Sub-Group Issues in Military Leadership

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Abstract-

This chapter contains an integrative review of the academic literature on sub-group issues in leadership as they pertain to the Canadian Forces (CF). First, background information and definitions are provided. Then, the current Canadian employment equity legislation is explained, including how it applies to the CF. Following this, a model of token dynamics in organizations is presented and used as a framework for a review of the research on sub-group issues in leadership. The issues that are discussed include tokenism, jobholder schemas, occupational segregation, prejudice and discrimination, organizational cultures and cultural adaptation, ingroup/outgroup dynamics, and stressors and the negative outcomes that result from them. Examples of the application of the research results to the CF are provided throughout. Some of the possible interventions that can be utilized to alleviate the problems that arise from these dynamics are then presented. Finally, the best strategies for integrating diversity into the military are discussed.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report was commissioned by the Canadian Forces Leadership Institute (CFLI) at the Department of National Defense. It was prepared by Karen Korabik, Co-Director of the Centre for Families, Work, and Well-Being and a Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Guelph, with the assistance of Deborah Miller, a doctoral student in Industrial/ Organizational Psychology.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to provide an integrative review of the academic literature on sub-group issues in leadership as they pertain to the Canadian Forces (CF). As such, this report is divided into a number of sections. Section 2 provides background information and definitions. Section 3 describes current Canadian employment equity legislation and explains how it applies to the CF. Section 4 employs a model of token dynamics in organizations as a framework for a review of the research on sub-group issues in leadership. Wherever possible, the results of specific studies that have investigated diversity and military leadership are cited. However, because most research in this area has not been carried out in military contexts, it was necessary to rely on information from a broader set of organizational settings. Such information is extremely relevant, however, as the underlying dynamics that are discussed are the same. Examples of how the research results can be applied to the Canadian Forces are utilized to highlight this point. Section 5 outlines the interventions that could be utilized to alleviate the problems that arise from the dynamics discussed in Section 4. Finally, Section 6 discusses the best strategies for integrating diversity into the military.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1 What is Diversity?

The term diversity refers to differences associated with those characteristics that make individuals dissimilar from one another (Powell, 1993). This can include differences due to: gender, age, race, national origin, ethnicity, religion, disability, and marital or parental status. The Canadian Human Rights Act prohibits discriminating against individuals on the basis of these characteristics (Vivian, 1998). Still, the fact that these differences exist creates a situation where people are perceived as belonging to different sub-groups.

The central problem for the leadership of diverse sub-groups of individuals is that, in our society certain "individuals...by virtue of race, ethnicity, or gender, are defined differently, and … are assigned an inferior status...that is, [they] have less than their proportional stare of wealth, power, and/or social status" (St. Pierre, 1991, pg. 471).   For example, men are attributed higher status than are women. Furthermore, White Europeans are ascribed higher status than individuals from other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. Similarly, lower status is

often attributed to those who are gay, elderly, disabled, or single mothers. The term minority is frequently used to describe members of low status groups (St. Pierre, 1991). For simplicity's sake, this will be the term that is used throughout this paper.

Those from minority groups often have visible characteristics that act as status indicators. Those with multiple status markers of difference are likely to experience greater problems when interacting with those from a majority group (Ridgeway, 1992).

2.2 Why Diversity is Important to Today's Military

The demographics of Canadian society have been changing so as to include a greater representation from a diversity of cultures (Okros, 2002). In recent years, more and more women also have been working outside the home. Because of these changes, the proportion of White men in the workforce has been shrinking (CDS Annual Report, 1999-2000). This means that the Canadian Forces, like other organizations, will have to supplement its traditional workforce by recruiting more heterogeneous individuals (CDS Annual Report, 1999-2000; Okros, 2002). Although there are more women, aboriginal people, and individuals from ethnic and racial minority groups in the CF today than before, their overall numbers remain low. For example, statistics from 1997 indicate that women comprised 13.4% of the military, aboriginals 1.3%, and visible minorities 2.1% (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). To increase the proportions of these groups so that they are representative of Canadian society as a whole, the CF will need to make major adjustments.

One reason for organizations like the CF to be concerned about diversity is that lawsuits may result if members of minority groups feel that they are being denied access to certain positions (e.g., until very recently women were not allowed to serve on submarines). Legal action may also result as a consequence of any other types of prejudice, discrimination, or harassment suffered by members of sub-groups serving in the military.

The fear of potential lawsuits, however, should not be the driving force behind change. As a society, we need to adopt the belief that we should treat minorities equitably because it is the right thing to do. This will have several beneficial effects. First, it will help to attract and retain the best and the brightest by creating the circumstances under which a culture that welcomes a diversity of individuals can be established and maintained. Second, today's military missions have become increasingly complex and now include elements of humanitarian relief, diplomacy, and peacekeeping (Okros, 2002; Rosen, 2000; Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). The higher level of performance of a heterogeneous workforce will give the CF a competitive advantage in such situations. Third, due to an increasing emphasis on global operations, there is a need for military personnel who have a sensitivity, awareness, and familiarity with the norms and mores of

the environments in which they operate (CDS Annual Report 1999-2000; Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). Finally, research has shown that organizations that treat minorities well will also tend to treat their other employees and the people they serve well. This has a positive impact in terms of reducing turnover and absenteeism and increasing organizational commitment and productivity.

3. EMPLOYMENT EQUITY LEGISTATION

The Employment Equity (EE) Act of Canada has been promoted not only as a legislative requirement, but also as a strategic action plan to enable the monitoring and manipulation of demographic representations in the Canadian workforce. The Act covers all private sector employers and Crown corporations with 100 or more employees operating in federally regulated industries such as banking, communications, and inter-provincial and international transportation, as well as all federal departments and other parts of the Public Service.

EE has as its central goal the achievement of equality in the workplace for four designated groups: women, aboriginal peoples, persons in a visible minority group, and persons with disabilities. Employers are to correct disadvantages in employment experience by taking special measures to accommodate differences. Specifically, employers are required to: a) survey their workforce to ascertain the representation of designated groups, b) analyse their workforce to identify under-representation of designated groups, c) identify employment barriers for under-represented groups, and d) prepare an employment equity plan outlining policy and practice changes to remedy the under-representation of any designated groups.

In 1992, a parliamentary special committee recommended that the Canadian Forces be covered by the 1986 EE Act (Vivian, 1998). In 1996 parliament proclaimed a version of the EE Act that applied specifically to all branches of the Canadian Forces (Vivian, 1998). Despite the fact that the CF has followed the intent of the Act for years, is not yet formally subject to its provisions (Vivian, 1998). The CF EE regulations were posted in the Gazette of Canada on June 15, 2002. As of Fall, 2002 they were proceeding through the appropriate signing authorities in preparation for the final Gazette posting which would bring the CF under the full weight of the Act.

4. RESEARCH AND APPLICATIONS

The issues that arise from the existence of sub-groups in the military stem from two closely related, and mutually supporting sources: the relatively small number of minority group members entering the CF and their retention. These two problems are mutually supporting, in that having a low representation from members of a specific sub-group creates a variety of forces that then impacts on their retention by fostering organizational dynamics that are detrimental to those in the minority group. Efforts aimed at increasing the supply of minorities do not

always take into consideration the conditions that they will experience once in the CF and which result in high levels of turnover. So, for example, although increasing numbers of women are joining the Canadian Navy, a disproportionate number of these women, relative to men, are leaving hard sea occupations (Thomas, 1997).

The integrative framework for this section will be a model of token dynamics in organizations that I have developed (see Figure 1). In the diagram the circles represent the processes that occur as a result of the under-representation of minorities in an organizational setting, the rectangles represent their resulting outcomes, and the octagons illustrate some of the interventions that can be applied. As can be seen, the under-representation of certain sub-groups of individuals results in dynamics that eventually lead to their increased stress and higher turnover. I will first discuss the processes on the left side of the figure. That is, the under-representation of those in minority groups produces certain token dynamics. These dynamics then trigger the formation of negative stereotypes about those in token positions and bring about prejudice and discrimination against them.

4.1 Tokenism

Members of sub-groups in the CF will face a number of problems when the proportion of their representation in a group is below 15%. Under these circumstances, individuals are accorded token status (Kanter, 1977). Tokenism does not, in and of itself, result in negative consequences. Problems only occur when the person who is a token also is a member of a low status group (Yoder, 2002). So, for example, research done at the US military academy at West Point has demonstrated that women cadets typically experience social isolation, enhanced visibility, additional performance pressures, and being relegated to peripheral non-leadership positions (Yoder, 1983, 1989; Yoder & Adams, 1984; Yoder, Adams & Prince, 1983). These experiences are representative of the negative consequences that befall low status individuals in token positions (Powell, 1993).

By contrast, because of the higher status that our society accords them, men who are tokens in female-dominated occupations (e.g., nursing, elementary school teaching, social work) are accepted rather than rejected by their colleagues and are more likely to be promoted than are women, even when the women's credentials are equivalent to theirs or higher (Yoder, 2002). This phenomenon has been termed the "glass escalator" (Williams, 1992) to distinguish it from the "glass ceiling" that women often experience (Powell, 1999).

4.2 Jobholder Schemas and Occupational Segregation

Stereotypes of various kinds help perpetuate the under-representation of certain sub-groups of individuals in the CF. One type of stereotype that serves this

purpose is the jobholder schema. Jobholder schemas are stereotypes about what kinds of individuals are suited for what kind of work (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). These schemas are generally unconscious, deeply ingrained, and highly resistant to change (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Perry et al., 1994). Research shows that children develop jobholder schemas early in life. For example, by the time that they are three years old, children know what kinds of occupations are suitable for men and which are considered to be appropriate for women (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). Jobholder schemas are reinforced by parents, teachers, guidance counselors, and the media and they help to determine career choices (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). For example, it has been found that friends and relatives with CF experience are the most influential factor in women's decision to enlist (Tanner, 1999).

In the past, the military has been composed almost entirely of White men. The stereotypical member of the military is a man who has masculine attributes (e.g., strong, tough, dominant and decisive) (Dunivan, 1994). Those who are viewed as not having these characteristics will be less likely to be recruited or selected for positions in the military. Likewise, those who view themselves as not having the characteristics of the typical "military man" might be less likely to choose a career in the military. Added to this is the fact that people often choose to accept the roles that society has traditionally prescribed for them because they find such roles to be comfortable and familiar (Korabik, 1997). All of these factors will influence the number of qualified minority applicants to the CF, their recruitment, and their assignment to different MOCs.

As a result, within the military, as in society as a whole, there exists considerable segregation as to jobs and duties (Powell, 1999). For example, for many years the military was not considered to be an appropriate occupation for women and they were completely excluded from military service. Although the number of women in the CF has increased in recent years, they are still concentrated in certain specialties or "pink ghettos" that are seen to be more appropriate for them. Hence, the proportions of women in the CF are highest in medical/dental and support units and lowest in combat arms (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

Research shows that a disproportionate representation of people into various groups, occupations, or occupational sub-specialties is enough, in and of itself, to produce status differentials, with the members of the minority group accorded lower status (Hofman & Hurst, 1990). When fewer individuals from a sub-group hold certain types of jobs, the stereotyped belief that there are "legitimate" and non-discriminatory reasons for them not to be in those jobs develops and this leads to the assumption that they are not capable of doing that type of work (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990).

An example of this is the perception among men in the CF that women are not interested, motivated, or capable of being in combat arms (Truscott, 1997).

These kinds of beliefs are common in military environments as evidenced by research with cadets from the US Air Force Academy (DeFluer & Gillman, 1978). Similarly, Diamond and Kimmel (2000) contend that he primary obstacle to the effective integration of women cadets into the Virginia Military institute was the negative attitudes held by men. Moreover, as studies of attitudes towards women in the US Navy illustrate, hostility towards those in sub-groups is more widespread in settings where they are atypical. In this case, it was found that men in the medical/dental and administrative departments held the most positive views toward service women, whereas, men in the aviation, weapons, and engineering departments were most likely to be opposed to women serving on Navy ships (Greebler, Thomas, & Kuczynski,1982; Thomas & Greebler, 1983, as cited in Palmer & Lee, 1990).

4.3 Negative Stereotyping

Those from minority groups are also more susceptible to being judged in terms of negative stereotypes (Ridgeway, 1992). The visible characteristics that make members of minority groups different from the majority act as cognitive schemas around which we organize information about them. We, therefore, tend to judge them, not on the basis of their individual characteristics, but rather on the basis of our stereotypes about those in their group (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). As we have seen, people use their jobholder schemas to make decisions about the suitability of others for certain types of work. Problems can occur when people's stereotypes about roles and occupations and their stereotypes about individuals are inconsistent with one another (Korabik, 1997).

For example, our stereotypes about the kinds of characteristics that an "ideal" leader should have are based upon the characteristics that those who have been leaders in the past typically possess (Powell, 1993). Until recently, almost all leadership positions were held by White, able bodied, married men. Because of this, when we think of the ideal leader, we think of someone like this (Powell, 1993). Therefore, leaders who are different (e.g., women, single mothers, persons of colour, aboriginals, or disabled individuals) often don't fit our conception of the typical or ideal leader. Consequently, they often are seen as less suited for leadership positions and when in such positions they are not taken seriously (Ridgeway, 1992).

Our stereotypes about members of minority groups also don't match our stereotype of the typical member of the military (St. Pierre, 1991). For example, a common stereotype that is frequently voiced by both participants and instructors in combat training centres and battle schools is that women are too weak to be in combat arms (Davis & Thomas, 1998; National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). Similarly, US male military cadets have many negative stereotypes about their female peers. For example, male cadets perceive female cadets to be less motivated, dedicated, physically fit, diligent, confident, trustworthy, leader-like, and effective than they are (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy,

2001; Larwood, Glasser & McDonald,1980). Given this, it is hardly surprising that women cadets at West Point have reported feeling that they were being "stereotyped into limited feminine roles that conflicted with expectations for cadets- being criticized for lacking 'command voices'" (Yoder, 2002, pg. 2).

Another problem that those with minority status often have to deal with is a backlash from those in the predominant group who believe that minorities don't deserve to be in leadership positions and that they were appointed to them due to quotas or preferential treatment rather than because of their competence. In the CF, many men believe that quotas exist and that women are given preferential treatment (e.g., that women get "cushy" jobs, are treated more leniently by instructors, and don't have to meet the same performance standards as men) (Davis & Thomas, 1998; Truscott, 1997). This situation creates resentment toward women (Truscott, 1997).

Furthermore, because members of groups with low status are not as highly valued as majority group members are, their contributions are often overlooked (Haslett et al., 1993). When a leader has minority group status, therefore, the primary challenge is that of legitimization of authority. This is particularly true when the subordinates are from the majority group (Korabik, 1997). In such a case, minorities are forced to try and "prove" themselves and they are more likely to have their authority questioned by their subordinates (Ridgeway, 1992).

4.4 Prejudice and Discrimination

Negative stereotypes about sub-group members frequently result in prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory actions towards individuals in those groups (Korabik 1997). For example, stereotypes about supposed sex differences have often been used to justify discrimination against them. As part of a legal case in the US, it was contended that women should not be admitted to Virginia Military Institute because they are "physically weaker…more emotional and can't take stress as well as men" as well as the fear that they would "break down crying" and be traumatized (Kimmel, 1999, pg. 501). In a similar case with regard to the Citadel (another US military training institution) it was argued, despite a total lack of any evidence, that men needed "an environment of adversativeness or ritual combat in which the teacher is a disciplinarian and worthy competitor" whereas women required a cooperative, emotionally supportive atmosphere (Kimmel, 1999, pg. 501).

Such stereotypes are not grounded in reality. Research shows that women and men have similar motivations for undertaking military training (Kimmel, 1999). Several studies in the US military have shown that women can perform most military tasks as well as men and they do not adversely affect the performance of a military unit (Adams, 1980; Kimmel, 1999). Moreover, despite the fact that according to Holden and Tanner (2001) it is commonly believed that women's presence in the CF will impede cohesion, morale, and discipline, there is no data

to support this. In fact, mixed gender units have been found to be superior to all male units when it comes to team and group work (Vivian, 1998).

Despite this, due to perceptual biases, minority group members are evaluated differently than those from the majority group, even when their objective level of performance is the same (Korabik, 1997). This is more likely to occur when the criteria used to evaluate someone are subjective, ambiguous, or unclear (Haslett, et al., 1993). Under such circumstances stereotyped judgements are more likely to occur, such that the members of the minority group are judged according to different criteria and evaluated along dimensions that are narrowly related to their group's stereotype (Korabik, 1997). These conditions may exist in the CF. Truscott (1997) reports that there is a perception of inconsistency in relation to the physical standards that are applied in the CF, as well as confusion as to how the standards are being applied. Moreover, research has shown that token women in CF combat arms training programs perceive that they are held to an additional subjective standard of physical performance even after they have met the quantifiable standard (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

The presence of an objective criterion, however, is no protection against bias (Korabik, 1997). The fact that minority group members have visible characteristics that act as status indicators means that they will be subjected to double standards of evaluation (Foschi, 2000). These double standards are pervasive and, because of them, those with lower status are judged as performing less well than those with high status even though their actual level of performance is as good or better than those in the high status group (Foschi, 2000). Conversely, those in high status groups are given more latitude when it comes to failure than are those from low status groups (Foschi, 2000). For example, in regard to female faculty at The Citadel, research showed that "students clearly demand a higher standard from female instructors…to earn parity with their male colleagues" (Bennett, 1982, as cited in Siskind & Kearns, 1997, pg 505).

Double standards have been shown to affect judgments about suitability for jobs (Foschi, 2000). This is apparent in the comments of US General Merrill McPeak who claimed that if he had to choose between a male fighter pilot whose performance was inferior and a superior female pilot, he would choose the man (Dunivin, 1994). Furthermore, as a result of double standards, women are evaluated less positively than men. Thus, women in military training programs tend to receive less favourable evaluations than their male peers do (Boldry et al., 2001), women faculty at US military colleges are evaluated more negatively than their male peers (Suskind & Kearns, 1997) and women military leaders are perceived to be less effective than their men counterparts (Eagly, Karau & Makhijani, 1995). As Davis and Thomas observe about women in the CF, "the lens through which women are observed and evaluated is tinted in a way that discredits and devalues women in relation to male norms and standards." (1998, pg. 6).

The processes that underlie double standards of evaluation can influence decisions about salary increases, training, promotions, punishments and job assignments to the detriment of minorities (Haslett et al., 1993; St. Pierre, 1991). On any one occasion, the effects of bias are usually very small. But, during the course of individuals' careers, they are constantly confronted with situations in which stereotypes (both those which they themselves ascribe to and those which others hold about them) impact on the decisions that they make and that are made about them (Korabik, 1997). The cumulative effect of a small amount of bias repeated over and over again can result in significant discrimination over time (Martell, Lane & Emrich, 1996), perpetuating a status quo in which those in the dominant group have more access to positions of power and privilege than those in minority groups do. Furthermore, because stereotypes are both unconscious and pervasive, the discrimination that results from them is often very subtle and difficult both to substantiate and to alleviate (Haslett et al., 1993).

As a result of these processes, minorities have a harder time getting the types of job experiences that they need to advance. Job segregation can limit the advancement of women, aboriginals, and minorities in the CF beyond a certain level because they are unable to gain the prerequisite operational background and professional qualifications to be considered for staff college (Holden & Tanner, 2001; St. Pierre, 1991; Vivian, 1998). For example, the number of women enrolled at the CF Command Staff College rose considerably after the removal of eligibility criteria requiring field duty from which they had been restricted (Holden & Tanner, 2001).

Because of these factors, members of minority groups tend to remain concentrated at the lower levels. For example, although there are more senior ranking women in the army now than in the past, their rate of progression is not the same as men's (Holden & Tanner, 2001; Tanner, 1999).

Powell (1993, pg. viii) contends that "the biggest barrier to advancement for white women and women and men of color continues to be prejudice." However, as illustrated in Figure 1, there are also other important organizational dynamics that need to be addressed. These are shown on the right side of the Figure and will be discussed next.

4.5 Organizational Culture

The under-representation of certain sub-groups in an organizational setting influences the culture that develops. This produces a variety of majority/minority or ingroup/outgroup dynamics that lead to a number of problems for those in the numerical minority.

Organizational cultures consist of beliefs and attitudes, values about what is important, norms about how things should be done, and customs and lifestyles

(Mills & Tancred, 1992). Over time a distinctive military culture has developed with idiosyncratic elements like rank insignia, saluting, and it's own jargon. It has been labeled a combat-masculine-warrior culture (Dunivin, 1994) and it is characterized by a command and control ideology, hierarchical authority, bureaucracy, a fixed division of labour, standardized operations, and reliance on precise regulations (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). Individuals in this culture must be willing to relocate often, to travel frequently, to be away from home for long periods of time, to work irregular hours, and to subject themselves to personal danger. Sub-cultures also exist in different branches of the CF (e.g., the Army) as well as in different areas (e.g., "fighter pilot culture" and "submarine culture") (Bradley, 1999).

In situations where a majority group has predominated for a long time, the culture that develops that is defined by that group to embody their values and suit their needs (Korabik, 1997). Research shows that cultures that are more hostile to minorities exist in areas where members of the majority group are more numerous (Korabik, 1997). This not only creates a "chilly climate" for minorities that increases their discomfort and makes them feel unwelcome, but it also fosters stereotyped decision-making and systemic discrimination and bias (Haslett et al., 1993). All of these factors serve to hamper the career advancement of those in minority groups.

These processes have been shown to exist in the military environment. An example is the hostility towards women in combat arms in the CF documented by Davis and Thomas (1998). They characterize combat arms as a setting that "has been defined by men and maintained to train and employ men" (pg. 10). Here the "cultural (male) assumptions in relation to the accepted, expected, and/or 'appropriate' social and sexual behaviours of women create a systematic barrier to the objective evaluation of the performance of women in combat arms" (pg 24). Davis and Thomas also report that women in combat arms perceive a climate of non-acceptance that is different from the welcoming and inclusive atmosphere they experienced as Reservists.

4.6 Acculturation

In all organizations employees go through an acculturation process whereby they become familiar with their organization's culture (Korabik, 1993, 1997). The newcomers' adherence to organizational values is assured either through formal training or a probationary period of close observation and supervision (Symmons, 1986). In this way organizations confirm their values and socialize their members to behave accordingly. In the military this is accomplished through education (e.g., military college) (Guimond, 1995) and training (e.g., ROTP and boot camp) (Dunivin, 1994).

Berry (1983) outlines four ways that minorities can acculturate to a majority culture. Although his model was originally developed to explain the situation of

immigrant groups adjusting to Canadian culture, contemporary research has demonstrated that the theory can be applied to a wide variety of circumstances (Chun, Organista, & Marin, 2003). The first acculturation process outline by Berry (1983) is separation. This is where the minority group values their own rather than the dominant culture. In organizations, adoption of a separation ideology results in the perpetuation of job segregation and serves to maintain the status quo (Korabik, 1993). A second acculturation process is assimilation (Berry, 1983). Here, a "melting pot" ideology (Berry, 2003) exists where those in the minority group are expected to give up their own culture in favor of the predominant culture. In the third process, deculturation or marginalization, minority individuals feel that they do not fit into either their traditional culture or the predominant culture (Berry, 1983). This strategy has been found to be associated with the worst outcomes (Berry, 2003). In the fourth strategy, integration, both the minority and the majority groups change so as to adapt to one another (Berry, 1983). This strategy means embracing an ideology of multiculturalism and has been associated with the most favorable outcomes (Berry, 2003).

There is evidence that, despite much talk about integration, minorities in the CF are actually expected to fit in by assimilation. For example, research has shown that there is lower support for multiculturalism in the CF (particularly among men) than in Canadian society as a whole (Truscott, 1997). There also appears to be a strong emphasis on uniformity, a lack of tolerance of differences, and an unwillingness to change or adapt to meet the needs of minorities. The following two quotes illustrate this:

"Group cohesion, imperative to operational effectiveness, comes from uniformity not conformity. We should all look the same and that includes hair and headdress. That's why we wear uniforms." (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

"We are not doing aboriginals and visible minorities a favor by allowing them to look different [wearing braids and turbans]. How can they possibly integrate when they stick out like a sore thumb?" (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

Further evidence comes from research done with women in combat arms. Davis and Thomas (1998) report that such women must assimilate rather than integrate and that little is done to accommodate their needs. For example, access to facilities such as showers can still be a problem (Truscott, 1997). These women also frequently report that they must use ill-fitting kit and equipment (e.g., frag vests, rucksacks, boots, and helmets) (Truscott, 1997) and they have an increased risk of injury as a result of this (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

Lately, there has been a recognition that the design and fit of boots, packs, and uniforms can keep women from reaching their full potential (Holden & Tanner,

2001). However, changes under the "Clothe the Soldier" program were made without consulting women and without sufficient explanation to men as to why special accommodations needed to be made for women (Holden & Tanner, 2001). This has resulted in resentment toward women because of the money men see being spent on meeting their specific needs (Truscott, 1997).

Those from minority groups frequently try to conform to organizational expectations and fit into the prevailing organizational culture through assimilation. Thus, they adopt the predominant mode of behavior. An example of this is the woman leader who tries to act like a man by assuming a tough, task-oriented, assertive style of leadership. Kimmel (1999) found that women cadets at West Point often utilized this strategy. They downplayed both their gender identity and their solidarity with other women. Similarly, Davis and Thomas (1998) found that women in combat arms in the CF often competed among themselves rather than supporting one another, as a way of trying to identify with the more powerful male dominated majority group.

This strategy, however, generally is not a successful one (Korabik, 1993, 1997). Like other visible minorities, women look different from the members of the majority group. Their sex acts as a powerful cue that elicits certain stereotyped expectations from others, making their attempts to assimilate futile (Ridgeway, 1992). And so, although such women may be tolerated by the majority group on the surface, they will never truly be accepted as "one of the boys ". Furthermore, when those with minority group status ignore the stereotyped expectations of others and express their authority in a direct and overt manner, they often find themselves confronting reactance and resistance that undercuts their attempts to be influential (Haslett, et.al. 1993; Ridgeway, 1992). This lack of acceptance results in these minority group members being marginalized, socially isolated, and relegated to an outgroup (Korabik, 1997).

4.7 Ingroup/ Outgroup Dynamics

In addition to problems with cultural adaptation, a variety of ingroup/outgroup processes act as barriers to the successful integration of minorities. One of these is termed "homophilious reproduction". This refers to our tendency to prefer interacting with and to favor those who are like ourselves (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). For example, research has demonstrated that male cadets at The Citadel demonstrated a preference for male professors (Siskind & Hearns, 1997). Members of majority groups have also been found to use a number of "disaffiliation tactics" to exclude minorities. In the case of women in combat arms in the CF these included such things as withholding information, keeping them from participating in informal cliques, sabotaging their efforts, foot-dragging, feigning ignorance, and not giving them proper training (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

4.8 Summary

Once established, organizational cultures are highly resistant to change and they create a vicious cycle that keeps minorities in a disadvantaged position relative to those in the majority group. The dynamics associated with cultures in which a majority group predominates serve to exclude minorities from the ingroup and have many negative consequences for those who are members of minority groups. Although minority group members clearly suffer the preponderance of the negative consequences that are attributable to this situation, there is much evidence suggesting that such cultures are also extremely detrimental to the well-being of those in the majority group and the organization as a whole (Powell, 1999).

4.9 Stressors and Resulting Negative Outcomes

As a result of the prejudice and discrimination that they experience as well as difficulties with cultural adaptation, members of minority groups encounter a number of stressors. These include problems with cultural adaptation, maintaining a positive sense of identity, feelings of marginalization and isolation, and increased exposure to harassment. These increase the probability that minorities will experience negative outcomes. It is not surprising, therefore, that those in minority groups have lower job satisfaction and higher turnover than members of the majority group (Powell, 1993).

4.9.1 Decreased Self-esteem and Self-efficacy

Research indicates that minorities frequently internalize the negative opinions of others about them, hampering their performance (Haslett, et al., 1993). As well, studies show that the performance of minorities is lower (probably due to anxiety-related to enhanced performance pressures) when they are tokens in majority-dominated groups (Powell, 1999). For example, women soldiers often tend to devalue their own contributions and approach tasks with less confidence than male soldiers do (Biernat et al., 1998 as cited in Boldry et al., 2001). Similarly, Davis and Thomas (1998) report that women in combat arms in the CF describe being worn down psychologically and having their confidence destroyed as a result of their training, even when they managed to attain the required physical standards. As a result, as the training progressed, they perceived themselves to be less and less suitable and less and less able. Research indicates that as a result of such experiences women can fail to perceive the discrimination that they encounter and instead blame themselves for the negative treatment and outcomes that they receive (Korabik, 1997).

4.9.2 Increased Conspicuousness and Social Isolation

The behaviour of those in minority or token positions is more salient or noticeable than the behaviour of those in the majority group (Korabik, 1997). And, because

under such circumstances those in token positions are more aware of how they affect others, the behaviour of the tokens toward those in the majority group is affected as well (Korabik, 1997). They feel invisible as individuals, but hypervisible as members of their group. This can result in performance pressures which minorities in token positions can respond to by overachieving (Korabik, 1997). Furthermore, because of their exclusion from the dominant group and their alienation from others in their own group, minorities often report experiencing social isolation. These dynamics have been reported by women cadets at West Point (Kimmel, 1999; Yoder, 2002) as well as women in combat arms in the CF (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

4.9.3 Lack of Mentors and Role Models

No formal mentoring programme exists in the CF (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). There may be a need for one, however, as mentoring has several advantages for minorities. It can provide support, coaching, and feedback (Powell, 1999). As women cadets at West Point stated: "We really needed contact with women officers. We needed their experience, their advice, and their example... We needed to be able to talk to them without suspicion or fear. We needed their empathy and their concern" (Kimmel, 1999, pgs. 506-507). Because of "homophilious reproduction", however, the social networks of minorities are likely to be composed of individuals like themselves and they will be excluded from the "old boys network" (Korabik, 1997). Therefore, it will be more difficult for them to find mentors. The absence of others like themselves in the organization, particularly at the higher levels, also means that role models will be scarce. The lack of access to mentors and role models can hamper the career progression of minorities (Korabik, 1997).

4.9.4 Harassment

Sexual harassment is persistent, unsolicited, and nonreciprocal behavior of a sexual nature. Miller (1997, as cited in Davis & Thomas, 1998) reports that both gender harassment (e.g., hostile work environment) and counterpower harassment (e.g., by subordinates) against women are problems in the US Army. Similarly, women faculty at The Citadel often said they had been harassed by male cadets. This typically took the form of gender harrassment (i.e., generalized degrading and sexist remarks) and counterpower harassment (i.e, anonymous negative comments from students on course evaluations). It was more likely to happen to younger women and women's complaints about it were not taken seriously (Suskind & Kearns, 1997).

Sexual harassment also has been an ongoing and significant issue in the CF (Holden & Davis, 2001; Holden & Tanner, 2001; Tanner, 1999). As in the case of non-military samples (Korabik, 1997), a greater proportion of women than men are victims (Holden & Davis, 2001), and it is more likely to be a problem in areas where gender ratios are very skewed, where peer pressure exists to support it, or

where there is a lack of accountability on the part of leadership in units (Truscott, 1997). This was documented by Davis and Thomas (1998) in their study of women in combat arms in the CF. These women reported experiencing direct and frequent harassment humiliation, and intimidation on a daily basis. This usually involved name calling and sexual innuendos, but also included physical assault and rape (Davis & Thomas, 1998). Moreover, although these women identified peers, instructors, and supervisors who supported them on an individual basis, little direct action was taken by those in authority to intervene to stop discrimination and harassment against them (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

Recent research with personnel from the US Armed Forces indicates that, for both women and men, the frequency with which one experiences harassing behaviours is related to negative outcomes (e.g., job and health dissatisfaction, and lack of psychological well-being, work group cohesiveness, and organizational commitment). These negative outcomes occur even if the victim does not label the behaviours as harassment (Munson, Miner, & Hulin, 2001).

The harassment that occurs in the CF is not always sexual in nature. There are a number of initiation rites and rituals that can include components of harassment (e.g., hazing, bullying, abuse of authority). Another issue is that men soldiers worry that they will be accused of harassment if they attempt to motivate or discipline women (Davis, 1997 as cited in Davis & Thomas, 1998). Furthermore, many enlisted men believe that women frequently claim harassment instead of taking personal responsibility when they are unable to do a job (Davis, 1998).

Fortunately, there has been a decrease in reports of harassment in the CF over time (seen in four large scale surveys carried out between 1992-1999). This has been attributed to presence of harassment prevention programs, creation of anti-harassment policies, and commitment on the part of top leadership to eliminate the problem (Holden & Davis, 2001). However, although programs such as SHARP (Standard for Harassment and Racism Prevention) exist and have been widely implemented, their effectiveness in changing attitudes has not been established. In support of this, Truscott (1997) reports that racial and ethnic jokes are still frequently heard in the CF.

4.9.5 Work-family Conflict

Although work-family conflict is generally perceived as a women's issue, it is actually important for both men and women (Powell, 1999). For example, having to spend too much time away from home is the third ranked reason for voluntary turnover among women in the CF Navy, but the top ranked reason given by men (Thomas, 1997).

Research from the US indicates that military women often face difficulties because of their role as mothers. For example, pregnancy was found to be "a source of bias that negatively affected performance appraisals" (Halpert, Wilson,

& Hickman, 1993, as cited in Evans & Rosen, 1997, pg. 354). Moreover, peers often resent the fact that pregnant service women are excused from certain duties (e.g., deployments) or released from duty to go to medical appointments, even though there are no sex differences in the amount of actual absence from work (Evans & Rosen, 1997).

Findings from the CF similarly indicate that some women who are pregnant or on maternity leave report enduring resentment from their co-workers who feel that they must pick up the slack (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000; Truscott, 1997). There may also be resentment because mothers are allowed to take time off for child-care emergencies (Truscott, 1997).

Due to the fact that the number of dual career and single parent families in the CF is steadily rising (Holden & Tanner, 2001), some "family friendly" policies have been instituted. For example, Military Family Resource Centres (MFRC) have been established and have "Child Care Coordinators who have the responsibility of coordinating child-care services; coordinating emergency child-care requirements; screening caregivers and other facilities; liaising with the community; and providing enhanced child-care options and information to families" (Holden & Tanner, 2001). There is also a Family Care Assistance (FCA) programme that provides financial assistance to single parent families and to service couples who are required by the CF to be absent from home at the same time (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Furthermore, there is a maternity leave top-up to 93% of salary and parental leave is available to either spouse (Vivian, 1998). Leave without pay for family caregiving is also available (Vivian, 1998).

The problem is that when "family friendly" policies exist, they often are not consistently implemented and individuals are frequently dependent upon the willingness of their superiors to grant them (Holden & Tanner, 2001). There is also the fear among enlisted personnel that those who use them will have their career progression hampered (Holden & Tanner, 2001). There have been reports that women who have families are taken out of mainstream career paths (i.e., put on a "mommy track"), which hampers their career advancement (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

4.9.6 Morale, Transfer, and Turnover

Women in the CF have been found to have lower levels of morale than men (Tanner, 1999). They also are more likely to transfer MOCs than men are (Tanner, 1999). Moreover, there is a high rate of female attrition in the CF (Tanner, 1999). Rates of voluntary turnover between 1987 and 1992 were 24.7% for women compared 16.8% for men (Thomas, 1997).

Women attribute their turnover to having to work in a male-dominated environment (Tanner, 1999) as well as to a lack of career progress, dissatisfaction with job tasks and pay, discrimination and conflict with their

spouse's career or their family responsibilities (Holden & Tanner, 2001; Thomas, 1997). Turnover rates are particularly high in areas (e.g., combat arms) that are more male dominated (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Women in combat arms units have reported experiencing "systematic rejection and bias against women that was manifested in overt and covert attempts to get them out." (Thomas & Davis, 1997, pg. 15). Moreover, they felt that when they were considered to be unsuitable for combat arms, they were less likely than their male peers to be transferred to another occupation and more likely to be immediately released or continually recoursed until they left on their own accord. During exit interviews they stated that more of an effort could have been made to allow them to continue their military careers (Thomas & Davis, 1997). Similarly, women who had left the CF Navy were also more likely than men to report that "reasonable action" could have been taken to prevent their departure (Thomas, 1997).

Aboriginals who take part in the Northern Native Entry Program (NNEP) also have a high attrition rate. Although 75.5% complete recruit school, large numbers drop out before the completion of initial occupational training (Truscott, 1997). They often report difficulties with isolation, cultural stress, and discrimination as a consequence of having to adjust not only to military life, but also to life in southern Canada (Truscott, 1997).

5. What Can be Done?
5.1 Tokenism

As Figure 1 indicates, one way to increase the numbers of minorities in under-represented occupations is through employment equity programs. The CF has a number of such programs. For example, Leadership in Diverse Army (LDA) is a set of initiatives designed to increase the proportion of members of the three designated groups in the Army (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). In the Navy, EE initiatives have included a1997 Maritime Command guidance and direction, annual recruiting goals, awareness activities, and diversity education (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

Although EE programs make the goal of attaining a balanced workforce salient, they are unlikely to be effective at addressing the underlying problems that sub-groups face unless they are comprehensive and viewed as more than just a legislated mandate. Even well designed EE initiatives do not work without monitoring and enforcement. If there is no true "buy-in", supervisors will find ways to circumvent their requirements. However, research indicates that when there is top leadership commitment to the principles of EE, there will be greater employee receptivity and co-operation regarding the implementation of EE policies and practices.

A major problem with relying on EE initiatives to increase the numbers of minorities in organizations is that those minorities who are selected as a result of

such programs are likely to be viewed by their superiors and peers as lacking in competence and as having attained their positions due to favoritism (Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992). As a result, minorities themselves often are not in favor of such programmes (see for example, Davis and Thomas' (1998) study of women in combat arms in the CF). Because of this, organizations must go beyond merely fulfilling the basic requirements of EE to make the recruitment and retention of qualified minorities an imperative.

This can be done by targeting recruitment efforts and by instituting training programs to develop the skills of those who lack them (e.g, the Sgt.Tommy Prince Army Training Initiative). However, to the extent that the beliefs of minorities that they will be subject to harassment in the CF and not have the same opportunities for advancement as those in the majority group (Truscott, 1997) are accurate, the difficulty in recruiting members of minority groups might persist. There is also a need to provide minorities who are considering joining the CF with realistic job previews. Most of the women interviewed by Davis and Thomas (1998) reported that they had not been adequately prepared during recruitment regarding the gender-based issues that they would confront in combat arms units.

To bring about changes in organizational cultures that will make them more hospitable to minorities, it is necessary to increase the numbers in a subgroup to a proportion of at least 25% (Kanter, 1997). This constitutes a large enough minority so that their group membership becomes less salient and their individual behaviour becomes less noticeable. Furthermore, under such conditions, there will be enough members of a group so that they feel less isolated and are able to work together with one another, which facilitates their ability to shift the balance of power and to bring about cultural change.

In the CF, this proportion is often difficult to attain, particularly in certain sub-specialties. For example, on submarines when someone is landed their replacement must be of the same rank and same occupation. Therefore, it is impossible to assign more than a few women at a time to a particular submarine due to small pool of those to choose from (Bradley, 1999).

Initially, the army attempted to achieve gender integration by bringing placing groups of women who would form a "critical mass" together in one unit (Vivian, 1998). For logistical reasons, this policy was dropped in favour of putting small numbers of women into different units (Vivian, 1998). Some researchers have suggested that this newer strategy may actually be more effective. A rapid influx of an under-represented group into an occupation or organization can result in a backlash effect, as the dominant group sees the increased representation of the outgroup as a threat to the majority's status and power (Beaton & Tougas, 1997). When such a backlash effect occurs, there will be an increase in discriminatory behaviour against the minority. Research with women has shown that both their absolute numbers in a work setting and their intrusiveness (i.e., rapidity of influx)

are associated with their reports of personal instances of discrimination and higher turnover intentions (Beaton & Tougas, 1997). Thus, it may be wise to increase the proportion of those in a sub-group more gradually over time.

If minorities are to be put into token positions, however, it is necessary that they receive support from the organization. Thus, their superiors must support them and recognize that many of the problems that they are experiencing are not of their own making. They should also be provided with access to support in the form of mentors. The negative consequences associated with being in a token position, moreover, can be alleviated by having someone in authority legitimizing the position of the token or by enhancing the status of the token (through training, allocation of resources, etc) (Yoder, 2002).

5.2 Negative Stereotypes

One way to reduce negative stereotypes is by adopting neutral occupational titles, materials, policies, and procedures. For example, the language in recruitment materials is often gender-biased (e.g., crewman, infantryman, manpower) (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). Similarly, in the past recruitment posters only portrayed pictures of White men (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). It is important, therefore, to show diverse individuals doing a wide range of tasks.

To effectively manage diversity, leaders also must take a proactive role in creating a culture which respects and rewards individual differences. This includes being role models of appropriate values. For example, leaders must be conscious of and show appreciation for subordinates' differences and respect the unique skills that each individual can bring to the job. Minorities themselves can help to alleviate stereotypes by developing a wide range of effective leadership and communication styles (Haslett et al., 1993).

5.3 Prejudice and Discrimination

Both treating sameness differently and ignoring differences when they are salient can form the basis for discrimination (Kimmel, 1999). In order to treat people differently it must be established that real differences exist (not just stereotypes) and that these are related to their qualifications for the job (bona fide occupational requirements). However, you also cannot treat individuals as if their personal or background characteristics or role responsibilities (e.g., motherhood) are inconsequential as this results in a non-level playing field.

In the CF, women and aboriginals are more likely to perceive themselves to be victims of discrimination than are White men (Truscott, 1997). To provide minority group members with opportunities and eliminate prejudice and discrimination against them, the CF can implement neutral, inclusive, and non-discriminatory policies and procedures. These would include establishing fair selection

procedures. There is the possibility that selection criteria may be biased (i.e., that some of the selection tests that are being used may have adverse impact) as applicants from EE groups are more likely to be rejected (Truscott, 1997).

Another need is for fair and unbiased performance criteria to be consistently applied.   Women in combat arms in the CF, for example, report that they are subjected to inconsistent and subjective performance standards (Davis & Thomas, 1998). And, when women do manage to meet the standards that have been set, the level of the standards may be questioned (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

Furthermore, leaders must make sure that the norms of equal opportunity and inclusiveness are adopted and that prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour are not tolerated. It is also important for leaders to understand their own biases and stereotypes (which may be operating at an unconscious level).

And finally, the CF can also act to increase the numbers of minorities who are in high-level leadership positions. This serves many functions. It provides examples of effective leaders who are minorities. It makes the behaviour of minority leaders less salient and noticeable and results in the decrease of negative stereotypes. It provides a critical mass that allows such leaders to work together to bring about changes in the prevailing culture so as to make it more hospitable to those who are different.

To bring this about there is a need for a review of the career progression system. Tanner (1999) suggests that this will help to determine why women are not being promoted to the senior ranks at the same rate as men in some occupational areas. This should be extended to those in other minority groups.

5.4 Organizational Culture

It is important for leaders to understand both the predominant military culture and that there is a need for that culture to change (Holden & Tanner, 2001). In today's military decision making is more decentralized and there is a more flexible division of labour, less reliance on formal hierarchy, and greater informal communication between the ranks than in the past (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). To be effective in such an environment, leaders will have to reduce their dependence on formal position power and authority and increase their referent and expert power (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). They can no longer depend on their authority or tactical ability alone (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000).

The CF should not require minorities to fit in by assimilating to way that the majority currently does things. As we have seen, asimilation has not been a successful strategy for those in the outgroup as they often have physical characteristics that distinguish them from ingroup members and that prevent them from being fully accepted (Korabik, 1993). Instead, the CF should require leaders to promote integration as an acculturation strategy. Cultural integration

means that those in both the majority and the minority groups must change, rather than those in the outgroup conforming to the norms of the unchanged majority. It means creating an environment that is hospitable for all. As stated previously, integration is the acculturation strategy that is associated with the most positive outcomes for both ingroup and outgroup members (Berry, 2003; Korabik, 1993). Research has demonstrated that assuring that the needs and values of all subordinates are understood and addressed is related to increased job satisfaction and reduced stress and turnover (Powell, 1993). Promoting cultural integration can also help to avoid a backlash by those in the ingroup who feel threatened by the influx of minorities or feel that those with minority status are receiving special treatment.

To truly adopt an integration ideology, rather than just giving it lip service, military leaders must value the cultural identity of minorities and see them as a resource rather than a problem (Tanner, 1999). So, for example, rather than viewing women as liabilities to be accommodated to, leaders must challenge the existing military structure to adopt the belief that women (an other minorities) are contributors to the evolution of a new military culture (Yoder, 1983).

First of all, this means recognizing those things that women, as a result of their feminine gender-role socialization, can contribute to effective military leadership. For example, femininity (or gender-role expressivity) is associated with being person-orientated and considerate, having good interpersonal skills, and being able to facilitate group harmony and cohesion (Korabik, 1999). A study of US Army soldiers demonstrated that although masculinity was not related to either horizontal (bonding with peers) or vertical (supportive, caring leadership) cohesion, femininity was positively related to both types of cohesion (Weber, Rosen, & Weissbrod, 2000). This is important because cohesion is believed to enhance military readiness, mission success, and survival on the battlefield. Data from four studies with US military cadets and Air Force officers, moreover, indicate that a person-oriented or consideration leadership style (which is positively associated with femininity) is important for maintaining effective leader-subordinate relations, particularly in non-combat situations (Yukl & Van Fleet, 1982).

Although it is important to recognize that there are many positive attributes associated with femininity, we should not lose sight of the fact that masculinity also has a large number of desirable correlates (Korabik, 1993). Moreover, both men and women have instrumental (i.e., masculine) as well as expressive (i.e., feminine) traits in their personalities (Korabik, 1999). Those individuals with many masculine as well as many feminine characteristics in their personalities have been labeled androgynous (Korabik, 1999).

Research has demonstrated that androgynous individuals (of both sexes) adopt a leadership style that is high in both task-orientation and person-orientation and that this is the leadership style that is most effective (Korabik, 1999). Research

done with combat support and service units in the US Army adds to this by showing that the most psychologically well-adjusted soldiers (of both sexes) were androgynous (Rosen, 2000). By contrast, for both men and women, both socially undesirable masculinity (hyper-masculinity) and socially undesirable femininity (hyper-femininity) were related to higher self-reports of psychological symptoms.

Androgyny has been associated with enhanced flexibility and adaptability (Korabik, 1999). These are important qualities in a contemporary military that needs troops who can deal with a variety of peoples and cultures, tolerate ambiguity, take initiative, and shift from peacekeeping to warfare and vice versa and which requires emphasis on boundary spanning functions like liaison, negotiation, and conflict management (Rosen, 2000; Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000).

In regard to the integration of women, a culture that embodies androgynous leadership is likely to be particularly beneficial (Korabik, 1993; Yoder, 2002). Women tokens in the military find themselves in a double bind in that military service is gender conforming for men and not for women. To the extent that women are successful in the military, they cannot be real women. To the extent that they are successful in fulfilling their feminine role, they cannot conform to the military ideal (Kimmel, 1999). One way around this paradox is for women to adopt an androgynous identity (Korabik, 1993). Moreover, the most effective way for women to legitimize their authority is by tempering their task-oriented, dominant, or competitive behaviours with an emphasis on cooperation and person-orientation (Ridgeway, 1992). Kimmel (1999) found that some women West Point cadets did this by strategically asserting their traditional femininity in social situations, but downplaying it in professional situations.

Lately there has been much interest in transformational leadership, as this style has been found to be related to enhanced leadership effectiveness. Research shows, moreover, that transformational leadership behaviors may be particularly effective in the military (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). Transformational leadership is related to androgyny (Korabik, Ayman, & Purc-Stephenson, 2001). There is also some evidence, based on a recent meta-analysis, that it is more typical of women than men (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & van Engen, 2002). However, although there was stronger evidence of female superiority for studies done in Canada than the US, sex differences were weaker when women leaders were in male-dominated settings (Eagly et al., 2002)

5.5 Ingroup/Outgroup Dynamics

A leader who must manage a diverse group of subordinates faces several leadership challenges. First, some individuals may have grown used to working with similar people and may not wish to interact with those who are different from them (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). Second, the subordinates may not clearly understand the benefits of working in a heterogeneous group (i.e., increased creativity and better problem solving).   Finally, there can be drawbacks

associated with diversity, including a greater potential for disharmony and conflict to arise due to divergent viewpoints, which the leader must work to ameliorate.

Leaders must work to overcome the negative consequences that result from ingroup/outgroup dynamics. One way that this can be accomplished is by encouraging teamwork.   "Military leaders are increasingly called upon to operate in teams marked by a stress on cooperation and wide participation in decision making" (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000, pg. 52). Although teams can facilitate contact and cooperation between ingroup and outgroup members, there can also be negative repercussions to utilizing a team approach. For example, women in CF combat arms units have reported that "training techniques which are presented as team builders actually have the effect of dividing or destroying a team that is not comprised of a relatively homogeneous group of males" (Davis & Thomas, 1998, pg. 8). Similarly, Vivian (1998) reports that having only men supervisors for mixed gender work units is not effective as it decreases team cohesiveness and effectiveness. It is apparent, then, that the attitude of commanding officers can play a large part in whether teams operate so as to welcome or exclude minorities.

The CF can aid those with minority group status by educating their superiors, peers, and subordinates about diversity issues and (Haslett et al., 1993). Diversity training programs and gender awareness initiatives can be used to defuse the expectation among superiors and peers that minorities will act in a stereotyped manner. There have been reports that diversity training sessions may be doing more harm than good, as they haven't served to change attitudes (Profile, 2000). There may be a need to emphasize similarities between people, diminish stereotype threats, and to better train the trainers (Profile, 2000). Despite this, service women have reported that gender awareness training improves working relationships in mixed gender units (Davis, 1998).

Another strategy that can be implemented is to identify key change agents in the CF and assist them in bringing about culture change. Finally, a cultural audit of the workplace can be carried out to identify discriminatory practices and ways that current cultural norms may disadvantage minorities.

5.6 Stressors and Resulting Negative Outcomes

Those from minority groups can seek out, and their organizations can help provide them with, role models and mentors (Haslett et al., 1993; Powell, 1993). Mentors can buffer the negative effects of both overt and more hidden forms of discrimination. As well, mentors who are from the ingroup can pave the way for their outgroup protegees to be accepted. By contrast, when minorities have a mentor from their own group, the relationship can provide social support and decrease their sense of social isolation.

The difficulties involved in mentoring include not having enough people from the minority group to act as role models and mentors and the possibility of overburdening the few who do exist (Powell, 1993). There are also many problems associated with cross-gender mentoring, including the perception of favouritism and increased opportunities for fraternization (Powell, 1993).

There is also a need for a zero tolerance policy regarding discrimination and harassment. This may mean that overt prejudice is expressed more covertly. However, social psychological research demonstrates that attitude change will often result as a function of trying to make one's attitudes consistent with one's behaviour.

In regard to work-life balance, research has shown that leader support in the work unit decreased perceptions of negative work spillover and increased perceptions of adaptation among married US soldiers (Bowen, 1999). Although leader support is important in reducing work-family conflict, formal policies are equally necessary. The CF has lagged behind most private corporations in its' willingness to institute "family friendly" practices. It certainly may be more difficult to institute practices such as flextime, job sharing, and telecommuting for enlisted personnel than for civilians and in some MOCs than in others. Still, it is necessary to move toward an approach that allows individuals more control as long as operational effectiveness is not compromised (Okros, 2002). There is also a need to understand that different individuals will have differing needs and priorities and to address this through the provision of flexible benefits (e.g., cafeteria style) and flexible career paths (Okros, 2002). If it has not already done so, the CF may wish to explore the possibility of collaboration with the Military Family Research Institute at Purdue University in the US (www.mfri.purdue.edu)

In order to reduce unwanted turnover, there is a need to conduct an analysis of why individuals leave the CF by sub-group and MOC categories (Tanner, 1999).

6. BEST PRACTICES FOR INTEGRATING DIVERSITY INTO THE MILITARY

Bringing about a change in an organizational culture is an extremely difficult task. As demonstrated above, an enormously complicated set of intertwined circumstances have come together to create and perpetuate the existing culture where minorities are underrepresented. No one initiative to change this situation will likely succeed in isolation (Mattis, 1994). As Newman (1995, pg. 24) contends "it is always necessary to find multiple points of intervention; single interventions will not break the cycle, and may even make the situation worse…" For example, increasing the numbers of those in certain sub-groups will have an impact on organizational culture, but existing cultural norms and values are exceedingly resistant to change. Research shows that often more than five generations of group members need to be replaced before new norms and procedures will be accepted. Unless specific interventions to support and

maintain cultural change are implemented, it is likely that many of the minorities who are brought in will leave before new cultural norms and values are solidified. This will only serve to perpetuate negative stereotypes of women and those in other sub-groups as being unable to handle these types of jobs, slowing down the progress of change.

Thus, there are no quick or easy solutions and a multi-pronged approach is necessary so that the different elements can reinforce one another. Moreover, organizational change must be viewed as a long-term process that is attained through individual changes in key members of an organization.

Best practices for bringing about culture change in organizations involve developing an understanding of the process whereby cultural change occurs, instilling the motivation to change; supporting the development of new values, attitudes and behaviours as well as the unlearning of old ones; and stabilizing changes once they are made.

6.1 Ensure Top Level Commitment to Change

In order to modify existing conditions, it is necessary to have top-level sponsorship and commitment (Holden & Tanner, 2001). This is because individuals must be led through the change process. Leaders need to propose a clearly articulated vision that motivates their followers because it is tied to a purpose that they wish to attain (Holden & Tanner, 2001). To successfully create an environment that is welcoming to people of all types, those in the upper echelons must have a commitment to change based on a shared vision of a workplace where equal opportunity and diversity are valued. But, this alone is not enough. They must also be perceived to "walk the talk".

Because those at the top are often too busy to give their full attention to the change management process, it is best if there is a particular individual who is made responsible for managing the change (e.g., an equity officer). This person should report directly to the head of the organization and have his or her full support.

6.2 Measure and Document

It is essential to document the need for change, collecting data to illustrate the extent to which minorities are underrepresented, and to counteract commonly held stereotypes (Totta & Burke, 1995).

Before change can be brought about, the aspects of the current organizational culture that act as barriers to the success of minority group members must be identified. This can be done through understanding the 'vicious cycles' though which culture is reproduced. SWOT (Strengths, weakness, opportunities, and threats) and force field analyses can be helpful here.

6.3 Ensure Fairness

It is essential that employees view the proposed changes as fair. Four types of fairness must be taken into consideration. First, the <u>outcomes</u> that will result from the change need to be seen as fair. This can be a problem because increasing the numbers of minorities often means decreasing the numbers of majority group members, something that those in the majority group won't necessarily view as fair. Moreover, White men generally prefer that outcomes be distributed according to a norm of equity (rewards are given in proportion to contributions made), whereas people in more disadvantaged positions prefer that rewards be distributed either on the basis of equality (everyone gets the same thing) or need. It is, therefore, difficult to establish a distribution scheme that will be viewed as fair by everyone. It is important to recognize, however, that fair and equitable treatment is not the same thing as identical treatment (Okros, 2002) and that one should not confuse equality with sameness (Kimmel, 1999).

Second, the <u>processes</u> that will be used to bring about the change need to be seen as fair. Processes are likely to be viewed as fairer when people feel that they have had a voice in determining what they are and they represent a variety of viewpoints. Individuals will also see processes as being fairer if they perceive them as being applied in an accurate, consistent, and bias free manner. Moreover, procedures will be considered to be fairer when they are seen as being ethical and when there is a mechanism for the appeal of decisions based on them.

Third, the <u>interpersonal interactions</u> involved in bringing about the change must be perceived to be fair in that individuals must feel that they have been treated with dignity and respect. Finally, change will be more likely to be perceived as fair when individuals are given <u>adequate information</u> about it and provided with explanations for why it is necessary.

6.4 Obtain Input and Participation

If long-term systemic change is to occur, everyone in the organization must be involved in creating it. Therefore, another important ingredient is grass roots participation. To achieve this, input should be sought from all organizational members about their stereotypes, needs, perceptions of barriers to the integration of minorities, and proposed remedies (Totta & Burke, 1994). Members should also serve on task forces and be involved in the formulation of a

long-term plan, along with short-term goals. This helps to ensure their commitment to the change process.

6.5 Communicate With Those At All Levels

Next, it is necessary to develop a business case to provide a rationale for advancing minorities and to communicate this to those at all levels. This can be done through handbooks, newsletters, and an orientation guide for new members, all of which make it clear that the organization's norms are to respect diversity and that discrimination and harassment will not be tolerated (Totta & Burke, 1994). Frequent, repetitive, simple messages or slogans tend to work well (Wilhelm, 1992).

6.6 Devise Concrete Action Plans

Once the barriers are understood, specific, concrete action plans aimed at removing them can be formulated. Members working in cooperative groups should be involved in this process. Not only does such grass roots participation aid buy in, but it is these individuals who truly understand what types of approaches will meet with the most success in their specific work environments.

Action plans will meet with less resistance and therefore have a greater likelihood of success to the extent that they are perceived to be fair and they adopt an inclusionary approach. Thus, it is "not acceptable to remove barriers to advancement for women by erecting barriers to advancement for men" (Totta & Burke, 1994, p. 9), but rather the aim should be to remove barriers and increase opportunities for everyone. Action plans devised to bring about gender equality and employment equity should, therefore, be formulated in this spirit.

6.7 Implement The New Initiatives

Examples of the types of action plans that are possible are: a computer listing of all new job openings, a mentoring programme, a succession planning initiative, eldercare and childcare referral services, paid leave days for personal concerns, and opportunities for extended leaves and more flexible work arrangements (like flextime, flexplace, and job sharing) (Totta & Burke, 1994). Those programmes that accommodate women's non-linear career paths and help alleviate their dual burden as well as those that emphasize performance over face time or seniority are particularly desirable. Importantly, it must be emphasized that career advancement will not be hampered for those who take advantage of increased job flexibility or more leave time. Provision of options that increase work flexibility result in greater worker productivity and satisfaction and are beneficial to men as well as women.

6.8 Reinforce Behavioural Change

It should be recognized that people resist change even when it is highly desirable for change to occur. It is necessary to think through the change and what it will mean for all parties involved. If a particular change will negatively impact on individuals, they will oppose it. An attempt should be made to try to anticipate these situations and take remedial action such as ensuring that coworkers do not have increased workloads if women take advantage of family friendly policies (e.g., maternity leave).

In order to reinforce the likelihood of change, a supportive environment must provide opportunities for learning. Training and coaching should be readily available and they should be viewed as a regular part of jobs, not as something that happens in addition to normal work.

In the case of workplaces where minorities have been underrepresented, there is often very little reason why those in the majority group should want to change the status quo. Accountability must be assigned to a particular individual to motivate them to change. Excellent efforts should be documented and communicated. It should be recognized that it is more effective to eliminate undesirable behaviours by extinguishing them rather than by punishing them.

6.9 Accountability

To assure that the focus is not just on increasing numbers by selecting unqualified tokens, superiors must be made accountable for the performance of those that they select or promote. They should also be rewarded for being good role models and mentors and for creating a climate that supports equal opportunity (Totta & Burke, 1994). Wilhelm (1992) claims that to truly change corporate culture, desired behaviours must be recognized and rewarded for up to ten years.

Finally, true change is unlikely to be sustained over the long term without accountability for monitoring both the manner in which the change has been implemented as well as the outcomes that have resulted from it. Changes in attitudes and behaviours should be tracked over time through cultural audits. The progress of high potential individuals from minority groups also should be monitored to assure that they are given the experience they need to advance. Furthermore, data should regularly be collected regarding the numbers of minorities who are leaving the CF and the reasons why they leave. The results in attaining the goals that have been established should be measured on an ongoing basis and reported on.

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