a support group had not formed was volunteered by one servicewoman as being highly problematic. In tears, she said that she often felt very alone and wished that she could turn to someone. There were so few servicewomen in the trial and even fewer sympathetic, female senior NCOs and officers on the base. Even though this servicewoman was saying, in effect, that she wanted and often needed a female support group, in actuality she may not have associated with one. The servicewomen in the platoon did not like anything to create barriers between them and the servicemen and thereby disrupt their attempts to smoothly integrate into the unit. The servicewomen either participated in conversations or activities with the servicemen or went about their work singularly (except for the mentor-student relationship).

While the servicewomen did not bond together, there was little evidence of denial of the female social category or, on the other hand,
of support for other servicewomen. This could have been the case because as the participant-observer, I was an outsider from which opinions on unit members were kept or because I was not in the right place at the right time to hear the comments or, finally, because no strong opinions were voiced. Only one derogatory remark made by one servicewoman about another was heard. One servicewoman had been appointed second-in-command of her section after being in 4 Svc Bn for less than nine months. Other servicewomen in the platoon had been there for two years and some servicemen for three years. She was given this responsibility because she was mature and deserved the opportunity to meet new challenges, thereby proving her capabilities. Her ability to do a good job was acknowledged by some but not by others. During the first day of the exercise, one servicewoman looked out of her tent and said in a condescending tone, "P_____'s still digging [her trench] - about time she did something."

The one example of a servicewoman publicly supporting another took place in a conversation involving two servicewomen and two servicemen. The two servicemen were complaining about the laziness of a servicewoman who had been in the unit for two years. They said that she did sloppy work when in garrison and invented medical problems to avoid going on exercise. During this particular exercise she was working as a cook's helper since she had an injured knee and could not do her regular trade. The female cook, who was highly regarded in the Battalion because of her competence and selfless dedication, quickly came to this service-
woman's defence saying that she was doing excellent work for her in the kitchen. One of the servicemen refused to accept that assessment causing the second servicewoman to comment, after he had left the group, "See, no matter what she does now, the guys will never accept her." The remaining serviceman said she deserved any ill will directed toward her because she had not done any work in the past. The two servicewomen protested that he was being unreasonable and unfair.

Interview data can only provide indirect evidence of the loyalty test interaction pattern. A review of the post-FALLEX interview sheets demonstrated that the servicewomen were positive about their female peers regarding their confirmed expectations for their abilities and for their performances in the field. Based on what they had experienced and observed, they thought that the servicewomen had done well enough to influence a decision to permanently employ them in combat service support units. As noted in the previous section, prejudicial statements were made about the offensive behaviour of some servicewomen. Two of the very few negative statements made about working with the servicewomen were: "I would prefer to work with a male rather than a female. I feel more secure in the job"; "I don't like working with females, I prefer working with guys. I have more male friends than female friends." On the whole, while there did not appear to be any bonding into a cohesive subgroup, there was no evidence of rejection of their female peers or collusion with the dominant social category.
One characteristic of the token is that she is new to the organization or occupation. As such, she is doubly handicapped for not only must she deal with the effects of being in the minority, she must overcome the stereotypes carried over from a different previous history of interacting with the dominants. Alexander and Thoits (1983) found that when introduced into a tilted or skewed setting, a low-status token would first overachieve because of her high visibility, and then stabilize her performance level as visibility due to newness wore off. A longitudinal study would be required to determine the relationship of newness to the achievement patterns of the SWINTER participants. Instead, the post-FALLEX data was analysed to determine if COS date or length of service in the Battalion affected the servicewomen's perceptions of acceptance, belonging, and performance.

There was a definite response pattern by COS date or newness. Those servicewomen who arrived in the summer of 1983, just prior to FALLEX, were the most positive about their new posting. They found the experience of going on exercise different, exciting, and challenging although they also commented that they felt "dumb" or "like a jerk" because they were so inexperienced with field craft tasks. They believed that the servicewomen felt that they belonged and were accepted in the unit.

The servicewomen who arrived a year earlier were still positive about the work and the status of the servicewomen but increasingly
negative responses were given by the servicewomen with 1981 and 1980 COS dates. The servicewomen who were starting their fourth year of service were the most discouraged and jaded. They did not think that the servicewomen felt that they belonged or were accepted. The only exception to the trend of increased negativity with length of service was seen in the comments about being in the field. The servicewomen who had been in the unit since 1980 liked being in the field the most, primarily because exercises broke the monotony of being in garrison. The most recent arrivals focused on the discomfort of field life and their inexperience saying that they would prefer not to go on exercise.

Regardless of COS date, the servicewomen gave consistent responses to two questions. They said that servicewomen were quite capable of serving in combat service support units because they had proven they could do the work. They also were not keen on serving again in an operational unit. Aside from newness to the unit, no other response patterns by variables such as trade, company or platoon, and recent promotion were discerned.

The final research question to be analysed concerns stress and the factors contributing to it. Kanter (1977b:987-988) observed that token status brought on stress because of performance pressures, symbolic representation, inconsistent status, and social isolation. Stress experienced by the SWINTER participants was noted at different points in the Land Trial.
According to the SBSA (Resch, 1983b:10), 12% of the SWINTER participants had sought professional help for stress-related problems during 1982. The higher levels of stress for the servicewomen compared with the servicemen appeared to be declining over time. It was suggested that this was due to increased experience and numbers of servicewomen in the unit, and to the temperance of the initially overt hostility of the servicemen.

Two types of stress were recorded in the participant-observation report: stress induced by exercise-specific tasks or situations and stress related to being a SWINTER participant. When considering stress caused by the exercise, there was no observable difference between the sexes. Both groups received the same taskings and experienced the same lack of sleep, physical aches and pains, and disorientation. They performed basically the same and handled this type of stress in the same manner. That is, the servicewomen did not resort to the socialized reaction of crying and when tempers flew, there were heated arguments regardless of the sex. Very vocal complaints were uttered by both groups in response to disliked orders.

In addition to the above, the servicewomen experienced three types of trial-related stress. They felt an omnipresent pressure to perform to a very high, perfect standard in order to prove their worth. Failure of the servicewomen indicated not just an individual inability to perform (as it did for the servicemen), but also a negative prediction of
how all servicewomen would behave in the same situation. Second, the servicewomen felt as if they were in a "goldfish bowl". Because they were few in number, highly visible, and the participants in an experiment or trial, they felt they were constantly being watched. Finally, the servicewomen felt alienated from the system that had organized their participation in the Land Trial. They claimed that they had not received pertinent information when they arrived at 4 Svc Bn, nor had they received any feedback on their performances to date.

Three post-FALLEX interview questions were analysed to obtain additional information on stress. The first two questions asked if the servicewomen liked being in the field and if they would serve again in a near-combat unit. It was thought that indications of stress might surface in the responses. The third question was much more direct and asked if the servicewomen were under greater stress than the servicemen in the field unit. If so, they were asked to account for the types and causes of stress.

Unfortunately, for the purposes of ascertaining stress levels and causes, answers to the first two questions did not provide very useful information; however, the responses are briefly summarized because of their general significance to this study. Of the 30 servicewomen, 12 (40%) said that they did not like being in the field. A variety of reasons were given such as preference to do trade tasks rather than soldiering tasks; being inexperienced; boring work; unit disorganization;
lack of hygiene facilities; and general discomfort due to lack of sleep and exposure to the elements. Of the 18 (60%) servicewomen who said they liked being in the field, the most frequently given reasons were opportunity to do trade-related duties (three times); enjoyment of being outdoors (three times); and change in routine (three times). Other reasons were the challenge of the field environment, comradeship, and being physically active rather than sedentary as was often the case in garrison.

Regardless of their length of service in the Battalion, 22 (73%) of the 30 sample servicewomen said that they did not want to serve in a combat service support unit again. As with the previous question, there was no pattern in the 11 reasons for their negative responses. They said that the work was too hard; they disliked the "army" mentality; they were worried about future health problems such as miscarriages due to the strenuous work; and they wanted to concentrate on their trades without having to do field duty. Two responses related to the participant-observation findings on stress. One servicewoman said, "I have never felt so bad in a working environment. The men hate us. They reject us." Another said:

We've been used as guinea pigs for four years. Our supervisors couldn't care less about us. We are a public laughing stock. They are destroying this human being. The only advantage of being in this Battalion for four years is that nothing else in life can ever piss me off.
The seven (23%) servicewomen who said they would serve again in a near-combat battalion would do so because they enjoyed outdoor life, they valued the total military experience offered in such a unit, and they liked working in a unit where being a soldier took precedence over being a tradesperson. One (3%) servicewoman could not express an opinion because she had been in the unit for only six weeks.

The question on stress received responses from 30 servicewomen. Twenty-three (77%) said that the servicewomen were under greater stress than the servicemen, six (20%) said they were not, and one (3%) did not know. Nineteen of the 29 (65%) factors cited as stress-inducing were related to token status. Proving oneself because of a desire to do well or to be accepted was mentioned nine times followed by negative male attitudes (four times), and being new to and inexperienced in the operational setting (three times). Also mentioned were fear of failure; not being accepted; and pressure to act like the servicemen or risk being rejected. Ten (35%) factors unrelated to tokenism or being in the Land Trial included: hygiene problems due to lack of showers or discomfort during menstruation (seven times); repetitive work; requirement for dress, drill, and weapon maintenance perfection; and physically demanding tasks such as digging trenches.

Of the six servicewomen stating that stress was not higher for servicewomen compared with servicemen, one said that identical duties produced identical stress and another said that it was inexperience, not
sex, which accounted for stress. The third servicewoman observed that stress was the same for both sexes but was handled differently. The servicemen got angry and got drunk while the servicewomen cried and did not get drunk.

To sum, the post-FALLEX data confirmed the participant-observation findings that stress was higher for the servicewomen than their male colleagues and was due, in the main, to tokenism and the structure of the Land Trial.

**SUMMARY**

From the participant-observation, it was learned that the servicewomen believed their performances in the operational setting would lead to acceptance but that for the servicemen, the servicewomen's demonstrated ability, while necessary, was not sufficient to consider them full unit members. The purpose of this chapter, then, was to confirm the participant-observation findings regarding the relationship of performance to the formation of expectations and, second, to determine what factors facilitated or barriers impinged upon the integration of the servicewomen. Thirteen research questions were posed using status characteristic and expectation states theory, and the structural/numerical proportions model for theoretical guidance.
It was found that the ability to effectively perform in the near-combat unit was highly salient to the sample of 30 servicewomen. Prior to their CFE posting, these servicewomen, described by the BPSOs as self-confident, highly motivated, competent, and capable, identified the testing of the ability of the servicewomen as the purpose of the Land Trial. While they were keenly interested in participating in the Land Trial, they did have some reservations about this future employment because of the demanding, physical nature of the work and the requirement to prove themselves in the new setting. These did not appear to be major concerns since they held high expectations for their own abilities and those of their female peers. They expected that they would do well in 4 Svc Bn and, according to the post-FALLEX interview data, this expectation was confirmed. Although the work was often dirty, unpleasant and tiring, and the servicewomen did not think that they were as tactically and physically capable as the servicemen while on exercise, they were strongly supportive of the idea of servicewomen being employed in combat service support units. In their opinion, the servicewomen could do the work, so there was no need to perpetuate the present employment barriers. Indeed, if they were in a position to formulate policy, they would post servicewomen into all near-combat units (with the provisos that they volunteer for this type of work, and pass physical and attitudinal selection tests). They were confident that, due to their efforts, the Land Trial would be declared a success and servicewomen would continue to be employed in operational units such as 4 Svc Bn.
There was a contradiction between the above highly positive expectations, attitudes, and opinions regarding the servicewomen's abilities and the interview responses on their feelings of belonging and acceptance. Half of the interviewees said that the servicewomen felt that they belonged and 60% said that they were accepted by the servicemen although some opined that the term "tolerated" was a more accurately descriptive term. Prima facie, approximately half of the servicewomen seemed to be satisfied with their integration into the unit; however, closer examination of all of the post-FALLEX interview data suggested that there was a deeper problem than was evidenced in the responses to the direct questions on belonging and acceptance.

The servicewomen both believed and showed that they could do the work required of them in a combat service support unit; however, the consequences of demonstrated ability (the observable power and prestige order of expectation states theory or, in this case, belonging and acceptance) were not realized. Decision-making external to CFE and negative attitudes of supervisors were two factors resulting in a nullification of their efforts and accounting, in part, for their unmet expectations. Token status and six interaction patterns associated with the perceptual phenomena of visibility (over-observation, extension of consequences, attention to token's discrepant status, fear of retaliation) and polarization (exaggeration of the dominant's culture, loyalty tests) as defined in the structural/numerical proportions model helped to explain the general disillusionment of the servicewomen.
The servicewomen felt that they were perpetually on display as their performances constantly were being watched and assessed. While some had expected this to happen, and almost all acknowledged the importance of having to prove themselves, over time self-motivation and desire to demonstrate their ability had been superseded by an imposed requirement to perform. This change in locus of control during the trial was stressful as were several other aspects of the integration process.

The second interaction effect resulting from visibility, extension of consequences, refers to the generalization of the ability of the token incumbents to future recruits of the same social category. The servicewomen were very aware that their performance and behaviour reflected on them personally, and affected attitude formation about female newcomers and those females already serving in the unit. Thus, the servicewomen were striving to prove themselves in order to earn a place in the unit and were attempting to pave the way for other servicewomen; however, their efforts to be good soldiers were hampered by the servicemen focussing on the negative stereotypes associated with their female sex.

The complementary nature of the final two effects of visibility, attention to token's discrepant status and fear of retaliation, was confirmed by the Land Trial data. The servicewomen entered the trial very confident and highly motivated. By proving their ability, they
would become unit members and the fact that they were female would be rendered unimportant. They had to cautiously strike a balance between working hard to be accepted as legitimate unit members and performing beyond informally established male work norms, which if rewarded by promotion, would cause resentment on the part of the servicemen. (Servicewomen who lacked a tradition of serving in combat service support units could not be better than their male counterparts.) As well, holding themselves in check because of probable negative male reactions to their efforts, complicated the aforementioned generalizations to new female unit members.

Of the two polarization interaction patterns, the exaggeration of the dominant's culture was found to be applicable in the Land Trial but the loyalty test dynamic was not. Although there was no evidence that the servicemen purposely erected barriers to the servicewomen by emphasizing the characteristics and behaviour associated with soldiers, their dominant culture, the antithesis of womanhood, was pervasive. Some servicewomen attempted to adopt the dominant's behaviour. They believed that emulation, or "acting like one of the guys" would ease their integration into the unit; however, since much of the servicemen's behaviour was viewed as offensive by over two-thirds of the servicewomen, such emulation alienated their female peers. As with the balancing between positive generalizations and censure for performing too well, attempts to emulate the characteristics of the dominant culture in order to be accepted had to be balanced against personal repugnance and the
alienation of other servicewomen. On the other hand, failure to behave like the servicemen could lead to social isolation within the work section.

The servicewomen were not attracted to the dominant's culture, nor, as minority status holders, did they bond together. There was no evidence of the formation of formal or informal subgroups although the servicewomen were verbally supportive, not negative, about the other servicewomen in the unit. Kanter's loyalty test interaction pattern was not an important factor in the servicewomen's integration.

Newness to the unit accounted for some perceptual variance. With length of service, enthusiasm for being a participant in the trial waned. Those servicewomen who had been in 4 Svc Bn since 1980, were the most bitter and discouraged. They believed that the servicewomen did not feel that they belonged in the unit, nor were they accepted by the servicemen.

The higher stress levels of the servicewomen compared with the servicemen was noted during the trial by the SBSA and in the participant-observation report. As this chapter has shown, application of aspects of the structural/numerical proportions model highlighted token-induced stress. During the post-FALLEX interviews, 77% of the interviewees said that the servicewomen were under greater stress than the servicemen. Sixty-five per cent of the factors causing stress were related to their
token status such as pressure to perform, visibility, negative male attitudes, and inexperience in the environment.

To conclude, it would appear that performance aids feelings of belonging and acceptance, and, therefore, group membership; however, if those trying to integrate hold token status, their interaction patterns will be defined by the characteristics and consequences of that status and their efforts will be impeded. Expectations based on performance/ability will be unmet and group membership will be marginal.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

The history of servicewomen in the CF has been one of employment discrimination. They have been hired to fill traditionally female sex-typed jobs only when servicemen have been unavailable and in response to pressure external to DND. After a war effort, they have been the first to be released from service. Policies governing the conditions of their employment such as marital status and retirement benefits have differed from those applied to servicemen. Finally, they have been excluded from primary air, land, and sea combat roles because of perceived societal views on employment appropriateness for servicewomen.

With the promulgation of the CHRA, the most recent form of external pressure has been brought to bear on DND. The response has been to establish five, four-year trials during which data will be gathered to support a decision either to expand the employment of servicewomen to all near-combat and isolated units or to return them to their traditional, pre-trial roles. Should the latter decision be taken, the CHRC must concur with the results of the trials. The CF, therefore, must provide sound, bona fide occupational reasons for continued discrimination against servicewomen.

As the CHRA emphasizes the requirement for a quantifiable reason justifying discrimination, the CF focused the trial directive on
performance or ability. Performance, therefore, was highly salient to
the organization as it wanted to know what servicewomen were capable of
doing and if their presence in the unit reduced operational effectiveness. Performance was also highly salient to the servicewomen as was seen from a review of the interview data collected prior to their arrival in Germany. They had identified the testing of the servicewomen's ability as the primary reason for the purpose of the trials and they were keen to participate. By proving themselves, they believed that they would be accepted into the unit as legitimate members – as equals. Their achieved status would take precedence over their ascribed status. Their sex would be overlooked: they would become soldiers, not female soldiers, in the near-combat unit. Due to their efforts, they expected that the current employment policy on servicewomen would be reversed and that servicewomen would be permanently employed in combat service support units.

Once in 4 Svc Bn, the servicewomen demonstrated that they were fully capable unit members; however, the above expectations were not met. Integration was proceeding slowly: only half of the servicewomen felt that they belonged in the unit and were accepted by the servicemen. Those that had been in the unit since 1980 were very discouraged and disillusioned as their efforts over a long period of time had not been rewarded.
THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The objective of this thesis was not to test a theory or a model, but to try to account for the dynamics of integration noted in the Land Trial and the servicewomen's unmet expectations. Status characteristics and expectation states theory, and Kanter's structural/numerical proportions model were used as general guidelines: the first described the process of expectation formation, and the second demonstrated that organizationally imposed variables beyond their control and outside of their efforts and abilities, could influence expectation fulfillment.

The sex-role literature presented in Chapter IV described the stereotypes and normative behaviour associated with each sex in Western society. The male sex is defined by a competency cluster of qualities which include being independent, objective, logical, ambitious, and acting like a leader. The relative absence of these qualities typifies women. Consequently, the male sex has higher status and is more highly valued than the female sex.

Status characteristics and expectation states theory posits that under certain conditions (such as a task-solving situation in which a correct outcome is valued and the assumption that competence is instrumental to task completion), a group member will draw a conclusion from the available information about the other's competence at task completion. In the absence of specific information on task ability, an
external status characteristic (and its associated stereotypes) will be used for expectation formation if it differentiates between group members and if it has not been explicitly dissociated from the ability required for the task. The result is an observable power and prestige order which reflects status ranking according to the expectations formed and the opportunities given to contribute to the tasksolving situation. In status equal groups, initial evaluations of ability will lead to corresponding contributions to the activity at hand; however, in status unequal groups, it will be assumed that those with high status will be more competent at the task than those with low status. Thus, their task contributions will be valued and higher expectations will be formed for them. They will get more opportunities to participate, initiate more action, receive more positive reaction, and have more influence. Since females have low status, in any task-solving situation where the diffuse status characteristic of sex is made known, they would be assumed to not be competent and would be given less opportunity to contribute to problem resolution.

Simmel said that if a person can be defined, expectations regarding his/her future behaviour can be formed based on that categorization. Women soldiers are an anomaly. They are few in number and clustered in traditionally female trades. There is little from their historical military service from which an image can be formed. It is not known who the female soldier is and of what she is capable. Nieva and Gutek (1980) concluded that if little is known about women, bias and stereotyping are stronger. Terborg and Ilgen (1975) found that when information is provided, stereotyping decreases. If these observations are accurate,
one would expect from the status characteristics and expectation states theory that as information contrary to the stereotypes associated with the low status of female are made known, their contributions to the group based on ability should increase. In other words, when abilities relevant to the particular work/task situation are known, inferences should be made from that information, not from the individual's social category. Meeker and Weitzel-O'Neill went further and said that performance expectations will not be affected by sex if the woman appears to be competent; however, they offered a caveat that the woman must be cooperatively motivated and that it is legitimate for her to move beyond her low status.

Kanter's structural/numerical proportions model is based on the relationship between ascribed and achieved statuses. Certain organizational or structural conditions combined with a skewed group type result in tokenism which hinders the recognition of achieved status. Since the realities of the work place preclude a simple recommendation for structural changes and numerical increases, the consequences of tokenism must be understood by supervisors, subordinates, and co-workers.

There are several differences between status characteristics and expectation states theory, and the structural/numerical proportions model. For example, most of the tests of the former have been situated in a laboratory setting with two subjects and strict experimental
conditions; the latter grew out of a participant-observation of a skewed work group with no experimental controls. The theory focuses on individuals at one task while the model operates on a system level as it describes interaction dynamics within a group. Regardless of these differences, the theory and the model are compatible.

While it was not the objective of this thesis to develop the theoretical compatibility of the theory and the model, but rather to use them as general guidelines for interpreting the participant-observation findings, it is suggested that there is potential for doing so. As an example, three of the status characteristics and expectation states theory's assumptions can be related to the structural/numerical proportions model. First, the theory's saliency assumption states that all status characteristics known to be relevant to the task and all characteristics that discriminate between members, will become salient. Kanter observed that in a skewed group, tokens will be defined by their ascribed, not achieved, status. Their individualism will be denied as they become representatives or symbols of their social category. Thus, their external status characteristic results in specific perceptual phenomena which hamper their integration.

Second, the burden of proof assumption states that even if there is no association between the status characteristic and the task, the status characteristic will become activated as a performance expectation discriminator. In the model, a pattern of interaction resulting from the
token's high visibility, namely, attention to token's discrepant status, identified the persistence of dominants to focus on the stereotypical beliefs held about the token's character and ability rather than accepting her demonstration of competence. It becomes difficult for the token to render her discrepant status characteristic negligible since it is always there as an explanation, should the token err.

The third assumption concerns the transfer effect of the observable power and prestige order to new members. Kanter described this process as the extension of consequences. Because there are so few tokens, their performances become symbolic. Therefore, if they do manage to overcome the handicap of ascribed status, their performances could affect the integration of future female employees. The result, for newcomers, is that the ascribed status characteristic has become replaced by the precedent set by other tokens. Neither, of course, are necessarily accurate as to what newcomers can do.

For the purpose of this thesis, status characteristics and expectation states theory explained the general process by which status is applied to the formation of expectations. It also conversely offered the theoretical guidelines by which the unmet expectations of the service-women could be described. The structural/numerical proportions model provided the framework for identifying the interaction dynamics which reinforced the consequences of that status generalization.
MILITARY IMPLICATIONS

The military implications of this study can be related specifically to the SWINTER trials and generally to servicewomen who, in the future, may be employed in combat service support units. The CF created the trials in an attempt to avoid unilateral decisions being made by the CHRC on how servicewomen should be employed. The Land Trial was structured, ostensibly, to determine what effect the employment of servicewomen would have on the operational capability of two combat service support units in 4 CMBG. Sub-objectives included comparative assessments of the individual effectiveness of servicewomen and servicemen on unit taskings, and groups of servicewomen, groups of servicemen and integrated groups on unit taskings.

While the aim and sub-objectives were in concert with the CHRA's stipulation of a bona fide occupational requirement, the actual conditions of the trial employment of the servicewomen imposed token status on them. It has been suggested that sound organizational reasons were advanced for the percentage of SWINTER participants being so low in the unit (availability of positions, availability of servicewomen with the requisite rank and trade experience, withdrawal from 4 CMBG in the event of a crisis); however, it has also been suggested that the CF thought that operational capability would be jeopardized if the trial involved more than a minimum of servicewomen. The results of this decision are twofold. On a macro level, the trial could not fail since there were too
few servicewomen in the unit to have an impact on operational effectiveness. On a micro, or individual level, token status generated highly problematic employment conditions for each servicewoman. They have demonstrated that they can serve credibly in a near-combat unit but stress, low morale, and lack of belonging and acceptance militated against the servicewomen feeling that this was a desirable occupational setting for them. Few said they would ever want to serve in a near-combat unit again.

The military research done to date and conclusions made by senior unit personnel, suggest that a wealth of data and opinions have accrued on the results of placing tokens or minority status holders into a group dominated by another social category. It is questionable how much knowledge has been gained about the performance of the servicewomen, per se, to meet the aim of the trial since the effects of tokenism are so pervasive. As Kanter (1977a:208) concluded, "Again, relative numbers interfered with a fair test of what men or women could 'naturally' do...."

Military sociologists have studied cohesion and primary groups since World War II. The work has been done by Americans on units comprised of status similar personnel. With the advent of the all-volunteer force after the Vietnam War, attention was turned to racial integration, and since the end of the last decade to the integration of women. This research is still very much in its infancy. Little is known about the interaction dynamics resulting from the introduction of servicewomen into previously all-male operational units.
The primary group studies have shown that during wartime, cohesion, not ideology or political beliefs, was crucial to sustaining morale and combat motivation, alleviating stress and carrying out combat duties. Each group member was dependent upon another for emotional support and practical assistance. The soldier had to be capable of fulfilling his share of responsibilities and had to believe that he could rely on his buddies (or buddy) to do the same. This dependency on his fellow group members was particularly important should he get into a predicament or be wounded. Soldiers who contributed to achieving the mission, shared risk-taking, and demonstrated dependability bonded well together. Cohesion is, therefore, vital to the successful functioning of the primary group.

Research into the military small group has identified socio-emotive (personality compatibility; like-mindedness) and instrumental (ability to carry out the task; willingness to share risks) factors as contributing to cohesion. The potential placement of servicewomen (during peacetime or wartime) into combat service support units has implications for the socio-emotive and instrumental aspects of cohesion. This study has shown that the ascribed status of sex dominates achieved status when servicewomen are placed into a previously all-male unit. While status characteristics and expectation states theory allows for the possibility that the diffuse status of sex will be suppressed in favour of demonstrated ability or proven competence, it is unlikely that the sex of the servicewomen will be rendered negligible. Therefore, the ability
of servicewomen to contribute to risk reduction and mission accomplishment will be negated. The theory suggests that their military skills will not be acknowledged by the servicemen because the negative stereotypes associated with the female sex will take precedence in expectation formation. If they are not allowed to contribute, they are of no value to the group.

Should servicewomen be introduced permanently into combat service support units, it will likely be in small numbers, and as in the Land Trial, their resulting token status will engender interaction patterns that are not necessarily related to their achieved status. These interaction patterns restrict integration and limit credibility from being established as the servicewomen become locked into stereotypical molds. Given the dynamics of integration noted in the Land Trial, a peacetime experiment, it is doubtful that servicewomen would ever be allowed to contribute to primary group cohesion and, therefore, to operational effectiveness.
Academic Background

5. (C) Graduated Jun 76 with C- average in academic program. Entered a 2-year secretarial arts program but quit Feb 78, 4 months short of graduation. Reported that her grades were good but because she could not imagine herself confined to an office job she quit rather than obtain a diploma in something she no longer wanted to do as a career.

Sports

6. (C) Has always been active in sports. Played on school rep basketball and field hockey teams; has been on base rep basketball and volleyball teams. Enjoys camping, x-country skiing and swimming. Tried to start a women's base hockey team last year but got little response. Has recently taken up archery through a base club.

Previous Knowledge of SWINTER

7. (C) Has some knowledge of the evaluations as a female friend (ADM CLK) who was posted to Alert last fall told her about the BPSO briefing and interview. In response to specific questions: a. believes that the CF is conducting the studies because of Human Rights pressure to prove that men and women are treated equally in the CF; b. thinks she was selected for posting because she did well on her trades training and because she is a good VEH TECH; and, c. said that she realizes that the work will be demanding because of the exercises - "It won't be as easy as Borden". She does not anticipate any insurmountable problems.

Résumé of Briefing Provided

8. (C) Asked several questions about the nature of 4 Svc Bn exercises (objectives, number per year, duration, etc). Conditions of service were explained and the CFE Land Evaluation Fact Sheet and Annex C "Background on Attitudes and Expectations" were provided for her retention.

Decision Reached
(If the servicewomen enrolled pre-19 Jun 79):

9. (C) The selection message was the first she had received, therefore, there had been no prior indication of a willingness to volunteer for SWINTER. Accepts the posting. Enthusiastic about working in a near-combat unit and learning new skills.

Views on Posting
(If the servicewoman enrolled post-19 Jun 79):

10. (C) She was surprised that she was posted to CFE. She wants to remuster to an Air Tech trade and had asked for an Air base on her last PER to learn about the Air element and the working conditions. Being in Germany would create a 4-year delay in her career plans. She does not want to go to Germany and said that she would discuss this further with her CO.

Additional Comments

11. (C) Work record shows Cpl Compass to be very capable tradesperson. Meets ht/wt requirements: 167 cm, 63 kg.

Testing

a. WTBQ
b. WTAQ

DISTRIBUTION LIST

NDRO/DPSRSC
CFTSHQ: SO PSEL
CFPARU
BPSO File
APPENDIX B

POST-FALLEX 83 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

FALLEX 83
1. Were you looking forward to FALLEX 83? Yes, why? No, why not?
2. Was it a 'good' exercise for you? Yes, why? No, why not?
3. Did the people in your platoon work well together?
4. Is there anything from FALLEX that indicates whether or not women should be in the field?

General Perceptions
5. How do you feel about women being in combat service support units? (Probe for comments on their ability to perform the tasks.)
6. When you first came to the unit, what expectations did you have regarding the abilities of servicewomen? Have these expectations been met?
7. Are there differences between mixed gender sections which are not apparent in single sex sections?
8. Do you like being out in the field? Yes, why? No, why not?
9. How do men and women compare in tactical situations?
10. I am thinking of all of the tasks that you do in the field.
   a. Can the men physically do all the tasks? Yes? No?
   b. Can the women physically do all of the tasks? Yes? No?
   c. How important is physical strength in the field? Very important? Important? Not important? Not very important?

Attitudes

11. How do the men treat the women?
12. Do the women feel that they belong in the unit? Has this changed over time?
13. Do you feel that the women have been accepted in the unit? Yes - factors? No - barriers?
14. Has this acceptance changed over time? If so, what has influenced the change?
15. How have the attitudes of the supervisors affected the acceptance of the servicewomen?
16. How has the performance of the servicewomen affected their acceptance?
17. Have you ever been offended by:
   a. the behaviour of men in 4 Fd Amb/4 Svc Bn?
   b. the behaviour of women in 4 Fd Amb/4 Svc Bn?
Spouses

18. Are there any concerns that your wife/husband has about you being in the field with men/women. If yes, what are they?

19. What effect does/do this/these concern(s) have on you at work?

20. Do other wives/husbands have any concerns? If yes, what are they? (Probe for degree and prevalence).

Stress

21. Are women under greater stress than men in the field unit? If yes, define types (social, work, hygiene, accommodation, etc.) and causes.

Combat Service Support Units

22. If given the choice would you serve again in a combat service support unit?

23. If you were the Minister of National Defence responsible for making the policy on the employment of women in all combat service support units, what would you decide?

24. What do you think the decision will be?

Cold Weather Trial

25. What do you know about the Cold Weather Trial?

26. Are you looking forward to it?
27. Does everyone else feel the same?
28. Is the Cold Weather Trial a major issue in the unit at this time?
29. Is this trial going to have any impact on the overall/final decision?
30. Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss?
General Perceptions

1. How do you feel about women being in combat service support units? (Probe for comments on their ability to perform the tasks.)

2. When you first came to the unit, what expectations did you have regarding the abilities of servicewomen? Have these expectations been met?

3. Do you like being out in the field? Yes, why? No, why not?

4. How do men and women compare in tactical situations?

5. I am thinking of all of the tasks that you do in the field.
   a. Can the men physically do all the tasks? Yes? No?
   b. Can the women physically do all of the tasks? Yes? No?
   c. How important is physical strength in the field? Very important? Important? Not important? Not very important?

Attitudes

6. How do the men treat the women?

7. Do the women feel that they belong in the unit? Has this changed over time?
8. Do you feel that the women have been accepted in the unit? Yes - factors? No - barriers?

9. Has this acceptance changed over time? If so, what has influenced the change?

10. How have the attitudes of the supervisors affected the acceptance of the servicewomen?

11. How has the performance of the servicewomen affected their acceptance?

12. Have you ever been offended by:
   a. the behaviour of men in 4 Svc Bn?
   b. the behaviour of women in 4 Svc Bn?

**Stress**

13. Are women under greater stress than men in the field unit?
    If yes, define types (social, work, hygiene, accommodation, etc.) and causes.

**Combat Service Support Units**

14. If given the choice would you serve again in a combat service support unit?

15. If you were the Minister of National Defence responsible for making the policy on the employment of women in all combat service support units, what would you decide?

16. What do you think the decision will be?
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADM(Per)</td>
<td>Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAA</td>
<td>Brigade Administrative Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPSO</td>
<td>Base Personnel Selection Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Canadian Forces</td>
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<td>CFE</td>
<td>Canadian Forces Europe</td>
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<td>CFPARU</td>
<td>Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit</td>
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<td>Canadian Human Rights Act</td>
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<td>COS</td>
<td>Came-on-Strength (date of arrival at unit)</td>
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<td>CPCSA</td>
<td>Chief of Personnel Careers and Senior Appointments</td>
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<td>Directorate Personnel Development Studies</td>
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<td>ERA</td>
<td>Equal Rights Amendment</td>
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<td>FALLEX</td>
<td>Fall Exercise - Field Manoeuvres</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>Forward Repair Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOC</td>
<td>Military Occupational Classification</td>
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<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>NCO</td>
<td>Non-Commissioned Officer</td>
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<td>NDHQ</td>
<td>National Defence Headquarters</td>
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<td>PSO</td>
<td>Personnel Selection Officer</td>
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<td>Social and Behavioural Science</td>
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<td>SBSA</td>
<td>Social and Behavioural Science Advisor</td>
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<td>Spec Asst/ADM(Per)</td>
<td>Special Assistant to Assistant Deputy Minister (Personnel)</td>
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<td>Servicewomen in Non-traditional Environments and Roles</td>
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<td>4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group</td>
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<td>4 Field Ambulance</td>
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<td>4 Svc Bn</td>
<td>4 Service Battalion</td>
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Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics)


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