



Chapter 3:

The ADF Culture:
The experience of and
attitudes towards women

In summary

- Most ADF members are ambivalent about whether the ADF should increase the representation of women.
- There are differences between the views and experiences of men and women about women's place in the ADF.
- There are inconsistencies and contradictions about whether men and women should be treated identically or differently.
- Quantitative research indicates that female ADF members are less likely than male ADF members to believe that women have the same career opportunities as men in their Service.
- The binary choice between the ADF or family is more keenly felt by women.
- Both men and women fear negative consequences if they bring a complaint.
- Many argue that the low representation of women in the ADF is just a reflection of the wider Australian culture.
- Many women spoke to the Review about feeling marginalised.
- Navy, Army and Air Force have introduced programs that aim to create more inclusive and diverse workplaces. The Recommendations contained in this Report build on those programs.

The ADF is the one of the nation's largest employers, yet despite this many Australians would have minimal insight into what it is like to work as a member of the ADF – to put on a uniform, train for duty, establish friendships, and compete for promotions, all while juggling family and other outside obligations.

Change within any organisation must be founded in an understanding of its daily reality, and so the Review was determined to develop a better appreciation of the way the ADF is experienced by personnel. This Chapter draws on extensive consultations, submissions and survey data undertaken by the Review to gain insight into the way that ADF members, both women and men, perceive their careers and the organisation.

This Chapter commences with a brief consideration of organisational culture, before exploring the contradictions that abound in how women in the ADF are assumed to be treated the same as men yet, too often, are pushed to the margins.

3.1 Organisational culture in the ADF

Definitions of organisational culture can be elusive but according to Jans:

Culture is to an organisation as 'personality' or 'character' is to an individual...Like 'personality', culture provides a coherent view of the world and a way of thinking about and making sense of that world. Defined as a 'system of shared meaning held by organisational members', it goes beyond 'style' to the spirit or the soul inside the body corporate.¹

Like many large, complex, geographically diverse organisations, there is no single, homogenous organisational culture in the ADF. Each Service is proud of its particular heritage, and within each Service there are many different cultures, often based on trade or occupational grouping. Pilots are different to technicians, sailors stationed on board ships are different to submariners. Sometimes these groupings are referred to as tribes. MAJGEN Craig Orme describes tribalism in the ADF as:

A sense of hyper-alignment with a component of the organisation. This can be anything from a small team, Platoon, Flight, Regiment, Platform, Ship, Department or Force Element Group. It can also be found amongst sub-groups in the ADF. This concept of tribalism in military culture is often masked by the more reasonable notion of team, identity and loyalty. Tribalism in this sense is not just about those in the team; it is a cultural view of the world that sees the team to which someone belongs as better than the other teams in the organisation ...[generating] a commitment to mission and each other that accepts the risk of death to ensure the team achieves its objective. To compromise that characteristic is to risk compromising military effectiveness.

The down side to military tribalism is that while those who are in the tribe belong; those who are not, are considered to be outsiders (those “others”) and somehow lesser contributors. The “others” are seen to be less worthy and therefore less deserving of the status of those “in” the dominant sub-group.²

This sense of belonging, or not belonging, of being ‘same’ or ‘other’ underpins much of the experience of women in the ADF.

3.2 Women – same or different?

Many women spoke positively about their experience of being a woman in the ADF. They described workplaces that were respectful and supportive and where performance was assessed in objective and transparent terms. Many spoke of having excellent career and development opportunities and most women felt that the ADF was a good employer for women:

Particularly during my pregnancy/maternity leave I felt very well supported both medically and employment-wise, but more so since then. I’m married to a Service member... and I’ve found the support, particularly from my Unit, very, very good in understanding I guess the more unique issues that go along with having a Service member partner and a small child with that partner deployed.³

In my 15 years of service at sea and ashore, I have never been disadvantaged because I am a woman. I have never felt harassed or discriminated against. Even early in my career I believe I was given all the same opportunities as my male counterparts. I would recommend joining the ADF to any woman.⁴

The Review also uncovered some deep and systemic contradictions. On the one hand, there is an overwhelming organisational ‘mantra’ in the ADF to ‘treat everyone the same’. Everyone wears the same uniform, is assessed on performance, is promoted on merit:

Doesn’t matter if you’re male or female. If you do your job and do it well, then you’re well respected.⁵

Last week I got one of the biggest compliments ... I was talking to the guys and I said something jokingly ... but I’m a chick and they went ‘you’re no chick, you’re just a cool dude with a pony tail’ ... for me that was a compliment from my colleagues because that would mean that I’m not any different.⁶

Further, there are strong organisational pressures to treat women and men identically:

Gender is not an issue to be considered in the sense of whether or not someone’s capable of more senior appointments. It’s based on merit and performance, not what type of clothes they wear, how they wear their hair and so forth.⁷

It’s just about nuking out gender at the moment, and going back to the fundamentals. We all contribute as individual members to a team collectively, it doesn’t matter what background we have, doesn’t matter what gender...but we all should feel comfortable in the workplace.⁸

On the other hand, there are some aspects of ADF life and operations that very clearly set women apart. For example, different requirements regarding physical fitness, their ability to come in from field exercises to take showers and separated living quarters mean that women are sometimes seen as having special privileges:

We're all supposed to be doing the same job. My view is they sort of over reacted ...giving a lot of concessions, like giving separate rooms. Half the shower block was taken away. They shouldn't be giving women those extra titbits and things.⁹

That's the double standard we see. We all wear basically the same issue clothing, we are treated the same but then they get all this sort of special isolation and treatment.¹⁰

...as a male I have had to sacrifice many things in my personal life to have the privilege of serving and I find it hard to accept that a female could be afforded many more benefits just because of her sex. I thought it was all about sexual equality in the workplace so we should all get the same benefits. Only once we are all receiving the same thing will full acceptance and workplace equality happen.¹¹

We find that women will get 'special treatment' out field. Exceptions are made for them that my men are not entitled to. Sometimes it seems that the DFDA [Defence Force Discipline Act] does not apply to women who can merely 'flutter their eyelashes'.¹²

Many women are also against any form of special treatment:

It's eight blokes going out to go on patrol to get dirty and grubby and messy. They don't want to have to consider female cycles, female showering. We've got all these other entitlements that come with being a female, which are quite embarrassing if you ever want to try and enforce them.¹³

The ADF shouldn't be developing strategies to 'improve the representation of women in the senior ranks'. They should be developing strategies to ensure women have the same opportunities as men. Different or better treatment than men, either perceived or real, will undermine women in the ADF. We just want to be treated equally, not different.¹⁴

You joined the Army, it didn't join you. It's a man's world. Why should those fifty people stop being able to use a particular word because I'm sensitive to that, why do fifty people have to be impacted by my one view on a particular thing.¹⁵

In addition to views that women receive preferential treatment in the field, there is an equally strong view among some members that women generally have it easier than men in terms of their careers:

The majority of females I reckon get it easy...If they request something and two people put their paperwork in, generally females would probably get it first.¹⁶

If [a man doesn't] do it correctly...he'll get blasted, he'll deal with it...Imagine if I started crying during a weapons drill how much these blokes would give it to me, forever.¹⁷

A woman can take extended leave to look after children without impact on her career. A man would be disadvantaged if he took leave for the same reason. A woman can take 'easier' or less 'high profile' jobs in her career without detriment, as the Army is looking to increase women in senior ranks. A man's promotional prospects would be negatively impacted from this.¹⁸

Beyond this, the Review encountered a genuine fear, distrust, or resentment of women by some male personnel who were uncertain about how to interact with them:

The reason some [Instructors] won't tear shreds off some of the women...is because there is that thought in the back of their mind that if they turn around and say something, one thing slightly wrong to a female recruit, all they've got to do is put their hand up and scream sexual assault and the rest of their career's gone.¹⁹

In my role...I'm usually required to speak to people one on one. With females I won't do one on one. Shit scared. In the past I've spoken to a person that's worked for me and I've told her she's no good at her job because she wasn't...She took that as far as she could because she didn't like being told she was no good at her job. And since then, I won't speak to a female one on one.²⁰

I feel like sometimes when I'm talking to [women], you look down the hallway and people look at you... There's nothing going on, but even I myself sometimes get worried about that whole fraternisation thing getting brought up when there's nothing happening.²¹

Mixed messages about whether women are the same or different, as well as about relationships between men and women, can be confusing, especially for recruits:

They [women] are sort of made to look like us, I mean they've got to act like us as well.²²

When we were out field when we were setting up all the tents we had to keep a five metre radius away from them and they were pretty much segregated from us, because we were all close together. Literally my tent would be right next to his tent and the girls were a good three, five metres away. So it makes them feel different, and makes you feel like they're different or other in some way [and] you don't really want to talk to them just in case you get in trouble.²³

They sell condoms at the shop where you get bread. And they give them away in medical. They do a big talk you know if you want condoms, come and get them, but you can't fraternise.²⁴

3.3 Women as 'other'

Unsurprisingly, 'mateship' and the bonds between colleagues is a key feature of team work and operational effectiveness. In fact, in surveys conducted of soldiers undertaking various training courses, 'mates' was cited as the number one 'thing I like most about the Army' by those who attended Corporal courses, Sergeant courses, Warrant Officer courses and Regimental Sergeant Major courses.²⁵

Rather than feeling the bonds of mateship, many women repeatedly reported feeling or being treated as 'other'. They spoke of risks associated with trying to 'fit in', some women describing it as a 'no-win proposition', with some who tried to be friendly accused of 'always being on [their] back'; while those who did not try to fit in accused of being 'a bitch'.²⁶

When I had my first interview with XXXX, the first thing he said to me was 'Private XXXX, just so you know, I don't think women should be in [this Service]'.²⁷

If there was one female, they all bitched about it in their off hours, going 'oh, I've got a girl in the class, can't talk about this, can't show these pictures'. To be honest, I find the same jokes funny, but they still don't like girls in the class.²⁸

Baking a cake for unit members is acceptable whereas disciplining recalcitrant members is not.

Women in ADF are defined by their gender first prior to being identified by their rank or position. They are still seen as objects who need to be sexually conquered by their male counterparts.²⁹

Additionally, despite perceptions about women having it 'easier', some women also spoke about the pressure to succeed and to do 'twice as much' to be recognised for their efforts. This is despite the fact that, in many cases, they function at a palpable disadvantage:

You do have to work harder as a woman to prove yourself in the Navy. It's like that in every male dominated area, and I'm sure the men would say that's bullshit, because they don't have to do it.³⁰

I have the smallest armour that they could provide me and it was too wide in the chest therefore I can't hold my weapon standing up, let alone laying down.³¹

I have to wear my armour back to front just to make it fit properly. It just doesn't work.³²

Meanwhile, some women spoke to the Review about extremely demeaning attitudes towards women. Women often spoke of being called sluts and bitches³³ or of being called gay, dykes or lesbians³⁴ in a derogatory manner:

An instructor would constantly make unacceptable comments about female's menstrual cycles. He had a [sailor] working for him that was pregnant and he would refer to her as the bag of spare parts.³⁵

We had one girl get promoted not long ago and one of the guys actually turned around and said 'I'm sick and tired of incompetent vaginas being promoted around this place'.³⁶

A: His quote was, and excuse my language here, but the only thing that a woman at my patrol base would be good for is to get fed every night by us while we're on picket. I don't know if you know what the term 'fed' means.

B: Having sex?

A: Yes, basically.³⁷

Some women felt that these attitudes were promulgated or reinforced by male supervisors and that this influenced younger male members:

Older male members of the military...should be told they shouldn't publicly express their personal opinions about women in the military... They turn around and (say) I don't think women should be in the Army, I don't think women should be allowed to do this, and these younger guys are like, 'well I didn't see a problem with it before but yeah'.³⁸

...they learn the ethos from the older ones. It sort of breeds itself.³⁹

Further, a number of women also spoke to the Review about the importance of reputation and the onus they felt was on them to behave appropriately. Some women described 'the talk' that they received to be careful of their reputation and not 'sleep around'. Differences were perceived between the 'talks' for men and women:

It was, take all the girls aside and have that chat and say don't sleep around, be careful of your reputation. Be aware that when you step on a ship guys will have points against your name and they'll keep a ledger and try and get you... they'll turn on the charm because they're just trying to get you into bed so that they can brag about it in the mess... I don't know that that's the best approach to tell women to be fearful...But men don't get that side chat.⁴⁰

You get given the 'perception' talk very early on... Even just in social settings, work get together..., you're expected to leave as soon as the fun was starting.⁴¹

A woman's reputation regarding sexual behaviour 'sticks' and follows her throughout her career:

I've had it where guys have actually said, 'yeah I've slept with her'...no one listens to you, you just get the reputation and once you got the reputation, [clicks fingers] it goes round every single base in Australia.⁴²

They're a stud, and you're a slut.⁴³

The Review's online survey also indicated that there are marked differences between men and women's attitudes about the impact of 'reputation' on one's career.⁴⁴ Men and women were more likely to believe that a woman's 'reputation' would have more impact than a man's and women were much more likely to believe this. Nearly twice as many women (68%) as men (35%) agreed that a woman's reputation can inhibit her military career. Much lower proportions of women (13%) and men (25%) agreed that a man's reputation can inhibit his career.

3.4 Sexual harassment

Women spoke to the Review about their experiences of sexual harassment and of working in highly sexualised workplaces. These issues will be explored in detail in Chapter 7, and are of relevance to the culture of the ADF as experienced by women:

The corporals, sergeants and above are supposed to be leading by example displaying high levels of professionalism. Instead they prey on unsuspecting teenagers, lie or just fail to mention their marriages, engagements, existing relationships and inevitably people get hurt.⁴⁵

At the time I was living by myself in an isolated area, all they would have had to do was follow me home. These [text] messages were psychotic This guy is still in the [workplace] and I still have to work with him every day and no-one will do anything about it because it's not classed as harassment.⁴⁶ I've had a sergeant come on to me and because I've said no, bugger off, I've then got a really bad PAR [Performance Appraisal Report].⁴⁷

I've heard all the comments as soon as someone posts on board, all the males' opinions on whether they think that that person's hot or not. It's like, 'oh, fresh meat'.⁴⁸

There was a strong recurring theme that it was the very nature of the ADF that somehow explained the prevalence of these attitudes:

Something happens when you put on a uniform as a male, and when you step into that environment and you are fixing a \$70 million [piece of equipment]. You just tend to take on a persona that you might not ordinarily.⁴⁹

Once you get out field in an all-male environment it's almost primal.⁵⁰

I've had the [commanding officer] explain to me that it's because of the nature of our business that the culture is different... He was trying to explain to me that we're in the profession of arms and the business of war so people have to let off steam and that sort of makes it ok, because we are different and we are special. And I just kept saying to them, we should be held to a higher standard.⁵¹

There were many who argued that what happens in ADF is just a reflection of wider Australian society:

It troubles me that often people vilify the [ADF] culture ...It's not really [ADF] culture, it's just Australian culture. You go to a bunch of truckies, a bunch of mine workers, a bunch of council workers, elite sportsmen, they'll have exactly the same mentality.⁵²

As part of the Review, a survey of 1,000 members was undertaken to determine prevalence rates of sexual harassment in the ADF. The survey found that prevalence rates of sexual harassment in the ADF are similar to the general population. The survey also found that women experience sexual harassment at a greater rate than men and that, on average, the harassment continued over a longer period for women than men. In addition, women tended to perceive the harassment as more offensive and more intimidating than male targets of harassment.

The ADF component of the survey is discussed in Chapter 7 and the full ADF results are contained in Appendix N.4.

3.5 Making a complaint

Whilst women and men spoke of being aware of the complaints mechanisms that exist they also spoke of their reluctance to report unacceptable behaviour and the possible consequences if they did:

People don't want to cause too much trouble. I think that's always a concern. Not so much being a victim, but just people knowing that you've had a whinge.⁵³

He [the harasser] was the person who wrote my assessment. That's probably a common thought that if you do report it or if you do take it further, at some stage in the future I'm going to come across him again.⁵⁴

I don't know whether it was just the culture of where I actually was, (but) it was always said, that you put complaints forward you kiss your career goodbye.⁵⁵

Many people the Review spoke with expressed concerns about the Equity and Diversity (E&D) process:

If you stick up for yourself and do E&D, you'll be isolated, no-one will like you.⁵⁶

You do on occasion hear immature comments, 'I'm going to E&D you' like it's a cricket bat.⁵⁷

Higher ranks and a lot of teachers will be very cautious around that female because [she is] known for E&D... You look at [her] the wrong way, [she'll] go and put a complaint in, which ruins it for people that want to put in a proper complaint and have a legit reason to put a complaint in.⁵⁸

Women and men differ in their views about experiencing and reporting sexual harassment. In the Review's online survey, perceptions regarding the incidence and impact of sexual harassment, discrimination and abuse tended to be less positive for females compared to males:

- A higher percentage of female respondents felt that experiencing sexual harassment or discrimination would have a negative impact on career progress (60% females, 41% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents believed that women are more likely to experience sexual harassment or discrimination in the ADF than men (65% females, 44% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents believed that women are more likely to experience sexual abuse in the ADF than men (54% females, 39% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents felt that experiencing sexual abuse in the ADF would have a negative impact on career progress (58% females, 41% males).
- A higher percentage of male respondents believed that appropriate action would be taken if they were to report an incident of unacceptable behaviour (66% females, 83% males).

3.6 Work or family – the 'choices' women make

Beyond this, ADF women feel they face a stark choice between career and family. This mutually exclusive choice was described by both men and women, but it was women who felt most keenly that they must choose whether to have a career, or a family, but could certainly not have both:

I'm 35, and I'm at that point now where I'm looking at my career going, do I want to stay in the Navy... because I can't see me putting 100 percent into my job... as well as being ...100 percent into my family... I have to choose.⁵⁹

It all depends what you're willing to sacrifice. Women tend to take on the role as primary care giver... it really comes down to how much you want it, but it is obviously going to backtrack your career.⁶⁰

I don't want to feel as though I've taken on a Command role to make Army happy... and then find that my kids are failing grade 3.⁶¹

In contrast, men often framed this choice as 'just the way things are':

Women get to a certain level and then they leave or they don't progress further. I've not seen anything that [doesn't] want them to progress. I think human nature happens.⁶²

Female officers ... fight against that maternal instinct. They want to be a mum... that's what they're hardwired biologically to do.⁶³

Both men and women across all ranks perceived this 'choice' as an individual one. In fact, a widespread organisational acceptance was apparent regarding the inevitability of losing serving women when they become pregnant and needed to balance work and family responsibilities. As discussed in Chapter 1 and section 4.3, losing highly committed, trained women has an impact on the capability and sustainability of the organisation, representing a major loss on the time and resources Defence has invested in skills and talent development.

In the Review's online survey, men tended to have a more favourable view of the balance between work and family responsibilities than women:

- A higher percentage of male respondents felt that the ADF supports women through the different stages of their lives. (51% females, 67% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents believed that their career is impacted by family/caring responsibilities (57% females, 36% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents believed that the ADF should be more flexible towards the different life courses of men and women (61% females, 49% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents agreed that family responsibilities affect their ability to go on deployment (56% females, 39% males agreeing).

There was a high degree of uncertainty about whether accessing flexible working arrangements would have a negative career impact. Further, only 18% of female respondents and 20% of male respondents did not believe that accessing flexible work would negatively impact on their career. These issues will be further detailed in Chapter 6.

3.7 Representation of women

Finally, the Review found deep organisational ambivalence about whether the ADF should increase the representation of women. The Review heard many times that women are simply not attracted to a career in Defence; that there were no impediments to women's progression; and that the representation of women at about 14% was 'about right'.⁶⁴

There is strong resistance to any targets or quotas for women from men and women – the notion of differential treatment flying in the face of 'equality' as it is understood in the ADF. Many ADF members consider that equality will be achieved through identical treatment, with very little appetite, for example, for targets or quotas:

I think there are two key problems with [quotas]. One, every single person in this room would fight back because you're taking one of our spots and two, there are females who can make it without a quota and you're completely undermining their position... You're just going to completely ruin the female name within the ADF.⁶⁵

I don't think we should have targets for any of this gender stuff because it diminishes what all of us in this room have achieved to date.⁶⁶

[For] the people that have worked so long for twenty years to be thought of as equal and then when you finally get promoted they'll say you only got it because you're a female. Ruins everything we've done. Horrible, horrible thought.⁶⁷

Results from the Review's online survey suggest that large numbers of ADF members are uncertain about, or disagree with the idea that the ADF should increase the representation of women (47% of female respondents, 66% of male respondents). About half of women and one-third of men agreed that the ADF should increase the representation of women (53% of female respondents, 34% of male respondents); and more men than women believed that the ADF supports the recruitment and retention of women (64% female respondents, 81% male respondents) and also that the ADF is committed to improving the representation of women in senior ranks (50% female respondent, 63% male respondents).

Men were slightly more likely than women to believe that ADF personnel were promoted on merit. 73% of male respondents and 63% of female respondents believe that men are promoted on merit; and 64% of male respondents and 60% of female respondents believed that women were promoted on merit.

Finally, men and women also returned different responses to the survey items dealing with career progression:

- A higher percentage of male respondents believed that women have the same career opportunities as men in their Service (62% females, 80% males).
- A higher percentage of male respondents believed that women are well represented in career streams where there are good opportunities for progression (57% females, 72% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents (and very few male respondents) believed that women hit a glass ceiling at Lieutenant Colonel / Commander / Wing Commander level (27% females, 7% males).
- A higher percentage of female respondents believed that there should be more women in leadership positions in the ADF (62% females, 32% males).

The results suggest that there is evidence of 'blind spots' in the organisation about the adverse, differential impact on women of the current career development and promotion processes. This is explored in section 4.4.

By contrast some personnel do see a role for quotas. As one senior officer acknowledged:

Many will argue that they don't want to be promoted based on a quota, that they want to get there on merit [but] quotas and merit are not mutually exclusive ideas. Well, we all need to get over it. The reality is that every woman who goes to the short list at a promotion board has merit anyway.⁶⁸

3.8 Conclusion

Clearly, there is some dissonance between the views and beliefs of many in the ADF and the reality that was apparent to the Review. Despite assertions that men and women receive equal treatment, for example, there are many complaints about women receiving preferential treatment, while women often report feeling decidedly on the margins. For many personnel there is also an enduring ambivalence about whether and where women 'fit', whether there should be more serving women, whether the presence of women affects capability and what roles they should perform. This is of concern, given research informs us that gender diversity is a key marker of the health of organisations.⁶⁹ As one expert states: 'The canaries aren't just warning that the mine is a bad place for birds; they are just the first ones to indicate that something is wrong in the mine, which needs to be addressed.'⁷⁰ Perhaps the experience of women is signalling that the "mine" is no longer the most effective workplace for today's people and families.

The Review acknowledges the programs introduced in recent times by Navy, Army and Air Force aimed at creating more diverse and inclusive workplaces. The Recommendations in this Report will build on these programs and create a blueprint for further reform.

As women and men's working patterns and expectations converge, what will make a difference for women will likely also make a difference for men. After a detailed examination of the ADF workforce pipeline, the Report will explore some of these perceptions and experiences further before moving to its final recommendations. The recommendations have been developed having in mind the culture and beliefs of the ADF that are reflected above. They have also been developed with a view to improving the experiences of both women and men, and creating a better and high performing ADF.

- 1 N Jans and D Schmidtchen, *The Real C-Cubed: Culture, Careers and Climate and How They Affect Capability* (2002), Chapter 3.
- 2 MAJGEN C Orme, 'Beyond Compliance; An Operations Focussed Culture and the Australian Profession of Arms', draft discussion paper, 2 June 2011, provided to the Review.
- 3 Focus group 3B.
- 4 *Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.*
- 5 Focus group 20D.
- 6 Focus group 30A.
- 7 Focus group 9A.
- 8 Focus group 13B.
- 9 Focus group 34F.
- 10 Focus group 24A.
- 11 *Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.*
- 12 *Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.*
- 13 Focus group 20B.
- 14 *Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.*
- 15 Focus group 20D.
- 16 Focus group 24C.
- 17 Focus group 24A.
- 18 *Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey.*
- 19 Focus group 34B.
- 20 Focus group 17D.
- 21 Focus group 24A.
- 22 Focus group 24A.
- 23 Focus group 24A.
- 24 Focus group 24A.
- 25 K Woods, 'Has ADF Leadership Changed over the Last 20 Years and Can We Make it Better?' (2012) 187 *Australian Defence Force Journal* 48, pp 52-54.
- 26 Focus group 35B.
- 27 Focus group 6A.
- 28 Focus group 7B.
- 29 Confidential submission 14.
- 30 Focus group 4C.
- 31 Focus group 34E.
- 32 Focus group 34E.
- 33 Focus groups 4A, 16B, 27A, 34B, 12B, 4B; Public submission 9 Lang; Confidential submission 14.
- 34 Focus groups 16B, 9B.
- 35 Focus group 3B.
- 36 Focus group 11E.
- 37 Focus group 11E.
- 38 Focus group 34E.
- 39 Focus group 11E.
- 40 Focus group 19B.
- 41 Focus group 27A.
- 42 Focus group 16B.
- 43 Focus group 35F.
- 44 All survey figures in this Chapter are taken from the electronic sample of the *Treatment of Women in the Australian Defence Force Survey*. Further discussion and analysis of the survey is at Appendix B.
- 45 Public submission 30.
- 46 Focus group 7B.
- 47 Focus group 7B.
- 48 Focus group 19B.
- 49 Focus group 7B.
- 50 Focus group 11D.
- 51 Focus group 16B.
- 52 Focus group 11D.
- 53 Focus group 7A.
- 54 Focus group 4B.
- 55 Focus group 6A.
- 56 Focus group 7B.
- 57 Focus group 17D.
- 58 Focus group 24C.
- 59 Focus group 12B.
- 60 Focus group 11E.
- 61 Focus group 27A.

- 62 Focus group 23C.
- 63 Focus group 9A.
- 64 For example, Focus group 24C.
- 65 Focus group 11C.
- 66 Focus group 27A.
- 67 Focus group 27A.
- 68 GPCAPT S McGready, *Speech to the Air Force Women's Development Forum*, 20 June 2012, provided to the Review by SQNDLR F James, 28 June 2012.
- 69 Deloitte and Women & Leadership Australia, *Impacting Gender Diversity, Exploring the Challenges and generating strategies for Change* (2011), p 3. At <http://www.deakin.edu.au/equity-diversity/assets/resources/impacting-gender-diversity-2011.pdf> (viewed 26 June 2012).
- 70 B Bagley, 'Women and Workplace Flexibility: Canaries in the Coal Mine', *The Glasshammer*, 2 November 2010. At <http://www.theglasshammer.com/news/2010/11/02/women-and-workplace-flexibility-canaries-in-the-coal-mine/> (viewed 26 June 2012).



